EXETER UNIVERSITY AND UNIVERSITÉ D'ORLÉANS

The Cultural and Ideological Significance Of Representations of Boudica During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I.

Submitted by Samantha FRENEE-HUTCHINS to the universities of Exeter and Orléans as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, June 2009.

This thesis is available for library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgment.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

.... (signature)

Abstract in English:

This study follows the trail of Boudica from her rediscovery in Classical texts by the humanist scholars of the fifteenth century to her didactic and nationalist representations by Italian, English, Welsh and Scottish historians such as Polydore Virgil, Hector Boece, Humphrey Llwyd, Raphael Holinshed, John Stow, William Camden, John Speed and Edmund Bolton. In the literary domain her story was appropriated under Elizabeth I and James I by poets and playwrights who included James Aske, Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, William Shakespeare, A. Gent and John Fletcher. As a political, religious and military figure in the middle of the first century AD this Celtic and regional queen of Norfolk is placed at the beginning of British history. In a gesture of revenge and despair she had united a great number of British tribes and opposed the Roman Empire in a tragic effort to obtain liberty for her family and her people.

Focusing on both the literary and non-literary texts I aim to show how the frequent manipulation and circulation of Boudica's story in the early modern period contributed to the polemical expression and development of English and British national identities, imperial aspirations and gender politics which continue even today. I demonstrate how such heated debate led to the emergence of a polyvalent national icon, that of Boadicea, Celtic warrior of the British Empire, religious figurehead, mother to the nation and ardent feminist, defending the land, women, the nation and national identity.

Today Boudica’s story is that of a foundation myth which has taken its place in national memory alongside Britannia; Boudica’s statue stands outside the Houses of Parliament in London as a testament to Britain’s imperial aspirations under Queen Victoria whilst the maternal statue of her protecting her two young daughters claims a Welsh haven in Cardiff.

Résumé en français:

Cette thèse suit la trace de Boudica depuis la redécouverte de ce personnage dans les textes classiques par des savants humanistes du quinzième siècle jusqu'aux représentations didactiques et nationalistes de ce personnage par des historiens italiens, anglais, gallois et écossais tels que Polydore Virgil, Hector Boece, Humphrey Llwyd, Raphael Holinshed, John Stow, William Camden, John Speed, Edmund Bolton. Ensuite l'appropriation de son histoire par des poètes et des dramaturges sous Elizabeth I et James I couvre le travail de James Aske, Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, William Shakespeare, A. Gent et John Fletcher.

En tant que personnage politique, religieux et militaire au milieu du premier siècle de notre ère cette reine celte de la région de Norfolk est placée au début de l'histoire de la Grande Bretagne. Lors d'un geste tragique de revanche et de désespoir elle a réuni un grand nombre de tribus britanniques afin d'opposer l'Empire Romain et obtenir la liberté pour sa famille et son peuple.

Se concentrant sur les textes littéraires et non-littéraires j'essaie de montrer comment la manipulation fréquente et la circulation de l'histoire de Boudica au début de la période moderne ont contribué aux polémiques autour des identités anglaises et britanniques, l'aspiration impériale et la politique entre les sexes ; polémiques qui continuent aujourd'hui. Je démontre comment de tels débats ont mené à l'apparition d'une icône national et polyvalente, telle Boadicea, guerrière celtique de l'Empire britannique, mère de la nation et féministe ardente œuvrant pour la défense de la terre, de la femme, de la nation et de l'identité nationale.

Aujourd'hui l'histoire de Boudica est celle d'un mythe de fondation qui prend place dans la mémoire collective à côté de Britannia; la statue de Boudica debout devant le parlement à Londres, témoigne des aspirations impériales sous la reine Victoria, tandis que la statue maternelle de Boudica en train de protéger ses deux jeunes filles, prétend à un havre gallois à Cardiff.

CONTENTS

Abstract in English	P. 2
Abstract in French	P. 3
Acknowledgements	P. 5
List of Illustrations	P. 6
Introduction	P. 7
Chapter 1: Retrieving British History	P. 28
Classical Visions of Boudica	P. 33
Early Modern Receptions	P. 38
Bookmakers and Gambles with History	P. 42
Anxiety over Native Origins	P. 52
Humphrey Llwyd, Raphael Holinshed & William Camden	P. 59
Stow, Speed, Daniel, Clapham & Edmund Bolton	P. 75
The Social Circulation of Boudica	P. 88
Chapter 2: Female Emancipation: force, freedom, and fallacy	P. 97
Reclaiming Women's History	P. 101
In mirrours more then one	P. 110
An Illusion of Empowerment?	P. 129
The Cult of Elizabeth	P. 140
Chapter 3: Unity, Harmony and Empire: an English Agenda?	P. 149
King of Great Britain	P. 152
The English Empire	P. 160
The Historiographical Revolution	P. 174
Early Modern Nationalism	P. 184
Locating Cymbeline's Queen	P. 193
The Relegation of Women	P. 201
Chapter 4: Domesticating the Heart of the Wild	P. 210
The Second Sex	P. 214
Taming the Heart of the Wild	P. 229
The Masculine Embrace	P. 246
The Roman Embrace	P. 267
Conclusion	P. 285
Appendix : Petruccio Ubaldini's Le Vite Del Le Donne Illustri Del Regno D'Inghilterra, & dell Regno di Scotia (Translated from Italian into English and French).	P. 302
Bibliography	P. 311

Acknowledgements

I need to thank a number of people for their help, advice and support; namely Dr Tracey Miller-Tomlinson, New Mexico State University, who sent me some of her work and allowed me to refer to it in my study. Dr Catherine Henze from the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay gave me advice about Jacobean music particularly that for Fletcher's plays. For the information on education I am indebted to Professor Nicholas Orme, Exeter University, who recommended a reading list to me. Thank you to Professor Malcolm Todd for allowing me to interview him at his home in Exeter; he gave me invaluable insights into the historical Boudica and Cartimandua, as did Dr Nicola Royan, lecturer in medieval and renaissance literature at Nottingham University. Dr Royan helped me with Boece's account, and William Craw identified the French translator of Hector Boece's *Chronicles* for me.

For the translations of Petruccio Ubaldini into English and French I was given advice and help from Téa Couche-Facchin, Italian teacher at the Lycée-en-forêt, and from Professor Frank La Brasca, Director of the Italian Department at François-Rabelais University, Tours. The texts were translated into English by myself and Dr Valentina Vulpi. Dr Sandrine Soltane-Castellana translated Ubaldini into French.

Mrs Barraton at Orléans University library has always helped me to locate and borrow obscure documents, so thank you. I am also grateful to Dr Claire Bouchet, Lycée-en-forêt, who proofread my work and made some invaluable suggestions. Thank you equally to Dr Carolyn Lyle-Williams at Reading University, Professor Richard Hingley at Durham University, Dr Ben Winsworth at Orléans University, chantal Lévy at the Lycée-en-forêt, Montargis, and Vanessa Collingridge for ideas and encouragement. I would like to give a huge mark of recognition to my own research directors, professor Tom Pughe, who set me on the right path and was a source of great encouragement and succor, and to Dr Philip Schwyzer who has always been available, supportive and very helpful.

On the home front I must say 'thank-you' to my sister, Beastie, who has always put me up, and put up with me, during my stays at Exeter. And last, but not least, I am greatly indebted to my husband, Eric for his moral and domestic support over the last few years.

Illustrations

Figure n° 1: Woodcut showing Boudica addressing her troops just before battle is joined with the Romans. *Holinshed's Chronicles: the History of England* (1577) P. 67.

Figure n° 2: Woodcut showing the final battle between the Romans and the British warriors. *Holinshed's Chronicles: the History of England* (1577) P. 68.

Figure n° 3: Woodcut showing Voada leading her army of ladies against the Romans. *Holinshed's Chronicle: the History of Scotland* (1577) P. 68.

Figure n° 4: Woodcut showing the execution of Voada's daughter, Vodicia. *Holinshed's Chronicles: the History of Scotland* (1577) P. 69.

Figure n° 5: Woodcut of an ancient British woman called Boudica. John Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (1611) and his *Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (1612) P. 77.

Figure n° 6. The gold coin Speed attributes to Boudica. P. 80.

Figure n° 7: Thomas Thornycroft's bronze statue in London (1902). P. 287.

Figure n° 8: James Harvard Thomas's marble statue of Boudica and her Daughters (1916), Cardiff Civic Hall. P. 289.

Figure n° 9: Newspaper cartoon of Margaret Thatcher during the Falklands War; *The Daily Express* (24 June 1982) P. 290.

Figure n° 10: Newspaper cartoon of Margaret Thatcher; the General Elections of 1987. *The Daily Telegraph* (11 June 1987) P. 291.

Figure n° 11: An advertisement for the Ford Motor Company published in *The Independent* 10th August, 2003. P. 292.

Introduction:
The Deployment of Boudica in the Early Modern Period

"Man was born free and everywhere he is in chains." Jean-Jacques Rousseau[1]

Fascinated by the British myth of Boudica I began my research into her life and times with the ambition of writing a story. Curious to know what others before me had produced in this field I started to look at representations of Boudica by other historical novelists. I also wanted to understand how the historical Boudica of 60 AD had been transfigured over the years into the icon we have of her today. This desire led me back to the early modern period in British history, the moment when Boudica's story was re-discovered in the classical texts and began to circulate in the academic fields of the Tudor period. My original background in archaeology, ancient history and journalism was a curious prop, but one which has helped me to excavate the literary and non-literary traces of Boudica in the different fields covered by this work.

In 60-61 AD the Icenian queen, Boudica tried to free herself, her family and her people from oppressive Roman rule in England. She ultimately failed and died and her tribe was all but wiped out in Roman reprisals. England, Wales and parts of south Scotland became Romanised and Boudica faded from the collective memory of the Britons. However, the written account of Boudica's revolt was taken down by two Roman historians, Dio Cassius, writing in Greek, and Tacitus, writing in Latin. After the fall of the Roman Empire and other upheavals in European history those documents were all but inaccessible to scholars; Dio because he survived only in epitomes written by Xiphilinus in Greek, and Tacitus because a number of his documents were irrevocably lost. Through the greatest historical chance some of Tacitus's manuscripts were 'rediscovered' by a restricted number of church agents and Italian scholars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and these texts were copied and archived. The invention of the printing press around 1440 ensured the further dissemination of the classical works and was one of the motors of the Italian

[1] *Social Contract,* 1762.

Renaissance. It was thanks to the Italian scholar, Polydore Virgil, that the story of Boudica was reintroduced to an English public in the early sixteenth century. His *Anglia Historia* was to have far-reaching consequences on English historical thought and one which began Boudica's resuscitation and consequent trajectory across the political and social stages of the Tudor and early Stuart periods.

This diachronic study of Boudica tries to give a general overview of the ways in which the story of Boudica was presented and represented in the early modern period by different social and political actors who wanted to give credence and support to their own particular belief systems. Furthermore, the representations of Boudica and the misapprehensions surrounding her story have to be set within the framework of a developing consciousness of the nation and of the self. The period has been referred to as one of "self-fashioning" by Stephen Greenblatt[2], an expression which defines the process by which men and women, as subjects of a state, construct their public and social identities, including class allegiance and gender roles, according to the social and political values of the early modern period, but where was that nation to be found? Early historical writers pose this very fundamental question as England emerges from the medieval period into the early modern period of new technology, greater social and geographic mobility, learning and knowledge. Annabel Patterson argues in *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* that the didactic purpose of historical texts, such as *Holinshed's Chronicles,* was to show an Englishman what it meant to be English,[3] whilst other literary historians demonstrate convincingly that the historians of the sixteenth century purposefully "constructed" their English past in order to define their Englishness.[4] This echoes the work of Hayden White who had argued as early as the 1970's that history was as much a "making" of a story as it was a "finding" of the facts.[5]

However, an important paradox of this English identity lay in its British antiquity. Philip Schwyzer argues in *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*[6] that the ancient nation imagined in the literary works of Shakespeare and Edmund Spenser, and, as I will also demonstrate, in the works of

[2] Greenblatt, S. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.* London, University of Chicago Press, 1980.
[3] Patterson, A. *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 23.
[4] See the book, *John Stow (1525-1605) And the Making of the English Past (*Gadd, I. & Gillespie, A. (eds.). London: British Library. 2004.) wherein a number of the essays illustrate this idea.
[5] White, H. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. p. 54.
[6] Schwyzer, P. *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Fletcher, was not England but Britain. This may well be explained by the popular influence of the Italian Renaissance and England's veneration for the classical authors of Roman antiquity who had identified the British Isles as a mysterious block on the very fringes of their known world. The Britons of these unknown islands were seen as marginal and 'other'. In an effort to be integrated into the civilised world of Roman history English historians, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century, had elaborated an interesting, but factually unsound, British myth of origin based on the Trojan ancestor of Brutus. Enter Boudica in the sixteenth century, an authentic but radical Briton, who challenged pre-conceived perceptions and inventions of national identity and forced historians to reassess the 'facts'.

We can say then, that this is a study of national memory tracing the historical re-birth and circulation of Boudica's story in the Tudor period to the imaginative re-configurations of her body in the early seventeenth century. More specifically this thesis covers the ideological and cultural significance of representations of Boudica during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I but also looks at the wider implications of representations of Boudica in the literary and non-literary records of the period in an attempt to understand her legendary and iconic status in Britain's national memory. Here, it is perhaps useful to refer to Edward Said's understanding of cultural discourse; that what is circulated within a given culture and period "is not 'truth' but representations."[7] He was of course referring to an Occidental writer's position of exteriority to his subject matter (Orientalism) and that writer's sense of superiority in the social, political and military hierarchy when describing the 'foreign' lands of the Orient, but Said's reference to exteriority can also be applied to Tacitus's and Dio's relationship to the Roman colony of Britain, and later to early modern representations of Britain's mythical, primitive and colonised pasts, which included Boudica.

I try to approach the story of Boudica in an interdisciplinary way by using the historical and archaeological knowledge we have of her and by drawing upon popular imagination in literature, music and the visual arts. On Boudica's way to the top she is re-processed and re-marketed several times but it is during Elizabeth I's reign and then James I's that images of Boudica are really distilled and shaped for the clearly defined political and social needs of the day, and these early representations of the warrior

---

[7] Said, E. W. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* New Delhi : Penguin Books India, 2001. p. 21.

queen set the tone for future depictions of the nation's greatest female patriot. Under Elizabeth I England affirms a more self-confident and self-conscious national identity based on political, religious and cultural unity. When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 the country had followed the religious pendulum of four different monarchs in just twelve years, and the reign of a Catholic woman, Elizabeth's older sister, 'Bloody' Mary had provided a negative and violent role model for women. Elizabeth's reign may have offered stability, peace, religious tolerance and unity for her country but at the beginning of her reign she had to forge a strong public image of herself as a political, religious and military leader; no easy feat for a young, unmarried woman of illegitimate birth.

With no police force or standing army monarchs were dependant on the support of the people for political and social control of the nation. According to Michel Foucault this was achieved through the discursive practice of the state and the arts, which are frequently a reinforcement of the dominant ideology.[8] Through the state control of education, of worship and through representations of the national body the monarch could control what people thought and what they believed. Louis Althusser originally demonstrated this phenomenon by making the same distinction between the visible state apparatuses of control, which in the Tudor and Stuart periods included the systems of censorship and criminal justice, and the ideological state apparatuses of schools, politics, the arts, sports.[9] Althusser poses the question of how, as individual subjects, we internalise and come to believe, or not believe, the ideologies generated by such institutions. Ideologies, he argues, use the same rhetorical formatting of persuasive communication because they 'interpellate' individuals as subjects by addressing them directly.[10] All texts (here I mean any cultural artefact) interpellate the reader or viewer by making a direct address to him or her as a subject.

Further identity of the self with the ideology is produced by creating a sense of empathy and emulation in the subject for the belief system presented. Eagleton posits that successful ideologies are those that succeed in making their beliefs appear natural, self-evident and universal.[11] In this way they are rationalised and legitimated by the individual and thus internalised: "a mode of domination is generally legitimated when those subjected to it come to judge their own behaviour by the criteria of their

---

[8] Foucault, M. *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*. Gallimard: Paris, 1975.
[9] Althusser, L. 'Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'Etat;' *La Pensée*, n° 151, Paris. May-June, 1970.
[10] Ibid., p. 29.
[11] Eagleton, T. *Ideology: an Introduction.* London: Verso. 1991. p. 58.

rulers."[12] This is a view of consciousness as something which is socially determined by the dominant ideology. We are thus restrained, as Rousseau believed, by the invisible “chains” of state control quoted at the beginning.

Intelligent and highly educated Elizabeth succeeded in proving her capacity to ‘control’ the English subject and she did this by creating a cult around the icon of herself, which focused national loyalty and patriotic fervour in the person of the monarch. The Privy Council was instrumental in encouraging and rewarding all positive representations of the Queen in the public fields and these, of course, included parallels with Boudica in the arts. References to Boudica helped Elizabeth shape her own military and religious position, but they also helped affirm traditional gender roles.

It is within this framework of political stability and unity that England’s economy and the arts flourished. The English Renaissance developed rapidly and was highly successful in helping to shape a monolithic culture for England founded on a single language and national history, a history that was no longer necessarily written in Latin but in English. As writers such as Edmund Spenser strove to express “the kingdom of our own language”[13] the English language was formalised under the literary pens of Spenser, Ben Jonson, Fletcher and Shakespeare. English architecture and new building techniques proclaimed England’s affluence and self-confidence. And for the first time the physical depiction of the nation and its frontiers was published in a single work, Christopher Saxton’s *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1580), whilst music and the visual arts displayed a new feeling of optimism and faith in the nation.

In the case of James I, the groundwork had been prepared for him, but as king of two nations he aspired to unite Scotland with the kingdom of England and Wales. However, arriving in England with a wife and children in 1603 James stood in stark contrast to Elizabeth’s virgin reign. After forty-five years of a strong female monarch James was eager to impress his own identity onto the ‘British’ landscape. References to strong female leaders, particularly unmarried ones, fell out of favour as women

[12] Ibid. Eagleton. p. 55.
[13] A letter from Spenser to Gabriel Harvey in 1580. Cf. Helgerson. R. “The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England.” *Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Greenblatt, S. London: University of Chicago Press, 1988. p. 327.

were re-consigned to the home and family. Boudica becomes a by-word for political and social subversion.

The homo-social stamp of James's reign may well explain Boudica's partial effacement from the plays and from history. As we shall see under the reigns of Mary and of Elizabeth the arguments in favour of, or against, female rule were based either on evidence taken from the Scriptures, such as Genesis II and III, Timothy I, Corinthians I and Deuteronomy XVIII, or on examples of successful female role models from history, which undermined the authority of the Scriptures. Arguments used by the former included such men as Knox and Goodman who regarded the Scriptures as law whilst defenders of female rule, such as Aylmer, Leslie and Chambers, generally based their evidence on references to the past and placed the Scriptures within their social and political times. Constance Jordan's analysis of this debate provides a clear interpretation of the two arguments, writing that the "arguments in support of woman's rule are based on systematic criticism of forms of traditional philosophical thought; they attack the notion that a woman's place is a feature of the hierarchy of creation and instead show it to be subject to social and historical forces."[14]

She includes an enlightening linguistic argument used by Leslie which again confirms that gender identity is as much a question of cultural convention as of biology. Leslie argues that translations of the gender forms from the classical languages into English generally exclude the female because the feminine gender in the ancient languages is always included within the masculine form.[15] Thus the interests of women were prejudiced in linguistic interpretations of religious, civil and political law. Jordan concludes Leslie's point by stating: "His observations that in scripture and in legal language the feminine element in human is routinely elided and that so obscured it remains only to be signified by inference, points to the possibility that women vanish from significance - that is to say, are not represented - in other modes of expression as well."[16]

If they were represented in the cultural arts it was as the docile, obedient daughter or wife. So how could the literary texts deal with Boudica's story, which was effectively that of a powerful, decisive and intelligent woman, that of the liberated

[14] Jordan, C. 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought,' *Renaissance Quarterly,* 40, (1987), pp. 421-51. p. 426.
[15] Ibid. Jordan. p. 443.
[16] Ibid. Jordan. p. 444.

widow and avenging mother? Writers seem to have chosen one of two avenues; in Elizabeth's reign and in parts of James's reign Boudica was represented as an exception to the female rule. Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (1609) followed Edmund Spenser's interpretation of her as a patriotic and courageous woman by placing her "'Bove women's weakness."[17] She is interpreted as a positive role model but not to be equalled except perhaps by Elizabeth I and Queen Anne, James's wife, who was being honoured by Jonson, although the masque itself was dedicated to her son, Henry, "Prince of Great Britain."[18] Alternatively, writers in the reign of James I chose to discredit Boudica's reign by representing her as an ambitious and calculating mother, as she was in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, or as a reckless and incompetent leader, as she was in John Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca.*

James also sought to instigate changes to the monarch's national status. By uniting the crowns of Scotland, England and Wales under one sovereign James re-styled himself "King of Great Britain,"[19] and as we see with Jonson's reference to Prince Henry as "Prince of Great Britain," artists followed this innovation. The concept of Great Britain is an ambivalent one which clearly places England at its heart and served to support and justify its imperial aspirations, which can be identified as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The chorographical work of John Speed, *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (1611), places the Roman name for Britain, Britannia (which at the time of the Roman conquest was just South England), in the middle of the cover plate and the frontispiece shows a figure for each historical race of Britain which are drawn upon to promote England's national heritage and imperial strength, an image which combined the courage of the ancient Briton with the civilising effect of the Romans. An ancient Briton stands at the top flanked by a Roman and a Saxon. The Proeme on the following page reads: "To the learned and lovers of Great Britaines Glory."[20] However, whilst many literary and political works referred to the national subject as a Briton there were clear historical, linguistic and physical boundaries between England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

[17] Jonson, B. *The Masque of Queens. The Complete Masques.* New Haven and London: Gale University Press, 1969. The Appendix, p. 545. Jonson tells us that he has taken his inspiration for Boudica from Spenser's *Ruins of Time* (lines 106-11.)
[18] Ibid. Jonson. p. 478.
[19] This was not a new idea and was introduced in Elizabeth's reign. Earlier references are known and I discuss these in chapter three in the section, 'King of Great Britain.'
[20] Speed, J. *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans.* London: Iohn Sudbury and Georg Humble. 1611.

The following work looks at the ways in which Boudica's story was fragmented and communicated in popular culture. It also examines the different apparatuses of state ideology which processed the social, religious and political representations of Boudica for public absorption. The concept of the circulation of social energy leads the new historicist, Stephen Greenblatt, to examine the "cultural transactions through which great works of art are empowered" and how "collective beliefs and experiences were shaped, moved from one medium to another, concentrated in manageable aesthetic form, offered for consumption".[21] These works are offered for consumption and exchange in such forms as public and school plays, in pageants and other public representations. In this way Greenblatt considers the audience as a collectivity, but the consumption of cultural artefacts can also be on an individual basis in the home through the reading of books or in the public viewing of paintings. He is particularly interested in understanding how such a cultural artefact retains its social energy despite the passage of time. How is it that Shakespeare's plays still retain their vitality for us in the twenty-first century when other plays, such as those by Beaumont and Fletcher, have lost their original energy? By energy he means the emotional force to move someone to great depths of feeling, a definition inspired by the ancient Greek rhetorical tradition. Greenblatt identifies the life force of an individual work of art as the historical consequence of the social energy "encoded" in such works: "whereas most collective expressions moved from their original setting to a new place or time are dead on arrival, the social energy encoded in certain works of art continues to generate the illusion of life for centuries."[22]

Greenblatt finds it difficult to answer the question: what exactly is social energy? He offers up an answer based partly on the emotive effects a cultural artefact has on its public. However, I would suggest that social energy is like a cultural bank of ideas that all members of a society freely access and pay into in all their linguistic and cultural exchanges everyday. Individuals are exposed to different stimuli and react in different ways to communication. The social energy of any given culture is not static but in constant dynamic movement. What is more, each social group and culture is interdependent of other groups; each group's cultural expressions are

[21] Greenblatt, S. 'The Circulation of Social Energy.' Chapter 31, in *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader.* Edited by Lodge, D. London: Longman, 2000, p. 498. See also Greenblatt, S. 'The Circulation of Social Energy.' Chapter 1, in *Shakespearean Negotiations.* pp. 4-5.
[22] Ibid. Greenblatt. *Modern Criticism*, p. 499 and *Shakespearean Negotiations,* p. 7.

connected to other groups by a matrix of social energy which allows the free exchange of ideas. Thus all cultural productions are related for arguably there is no such thing as an original idea, only the evolution of ideas which are vocalised from time to time by those able to harness the social energy circulating in society. Hence art produces and is a product of the culture in which it works. This is nicely resumed by Louis Montrose in his essay, "Shaping Fantasies," in which he takes Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as an example of a cultural artefact, and observes: "it ... creates the culture by which it is created, shapes the fantasies by which it is shaped, begets that by which it is begotten."[23]

Such an understanding of social dynamics allows for the manipulation and exploitation of linguistic signs and cultural symbols by individuals and also by the state in what Greenblatt calls the 'totalizing society' of the Renaissance period. By totalising society he means "one that posits an occult network linking all human, natural, and cosmic powers and that claims on behalf of its ruling elite a privileged place in the network. Such a society generates vivid dreams of access to the linked powers and vests control of this access in a religious and state bureaucracy at whose pinnacle is the symbolic figure of the monarch."[24] Evidence of this exploitation is apparent in the domain of ideology when one group, usually the dominant one, appropriates another's cultural symbols in order to authenticate and strengthen its own power base. An example of this was when Elizabeth I appropriated symbols of the Virgin Mary in order to present her own religious ideology and thus ensure social order and cohesion, and also consolidate her political and military position in the male-world of the sixteenth century. Greenblatt defines this process as the improvisation of power: "The Anglican Church and the monarch who was its Supreme Head did not, as radical Protestants demanded, eradicate Catholic ritual but rather improvised within it in an attempt to assume its power."[25]

Greenblatt sees improvisation as a central mode of behaviour in the Renaissance, one that exploited the state apparatus of the church, the family, the arts and education in order to transmit the ideological discourses of the state. However, the term 'ideology' needs to be clarified for the purposes of the current study. According to

---

[23] Montrose, L.A.' "Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture.' Op. Cit., *Representing the English Renaissance.* p. 56.
[24] Op. cit., Greenblatt. *Modern Criticism,* p. 496 and *Shakespearean Negotiations,* p. 2.
[25] Greenblatt, S. 'The Improvisation of Power.' in *The New Historicism Reader.* London: Routledge, 1994. p. 52.

Terry Eagleton there are at least sixteen definitions of ideology in current circulation[26] but I understand ideology as the process of formulating, or reformulating, signs and meanings in order to legitimate a dominant political belief system. Sometimes these same signs can be re-processed in order to change an ideological position or to challenge the dominant group or simply to represent the ideological position of other minor social groups. However, whilst the social energy unleashed by Boudica's story could circulate under the guiding hand of the state, that energy could not always be controlled by the dominant ideology. Occasionally, it could be subverted, knowingly or unknowingly, by those seeking to express a different ideological position; by neofeminists, radicals or intellectuals.

Chapter one of this thesis introduces the long historiographical revolution to which Boudica's story contributed in the writings of the sixteenth century, and asks the question: what did history mean in early modern England? Historians felt obliged to re-assess and re-write British history, particularly Britain's myths of origin. Such national heroes as Brutus, King Arthur and Robin Hood had to make room for Boudica. But even this was not enough; the whole tradition of historical writing was challenged by such men as Polydore Vergil, John Stow, William Camden and Edmund Bolton who moved away from writing annals and chronicles to writing historical narratives.[27] According to Hayden White this movement towards a more self-conscious form of historical discourse was only possible because a certain level of public order had been attained, and sustained, in the early Modern period, a time which followed the "cultural breakdown" of the early Middle Ages. [28] The new narrative form created a cohesive unity within a given community, which served the ideological function of asserting the meaningful nature of the past and the social significance of the present. This function was often supported, controlled, or at least regulated by a central power which corresponds to Hegel's reference to the shared "internal vital principal" of narrative discourse: "politics, which was both the

[26] Op. Cit., Eagleton. *Ideology.* p. 1-2.
[27] Hayden White characterises the chronicle, as opposed to that of the historical narrative, as a form of historical discourse which has no closure, "for the want of which," he writes, "the chronicle form is adjudged to be deficient as a narrative." *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1987. p. 21. Further on he also outlines the characteristics of an historical narrative: "In historical discourse, the narrative serves to transform into a story a list of historical events that would otherwise be only a chronicle." p. 43. Needless to say the annals form "lacks completely this narrative component, since it consists only of a list of events ordered in chronological sequence." p. 5.
[28] Ibid. p. 3.

precondition of the kind of interest in the past that informed historical consciousness and the pragmatic basis for the production and preservation of the kinds of records that made historical inquiry possible."[29]

Furthermore, we have a bewildering number of definitions concerning the forms that historical narratives can take, as the following quotation from Graham Swift demonstrates:

> There are times when we have to disentangle history from fairy-tale. There are times (...) when good, dry, textbook history takes a plunge into the old swamps of myth and has to be retrieved with empirical fishing lines. History, being an accredited sub-science, only wants to know the facts. History, if it is to keep on constructing its roads into the future, must do so on solid ground. At all costs let us avoid mystery-making and speculation, secrets and idle gossip. And, for God's sake, nothing supernatural. And, above all, let us not tell stories.[30]

It is a fairy tale, a myth, a story, a sub-science based on facts, an empirical analysis of the past and a sort of SWOT analysis of the future.[31] In the academic field we find different adherents to these definitions. Collingwood, for example, saw history as an enquiry into the past and as such a science[32] whilst Carr saw history as an on-going exchange between the past and the present: "My first answer therefore to the question 'what is history?" writes Carr, "is that it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past."[33] Note that this is his first definition since he also adheres to the other views of history as an analysis of causation and result, as a prediction of the future, as interpretation and conjecture, as a narrative and as a figurative representation of the past.

It seems then that history tries to occupy a "neutral middle ground that supposedly exists between art and science," writes Hayden White.[34] He traces this definition back to the nineteenth century: "historians frequently look back upon the

---

[29] Ibid. p. 29.
[30] Swift, G. *Waterland.* London: Picador. 1983. p. 86 My thanks to Dr Ben Winsworth for recommending this novel to me which is a fictional autobiography about a history teacher.
[31] A SWOT analysis is a business term used to identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in a business environment so a company can make provision for its future development.
[32] Collingwood, R.G. *The Idea of History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1946.
[33] Carr, E.H. *What is History?* London: Penguin. 1961. p. 30.
[34] White, H. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. p. 27.

early nineteenth century as the classic age of their discipline, not only because history emerged as a distinct way of looking at the world at that time, but also because there was a close working relationship and interchange between history, art, science, and philosophy."[35] This may be so, but perhaps we can look a little further back in time to another historically determined conception of history, that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and perhaps we will find the genesis of these definitions or, at the very least, a metamorphosis of these terms.

The following ideas are taken from Daniel Woolf's essay *'Erudition and the Idea of History in Renaissance England,'*[36] which sums up previous work in the field. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it seems that historians were determined by their subject matter and their public position. A scholar's political experience played an important role in his designation as a historian. Camden, for example, was accused by the York herald, Ralph Brooke, of usurping the title of historian to which he had no claim because he had no political experience: "And doutles for a meere scholler to be an historian that must take up all by hearesay, and uncertaine rumors, not being acquainted with the secretes and occurrences of state matters, I take it (as many other affirme with me,) verie unfit, and dangerous."[37] Clearly then, historians were not yet defined by their methods.

The subject matter had to concern past politics and could take any representational form; that of a poem, a chronicle or annals, narrative prose or even a ballad but what they all had in common, according to Woolf, was their story-telling element, and this didn't necessarily have to be true: "All these genres have two features in common: they tell stories, true or false, about real or imaginary men and women who lived in the remote or recent past; and they take the form not of a synchronic inventory of information but of a diachronic narrative."[38] By the end of the sixteenth century these forms also included history plays, antiquarian treatises and chorographies but they no longer covered just politics. Representations of the past had begun to include the study of institutions and the social and cultural changes to that past but a difference had emerged between narrative history and descriptive history. Narrative history usually, but not exclusively, took the form of chronicles, annals and

[35] Ibid. p. 41.
[36] *Renaissance Quartlerly.* 40, 11-48. 1987.
[37] Ibid. Woolf. p. 25. Ralph Brooke, *A discoverie of certaine errours published in print in the much commended Britannia* (London, 1596), "*To maister Camden*"; Mark Noble, *A History of the College of Arms* (London, 1804), pp. 240-45.
[38] Ibid. Woolf. p. 19.

histories, whilst descriptive history took more the form of an inventory of factual knowledge about geography, topography, institutions, philology, numismatics and archival records and was identified more as the domain of antiquaries than that of historians.

With the widespread dissemination of new ideas, and old ones, publishers were interested in historians that gave their works an advantageous edge in the competitive world of the book business. The marketing rivalry between Stow and Graften is touched upon as an interesting anecdote which illustrates the epistemological threshold which historical methodology had achieved by the end of the Tudor period. John Stow is a good example of the new generation of historians. By the end of his career he had become more interested in the past, not for its didactic lessons, but for the sake of knowledge *per se* and advocated a multi-disciplinary approach which sought to use all the available sources; historical, anthropological, numismatic and archaeological, in an attempt to interpret past societies.

The greatest of these new antiquarians was of course William Camden. He developed the antiquarian study of the material remains of the past coupled with a critical study of historical texts, and his encyclopaedic oeuvre, *Britannia,* remained a model for historians for the next two hundred years. An anthropological interest in the discoveries of the new world also added a new lustre to the interpretation of such ancient savages as Boudica. By comparison with American Indians and Eskimos in such works as Theodor De Bry's *America* (1590) the ancient Briton was endowed with a new pedigree of nobility[39] and seemingly presents an allegory of Britain's Golden Age before the Fall with "the Indians as 'savage critics' of European society, similar to More's Utopians, and able to point out the excesses resulting from the European departure from the virtues of the simple life of pastoral living."[40] Andrew Hadfield's interpretation of De Bry's views also includes the early Modern Briton's mission to colonise the Americas and civilise the Indians.[41] De Bry's work includes engravings of the early "neighbour[s] to the Pictes" (the Britons) based on drawings from earlier works and his plate V was later reproduced by John Speed in *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans (*1611) and

[39] We need to be careful with such phrasing since the expression, the "noble savage," didn't appear until Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* in 1672.
[40] Hadfield, A. *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. p. 117.
[41] Ibid. Hadfield. p. 121.

The Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine (1612) in which the ancient British woman is given a name, Boudica.

The final part of this chapter examines the ways in which history was taught and transmitted to the British subject. Schools did teach history but this followed the humanist tradition of teaching ancient history from the classical texts in Latin and Greek. However, the private reading of British history books in the vernacular was encouraged by both schools and private tutors for active learning and private study. Furthermore, schools did put on their own history plays as part of the school curriculum.

However, the most entertaining and visually memorable form of the diffusion of British history would have been through the public representations of pageants, court masques and history plays. There were public theatres in London, travelling theatre companies for the counties and royal troupes for court masques. In his *Apology for Actors,* Heywood claims that history plays in particular were often used as instruments of control to teach "subjects obedience to their king," an objective achieved through showing them "the untimely end of such as have moved tumults, commotions and insurrections."[42] Here, Heywood was writing under King James who not only sought direct control of the theatres, in contrast to Elizabeth, but who also advocated the wide practice of sports and festivities, which he saw as an effective funnel for diverting people's subversive energy away from the field of politics and may well have been inspired by the Roman emperors' policy of providing bread and circuses for the Roman populace in order to avoid popular unrest.

For the ‘circuses’ Monarchs, city mayors and aldermen frequently financed public pageants in the streets and public buildings as a means of celebrating national events and public holidays, and to teach virtue and obedience through allegorical tableaux. Pageants such as those celebrating the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne and that of Elizabeth I's accession often depicted scenes from history and legend. The pageant celebrating Mary I's wedding to Philip II of Spain in 1554, for example, blended scenes from English history and the history of the Catholic Church. According to Turner-Wright this pageant also included Boudica in its roster.[43] This may be so. However, C. B. Millican's reference to *Spenser and the Table Round,* cited

[42] Heywood, *An Apology for Actors.* cf. Dollimore. Op. Cit., p. 8.
[43] Turner Wright, C. ‘The Elizabethan Female Worthies,’ (pp. 628-43), *Studies in Philology,* vol 43, October 1946. p. 628.

by Turner-Wright, parallels Elizabeth and Boudica not Mary and Boudica.[44] Neither does Sydney Anglo mention Boudica in relation to Mary's pageants in his book, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy.*[45] Needless to say, such conflicting evidence illustrates the difficulties involved when re-tracing representations of Boudica in the early modern period.

The representation of history as an ideological state apparatus is developed in chapters two, three and four. It is seen as a political and social pawn to be appropriated by different ideological groups. In the case of the ruling dynasty the chronicle writers and poets often supported the ruling family, implicitly or explicitly, through their written work. Both sets of writers saw their role as one of didactic guide, teaching by example and showing readers what it meant to be a loyal subject of the nation. In exchange they received royal patronage and other favours. For those who did not follow the party line there remained the repressive system of censorship, fines, public maiming and execution.

Chapter two focuses on Elizabeth's reign in which the study of women's history is a rich field of political discourse. As we look at representations of women from England's past we see how certain female figures were conceived and misconceived and how they were used to answer the needs and desires of the social and political scenes. The revelation of Boudica placed women firmly at the beginning of British history, whilst such gynarchies as those of Boudica, Cartimandua and Cordelia helped shape military and political power for female leaders. Part of the political and military representation of women at this time also included a religious dimension; Boudica, as priestess, goddess and defender of Druidism paralleled Elizabeth's own position as defender of the faith. This is clearly represented in Edmund Spenser's epic poem, *The Faerie Queene* (1590), a complex allegory in which Spenser aims to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline"[46] and in so doing he explores the moral virtues necessary for a "gentleman." Concepts of female rule, religious leadership, military strength and imperial ambition are explored through the

---

[44] Millican, C.B. 'Spenser and the Table Round,' *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature*, Vol viii. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1932. p. 41. Quoting Humphrey Lhuyd's *The Breviary of Britayne* (1572) Millican writes; "Elisabeth occupied a role in English history 'like that of her prece doing sister worthies: Boadicea or 'bunduica, that valiant manlike dame.'"

[45] Anglo,S. *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.1969.

[46] Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene.* England: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1999. Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 811.

double personages of Gloriana and Elizabeth (who are both absent from the poem), Britomart and Radigund, who represent military strength through the allegory of chastity and lust, and lastly Mercilla and Duessa/Queen of Scots, again representations of Protestant virtue and Catholic impiety.

Many of the female characters are mirror images of Elizabeth; such is the case of Britomart whose dynastic cursor I follow because Spenser tells us that Britomart is the descendant of Bunduca (Boudica) and the ancestor of Elizabeth. Thus, he effectively reproduces Boudica in the person of Elizabeth, a move which uses history in order to legitimise the reign of a woman on the throne of England and to prove a woman's capacity to rule. It needs to be added though that Spenser chose only to concentrate on certain aspects of Boudica's story. She is represented as a courageous patriotic and heroic leader whilst such negative qualities as her cruelty and pride are not mentioned. The dichotomy of Boudica's positive and negative qualities were faced to a certain extent by another writer, Petruccio Ubaldini, whose *Le Vite delle donne illustri, del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia* (1591) split Boudica into two queens, Voadicia, the 'good' queen and Bunduica, the 'bad' one. However, although this work was published and circulated within the English court it has never been fully translated from its original Italian into English. In my appendix I include the first complete translations into English and French of Ubaldini's chapters on Boudica and Cartimandua.[47]

However, whereas Britomart/Bunduca/Elizabeth's militant chastity was interpreted as God's will defending Europe's Protestant faith, it was also exploited as a bridge helping English society adjust from the loss of such Roman Catholic icons as the Virgin Mary and embrace the more male-centred Anglican church in which all other women were excluded from religious roles except that of nun or nurse. Elizabeth's virgin role apart, the move from Catholic iconolatry to protestant militarism actually heightened men's religious duties and educational responsibilities within the family to the detriment of those of women.

What a paradox then that Elizabethan 'feminism' did not liberate women. On the contrary, history portrayed such women as Boudica and Elizabeth as extraordinary women, they were an exception to the norm and the monarchy actually lost power to Parliament under Elizabeth. The situation worsened under James I, for women in

[47] Dr Sandrine Soltane-Castellana translated the Italian texts into French for me. I translated the texts from French into English. Dr Valentina Vulpi translated the Italian texts into English for me. Both have granted permission for the reproduction of their translations in this thesis.

power were actually defeminised and demonised as they were pushed to the margins of British history. Boudica's myth of origins was re-interpreted as a representation of the dividing line between the savage woman of nature and the civilised man of culture. Her rebellion was seen as an act of female insubordination against the natural order of patriarchy, an act which ultimately led to the loss of the nation and its reconstruction as a more Roman and masculine commonwealth. According to Jodi Mikalachki's informed and ground-breaking work, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England,*[48] the story of Boudica seemed to encapsulate early modern anxieties about female rule. Boudica became emblematic, as did Cartimandua, of that period's belief in the savage excess of females in positions of power. Examples of powerful women in history seemed to illustrate this point. In her section, "The Savage Breast;"[49] Mikalachki argues that the Boudican atrocity story related by Holinshed in his *Chronicles* demonstrates this early modern belief in women's naturally excessive and violent nature.

As the title of Mikalachki's book suggests her themes and subject material are similar to the ones covered in this thesis. However, whereas Mikalachki explores the representation of women and of the nation in the early modern period, from the Elizabethan period up until the English Restoration of the 1660's, I focus more closely on traces of Boudica in the literary and non-literary texts of the Tudor and Jacobean periods. I analyse other historiographical texts for representations of Boudica such as Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland,* Humphrey Llwyd's *The Breuiary of Britayne* and Edmund Bolton's *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraued*. As I have a background in archaeology and ancient history I also include references to Boudica in the archaeological field. On the literary side I follow Mikalachki's lead in making an analogy between Shakespeare's unnamed queen in *Cymbeline* and Britain's ancient queen, Boudica, but I also explore other sources for Shakespeare's inspiration. Furthermore, I have chosen not to develop work into Shakespeare's *King Lear*, but concentrate instead on John Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca*.

If the didactic nature of history showed the devastating effects of female leadership, the literary texts firmly advocated the need to tame the wild heart of women. From a positive image under Elizabeth to a very negative one under James,

---

[48] Mikalachki, J. *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation*. London: Routledge, 1998.
[49] Ibid. Mikalachki. p. 129.

Boudica was slowly but surely domesticated as women were pushed out of public roles into the private sphere of the home and family. Chapters three and four explore this phenomenon through Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and John Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca* respectively. Whilst the plot to *Cymbeline* is visibly framed by James's concerns to unite his kingdoms into the harmonious and imperial block of Great Britain, Shakespeare also exploits such themes as national origins, gender politics and the role of women in society. In this play it is Cymbeline's unnamed queen who is taken as a representation of Boudica but I also explore other sources for this character such as Boudica's near-contemporary, Cartimandua, especially since Cartimandua is more clearly defined as the treacherous step-mother and outsider to England in our historical texts. Similar ideas are apparent in *The Tragedie of Bondua* and despite the apparent difference in genre (the former is a romance and the latter is a tragedy) they both end with a reconciliation between the coloniser and the colonised, and with the exclusion of women from the historical and political stages. Another facet of the debate over gender politics is that of sexual identity and it is fascinating to note how Boudica is used by Fletcher as a foil onto which he projects a critical assessment of heterosexual relations. One reading of this play, as I shall argue in chapter four, seems to promulgate homo-erotic desire and the superiority of male-male love over that of a man for a woman.

The literary works I have chosen to examine, from *The Faerie Queene* to *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* are a good example of the dichotomy involved when discussing representations of Boudica. On the one hand she is represented as a national heroine and a virgin warrior of Protestantism, and on the other she is seen as an incompetent war leader, as a cruel queen and a savage mother. The only room left for women in society was within marriage. Amazons such as Boudica stood outside society and could only be integrated into that society through violence and marriage just as the 'noble savage' of Britain's new American and Irish colonies could only be integrated into civilisation through assimilation with the British Empire.

Another theme discussed throughout this study is the way in which Boudica's story vocalised national identity. Recycled as a national myth, Boudica, just like Elizabeth, was dehumanised and turned into an icon. Through the epic work of *The Faerie Queene* and other nationalistic poems the story of Boudica helped to forge a collective memory and image for the nation. Under James's rule though, Boudica's nationalistic position was taken to the extreme in order to highlight the excesses of

women's nature. It was the radically patriotic and isolationist policies of such warrior queens as Bonduca in *The Tragedie of Bonduca* and of *Cymbeline's* unnamed queen that was seen as a dangerous and excessive version of female nationalism. Yet, despite the charge of radical rebel Boudica's patriotic stance struck a chord in British minds. As a home-grown heroine Boudica greatly contributed to the idea of Britishness and became a focus for national unity, identity and imperial aspirations, remaining that focal point even today.

Boudica's patriotic stance drew upon the ancient Celtic tradition of representing the land as a healthy and fertile female deity that ensured the nation's protection and continued regeneration. Early modern cartographic representations of the nation may have shown lines of discontinuity between the Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans, but the frontispiece to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* showed the land as an earthy, bountiful woman. His personification of the land as an allegorical figure of fertility and abundance was shown to be the source of identity for the English nation and the element of continuity in British history. However, representations of the monarch as the land and as the nation revealed the weak chink in the dynastic armour of the Boudica-Britomart-Elizabeth figure of the *Faerie Queene*, for the cartography of the period opened up the conceptual gap between the nation as a dynasty and the nation as the land. Just as James's authority sought to break Elizabeth's female link to the land by appropriating maternal authority, his more masculine and Roman notion of the nation paved the way to the future commonwealth of men a generation later. And as Richard Helgerson wrote: the "conceptual gap between the land and its ruler ... would eventually span battlefields."[50]

Often dramatised in plays, operas and statues Boudica is now an integral part of the British cultural landscape. Alongside other national icons such as Britannia, she was even used to justify the rule of the British Empire over subordinated peoples. Her brand name became so powerful in the twentieth century that rival factions competed for her image. And surprisingly that image has fragmented into a host of different meanings in different locations. From Celtic feminist to international freedom fighter, Boudica can be interpreted in a variety of ways, some of them rather ironic considering that she herself had no national identity. However, there is a new movement to return Boudica to her original roots. Mel Gibson, actor and director, is

[50] Op. Cit. Helgerson. p. 332.

currently making a film of her[51] whilst the new biography *Boudica* by Vanessa Collingridge tries to humanise the person beneath the myth of Boudica.[52]

I end this thesis with a brief overview of the ways in which her myth has been deconstructed and re-interpreted for popular consumption in the last two centuries. In the twentieth century her image had already begun to fragment under the growing demands of women's rights, the pressure of national devolution and conflicting rival factions all trying to possess her brand image; a singular victory and irony for Britain's lost heroine. In order to review this process, my project identifies traces of Boudica in different cultural artefacts. These cultural artefacts take various forms in the literary and non-literary record of the early modern period and include pageants, woodcuts, chronicles, histories, plays, poems, maps, paintings and coins, whilst in the modern period we can also add statues, pictures, advertisements, songs, opera and musical scores, historical novels and films. Each cultural artefact is evidence of the circulation of social energy and each representation of Boudica must be set within its socio-political context.

In this study I have tried to respect the different spellings of Boudica's name, some of which are very different from the original spelling and may mislead the reader. In popular culture the mythological and national icon is known as Boadicea although in school history manuals and television documentaries her real name of Boudica is slowly being diffused into the popular imagination. This name comes to us from Tacitus but this may in fact be an honorific title in the Celtic language. Miscopying of Tacitus's manuscript added an extra C to give us Boudicca but it has been suggested on philological grounds, and accepted by academics, that Boudica is the correct version and is pronounced /boudi:/ka: (that is 'Bowdeekah' in plain English spelling).[53] The word *bouda* is Celtic and signifies victory. The English equivalent is the name Victoria.

In the numerous literary and non-literary texts there are many variations on the name. Even as far back as 1609 Ben Jonson wrote: "Voadicea, or Boodicea; by some Bunduica, and Bunduca; Queen of the Iceni."[54] Confusion arises because the other

[51] A new film is planned for release in 2010 entitled *Warrior*, written by Brian Klugman and Lee Sternthal, directed by Gavin O'Connor, and produced by Mel Gibson.
[52] Collingridge,V. *Boudica.* London: Ebury, 2005.
[53] See Jackson, K. "Queen Boudicca?" *Britannia,* 10, 1979.
[54] Op. Cit., *The Masque of Queenes.* p. 545.

ancient source for the revolt, that of Dio Cassius, refers to her as Buduica. In John Fletcher's play she is named Bonduca. In Spenser's *The Ruine of Time* and his *Faerie Queene*, she is Bunduca, whilst in Boece she is Voada, becoming Voadicea in Holinshed. The original confusion may have stemmed from Polydore Vergil's first account of Boudica in which a spelling distinction was made between Vodicia and Voadica, but this was probably due to a transcript error as Vergil only used the sources provided by Tacitus. Greater confusion arose when Dio's account was added to that of Tacitus in the mid-sixteenth century with his own variation of Boudica's name. Owing to this confusion Petruccio Ubaldini, another Italian scholar, at the English court, resolved the dilemma by splitting the character into two separate queens; Bunduica and Voadicia. I will use the name Boudica throughout unless I specifically quote from a work or field of reference.

Chapter 1 Retrieving British History

> The whole island rose under the leadership of Boudicca, a lady of royal descent – for Britons make no distinction of sex in their appointment of commanders. They hunted down the Roman troops in their scattered posts, stormed the forts, and assaulted the colony itself, which they saw as the citadel of their servitude; and there was no form of savage cruelty that the angry victors refrained from. In fact, had not Paulinus, on hearing of the revolt, made speed to help, Britain would have been lost.[1]

Tacitus's account of Boudica's story would also have been lost to modern historians if it hadn't been for the Italian church agents, Poggio Bracciolini and Enoch of Ascoli. As it was, the forgotten manuscript of Tacitus's *Agricola* was found in the German monastery of Hersfeld by Poggio, acting on behalf of the Florentine scholar and copyist, Niccolo Niccoli, in 1425. By 1431 Niccolo had identified the manuscript as containing the *Agricola, Germania, Dialogus,* and fragments of Suetonius. Despite fierce negotiations Poggio was unable to procure the manuscript from the German monastery. It was his rival, Enoch of Ascoli, who succeeded in obtaining it in 1455. Although this original manuscript no longer exists, copies were made and circulated amongst Renaissance scholars. The scholar Pier Candido Decembio mentions having read a single manuscript in Rome in the same year.[2]

Although Poggio and Niccolo Niccoli had failed to obtain the *Agricola* they were more successful in appropriating Tacitus's *Annales 11-16,* of which book 14 contains the story of Boudica. Bound in a single manuscript this text had been transcribed at the Monte Cassino monastery in the mid-eleventh century. It is still not clear how this manuscript left the monastic library of Monte Cassino but it is thought that Boccaccio may have taken it in the fourteenth century. At Boccaccio's death in 1375 a Tacitus manuscript was found in the books he bequeathed to the Santo Spirito monastery in Florence and from here it fell into the hands of Niccolo Niccoli in 1427. Again this ownership is questionable. [3] As he was responsible for archiving Boccaccio's books in the Saint Spirito library he may have taken the Tacitus

---

[1] Tacitus. *The Agricola and The Germania.* London: Penguin, 1986. Chapter 16, p.16.

[2] Pearse, R. *Tacitus and his manuscripts.* www.tertullian.org/rpearse/tacitus/index.htm and Reynolds, L.D. (ed.) *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1983. My thanks to Vanessa Collingridge for drawing my attention to these sources and those concerning Dio.

[3] See Poggio's letter LI in Op. Cit., Pearse.

manuscript at this time. At Niccolo's death in 1437 the manuscript passed to the Saint Marco monastery in Florence where further copies were made and scholars could consult it until the publication of the *editio princeps* in Venice in c.1468-70. It was these two sources that both Polydore Vergil and Hector Boece used when they wrote of the rebellion of Boudica in their histories of England and Scotland at the beginning of the 16th century:

> Trulie ther is nothing more obscure, more uncertaine, or unknowne then the affaires of the Brittons from the beginninge; partlie bicause the Cronicles, if there were enie, were clene destroied.[4]

Polydore Vergil, an Italian ambassador at the court of Henry VII, was asked by the King to write a full-scale history of England which he began in 1506. Polydore Vergil meticulously examined all previous written texts about Britain's past but for Britain's ancient past there were almost no records at all. For the history he was dependent on Gildas, Bede and the newly discovered Classical works in Italy, which included Cornelius Tacitus's account of Boudica's rebellion against the Romans, and for the British geography he used Ptolomy. However, he also took the difficult step of discrediting Britain's fantastic myths of origin on the way, a move that made him particularly unpopular with other writers of British history because he was not English.[5] It was the price to be paid. Henry Tudor wanted to gain the sanction of humanist scholarship in order to present his new Tudor dynasty to the critical eye of other European monarchs. By asking an Italian historian to write such a history the new, authorised version of English history would be impeachable as a work of professional research and objective analysis.

In 1514 Polydore finished the first draft of his history. It was circulating in manuscript form by the 1520's and was finally published in Basel in 1534.[6] At this time another historian had also included the story of Boudica in his chronicles of Scotland; Hector Boece's fantastic and romantic *Historia Gentis Scotorum* was written and published in Paris in 1527. Whilst both Polydore and Boece wrote in Latin, Boece's work was translated quite early on into vernacular Scottish by John Bellenden

[4] Vergil, Polydore. *Polydore Vergil's English History.* Vol. 1, p 33. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis. London, Camden Society, 1846.
[5] The first of these attacks came from John Leland in his *Assertio Inclytissimi Arthurii* (London 1544). Vergil, Polydore. *The Anglia Historia of Polydore Vergil.* 1485-1537. Vol. 74. Edited by Denys Hay. London: Camden Series, The Royal Historical Society, 1950. p. xxxiv.
[6] Ibid.

in 1530-32 and into French by Nicolas d'Arfeville (circa 1547-1559.[7]) Both historians used Tacitus's texts, *The Agricola* and *The Annales*.

From the information currently available it is difficult to speculate on who used Tacitus's manuscripts first, whether it was Polydore or Boece, and how the story of Boudica began to circulate in Britain. However, in his preface to Polydore Vergil's *English History* in 1846 Henry Ellis writes that Boece began his history of Scotland only after hearing that Vergil was writing one about England for, in 1509, Vergil had written to King James IV of Scotland requesting a catalogue of Scottish history. In 1722 the Scottish scholar and printer, Thomas Ruddiman, wrote a letter in which he mentions Vergil's request to James IV: "we incline to believe that he met with little encouragement, and that his Majesty could not expect an impartial account of our affairs from a Foreigner, addicted to the interest of his enemies; so he would not be obliged to him for what might be done more for his and the nation's honour, and to better advantage, by one of his own subjects. And for this perhaps it was that Hector Boetius shortly after set about the writing of our history."[8]

One other piece of information may suggest that Boece had seen Polydore's manuscript before he finished his own since he repeats an error which Polydore seems to have miscopied from Tacitus. When giving us the numbers of Roman and British dead at Camulodunum and London Tacitus tells us that 70,000 Romans and provincials were killed whilst 400 Romans were killed to 80,000 Britons during the last battle. In Polydore's account 70,000 Romans and provincials were killed at Camulodunum and London and only 30,000 British were slain in the last battle. I suggest here, that either Polydore made a mistake when copying the Latin figure for fifty or the text he was using had this error. In either case Boece also included these figures but attributes them to casualties at Camulodum and London. I believe Boece then used Tacitus's account to re-use the correct figure of 80,000 British dead for the last battle.

However, the figure of 80,000 dead also appeared in Dio's account, which neither Polydore nor Boece used. Such figures may suggest that these were more rhetorical devices than accurate facts, a point which is corroborated by Garrick Fincham's article on colonial discourse, 'Writing Colonial Conflict, Acknowledging

[7] Macqueen, J. and Macqueen, W. 'Latin Prose Literature,' chapter 14. *The History of Scottish Literature.* Vol. 1: *Origins to 1660.* Edited by Jack, R. D. S. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988. p. 237.

[8] Op. Cit., Ellis. preface. p. vii, quoting a letter printed by Ruddiman in 1722.

Colonial Weakness.' In this article Fincham takes Boudica's revolt as his test case in which he analyses the theme of numerical asymmetry in Roman (and modern) portrayals of colonial conflicts:

> The number of colonial troops committed to an engagement is usually small and precisely recorded, but by contrast, the natives are numberless, or recorded as suspiciously large round numbers. [...] The specific circumstances in which such figures are generated matters less than the fact that it is a commonly repeated pattern, and that such figures originally functioned in a context of colonial conflict for consumption by an imperial audience. [...] This has the effect of reducing native insurgents from the status of individuals to simply part of an undifferentiated mass, impossible to define, and thus dangerous when unleashed.[9]

In the cases of Tacitus and Cassius Dio their imperial audiences were in Rome, and the numerical asymmetry between Boudica's army and that of Suetonius's forces served to increase the Roman achievement in retaining control of a dangerous and volatile situation.

Before discussing the representations of Boudica in Polydore and Boece it is important to review the known 'facts' about the rediscovery of Boudica in Dio's manuscript. It was not until the mid-sixteenth century that Dio's account of Boudica's rebellion became available with the publication of Xiphilinus's *Epitomes* by Robert Estienne in Paris in 1548. This was a folio publication in Greek of a manuscript held in the King's library (la bibliothèque du roi) in Fontainebleu and was then translated into Latin by the Cardinal d'Armagnac and published in Paris in 1551.[10] Other copies and translations were also circulating; in 1542 Claude Deroziers had translated Nicolas Leoniciene's Italian translation of Dio into French[11] and in 1558 Dio was again translated from its original Greek into Latin by Guilielmus Xylander which was published in Basel.[12] The *Epitomes* included books 61-80 of Dio's history and covered the events between 47 AD and 235 AD.

---

[9] Fincham, G. 'Writing Colonial Conflict, Acknowledging Colonial Weakness,' (pp. 25-34). *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2004.* Davies, G. Gardner, A. Lockyear, K. (Editeurs). Oxford: Oxbow, 2001. p. 27.

[10] Bouillet, Marie-Nicolas and Chassang, Alexis (editors.) "Jean Xiphilin," *Dictionnaire Universel d'histoire et de géographie.* Paris : Hachette, 1878. p. 2023.

[11] The reference to this translation is found on the site wikipedia.org/wiki/Dion_Cassius, but is uncorroborated elsewhere.

[12] See the Shaftesbury Project for more information: www.anglistik.phil.uni-erlangen.de/shaftesbury/index.html

The original manuscript of Dio has been lost to us but the monk Xiphilinus, working in Constantinople in the eleventh century made an abridgement of Dio's books, 36-80 (book 62 covers the rebellion of Boudica). Xiphilinus's *Epitomes* were taken to Italy by the scholar Jean (or Giovanni) Aurispa when he returned from his studies of Greek literature in Constantinople in 1423.[13] With the fall of Constantinople in 1453 copies of Xiphilinus were placed in libraries in France ('la bibliothèque du roi') and Rome[14] so it is possible that both Polydore and Boece were aware of Dio's text but Boece did not read Greek.[15] According to Dudley and Webster[16] Polydore did in fact use both Tacitus and Dio and this information was repeated by Antonia Fraser.[17] However, whilst Polydore and Boece tell us they used Tacitus they do not mention Dio at all. For Boudica's rebellion Polydore writes: "This is the opinion of Tacitus, writinge thus in his xivth book,"[18] whilst Boece says: "as writis Cornelius Tacitus."[19] Neither text incorporates elements from Dio's account of Boudica's rebellion.

It seems then that Dio's source was first referred to by the Welsh cartographer and antiquarian, Humphrey Llwyd (or Lhuyd, 1527-1568) in his Latin manuscript, *Commentarioli Brittanicae descriptionis fragmentum,* finished in 1568. This was published in Cologne in 1572 and then translated into English by Thomas Twyne and published in London the following year under the title, *The Breuiary of Britayne.* In this work Llwyd describes the geography of the different states of Britain and he makes a number of references to British-Romano history which includes one to "Voadicia, the most renowned queene of Iceni."[20] Of interest here is Llwyd's reference to his sources which include Tacitus and Dio Cassius,[21] and more intriguingly a reference to one "Virunnius."[22] This is Pontico Virunio (1460-1520), an

---

[13] Schoell, M. 'Jean Aurispa,' *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque Profane depuis son origine jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs.* Tome Septième, Livre VII, Chapitre C. Paris : Librairie de Gide Fils, 1825. p. 337.
[14] Pearse, R. *Dio Cassius: The Manuscripts of 'The Roman History'.* www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/dio_cassius.htm and Cary, E. *Introduction to Cassius Dio's Roman History. P*enelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/Introduction*.html
[15] My thanks to Nicola Royan for her advice and help with Boece. For further information about Boece see Nicola Royan's doctorate; *The Scotorum Historia of Hector Boece: A Study.* Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1996.
[16] Dudley, D. Webster, G. *The Rebellion of Boudicca.* London: Routledge, 1962. p. 116.
[17] Fraser, A. *Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens.* London: Arrow, 1999. pp. 216-217.
[18] Op. Cit., Ellis. p.66.
[19] Boece, Hector. *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 1527, trans. (into Scots) John Bellenden, 1531. Reprinted in 1936, Edinburgh and London: Chambers and Batho, vol. l. p. 146.
[20] Lhuyd, Humphrey. *The Breuiary of Britain,* translated by Thomas Twyne. London, 1573. Fo. 39.
[21] Ibid. Fo. 86.
[22] Ibid. Fo. 90.

Italian scholar who had lived and worked in Ferrare, and who is very much a mystery source for Boudica since his books are extremely rare.[23] It is apparent that a Latin book by Virunio was circulating in England in the mid-sixteenth century and that Virunio's text included references to Boudica. This much is certain since writers such as Llwyd, Holinshed and Stow give Virunio's name in their list of authors used and refer to him for Boudica[24] but it is probable that Virunio's study simply included his own Latin translations of Dio's Greek manuscript to which he had access through the library in Rome.

Classical Visions of Boudica

In chapter sixteen of the *Agricola* Tacitus gives us a short, succinct account of the Britons' rebellion in which Boudica is named only once as in the opening quote of this chapter. She was of royal descent and was given command of the Britons' forces. The Britons attacked Roman posts, forts, the colony of Camulodunum and committed a number of war atrocities, which are not described in detail, before the Roman governor, Suetonius Paulinus, defeated the rebels "by a single successful action."[25] The previous chapter of the *Agricola* gives us a long list of British wrongs in the form of an anonymous and rousing speech; the Britons complain that they are treated as slaves by the Roman occupiers, their property is confiscated, their children are kidnapped and their men conscripted into the Roman army. The speech finishes with a call for revolt and mentions the governor's propitious absence on another island, that of Anglesey.

The Annales gives us a far longer and more dramatic account of the revolt in which Boudica is given more direct responsibility in the rebellion and other reasons are cited; political, economic, religious and personal ones. Tacitus recounts events in AD 60 when the Britons rebelled against Roman rule whilst the governor was absent putting down a Druidic centre on the Isle of Anglesey. Tacitus then tells us what provoked this revolt; Prasutagus, the king of the Iceni and a client king of Rome, had

[23] His works are briefly alluded to in an eighteenth century catalogue; 'Louis Pontico Virunio,' *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes.* Paris: chez Briasson, 1731. Tome viii, p. 253.
[24] Op. Cit., Llwyd. Fo.90. See also Holinshed, R. 'The Historie of Englande,' *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.* London: Henry Bynneman. 1577. p. 6. His description of Boudica's hair, "reaching down to hir thighs" is taken from Virunio, who is again cited for this same description in Stow's *Chronicles*, p. 40, and his *Annales,* p. 27.
[25] Op. cit., Tacitus. *Agricola.* p. 66.

died leaving half his kingdom to the emperor Nero, and the other half to his two daughters. However, reduced to provincial status, the Roman procurator, Catus Decianus, sent in Roman officers and slaves to 'plunder' the kingdom.[26] Noble families had their properties, land and possessions confiscated, they were treated as slaves, whilst Boudica was flogged and her two daughters were raped.

The Iceni united with other tribes, notably the Trinobantes, who had suffered similar grievances, such as the loss of freedom and land. The Trinobantes particularly resented the new colony of Camulodunum with its Temple worshipping the Cult of Claudius and when the statue of victory at Camulodunum fell down this was taken as a sign, one of many, forecasting success for the rebels. The first target was the one in their home territory, Camulodunum, which was burnt to the ground, despite the efforts of the military garrison on site, the two hundred soldiers that Catus Decianus had sent (presumably from his base in London), and the intervention of the ninth division from the East Midlands.[27] Hearing of the dramatic turn of events in Essex, the procurator fled to Gaul, clearly condemned by Tacitus as being solely responsible for the war in the first place.

The scene then shifts to Suetonius, who marched "through disaffected territory"[28] to London, the commercial heart of the Roman province. Deciding that London could not be saved he left, taking with him those who were willing to follow him, but leaving behind the women and the old. London fell to the enemy, its inhabitants were "slaughtered". Verulamium (St. Albans) was also destroyed. Tacitus then tells us that the natives avoided the Roman forts and garrisons, which contradicts his own account in the *Agricola,* because they were only interested in looting easier targets. The rebels killed an estimated 70,000 Romans and provincials and committed a number of war atrocities. As Tacitus tells us: "For the British did not take or sell prisoners, or practise other war-time exchanges. They could not wait to cut throats, hang, burn, and crucify - as though avenging, in advance, the retribution that was on its way."[29]

Tacitus then prepares us for the final scene, the long-awaited confrontation between Suetonius and Boudica. Suetonius collects reinforcements, almost 10,000 men, and chooses a good position in a defile with a wood behind to protect his men

---

[26] Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome,* xiv 29-39. London: Penguin, 1986. xiv. 30, p. 329.
[27] Sealey, P. R. *The Boudican Revolt against Rome.* Buckinghamshire: Shire Archaeology, 1997. p. 22.
[28] Op. cit., Tacitus. *Annales.* p. 329.
[29] Ibid.

from a rearguard attack and with open country in the front. Tacitus seems to have good knowledge of military strategy and manoeuvres. At the edge of the battle field the Britons arranged their carts for the women to watch the battle and then Boudica herself, with her two daughters, drove from tribe to tribe in her chariot to address her warriors. Tacitus gives us the words that were spoken; Boudica telling her soldiers that she is ready to die rather than accept slavery and she gives the reasons for the rebellion again, that of lost freedom and the violence done to her family. Suetonius also addresses his own men with sound military advice before giving the signal for battle.

The battle was a military catastrophe for the Britons who were quickly overwhelmed and fled. The pursuing Roman soldiers killed whomever they could, including the women and the baggage animals. Tacitus calls it a "glorious victory." Boudica committed suicide, as did the Roman chief-of-staff of the second legion, Poenius Postumus, based in the Southwest, who had failed to follow Suetonius's order to join him against Boudica's army. Boudica took poison whilst Postumus stabbed himself. However, nowhere does Tacitus give us a physical description of Boudica. For this we have to wait for the publication of Dio's text in the 1550's:

> In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch.[30]

In Xiphilinus's *Epitomes* of Cassius Dio's books the story of Boudica's uprising is the longest of the three accounts. Written with great dramatic effect the text gives us the two major protagonists, Suetonius and Buduica, for whom we have long set speeches and the first, and only, physical description of the queen quoted above. Dio tells us that in the rebellion two cities were destroyed, Tacitus mentions three. Dio writes that 80,000 Romans and their allies were killed, Tacitus says 70,000 were killed. Dio informs us that Buduica fell sick and died, Tacitus says his 'Boudicca' poisoned herself. We immediately have a number of significant contradictions and differences in our two major sources and these differences need to be kept in mind when looking at the circulation of Boudica's story in the sixteenth and early

[30] Dio Cassius. *Roman History,* lxii, 1, 1-12. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Harvard University Press, 1995. Book LXII, p. 85.

seventeenth centuries. Firstly though, I would like to resume Dio's account touching on other variations in the two discourses.

Dio begins by relating the omens sent to warn the Romans of impending doom, the same omens recounted by Tacitus, bar the statue of victory falling down at Camulodunum. He then gives the reasons for the rebellion, which are different from Tacitus. Apparently, the procurator had suddenly called in a number of loans that leading senators in Rome had made to the Britons, money that the Britons could not pay back and this was used as "an excuse for the war"[31] by the Britons. However, the person most responsible for beginning the revolt was Buduica, who raised an army of 120,000 Britons and addressed them from an earth tribunal. At this point Dio gives us her physical description and a transcription of her speech. There then follows a long speech of over three pages in which Buduica describes her nation's wrongs at the hands of the Romans; slavery, tribute (taxes), poverty. Here, Dio also includes references to Roman ideas about Britain as an island nation, isolated and protected by an ocean from the Roman Empire, and he also includes Roman ideology about gender and war, which I will return to in later chapters.

At the end of Buduica's oration to her people the queen practiced a ritual of divination with a hare and addressed the female goddess, Andraste. She then led her army against the two Roman cities whilst Suetonius Paulinus was absent on the Island of Mona (Anglesey) with his forces. Any captives the Britons took were savagely mutilated and killed. Dio gives us graphic details of the war atrocities committed under Buduica's command, particularly those against noble female captives. On hearing of events in Britain, Paulinus quickly returned to face Buduica, but the British forces had now grown to 230,000 strong. Short of food and men Paulinus, like a reluctant hero, had no choice but to immediately engage the Britons in battle. Before the battle began he gave a speech to each of the three divisions under his command referring to Roman valour, courage and glory and then began the attack. Buduica rode around in her chariot giving her orders, but at the end of the day Buduica's forces were defeated, many were killed, trapped between the wagons and the forest, as was mentioned by Tacitus, whilst others were taken captive or escaped. Buduica, too, was dead. She was given a rich burial and then her surviving followers returned to their homes thus signifying the end of the rebellion.

[31] Ibid. p. 83.

I would like to end my review of the classical sources with a reference to Gaius Seutonius's *The Twelve Caesars* in which he describes the British revolt in just one sentence: "There was a British disaster, when two important garrison-towns were taken storm, and huge numbers of Romans and allies massacred".[32] He includes no reference to Boudica. She is next mentioned by the British monk Gildas in the sixth century. In his *De Excidio Britanniae* Gildas attempted to set down in writing the oral traditions of the Britons. Although it is not known where exactly Gildas lived and worked one tradition places him in Scotland, whilst another places him in Britanny, yet both agree that he travelled widely in Britain and parts of Europe.[33] In Gildas's account the unnamed Boudica is called a "deceitful lioness" who "put to death the rulers who had been left among them, to unfold more fully, and to confirm the enterprises of the Romans. When the news reached the Senate, they at once sent an army to take vengeance on the crafty foxes, as they called them. But there was no navy on the seas ... no army mustered on land ... the Britons' backs were their shields, they offered their necks to the sword, and stretched out their hands, like women, to be bound. So that it has become a proverb that the Britons are neither bold in war nor faithful in peace."[34]

The revolt is briefly referred to by the Northumbrian monk Bede in 731 AD. Using Suetonius as a source he states: "When Nero succeeded Claudius as Emperor, he attempted no military expeditions, and in consequence, apart from countless other injuries to the Roman State, he nearly lost Britain, for during his reign two most noble towns there were taken and destroyed."[35] The Welsh monk Nennius also mentions the revolt in his work, *The History of the Britons* (830 AD) which survives in manuscripts written in the tenth century, but neither writer mentions Boudica.[36] By the twelfth century it seems that Boudica had completely vanished from the historical record. She was unknown to such twelfth century historians as Geoffrey of Monmouth and was not mentioned in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*.[37]

---

[32] Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars.* London: Penguin, 1986. p. 236.

[33] *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10718. See also the site, wikipedia.org/wiki/Gildas. The monk of Rhuys in Brittany, who was writing in the 9th century, placed Gildas in the North of Britain. It was Caradoc of Llancarfan, a friend and contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing in the middle of the 12th century, who placed Gildas in Brittany.

[34] Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae* c.504-570; www.postroman.info/gildas.htm

[35] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* London: Penguin, 1990. Book 1, chapt. 3. p.49.

[36] Op. Cit., Dudley and Webster. p. 114.

[37] Monmouth, Geoffrey of. *The History of the Kings of England.* 1136. reprinted London: Penguin, 1966.

Early Modern Receptions

The oral tradition recorded by Gildas may have continued to be passed down from generation to generation, or it may have survived in fragments in the form of place names. For example, King's Cross in London was long thought to be the site of a battle in the Boudican rebellion and was called 'Battle Bridge' for this reason.[38] It has also been suggested that Hector Boece may have used sources other than Tacitus that Polydore Vergil did not know of or did not have access to. Lewis Spence refers us to an eleventh century chronicle written by Veremund, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, along with other ancient manuscripts held at the monastery of Iona which Boece consulted.[39] Spence also cites the thirteenth century poet Layamon, who composed *The Brut,* and who had exploited passages from the sixth century scribe, St. Albinus.[40] Spense further discusses oral tradition and popular folklore: “that great mass of floating tradition which appears to have grown up in Britain around the circumstances of its early association with Rome.”[41] And lest we forget, Daniel Woolf reminds us that “it is often overlooked that early modern antiquaries relied to a great extent not only on manuscript and archaeological material, but also on a variety of oral sources ranging from popular traditions to the personal recollections of the aged.”[42] He backs this up with an example of the Welsh bards who provided oral narratives of the past. He further cites the sixteenth century poet Michael Drayton, who believed that oral tradition still retained the memories of the lost history of the British bards and Druids.[43] If Boece incorporated oral sources into his work then the Celtic fringe of Scotland may have retained some ancient history in the form of folklore and legend which Boece drew upon.

Certainly Boece’s account of Boudica’s uprising is more complex than that of Polydore's and is even confused in parts. Whilst both men make the mistake of placing events in the north, Boece introduces a whole range of protagonists not present in Polydore's account. He introduces Caratacus as Boudica's brother and gives command of the rebellion to another brother, Corbreid, the king of Scotland. He also

---

[38] Macdonald, S. Holden, P. Ardener, S. *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives.* Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1988. p.58, note 5.
[39] Spence, L. *Boadicea, Warrior Queen of the Britons.* London: Robert Hale, 1937. p.158.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid. p. 159.
[42] Woolf, D.R. *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p. 352.
[43] Ibid. p. 355.

confuses Boudica's husband with another figure from British Roman history, an error, amongst many, pointed out by Holinshed in 1577.[44] Boece further attributes some actions to the queen, Voada, and others to her youngest daughter, Vodicia, but whether he was drawing on other Scottish or Breton chronicles or popular tradition is impossible to affirm. The following timeline outlines Boudica's family tree and gives the major points in her history as outlined by Boece:

Boudica's story as told by Boece[45]

Metellene, king of Scotland, dies the 14th year of Tiberius's reign in Rome. The throne goes to Caratak, Metellene's nephew.

In Britain, King Kymbalyne dies, replaced by his son, Guiderius during the reign of Claudius. Guiderius rebels against Roman occupation but is killed in battle.

Following the Britons' defeat Claudius places Guilderus's brother, Prince Arniragus (Aruiragus) of Wales, on the throne of Britain. His first wife is Voada, Caratak's sister. They have two daughters and one son, named Guiderius. Arniragus casts off Voada in order to marry a Roman lady, Genissa, who later dies.

King Arniragus turns against the Romans and returns to his British wife but is defeated and his son is sent to Rome where he falls ill and dies.

Wars between Scotland and the Romans continue. Caratak's wife and family are taken captive. Caratak is betrayed by his Stepmother, Cartumandia, dowager Queen of the Scots, and is taken to Rome with his family as political hostages. He is pardoned by the emperor Claudius and later returns to Scotland where he dies.

Corbreid, the youngest brother to Caratak, becomes King of Scotland.

After Arniragus's death, the kingdom of Briton is taken under direct Roman control, his wife is beaten and his two daughters are raped. Voada appeals to her brother Corbreid in Scotland for help. They rise up against the Romans but are defeated. Voada commits suicide. Voada's eldest daughter is married to the Roman, Marius, who had raped her, and who is made king of Britain.

Corbreid, a broken man, returns to Scotland with the remains of his men, where he later dies leaving three sons, Corbreid, who had been brought up by his aunt, Voada in Britain, Tulcane and Brekus.

Vodicia, youngest daughter to Voada, continues the rebellion against the Romans, is captured and executed.

[44] Holinshed. *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.* 6 volumes, 1577. Reprinted 1808, 1965, New York, Ams Press, inc. 1976. vol I, chapter 10, p. 495.
[45] Op. Cit., Boece. Books three and four. fo, ccic-clv, cf. Bellenden. pp.103-156.

Boece's account differs from Polydore's in one major aspect. In Boece's text women are both empowered and disempowered. Although Corbreid leads the campaign Voada makes a stirring speech to the confederate kings in which she announces that she has formed her own fighting unit of 5,000 women to avenge the rapes committed against her family and other women:

> And yocht I may no wayis deuoid of wiflie ymage. Yit I sall not want mannis hardyment. Bot I sall fecht formest in the bront with .v.M. armyt ladyis, quhilkis ar all sworne to reuenge the cruelties done be Romanis. We sall pas formast in battall but feir of deith or bludy woundis. We sal nocht (as othir wemen vsis) be affrayit for only woundis tane or geuyn be our ennymes. I can haue na mercy on thaym.
>
> (The feird [4th] buke. fo. cLi.)

And after the loss of the final battle Voada commits suicide, her eldest daughter is married to the Roman officer who had raped her before the start of the rebellion whilst the second daughter, Vodicia, makes her escape and continues to lead the rebellion until she is recaptured and executed. [46]

Polydore's account follows *The Annales* very closely but with some errors and omissions. Apart from geographical mistakes, such as a confusion between the Isle of Mona (Anglesey) and the Isle of Man,[47] and a possible miscopying of a number Polydore also writes that the legionary commander, Petus Cerealis, “was driven to flie and slaine”[48] whereas, in fact, he escaped with his life according to Tacitus. Boudica is given the leadership of her army but her direct responsibility as the leader of the rebellion is mitigated by the general sense of a people's uprising. She is just one Briton "emonge the reste" [49] and Polydore constantly reiterates the sense of a people's rising by referring to the 'Britons' as a movement of opposition to Roman rule whilst omitting Boudica's speeches. He also suppresses any reference to British atrocities against Roman victims and does not refer to Poenius Postumus, the chief-of-staff of the Roman second division in Devon, who committed suicide after the Roman victory because he had disobeyed his commander’s orders to join the Romans in the field and had thus, cheated his men of a share in the victory.

[46] Op. Cit., Spence. pp. 155-159 for a modern translation and resume of the rebellion.
[47] Op. Cit., Polydore, The First Book, pp. 17-18, and The Second Book, p. 69.
[48] Op. Cit., Polydore. The second Book. p. 71.
[49] Ibid.

To sum up the representations we have of Boudica before the appearance of Dio's text we can say that Boudica was represented as a military leader defending her people, as a mother defending her family and as "a victim, distanced from the atrocities committed by her followers and herself representing essentially Roman values," as E.W. Black resumes.[50] With the appearance of Dio's text Boudica's revolt is given a religious and theatrical dimension and she is depicted as a cruel and barbaric savage. Black writes that with Dio Boudica becomes "a caricature [of] the foreign and barbarian queen, threatening the properly male *imperium* of Rome."[51] This dichotomy is important when discussing the literary representations of Boudica under Elizabeth I and James I in following chapters.

However, in order to work through the 'stratigraphic' layers of the literary sources concerning Boudica it is necessary to see how British history was first 're-deposited'[52] in Elizabeth's reign and then in James's. Or, to use a different set of methodological terms employed by Daniel Woolf, I would like to look "beyond authors and their texts to the ambient cultural noise from which […] innovations emerged."[53] I would like to focus on the "motion or process of exchange of elements of a historical culture [which] may be called for convenience its 'social circulation.'"[54] By "historical culture" Woolf means "the perceptual and cognitive web of relations between past, present, and future [… which] consists of habits of thought, languages, and media of communication, and patterns of social convention that embrace elite and popular, narrative and non-narrative modes of discourse."[55] For this task I would now like to turn to the 'historical revolution' and its writers in the early modern period before focussing on the transmission of British history in schools, in the home, at church and at the theatre.

---

[50] Black, E.W. "The First Century Historians of Roman Britain.", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology.* 20:4, 2001. p. 421.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid. Terms used by Black. p.415.
[53] Op. Cit., Woolf. *The Social Circulation of the Past.* p. 8.
[54] Ibid. p. 10.
[55] Ibid. p. 9.

Bookmakers and Gambles with History

The “historiographical” revolution is a term applied to the early modern period by Frank Smith-Fussner who argues that this movement “occurred between about 1580 and 1640 in England and that it helped to create those historical attitudes and questioning that we recognise as our own"[56] and furthermore, "the period (at least until about 1580) was one of preparation, not of fulfillment in intellectual history."[57] However, Daniel Woolf believes that Smith-Fussner was mistaken when he identified the date and the object of this revolution. Woolf writes:

> Unfortunately, he identified the wrong things as revolution (history writing) and he located his revolution in far too brief, and early, a span of time between 1580 and 1640. The true historical revolution in England was not the late Elizabethans and early Stuart working out of proper historical method.... Rather, the revolution, which was a slow one, lay in the much longer-lasting change in sensibility, taste and manners that turned history first from the minor pastime of a small number of monastic chroniclers and civic officials into a major area of study and leisurely pursuit of university students, lawyers, aspiring courtiers, and ordinary readers, and thence into a more appealing genre that straddled the worlds of scholarship and literary culture.[58]

Stuart Piggott would agree with this. He calls the changes in historical methodology an intellectual revolution and places them in the second half of the seventeenth century.[59]

The terms 'revolution' and 'preparation' and 'fulfillment' all suggest definitive cut-off dates whereas this period of our cultural history needs to be placed in a continuum of intellectual development and social change in Europe. Whilst certain events and personalities may have kick-started historical changes their actions should be understood as an expression, cultural, political or economic, of the social context in

[56] Smith-Fussner, F. *The Historical Revolution. English Historical Writing and Thought: 1580-1640*. London: Routledge, 1962. p. xxii.
[57] Ibid. p. 17.
[58] Woolf, D.R. *Reading History in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. p. 7.
[59] see Piggott, S. *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1989. p. 23.

which they lived and of the evolutionary heritage of what had come before. What then were the impetuses for change? And how can we qualify the methodological progress made in the study of history? To answer these two questions I propose to begin with a definition of history as understood in the early modern period, and then to look at the impetuses for change before examining the treatment of Boudica in the different historical works of the period 1573-1624. This should indicate the changes taking place in historiography.

The Tudor and early Stuart period witnessed a split between history and antiquities which was mostly defined on grounds of historical subject and methodology.[60] Both, of course, are concerned with the study of the past but whilst history proper was mostly concerned with narrative history, that is the recounting of major past events and famous people, antiquarianism was more interested in Britain's ancient past and concentrated on description. "In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there were both antiquarians and historians (often indistinguishable from each other) for the non-classical world and post-classical world, but only antiquarians for the classical world," Momigliano tells us.[61] Although the words 'antiquary'[62] and 'historian' were often used synonymously there did seem to be a formal distinction between the two but this was mainly one of sources. Historians primarily used previous written narratives whilst antiquarians used both these, the archival sources and the material remains of the past just as Herodotus had done. Whilst historians were interested in the narrative form of representing past events and persons of renown, the antiquarian was more interested in the origin and development of institutions such as the early church, the history of tithes, the law and customs of the past.

This definition is further complicated by the split within antiquarianism itself which Woolf summarises "respectively as the philological and the archaeological."[63] The humanist philologists looked at the verbal artefacts of the past which included manuscripts, inscriptions and letters, mostly held in the libraries and archives, and they concentrated more on cultural history. The travelling antiquary on the other hand

---

[60] Woolf's article, 'Erudition and the Idea of History in Renaissance England,' (*Renaissance Quarterly.* 40, 11-48. 1987) gives an excellent summary of the differences in meaning between the terms 'antiquary' and 'historian' in the early modern period in England.
[61] Momigliano. 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian.' *Studies in Historiography,* p. 8, cf. Woolf. 'Erudition and the Idea of History.' *Renaissance Quarterly.* Vol. 40, 1987. p.14.
[62] The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the first use of the noun 'antiquarian' for 1610. Ibid. p. 45 f.78.
[63] Op. Cit., Woolf. *The Social Circulation of the Past.* p. 180. See also p. 142.

studied the physical remains of the past such as monuments, buried artefacts and features of the landscape much as an archaeologist does today, but in sixteenth century England he modelled his methodology on that of a geographer. The first of such men was probably John Leland (1503-1552) who marks the beginnings of topographical studies in Britain.[64] William Camden called himself a chorographer ("a word coined simply to describe writings about a particular place since they fit under no known rubric of history proper"[65]) and "he went out of his way to abort any unconscious slips into a narrative of men and deeds," preferring instead to describe places.[66] Confusion between the two fields was to continue into the Stuart period though this distinction had become clearer by the mid-seventeenth century as antiquarian studies developed more closely into that of archaeology, and history evolved into the early modern subject we recognise today when historians embraced the new critical methods and research techniques developed by the antiquaries. These changes were due, in part, to a change in the public's consciousness of the past and we can identify a number of impetuses to these changes; technological and economic, political and religious, social and cultural.

The transfer of power to the Tudor dynasty in 1485 marks the beginning of the early modern nation state for us. For the next 150 years the period is marked by the emergence of two rival discourses; that of unity and obedience to the dynastic kingdom and that of patriotic allegiance to a geographically and linguistically defined nation. At first, the sixteenth century power struggle "was formally dynastic, rather than nationalistic - and religious, rather than imperialist" according to Smith-Fussner[67] but by the time of James I a stronger national and imperialist discourse was emerging. The dynastic discourse of the Tudors was one which sought to centralise more and more political power in the person of the monarch. This was achieved through dynastic marriages, by developing a more centralised infrastructure for bureaucracy and by usurping power from Rome. Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy in 1534 effectively wrested religious authority from the Pope and placed it in the hands of the King. Although still Catholic, Henry's act of independence marked the beginning of the English Reformation and a wider movement towards a more protestant Church of England.

---

[64] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
[65] Ibid. p. 144.
[66] Op. Cit., Woolf. 'Erudition and the Idea of History in Renaissance England.' p. 24.
[67] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 240.

As the Tudor family tried to generate its subjects' loyalty to the new political regime it had to consolidate its power base and legitimise its claims. The policy of centralisation achieved greater cohesion between the regions, and the use of history and popular myths to prove the monarch's noble pedigree did succeed in promoting loyalty to the Crown and in creating greater internal unity. For example, Henry VIII's Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) called on British history in order to justify England's break with Rome. It proclaimed that "by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world."[68] Conversely though the Tudor policy also focused attention on institutions and bodies other than the monarchy. These included the geographic boundaries of England and Britain, the English language and the cultural heritage of the past. This in turn intensified interest in topography, language, history and other forms of cultural expression which all stimulated the move towards a national consciousness and fervent patriotism. The repeated calls for a new national history and the subsequent efforts to produce a cohesive and coherent chronicle and chorographic coverage of the British Isles are testimony to this. Both Francis Godwin and Francis Bacon desired a new national history as did many of their contemporaries.[69] The making of the past through the writing and re-writing of history was to be a major concern to all those involved in the ideological debate of the two discourses in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods and "increasingly, after the 1530's scholars and statesmen turned to history to justify the ways of church and state to Englishmen."[70]

However, the Reformation was also a time of anxiety to historians seeking to use the past records held in the monastic libraries. With the dissolution of the monasteries and the dispersal of records under Henry VIII many books and manuscripts were "lost, destroyed, sold and mutilated," according to Smith-Fussner.[71] Anxiety was expressed in the reign of Mary when John Dee, lamenting the "destruction of so many and so notable Libraries, wherin laye the seat of all Antiquities," asked the Queen to open a "Library Royall."[72] Mary did not act upon this request and it was during the reign of

---

[68] Schwyzer, P. *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 31. cf. Koebner, R. "'The Imperial Crown of this Realm:' Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.* Vol. 26, 1953. p. 29.
[69] Op. Cit., Woolf. *Reading History.* p. 24.
[70] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 18.
[71] Ibid. p. 23.
[72] Summit, J. 'Monuments and Ruins: Spenser and the Problem of the English Library,' *ELH (English*

Elizabeth that, in an attempt to halt the further dispersal of records, Sir Robert Cotton petitioned the Queen to establish a national library in order to preserve "the matter of history of this realm, original charters, and monuments."[73] This view is slightly mitigated by Woolf who suggests that many manuscripts had already found their way into scriveners' shops and into the private libraries of the nobility, and that the dissolution of the monasteries only completed this process.[74] Some of those private libraries were those of Henry VIII. It should be noted that in 1533 he had commissioned the Royal Scholar, John Leland, "to peruse and diligently to serche al the libraries and collegies of this yowre noble reaume."[75] As a keen patron of the arts and of historical research he established three libraries devoted to the collection of ancient texts at Westminster, Hampton Court and Greenwich.[76]

Jennifer Summit discusses the logistics and problems involved when she describes the salvage of manuscripts from the monastic libraries following their dissolution. One of the major difficulties encountered seems to be one of ideology wherein the bibliophiles and court agents censored texts which did not support the Protestant ideal of “nation-building.”[77] Summit adds that “the English library remained a battleground on which religious reform was enacted. For Thomas James, the Protestant polemicist and first librarian of the Bodleian, the library’s chief purpose was “the exposure and correction of papist error.”[78] In consequence, a great number of manuscripts were destroyed as part of a movement to ‘re-shape’ national memory. Summit writes that “the post-Reformation library became a place of memory in content as well as form: those books deemed most worthy of preservation dealt with matters of national and ecclesiastical history, supplying the need for historical precedents to support the reformed state.”[79]

Other factors in the book trade, notably economic ones, dictated what material was selected for publication, who would write such material and how this would be presented to the different demands of the market. This would have had a bearing on

---

Literary History). Vol. 70, Number 1 (March 1, 2003). pp. 1-34. p.7. cf. British Library Cotton MS vitellius C. 6i fols. 310r-311v.

[73] Op. Cit., Woolf. *Erudition.* p. 32. On the Cotton library see Kevin Sharpe’s *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

[74] Op. Cit., Woolf. *Reading History.* p. 14.

[75] Piggott, S. *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1989. p. 14. And see Summit. Op. Cit., p. 3.

[76] Kindrick, T.D. *British Antiquity.* London: Methuen & Co.,1951. p. 46.

[77] Op. Cit., Summit. p. 3.

[78] Ibid. Summit. p. 4.

[79] Ibid. Summit. p. 5.

the choice and presentation of Boudica's story. The book market also had a huge influence on the changing methodology in the field of scholarship but, along with the printing press, provided the necessary conditions for the production and dissemination of other genres of historical representation such as history prose and plays, almanacs and ballads. Antiquarian treatises and chorographies began to fill the top-end of the market whilst almanacs, broadsides and ballads filled the bottom-end, all of which seem to have contributed to the demise of the chronicle proper. Although the printing houses were simply responding to the demands of a growing lay public, as attested by the inventories and catalogues from the universities and private libraries,[80] some printers, like Caxton, were particularly interested in history and so invested more in this field.

Although the publishing houses were limited to London, the two universities and later the archiepiscopal seat of York, histories could also be ordered from London, or bought through local agents and provincial booksellers. This effectively created a highly competitive, national market but profits were small and never enough to enrich the authors. Woolf suggests that new chronicles were often the creation of the printers themselves "whose marketing strategies anticipate[d] the newspapers' appeal to novelty and currency a century and a half later."[81] This sheds new light on Stow's interest to publishers as a commercial investment because Stow's methodology and techniques became more refined and honed to the needs of the market as he grew older and more experienced as a historian. The bottom line was that the publication of books needed to show a profit and more and more publishers were interested in historians who were a good investment. In his early career Stow was such a man. He was even solicited by publishers seeking to fill a market need. For example, the printer and publisher, Thomas Marsh, approached Stow in the 1560's with a business proposition asking him to produce an improved version of a chronicle, which he did with the *Summarie of English Chronicles*.[82] Published in 1565 it became a popular success, of which there are nineteen known editions. His A*nnales of England* (1592) was equally successful.[83]

However, there were, on occasion, conflicts of interest between what an author wanted to write and what a publisher wanted him to produce. This even covered the

[80] Op. Cit., Woolf. *Reading History in Early Modern Britain.* p. 142.
[81] Ibid. p. 21.
[82] Gadd, I.A. Gillespie, A. (eds.) *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past.* London: British Library, 2004. pp. 40-41.
[83] Op Cit., Woolf. *Reading History in Early Modern Britain.* p.41

choice of book title just as it does today. When Stow wrote his history of England in 1592 the printers made him abridge the contents and change the title from *History* to *Annales*, something Stow tells us himself in his preface to the reader when he writes: “These laborious collections in so long a time haue now at length grown into a large volume, which I was willing to haue committed to the presse had not the Printer, for some priuate respets, beene more desirous to publish Annales at this present.”[84] It is of interest to note here that Stow did not abridge his story of Boudica. Although he had made no mention of her in his *Summarie of Englishe Chronicles* we have a full account of her rebellion in his *Chronicles of England* (1580) which was reproduced verbatim in *The Annales* twelve years later.

A touchstone of Stow's development as a historian seems to be his relationship and professional rivalry with fellow historian and publisher Richard Grafton.[85] Amidst accusations of plagiarism, forgery and falsification Stow and Grafton's dispute hammered out the proper way to do history. For centuries the scissors and paste method of chronicle writing seems to have been the norm with new accounts being added each year from the annals. Treated chronologically events seemed to be disconnected in a staccato narrative in which, according to the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* "the facts are narrated without philosophic treatment, or any attempt at literary style."[86] From a synthesis of pre-existing historical material Stow slowly turned towards the research techniques being developed for antiquarian studies, such as original research of primary sources, fieldwork, numismatics and philology, and later anthropology. As far as his work on Boudica is concerned both his *Chronicles* and his *Annales* list his sources as Dio Cassius and Ponticus Virunius. Whilst the text follows Dio’s description of Boudica’s rebellion very closely Stow structures his work in a more formal manner, particularly when he includes Boudica’s speech. This is given in an indirect form wherein Boudica lists the reasons for the Britons to rebel: “she spake vnto them to this effect. First she commended libertie, […] Secondly, she reproued them, for not expelling their enemies, […] Thirdly, she disabled the Romaines, for that they were fewe […] Lastly, she exhorted them …”[87]

[84] Stow, J. *The annales of England.* London: Ralfe Newbery, 1592. Preface. a2.
[85] The dispute between Grafton and Stow began in the 1560’s and endured until Grafton’s death in 1572.
[86] *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888. Subject; 'Chronicle.' cf. Smith Fussner. p. 154.
[87] Op. Cit., Stow. *The Chronicles.* pp. 40-41. *The Annales.* pp. 27-28.

Stow was also critical enough to refer to divergences between the different sources and includes a final paragraph giving his readers Tacitus's version of events.[88]

The cultural economics involved here serve to illustrate the need, not just for financial backing, but also for political support and friendship in both the literary and non-literary fields of publication. Of more concern to this chapter were the accusations of plagiarism, errors and forgery fired between Grafton and Stow, which in effect highlighted the late sixteenth century debate over historical research, methodology and integrity. The face-à-face between Grafton and Stow is described in detail in Alfred Hiatt's essay, 'Stow, Grafton, And Fifteenth-Century Historiography'[89] so I will only outline the main issues here.

Both men accused the other of copying their work. In his *Manuell of the Chronicles of Englande*, Grafton writes: "of late I was abused by one that counterfeacted my volume and order of the Abridgement of the Chronicles and hath made my trauaile to passe under his name."[90] This was a reference to Stow's *Summary* of 1565. In turn, Stow criticised Grafton's work as a "hotchepotte made of truthe and lyes together."[91] When Grafton published another chronicle in 1569 Stow was quick to point out that Grafton had taken work that he himself had discovered through personal research and that Grafton had "graftyd all my boke into his boke" with "not so moche alterynge one word or silable thereof, and yet the world shuld thinke it were his trauayle."[92] However amusing this may seem to us now the cut and paste technique of chronicle writing seemed to be the norm in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: "This sort of mutual borrowing, copying, and summarizing continued through the rest of the century. Grafton, Stow, Holinshed and his associates in the 1570's, and John Speed in the early seventeenth century drew equally freely on the works of their immediate predecessors," writes Woolf.[93] Yet Stow also accused Grafton of serious errors:

[88] Ibid. *Chronicles.* p. 43. *Annales.* p. 29.
[89] Op. Cit., Gadd and Gillespie. pp. 45-55.
[90] Ibid. p. 45.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid. p. 18.
[93] Woolf, D.R. 'Genre into Artefact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century,' *Sixteenth Century Journal.* 19, 319-54, 1988. p. 329.

> also ye yeres of ye begynengs & endyngs of all ye kyngs of this realme [...] in one place he left out iij kinges togithar [...] he sayth K. Henry ye fourth endyd his lyfe ye 12 yere of his reigne [...] and then declareth what was done in ye 13 and 14 yeres of his reigne, for yt he makyth him to raynge ij yeres aftar he was dede and beryd.[94]

He went on to include charges of forgery over Grafton's re-printing and extension of John Hardyng's fifteenth century chronicle, which included Hardyng's own forged documents.[95]

For Grafton's description of the period concerning Boudica's reign no mention is made of her and this is because Grafton was using Geoffrey of Monmouth as his principal source for Romano-British history.[96] Geoffrey's source gives us the reigns of such British kings as Kimbaline, Guilderius (Kimbaline's first son), Aruiragus (Kimbaline's youngest son) and Marius (Aruiragus's son.) Geoffrey also tells us that Aruiragus married the Roman emperor's daughter, Genissa.[97] The only concession seems to be in his *Chronicle* of 1569 in which Grafton mentions Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* and includes the reference to Aruiragus's first wife, "Voada, sister unto Careticus, king of Scottes" and speculates that he divorced her in order to marry Genissa because of a "desire that he had to be alyed unto the Romaines."[98] Whilst he gives his sources as Tacitus, Bede, Gildas, Hector Boece, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Polydore Vergil for this last book he does not include Dio Cassius or Pontico Virunio in his list of authors. What is more he only uses Monmouth and Boece for the period concerning Boudica.

What seems to have been at stake here were questions of authorship, honesty and methodology. Although Stow did use the cut-and-paste technique he usually acknowledged his sources. By referring the reader to the cultural authority of previous writers Stow was able to establish the credibility of his work. He was also keen to find new material, not just to gain an edge over publishing rivals, but also to differentiate himself from the old school of historical method. In his own defence Stow wrote:

---

[94] Op. Cit., Gadd and Gillespie. p.19.
[95] Ibid. p. 47.
[96] Grafton, R. *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England.* London: 1563. Fo. 9. *A manuell of the Chronicles of Englande.* London: Ihon Kingston, 1565. p. xi. *A Chronicle at large and mere history of the affayres of Englande.* London: Henry Denham, 1569. pp. 76-80. For Monmouth's description of this period see *The History of the Kings of England.* 1136. Iv, 12-17.
[97] Op. Cit., Geoffrey of Monmouth. Iv, 15.
[98] Op. Cit., Grafton's *Chronicle*. 1569. p. 77.

> I denay not, but a man may lawfully gathar out of othar awctors, for otharwyse it is vnposeble for eny to write, but of theyr owne tyme, nevartheles as it is comendable to the writar and profitable to the redars, when hyden histories ar browght from dusty darknes to the lyght of the world, so it is bothe vncomendable vnprofitable to gathar dyvars books all comon in print ... into one volume and then ... to beare the world in hand to have delyveryd them a new and rare pece of worke suche as had nevar bene sene or hard tell of before.[99]

But here he should also have acknowledged the trope, “when hyden histories ar browght from dusty darknes to the lyght of the world,” as one coming from John Leland, which had in its turn been lifted from Petrarch.

The world of the Graftons and Hardyngs was changing as historians tried to make their field more professional by moving closer to the empirical and scientific ideas laid out by William Camden and later, under James I, by Francis Bacon,[100] and in the long term Grafton's criticism of Stow was very constructive for it "served as an impetus for Stow's intensified efforts to find material with which to rewrite, and remarket, English history" according to Gadd and Gillespie.[101] With this point in mind we can better understand Stow's growth as an academic. Turning from the mere regurgitation of previous chronicles he sought new sources, new methods and new fellowship, which he found within the Society of Antiquaries. Founded in 1586, the society was a place where ideas could be exchanged and it served as a source of inspiration for many of its members. As early as the 1560's Stow was already naming himself "a serchar after antiquities"[102] and looking for greater insight into the origins of the early Britons by examining the remains of the past and the Classical texts.

[99] Op. Cit., Gadd and Gillespie. p. 51.
[100] See the *Novum Organum* (1620) in which Bacon develops his system of inductive reasoning. In this he argues that through careful observation and reduction one can isolate the cause and effect of a particular phenomenon in history and the sciences.
[101] Op. Cit., Gadd and Gillespie. p.4.
[102] Ibid. p. 16.

Anxiety over Native Origins

The humanist movement of Renaissance Italy had begun to throw up long lost texts of the classical world, some of which included references to British history, as already discussed, and these were to have a significant effect on the traditional and popular myths of the British History. The rediscovery of the classical texts in the late medieval period changed the face of European scholarship. Armed with the newly discovered models of Livy, Herodotus and Tacitus, to name but a few, the humanist scholars were able to give a new scope and form to the writing of national history. They challenged the fanciful and ill-founded stories of the medieval chronicles and annals in which many countries had embedded their fabulous myths of origins and in their place sought to formulate a more accurate, but less heroic, picture of national origins. In this sense the humanist scholars were more concerned with laying the foundations of natural science than with the medieval principal of history which concerned itself with man's relationship to God. The humanists looked at the causal effect of man's actions and placed him at the anthropocentric heart of nature whilst the medieval chroniclers placed man at the centre of God's world where providence and fortune guided a pre-ordained fate.

The humanist revival of classical scholarship also introduced the idea of rhetoric as an integral component of writing history. For example, Tacitus, one of Polydore Vergil's sources, with his set speeches, character portrayal and moral stance, was as much a rhetorician as a historian, and Vergil's work imitated the ancients in its style, scope and form. Vergil's more sophisticated and well-documented political narrative provoked huge debate regarding Britain's myths of origin and the right way of recording the past and showed Vergil's critical acumen in questioning many of the foundation myths contained in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum.* As the first full-scale, humanist-style national history Vergil's *Anglica historia* became a landmark in British historiography and contributed to "the death of the chronicle" according to Woolf. [103] Instead of following the traditional yearly account of chronicles he divided his work into different reigns just as the ancients had done which allowed him to organise his ideas into different narrative units and analyse each reign as a whole. In other words he "turned what had been disconnected, truncated annals into a smooth-

[103] Op. Cit., Woolf. 'Genre into Artefact.' chapter 1.

flowing narrative"[104] and left out many of the superfluous details and anecdotes which could not be fitted in to the theme of a particular reign.

Although Vergil was a cleric, writing in Latin, the humanist tradition also opened up the fields of scholarship to non-clerics writing in the vernacular. Medieval historiography had traditionally been dominated by the clergy writing in Latin for a clerical public, but as we shall see further on greater access to education and a growing interest in national history opened up the book market to a wider reading public and to new lay historians. This was made possible by the technological changes taking place in Europe and by the great social upheavals of the late fifteenth century in England. By the end of the fifteenth century the break with the feudal system of military service to the king had been initiated and replaced with a system of taxation and civil service to the monarch. Coupled with a gradual movement of the population from the land to the growing urban centres, the period witnessed an economic decline in the fortunes of the great landowners. There was a corresponding narrowing of the gap between the rich and the new 'middle' class of merchants and gentry. As the aristocratic élite tried to distance themselves from this new educated and propertied class they turned to the historical domain of heraldry and genealogy in an attempt to legitimise their singular claims to royal descent and nobility. For national origins, however, it proved more difficult to retain Britain's civilised and heroic past.

The Britons had only an oral tradition to refer to for their myth of origin and this was seemingly lost when the Romans conquered the island. Following the conquests of Britain by the Vikings, the Saxons, and the Normans the ancient Roman texts were also lost. What finally emerged as Britain's myth of origin was found in Monmouth's twelfth century *Historia Regum Britanniae,* which provided a new and very romantic myth of origin. Unfortunately, when the ancient Roman texts resurfaced in Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (1534) they not only discredited Monmouth's noble myths of Arthurian legend and Trojan ancestry but they also cast the Briton in the role of the barbarian 'other'. Whilst the writings of a Catholic priest and foreigner could be, and were, criticised and undermined, those of the home-grown scholar, William Camden, had to be taken more seriously. Although Camden denied that his intention was to undermine Monmouth's work, his own *Britannia* destroyed Monmouth's myths with great aplomb by simply quoting a number of Monmouth's contemporaries such as Giraldus Cambrensis who had denounced the *Historia Regum* as "The fabulous story

[104] Ibid. p.326.

of Geffrey."[105] William of Newbourgh, another reputed scholar and contemporary of Monmouth, went into more detail and was quoted by Camden with the following critique:

> A certain writer, started up in our days, hath devised strange and ridiculous tales concerning the Britains, and with an impudent vanity hath extolled them far above the gallantry of the Macedonians and Romans. His name is Geoffry, but he hath the additional one of Arthur too, because he sent abroad under the honourable title of a history, the Fables of King Arthur, taken out of the old fictions of the Britains, with some additions of his own, which he hath dress'd up in Latin.[106]

In debunking Monmouth's myth of origin for Britain Camden again uses another respectable source in order to support his arguments, that of John of Wheathamsted, abbot of St Albans, who, writing his *Granarium* in 1440, stated that "According to other histories (which in the judgment of some men deserve much more credit) that whole relation concerning Brutus is rather poetical than historical, and is for several reasons to be accounted rather fanciful than real."[107]

At the beginning of Holinshed's 'Historie of England,' Holinshed furnishes a caveat to his readers concerning the reliability of historical sources and he also expresses his own doubts regarding the recovery of national origins:

> But sith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie scriptures) I wish not any man to leane to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sith I doo but onlie shew other mens coniectures, grounded neuertheless vpon likelie reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is not left but little other certeintie, or rather none at all.[108]

By 1611, according to John Speed, the stories of Brutus and King Arthur had become "universally rejected by all skillful *Antiquaries,*"[109] which left, according to Edmund

---

[105] Camden, William. 'The first Inhabitants,' *Britannia,* 1586. English translation by Philemon Holland. London: Eliot's Court Press, 1610. p. 8. Also see www.archivecdbooks.com for Dr Gibson's translation (1722). p. 10.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid. p. 9-10.
[108] Holinshed. Book 1, p. 312.
[109] Piggott, S. *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Bolton, "a vast Blanck upon the Times of our Country, from the Creation of the World till the coming of Julius Caesar."[110] What then did this "Blanck" consist of? And what was England's national status if it had had no 'historical' birth?[111] According to Jodi Mikalachki, "one of the principles governing early modern efforts to recover native antiquity was the classical premise that a nation that did not know its own origins was barbarous."[112] This impetus placed the problem of national origins right at the heart of the patriotic debate to define the early modern English nation. Unfortunately, the only reliable documented sources for the early modern nation came from the 'enemy', the Roman conqueror. And as Jodi Mikalachki observes: while such a source "provided the only firm ground in the dark ocean of native antiquity ... it was also the rock on which scholarly hopes for a civilized point of origins were dashed."[113]

In the classical world it was the Greeks who were first noted for their interest in the origins of man and his cultural development, but this was more to do with their philosophical speculations about the nature of man. Their ethnographic interest in early man was probably ignited by their own contacts with neighbouring barbarians. Herodotus bears witness to this; widely travelled, curious and observant, he is often considered "the father of history and of anthropology and archaeology."[114] The Romans too, had their anthropologists. Tacitus' *Germania* is an ethnographic study of the German tribes whilst Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* includes ethnographic descriptions of the Gauls and the Britons.

The ancient Britons first appear in the historical records in the Roman period when Britain's Iron Age culture traded with Gaul. The first mention of a British tribe is that of the Belgae in Julius Caesar's *The Conquest of Gaul,* wherein he gives this description of the British:

> The interior of Britain is inhabited by people who claim, on the strength of an oral tradition, to be aboriginal; the coast, by Belgic immigrants who came to plunder and make war - nearly all of them retaining the names of the tribes from which they originated - and later settled down to till the soil.[115]

---

p. 60. Here Piggott refers readers to Kendrick's *British Antiquity*. pp. 65-77, and Hay's *Polydore Vergil.* pp. 157-61 for more information.

[110] *Hypercritica* (1618). cf. Floyd-Wilson. p. 105.

[111] Stuart Piggott points out that according to the Christian world the universe was entirely historical from its creation and was documented in the Old Testament. Op. Cit., pp. 7 & 34.

[112] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 9.

[113] Ibid. p. 9.

[114] Daniel, G. *150 Years of Archaeology.* Esher: Duckworth. 1978. p. 14.

[115] Caesar, Julius. *The Conquest of Gaul.* London: Penguin, 1985. V, 12. p. 110.

Ancient British history was one of tribal division and warfare, and other testimonies to Britain's barbaric past were to be found in Camden's sources for his text on 'The Manners of the BRITAINS' for which he cites Caesar, Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Tacitus and Dio as references in order to paint a portrait of the Britain's "skin-clothed" ancestor:

> All the Britains dye themselves with Woad; which makes them of a skie colour, and thereby the more terrible in Battle. They wear their hair long upon the head, but close and bare in all parts of the Body except the head and the upper lip. They have, ten or twelve of them, Wives together in common, especially brothers with one another, and parents with children.[116]

Such testimonies as this, coupled with the antiquarian discoveries of Britain's pre-Roman material remains,[117] made startling parallels with the 'wild savages' of Britain's colonial enterprises in America and Ireland and called to mind man's original state of sin and degeneracy.[118] As unredeemed remnants of a post-Diluvial earth the barbaric Britons posed an embarrassing dilemma for early modern scholars. History, as a *Res Gestae* of a nation's noble and heroic past, traditionally served as a patriotic paradigm as well as a moral and social guide for a nation's subjects. Yet the evidence suggested a wild and degenerate native past as opposed to the civilised and romantic arcadia of ancient times and, as Mary Floyd-Wilson notes: "compelled [English writers] to acknowledge the implications of their barbaric ancestry."[119]

Some writers, of course, did not wish to recognise the implications of their barbaric past and they used a variety of imaginative strategies and inventions to fill the void left by Monmouth's discredited legacy. Stuart Piggott refers us to a certain John Twyne who, writing his *De rebus Albionicus* in the 1530's and 1540's (published posthumously in 1590), sought to make a connection between the Britons and the Phoenicians by asserting that the Phoenicians had made their last western landfall in

[116] Op. Cit., Camden p. XLII.
[117] For more information about Britain's material remains see Piggott. Op. Cit., p. 87.
[118] Ibid. Piggott further points out that the concept of social evolution was very difficult to grasp for Renaissance historiographers who understood history only in terms of the Biblical chronology. For them the pre-Roman was "indistinguishable from immediately post-Diluvial." p. 87.
[119] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 15.

Britain and had stayed.[120] Such texts illustrate the desire for a native classical past on which to build the modern nation and testify to the anxieties apparent in the process of national self-definition. This academic battle between historiographers who sought a classical alternative to Monmouth's myths and those who faced the truth, but hesitated to assimilate Britain's barbaric past into their national origins, informs much of the historical texts of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods.

The voyages of discovery added tantalising new ideas to the debate about the nature of early man. Coupled with the humanist scepticism regarding the first inhabitants of many of the European nations, the accounts from the New World explorers of America and Canada challenged the anachronistic and chronologically inaccurate myths of origin. British antiquarians were quick to assimilate the descriptions of Eskimos and American Indians into their own models of early Britons by making ethnographic comparisons between the two. Closer to home anthropological studies of Ireland also provided material with which to represent early Britons. In his *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) Edmund Spenser gave an account of Irish prehistory, its customs, dress and buildings. [121] However, of more immediate significance to the current analysis were the descriptions brought back from North America by two Elizabethan seafarers, John White and Thomas Harriot.

Thomas Harriot gave detailed descriptions of the American Indians in his pamphlet, *A brief and true account of the new found land of Virginia* (1588) whilst the artist John White gave his viewers a visual depiction of the Indian. [122] As far as the reaction of these two men are concerned and their moral judgement regarding the native American, Bryony Orme notes that "neither Harriot nor White showed anything but respect for the Indians; their accounts depict people living in a viable alternative to the European culture, and they introduced their audience to a view of primitive man far removed from Shakespeare's Caliban."[123] Their work reached a wider public when Thomas Harriot's pamphlet was re-published in Frankfurt in four languages (Latin, French, German and English) in the first part of Theodor de Bry's *America* in 1590. Based on White's drawings of American natives De Bry produced engravings of the

[120] Op. Cit., Piggott. p. 100.
[121] See Kendrick, T.D. *British Antiquity.* London: Methuen & Co.1951. pp. 126-127.
[122] Harriot's report is discussed by Andrew Hadfield in *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. pp. 112-126.
[123] Orme, B. 'Introduction', *Anthropology for Archaeologists.* London: Duckworth, 1981. p. 4.

Picts and their neighbours, who were no doubt the Scots, not the Britons.[124] There then follows a separate title-page by De Bry:

> *SOM PICTVRE, OF THE PICTES WHICH IN THE OLDE* tyme dyd habite one part of the great Bretainne. *THE PAINTER OF WHOM I HAVE* had the first of the Inhabitans of Virginia, give my allso thees 5. Figures fallowinge, fownd as hy did assured my in a oolld English cronicle, the which I wold well sett to the ende of thees first Figures, for to showe how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie have bin in times past as sauuage as those of Virginia.[125]

Although both Stuart Piggott and Andrew Hadfield remind us that De Bry had confused his sources and that the 'Pictish' representations are not by White, but by Jacques Le Moyne,[126] and that the "oolld English cronicle" was not in fact English but Scottish,[127] the English could, for the first time, visualise ancient Britons as primitive natives. However, De Bry was not the first man to represent the early Britons as primitives. The Dutchman, Lucas de Heere had included drawings of naked and woad-painted Britons in his *Description of Britain* (c. 1575) although Piggott argues that no explicit comparison was made between America and Britain. The illustrations are based solely on evidence taken from the classical texts and indeed De Heere himself refers to Julius Caesar in one copy of his manuscript in which he writes: "les premiers Anglois comme ils alloyent en guerre du tems du Julius Caesar" (the first Englishmen as they went to war at the time of Julius Caesar.)[128]

What were the consequences of these discoveries, innovations and changes on representations of Boudica in the non-literary texts of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods? To answer this question we need to look at a number of historiographic and chorographic texts which include references to Boudica. Starting in 1573, I would now like to review such works by Llwyd, Holinshed, Stow, Camden, Clapham, Daniel, Speed and Bolton up until 1624.

---

[124] Op. Cit., Kendrick. p. 124.
[125] Op. Cit., Piggott. pp. 76-77.
[126] Ibid. Piggott. p. 76. Op. Cit., Hadfield. p. 119 n. Jacques Le Moyne made his own artistic impressions of American Indians based on the French expedition to Florida in the 1560's. De Bry owned drawings by both White and Le Moyne which may account for the confusion of the two artists in his work. Paul Hulton first pointed out De Bry's confusion of sources in *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984. For Jacques Le Moyne's work see the book edited by Paul Hulton; *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne De Morgues: A Huguenot Artist in France, Florida and England.* 2 Vols. London: British Museum. 1977.
[127] Op. Cit., Piggott. pp. 76 and 82. Op. Cit., Hadfield. *Literature, Travel.* p. 119.
[128] Ibid. p. 75.

Humphrey Llwyd, Raphael Holinshed and William Camden

Humphrey Llwyd's *Breuiary of Britayne* is a patriotic British-Welsh book written in riposte to Polydore Vergil's *English History* and Hector Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* as he tells us himself:

> When I chaunced of late yeres, to come to the sight of *Polydorus Virgilius* the Italian, and *Hector Boethius* the *Scot,* their British histories, wherof the first maynfully sought, not onely to obscure the glory of y[e] British name, but also to defame the *Britaynes* them selues with sclandrous lies. The other while he goeth about to rayse his *Scots* out of darknesse, and obscuritie, what euer he findeth that the *Romanes,* or *Britaynes,* haue doone worthy co~mendation in this Ilande: all that he attributeth vnto his *Scottes,* like a foolish writer. Wherfore, beyng prouoked by these iniuries, that I might the better guard my sweet country from suche inconueniences, vnto my smale power: I began to peruse all suche auncient hystories, both Greeke and Latine, as euer had wroten of *Britayne,* or the *Britaynes:* causing not onely all such sentences, but eche woord also to be copied foorth, to the intent that thereout, as of a thicke and plentifull wood: I might gather sufficie~t timbre to frame a British hystorie.[129]

Once he has "bid faythlesse Hector *a dieu*,"[130] Llwyd corrects his geographical and historical errors, such as Boece's mistake in placing Boudica in Scotland[131] and goes on to describe the heroic deeds of Britain's inhabitants such as those of Boudica in resisting the Romans:

> when queene *Boadicia* (whom *Dion* termeth *Bundwica*) was deseruedly exasperated: she caused. lx. and ten thousande *Romans* to be slayne. Whose courage more then manlike, and noble deedes worthy to be extolled with prayse vnto Heauen, and equiualent to the actes of renowmed *Emperours,* and Captaynes *Tacitus,* & also *Dion,* men of great name haue celebrated in fayre, and large discourse. And in the life of *Agricola.*[132]

---

[129] Op. Cit., Llwyd. Fo. 6-7.
[130] Ibid., Fo. 30.
[131] Ibid. Fo. 39.
[132] Ibid. 86.

And towards the end of his book he again refers to Boudica, but this time in answer to the question, “what maner of men this Iland bringeth foorth” and he follows with a list of British kings and one queen, of whom the most heroic seems to be Boudica:

> For, what shall I speake of *Brennus,* the tamer of the Romans, and Grekes, […] What of *Caswallan,* whom, as *Lucane* reporteth: *Iulius Caesar* did turne his fearfull backe? What of *Cataracus,* who molested the people of Rome with warre, the space of. ix. yeres? What of *Bundwica,* that valiant manlike dame? Who, to beginne with all, and for han[si]ll sake, slew. lxx. thousand *Romans.* Of whom such feare inuaded *Rome,* and Italy*:* (as *Virunnius* writeth) as neuer the like before, neither at commynge of *Brennus,* nor of *Hannibal.*[133]

The reference to her invading Italy is intriguing. Llwyd attributes this information to Pontico Virunio (“as *Virunnius* writeth”). Although Llywd cites his main sources for Boudica as Tacitus and Dio he is the only writer in the early modern period to incorporate this element of Virunio’s text into Boudica’s story. How can this be explained? I can only speculate that the other scholars of the period attached no credit to Virunio’s reference or they simply discarded Virunio’s inclusion of hearsay. The persons concerned in the quote, “Of whom such feare inuaded *Rome,* and *Italy,*” may simply be understood as popular talk.

Holinshed's chronicles of Britain were first issued in 1577, and again in 1587. Known thereafter as *Holinshed's Chronicles* these expensive, de luxe history books were written in English and had eleven other contributors apart from Raphael Holinshed himself. Amongst these were Edmund Campion, William Harrison, Richard Stanyhurst for the 1577 edition and John Hooker (as general editor), Abraham Fleming, John Stow and Francis Thynne for the 1587 edition. Although the title announces the project as one of chronicle writing, James Knapp believes that these chronicles "clearly display the characteristics of 'a story' as defined by [Hayden] White."[134] In order to substantiate this claim he quotes White's definition of story and chronicle:

---

[133] Ibid. 90.

[134] Knapp, J. *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England. The Representation of History in Printed Books.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. p. 168.

> I take 'chronicle' and 'story' to refer to 'primitive elements' in the historical account, but both represent processes of selection and arrangement of data from the unprocessed historical record in the interest of rendering that record more comprehensible to an audience of a particular kind. As thus conceived, the historical work represents an attempt to mediate among what I will call the historical field, the unprocessed historical record, other historical accounts and an audience.
>
> First the elements in the historical field are organised into a chronicle by the arrangement of the events to be dealt with in the temporal order of their occurrence; then the chronicle is organised into a story by the further arrangement of the events into the components of a 'spectacle' or process of happening, which is thought to possess a discernable beginning, middle and end. This transformation of chronicle into story is effected by the characterisation of some events in the chronicle in terms of inaugural motifs, of others in terms of terminating motifs, and yet of others in terms of transitional motifs.[135]

Read for its stories about British history and its chorographic descriptions of the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, the chronicle also functioned as almanac, travel guide, national archive and source book. As a general rule, Holinshed was interested in writers and texts which contributed to the national culture, and this can easily justify his inclusion of disparate and sometimes contradictory sources in the *chronicles*. It is clear from this that unity and order were not always the maxims of *The Chronicles*, but in an effort to be objective Holinshed explains how and why he chose texts for inclusion in *The Chronicles*:

> I have collected (the history) out of manie and sundrie authors, in whom what contrarietie, negligence, and rashnesse sometimes is found in their reports, I leave to the discretion of those that have perused their works: for my part, I have in things doubtful rather chosen to shew the diversitie of their writings, than by over-ruling them, and using a peremptorie censure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leaving it neverthless to each mans judgement, to controll them as he seeth cause. [136]

[135] White, H. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. cf. Knapp. p. 168.
[136] *Holinshed's Chronicles.* 1587.*Vol. 2* 'Preface to the Reader.' cf. Patterson, A. *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1994. p.15.

Annabel Patterson argues that this reflects a deliberate policy by Holinshed and his collaborators to "register how extraordinarily complicated, even dangerous, life had become in post-Reformation England, when every change of regime initiated a change in the official religion, and hence in the meaning and value of acts and allegiances."[137] Surviving the censors and being authorised by the stationer's company, the middle, fairly uncritical way of allowing the reader to be his own historian seemed to be a safe alternative to the dangerous route of critical analyst, as heavy censorship of the second edition proved.

Although Abraham Fleming claimed significant cultural authority and veracity for the chronicles, even stating that "next unto the holie scripture, chronicles doo carie credit,"[138] Holinshed considered, just as some New Historicists do, that literary texts were also part of the historical picture and that the anecdote, which has all the qualities of an Aesopian fable with a narrative about human behaviour and one or two colourful characters, has the representational quality of bringing an historical statistic to life and helping us to understand the motivations and cultural fabric of a past culture. To this end the chronicle writers did not hesitate to include both literary and non-literary texts in an effort to weave local colour into their accounts, even though this was increasingly criticised by the more serious history writers. F.J. Levy was highly critical of the *Chronicles'* huge, heterogeneous form and lack of organisation. Writing in 1967 he states: "Perhaps the most striking fact about any of these chronicles is the amount of random information they contain. A few reigns might have a noticeable structure (which was usually borrowed from Polydore), but even in these there was a vast quantity of miscellaneous matter which in no way contributed to the organisation."[139] Speaking of their lack of a clear, narrative structure and historical discernment he further adds: "There was no conception of history writing as selective: a historian did not remake the past in his own image or in any other but instead reported the events of the past in the order in which they occurred. The criterion by which a historian was judged was the quantity of information he managed to cram between the covers of his book; if the matter of quality arose at all, it was relevant to accuracy. Once facts could be established as equal in authenticity, they were assumed to be equal in all other ways as well."[140]

---

[137] Ibid. p. 6.
[138] *Holinshed's Chronicles.* 1587. 1: 766. cf. Patterson. p. vii.
[139] Levy, F.J. *Tudor Historical Thought.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967. p. 167.
[140] Ibid. p. 168.

As far as historical method is concerned Holinshed favoured the cut-and-paste approach; he copied and he paraphrased, with little attempt at originality. The narratives of Tacitus and Dio were almost always included verbatim. Referring to the work of Professor Arnaldo Momigliano, Daniel Woolf[141] observes that writers of the Renaissance period were reluctant to re-write the work of the classic writers because of a "pious dread of the ancient masters."[142] Imbued with a sense of awe for the Roman and Greek historians "any attempt by modern men to imitate them would be regarded as an act of hubris."[143] So they didn't. Instead they would include all the sources, even those which were clearly contradictory, with little attempt to reconcile differences or employ critical analysis. This did lead to incoherence and confusion in places.

However, the Holinshed team included long, prefatory bibliographies and they did quote their sources with marginal references for key points. Fleming also added chapter divisions and brief résumés to the 1587 edition to facilitate reading but the woodcuts from the 1577 edition were removed. The first edition had included 1026 images taken from 212 woodcuts and it is not known why these illustrations were taken out. Patterson speculates that this was a cost-saving decision taken by the new editor to save space,[144] whilst Knapp gives this change far more significance by placing it within the Protestant iconoclastic turn of the Reformation. He writes: "the charge of idolatry was a potentially powerful and damaging threat to any printer's reputation."[145] He further adds that "the advent of a Protestant aesthetic began to affect the rhetorical privileging of verbal over visual representations" and that the 1580's saw "the disappearance of the majority of visual illustrations in English printed histories." [146]

Holinshed, writing the volumes on the history of England and Scotland, makes a number of contributions to representations of Boudica in the Elizabethan period. For the first time he places the Boudican rebellion in its correct geographical location, that of Norfolk, Essex and London, whilst keeping the story of Boece's Voada in his *Historie of Scotland,* and even gives particular prominence to the two stories with the inclusion of two woodcuts in the 1577 edition of the chronicles of England, and a

[141] quoted by Woolf. Op. Cit., 'Erudition and the Idea of History.' pp. 12-13.
[142] Ibid. p.13.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Op. Cit.,Patterson. p. 56.
[145] Op. Cit., Knapp. p. 68.
[146] Ibid. p. 72.

further two woodcuts in the Scottish treatment of Boudica's story. For the sources concerning Boudica Holinshed used Boece for Scotland, even keeping Boece's inclusions of Tacitus's references and Polydore's possible miscopying of a Tacitus manuscript as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Compare for example the following extracts from Holinshed and Boece:

> In this batall was slayn, as writis Cornelius Tacitus, 70,000 Romanis and 30,000 Albianis. Boece[147]

> In this unhappy bataill war slayn 80,000 Albianis, with Rodorik, capitaine, and mony of all ye Murrayis. Boece[148]

> there died...what in the batayle and als were in the chase 70,000 Romains and other strangers which served amonst them, and of Scots, Pictes and other Brytaynes, were slaine 30,000. Holinshed[149]

> There were slaine of them at the poynt of 80,000 persons as Tacitus wryteth. The more part of the Morauians, togither with their captaine Roderike were in that number. Holinshed[150]

For England, Holinshed used Tacitus, Dio, Polydore, and again refers to Boece but this time to correct Boece's errors regarding the confusion between the two Celtic kings, Prasutagus and Aruiragus, whom Boece seems to have merged into one,[151] and to correct the geographic location of the British tribes.[152] Although quoting Boece's Tacitus in the Historie of Scotland Holinshed is quick to discredit any cultural authority Boece has assumed: "none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius."[153]

The *Chronicles* also had a clear didactic purpose, as with most historical texts including the ancient ones, and this is stated in the "Preface to the Reader." When Holinshed writes: "the incouragement of ... woorthie countriemen, by elders

---

147 Boece, Hector. *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 1527, trans. (into Scots) John Bellenden, 1531. p. 146.
148 Ibid. p. 147.
149 Holinsed. *chronicles of Scotland.* 1577. p. 44.
150 Ibid. p. 45.
151 Op. Cit., Holinshed. *Chronicles of England.* 1587. chapter 10. p. 495.
152 Ibid. chapter 9. p. 493.
153 Ibid.

advancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by soure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and histories ought cheefelie to be written,"[154] he is giving us the traditional humanist philosophy of history which is that of teaching through example. Part of this project is also to show readers what it means to be a subject of Elizabeth's protestant realm. Conversely though the *Chronicles* also give voice to the new nationalist discourse of the land. The themes of isolationism and patriotic nationalism are voiced in Boudica's oration, taken from Dio, but can we judge this to be Holinshed's discourse or Dio's? I argue in my final chapters that by reproducing almost verbatim the ancient texts, the early modern writers gave voice to ancient Roman ideals of nationalism and gender politics which had already been attained by the citizen subjects of the Roman Empire, and that literary writers thereafter gave body to British nationalism by using the ancient historical representations of nationalism as found in the British chronicles. Effectively, both Tacitus and Dio treat Boudica as a spokeswoman for national self-consciousness and for political and sexual freedom and Holinshed includes their two speeches in his account.

Furthermore, the Elizabethan reader was confronted, really for the first time, with Dio's account of the Britons' savage excess in war. Not only did Holinshed's account cover female patriotism, giving particular prominence to this through the use of the woodcut of Boudica's oration, but it also describes in lurid detail the war atrocities perpetuated on the bodies of the female captives by the British forces over which Boudica had command. These representations of Boudica are also of interest as evidence of early modern representations of ancient Britons. We should note that the pictorial representations of early Britons are based solely on information gleaned from the ancient Greek and Roman texts and fleshed out with contemporary cultural references to dress, weapons and armour.

The anachronistic representations of the ancient world with the cultural references of the present seemed to the chronicle writers to be the only way of apprehending the past. Whilst over-simplifying this point F. J. Levy condenses it into the following statement: "the late medieval chronicle may be seen as a compilation, loosely organised, whose author had no firm grasp of the essential differences between past and present, who thought of the events of a hundred years before his own time as occurring in a context identical to the world in which he himself lived."[155] This was

[154]Op. Cit., Holinshed. *Chronicles,* 1577. cf. Patterson. p.15.
[155] Op. Cit., Levy. p. ix.

not so much of a problem to the early chronicle writers who saw all history "as present history, either because it expressed a theological schema that was equally valid in all times or places, or finally, because it listed facts useful to one or another group of readers"[156]

This anachronistic view of the past is apparent when we look at Holinshed's woodcuts of 1577. Probably designed in the large majority of cases by the Bruges painter and etcher, Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder,[157] Knapp points out the deliberate anachronistic policy of Holinshed and his team when he writes: "Holinshed and his collaborators were well aware of anachronism, both in the crafting of their narratives and their use of illustrations. Rather [...] these images evoke the contemporary ethos toward which all the accidents of the history were thought to lead."[158] He further quotes Holinshed himself who offers a list of "faultes escaped" in his English history: "And where as in the pictures of battle, ther are in sundrie places gunnes before the invention of that kind of engine [see figure 3 below], whereby the reader may discerne some error, and desirous peradventure to know when they came first in use, he shal understand that we read not of any to bee put in practice, till the yeare 1380, in the warres betwixt the Venetians and the Genoweys, at Chiozza."[159] This seems to give priority to the visual role of didacticism over the accurate representation of history. Knapp informs us that Holinshed's "willingness to both include and produce anachronistic representations of history, knowingly and without any attempt to claim representational accuracy (even alerting those readers who may have missed it), indicates the priority of didacticism in the conception of the *Chronicles.* To ensure that history teach, the designers were aware that they would have to bring the records to life, out of the musty annals and into the contemporary imagination."[160]

[156] Ibid. p. 21.
[157] Op. Cit., Knapp. *Illustrating the Past.* p. 191 refers readers to Hodnett's circumstantial evidence in identifying Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder as the artist.
[158] Ibid. p. 200.
[159] Holinshed. 1577. 2v. Op. Cit., Knapp. p. 204.
[160] Ibid. p. 205.

This is certainly the case in the woodcut below showing Boudica's address to her troops just before battle is joined with the Romans. In figure 1 Boudica is wearing Tudor dress as are her men and she also carries the Elizabethan paraphernalia of sovereignty. This is a visual representation of Boudica as described by Dio, brought to the public's attention for the first time really but in Elizabethan expression. Under her cloak there is a hare which she is just about to release in order to prophesise victory for the Britons.

Figure n° 1: *Holinshed's Chronicles*: *the History of England*. 1577.

The second woodcut shows the final battle between the Romans and the British warriors. Boudica is not in this scene but again we are confronted with an anachronistic vision of the past as the two armies confront each other with sixteenth century weapons and armour.

Figure n° 2: *Holinshed's Chronicles: the History of England.* 1577.

The next two woodcuts are taken from Holinshed's account of the chronicles of Scotland, which used Boece as a source, and show Boece's Voada in sixteenth century dress leading her army of ladies against the Romans who are armed with guns. However, it should be noted that the same woodcuts were recycled for use in different sections of the *Chronicles,* and the tree in the middle was to facilitate the disassembly and the reassembly of the blocks for other parts of the book. For example, the woodcut on the left was reprinted elsewhere for other historical battles and of the 212 woodcuts made for the 1577 edition over 1000 pictures were produced.[161]

Figure n° 3: *Holinshed's Chronicles, the History of Scotland.* 1577.

[161] 1026 pictures to be exact. cf. Knapp. p. 40.

The final woodcut shows Voada's daughter, Vodicia, being executed by the Roman soldiers for her insurgence and the renewal of the rebellion first initiated by her mother.

Figure n°4: *Holinshed's Chronicles; the History of Scotland.* 1577.

Very little is known about the artists who produced the designs for the *Chronicles*. In his book, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (1973), Edward Hodnett identifies Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder as the designer of the majority of the woodcuts in Holinshed but James Knapp points to the lack of documentary evidence for this. Rather, Hodnett bases his assumption on the fact that the printer, Bynneman, had been known to use Gheeraerts for other work and that the woodcuts show traces of "Flemish realism."[162] We can also add that England had no tradition of representing narrative history in the visual arts[163] and this may explain Bynneman's employment of Gheeraerts, a painter and etcher from Bruges. Because of the lack of documented evidence we do not know whether the artist worked directly from Dio's text or from Holinshed's account. If we follow Daniel Woolf's research in this field it seems that familiarity with the historical sources and methods was expected of artists and poets of

[162] Op. Cit., Knapp. p. 191.
[163] Op. Cit., Woolf. *The Social Circulation of the Past*. p. 197.

narrative history. With reference to Sir Philip Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetry* (1581) Woolf states that Sydney's definition of a poet was that of a man who combined all "the qualities of a good historian […] and the talents of a good poet."[164] Woolf also applies this definition to artists but quotes from Sir Joshua Reynolds' work more than a century later when didacticism and anachronism had ceded their places to accuracy and coherence in the visual representation of history.

The anachronistic view of the British past was to change in the latter part of the sixteenth century thanks to the influence of humanism and the work of European historicists such as the Italian Lorenzo Valla. By using the tools of philology in order to analyse the form and meaning of a text Valla was able to expose a text's temporality and develop the concept of anachronism, which Levy suggests was a "decisive factor in the rewriting of the record of England's past."[165] The concept of anachronism was a "decisive factor" because it made historians and readers more aware of their own limits in imagining another time and place. To illustrate this point Levy gives the example of Petrarch writing to Cicero and Homer. Petrarch may have enjoyed writing to them in Latin and Greek but he was highly conscious of the cultural and political gap between his time and theirs.

An influential representation of Boudica in the mid-1580's was that given by William Camden the year before Holinshed's second edition of his *Chronicles* was published. Camden's *Britannia* was written by the 35-year old schoolmaster and topographer in response to the geographer, Abraham Ortelius, who encouraged Camden to "acquaint the world with Britain, that ancient island; that is, to restore Britain to its antiquities, and its Antiquities to Britain, to renew the memory of what was old, illustrate what was obscure, and settle what was doubtful."[166] Accordingly, Camden produced his work about "Britain or a chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland" in 1586. Initially written in Latin for an international market, *Britannia* went through several editions with many new additions in Camden's lifetime, which makes it a difficult text to discuss. Hugely popular in Britain itself, it was translated into English by Philemon Holland in 1610 and became the encyclopaedic reference for Britain.

As a humanist scholar, Camden was responsible for introducing the topographical antiquarian approach from Renaissance Italy into Britain, although

[164] Ibid. p. 199.
[165] Op. Cit., Levy. np. 77.
[166] Op. Cit., Camden. *Britannia,* 1586. The preface.

Leland had done a lot of the spadework before him, and he was remembered by his contemporaries as an antiquarian. Spenser refers to him in his poem *The Ruines of Time* and the following quotation is found on Camden's monument in Westminster Abbey:

> Camden! the nourice of antiquitie,
> And lanterne unto late succeeding age.[167]

Camden considered himself an antiquarian and he consistently refused to write narrative history, preferring instead to divide his work into counties and into tribal regions for the early Roman period. Whenever he does recount a narrative of men and deeds from the medieval period, he apologises: "these are things without our element. Let us returne againe from persons to places."[168] Yet the *Britannia* is known as a history and was in fact given the title of a "history" by Camden's former deputy, John Philipot.[169] Moreover, his historical coverage of Roman Britain does include the narratives of the classical models.

Camden's treatment of Boudica's rebellion includes the narrative accounts of Tacitus's *Annals* and *Agricola,* but, as already noted above, his inclusion of Tacitus with no revisions and very little re-editing was probably due to the humanist respect for the ancients. What is of interest is Camden's decision not to include Dio's account of Boudica's rebellion. As an accomplished linguist and expert in Latin, Greek, Welsh and Anglo-Saxon, he could read Dio's Greek text in the original and in fact did use it in his collection of "Grave Speeches and Witty Apothegms of Worthy Personages of this Realm in Former Times." Here, he included a three-line reference to Boudica's speech taken from Dio in which she releases a hare from her lap,[170] but he does not include any reference to Dio in his account of Boudica in the *Britannia.* This omission is quite intriguing; not only does he not include Dio's nationalistic and religious speeches but he does not describe the war atrocities given in detail in *Xiphilinus's* Epitomes. He does, however, include Tacitus's description of the omens seen just before the rebellion, and in the margin refers the reader to Xiphilinus's account of Nero's reign.[171]

---

[167] Spenser. *Ruines of Time.* pp. 169-170. cf. Kendrick. Op. Cit., p. 156.
[168] Quoted in Woolf. 'Erudition and the Idea of History.' Op. Cit., p. 24.
[169] Ibid. p. 44.
[170] Camden, W. *Remains Concerning Britain.* ed. R. D. Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1984. 205-206. cf. Op. Cit., Mikalachki. p. 102.
[171] Op. Cit., Camden. *Britannia.* p. Lxiv.

Camden was a keen patriot who had undertaken the writing of the *Britannia* for "love of his country"[172] and included a panegyric on the British Isles both in the *Britannia*, in Latin, and in his *Remains of a Greater Work concerning Britain*:

> Britain is well knowne to be the most flourishing and excellent, most renowned and famous Isle of the whole world: so rich in commodities, so beautiful in situation, so resplendent in all glorie, that if the Omnipotent had fashioned the world round like a ring, as he did like a globe, it might have been most worthily the only gemme therein.[173]

He also believed that "Religion and the Commonwealth cannot be parted asunder."[174] Perhaps we can speculate that it was because of his patriotism that he chose not to tarnish Britain's image in the eyes of his foreign readers with the details of ancient British atrocities, but how can we explain his omission regarding Boudica's nationalistic and religious speeches in Dio? Camden's own panegyric echoes that of Dio's idea of Britain as an island nation[175] which is again repeated in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and in Fletcher's *Tragedie of Bonduca*, and it is apparent from the subtitle of the *Britannia*, “A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adioyning,” that he supported the dynastic power of the Tudor monarchy and regarded the nation in terms of sovereign kingdoms. Yet the occlusion of any reference to Dio, in direct opposition to Holinshed, seems surprising considering Camden's reputation amongst his contemporaries as a serious and ground-breaking antiquarian-historian. On what then was this reputation based?

Highly educated and widely read, Camden used all the known written sources at his disposal. He also travelled a lot and studied the material remains of the past, particularly numismatics. The *Britannia* includes a section on coins whilst the 1600 edition carries a plate including a number of illustrations of the pre-Roman coins of the Celtic tribes.[176] In *Remains Concerning Britain* (1614) he discusses ancient British coins and attributes one of them to "the famous Brunduica,"[177] which may have drawn on John Speed's reference to Boudica. Camden also used etymology and conjecture to

[172] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 234.
[173] Op. Cit., Camden, W. *Remains Concerning Britain.*1. cf. Smith-Fussner. p. 234.
[174] Camden, W. *History.* 'Author to Reader.' cf. Smith-Fussner. p. 237.
[175] See Dio Cassius. *Roman History,* lxii, 1, 1-12. p. 87-88 for this speech .
[176] Plate 69. Op. Cit., Kendrick. plate viii.
[177] Op. Cit., Hingley and Unwin. p. 124.

trace the origins of peoples in the British Isles, and studied place names in order to establish the influence of those peoples. From this he asserted the multi-cultural background of the British, which included the Britons (now the Welsh), Scots, Picts, Romans, Saxons and Danes.[178]

As mentioned above he also followed the ancient sources very closely, often citing them as his authority. As a general rule he avoided including speeches and orations "unless they be the very same *verbatim*, or else abbreviated."[179] For the speeches by Boudica and Suetonius, taken from Tacitus's *Annals,* Camden uses indirect reported speech, as he does also for the Britons' speech in the *Agricola.* He also tried to place events in their socio-political context and understand their causes by following Polybius's advice for historical research:

> Take away from History Why, How, and to What End, Things have been done, and Whether the thing done hath succeeded according to Reason; and all that remains will be an idle Sport and Foolery, than a profitable Instruction; and though for the present it may delight, for the future it cannot profit.[180]

However, as already stated he did not always follow this advice. For his description of the Britons' rebellion he does not include the causes mentioned by Dio, that is the calling-in of Roman loans to the Britons.

Camden's selection of 'facts,' figurative language and framing devices is not only indicative of the meanings he imposed on the past but is also evidence of Camden's ideological position concerning the interpretation of that past. According to Hayden White the decision to narrate real events in history form serves the ideological function of asserting the meaningful nature of the past. Events are encoded by the use of figurative language, the use of such tropes as the metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony, and every narrative has a figurative level of meaning which allows their identification by the reader as elements of a particular story type. Furthermore, the choice of a plot helps to structure the past so a reader can make sense of it and in this respect history is very close to a literary construct. In his work on *The Tropics of Discourse* White argues "that interpretation in history consists of the provisions of a

---

[178] Baker, D. Maley, W. *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*. *Literary Criticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 160.
[179] Op. Cit., 'Author to Reader,' *Britannia.* cf. Smith-Fussner. p. 236.
[180] Ibid. p. 237.

plot structure for a sequence of events so that their nature as a comprehensible process is revealed by their figuration as a *story of a particular kind.* What one historian may emplot as a tragedy, another may emplot as a comedy or romance."[181]

If we look at Camden's methodology we see that he made both moral and aesthetic choices when selecting data to support his point of view and although he followed Tacitus in emplotting his narrative in a tragedy he later included his own elements of irony to show that rebellion is often ill-advised. For example, in Camden's *Remains concerning Britain* Mikalachki interprets Camden's treatment of Boudica as one of wry condemnation when he dismisses the Britons' veneration of the hare as superstitious nonsense. The hare had seemingly predicted victory for the Britons yet "the success of the battle proved otherwise." [182] According to Mikalachki's interpretation of Camden's ideological position the Britons' revolt met with the failure it deserved.

Although Mikalachki recognises that "the voice that speaks ... in the first Edition of the *Britannia* was ... originally that of Tacitus,"[183] I would suggest here that Mikalachki fails to place Camden fully in the historiographic tradition of the sixteenth century. If we comprehend the chronicle tradition as one of court reporter coupled with the humanist respect for the 'untouchable' classical texts then we cannot easily read into those texts the voices of the Tudor writers. "The ultimate verdict against Boadicea is clear in Camden and Holinshed" Mikalachki writes,[184] yet it is not necessarily Camden's and Holinshed's verdict as Mikalachki suggests but that of Tacitus and Dio. What we could suggest here is that the discovery of Boudica changed the chronological narrative of ancient Britain and that the debate and discourses which her recovery provoked also contributed to the development of Tudor and Stuart historiography but no one historian really attempted a new narrative of Boudica's rebellion until Edmund Bolton's *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraved* in 1624.[185]

---

[181] Op. Cit. White. *Tropics of Discourse.* p. 58.
[182] Op. Cit., Camden. *Remains concerning Britain.* pp. 205-206. cf. Mikalachki. p. 102.
[183] Op. Cit. Mikalachki. p. 121.
[184] Ibid.
[185] As for the quality of Camden's methodology charges of error, plagiarism and forgery were levelled against him during his lifetime, often by the York Herald, Ralph Brooke, who consistently pointed out Camden's errors to him. Although Camden's geography for Roman Britain did become surer (he correctly places Verulamium at St. Albans) he misplaced Camulodunum at Maldon, in Essex, by arguing that the Saxon name of 'Maledune' was taken from the title of the Roman colony (Hingley and Unwin. p. 124.) It is also believed that Camden inserted a forged passage about King Alfred founding the University of Oxford in a work called *Asser* (Kendrick. p. 155). As for his sources, he did use the

Stow, Speed, Daniel, Clapham and Edmund Bolton

The next historian of interest is John Stow, whose work on Boudica has already been discussed. He was familiar with her story because of his earlier publications, *The Chronicles* (1580), *The Annales* (1592) and his collaborative work on the 1587 edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles.* However, he published one other work, the *Survey of London* in 1598 in which he includes a cursory treatment of the Britons' revolt against Rome. He simply writes:

> For Tacitus, who first of all Autors nameth it Londinum, sayth that in the 62. after Christ it was albeit, no Colonie of the Romaines, yet most famous for the greate multitude of Marchantes, prouision, and intercourse. At which time in that notable reuolte of the B[...]itons from Nero, in which 70000. Romaines & their leager fellowes were slaine, this Citie with Verulam nere S. Albons, and Maldon, then all famous: were ransacked and spoiled. For Suetonius Paulinus then Lieftennant for the Romaines in this Isle, abandoned it: as not then forseyied, and left it to the spoile.[186]

Naming his source as Tacitus, the "first of all Autors," Stow does not include material from Dio as he had done in earlier works and he omits any reference to Boudica. As his title suggests, his primary interest is the city of London, its topographic description, its origins and customs. His only lapsus into a narrative style is that of describing the ancient Britons and the Romans in his brief, prefatory account to the book.

Anthony Munday, who continued Stow's work after his death, makes no mention of Boudica in his texts despite his own interest in rebellions and revolts.[187] Munday's 'personal' contribution to historiography, *A briefe chronicle of the successe of times,* mentions neither Boudica nor her rebellion.[188] Plagiarised from John Stow's work, Smith-Fussner alludes to Munday's *briefe chronicle* as "hack work."[189] However, Stow's *Survey* is of importance as an example of Stow's developing methodology and

scissors-and-paste technique for his narrative accounts of ancient Britain, as most of his contemporaries did. However, it was alleged, by Brooke, that Camden had used Leland's work as his own by using Leland's unpublished notes. Later editors of the *Britannia,* Gibson and Gough, defended Camden against this charge, as does Kendrick, who nevertheless concedes that Camden did use a great deal of Leland's material without always acknowledging his debt to Leland.

[186] Stow, J. *Survey of London.* London: John Wolfe, 1598. p.4.
[187] Op. Cit., Gadd and Gillespie. p. 106.
[188] Munday, A. *A briefe chronicle of the successe of times*. London: W. Iaggard, 1611.
[189] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 179.

of his antiquarian interest in the physical remains of the past. It is also a prime model of the new genre of city histories which was flourishing in the growing urban centres of England and indicates a break from the humanist style of earlier chronicles. London's population, for example, had trebled between 1563 and 1624 to over 30,000,[190] providing a large middle-class readership for Stow's *Survey of London.*

For the origins of London, Stow went as far back into antiquity as he could, covering the Roman period very briefly, before concentrating on the medieval period for which there was more documentary evidence. He used a variety of historical and antiquarian techniques in his research which included fieldwork, questioning place names, reading the work of previous writers, sifting through the public records and monastic archives.[191] Stow tells his readers that he had even studied Roman burial urns and other artefacts which workmen had recently dug up in London.[192] Consequently, his accounts are generally accurate and precise. He acknowledges his various authorities and is concerned "to put down some proofe" to support his arguments.[193] And although Stow did not attempt to relate events to their causes as Camden had done, he did seek to place texts and their writers in their specific cultural past. This is apparent in his treatment of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which he tells the readers of his *Summarie of Englishe Chronicles* (1570 edition) to consider the times in which Geoffrey wrote before condemning him: "the true Histories may of a skillful Reader be well decerned from the false, and many things in him that seem strange are approved by the best Writers of al Ages."[194] This is of interest for it is indicative of the break between the anachronistic representations of the past found in earlier work and the more analytical representations of the past based on empirical evidence and material remains.

The anachronistic break with the past was probably formalised by John Speed in his two works, *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (1611) and *The Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (1612)[195] when he included pictures of ancient Britons based on ethnographic

---

[190] Simon, J. *Education and Society in Tudor England.* Cambridge, 1959. p. 385.
[191] He frequently used the library of the chapel of St Bartholomew which had survived the dissolution. Op. Cit., Gadd & Gillespie. p. 65.
[192] Op. Cit., Stow. *Survey.* I. pp. 168-70. cf. Smith-Fussner. p. 218.
[193] Ibid. I, 156. cf. Smith-Fussner. p. 222.
[194] Ibid. Stow. *Summarie.* London. 1570. (No pagination). cf. Smith-Fussner. p. 216.
[195] Speed, J. *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans*. London: Iohn Sudbury & Georg Humble, 1611. Speed, J. *The Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*. London: William Hall. 1612.

comparisons with the American Indians. Although Speed's work holds a liminal place in the iconographic shift in representations of ancient Britons and of Boudica in particular, he was not the first to draw on ethnographic evidence. Transitional figures included Lucas de Heere and Camden. The Dutchman, Lucas de Heere, had included an illustration of two naked British natives with body paint in his *Description of Britain* in 1575[196] and Camden had made ethnographic parallels between the ancient Briton and early modern Irish in the *Britannia.* In the section entitled 'Ireland and the British Ocean' Camden wrote: "the Britains used small wicker vessels, cover'd with leather, such as they call *Corraghs* at this day, is evidenced from Pliny, with whom Lucan agrees."[197] Camden was also the first writer to make a link between the body paint of the American native and that of the ancient Britons as recorded by Caesar, a comparison exploited by Speed in his representation of Boudica.[198]

The following woodcut, found in both of Speed's works, uses Boudica to represent a female version of an ancient Briton:

Figure n° 5: Speed's Boudica, an ancient Briton.

[196] Op. Cit., Kendrick. p. 124, and see plate xiii b.
[197] Cf. Piggott. Op. Cit., p. 64.
[198] Ibid. p. 74.

Using De Bry's engraving of a “women neighbour to the Pictes,” taken from *America,*[199] Speed’s ancient Briton is almost the same but she wears the body paint worn by American natives and mentioned by Caesar. Her physical appearance is taken from Dio’s description of Boudica; she has long, flowing hair, a cloak and spear, and has just released the prophetic hare from her gown, and is indeed named "the most valiant British Lady Boudicea."[200] Here, Boudica is shown as a more civilised version of a native savage or, in other terms, as a noble savage, which was just one facet of the dichotomy surrounding representations of Boudica at this time. Because of strong feelings of nationalism and patriotism, both of which were attached to representations of Boudica, there was resistance to depictions of her and of the Britons as a simple, naked and savage people. It is no accident that Speed chose an ancient Briton to hold the place of honour in the centre of the frontispieces to the *Historie* and the *Theatre,* surrounded by a representative from the other races of England; the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans. Long-haired and scantily clad, but never naked, the ancient Briton is both muscular and graceful.

Barbarity and nakedness were often linked: "the most barbarous of them used to goe naked," Speed tells us.[201] This idea can be traced back to the descriptions of savages taken from the classical texts and also taken from the eyewitness accounts of voyagers to the New World. Yet representations of Boudica often depict her as a clothed savage. This is based solely on Dio's account of the Celtic queen and according to Hingley and Unwin is a key element in the domestication of Boudica in the literary texts. Speed uses Dio to develop the idea that Boudica and her ancient Britons were "farre more modest, that is indeed more womanly" than previous women. Hingley and Unwin's interpretation of this text identifies Speed's Britons as a "people who had progressed, perhaps under the influence of Rome. Clothing therefore becomes a signifier of an increased level of civilisation."[202]

Although Speed again used the cut-and-paste technique of the chronicle writers he added a lot of his own editorial comment, too, which greatly enriched later developments regarding Boudica. He is probably the first historian to make a direct parallel between Boudica and Carthimandua which seems to be significant in the light of my own research concerning the inspiration for Shakespeare’s queen in *Cymbeline*

[199] Op. Cit., Kendrick. plate xiv.
[200] Op. Cit., Speed. *Historie.* p. 182.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Op. Cit., Hingley and Unwin. p. 209.

which I discuss in chapter three. Speed cites the first woman for her virtue and the second one for her vices, and he puts his own moral condemnation of Carthimandua into the mouth of Boudica. When Boudica speaks to her people she refers to Carthimandua as "that strumpet" and as an adulteress, the "still-living shame" of women.[203] Speed's moral position is confirmed elsewhere by his rejection of the Brute myth, not on grounds of inaccuracy but on moral ones. As Smith-Fussner writes: "Brute was guilty of adultery" and therefore "debased the English."[204]

Speed emphasises Boudica's heroic value and competent military leadership by comparing her to Elizabeth I, as Holinshed's woodcut had done earlier. She makes a long, and stirring oration to her people, inciting them to valour and sacrifice in the name of nationalism: "We have as much to keepe as Birth-right hath given us, that is, our iland possessed by our Auncestors from all antiquitie."[205] Speed legitimises her position to lead her people, in spite of her female gender, by citing her patriotism ("her hearts affection approved to her countrie"), by citing her birth ("extracted from their Roiall blood") and by referring to her character.[206] It is perhaps because of his nationalist speech that Speed omits the counter oration by the Roman general to his soldiers. Speed is keen to represent the British point of view and to legitimise their revolt from the Roman conquerors. This may account for his decision to gloss over Dio's report about the British war atrocities just as Camden had done even though both writers were familiar with Dio's text.

Much as his predecessors had done, Speed closely follows the narrative of Tacitus, supplementing his work with details from Dio, pasting together work from other chronicles and following the beaten track of Camden in antiquarian research. Whilst ostensibly publishing two different books a year apart, it seems that the differentiating principle was one of history and antiquarianism. The title of the 1611 book calls itself a history whilst the 1612 book announces itself as a chorographic description of Britain "presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland and the ilse ajioyning."[207] Having said this, Speed covers history and geography in each book and repeats the same illustrations and narrative description of Boudica in both works. His contribution to historiography is one of form and research technique. The new form is discussed by Woolf and concerns the new typology and

[203] Op. Cit. , Speed. *Theatre*. chapter 7, p. 199.
[204] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 178.
[205] Op. Cit., Speed. *Theatre.* p. 199.
[206] Ibid. p. 198.
[207] Op. Cit., Speed. *Theatre.*

different layout adopted by Speed which Woolf argues "mark the borderland between history and chronicle in Renaissance England."[208]

Speed's value as a source of information regarding representations of Boudica lies in his antiquarian approach to the study of the past. Not only does he apply anthropology to the interpretation of the British past but he also uses maps and numismatics. For the first time Speed's *Theatre* provides its readers with the first fully-developed maps of Britain on both a national and local level, drawn by the topographer, John Norden, and includes clear illustrations of coins which he attributes to different tribes and people including one coin to Boudica. It is for these reasons that Speed's work represents a "landmark in English historiography" according to Smith-Fussner.[209]

Giving her a number of different names Speed calls the Iceni queen 'Boudicca', 'Voadica' and 'Boduo,' the last name taken from a coin since found to belong to a leader of the Dobunni tribe in Gloucestershire and not to the Iceni tribe at all.[210] Figure 6 below shows the coin that Speed designates as belonging to 'Bodvo'. At the end of a short text about Prasutagus and 'Boduo' he writes: "Her Coyne of gold we have here expressed, the form shield-like, and upon the embossement thus inscribed: BODVO."[211]

Figure n° 6. The gold coin Speed attributes to Boudica. *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* and *The Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine.* figure 13, p. 176.

[208] Op. Cit., Woolf. 'Genre into Artefact.' p. 329.
[209] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 179.
[210] Re-interpreted by John Akerman in 1849. Op. Cit., Hingley and Unwin. pp. 124 & 215.
[211] Op. Cit., Speed. p. 177.

Before moving on to a discussion of the final historical treatment of Boudica in our period, that by Edmund Bolton, I would like to look at Samuel Daniel's work and compare his *Collection of the Historie of England*[212] with that of John Clapham's *Historie of England*.[213] Daniel published his work under James I whilst Clapham was an Elizabethan man working as clerk to William Cecil, Lord Treasurer to Elizabeth. Very little information is available about Clapham.[214] He first published his *Historie of England* anonymously in 1602 and this may be because it makes no claim to originality; Clapham based his work entirely on sources already printed by Tacitus, Dio, Stow, Holinshed and Camden and it is difficult to imagine what his contribution to history was.

However, later, under James I, he changed the title of his book and re-published the same work as *The Historie of Great Britain* (1606), which suggests his support of James's project to unite the kingdoms of Scotland and England. Whilst his work is mainly taken from Tacitus's *Annals* and *Agricola,* he glosses over any criticism of Boudica as a political and military leader and reproduces Dio's representation of her as "a woman of a great spirit, and comely personage" and one justified by birth and rank to lead the Britons.[215] He recognises her nationalist oration to her people as a unifying force and, like Camden, he does not describe in detail the atrocities recounted by Dio, thus avoiding the calumnious charge of cruel savage sometimes levelled against Boudica. We can say then that whilst Clapham's work contributes less to the erudite debate surrounding representations of Boudica in the early modern period it is significant in its overt subscription to the dominant ideology of the day, that of the new king's project to unite his two sovereign kingdoms and its peoples under the ancient name of Britain which I will return to in chapters three and four.

Like Clapham, Samuel Daniel was writing for the Jacobean court and under its patronage but rather as a court poet than as a scholar. However, historical research is what he preferred and he did eventually finish his career as a successful historian. John Pitcher suggests that Daniel's *Collection of the Historie of England* was so popular that it was reprinted three times in the ten years following the publication of part one in 1612 and it may have sold over 2,000 copies.[216] Although the text

---

[212] Daniel, S. *The collection of the Historie of England*. London: Nicholas Okes. 1618.
[213] Clapham, J. *Historie of England.* London: Simmes. 1602.
[214] See Woolf, D. R.'Clapham, John (1566–1619)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47285, accessed 8 Nov 2009]
[215] Op. Cit., Clapham. *Historie of England.* p. 42. Clapham. *Historie of Great Britain.* p. 56.
[216] Pitcher, J. 'Daniel, Samuel (1562/3–1619)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford

concerning Boudica's rebellion is very short, Daniel covers the main issues in a clear and precise way. Giving us a succinct résumé of the key points he covers the traditional themes of oppression and liberty. He considers Boudica to be a patriot and a woman of the people, a noble sovereign and an outraged mother. Like Holinshed he interprets the Britons' loss of liberty as one which led to a loss of virtue and a dark age for the nation. Apart from one geographical error placing Camolodunum in Maldon, the same error continued from Speed and Camden, Daniel makes selective choices when framing his narrative into a British tragedy. He omits any reference to the omens, to the atrocities and to the set speeches found in the classical sources and he makes a clear attempt to understand causes and effects.

Although Daniel subscribes to the view of history as divine providence, Smith-Fussner points out that his ideas regarding vice and virtue and analogies between the past and present are perfectly representative of the dominant seventeenth century attitude towards historical change.[217] Despite the moral lessons that historians included in their work, Daniel was also open to innovations and new ideas in historical method. Following Camden's lead he too was using ethnography to make parallels between America and Europe.[218] He examined all new sources and acknowledged his debt to fellow historians such as Holinshed, Stow, Grafton, Speed, Polydore Vergil and the French historicist and political philosopher, Jean Bodin.[219]

The last historian I examine in this study is Edmund Bolton who had written *Hypercritica: or a Rule of Judgement for the Writing of our Histories* between 1618 and 1621. This book attacked the "vast vulgar tomes" of previous chronicle writers on the basis of their style and methodology.[220] Patterson, however, suggests that Bolton's criticism of previous writers was based more on his class distinction between works commissioned by royal patronage and those financed by commercial printers.[221] It is true that Bolton made huge value judgements based on social differences between the aristocracy and the "the half-brutish manners of the rascall multitude"[222] which is apparent in his treatment of Boudica's rebellion in *Nero Caesar* but this does not diminish his value as an antiquarian and historian. It does, however, provide a

University Press, 2004. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7120, accessed 8 Nov 2009]
[217] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 178.
[218] Op. Cit., Orme. p. 7. Piggott. p. 85.
[219] Op. Cit., Patterson. pp. 267-268.
[220] Op. Cit., Gadd & Gillespie. p. 13.
[221] Op. Cit. Patterson. p. 5.
[222] Bolton, E. *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraved: An historicall worke.* London: Snodham and Alsop. 1624. chapter 25. §.xxi.

backdrop for Bolton's own opposition to rebellion and his belief in the absolute power and divine right of kings, even bad ones such as the Emperor Nero of whom he writes: "the unjustest peace is to bee preferred before the justest warr."[223] Woolf suggests that through the agency of the Duke of Buckingham, Bolton's patron, the views expressed in this work represent those of James.[224]

Bolton is the first historian to attempt a full-length narrative history of the reign of Nero using both literary and non-literary sources and is the exception to Momigliano's rule that early modern historians shied clear of re-writing the ancient narratives. What is more, his use of field walking and his analysis of coins, monuments, inscriptions and place names show his antiquarian approach to the interpretation of the past, and in this domain he shows the greatest respect for Camden, John Selden, John Speed and Humphrey Llwyd. Wherever necessary he incorporates their work on topography, philology and numismatics, even using coins to verify accounts by both Tacitus and Suetonius.[225] On several occasions he refers to the material remains of the Romans in the English landscape of the seventeenth century, which include references to London,[226] Verulamium[227] and Stonehenge,[228] and he alludes to other topographic knowledge of Roman Britain gleaned from Camden's maps.[229] Moreover, being an accomplished linguist and classical scholar himself, he had absorbed humanist ideas on rhetoric, style and critical analysis and married these with the new antiquarian approach to looking at the material remains of the past in order to cross-reference data, and to make calculated deductions and conjectures regarding that past. For these reasons Woolf holds Bolton's *Nero Caesar* up as "one of the earliest English attempts to synthesize humanist narrative history with advanced philological and antiquarian scholarship."[230]

Bolton's account of Boudica's rebellion covers more than a hundred pages and is clearly structured into narrative blocks describing and analysing the causes, the events and effects of the revolt, interspersed with sections giving background information on topography, on the customs and traditions of the Romans and Britons

[223] Ibid. §.xxxiiii.
[224] See Woolf, D. R. 'Bolton , Edmund Mary (*b.* 1574/5, *d.* in or after 1634)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2800, accessed 8 Nov 2009]
[225] Op. Cit., Woolf, 'Erudition and the Idea of History.' p. 31.
[226] Op. Cit., Bolton. §.xxi.
[227] Ibid. §.xxii.
[228] Ibid. §.xxxii.
[229] Ibid. §.vi.
[230] Op. Cit., Woolf, 'Erudition and the Idea of History.' p. 31.

in fighting, on their manners and belief systems. He defends his own historical method by justifying the necessity of including descriptive detail, interpretation and sign-posting in narrative technique in order to help the reader's understanding and memory. I would like to quote here a passage from Bolton which is rather long but is a good example of his understanding of history as both art and philosophy:

> the true children of historicall knowledge, who enjoy the blisse of studious leisure, they certainly, by comparing the riches of narrations, delivered in a just length, with the beggerie of abridgements, will clearly behold the notable oddes betweene the one and the other. For the spoile, and losse of things left out, or nakedly told, can be no way countervaild with the carcases, and stubbs of facts preserved standing in narratorie moniments. Lastly, though now and then, and througout this whole historicall webbe of NERO, there are sundrie doctrines, judgements, and other lights sparingly woven-in of set purpose, which some would shoulder out into marginall spaces, or blanckes at the end; yet this is the way of that excellent maister, and patterne of Historians, Polibius, who speakes interposively, and in his owne person often. A skill, or cunning, in the noble craft of writing, which most effectually conveighs the profit of directions with the delight of narrations into the sober reader; and the better withall provides for the lasting of what is good.[231]

In the opening dedication to Buckingham in *Nero Caesar* Bolton outlines the difficulties of the historian in establishing historical truth: "the difficulties grow out of the abstruse conditions of causes, consels, facts and their circumstances. And Howsoever lights may faile, yet truth is the supreame aime of every right narrationer." In his treatment of Boudica in particular he identifies these problems as the paucity of the primary sources, the bad quality of transcriptions and of translations of those sources, the errors of fellow historians and the distortion of historical representation by literary prose writers and poets.

For his account of Boudica he used and cites a long list of ancient, medieval and early modern writers which include, Tacitus, Dio, Mela, Pliny, Strabo, Julius Caesar, Bede, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Holinshed, Camden, James Aske, Edmund Spenser to name but a few. Using the original versions where possible, he criticises translations of Dio from Greek into English,[232] and in general he deplores "the wrongs, and dishonors, which the most noble authors sustain oftentimes by many

[231] Op. Cit., Bolton. §. xxxiii.
[232] Ibid. §.iiii.

translatours."[233] As for transcription he regrets the "infelicitie of the text, corrupted by transcription, [which] breeds confusion."[234] Moreover, he finds Tacitus has omitted important information such as the names of Boudica's daughters,[235] their fate[236] and the role of the twentieth legion in the final battle, when he writes: "there is no particular mention anywhere, I wish that there had beene."[237] He is equally liberal with his criticism of fellow writers. He challenges Holinshed's assumption that the fourteenth legion was sent for expressly to fight Boudica,[238] and he alludes to Holinshed's anachronistic woodcut of Boudica as inaccurate: "Holinshead in her printed picture sets a crowne of gold upon her as a finall oranament; and it displeaseth not; though authoritie wants."[239] Tacitus himself may have made a mistake concerning the order of attack on the three cities of Camulodunum, London and Verulamius,[240] and Bolton also alludes to Dio's reputation as an over-rated historian.[241]

As for style, he accuses other writers of exaggerating the facts for dramatic effect. Referring to the huge numbers of Britons present in the revolt Bolton dismisses this as "another extreame of speech; another (as they call it) hyperbole"[242] and he accuses them of sacrificing accuracy over style by using "figure[s] of speech" as a "gracefull excesse" to truth.[243] Further, he attacks the poets for glorifying Boudica and glossing over the Britons' war atrocities: "there is no regard, nor heed to be taken in this place what our domesticke poets faine, in favour of Queene Boadicia and her side."[244]

Anxious to portray the truth, he acknowledges the difficulties of the historian and does make efforts to place each writer in the context of "his owne times." [245] Furthermore, he outlines his own conjectures with an invitation for debate and questioning. For example, when putting forward the theory that Stonehenge is the monument marking the burial ground of Boudica he concludes with: "my jealousie touching the cause of STONAGE, concludes not others freedome to censure what they

[233] Ibid. §.viii.
[234] Ibid. §.xxii.
[235] Ibid. §.xxvii,
[236] Ibid. §.xxxii.
[237] Ibid. §.xxix.
[238] Ibid. §.vi.
[239] Ibid. §.xi.
[240] Ibid. §.xxii.
[241] Ibid. §.iii.
[242] Ibid. §.xxix.
[243] Ibid. §.xviii.
[244] Ibid. §.xxxi.
[245] Ibid. §.xxvii.

please."[246] Of course, Bolton did make errors. He also follows Camden in placing Camolodunum at Maldon whilst his interpretation of Stonehenge was clearly wrong. We may also suspend our belief regarding the cannibalistic nature of the ancient Britons[247] and we may show scepticism concerning the British war chariots "which (as MELA depourtrayes them) had sharpe sithes standing out, wherewith to mowe downe enemies."[248] This refers to Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbis* (A Description of the Known World), written in Latin in c. 43 A.D. This is an interesting reference which may account for future depictions of Boudica on a scythe-wheeled chariot, a representation which has been difficult to trace[249] and for which there is no archaeological basis.[250]

From our vantage point in the twenty-first century, we may also look back and criticise Bolton for his inclusion of the omens in his account of Boudica's rebellion but we must place the sixteenth and seventeenth-century historian in his own socio-cultural context, one in which God's hand was seen everywhere. The world was seen as God's creation and this creation had purpose and order. Occasionally God might emit omens and portents in the skies to signify the occurrence of an important event in human affairs. Thus, historians and theologians had a privileged and authoritative place in interpreting God's meaning for other men. Levy points out that "whether a man used omens or numbers is not a good test for judging his value as a historian: the excellent Italian, Francesco Guicciardini, was enamoured of portents, and the pioneering political scientist, Jean Bodin, was a numerologist, while the young William Camden spent much time working out astrological problems."[251] Inherent in these ideas was the belief that history somehow repeated itself and that the study of the past could teach man how to behave when the same dilemma occurred again. In this

---

[246] Ibid. §.xxxii.
[247] Ibid. §.xxii.
[248] Ibid. §.xxx.
[249] The most famous representation of Boudica on a scythe-wheeled chariot is that by Thomas Thorneycroft, who produced a statue which now stands on the Thames embankment outside the Houses of Parliament in London. Made in the Victorian period it has become emblematic of popular representations of Boudica but it is not known to whom this representation owes its origins. Hingley and Unwin write in *Boudica*: “The dramatic idea that Boudica’s chariot had scythes fitted to the outside of the wheels has no historical basis.” (p. 8) And they further write: "it is unclear from where the idea originated" (p.165).
[250] see Sealey, P. R. *The Boudican Revolt against Rome.* Buckinghamshire: Shire Archaeology, 1997. pp. 13-14. Webster, G. *Boudica, The British Revolt Against Rome AD 60.* London: Routledge, 1993. p. 14. Dudley, D. Webster, G. *The Rebellion of Boudicca.* London: Routledge, 1962. pp. 18 & 129.
[251] Op. Cit., Levy. p. 5.

light didacticism was an integral part of history writing, according to Levy who observes that "history that did not teach was utterly inconceivable."[252]

For his account of Boudica's rebellion, the longest so far studied, Bolton interprets the portents as warnings of God's anger against the Britons, although the Britons themselves had interpreted the signs as the Gods' blessing of their enterprise. Boudica's revolt ultimately failed and it failed for two reasons according to Bolton: one was God's abandonment of the British side in favour of the Romans and the other was Boudica's weak and passionate sex. Her defeat was a "signe of the wrath of God" for "the barbarous sinnes of the Britanns,"[253] which refers to the war atrocities, and it was also a sign that God had supported the Romans. Perhaps this is an oblique reference to Roman Catholics as God's elect. Certainly the Catholic Bolton believed that "the ROMANS at this time, had the lordship of the world by the speciall purpose, and provision of God,"[254] and he used history to support his belief that the Roman emperors as far back as Augustus Caesar had made offerings to the Christian church in Jerusalem: "so the ROMAN empire did after a sort hold of true God in chiefe, by a kinde of speciall rent service, and acknowledgement."[255]

It is clear in Bolton's mind that the instrument of this British disaster was Boudica's sex. Despite her heroic gestures Boudica lacked the necessary masculine qualities to succeed. Bolton writes that "it may worthily appeare, that feminine impotencie of minde was chiefe therein, from the beginning to ending."[256] By this he means that women lack the reasoned logic necessary for leadership and success, for "no action can ever attaine true renouwne, whereunto reason is foreign."[257] Nevertheless, Boudica, as an individual and exceptional female, retains his admiration, and his final sentence is one of respect: "Boadicia notwithstanding lives a name of glory among the fewest, for the great nobilitie of her pretenses, and the most roial qualitie of her undertakings, such as never any lady waged higher."[258]

Although his own moral condemnation of the revolt is clear, Bolton tries to present the information in an objective and balanced form. His description of Suetonius immediately follows that of Boudica and when he describes the strengths

[252] Ibid. p. 7.
[253] Op. Cit., Bolton §. xxxi.
[254] Ibid. §.xxxiiii.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid. §.xxxiii.
[257] Ibid. §. xxxiiii.
[258] Ibid.

and weaknesses of both armies he presents the information from Boudica's oration "pillar-wise in table."[259] His analysis of Boudica herself is also balanced between admiration for her royal person and condemnation of her sex and barbarous cruelty. Bar her irrational reasoning she is depicted as a competent war leader and noble queen: "Queene Boadicia, full of present spirits, and martiall vigour, leads up her two hundred and thirty thousand men, and forgetting the softnesse of her sexe, performes in person all the duties of a most vigilant and diligent Chiefe."[260] He even considers her greater than all the male heroes recounted in British history[261] but he nevertheless assigns her personal responsibility for the war atrocities. Her men are described as "Boadiciean Britanns" and as "her Britanns" who are directly implicated in the crimes against the female prisoners.[262]

The Social Circulation of Boudica

I would now like to turn my attention to the diffusion of British history and its popularisation. How was British history transmitted to the British public? From the burgeoning book market in chronicles, annals, summaries and histories we can infer that there was a growing interest in the British past and a growing interest in reading that past. As Woolf writes: "It is undeniable that the second half of the [16th] century witnessed an enormous expansion in the public ... interest in the past, particularly within the urban environment."[263]

Smith-Fussner also points out that the assimilation of history by a reading public was greatly aided by the publication of conduct books which described the qualities needed to be a gentlemen and responded to the ambitions of the rising middle class families.[264] The emergence of a new, patriotic ideal of the complete gentleman accorded an elevated position to the learning of history, particularly British history, which was considered an important advantage for the up-and-coming young man. Richard Brathwaite's *The Scholler's Medley, Or, An Intermixt Discourse Upon*

---

[259] He presents the arguments concerning the two armies in two columns. Ibid. §.xii.
[260] Ibid. §.xxx.
[261] Ibid. §.xxxii.
[262] Ibid. §.xxii.
[263] Op. Cit., Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact.' pp. 331-332.
[264] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 166.

Historical and Poetical Relations (1614) targeted the English gentry by emphasising the educational benefits of history, whilst Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) recommended reading Camden's *Britannia* (which of course covered the story of Boudica) and Seldon's *Anelecton Anglo-Britannicon* for a good grounding in British history and for the lessons that history taught.

Yet the two greatest motors to the diffusion of British history were probably that of formal education in schools, universities, the Inns of Court and the home, and that of the public performance of history plays, pageants and court masques in the theatres, private homes, inns and streets. Public readings of history also took place but these can be placed in the context of education both at school and in the church. There was also the more informal acquisition of British history through private reading and self-education as we have just seen, as well as through the oral transmission of folk tales, story-telling, verse, ballads and historically determined superstitions and sayings which reached the illiterate and lower socio-economic layers of society. Marc Ferro informs us that oral verse recounting British history was specifically produced for its transmission to the lower classes and cites as an example the adaptation of a Latin work of history into English verse by Robert Manning in 1338 which was "not for the learned but for the humble."[265]

Here I intend to concentrate on the curriculum taught in grammar schools and in the universities in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in order to ascertain whether Boudica's up-rising was covered or not, although history, as such, was usually found under the rubric of literature and rhetoric. Much of the evidence for the school curriculum comes from the foundation statutes of new schools but changes were made to school curricula in response to changing views, demands and new publications. Despite the fact that the formal study of history was not recognised as a separate pedagogic subject until 1621, when the first endowed professorship was set up by Camden at Oxford, it did hold a core position in the school curriculum and reached a much wider public than at the beginning of the Tudor period.

The rhetorical tradition that had dominated historical writing in the ancient world also came to dominate humanist ideas about learning in Tudor England which consequently dictated the subjects taught and the authors chosen for study. This is discussed by Richard Halpern, who identifies the humanist diffusion of Classical

---

[265] Ferro, M. *Comment on Raconte l'Histoire aux Enfants.* Paris : Payot, 1986. p.123. "non pour les savants mais pour les humbles."

rhetoric as "stylistic pedagogy"[266] because it lays the focus on the linguistic structure and style of the ancient texts and not on their content. He sees rhetoric as a key motor in "fashioning" the ideal subject because the implicit objective of rhetoric is one of mimesis through persuasive communication. "To produce a civil subject," he writes, "is to produce a "style" – of manners, dress, and discourse. And social style, like the literary style that is now a part of it, is developed not through obedience to rules but through the mimetic assimilation of models."[267] It was through this "mimetic assimilation of models" that the "humanist rhetorical education tried to evolve a mode of indoctrination based on hegemony and consent rather than force and coercion," states Halpern: "it aimed to produce an active embrace of ideology rather than a passive acceptance."[268] In this way, the state's acquisition of the pre-formatted subject could be obtained through the active acceptance of the dominant ideology by the subject in schools. This seems to have been "the ideological function of Tudor schooling," continues Halpern, which "must, then, be understood to include not only the transmission of doctrines or governing representations but also the imposition of certain productive and disciplinary practices."[269] This scenario demands the internalisation by the subject of a set of practices, beliefs and values which become automatic reflexes in everyday life. The subject becomes a willing partner in his own indoctrination.

In the Tudor schools rhetoric, literature, and grammar were taught primarily in Latin, then in Greek and Hebrew, depending on the availability of teachers; it seems that good Greek teachers could not always be found.[270] The Greek texts were usually those of Aristotle, Plato, Xeonophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Isocrates and Homer, whilst the Roman texts were normally those of Julius Caesar, Quintilian, Ovid, Juvenal, Terence, Vergil, Cicero, Horace and Aphthonius. Although Tacitus was considered a rhetorician his books were not widely read. This is confirmed by the Cambridge inventories of history books between 1530 and 1610, in which only one copy of Tacitus was listed before the late 1580's.[271] This is both surprising and significant; surprising because Tacitus was on Vives's recommended reading list[272]

[266] Halpern, R. *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation.* New York: Cornell University Press, 1991. p.32.
[267] Ibid. p. 32.
[268] Ibid. p. 28.
[269] Ibid. p. 26.
[270] Charlton, K. *Education in Renaissance England.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965. p. 117.
[271] See Woolf's table. Op. Cit., 'Reading History in Early Modern England.' p. 142.
[272] Op. Cit., Simon. p.112.

and significant for this study because it suggests that the story of Boudica would not have been covered by the programme of Latin in school. Tacitus, of course, became more accessible following Sir Henry Savile's translation of *The Histories* into English in 1591, but this work covers the later part of the first century, the period of the four emperors from 68 to 96 A.D. If I return to a point made earlier regarding the contents of texts, the omission of Tacitus from the school curriculum may have been due to the implicitly subversive nature of his rhetorical texts, many of which include a questioning of the dominant ideology of his day and support for expressions of freedom, as was the case in Boudica's appeal for independence from Roman rule. As Boudica was often represented in the Elizabethan period as a warrior queen from the Celtic fringes it would have been clumsy politics to inform English students of her up-rising against foreign occupation at a time when England was making its own imperial overtures in Ireland.

Although many of the Latin and Greek texts had been translated into English by the end of the Tudor period, Joan Simon tells us that the humanist tradition, greatly influenced by Erasmus and Vives, advocated teaching in Latin: "Both Erasmus and Vives believed Latin, combined with Greek, were the most suitable medium of learning."[273] Reading and writing in the vernacular was to become more acceptable as the sixteenth century progressed but in teaching it was still felt that the study of the ancients in their original language was the best means to endow children and young adults with a sense of history and a sense of their duty to state and nation. This last placed an emphasis on the importance of character building, of virtue and the significance of history for men of affairs. Roger Ascham, who had tutored the young Elizabeth, summed up this feeling in his *The Scholemaster* (1570) where he wrote: "nobility without virtue and wisdom is blood indeed, but blood truly without bones and sinews... But nobility governed by learning and wisdom is indeed most like a fair ship having wind and tide at will."[274] Tacitus must have been a good model for this which probably accounts for his rise in popularity at the end of the Elizabethan period.

For Tacitus, characters were generally interpreted as models of honourable and dishonourable behaviour. Suetonius Paulinus, for example, was a noble and astute commander, loyal to his country and to his family honour. Boudica, a necessarily worthy adversary, was a wronged mother and a rightfully angry patriotic leader, whilst

---

[273] Ibid. p.104.
[274] Op. Cit.,Charlton. p. 79.

Cato Decianus was a greedy, faithless coward who had abandoned his post, his men and Rome. This may explain some of the literary representations of Boudica in the history plays of the Jacobean period, which I discuss in following chapters.

But to what extent did Tudor power cover education? If we consider that education is the apparatus, par excellence, for state control of a nation's subjects we can see, just as Louis Althusser told us to, a direct link between ideology and state intervention in education: “in this concert, one ideological state apparatus plays very much the star role, although we barely listen to its music: it is so silent! It is the school."[275] As a direct result of the Reformation we witness the removal of educational powers from the church to the state and the steady diffusion of the state's ideology through the choice of books studied, the choice of teachers appointed, the sanctions dealt and the financial assistance given. Sixteenth century England bore witness to the withdrawal of educational influence from the church to the state. "We believe, therefore," Althusser writes, "that we have strong reasons to think that ... what the bourgeoisie put in place as its number one, hence dominant, apparatus of state ideology, was the apparatus for education, which, in fact, replaced in its functions the previous dominant apparatus of state ideology, that of the Church. One can even add that the couple 'School-Family' replaced the couple 'Church-Family.'"[276]

With the humanist emphasis on the state as the guiding motor for education it seemed natural for the Tudor state to initiate more and more control over the grammar schools and universities. These were seen as the training ground for future statesmen and the flour mill of good citizens, as Smith-Fussner writes, where education provided “the means of maintaining traditions, and of instilling social, moral and intellectual attitudes.”[277] What is more, for the sovereigns “faced with religious atomism, political danger and economic dislocation ... the schools [were seen] as an important instrument with which to maintain public order and achieve political and religious conformity.”[278] In a petition to the Queen in 1585 asking her to sanction the founding of a grammar school in Ashbourne the petitioners argued that the area of Ashbourne, was very rural

---

[275] Althusser, L. ‘Idéologie et apareils idéologiques d'Etat,’ *La Pensée*, n° 151. Paris, May-June, 1970. p. 20. My translation of "dans ce concert, un appareil idéologique d'Etat joue bel et bien le rôle dominant, bien qu'on ne prête guère l'oreille à sa musique: elle est tellement silencieuse! Il s'agit de l'Ecole."

[276] Ibid. p. 19. My translation of "Nous croyons donc avoir de fortes raisons de penser que ... ce que la bourgeoisie a mis en place comme son appareil idéologique d'Etat No1, donc dominant, c'est l'appareil scolaire, qui a, en fait, remplacé dans ses fonctions l'ancien appareil idéologuqe d'Etat dominant, à savoir l'Eglise. On peut même ajouter: le couple Ecole-Famille a remplacé le couple Eglise-Famille."

[277] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 44.

[278] Ibid.

and devoid of teachers who could teach the young loyalty and obedience to the Crown: "the said town of Ashbourne is situate in the Peak of the county of Derby, a very rude country utterly void of preachers to teach either young or old their duties either to God or Her Majesty and therefore in great need of schools for the good bringing up of her young."[279]

The Royal Injunctions of 1559 are primary evidence of this move towards greater state intervention in education with a more organised system of teaching aims, methods, finance, a uniform curriculum and the requisite qualifications for teachers. The primary concern seems to have been to promote loyalty and obedience to the state founded on a sense of self-conscious national identity and religious conformity. The injunctions stipulate again and again the need to adhere to "God's true religion," that of the Church of England, and its opening statement gives the following goals as:

> the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition througout all her highness's realms and dominions, and to plant true religion to the extirpation of all hypocrisie, enormities, and abuses doth minister unto her loving subjects these godly injunctions hereafter following. [280]

In schools this meant that "all teachers of children shall stir and move them to love and do reverence to God's true religion now truly set forth by public authority."[281] The injunctions laid down not only that teachers had to be qualified as scholars to teach but that they had to hold the correct religious views. Non-conformity could lead to serious penalties, sanctions and even exclusion. For example, the memoirs of John Brinsley, a teacher from the 1590's onwards tell us that he was dismissed from the Common County School of Ashby-de-la- Zouch for Puritanism.[282] School statutes also required its schoolmasters to attend church in which a seating plan was organised for them. Joan Simon informs us that Bishops were instructed to survey attendance very closely and anyone found not attending church was liable to a heavy fine.[283] Even outside the formal system of education such obedience was expected. Ascham's *The Scholemaster* was primarily used by private tutors, and it too advocated the need for a sound humanist education, discipline and religious conformity.

---

[279] Frangopulo, N.J. *The History of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Ashourne, 1585-1935.* Ashbourne. 1939. p. 26. cf. Op. Cit., Charlton. p. 94.
[280] www.education.umn.edu/EdPA/iconics/reading%20room/7.htm
[281] Ibid. Injunction n° xli.
[282] Op. Cit., Simon. p. 375.
[283] Ibid. p.325.

The universities were patronised by the Crown and heavily controlled by the state (both Oxford and Cambridge received royal visitors on frequent occasions); Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564, which then had a population of 1,200 male undergraduates. By 1620, however, this figure had risen to 3,000, a rise mostly attributed to the social changes of the age, consequently termed a period of 'cultural revolution' by Sir John Neale.[284] With the demise of the home tutor and with greater social mobility more and more students were swelling the ranks of resident university undergraduates, a phenomenon, Charlton writes, which called for closer scrutiny by the authorities: "With students living, dining and studying in a college devoted to 'true learning and true religion' control would become the more effective, it was felt. It is no coincidence, of course, that such an attitude became more insistent in the Tudor period, when 'true religion' was 'royal religion' and when both universities were faced with a succession of royal visitations which led to royally approved statutes. Moreover, lay chancellors could, and did, on the sovereign's behalf, control elections to Fellowships and Masterships, as well as award degrees."[285]

This shows us to what extent education was an area of anxiety for the state and as such had to be heavily controlled. What is more, all new students had to take the oath of supremacy and adhere to the articles of the sovereign's religion before they were admitted to study at either of the universities.[286] As a Protestant domain the universities produced future scholars and poets, such as Edmund Spenser, who certainly coloured their representations of Boudica in an anti-Catholic light. As we shall see in the next chapter Spenser's *Faerie Queene* includes Boudica's heirs, Britomart and Elizabeth I, who must fight against the Papal threats from Rome. There were, however, cases of Catholics being admitted to the universities such as Edmund Bolton who matriculated from Cambridge in 1589, but Woolf presumes that Bolton must have disguised his Catholicism in order to do so.[287]

As far as the school curriculum is concerned, the Privy Council and educationalists such as Mulcaster favoured a more uniform curriculum across the nation for which school texts could be provided. In the field of history, for example, the Privy Council intervened to alter the school curriculum in 1582. It recommended the study of Christopher Ocland's ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΙΑ *(*"The Government of Peace"*)* as a

---

[284] Op. Cit., Charlton. p. 240.
[285] Ibid. p. 134-135.
[286] Ibid. p. 135.
[287] Op. Cit. 'Bolton, Edmund,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

school textbook and although this was in Latin verse it covered the history of England up to 1558.[288] The Privy Council also listed Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* amongst the required reading of all English schoolchildren.[289] From this we can assume that the story of Boudica would have been read, and possibly studied, for the first time ever in English schools, although its value to educators is questionable; Boudica's rebellion against Rome may have foreshadowed England's later break with the Roman Catholic Church but her revolt against the established political order and the social disorder that followed the failure of her rebellion would not have endeared her to Elizabethan policy makers, keen to establish order and civil obedience amongst its subjects and other subject peoples.

British history could also be learnt in church and at the Inns of Court. Students at the Inns of Court would learn about the realm's historical statutes, such as the Magna Carta, but probably very little else. At church, sermons would also include historical subjects mostly taken from the Bible which were designed to teach obedience to the Monarch. This is effectively summed up by Jonathan Dollimore when he writes that "sermons were not simply the occasion for the collective mind to celebrate its most cherished beliefs but an attempt to tell sectors of an unruly populace what to think 'in order' to keep them in their place."[290] To this end the royal injunctions of 1547 insisted that each church should possess the Great Bible, the paraphrases of Erasmus for teaching by example, and the Homilies which were government sanctioned sermons on religious and moral topics designed to encourage obedience to the sovereign.

However, most public readings of a historical nature would have taken place in the universities in the form of public lectures and conference papers, in schools with masters reading aloud to pupils, and even in the home if home tuition was taking place between a tutor and pupil or a parent and child. In his chapter 'the contexts and purposes of history reading,' Woolf argues convincingly that the vocative case of many chronicles and the use of metaphors of sound rather than sight indicate that texts were written in order to be read aloud.[291] He writes: "Given the gargantuan proportions of Speed's book, and of others ..., it seems likely that many contemporary historians intended their works to be heard, that is, read aloud to an audience, as well

[288] Op. Cit., Simon. p. 324.
[289] Collingridge, V. *Boudica.* London: Ebury, 2005. p. 285.
[290] Dollimore, J. (ed.) *Political Shakespeare.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985. p. 5.
[291] Op. Cit., Woolf. *Reading History.* pp. 82-83.

as read silently. This in turn helps explain their frequent habit, shared with other prose writers, of addressing their imagined audience in the vocative case. They framed their narratives as verbal utterances on two levels: on a literal level, from speaker to the audience, and on a figurative level, from the writer to the private reader."[292]

The chronicle plays seem to have been extremely popular only between the 1560's and the 1620's, with a peak in popularity in the 1590's, and it is not really clear why history plays fell out of fashion thereafter.[293] The presentation of chronicle and history plays took place in a variety of locations which included private homes, public theatres, inns, town halls, village greens and the streets. The evidence suggests that plays were also an essential aspect of education in schools and universities, taking place on special occasions such as at Christmas or at the end of the academic year.[294] In 1579 Thomas Legge's history play, *Richard Tertius* was performed at Cambridge[295] and by 1603 Shakespeare's *Hamlet* had been staged at both universities.[296] Indeed, history itself was often considered as theatrical performance and as such it seemed natural that historical representations should find expression in the theatre. Metaphors for the theatre were often employed by writers of history to illustrate the dramatic parallels between the two. Sir Walter Raleigh frequently used the image of the theatre when writing his *History of the World* from his prison cell at the beginning of James's reign[297] and this stemmed from the idea of God's providence and authorship of all history. In *As You Like It, w*hen Jacques cries: "all the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players,"[298] Shakespeare was simply voicing a popular analogy between the theatre and history/life.

Having lain the historical framework for English historiography and the study of Boudica in the non-literary representations of the early modern period I now propose to look at the literary representations of British history, focussing on those of Boudica under Elizabeth I and James I. In particular the following three chapters will examine the ways in which Boudica was used as a tool in the ideological discourses of gender politics and national identity.

---

[292] Ibid.
[293] Op. Cit., Woolf. *Reading History.* p. 34, Op. Cit., Dollimore. p. 110.
[294] Op. Cit., Simon. pp. 364-365.
[295] Howard, J. Rankin, P. *Engendering a Nation.* London: Routledge, 1997. p. 100.
[296] Op. Cit., Simon. p. 351.
[297] Op. Cit., Smith-Fussner. p. 206.
[298] *As you Like It.* II, vii, 139-140.

Chapter 2 Female Emancipation: Force, Freedom and Fallacy

> Almost no woman ever belonged to England as an individual, except it be a queen regnant - scarcely a woman in the ordinary sense - or a noble widow and heiress or two, a scattering of widows.
>
> Peter Laslett [1]

In sixteenth century England the monarch had neither a standing army nor a police force to support his position of authority. For a female monarch such as Elizabeth even the support of God and of her people was not so sure, especially since she was still a young, single and arguably illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII when she came to power at the age of 26 following her sister's death in 1558.[2] So how did a lone female achieve the almost messianic status that Elizabeth reached in the patriarchal and Protestant society of Tudor England?

Her immediate acceptance by her people was due to the fact that Henry VIII had included her name in the line of succession, after Edward VI and Mary I. The legality of Henry's will was not contested by Parliament and neither was Elizabeth's paternity despite her parents' acrimonious rupture, points which illustrate both the contractual nature of kingship and the law of primogeniture which underlay the English dynasty. Ending five years of Catholic power Elizabeth's first Parliament passed two significant statutes in 1559; the Act of Supremacy, which replaced Papal leadership of the English Church with that of Royal supremacy, giving Elizabeth the title of Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and the Act of Uniformity, which re-introduced Edward's Book of Common Prayer, made England a Protestant country once again and changed the church services from Latin to English.

Nevertheless, the promotion of a woman, in this case a woman who had neither a husband nor a father to guide her, was not without its critics. James Phillips has

---

[1] Laslett, P. *The World We Have Lost.* (2nd edition,) 1971. p. 20. cf. Mendelson, Sara. Crawford, Patricia. *Women in Early Modern England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. p. 345.

[2] When Elizabeth' s mother, Anne Boleyn, was tried for adultery and incest in 1536 Henry VIII argued that Elizabeth was not even his daughter. Elizabeth's illegitimacy was never revoked by Henry, but then neither was Mary's, Henry's first daughter by Catherine of Aragon. However, Catholics could also argue that as Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon was illegal then, so by definition, was Elizabeth's rule.

identified three attitudes to female rule in sixteenth century Europe.[3] For one school of thought, mainly represented by John Knox[4] and George Buchanan, female rule was against man, God and nature. This represented the Puritan opposition to female rule. For the second group the reign of a woman was acceptable only if God had endowed his chosen one with the necessary qualifications to rule and this seems to have been the position taken by more moderate Puritans and Protestants such as Calvin and Edmund Spenser. The third position was that supported by Elizabeth's Anglican spokesmen, such as John Aylmer,[5] and by Catholic supporters of Mary Stuart[6] who argued that women were qualified by nature to rule and that any woman called by God had the right to do so.

Male anxiety was expressed in varying forms as many of the literary texts confirm. In *The Faerie Queene*, for instance, Spenser explores the concept of female rule through the figure of Gloriana and through the character of Britomart, the descendant of Boudica and ancestor of Elizabeth. Through analogy with Britomart (and by extension, Boudica) it is clear as I will show that he supports Elizabeth's position only as an exceptional female called by God to reign over an otherwise patriarchal society in which a woman's normal position was that of domesticated wife.

Furthermore, in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (c.1603-06) it seems significant that the playwright takes the decision to kill Cordelia in the face of her traditional survival in *Holinshed's Chronicles*. Not only did the historical Cordelia rescue her father and the nation but she went on to become the first reigning queen of Britain and was honoured in the *Chronicles* with a woodcut. Jacobean revisionism may have suppressed the first known gynarchy for the nation but Elizabeth's councillors and those seeking royal approval and patronage also understood that both censorship (here I include self-censorship) and revision of the literary, historical and religious texts was called for if Elizabeth was to alleviate male anxiety and successfully impose her mark

---

[3] Phillips, J. E. Jr. 'The Woman Ruler in Spenser's Faerie Queene' in *Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* 1941-2. p.211

[4] Knox, J. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women. 1558,* published on internet; www.swrb.com/newslett/actualnls/FirBlast.htm and on www.pastornet.net.au/jmm/abss/abss0165.htm

[5] John Aylmer was Elizabeth’s Anglican Archdeacon of Stow. In riposte to John Knox’s attack on powerful women he wrote a pamphlet entitled *An harborowe for faithfull and trewe subjecttes, agaynst the late blowne blaste, concerninge the Govermet of wemen,* which was published the following year in 1559 (London: STC 1005; film 194).

[6] Concerning defenders of Mary Stuart see a discussion of the ideas of Leslie and Chambers in Jordan, C. 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought,' *Renaissance Quarterly,* 40, (1987), pp. 421-51.

on the nation. Recognising this, both Calvin and Knox were later to write letters of apology to Elizabeth.[7]

It needs to be added that the complex issues of gender and authority had already been debated and resolved to some extent during the reign of Elizabeth's sister, Mary, through the medieval principle of the monarch's 'two bodies,' which predicated the separation between the monarch's physical body and that of his body of state. The body of state included the symbolic presence of the monarch who was aided by God and by the country's government. The monarch's physical body allowed for a queen, in her capacity as private woman, to marry and play the role of subservient wife and mother, which would also ensure the production of heirs and future kings for the nation. However, Mary had tried this and had found it almost impossible to reconcile her role as Queen of England with that of wife to the King of Spain. What is more, Mary had made a number of unpopular decisions, other than that of her marital alliance with Spain, such as the reunion with Rome, the persecution of Protestants and the war against France, which had been very expensive and had led to the loss of Calais.

Learning from the example of her sister, Elizabeth chose to remain unmarried. She also understood the need to employ more direct, and indirect, means of persuasion which would mobilise popular support and loyalty to her. It was through royal commissions, royal licences, patronage and the close censorship of the arts, academia and other forms of cultural discourse that Elizabeth was able to fashion her self-image and diffuse awareness of that presence to her subjects. It is interesting to note that certain writers issued their own warnings for offences which transgressed the official lines of Elizabethan politics and dared criticise those in power. Stephen Gosson, an avowed anti-theatrical writer, reminds his readers in *The School of Abuse* that the Roman emperor Tiberius "iudged *Scaurus* to death for writing a Tragedie: *Augustus* banished *Ovid*: And *Nero* ... charged *Lucan,* to put vp his pipes, to stay his penne and write not more,"[8] whilst in Book V of *The Faerie Queene* Spenser tells the story of the public humiliation of the poet Bonfont which seems to be convincing evidence of

[7] For Calvin's letter see Fraser, A. *Boadicea's Chariot. The Warrior Queens.* London: Arrow, 1999. p. 205. For Knox's letter see Johnson, P. *Elizabeth I: A Study of Power and Intellect.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974. p. 97.

[8] Gosson, Stephen. *The Schoole of Abuse.* 1579. published in *Renaissance Editions,* internet site: darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/gosson1

Spenser's position regarding public criticism of authority. As Arthur and Artegall enter the gates of Mercilla's palace they see the poet's tongue:

> Nayled to a post, adjudged so by law:
> For that therewith he falsey did revyle,
> And foule blaspheme that Queene for forged guyle,
> Both with bold speaches, which he blazed had,
> And with lewd poems, which he did compyle;
> For the bold title of a Poet bad
> He on himselfe had ta'en, and rayling rymes had sprad.
>
> (V, ix, 25)

The punishment for "foule blaspheme" is not just the loss of the poet's tongue literally but also the loss of his reputation as a good poet in the literary canon, and this serves as evidence of the interconnection between power and popular success.

Furthermore, with the careful deployment of state apparatuses such as the church, the civil service, education and state-controlled forms of media Elizabeth could, and she did, direct and manipulate aspects of social energy circulating in ever-increasing circles around the Elizabethan court, England, the British Isles, Europe and the new world. Traces of Elizabethan documents, both visual and written, provide evidence of Elizabeth's political and religious ideology and illustrate the ways in which she exploited already established symbols and their meanings in order to build up her power base. Such an improvisation of power included the appropriation of a wide range of emblems and female icons from the Catholic, mythological and Celtic fields, such as the Virgin Mary, the Roman goddess Diana, and the warrior queen, Boudica; an appropriation which was first achieved through the displacement of a selected number of symbols from their original context, their movement into another parallel, but fictional, scenario, closely followed by their re-interpretation and their consumption in Elizabeth's domain. Through these means Elizabeth and her councillors elevated the monarch from her position of untested and girlish virgin to that of militant chastity, virgin mother and national icon. The Cult of Elizabeth was the success story of the Elizabethan era, one which focused national identity, unity and adoration in the person of the Queen, and one which we shall explore in this chapter along with its repercussions on the freedom of women in sixteenth century England.

I have divided this chapter into four sections. Firstly, we shall look at the ways in which women's history was reclaimed in the literary texts. Then, I shall examine

the ways in which images of Elizabeth were reconstructed and fragmented through the mirror allegory. The third section focuses on the limits to female power whilst the final section gives a brief overview of the Cult of Elizabeth and the ways in which this was regulated by the state and by the individual.

Reclaiming Women's History

From Celtic history Elizabethan writers knew of two historically documented queens from the pre-Roman period, that of Cartimandua and Boudica, although Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions others and the Irish annals record one queen for the whole of Ireland, that of Queen Macha Mong Ruadh, who reigned for seven years from 377 BC. It is possible that stories from Irish mythology, such as that of Queen Medb of Connact, were known through the circulation of popular culture. However, the historical evidence for female rule is very sparse. In Welsh Celtic law there was an office called arglwyddes, which translates as 'a female lord' or 'the chieftain of a district in her own right'[9] whilst Tacitus's famous reference to Boudica's rule: "Britons make no distinction of sex in their appointment of commanders,"[10] suggests that female rule was quite normal in Celtic society. Yet Tacitus was here speaking of leadership in war which some Celtic scholars suggest was an institutionalised part of Celtic life.[11] It was Camden who gave this military reference a political context for sixteenth century England by transforming Tacitus's sentence into, "for in matter of government in chiefe the Britans make no distinction of sex."[12] However, in the case

[9] Berresford Ellis, Peter. *Celtic Women.* London: Constable, 1996. p. 78.
[10] Tacitus. *The Agricola And The Germania,* 15-17. London: Penguin, 1986. p.66.
[11] Macdonald, S. Holden, P. Ardener, S. 'Boadicea: Warrior, Mother and Myth' (p. 40-61), in *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives.* Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1988. pp 42-43.
[12] Camden, William, *Britain, or A Chorographicall Description of the Most flourishing kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland.* Translated from Latin into English by Philemon Holland. London: Eliot Court's Press. 1610. Para C, p. 50.

of Cartimandua she actually shared power with her husband and in the case of Boudica, who had no sons, she was acting as regent for her two daughters who were as yet too young to rule. Whatever the paradigm for female rule in Celtic history the erudite treatment of Boudica's story by Tudor writers placed women at the heart of national memory, a heart that Elizabeth's entourage was quick to appropriate.

During Elizabeth's reign and even that of James afterwards, Boudica was frequently solicited as an ideological weapon in the fields of politics, war and religion and these images were both manufactured and censored. Censorship and patronage guaranteed political control of cultural and artistic expression and demonstrates to what extent those in power were dependant on the public's perception of authority for control. During the Elizabethan period certain elements of Boudica's story were exploited and others were forgotten. Whilst Boudica was portrayed as a victorious queen of Britain defending her nation and its religion from invaders, her motherhood, her daughters and the acts of rape and war atrocities were often ignored in the literary texts. This may be due to the astute self-censorship of writers at this time for it certainly reflects Elizabeth's own political agenda.

A prominent advocate for the re-writing of women's history was Edmund Spenser. Simone de Beauvoir may have written that "all history has been made by men,"[13] but in sixteenth century England Edmund Spenser postulated that all history had been written by men and that women's history had been suppressed:

> Here have I cause, in men just blame to find,
> That in their proper prayse too partiall bee,
> And not indifferent to woman kind,
> To whom no share in armes and chevalrie
> They do impart, ne maken memorie
> Of their brave gestes and prowesse martiall;
> Scarse do they spare to one or two or three,
> Rowme in their writs; yet the same writing small
> Does all their deeds deface, and dims their glories all.
>
> But by record of antique times I find,
> That women wont in warres to beare most sway,
> And to all great exploits them selves inclind:
> Of which they still the girlond bore away,
> Till envious Men fearing their rules decay,
> Gan coyne streight lawes to curb their liberty.
>
> (*Faerie Queene.* III, ii, I – 2)

[13] De Beauvoir, S. *Le Deuxième Sexe.* Paris: Gallimard. 1947. chapter 3.

It is true that all of the mainstream historians in Tudor England were men, but some of those, such as John Bale (1495-1563), were also churchmen and historical dramatists who held the Protestant suspicion that received history is full of lies and omissions.

Such dubiety may explain the revision of history which allowed for a revival of interest in women's deeds. For example, Holinshed had added heroic portraits of women such as that of Cordelia and Boudica to his *Chronicles*. In an extract, taken from Sir Thomas More's text, he had also included More's feminist[14] description of Edward IV's mistress, Elizabeth Shore.[15] Other writers, seeking royal patronage at Elizabeth's court, also delved into women's history. Edmund Spenser dipped into such historical texts as *Holinshed's Chronicles* and Camden's *Britannia* for his epic poem, *The Faerie Queene* and for his shorter poem *The Ruines of Time,* whilst the Florentine scholar, Petruccio Ubaldini, used the Latin, Greek and chronicle sources to write two volumes about famous British women, which included Boudica and Cartimandua. Entitled *Le Vite Delle Donne Illvstri Del Regno D'Inghilterra, & del Regno di Scotia*, he presented this to Elizabeth in 1588.[16] All such texts helped to support the current social order of female rule and consequently received royal approval.

In the eyes of some the pre-narrative and disjointed form of the chronicles and annals of the medieval and early modern periods held little political value because they gave the reader no sense of continuity from the past and made no sense of the present order. According to Edmund Bolton they were not even narrative structures, "but summaries, or narrow registers"[17] of diachronic series of events. Yet even these chronicle entries could be used as an important source of historical ammunition for they implicitly supported dynastic rule with their accounts of kings and power politics. Moreover, where a chronicle had just one author, as in the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* of 1136, the writer's support for the ruling dynasty could be explicit. Geoffrey was keen to produce a myth of origin for the ruling Norman dynasty and add historical credence to Henry I's (1100-1135) position

[14] For the use of the term 'feminist' in the early modern period see Mendelson and Crawford's *Women in Early Modern Englan.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. p. 251) who argue that "the term 'feminism' can be used in the early modern period, since feminism is not a series of defined goals, but rather takes different forms depending upon the cultural and historical context in which protests about the female condition are expressed."

[15] Holinshed. *Chronicles,* (3: 384), cf. Patterson, A. *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1994. p. 217.

[16] Published in 1591.

[17] Bolton, E. *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraved: An historicall worke.* London: Snodham and Alsop. 1624. § xx.

on the throne of England. Geoffrey's *Historia* traces the British lineage back to Brutus and ends with the departure of the Britons into Wales, Brittany and the west of Normandy following the Saxon invasion of England. Thus, when the Normans, i.e. Bretons, arrived in England in 1066 they were simply reclaiming the land of their ancestors.

However, in spite of its title, Geoffrey's book has more in common with an epic tale than that of a history. Is this because of the close rhetorical affinity between literary and non-literary texts? We have already seen that the humanist tradition saw history as a branch of literature, a view that the humanists continued from the ancient Greek and Roman writers. Even today Hayden White argues for the complicity between history and literature in that they both use figurative language and narrative structures in which to emplot a story. Louis Montrose's famous citation describing "the textuality of history and the historicity of texts,"[18] highlights this interdependence and considers history as a literary construct and literature as a historical trace of a lost culture. Both have the power to move the reader or spectator by the force of their discursive language and persuasive communication.

Perhaps the origin of the Latin word, *historia,* is of current interest here for it has given the word 'histoire' in French which covers the two semantic senses of 'history' and 'story.' Although, these semantic fields are clear to us in the twenty first century they were often confused in the sixteenth. In Geoffrey's work we are witness to a fusion between fact and fiction, a fusion which is still apparent in the literary works of the early modern period. In *Nero Caesar,* Edmund Bolton criticises the versifier of *Albions England* for "encroaching upon the poet" when embellishing his story of Boudica, and for using "a licence of wit [which was] not vnbeseeming the musicke of rimes, but incompetent for the grauity of storie, which admits no fables."[19] He further advocated this cleavage between literary and non-literary representations of history on methodological grounds by stipulating that the "office of inuention, and imagination, are the proper of other MVSES; those of reason, and consequent discourse the onely ones of historie."[20] However, Sir Philip Sydney, just a generation before, had denounced such critics of poetry by referring them to the ancient Greek founders of history who were nothing less than poets themselves: "Let learned Greece

[18] Louis Montrose, 'Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture', in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. A. Veeser. New York and London: Routledge, 1989. pp. 15-36.
[19] Op. Cit., Bolton § xxvii
[20] Ibid. § xx

in any of her manifold Sciences, be able to shew me one booke, before Musaeus, Homer, & Hesiodus, all three nothing els but Poets."[21]

Edmund Spenser too had seen it as his role to represent and defend the poet by popularising national history in literary verse. In a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh at the end of *The Faerie Queene* Spenser writes: "the Methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly as they were donne, accouting as well the times as the actions, but a Poet thrusteth into the middest, even where it most concerneth him, and there recoursing to the thinges forepaste, and divining of thinges to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all."[22] In other words it was the literary text which gave shape to historical events by framing them in a plot with a beginning and an end, a final dénouement which asserted the meaningful nature of the past, its continuity with the present order and the legitimacy of the ruling dynasty.

As an ideological tool the epic poem could authorise the ruling dynasty by tracing its origins back to legendary figures of the past. This is apparent in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* wherein Elizabeth traces her ancestry from the fictional Britomart to the historical Boudica and to the mythological Trojans.[23] When Spenser laments the loss of such past worthies as Boudica and Virgil's chaste Camilla in *The Faerie Queene*, he poses the question:

> Where is the Antique glory now become,
> That whilsome wont in women to appeare?
>
> (III, iv,1)

He finds solace in his own queen, Elizabeth, whose more tempered image is that of the chaste and just female warrior of Britomart.

In ancient Rome the emperor Augustus had paid the poet Virgil to write of the legendary foundations of the city and to expand on his noble ancestry. Through the hero Aeneas, Virgil provides Augustus with a noble pedigree and a prophesy for the dominant role of Rome in world affairs. Likewise Spenser, who was hailed by his

[21] Sidney, Philip, Sir. *An apologie for poetrie.* London: Henry Olney, 1595. page B2.
[22] Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene.* England: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1999. p. 812.
[23] Ibid. III, iii. Louis Montrose's article, '"Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes," and the Pastoral of Power', also demonstrates that the pastoral genre supported dynastic rule. *The New Historicism Reader.* Aram Veeser, H. (editor). London & New York: Routledge, 1994. p. 99.

contemporary, Thomas Nashe as "the Vergil of England,"[24] responded to the same ideological needs of the Tudor family. By following Elizabeth's genealogy through Arthur, Boudica, and the Roman figure of Brutus, Spenser was able to forge a collective memory for the nation, one based on the Tudor's dynastic heritage and the people's shared race and language. In this light *The Faerie Queene* can easily be interpreted as a panegyric of England and of its heroine, Elizabeth. As recompense for such loyal services Spenser was awarded a pension for life and a place in the literary canon, a place which underlines Kevin Sharpe's belief that "the literary canon was formed by political needs as much as by evaluations of purely literary merit."[25]

Women's history was not only re-written by the poets it was also appropriated as a source of material in the fierce ideological debates of the day. When Stephen Gosson included Dio's recital of Boudica's speech in his *Schoole of Abuse* in 1579 he used it to launch a Puritan attack against the social degeneracy of his times by reminding his readers of England's heroic past:

> Consider with thy selfe (gentle Reader) the olde discipline of Englande, mark what we were before, and what we are now: Leaue Rome a while, and cast thine eye backe to thy Predecessors, and tell mee howe wonderfully wee haue beene chaunged, since wee were schooled with these abuses. *Dion* sayth, that english men could suffer watching and labor, hunger and thirst, and beare of al stormes with hed and shoulders, they vsed slendor weapons, went naked, and were good soldiours, they fed vppon rootes and barkes of trees, they would stand vp to the chin many dayes in marishes without victualles: and they had a kind of sustenaunce in time of neede, of which if they had taken but the quantitie of a beane, or the weight of a pease, they did neyther gape after meate, nor long for the cuppe, a great while after. The men in valure not yeelding to *Scithia,* the women in courage passing the *Amazons*. The exercise of both was shootyng and darting, running and wrestling, and trying such maisteries, as eyther consisted in swiftnesse of feete, agilitie of body, strength of armes, or Martiall discipline. But the exercise that is nowe among vs, is banqueting, playing, pipying, and dauncing, and all such delightes as may win vs to pleasure, or rocke vs a sleepe.[26]

[24] *The Works of Thomas Nashe.* ed. R. B. McKerrow. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958. I, p. 299. Cf. Suzuki, Mihoko. '"Unfitly yokt together in one teeme": Vergil and Ovid in *Faerie Queene,* III.ix*'* (p. 172-85), *English Literary Renaissance.* Vol 17, 1987. p. 178. According to Nashe, Chaucer is the English Homer.

[25] Sharpe, K. Zwicker, S.N. *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth Century England*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1987. p. 10.

[26] Op. Cit., Gosson. Also cited in Dudley, D. Webster, G. *The Rebellion of Boudicca.* London: Routledge, 1962. pp. 118-119.

But what was the ideological value of writing history to those in authority? According to Jonathan Dollimore history was seen as following a law of development, a development which leads to, and ratifies, the present order. He writes that this "legitimation further works to efface the fact of social contradiction, dissent and struggle. Where these things present themselves unavoidably they are often demonised as attempts to subvert the social order."[27] This is the case in Book V of *The Faerie Queene* in which Spenser describes the punishment of the poet Bonfont.[28] Yet the written text is not the only site of historical representation. The French historian, Marc Ferro points out that the Shakespearean theatre was instrumental in promulgating a national historical conscience and places the origins of this ideological movement in fifteenth century Europe when history becomes of popular interest to the citizen, and when historians begin to take an interest in the "glorification of the nation, and legitimisation of the state."[29] This movement seems to account for the popularity of such patriotic texts as Camden's *Britannia,* Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's history plays.

What is more, the use of historical sources could also be appropriated again within the same text and remodelled to suit the desires of certain protagonists. Mihoko Suzuki draws our attention to the appropriation of history by Paridell in the third book of *The Faerie Queene*.[30] In 'The Legend of Britomartis' Paridell whitewashes his ancestor, Paris, and glorifies his own genealogy whilst suppressing references to other Trojan heroes, such as Aeneas, Britomart's ancestor. It is only through the careful questioning of Paridell by Britomart that Aeneas is restored to national memory. As Suzuki reminds us: "memory is as essential for the epic hero in the service of history as it is for the epic poet."[31]

But more than serving as passive material in the ideological debates of the day the appropriation of historical information by the poets could be appropriated again by men of public standing who actively circulated plays and masks in order to incite the people to question the dominant order. A good example of which was the staging of Shakespeare's play, *Richard II,* just before the Essex rising in 1601. In a

---

[27] Dollimore, J. (ed.) *Political Shakespeare.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1985. p.7.
[28] V, ix, 25.
[29] Ferro, M. *Comment on Raconte l'Histoire aux Enfants.* Paris : Payot. 1986. p. 122. My translation of "la glorification de la patrie, légitimation de l'Etat."
[30] Op. Cit., Suzuki, Mihoko. p.182-183.
[31] Ibid. p. 183.

memorandum written that same year William Lambarde, the antiquary, records a conversation between himself and Elizabeth in which the Queen expressed her personal anxiety over the open-air performances of a play which represented the overthrow of an unpopular monarch. Due to the political context of its performance, that is its appropriation by Essex, and its implicit identification with herself[32] it was a great source of concern to Elizabeth, not least because she had so little control over the play's circulation: "this tragedy was played 40 times in open streets and houses" Elizabeth complained to William Lambarde.[33]

This last example illustrates the power of literature as a political construct. Taken as historical reality it serves to warn those in power of misrule, and to incite others to question that rule or inversely to obey the regime. Yet as an apparatus of state control history is always written by the winners and directly supports the dominant ideology by glorifying the nation state through its *Res Gestae* list of accomplishments. This is summed up by Edward Carr in his book, *What is history?* when he writes that history "is, by and large, a record of what people did not of what they failed to do: to this extent it is inevitably a success story."[34] The polemic surrounding the role of history writing was recently aired in France when a new law, passed in February 2005, required school programmes to teach the positive aspects of French colonisation. This caused uproar in the old and present colonies of France and led to the formation of a parliamentary group, which had for mission to "evaluate the action of Parliament in the fields of memory and history."[35] In guise of guidance Jacques Chirac issued the following statement: "it is not the role of the law to write history. The writing of history is the affair of historians,"[36] and a syndicate of nineteen French historians issued a text in December 2005, entitled *Freedom for history,* in which they remind readers that "in a free state, it is neither the job of Parliament or of the judicial system to define historic truths."[37]

[32] On the question of the political allegory between Elizabeth I and Richard II see Ure, P. (Editor). *King Richard II.* London: Methuen. 1961. pp. lvii-lxii.
[33] Ibid. p. lix. This quotation is discussed by Dollimore. Op. Cit., p. 8.
[34] Carr, E.H. *What is History?* London: Penguin. 1961. p. 126.
[35] Remy, V. 'Esclavage : Y a-t-il une voie pour une histoire juste et des mémoires apaisées ?' *Telerama*. N° 2922. Paris. 2005. p. 24. My translation of, "pour évaluer l'action du Parlement dans les domaines de la mémoire et de l'histoire."
[36] Ibid. My translation of, "Ce n'est pas à la loi d'écrire l'histoire. L'écriture de l'histoire, c'est l'affaire des historiens."
[37] Ibid. My translation of, "dans un Etat libre, il n'appartient ni au Parlement, ni à l'autorité judiciaire de définir la vérité historique."

But do we consider history to be man's judge and executioner? This question highlights man's view of history as a court of law, a court which passes judgement on man's public acts, and is a view held by Tony Blair. Concerning his position over Iraq in 2003 Tony Blair declared to the press that "history had proved him right over Sierra Leone, Kosovo and Afghanistan, and he would let history be the judge of his Iraq policy."[38] Another example concerns Fidel Castro's belief in historical justice when he declared "history will absolve me" in his defence speech at the Moncada Trial in Santiago de Cuba in 1953. Presumably though, if you can select your own historical evidence you can 'fix' the verdict.

Winston Churchill's famous formula for writing history was direct intervention. As he reputedly said himself: "history will be kind to me, for I intend to write it,"[39] which is exactly what he did. Elizabeth's supporters understood the value of writing history themselves and of exploiting already documented historical references. David Chambers, a follower of the Catholic Mary Stuart writing in support of female rule in 1573, stated that, "there is no man, so blind, who being versed in ecclesiastic and prophanic history, cannot find an infinite number of women, who by their prudence, wisdom and other good qualities in other faculties, could be considered worthy of such a calling."[40] Consequently, the Elizabethan writers did find abundant examples of famous women from the past, examples which provided convincing evidence of sound female leadership. They had only to read the Bible, the Greek and Latin Classical writers just as Aylmer had done when telling his readers that past female rulers had been numerous "in the chiefest Empires and Monarchies, and not only in them but in the commonwealth of the Jews."[41] Closer to home many examples of female rule were to be found in the annals and chronicles such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannia* and Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women.*

Examples of famous women with whom to compare Elizabeth could include the historical Boudica, Cartimandua, Zenobia and Matilda August. There were also the Biblical figures of Deborah and Judith as well as the mythical figures of Diane, Juno,

---

[38] *The Guardian*, 1 March, 2003.
[39] http://www.quotationspage.com/quotes/Sir_Winston_Churchill/ 15 Oct. 2009.
[40] Chambers (or Chalmers), D. *Discours De La Legitime Succession Des Femmes.* fol. 23. cf. Phillips. Op Cit., p. 228. My translation of: "il ny a homme si aueuglé, estant aucunement versé és histoires tant ecclesiastiques que prophanes, qui ne trouue vn nombre infiny de femmes, qui pour leur prudence, sçauoir, & autres bonnes qualitez en toutes facultez, pourront estre estimez dignes de telle vacation."
[41] Op. Cit., Aylmer, J. *An harborowe for faithfull and trewe subjecttes*. Cf. Jordan. Op. Cit., pp. 438-439.

Venus and Cynthia, who all provided evidence, fictional or otherwise, of strong gynarchies. They also provided positive role models for powerful women and here it should be noted that England's previous queen regnant, Mary, Elizabeth's sister, had also been compared to such illustrious predecessors. The comparison with these figures helped Elizabeth shape her own political, religious and military power. It is through the careful examination of the literary representations of Boudica in the texts of Edmund Spenser, Ubaldini Petruccio and James Aske that I now intend to show how Boudica contributed to the fashioning and presentation of Elizabeth's public body.

In mirrours more then one

Ostensibly, Elizabeth's self-appointed court poet, Spenser, avoids any criticism of Elizabeth's reign when narrating the events in his nationalistic epic poem, *The Faerie Queene,* despite his own misgivings and that of male anxiety in general regarding female rule. One of the keys to understanding Spenser's success in presenting a vibrant, but illusive, image of Elizabeth in his poetry must be his use of the mirror allegory in which Elizabeth is broken down into a number of conflicting, yet mutually complementary, characters. He introduces the analogy between poetic and iconographic representations of Elizabeth in his proem to Book III and further marks out paintings as mirrored representations of Elizabeth when he writes:

> But if in living colours, and right hew,
> Your selfe you covet to see pictured,
> Who can it doe more lively, or more trew,
> Then that sweet verse, with *Nectar* sprinckeled,
> In which a gracious servant pictured
> His *Cynthia,* his heavens fairest light?
>
> (III, Proem, 4)

And in the next verse he outlines the problem idea of the Queen's two bodies:

> Ne let his fairest *Cynthia* refuse,
> In mirrours more then one her selfe to see,
> But either *Gloriana* let her chuse,
> Or in *Belphoebe* fasioned to bee;
> In th' one her rule, in th' other her rare chastitee.

Yet the problem is not a simple question of public and private figures of the Queen. "In mirrours more then one," Spenser presents the multiple facets of his monarch which appear in monarchial and feminine roles and in military and religious roles throughout *The Faerie Queene* and it is through Britomart's quest that the liminal ground of self-discovery and representation is crossed for both Britomart and Elizabeth. According to Julia Walker it is through the mirror-portrait allegory of Britomart's quest that Elizabeth is transformed from the young maiden of flesh and blood into an objectified and public figure: "Britomart starts out with a full complement of psychological and physiological baggage," Walker asserts and then she poses the question: "How, then, does she turn herself into an icon? By undergoing a perceptual exchange which turns her from an icon of the female into a female icon, from a reflection of psychosexual dynastic potential into a chiastic portrait of public female power."[42]

Spenser's task of identifying and representing Elizabeth could only be achieved by proposing a number of fragmented images to his readers. The figures of Gloriana, Belphoebe, Cynthia, Britomart, and her ancestor Bunduca, are all mirrored shards of Spenser's Elizabeth as the poet informs us in his letter of intention to Raleigh. In this letter Spenser outlines both the public and private figures of his 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 soveraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery lande. 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,

[42] Walker, J.M. 'Spenser's Elizabeth Portrait and the Fiction of Dynastic Epic' (pp 172-99), in *Modern Philology, 90*, 1992. p.189.

> fashioning her name according to your owne excellent conceipt of Cynthia, (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana.)[43]

The subdivision of one entity into a number of fragments takes its inspiration from the Christian belief in the Holy Trinity and may have served the purpose of rendering that entity more accessible to human consumption. Elizabeth herself represented a similar religious trinity for her people as the Royal Charter establishing Trinity College in Dublin in 1592 demonstrates; its official name is the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Elizabeth.[44] Like the separation of God into the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Spenser's separation of Elizabeth into different characters allowed English readers to understand certain features of her divine position as the Chosen One, an aspect we shall look at in the next section.

Yet even these fragmented images do not permit Spenser to finally hold and name his queen. Elizabeth Bellamy identifies Spenser's search for Elizabeth as the epic's ultimate quest, a quest which proves futile since Elizabeth is never actually named within the epic despite the multiple reflections we find of her.[45] However, a word of caution imposes itself here; we only have six of the twelve books Spenser intended writing. Louis Montrose finds that other courtly writers, along with Spenser, also fragmented the royal image in order to reflect different aspects of the Queen, and he calls this device a "process of disenchantment" which was employed more and more to "generate ironies, contradictions, resistances which undo the royal magic."[46] Montrose's interpretation is viable of course, but not sustainable if we consider Spenser's own conservative position and apparent support for the Tudor monarchy. If Elizabeth had suspected Spenser of wanting to undermine her royal position she would not have maintained his pension for life (unless, of course, she was only responding to political expediency).

In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser ignores the rough side to Boudica's character and concentrates only on the heroic and patriotic elements of her story which provided a fitting inheritance for Britomart and Elizabeth. Britomart is one of Elizabeth's mirror

---

[43] Op. Cit., Spenser. *The Faerie Queene.* p. 812.
[44] Thank you to Dr Claire Bouchet for drawing my attention to this information.
[45]Bellamy, E.J. 'The Vocative and the Vocational : The Unreadability of Elizabeth in *The Faerie Queene*', *ELH,* vol 54, 1987. pp. 3-5.
[46] Montrose, L.A. '"Shaping Fantasies" : Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture.' *Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Stephen Greenblatt. London. University of California Press, 1988. p. 55.

images, the warrior princess and descendant of the Briton queen, "stout *Bunduca,*"[47] who is presented in two of Spenser's poems, that of *The Faerie Queene* and *The Ruines of Time*. In Book II of *The Faerie Queene* Sir Guyon chances upon a chronicle which recounts the reigns of Briton kings and in which the patriotic story of Bunduca is told. In her reign Bunduca was confronted with the foreign occupation of her territory by the Roman Empire and so rose up against the Romans in Britain and would have been victorious if certain captains had not defected to the Roman camp. Despite her final defeat and suicide Spenser deems that such a heroic figure was emblematic of British victory because her suicide denied her victors their final triumph, which would have been to lead their royal captives through the streets of Rome in chains as part of the general's official celebration of victory. Of Bunduca's story Sir Guyon reads:

> O famous moniment of womens prayse,
> Matchable either to Semiramis,
> Whom antique history so high doth raise ...
> [...]
> And yet though overcome in hapless fight,
> She triumphed on death, in enemies despight.
>
> (II, x, 56)

In *The Ruines of Time*, written just before *The Faerie Queene*, Boudica is also presented as a brave and martial warrior who had risen above the general weakness of women in order to defy the Romans. Boudica's story is told by the spirit of Verulamium, modern day St. Albans, which was the city attacked by Boudica's forces because of its Roman collaboration. The spirit's story is a lament for the fall of the city but also a eulogy of Boudica's military successes of which *Verlame*'s female spirit says:

> But long ere this *Bunduca* Britonnesse
> Her mightie hoast against my bulwarkes brought,
> *Bunduca,* that victorious conqueresse,
> That lifting vp her braue heroïck thought
> Bove womens weakness, with the *Romanes* fought,
> Fought, and in field against them thrice preuailed:
> Yet was she foyld, when as she me assailed.[48]
>
> (Lines 106-112)

[47] Op. Cit., Spenser. *The Faerie Queene.* II, X, 54, line 6.
[48] Spenser, Edmund. *The Ruines of Time.* (pp. 471- 478) In *Spenser's Poetical Works.* London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1937. p. 472.

Here her strength, as "that victorious conqueresse," is underlined along with her position as exceptional woman, "That lifting vp her braue heroïck thought/ Bove womens weakness, with the Romans fought."[49] The verb, 'lifting up' seems to suggest an act of will and of courage that only a few women are capable of. The many critics of female rule argued that women were not equipped by nature to fight in a battle and were certainly ill-suited to leading one. They were held up as poor strategists, trespassing in a man's world with no understanding of the rules of war. In the late sixteenth century George Buchanan finished his *History of Scotland* in which he wrote: "'Tis no less unbecoming [in] a Woman to pronouce Judgment, to levy Forces, to conduct an Army, to give a Signal to the Battle, than it is for a Man to tease Wool, to handle the Distaff, to Spin or Card, and to perform the other Services of the Weaker Sex."[50] He went on to say that in the past female leaders had led their nations into defeat and civil unrest when they had taken up arms. It was George Buchanan, tutor to James VI of Scotland, who was to form many of the ideas entertained by this King of England, when he ascended the throne as James I in 1603.

However, there were occasionally exceptional circumstances which could justify a woman taking up arms. For example, Thomas More wrote in *Utopia* that times of national emergency would justify this.[51] In Boudica's case she was seen as a mother who had taken up arms to defend her children's honour, her people and her nation. Elizabeth, too, took up arms in the defence of her realm when the Spanish Armada threatened her shores and in many ways the female leader faced exactly the same responsibilities as her male counterpart. War was an integral part of the job description and, as Sir Thomas Craig put it in 1603, a queen had no choice: "if a Woman be the only Heiress of a Kingdom, she must preside in Military and Civil affairs, in all Councels and Deliberations."[52] What is more, in the story of Boudica her female sex was of paramount importance in the Britons' successes according to Christopher Newstead. In his book, *An Apoligie for Women: Or, Womens Defence,* written in 1620 he states that "the ancient inhabitants of this Ile, the Britaines, Voadicea being their General, shaked off the Romane yoke, and most of their

[49] Op. Cit., Spenser. *Ruines of Time.* lines 109-111.
[50] Op. Cit., Phillips. p. 220.
[51] Thomas More, 'Of Warfare' *Utopia.* book II. Cf. Turner Wright, C. 'The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature' (p. 433-56), Studies *in Philology,* vol 37, 3, July 1940. p. 444.
[52] Craig. *The Right of Succession to the Kingdom of England.* Cf. Phillips. p. 223.

prosperous battels were when women did leade them."[53] And of course, Ubaldini's work, *Six Famous Ladies*, dedicated to the Queen in 1577, and his *The Lives of the Noble Ladies of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (Le Vite delle donne illustri, del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia)*, offered to Elizabeth in the year of her Spanish victory of 1588, demonstrated the military worth of women.

Military theorists also existed amongst female writers; Christine de Pizan had written *Le Livre des Fais d'armes et de chevalerie,* in 1410,[54] which proved that a woman could also grasp the finer art of military strategy and tactics. After all, Boudica's forces had managed to capture three urban centres and to ambush one Roman legion. As for Elizabeth she was clearly implicated in the military strategy of her reign and gave her military instructions to her commander in the field. Elizabeth first saw action in 1569 when the northern earls revolted, but this was easily put down by Lord Hunsdon. It was the Spanish invasion of 1588 which was the testing ground for Elizabeth. Her military appearance at Tilbury and the subsequent success of her forces was such that poets and historians alike helped generate the emergence of the myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury.

In her very famous speech at Tilbury when the Spanish Armada was threatening England Elizabeth recognised her "sexelie weaknes"[55] as she distanced herself from other women and she is thought to have spoken these very rousing words: "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a King of England too."[56] The "Tilbury speech" first appeared in a letter in 1623 written by Dr Lionel Sharp who had been one of Elizabeth's chaplains in 1588, but there seems to be some doubt as to whether Elizabeth actually spoke these words or not.[57] Nevertheless, such oratory skills in addressing one's troops are recognised as an important element of a leader's capacity to lead in war and were normally considered a prerogative of kings and generals.

The public speeches of Boudica and Elizabeth demonstrate both their own queenly right to address their troops and their ability to do so. Boudica's qualities as

---

[53] Shepherd, S. *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. p. 145.
[54]Charity Cannon Willard, 'Christine de Pizan's Treatise of the Art of Medieval Warfare.' In *Essays in Honor of Louis Francis Solano.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970. pp. 179-191.
[55] Heisch, A. 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy', in *Feminist Review,* p.45-55, Feb 1980. p. 52.
[56] Op. Cit., p 320.
[57] Frye, S. 'The Myth of Elizabeth I at Tilbury', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol 23. 1992. p. 98.

an orator were referred to by Gosson[58] and by Warner.[59] In these patriotic speeches both women stress their female courage, an effective strategy which defeminises the enemy and shames the men, and in a seeming contradiction they also represent themselves as honorary men who are descendants of mighty men of the past. The rhetorical formatting of their speeches was extremely effective in rousing emotion, bravura and a sense of outraged dignity which enabled them to unify their forces against a common enemy.

Yet, it is important to underline the consensus regarding a woman's incompatibility with war. More than any other role for a woman it is that of warrior which is most often seen as unsuitable for a woman. Biology, especially motherhood, is usually invoked to explain why women should not be warriors; for obvious reasons giving birth is seen as being incompatible with dealing death. The female soldier has always been, and to a large extent still remains, a social enigma, which explains the fascination and the incomprehensibility she incites. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a surge in representations of female warriors, Amazons and martial leaders which began during the reign of Elizabeth I and followed the judicious rediscovery of Boudica in the ancient record.

Boudica and Elizabeth were martial leaders, as well as queens, because they both controlled military forces and led them into battle, literally or symbolically. In Elizabeth's military role, comparisons with Boudica naturally sprang to the minds of sixteenth century Elizabethans for they had a number of things in common; they were the only known British queens who had faced military action and won. This comparison seems to be implicit in Holinshed's wood carving of Boudica carrying a spear and wearing Elizabethan costume whilst addressing her troops, and explicit in Ask's depiction of Elizabeth addressing her troops with truncheon in hand. Of course, Boudica's eventual defeat was of secondary importance compared to her valour and victories. In the debate over the capacity of women to lead in war, and to lead well, Boudica was useful to Elizabeth, not least because up until the moment when Elizabeth was first tested in a military crisis it was not known how she, a woman, would behave under pressure.

The first evidence we have for the use of Boudica as an ideological weapon in a political tract of the period was in a text written by John Leslie in defence of Mary

[58] Op. Cit., Gosson. p. 13.
[59] Warner, William. *Albions England Or historicall map of the same island.* London: George Robinson, 1586. Third Booke, Chap. XVIII.

Stuart's rule in 1569, wherein he cited Britain's "manlie Voadicia,"[60] as a positive example of women's physical ability to wage war. At this time it was equally important for Elizabeth's councillors to mould some sort of military image of their Queen in order to convince Elizabeth's subjects that she did have the capacity to lead and protect her realm in case of war, war which was constantly on the horizon in the form of the Catholic threat from Spain, France and Scotland. In this way the home-grown British queen, Boudica, was an influential role model for military representations of Elizabeth. Yet Elizabeth needed to be cautious in such identification with Boudica for Dio Cassius's account of the war atrocities carried out under Boudica in 60/61 AD seemed to represent a cruel and unjust side to her royal leadership and a perverted parody of maternity. The fact that the female victims of Boudica's forces had their breasts cut off and sown onto their mouths to make them appear to be suckling their own breasts was a shocking image of motherhood.[61] This picture of Boudica's savage brutality was also known to later readers through the literary text of Petruccio Ubaldini.

Ubaldini had presented his *Le Vite delle donne illustri, del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia* to Elizabeth in 1588 and it was published in 1591.[62] In order to resolve the dilemma of Boudica and present the moral lessons of her story he had taken the decision to divide his Briton queen into two characters, Voadicia, the 'good' queen, whom he took from Tacitus, and Bunduica, the 'bad' one, whom he took from Dio, and from Boece.[63] He may also have been inspired by Polydore Vergil's error in placing Boudica in Scotland, an error repeated by Boece, and although Holinshed refers to Boece's Scottish Boudica he had himself included the English version of Boudica in his *Chronicles.*

In order to justify the rebellion of the 'good' Voadicia against Roman rule Ubaldini writes:

> Voadicia seized with a justified scorn for such a serious offence to her blood, raised and moved the people with her misfortune to such a fury, and a desire for vengeance, that she

[60] Op. Cit., Leslie, cf. Phillips. p. 223.
[61] Dio Cassius. *Roman History,* lxii, 1, 1-12. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Harvard University Press, 1995. lxii, 7.
[62] Op. Cit., Dudley &Webster. *The Rebellion of Boudicca*. p. 119.
[63] Ubaldini, P. *Le Vite delle donne illustri, del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia,* London , 1591. The translations of these two texts into English and French can be referred to in the appendix at the end of this study.

> took up arms, and with her as their leader and guide, they led a long, heavy and dangerous war against the Romans, with diverse and varied fortune.[64]

Her final defeat is simply put down to an "unlucky day"[65] and she ends her life in noble fashion:

> she [...] wanted to remember her first virtue, and to die free, in order to avoid being displayed alive in the triumph of the proud victor, and in this way with poison she killed herself, leaving to posterity the memory of a soul of a rare grandeur, and of an honoured and generous prudence.[66]

Ubaldini's moral is that "Tyranny often generates unbearable villainy, which arouses in its victims a desire for vengeance; the result of which is the inevitable deterioration of justice."[67] Bunduica, on the other hand, is quite the opposite; cruel, savage, her story is much longer than that of Voadicia's and the moral shows that "Cruelty destroys all praise for honourable valour, and more so in time of war than in any other action."[68] Describing in detail the sack of Camulodunum and Verulamium, Ubaldini includes the war atrocities committed by the Britons. However, he also includes Boudica's positive qualities and writes that she was, after all, acting under the influence of a passionate vendetta:

> We therefore leave this in the memory of the people, that she truly merits to be commemorated amongst the great women of this kingdom for her marvellous virtues; and even the cruelty that she used against her enemies should not remove her from all the other praiseworthy women, because she did these in the rage of revenge rather than because of her natural inclinations, and also because the vices of the Roman soldiers which they learned from the evil emperor Nero, were as such that they called for a chastisement fit for their demerits.[69]

---

[64] See appendix. p.303 .
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid. p. 302. This summary has also been translated by Dudley and Webster, but slightly differently. They offer the translation, "Tyranny often produces crimes, which through their outrages give rise to a longing for vengeance, so that all justice is destroyed." Op. Cit., p. 120.
[68] See appendix. p. 305.
[69] Ibid. p. 306.

He even speculates on the possibility that Voadicia and Bunduica were in fact one and the same person (perhaps because Polydore Vergil's geographical error had been corrected) and he concludes with: "Finally, after checking thoroughly we believe she is the same Voadicia of whom we wrote before, but we have described her separately to please the reader that does not believe so."[70]

Though both Elizabeth and Boudica were martial leaders, Elizabeth was more often distanced from the more Amazonian representations of Boudica, and this presumably because such widowed Amazons did not always have a good press as the following quotation by Knox demonstrates: "Amazons were monstrous women that coulde not abide the regiment of men and ...killed their husbands."[71] The only exception to this rule seems to have been in connection with the Armada invasion of 1588. In a collection of poems written in Latin and Greek in 1589 an anonymous poet, using the pseudonym Eleutherius, included a poem called, *The Angla Virago*, about Elizabeth's presence at Tilbury in which she is compared to the Amazonian queen, Penthesilea:

> Not far from the battle [of the English navy with the Spanish Armada] the virgin Eliza on the shore of the Thames shines in arms surrounded by a hundred companies. For her beloved Englishmen and for the welfare of her fatherland she does not hesitate to come to the battlefield and expose her breast to dangers: just as by the wandering streams of the cold Thermadon, or on your shores, Hebrus, and by the icy Tanais, the Amazon Penthesilea engaged men in combat.[72]

There is also a Dutch engraving of Elizabeth I in 1598 in which she is drawn in the form of Europe, brandishing a sword over the Armada and exposing one breast like an Amazon.[73] Yet it is in James Aske's poem, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588), that both Penthesilea and Boudica were seen to live again through the person of Elizabeth at Tilbury, an event James Aske apparently witnessed. Arriving to inspect her troops Aske recounts how:

[70] Ibid.
[71] Op. Cit., Knox. p.14.
[72] Schleiner, W. 'Divina Virago: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon,' *Studies in Philology,* vol 75, 2, Spring 1978. p.171.
[73] Ibid. p.165.

> our princely Soueraigne,
> (Addicted only then to Marshall Prowes)
> As that she doth (her trayne forbid therefro)
> Most brauely mounted on a stately steede
> With trunchion in her hand (not vs'd thereto)
> And with her none, except her Liutenant,
> Accompaned with the Lord Chamberlaine,
> Come marching towards this her marching fight,
> In nought vnlike the Amazonian Queene,
> Who beating downe amaine the bloodie Greekes,
> Thereby to grapple with Achillis stout,
> Euen at the time when Troy was sor beseig'd.[74]
>
> (lines 761- 772)

A few lines later Elizabeth is compared to England's Queen Voada and her daughter, Vodice:

> She stand still to see the Battell set,
> With ioy to see her men to keepe their rankes,
> Now Voada once Englands happie Queene,
> Through Romans flight by her constrain'd to flie:
> Who making way amidst the slaughtered corps,
> Pursued her foes with honor of the day
> With Vodice her daughter (her too like,
> Who urging wounds with constant courage died)
> Are now reuiu'd, their vertues liue (I say)
> Through this our Queene, now Englands happie Queene.
>
> (lines 784-793)

And immediately after these lines Elizabeth is again called an Amazonian queen:

> .....then did our sacred Queene
> Here signes display of courage wonderfull.
> For when our Queene (an Amazonian Queene)
> Most carefully the Vauward had beheld,
> She thence doth go the Reerward for to see,
> And takes a view of [....] two strong set Flankes:
> At whose by passing, Launce with Pike are bow'd,
> And all yeeld reuverence to her sacred self.
>
> (II, iii, 31)

[74] Aske, J. *Elizabetha Triumphans,* 1588. New York: Da Capo, ed. facs 1969.

There are other indirect references to Elizabeth as an Amazon during her lifetime but again these are all to such heroic ladies as Penthesilea. This is perhaps because the Trojans, whom Penthesilea defended, were considered to be amongst the ancient ancestors of the Britons. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene* even Belphoebe, the allegory of the woman in Elizabeth, is compared to "that famous Queene of Amazons, whom Pyrrhus did destroy,"[75] and in another reference, this time found in William Warner's *Albions England,* Penthesilea and Boudica are compared to each other:

> ...*Voada* and her two Daughters, they
> Abused by the *Romaine* Lords, doe hotter warres assay.
> The noble Scot King *Corbred,* he confeddrats with the king
> of *Pichtes,* and they and *Brittish* Péeres to field their Armies bring,
> To ayde the Quéene of *Brutes*: that like the *Amazonian* Dame
> That beating downe the bloodie *Greekes* in *Priams* succour came,
> Had pight her Iauelen at her feete ,[76]

Other representations of Elizabeth as an Amazon appear after her death. In a collection of ballads from 1612, Richard Johnson writes that Elizabeth had withstood the Spanish invaders "most nobly, like an Amazon."[77] And in 1622 she is included with Penthesilea and Hippolyta in Richard Ferrers' poem, *The Worth of Women*.[78] In 1640, Thomas Heywood's account of her at Tilbury describes her attire as that of an Amazonian queen: she was "habited like an Amazonian Queene, Buskind and plumed, having a golden Truncheon, Gantlet and Gorget."[79]

In the Elizabethan and Jacobean period another clear distinction was made between an Amazon and a female warrior. An Amazon was some sort of virulent virago, an irrepressible and violent feminist, whilst a female warrior was somehow more feminine, more tempered and more innocent. A good example of the first is that of the Amazon queen, Radigund in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, whilst her counterpart is that of the maiden knight, Britomart. Britomart's encounter with Radigund is an interesting allegory of the 'good' queen and the 'bad' one, or the maiden and the whore, which is interpreted as an encounter between the Protestant Church and the Catholic one. Boudica's defence of her Briton Gods against the invading Roman Gods

---

[75] II, iii, 31, lines 5-6.
[76] Op. Cit., Warner. The Third Booke, chap. XVIII.
[77] Op. Cit., Schleiner. p.175.
[78] Op. Cit., Shepherd. p. 139.
[79] Heywood,T. *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World,* London: Thomas Cotes, 1640. p.211 Cf. Schleiner. Op. Cit., p. 176.

appeared to echo Elizabeth's own defence of the Anglican Church against the Roman Catholic one. It is Britomart's victory which can be interpreted as freeing Britain from the Pagans, just as Elizabeth was seen to free the Protestant Church from Rome. How else can one explain the choice of both the past Boudica, "whose victorious exploits made Rome to quake,"[80] and the future Elizabeth, who historically did "stretch her white rod over the *Belgick* shore,"[81] in the genealogical line of Spenser's Britomart. Elizabeth's final victory, achieved by Britomart, is prophesised by Merlin in book three of *The Faerie Queene:*

> Then shall a royall virgin raine, which shall
> Stretch her white rod over the *Belgicke* shore,
> And the great Castle smite so sore with all,
> That it shall make him shake, and shortly learne to fall.[82]

The maiden and the whore also serve the purpose of demonstrating the 'what-if' scenario of a world turned upside down. In Book V Britomart liberates the man she loves, the knight Artegall, from Radigund's prison. Radigund, the Amazon queen, has reversed the natural order of female subordination by making the men wear women's clothes and by setting them to spin in her castle. Her domination is described too as sexual as her lust for Artegal holds him in bondage:

> During which time, the warlike Amazon,
> Whose wandring fancie after lust did raunge,
> Gan cast a secret liking to this captive straunge.
>
> (V, v, 26)

The presentation of female power is always associated with the ambiguous questioning of her sexuality. Just as Lady Macbeth cries "unsex me here,"[83] before embarking on her cruel and ambitious path to power, the sexual and the violent excess of other powerful women is recognised as the natural consequence of female rule and invariably leads to downfall and ruin. In Book III of *The Faerie Queene* Malecasta demands sexual services from all the knights who enter her court. Britomart, disguised as a knight herself, awakes in the night to find Malecasta has slipped into

[80] Op. Cit., Spenser. *The Faerie Queene.* III, iii, 54.
[81] Ibid. III, ii, v. 49: This is a reference to Elizabeth's campaign in Belgium when she supported the Protestants' revolt against Catholic domination by Spain.
[82] Ibid. III, iii, 49.
[83] My thanks to Tom Pughe for this reference to Shakespeare's *Macbeth.* Act I, scene v, line 42.

bed with her and has to defend her honour with her sword. The cruelty and misrule of Radigund also serves as a moral lesson for women:

> Such is the crueltie of womenkynd,
> When they have shaken off the shamefast band,
> With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd,
> T'obay the heasts of mans well ruling hand,
> That then all rule and reason they withstand,
> To purchase a licentious libertie.
>
> (V, v, 25)

Following the culminating fight between the 'good' warrior, Britomart, and the 'bad' Amazon, Radigund, Britomart frees the men held in subjection and returns the women to male rule: "The liberty of women [she] did repeale, which they had long usurpt; and them restoring to men's subjection, did true justice deale."[84] Radigund's reign shows both the monstrosity and the emasculating effect of female rule, and it is only when Britomart rescues Artegall and kills Radigund that the natural order of patriarchy is restored. Naturally unfit to rule, women become either ridiculous or monstrous in their efforts to exercise power.

In such encounters we are confronted with two types of women; archetypes opposed to each other on grounds of sexual morality; the gentle, obedient and often beautiful virgin and heroine versus the lustful, aggressive stepmother and/or queen. Women who challenged their attributed role within marriage were thus pushed to the extreme margins of society where they could only hold the roles of banshees, furies, whores, witches and Amazons, roles in which their sexuality was seen as something disruptive and threatening to the natural order of male control. Generally, it is only devoid of their womanliness, in the role of 'prince' or 'virgin,' that queens could stand unproblematically as leaders and warriors. Britomart is all of these; disguised as a knight, she is the virgin warrior whose manly courage, chastity and justice are the epitome of good female leadership.

However, Elizabeth the queen had dynastic obligations; the obligation to marry, to produce an heir and/or to name a successor, neither of which she did. Boudica may have married and had children, Britomart may have pursued marriage (she and Artegall were meant to produce a reign of British kings which would culminate in the birth of Elizabeth) but Elizabeth the woman never did marry, and it seems from early

[84] Op. Cit., Spenser. *The Faerie Queene.* V, vii, 42.

reports that she never had any intention of doing so. In a report sent by Sir Thomas Pope to Queen Mary in April 1558, Elizabeth was said to be firmly opposed, not merely to marriage to a particular person but to marriage as such. He quoted her desire as, "to remain in that estate I was, which of all others best liked me, or pleased me [...] I so well like this estate, as I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable unto it."[85]

Even when under intense pressure from Parliament to marry, Elizabeth may have appeared to hesitate and to procrastinate but she never gave in. In 1559, in 1563 and again in1566 Parliament sent petitions to Elizabeth asking her to marry. Parliamentary members even threatened not to vote on the subsidy bill (Elizabeth's chief means of raising money to run her government) until she had agreed to marry.[86] But Elizabeth remained firm in her position, a position that she made quite clear in her first speech to Parliament in 1559:

> And to the firste parte I maye saye unto yow, that from my yeares of vnderstandinge syth I first had consideration of my self to be borne a servitor of almightie god I happelie chose this kynde of life in which I yet lyve. Which I assure yow for myne owne parte, hath hitherto best contented my self and I trust hath bene most acceptable to god ... If any of these [i.e. family pressures and personal ambition] I sai, could have drawne or dessuaded me from this kynd of life, I had not now remayned in this estate wherein yowe se me.[87]

In place of a husband Elizabeth said she was married to her nation and to this effect she wore her Coronation ring as a symbol of this union.[88] If the nation was her husband then its subjects were her children. In her second address to Parliament in 1563 she is recorded as having spoken these words: "And so I asssure you all that, though after my death you may have many stepdames, yet shall you never have a more natural mother than I mean to be unto you all."[89] This concept of queenship was described by Calvin in a letter: "[Queens] shall supply everything that is necessary for nourishing the offspring of the Church."[90] Elizabeth took her role as nursing mother of the church and people very seriously. In this role Elizabeth also revived the spiritual

[85] Op. Cit., Johnson. p. 60.
[86] Op. Cit., Heisch . p. 48.
[87] Ibid. p. 49.
[88] Camden, *Annals.* (1615), cf. Heisch. Op. Cit., p. 50.
[89] Neale, J.E. *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1559-1601.* 2 vols, London: 1953-57. vol 1. p. 109.
[90] Op. Cit., Phillips. p. 227.

gift of kingship, that of the laying-on of hands, which was a popular and effective reinforcement of her image as a spiritual healer, begun after her excommunication,[91] and one which confirmed her divine and majestic status.

Quite surprisingly, however, and paradoxically, as Elizabeth was a virgin, she also played the role of a mother in the literal sense. By the mid 1580s James VI of Scotland, candidate for the throne of England, was writing long, ingratiating letters to Elizabeth addressing her as "madam and dearest mother."[92] Of course, he had never known his own mother, Mary Queen of Scots, because they had been separated when he was a baby, and for the last twenty years of Mary's life she was held a political prisoner in England until Elizabeth had her beheaded in 1587 following a number of Catholic plots. There were also doubts about James' legitimacy due to Mary's reputation for sexual freedom, so James was keen to distance himself from his natural mother and to reinforce his allegiance to Elizabeth. The fact that James continued to address Elizabeth as "mother" must have meant that Elizabeth allowed him to do so.

This, of course, touches upon another anxiety of the 1580's because Elizabeth, who was now past her childbearing years, was still refusing to name her heir. England, after Elizabeth, seemed to hold an uncertain future as John Neale illustrates in his analysis of Elizabethan Parliaments: "the settlement of the succession question, [was] the sole way, they thought, of preventing civil war at the death of a childless Queen and of assuring the maintenance of Protestantism in England."[93] Despite the numerous petitions from Parliament advising Elizabeth to marry, or at least to name her heir, Elizabeth remained inured. Instead she was content to act as godmother to more than a hundred children, including James VI of Scotland.

How then did the literary texts deal with Elizabeth's refusal to marry and the lack of an heir apparent? The traditional role of women in the literary texts was that of the chaste and submissive wife, the epitome of which is seen in such figures as Shakespeare's Innogen in *Cymbeline*, and Spenser's Britomart in *The Faerie Queene*. Britomart is a complex figure though, representing, on the one hand, an ideal of married chastity and dynastic mother and, on the other hand, the very single and singular Elizabeth. Yet Spenser manages to avoid any suggestion of dynastic failure

---

[91] Op. Cit., Johnson. p. 89.
[92] Orgel, S. 'Jonson and the Amazons.' pp. 119-39. *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry,* ed. Harvey, E.D. Eisaman Maus, K. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990. p.126.
[93] Op. Cit., Neale. Vol 1. p. 101.

on Elizabeth's part. He draws a fine line between representations of the perfect woman, who is committed to chastity within marriage and child-bearing, and representations of his unmarried, virgin queen. Not only does he seem to exempt Elizabeth from the dutiful obligation of her sex to marry, a duty that did extend to queens, too, but, cast in the role of exceptional female, he portrays her virginal chastity as the selfless sacrifice of her person to the nation. Married to the nation she becomes its protective and maternal shield whose example is seen to inspire and engender heroic virtue.

Monarchy and dynasty were inextricably linked as Spenser's epic poem demonstrates, and the obligations of marriage and children are pointed out by Patrick Cook who stresses that women can normally only "participate in epic teleology through dynastic marriage, the ultimate vocation of woman warriors in Renaissance epic."[94] In *The Faerie Queene* Britomart's initial quest for Artegall is understood as the pursuit of marriage and the foundation of a family as prophesised by Merlin in Book III in which Britomart's "immortall wombe"[95] is destined to produce a line of heirs culminating in the birth of Elizabeth. When Britomart visits Merlin he tells her of her genealogical tree and future destiny:

> For from thy wombe a famous Progenie
> Shall spring, out of the auncient *Trojan* blood,
>
> .....
>
> Renowned kings, and sacred Emperours,
> Thy fruitfull Ofspring, shall from thee descend;
>
> (III, iii, 22-23)

This dynastic commitment is further reiterated in Britomart's crocodile dream in the Temple of Isis in which Britomart produces a lion, emblem of the Tudor family and we can imagine that this dynasty was meant to continue. But when Spenser published his book in 1590 the political reality denied any possibility of this; Elizabeth was 57 years old and obviously too old to bear children.

The theme of Th*e Faerie Queene* centres on the convergence of female sexuality and her deployment of temporal power and for Britomart, as it was for Elizabeth, the final answer was to subdue and reject sexual desire. This is the message of

---

[94] Cook, P.J. *Milton, Spenser and the Epic Tradition.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. p. 75.
[95] Op. Cit., Spenser. *The Faerie Queene* III, iii, 11.

Britomart's crocodile dream in the Temple of Isis in which she assumes the identity of the goddess Isis and sees her lover, Artegall, as the god, Osiris. In such a role she is not just the goddess of war, but also a wife and mother, and as such, a goddess of fertility. The dream is full of sexual symbolism and denotes Britomart's symbolic loss of maidenhood. Yet, the crocodile at Isis's feet represents Artegall's male desire, a human and natural desire which threatens to consume her:

> Tho turning all his pride to humblesse meeke,
> His selfe before her feete he lowly threw,
> And gan for grace and love of her to seeke:
> Which she accepting, he so neare her drew,
> That of his game she soone enwombed grew,
> And forth did bring a Lion of great might;
> That shortly did all other beasts subdew.
> With that she waked, full of fearefull fright,
> And doubtfully dismayd through that so uncouth sight
>
> (V, vii,16)

The pun here is that she is not only 'dismayd' by the frightening spectre of her own physical desire and the sexual act, but she is also unmade in that she is no longer a maid. She is never referred to again in the text as a maid. Britomart's journey has taken her from maidenhood, to that of being made a woman, and from her final rejection of sexuality and physical procreation to her acceptance of her place in the world as a maker of ideals and values.

In this dream Britomart's choices are laid bare. At the beginning of her epic journey Merlin had prophesised Britomart's sexual role of dynastic mother to a line of kings, ending with the birth of Elizabeth, but as her quest for her matrimonial partner continues Spenser transforms Britomart's story into one of "dynastic fiction."[96] If Britomart were to fulfill her dynastic destiny her story would end with marriage. In lieu of this the story allows Britomart to bid "farewell [to] fleshly force" [97] as she leaves Artegall and continues her own personal journey. The vacancy is filled in book five by Mercilla, a key figure of female power and an iconographic representation of Elizabeth. From this strange revelation Walker writes:

---

[96] Op. Cit., Walker. p. 191.
[97] V, vii, 40, 9.

> She (Britomart) renounces the physical world and her place in it as a woman; by privileging the iconographic lessons of Busirane's House, the Temple of Venus, and Isis Church above the discourse of dynastic prophecy, Britomart leaves the poem as a flesh-and-blood figure so that she may reappear, Elizabeth-like, as an icon of justice.[98]

In Britomart's story Spenser has combined the two discourses of British dynastic history and the official iconography of Elizabeth's reign. In both worlds the double roles of sexual woman and public queen are irreconcilable and a choice is made by Britomart/Elizabeth to refuse the domestic life of dynastic consort in order to retain control of the political scene. To achieve this Elizabeth (Britomart/Mercilla) withdraws behind a rhetorical screen of iconic representations; that of the virgin queen, maiden warrior, defender of the faith.

The union of Britomart and Artegall does not bring forth a dynasty of flesh and blood as one would normally expect in a fairy tale, but a dynasty of ideas and virtues. As Britomart leaves Artegall and departs from the narrative to continue her quest she represents the political reality of the feminine icon of Elizabeth, a model of chastity and a mother of virtues. In a verse celebrating the Tudor union of Wales and England, and the golden age of Elizabethan rule Spenser writes:

> Thenceforth eternall union shall be made
> Betweene the nations different afore,
> And sacred Peace shall lovingly perswade
> The warlike minds, to learne her goodly lore,
> And civile armes to exercise no more:
>
> (III, iii, 49)

This was to be Elizabeth's dynastic legacy to her nation, and Spenser's literary legacy to Elizabethan propaganda.

Elizabeth's moral legacy to the nation was also prophesised in later literary works and iconographic references such as Shakespeare's *Henry VIII (c.*1612-13) wherein Cranmer forsees Elizabeth's future as the fulfilment of divine prophesy and one in which the corporate, and not the dynastic, nature of the Crown is highlighted:

[98] Op. Cit., Walker. p. 197.

> This royal infant, - Heaven still move about her!-
> Though in her cradle, yet now promises
> Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,
> Which time shall bring to ripeness. She shall be
> (But few now living can behold that goodness)
> A pattern to all princes living with her,
> And all that shall succeed:
> ...
> God shall be truly known; and those about her
> From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
> And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.
> (V, iv, 18-40)

An Illusion of Empowerment?

Until now I have tried to present a picture of female power but just how much freedom did women really have? The Swiss traveller, Felix Platter, wrote of Elizabethan women in the late sixteenth century: “they have more liberty than in other lands and know how to make good use of it,”[99] and this liberty was later recalled with nostalgia and regret by the seventeenth century poetess, Anne Bradstreet. Writing in America some thirty years after the death of Elizabeth, she remembered Elizabeth as one who had furthered the rights of women. In one poem she wrote:

> Now say, have women worth? Or have they none?
> Or had they some, but with our Queen is’t gone?[100]

Yet, it is difficult to assess with accuracy Elizabeth's own views on the emancipation of women. Sixteenth century England was a man's world still, with a queen holding the male office of sovereign. It was probably the conjunction of having a strong, charismatic woman on the throne coupled with the changes in the role of women within marriage which improved women's social standing. In the sixteenth century the Protestant ideal of chastity in marriage, which was a commitment to

[99] Harbage. *Shakepeare’s Audience,* Columbia University Press, 1941, p.76. Cf. Shepherd. Op. Cit.,p. 41.
[100] Bradstreet, Anne. Poem printed in 1650 and found in *The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse.* John H. Ellis (ed.), Charlestown, 1867, p. 361. Cf. Fraser. Op. Cit., p. 209.

faithful marriage and all that it entailed in terms of wifely obedience and child-bearing, replaced the Catholic ideal of celibacy, but more importantly, according to Cranmer's prayer book of 1549, the Protestant marriage was to be a union of "mutual society, help and comfort."[101] In reality it was a Puritan ideal, one which replaced the property marriage with a monogamous one founded on harmonious companionship and mutual support. Such companionship and support could only be achieved if women were better educated. Consequently, the period witnessed a greater investment in girls' education[102] which in turn improved their vocality and their respect in society.

However, women's freedoms still remained limited. Except in a very few cases they could only retain their economic and legal independence if they remained single.[103] Upon marriage, as Catherine Belsey reminds us, "they surrendered these rights to their husbands."[104] David Chambers' *Discours de la légitime succession des femmes*, published in 1579, makes this point clear. He points out that although the Scriptures subordinate the wife to the husband single women are as free as the men.[105] Elizabeth herself recognised the independent position of the single woman when she addressed Parliament on the question of her marrying in 1576: "If I were a milkmaid with a pail on my arm, whereby my private person might be little set by, I would not forsake that poor and single state to match with the greatest monarch,"[106] a statement which renders the "marginal states of virginity and poverty as sources of power"[107] according to Louis Montrose.

In another essay Montrose quotes Bacon's view of Elizabeth's policy on gender and power: "The reigns of women are commonly obscured by marriage; their praises and actions passing to the credit of their husbands; whereas those that continue unmarried have their glory entire and proper to themselves. In her case this was more especially so... she was herself ever her own mistress."[108] Elizabeth's views on the married state of women were also noted by the Ambassador Melville when visiting

[101] Op. Cit., Shepherd. p. 53.
[102] Simon, J. *Education and Society in Tudor England.* Cambridge, 1959. p. 376.
[103] Constance Jordan reminds us that in a few exceptional cases some married women could request from Chancery the status of *feme sole* so that they could preserve their rights to their property which was not the case for the married status of *feme couverte* but this procedure was long and uncertain. Op. Cit., Jordan. p. 450, footnote 37.
[104] Belsey, C. *The Subject of Tragedy.* London: Methuen, 1985. p. 152.
[105] Op. Cit., Jordan. p. 450.
[106] Op. Cit., Neale. Vol 1. p. 366.
[107] Op. Cit., Montrose. "Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes." p. 90.
[108] Montrose, L.A. '"Shaping Fantasies:" Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture.' *Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Stephen Greenblatt. London. University of California Press, 1988. p. 48.

Elizabeth in 1564 to discuss Mary Stuart's marriage. During the discussions Elizabeth expressed her own determination never to marry, in answer to which Melville said: "he knew she would never marry, because let Mary do what she would, the Queen of England had 'too stately a stomach [pride] to suffer a commander ... you think if you were married, you would only be Queen of England, and now ye are king and queen both.'"[109]

Elizabeth herself believed that a woman's role was to marry but she exempted herself from this obligation: "For though I can think it best for a private woman, yet do I strive with myself to think it not meet for a Prince."[110] It was, however, highly uncomfortable for Parliamentarians to work for an unmarried queen, as Camden so eloquently put it in 1615: "Nothing can be more alien to the public interest than to see a Prince, who by marriage may continue the Commonwealth in peace, to live single, like a Vestal virgin."[111] For Elizabeth though, her single state allowed her to keep her job of sovereign with all the power and prestige that went with it.

In the literary record there were numerous references to powerful women, which suggest that writers were exploring the social anxieties thrown up by having an unmarried, female monarch at the head of the government and of the nation. Spenser's Britomart is an interesting example of how sixteenth century intellectuals tried to resolve this dichotomy. Spenser poses such a problem idea in the narrative recounting the courtship of Britomart by Artegall. The story of their love begins along very traditional lines as Julia Walker points out in her article on 'Spenser's Elizabeth Portrait.' Artegall "with meeke seruice and much suit did lay/Continuall siege vnto her gentle hart"[112] and the metaphor of the maid as a hunted animal is Petrarchan. Britomart is successfully hunted/wooed by Artegall:

> at the length unto a bay he brought her,
> So as she to his speeches was content
> To lend an eare, and softly to relent.
> At last through many vowes which forth he pour'd,
> And many others, she yeelded her consent
> To be his love, and take him for her Lord,
> Till they with mariage meet might finish that accord.
>
> (IV, vi, 41)

[109] Op. Cit., Johnson. *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power.* p. 111.
[110] Op. Cit., Neale. Vol.1 p. 127.
[111] Op. Cit., Heisch. p. 48.
[112] Op. Cit., Spenser. *Faerie Queene.* IV, vi, 40, lines 3-4. Cf. Walker. Op. Cit., p. 190.

However, Spenser leaves the question of power unanswered. In this canto Britomart and Artegall first meet in a fight in which Artegall is winning, but when Britomart's helmet falls off Artegall sees her face, is undone by its beauty and loses the fight, a scenario which is repeated in his encounter with Radigund in Book V. However, in this meeting Britomart maintains control through martial means, feminine charm and reason. When called upon by Glauce to “Graunt him your grace” (IV, vi, 32), Britomart makes peace with Arthegall. Dressed as a knight, Britomart is presented here as an icon of female martial power and as a figure of emancipation; She embarks on her very own quest for her lover and for identity which does not end with her encounter with Artegall. Rather, after freeing her lover from Radigund, she renounces earthly love and sexual desire in order to continue her own quest into the following books of the *Faerie Queene*, finally emerging as the face of Mercilla, an idealized representation of Elizabeth, which was to be her literary identity.

The ultimate emblem of the epic hero is that of the integral individual, symbolised by the donning of armour, whose final choice lies between the nation and the self. Britomart's rejection of her sexuality and desire represents the sacrifice of her self for the good of the nation just as Aeneas, obedient to divine command, rejects Dido and continues his quest, a quest which finally leads to the foundation of a glorious nation, that of Rome. This, of course, echoes Elizabeth's own courtships and final rejection of the married state in favour of the nation. In her last Parliamentary speech she expresses her own self-sacrifice for England: "I have diminished my own revenue that I might add to your security, and been content to be a taper of true virgin wax, to waste myself and spend my life that I might give light and comfort to those that live under me."[113] It is not without interest to note that Elizabeth is never actually named within the narrative of Spenser's epic poem. Bereft of personal identity she assumes the iconographic identity of kingship, which indeed incurred the sacrifice of her physical sexuality. The dichotomy of the monarch's two sides was clearly understood by Spenser and his contemporaries as we have already seen in Spenser's letter to Raleigh in which he refers to the two bodies of the sovereign: "considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull Lady."[114]

[113] Op. Cit., Neale. Vol 2. p. 428.
[114] Op. Cit., Spenser. *The Faerie Queene.* p. 812.

We have already seen how she filled the iconographic vacuum left by the suppression of images of the Virgin Mary, and her portrait, supported by the virtues, was depicted on the frontispiece to the official Anglican Bible and must have been seen by every English subject.[115] In 1588, a woodcut of the queen shows her as a kind of *regina universi,* as she heads and dominates a sphere, or planet, of virtues.[116] The analogy of the parallel structure of heaven and earth seems to be the same one used by imperial theorists to justify the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor, and "anticipates the wilder messianic imperialist cult of Elizabeth that was to follow in the 1590s," Roy Strong writes.[117] Elizabeth the icon is not only a mother of virtues for the nation or a nursing mother to the church, she is also the maternal prophet of her people announcing a new golden age of heroic virtue, peace and prosperity.

Whilst both Boudica and Elizabeth were presented as powerful women, they were also presented as exceptional women and as sexual anomalies. In this way their examples did not upset the social apple cart. A woman's place was in the home unless she was called upon in very exceptional circumstances and only if she had the necessary personal qualities. In the case of Boudica, *Dio* Cassius tells us that she was "possessed of greater intelligence than often belongs to women."[118] In the case of Elizabeth she had quite clearly been called by God, a calling referred to by Spenser:

> But virtuous women wisely understand,
> That they were borne to base humilitie,
> Unlesse the heavens them lift to lawful soveraintie.
>
> (V, v, 25)

In such exceptional cases these individual women were given the title of honorary man. For example, in references to herself Elizabeth tried to avoid gendered expressions of herself as a woman and often referred to herself as "king" and "prince" as she did in her Tilbury speech. In the literary record such honorary men are called viragoes. Heywood gives us a definition of a virago in his *Exemplary Lives* of 1640 in which he writes that "All these Heroyicke Ladies are generally called Viragoes, which is derived of Masculine Spirits and ...Martial Enterprises."[119] His list of heroic women

---

[115] Strong, R. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987. p.31.
[116] Ibid. p. 133.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Op. Cit., Dio Cassius. lxii p. 85.
[119] Cf. Green, P.D. 'Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca,' Studies in English Literature,* 22, 2. (pp. 305-16), spring 1982. p. 309.

includes Boudica and Elizabeth. The word *virago* comes from the Latin, *vir,* and generally means the transference of male characteristics to a woman. Such honorary men not only have the masculine characteristics of courage, intelligence, wit and love of hunting but have also been carefully groomed from childhood for the exceptional roles that destiny has chosen for them. For example, their childhoods, where known, often portray these exceptional women as tomboys. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is said of the warrior Camilla that "her girl's hands had never been trained to Minerva's distaff and her baskets of wool, but rather, though a maiden, she was one to face out grim fights and in speed of foot to outdistance the winds."[120] In Spenser's *Faerie Queene* Britomart tells Sir Guyon that she was trained in warlike pursuits as a child and therefore rejects the domestic tasks of women:

> Faire Sir, I let you weete, that from the howre
> I taken was from nourses tender pap,
> I have beene trained up in warlike stowre,
> To tossen speare and shield, and to affrap
> The warlike ryder to his most mishap;
> Sithence I loathed have my life to lead,
> As Ladies wont, in pleasure wanton lap,
> To finger the fine needle and nyce thread.
>
> (III, ii, 6)

However, she further adds that she is in Fairy land seeking adventure, fame and also revenge against a man called Arthegall: “that hath me donne/ Late foule dishonour and reprochfull spight” (III ii 8), when she is in fact seeking Arthegall because he is the man she loves and the man she intends to marry. Dissimulating the real object of her quest we learn from the nurse’s speech in the following canto that Britomart first donned armour and learnt to fight as a grown woman and not as a young child:

> Let us in feigned armes our selves disguize,
> And our weake hands (whom need new strength shall teach)
> The dreadfull speare and shield to exercise:
>
> …
>
> Ne ought ye want, but skill, which practise small
> Will bring, and shortly make you a mayd Martiall.
>
> (III, iii, 53)

[120] Virgil. *The Aeneid.* London: Penguin Books, 1984. p. 200.

Queen Elizabeth, keen to prove herself in a man's world, prided herself on her excellent education and intellectual skills. Once, when addressing a Polish ambassador in Latin she said: "I am supposed to have many stoodies: but most philosophicall: I must yelde this to be trwe: that I suppose fewe (that be no professors) have reade more."[121] She was also a keen sportswoman and enjoyed hunting throughout her life. Her favourite weapon was the crossbow, but she also practiced archery, a skill that she had mastered as a child, hence the popular allusions to her as the goddess Diana. And in order to make male subservience to her palatable the romantic language of chivalry and courtly love was often employed by the poets and by Elizabeth herself.

Paradoxically then, it seems strange that both Elizabeth and Boudica based their military reputations on the fact that they were related to mighty men of the past. In Tacitus, Boudica says: “I am descended from mighty men!”[122] Whilst Elizabeth reminded her subjects that she was her father’s daughter and had his courage. In the Parliament of 1566 she spoke these words: "As for my own part, I care not for death; for all men are mortal. And though I be a woman, yet I have as good a courage, answerable to my place, as ever my father had."[123] Her courage and parental connection are again referred to by James Aske following her Tilbury parade a generation later: "Yet wants she not the courage of her Sire, /Whose valour wanne this Island great renowne."[124] Indeed, many more years later this was still remembered. In 1630 Lady Diana Primrose penned a panegyric to the dead Elizabeth called *A Chaine of Pearle* in which she wrote: “Well did she show, great Harry was her sire, Whom Europe did for valour most admire.”[125]

From this we can conclude that Elizabeth was simply accepted into the patriarchal order because she was Henry's daughter and heir to the throne. Parliament paid lip-service to her and she in turn played her part of honorary man, a part she actively supported by constantly promoting representations of herself as an exceptional woman and by deriding her own sex. She was an outspoken critic of other women, but perhaps this was merely out of policy, for her comments conformed to

---

[121] Op. Cit., Heish. p. 53.
[122] Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome.* London: Penguin, 1986. xiv, 34. p.330.
[123] Op. Cit., Neale. Vol I. p. 149.
[124] Op. Cit., Aske. *Elizabetha triumphans.* lines 41-42.
[125] Op. Cit., Heisch. p.45, Cf. Primrose, Diana, *A Chaine of Pearle.* London: Peter Waterhouse, 1630. See also Fraser. Op Cit., p. 213.

established stereotypes. For example, Elizabeth spoke and read six languages, but when she was congratulated on this she replied that it was "no marvel to teach a woman to talk; it were harder to teach her to hold her tongue."[126]

However, it would be wrong to criticise Elizabeth for doing so little to further the rights of women. Her own position was precarious and she was highly conscious of her female gender and her place in a man's world. Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, writers on the history of women, state in defence of Elizabeth that "although some historians have labelled Elizabeth patriarchal or even misogynistic, it is anachronistic to attribute her behaviour to an anti-female bias. The queen could not afford to be receptive to other women's claims for power, for fear of undermining her own position."[127] Arguably though, more women did have access to power, albeit informal power, through Elizabeth herself because only women could enter her domestic inner circle and have access to private speech with the monarch.

Constance Jordan asks the question whether women had any real authority when she poses the problem: "what is being discussed is not the political power of women - to make decisions, to determine policy, to invent and carry out strategies of governement - but rather whether this power is to have any authoritative expression."[128] Elizabeth was just one woman against her Privy Council, Parliament and bishops. John Aylmer, Archdeacon of Stow, had used the argument that Parliament, not the monarch, was the final authority in the land in order to reassure men on female rule: "it is not she that ruleth but the lawes."[129] He also added that "if the parliament use their privileges, the King can ordein nothing without them. If he do it is his fault in usurping it and their follye in permitting it..."[130] Sir Thomas Smith's revolutionary title, *De Republica Anglorum* of 1583[131] even went so far as to suggest that Elizabeth's power was only founded on inheritance and that in the cases where children or women inherited the Crown office of monarch a council of advisors should be appointed as was the case for Edward VI.

The monarch's position of power was constantly undermined by successive Parliaments who challenged Elizabeth's royal prerogative. Elizabeth may have vetoed

---

[126]Cited in Erickson, Carolly. *Bloody Mary,* 1978, p. 390, Cf. Fraser. Op. Cit., p. 209.
[127] Op. Cit., Mendelson and Crawford. p. 357.
[128] Op. Cit., Jordan p. 449.
[129] sig. H3v. Cf. Jordan. p. 441.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Sir Thomas Smith. *De Republica Anglorum.* ed. L. Alston. Cambridge: University of Cambridge. 1906. p. 22. Cf. Jordan. p. 441.

several Parliamentary bills and she may have emerged the victor from the bras de fer with Parliament over the question of her marriage but the House of Commons learnt many useful lessons on Parliamentary procedure and lobbying. Allison Heisch maintains that in the early part of Elizabeth's reign the House of Commons "consolidated its position, and would henceforth press for even greater latitude and authority in dealing with matters of national importance."[132] She believes that the process whereby Parliament gained greater powers was only possible because England had a female on the throne: "It is absolutely evident that neither the challenge to Royal authority nor the intensity of that challenge could have occurred with other than a female monarch,"[133] an observation that other historians, such as Neale, have agreed with.[134]

However, Neale is quite clear in pointing out that the movement towards constitutional monarchy and parliamentary sovereignty was one initiated under Henry VIII when he first broke with Rome and when Sir Thomas More made his radical claim for freedom of speech for the House of Commons. At that time the conception of such freedom of speech meant only the right to oppose any bill or motion. It was during Elizabeth's reign that the highly organised pressure groups of the Puritan element in Parliament "taught the House of Commons methods of concerted action and propaganda"[135] and John Neale sees the Puritan Movement as highly significant in the history of Parliamentary development. Very vocal Puritan members of Parliament, such as Thomas Norton and Peter Wentworth, reinterpreted the right of freedom of speech as the right to initiate policy and criticise government decisions even "reaching so far that personal monarchy was threatened and the constitutional revolution of Stuart times prepared."[136]

Both Heisch and Neale are right. The monarchy lost power during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries because of the historical conjunction of Puritan political influence and the presence of a female monarch which was a *de facto* invitation for Parliamentarians to ease the political responsibilities of Elizabeth, but even under James I we have numerous examples of clashes between the King and Parliament. At the beginning of James's reign he was constantly criticised for

[132] Op. Cit., Heisch. p. 52.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Op. Cit., See Neale. Vol I. p. 179.
[135] Ibid. Vol 2. p. 436.
[136] Ibid. p. 435.

bureaucratic inefficiencies[137] and the misuse of revenue. In his first Parliament there were significant disagreements over who actually constituted the law. James saw the monarch's power as absolute whilst Parliament argued that the monarch and Parliament worked together to establish new laws. Parliamentarians recognised James' hereditary right to the Crown as a source of power but began to make a clearer distinction between the private and public capacities of the monarch.

Even in the religious fields both Elizabeth and Boudica underwent a steady demotion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If we recall Boudica's religious roles, it seems that women did have a public place in Celtic religious leadership and worship. However, it can also be recalled that in Roman and Tudor descriptions these women were seen as banshees and furies. For example, in the description given by Tacitus of the druidesses on the Isle of Anglesey just before Boudica's revolt, the latter are described as "fanatical women," who were "black-robed ... with dishevelled hair like Furies, brandishing torches."[138] In the *Britannia* of 1586, Camden also has these same women "running up and down like furies."[139]

In the case of Elizabeth she was seen as an instrument of God, empowered by him to defend the true Protestant church but she often had to justify her position by re-affirming that the source of her royal authority, whether political, military or religious, was God.[140] It must also be stated that Parliament would not let her assume the title of "Supreme Head of the Church" as her brother had done which was the traditional role for a monarch. Normally the king was represented as the "high shepheard"[141] of his people, whilst queens, according to Scripture, could be the "nursing mothers" of the church and nation.[142] Coupled with the fact that St. Paul had forbidden women to speak in church it was problematical for Elizabeth to assume a king's role of supreme head of the church. So, in deference to public opinion Elizabeth dropped her claim and accepted the title of supreme governor of the church instead.

---

[137] See Leonard Tennenhouse's article, 'Strategies of state and political plays.' Cf. Dollimore. Op. Cit., pp. 118-119.
[138] Op. Cit., *Annals*. XIV, 29 p. 327.
[139] Op. Cit., Camden. LXIII.
[140] State Papers, *Domestic Elizabeth*, 12.27.36. Cf. Heisch, Op. Cit., p. 52.
[141] Holinshed. *Chronicles,* (3:1018), Cf. Patterson. Op. Cit., p. 18.
[142] Isaiah 49:23: "And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers." Cf. Phillips. p. 227.

Whilst the Earl of Leicester[143] attributed to Elizabeth the role of "blessed mother and nurse to this people and church of England"[144] women in general were excluded from religious roles within the church except for that of nun or nurse. The only exception seems to be the inclusion in *Holinshed's Chronicles* of the fourteenth century story of a young woman who had worked as a clandestine priest until denounced by a neighbour:

> In those daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onelie daughter, whome manie daies she instructed and trained up to celebrat the masse, and she sep up an altar in hir privie or secret chamber with all the ornaments therunto belonging, and so she made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir selfe like a priest, and to come to the alter, and after hir maner to celbrate the masse ... This errour a long time lasted, till at last by a certeine neighbour that was secretlie called to such a masse, it was told abroad, and came to the bishops eares, who causing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that errour, and compelled the yoong woman openlie to shew the priestlie shaving of hir haire, whose head was found to be all bare and bald.[145]

This story, however, is only cited by Abraham Fleming in order to denounce the protofeminism of his day for, possibly with the story of the independent and headstrong Anne Askew in mind who had challenged both her husband and the state, he includes criticism of contemporary female behavior:

> It is not to be doubted, but that in these days manie of the female sex be medling in matters impertinent to their degree, and inconvenient to their knowledge; debating and scanning in their privat conventicles of such things as whereabout if they kept silence, it were for thier greater commendation; presuming, though not to celebrat a masse, or to make a sacrament; yet to undertake some publike peece of service incident to the ministerie: whose oversawcie rashnesse being bolstered and borne up with abbettors not a few, whether it be by ecclesiasticall discipline corrected, I wot not; but of the uniformed presbiteries I am sure it is lamented.[146]

---

[143] Often known as Dudley, who had been a prisoner in the Tower with Elizabeth during Mary's reign, and became a close friend.
[144] Op. Cit., Fraser. p. 214.
[145] *Holinshed's Chronicles,* (2:828), Cf. Patterson. Op. Cit., p. 216 .
[146] Ibid. p. 217.

Within the family itself women were further relegated to the rank of pupil as husbands and fathers were given more religious duties. With the movement from Catholicism to Anglicanism and the suppression of purgatory and the confession men became the religious heads of their families, responsible for the guidance and religious education of their wives and children. This movement was consolidated under James I who regarded the family as a kingdom in miniature, a kingdom in which the institution of marriage was the arena of gender politics and where women could be domesticated by the husband and integrated into society. As we shall see in the following chapter Boudica suffers a reversal of fortunes in this ideological war over gender politics.

The Cult of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was excommunicated by the Pope in 1570 and despite a number of Catholic plots to remove Elizabeth from the throne and Parliament's attempts to pass anti-Catholic laws Elizabeth remained unmoved by religious extremists. She defended the interests of the Anglican Church and of the nation by advocating a religious compromise which included elements of Catholicism within the Protestant faith, and this, presumably, because she had lived through the Protestant reign of her brother and the Catholic reign of her sister. The rift in religious cohesion was one that profoundly marked the Tudor period and was apparent in all forms of iconography. In a painting referred to as the Allegory of the Tudor Succession, painted between 1590 and 1595,[147] Henry VIII sits enthroned in the middle whilst his children stand on either side. To his right stands the Catholic faction of Mary, Philip of Spain and Mars, god of war, to his left are placed Edward and Elizabeth and two goddesses representing peace and plenty. In the following century this religious schism was still referred to as a major marker of the Tudor period as Roger William's quotation demonstrates:

> When England was all Popish under Henry the seventh, how esie is conversion wrought to half Papist halfe-Protestant under Henry the eighth? From Halfe-Protestantisme halfe Popery under Henry the

[147]Op. Cit., Strong. *Gloriana.* fig. 61. p. 76.

> eight, to absolute Protestantism under Edward the sixt to absolute Popery under Queene Mary, and from absolute Popery under Queen Mary (just like the Weathercocke, with the breath of every Prince) to absolute Protestantisme under Queen Elizabeth.[148]

Despite the above citation historians now refer to Elizabeth's reign as one of a middle way between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Elizabethan period was influenced by a strong Puritan movement but Elizabeth herself chose a more conciliatory path; Protestantism tinged with some Catholic elements. A number of critics have characterised Elizabeth's religious policy as one of appropriation because certain Catholic symbols, such as candles, crucifixes and some priestly robes were incorporated into the Anglican Church, and parts of the Catholic ideology, particularly that concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation, were left deliberately vague. As domestic policy it was certainly an intelligent move for it satisfied most Protestants and seduced some Catholics whilst the greatest triumph of Elizabethan propaganda has to be the successful appropriation of the symbol of the Virgin Mary by Elizabeth.

As the years passed and Elizabeth remained single, resisting all attempts by Parliament to coerce her into marriage, her privy councillors came up with the very effective public image of the Virgin Queen, an image that Elizabeth was proud of. Even in her very first Parliament in 1559 she had addressed the assembly with these words: "And in the end, this shall be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a Queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."[149] Creating the Cult of Elizabeth around their monarch privy councillors promoted a number of qualities and powers attributed to her position as God's representative on earth and as defender of the faith. When textual references to the Virgin Mary were removed from all services in the Anglican Church we can speculate that Elizabeth slowly filled the breach; her portrait was on the cover of every church bible, and in official iconography and in texts she was presented as an ever-youthful vestal virgin, prophetess and goddess; representations which drew upon other cultural figures from the ancient world and from Britain’s Celtic heritage such as Bellona, Deborah and Boudica.

The removal of the Virgin Mary from Iconography in England may have created a ‘photo-opportunity’ for Elizabeth for, according to Stephen Greenblatt’s theory concerning the circulation of social energy and the improvisation of power, it created

[148] Roger Williams’ pamphlet, “Christenings make not Christians” (1645), in *Complete Writings,* 7 vols. New York, 1963, 7:36, cf. Patterson. Op. Cit., *Reading Holinshed’s Chronicles.* p. 22.
[149] Op. Cit., Neale. *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*. vol 1. p. 49.

an iconic vacuum for the virgin Elizabeth to fill.[150] However, the Virgin Mary had to be first exposed as a fraud, as a Catholic ideological construct, before her symbolic values could be appropriated and assimilated into another scenario. Debunking her myth could be, and was, achieved through association with other fictional figures from Roman mythology such as the vestal virgins. As Greenblatt explains in his article on 'The Improvisation of Power': "Roman mythology, deftly keyed to England's Virgin Queen, helps to fictionalise Catholic ritual sufficiently for it to be displaced and absorbed."[151] In this way the Virgin Mary was fictionalised as a myth only and this justified her eradication from the 'real' faith of Protestantism. The iconographic figure of the virgin was then free to be appropriated and reinterpreted by Elizabethan propagandists.

Other critics have followed Greenblatt's ideas concerning the Elizabethan movement of displacing the Virgin Mary's cultural symbolism into another scenario, that of the Virgin Queen, and appropriating her cultural force for the 'Cult of Gloriana.' Roy Strong refers to the creation of an Elizabethan legend when he cites Dr King's eulogy to Elizabeth just after her death:

> Soe there are two excellent women, one that bare Christ and an other that blessed Christ; to these may wee joyne a third that bare and blessed him both. She [i.e. Elizabeth] bare him in hir heart as a wombe, she conceived him in faith, shee brought him forth in aboundaunce of good workes.[152]

Here, she is acclaimed as a second Virgin, both mother to Christ and protector of the Anglican Church of England. Louis Montrose sees this cult as the result of a deliberate religious and political policy followed by Elizabeth's councillors: "a

---

[150] In one essay on social energy Greenblatt refers to the circulation of cultural values through the medium of artistic expression and postulates that "collective beliefs and experiences were shaped, moved from one medium to another, concentrated in manageable aesthetic form, offered for consumption." He terms the removal of a given symbol from one domain to another 'improvisation', which he considers a central mode of behaviour in the Renaissance and argues that this improvisation of power could only be achieved if the two domains had certain socio-cultural similarities ('The circulation of Social energy.' *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader.* Edited by Lodge, D. London: Longman, 2000. Chapter 31, pp. 495-510. p. 498. See also the first chapter of Greenblatt's *Shakespearean Negotiations.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.) In another essay he writes: "if improvisation is made possible by the subversive perception of another's truth as an ideological construct, that construct must […] be grasped in terms that bear a certain structural resemblance to one's own set of beliefs" (Greenblatt, S. 'The Improvisation of Power.' *The New Historicism Reader.* Aram Veeser, H. (ed.) London & New York: Routledge, 1994, chapter 2, p. 51).

[151] Ibid. Greenblatt's 'Improvisation of Power.' p. 53.

[152] Op. Cit., Strong. p. 43.

concerted effort was in fact made to appropriate the symbolism and the affective power of the suppressed Marian cult in order to foster an Elizabethan cult. Both the internal residues and the religious rituals were potential resources for dealing with the political problems of the Elizabethan regime."[153] In another essay Montrose is even more direct when he states: "As Virgin, spouse and mother, Elizabeth gathered unto herself all the Marian attributes."[154]

However, Helen Hackett points out the difficulties attendant upon regarding Elizabeth as a "Protestant substitute for the Virgin Mary, filling a post-Reformation gap in the psyche of the masses, who craved a symbolic virgin-mother figure."[155] She is critical of the evidence used by the new historicists, that of the ritualistic nature of the ceremonies which developed around Elizabeth, and the religious meanings of the iconography used in portraits and literary panegyrics of the Queen, which fail to take into account place, time and class. Most of the evidence for the cult of Elizabeth is taken from late in her reign and the elegies for her were obviously produced after her death. What is more, many of the documents cited came from the court or from those connected to it.

Opposed to the new historicist view Hackett argues that Elizabeth was simply able to fill a universal psychological need felt by all cultures throughout time and across the world[156] and supports this point by illustrating how the Virgin Mary herself was a recipient of other figures, symbols and rituals from previous cultures. When Richard Helgerson interprets the seated figure of Albion on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* of 1612 as "strongly reminiscent of that assumed by Queen Elizabeth on Saxton's frontispiece [of 1579], an image that was itself already an adaptation of the familiar icon of the Virgin Mary,"[157] Hackett counters with "[this] is only half the story." [158] She puts the shoe on the other foot by saying that it is the Marian figures which carry the symbols of monarchical power (the crown and the throne) appropriated from ancient emperors and medieval kings. Besides which, it was clearly understood in the consciousness of Tudor England that Elizabeth could only ever be "the *second* maid"

[153] Op. Cit., Montrose '"Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power.' p. 33.
[154] Op. Cit., Montrose, L.A. 'Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes.' p. 90.
[155] Hackett, H. *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary.* London: Macmillan, 1995. pp. 213-218. p. 7.
[156] Ibid. p. 13.
[157] Helgerson, R. 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England.'*Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Stephen Greenblatt, London: University of California Press, 1988. p. 336.
[158] Op. Cit., Hackett. p. 24.

Hackett underlines; "the pre-eminence of the Virgin Mary was always maintained."[159] Hackett further disperses the myth of the Cult of Elizabeth by disparaging the motives of male critics of the twentieth century who sought to "explain idealisations of Elizabeth as driven by a continuing need for a symbolic virgin-mother figure [which] may itself merely reflect a tendency enduring into the twentieth century to reduce all powerful women to a single figure of Woman."[160] She ends her book by questioning the very term 'Cult' with its "implications of universal and spontaneous worship."[161] In its place she proffers the tribal connotation of belonging to a group identity: "all panegyrists of Elizabeth shared one common political motivation: the fact that celebration of their Queen as a sanctified icon constituted a statement of allegiance to England and the Protestant Church."[162]

Whilst Hackett is correct to clarify the misuse of the term 'cult' and to issue a warning concerning the nature, the date and the provenance of the evidence used by the new historicists, she does in fact recognise the validity of Greenblatt's theory regarding the social evolution of a given community through the appropriation and re-interpretation of cultural meanings in order to adapt to the realities of a new age. She also concedes that such energy was harnessed by Elizabethan propagandists as part of a deliberate policy to support the new regime through the public staging of its power but she argues that such figures as the Virgin Mary were not replaced by Elizabeth; they were rather used for the divine endorsement of Elizabeth's reign.

As far as Elizabeth is concerned she not only appropriated Marian symbolism but also attributes from other female figures such as the warrior-queen Boudica and numerous mythological goddesses from Greek and Roman texts. In the portrait of 'Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses' (1569), painted just after the Northern Revolt, the artist shows her conversing with Juno, Pallas Athene and Venus. Juno is pointing to the sky indicating that Elizabeth has vanquished them through the aid of divine intervention. Elizabeth is also given a moon goddess role as Diana and Cynthia, which assigned to her cosmological powers.[163] In the 'Rainbow' portrait she is wearing a crown surmounted by a jewelled crescent moon. And in 1600 Thomas Dekker wrote:

[159] Ibid. p. 217.
[160] Ibid. p. 239-240.
[161] Ibid. p. 241.
[162] Ibid. p. 238.
[163] Op. Cit., Strong. *Gloriana.* p. 128.

> Are you then travelling to the temple of Eliza?
> Even to her temple are my feeble limbs travelling.
> Some call her Pandora: some Gloriana: some
> Cynthia: some Belphoebe: some Astraea; all by
> several names to express several loves: Yet
> all those names make but one celestial body,
> as all those loves meet to create but one soul.
> I am of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza.[164]

Arguably though, it was the figure of the historical Boudica who offered an exploitable source of allegorical material for representations of Elizabeth in her religious roles, albeit on a lower scale to that of the Virgin Mary. Filling the role of druidess, prophetess and goddess, Boudica's fight was comparable to that of Elizabeth's wars against Catholic Spain and Rome, yet caution was needed in such comparisons due to the violent and horrific nature of Boudica's rebellion. It is presumably because of the darker side to Boudica's religious activities that she was not appropriated to the same extent that the Virgin Mary was. Dio's account of Boudica presents this British queen as a religious leader defending the Briton's religion of Druidism against the encroaching Roman gods, but the cruelty of her military actions cast a shadow over the religious sanctity of her crusade. This might explain why Elizabeth was more often compared to the prophetess Deborah[165] than to Boudica.

The religious function Dio ascribes to Boudica is that of a druidess addressing her troops and her goddess. Dio tells us that she was also a prophetess who had released a hare from the folds of her clothing in order to predict victory for her forces. He writes: "When she had finished speaking, she employed a species of divination, letting a hare escape from the fold of her dress; and since it ran on... the auspicious side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure." [166] According to Dio, Boudica then called on the Celtic goddess of war, Andraste, as "woman speaking to woman" and said: "I supplicate and pray thee for victory, preservation of life, and liberty against men insolent, unjust, insatiable, and impious."[167] Further on though Dio also describes the British atrocities, the executions, torture and sacrifices, which took place in the grove of Andate, goddess of victory.

---

[164] Thomas Dekker, *Old Fortunatus,* 1600. Cf. Morgan, Kenneth (Ed.). *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984. p.264.
[165] Op. Cit., Turner Wright. 'The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature.' p.455.
[166] Op. Cit., Dio Cassius. (lxll, 6) pp. 91-92.
[167] Ibid, p.93.

The name Andate may well be a corruption of the word Andraste, goddess of war and victory although caution is needed here as Lewis Spence points out. He suggests that Dio took the name of the goddess from the Vocontian Gauls of the South-east of Gaul and attributed it to Boudica because it was the only Celtic goddess he knew of. There is no other reference to Andate in Britain and Tacitus does not mention her in relation to Boudica's rebellion.[168] However, it can be suggested here that Boudica was assuming the Celtic role of war queen-goddess just as Queen Medb did in the Ulster Cycle,[169] and just as Cleopatra did when she assumed the role of the Ptolemaic mother and war goddess, Isis.[170] Certainly, the rebellion includes distinctly ritualistic elements, and Fraser suggests that Boudica, as leader of the rebellion, assumed the role of "Holy (Armed) Figurehead"[171] demanding bloody revenge for her people and for her two daughters.

Whatever the historical truth of Boudica's religious role it was one of the representations that came down to the Elizabethans. At Tilbury in 1588 James Aske compares Elizabeth's allegoric role to that of Boudica and to the war goddess, Bellona as she passes through the camp inspecting the ranks and speaking to the troops.[172]

In the role of priestess Elizabeth was more often depicted as a Petrarchan vestal virgin. References to Petrarch's *Triumph of Chastity,* cast Elizabeth in the role of a Roman vestal by giving her a sieve to carry as in the 'Sieve' portraits of 1579-1583.[173] Symbols of chastity such as the sieve, the ermine and the colour white became prevalent in the iconography. In the 'Ditchley' portrait Elizabeth is wearing a pure white dress. [174] In the 'Rainbow Portrait' she has an ermine on one sleeve and though the painting dates to 1600-1603 Elizabeth is still the youthful beauty of forty years earlier, testimony to the enduring promotion of Elizabeth's Mask of Youth and virginal chastity.

As Defender of the Faith Elizabeth's religious authority was often depicted as militant Protestantism against Papacy. Just as Joan of Arc's militant chastity was an integral part of her leadership, so it was for Elizabeth. She presented herself as an instrument of divine justice, as a martial leader blessed by God, whose chaste, imperial person was directly connected to the Spanish defeat and which made her, and by

---

[168] Spence, L. Boadicea: Warrior Queen of the British. London: Robert Hale, 1937. p. 151-152.
[169] Op. Cit., Green. *Gods of the Celts.* p. 120.
[170] Op. Cit., Fraser. p. 17.
[171] Ibid. p. 87.
[172] Op. Cit., Aske. p. 18 & p. 26.
[173] Op. Cit., Strong, *Gloriana.* pp. 95-100.
[174] Ibid. p. 21.

extension her realm, invulnerable to male threat. The official 'Armada' portrait of 1588 represents the link between the defeat of the Spanish fleet and Elizabeth's virginal state.[175] In literary references to Elizabeth her militant chastity is also seen as a protective shield. In *The Faerie Queene* for example Elizabeth's military parallel is the knight of Chastity, the maiden Britomart, whose chastity is her shield just as the ermine symbol of chastity on Artegall's shield is his. Here, the symbolism represents the union of Britomart and Artegall as the union of chastity and (divine) justice.

Suffice it to say that as the years passed Elizabeth's militant chastity took on more and more importance in the iconographic representations. In Thomas Cecil's engraving, *Truth Presents the Queen with a Lance*, (1625),[176]for example, Elizabeth is depicted as a martial maid beating down Rome, which is seen as the Beast of the Apocalypse; sitting side-saddle on a horse she is wearing armour, a shield and sword. On her helmet there is attached an olive branch and a number of roses symbolising peace and unity. The horseshoe form of the Armada can be seen in the background. For Hobbes, writing his *Leviathan* in the mid-seventeenth century, Elizabeth represents the principal champion against Papacy.[177] Such allusions to Elizabeth inaugurated the Cult of the Virgin, especially after her excommunication when she began to equal the Virgin Mary in the textual references and songs.[178] John Dowland's *Second Book of Airs* (1600) contains the following verse:

> When others sing Venite exultamus!
> Stand by and turn to Noli emulari!
> For Quare fremuerant use Oremus!
> Vivat Eliza for an Ave Mari!
>
> She was, she is (what can there more be said?)
> In earth the first, in heaven the second maid.[179]

Incidentally Elizabeth's birthday was just the day before that of the Virgin's nativity and was seen as a happy coincidence which was incorporated into the church calendar.[180]

It can also be conjectured that Elizabeth, consciously or not, was drawing on Britain's cultural heritage of the Celtic mother goddess for representations of herself

---

[175] Ibid. p. 131.
[176] Ibid. p.165. fig. 185.
[177] Mikalachki, J. *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation*. London: Routledge, 1998. p. 56.
[178] For further information see Johnson. Op. Cit., pp. 12 and 89.
[179] Op. Cit., Heisch p. 46, p. 54 (note 3).
[180] Ibid. p. 45.

as being married to the land, as being the land and as being a mother to the land and nation,[181] a cultural heritage which was still residual in England's land-based peasant economy, despite the Christian imposition of its own saints' days on the old Pagan or Roman celebrations. For example, Ronald Hutton discusses the history of May Day with its games, its May Queen and bonfires, and he traces the fires back to the Celtic areas of the British archipelago where they were still lit up until the last century.[182] As for the decking of holy places with greenery and flowers, as is still the case in the Church of England's celebration of the Harvest Festival, Hutton traces this tradition back to the ancient world.[183] Other dates appropriated by the Christian Church include the Pagan feast of the dead on All Hallows' Eve, now known as Halloween and the celebration of Christmas on the 25th of December.[184]

Just as Boudica united the tribes and became a political and religious focus for her people, so too, did Elizabeth. Elizabeth, as Defender of the Faith, Elizabeth as militant virgin at Tilbury, and as mother of the nation, became a focus of national pride. As such, it can be argued that the myth we have of Elizabeth today is of someone who unified the English. It was a myth generated by the Cult of Elizabeth which borrowed heavily from historical and mythological figures of patriotic women such as Boudica, and was perpetuated by nationalistic sentiment and by popular consent.

---

[181] See Green, M. *The Gods of the Celts*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1986. pp. 72-102.
[182] Hutton, R. *The Rise and Fall of Merry England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. pp. 55-57. See also Hutton, R. *The Stations of the Sun.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. pp.332, 334, 345-347 for the Pagan and Roman connotations of the early modern Harvest festival.
[183] Ibid. Hutton. *The Rise and Fall of Merry England.* p. 50
[184] Op. Cit., Hutton. *The Stations of the Sun.* p. 384 & p.1.

Chapter 3 Unity, Harmony and Empire: an English Agenda?

> Whenas a lion's whelp shall, to himself unknown, without seeking find, and be embraced by a piece of tender air; and when from a stately cedar shall be lopped branches, which being dead many years, shall after revive, be jointed to the old stock, and freshly grow, then shall Posthumus end his miseries, Britain be fortunate and flourish in peace and plenty.
>
> (*Cymbeline* V, iii, 232-238, and V, iv, 436-443.)

In 1603 James VI of Scotland was proclaimed James I of England and Wales. His Stuart claim to the throne was founded on his "descent lineally out of the loynes of Henry the seventh"[1] and on Elizabeth's testament when she named "our cousin of Scotland"[2] the new king of England. Arriving in London in May 1603 he declared by royal proclamation his project to unite his two kingdoms under the ancient name of Great Britain.[3] In Shakespeare's *Cymbeline,* quoted above, the plot is visibly framed by James's concerns to unite the kingdoms of Scotland, Wales and England into the harmonious and prosperous unit of Great Britain. Furthermore, the playwright enters the historiographical debate on national origins and ethnic diversity by "rediscovering roots for the union project in older stories," Huw Griffiths writes, [4] and whilst Shakespeare also dips into the political questions on foreign policy and national expansion, he equally exploits current tensions concerning gender politics and the role of women in society.

Through Posthumus and Innogen's marriage Jupiter's prophecy (above) anticipates the reunification of Britain referred to by Merlin in Geoffrey of

---

[1] James I. *Political Works.* pp. 271-3. cf. Axton, M. *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession.* London: London Royal Historical Society, 1977. p. 133.
[2] Dutton, R. *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama.* Iowa: University of Iowa, 1991. p. 109.
[3] For information about the etymology of the word Britain see Alan MacColl's essay, 'The Meaning of "Britain" in Medieval and Early Modern England'. He also gives a brief overview of the historiographical and geo-political origins of the terms England and Britain in the *Journal of British Studies* (Volume 45, Number 2, April 2006, pp. 248-269). See also Mason, R. A. `Scotching the Brut: History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), Scotland and England, 1286-1815 (Edinburgh, 1987) & Jodi Mikalachki's *The Legacy of Boadicea* which looks at early modern understanding of the term in Camden's *Britannia.* p. 113.
[4] Griffiths, H. 'The Geographies of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline,*' in *English Literary Renaissance.* 34: 3, pp. 339-58, 2004. p. 357.

Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*.[5] Yet Griffiths points out that the romance ending, re-uniting Posthumus with his wife, is already anticipated towards the beginning of the play when Cloten's second lord speaks:

> The heavens hold firm
> The walls of thy dear honour, keep unshak'd
> That temple, thy fair mind, that thou mayst stand,
> T'enjoy thy banish'd lord and this great land!
>
> (II.i.61-64)

And Griffiths comments: "in this prayer the final union in marriage between Posthumus and Imogen is imagined in national terms. In enjoying her lord, Britain will once again become 'this great land.'"[6] Mary Floyd-Wilson adds further to this interpretation by giving the different characters ethnological identities in which Posthumus is considered as the representation of "the residual vestiges of Scottish barbarism" who must “be embrac'd by a piece of tender air,” that is by Innogen, a more civilised England, in order to bring about not only his refinement but also Britain's bountiful future.[7]

As the “lion's whelp” Posthumus is also recognised as being lineally descended from the Tudor dynasty despite the fact that in the play his ancestry is historically vague and this may be an implicit though dangerous reference to James himself and/or a plunge into the unknown pedigree of the British people. In the second plot we have the “cedar [tree]” and the “lopped branches” which refer to Cymbeline, later directly called "the lofty cedar, royal cymbeline,"[8] and his two lost sons, Arviragus and Guiderius, which again allegorises the harmonious union of England, Wales and Scotland. Although Mary Floyd-Wilson, who believes the brothers to represent Anglo-Saxons, persuasively challenges this interpretation of the brothers as

---

[5] Monmouth, G. *The History of the Kings of Britain.* 1136. Reprinted London: Penguin, 1966. pp. 170-185.
[6] Op. Cit., Griffiths. p.349.
[7] Floyd-Wilson, M. 'Delving to the root: *Cymbeline*, Scotland and the English race.' in Baker, D. Maley, W. (Eds.) *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature. Literary Criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p.109-110. This idea is further developed in her book, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003 on p. 160, in which she argues that Posthumus "represents early modern Scotland - still barbaric in nature, but poised to receive the civilizing embrace of England in the proposed Jacobean project."
[8] *Cymbeline* V, iv, 454.

representing Scotland and Wales[9] *Cymbeline* nevertheless presents us with two visions of Britain, the first is that of a union of peoples and the second is that of a geographical unity of British lands.

Each character seems to symbolise or comment on competing narratives of nationhood and historiography, in which ethnic distinctions are unstable and national origins unclear. Floyd-Wilson's central problem idea in her book on English ethnicity is "that *Cymbeline* is a romance about historiography" in which "the play self-consciously stages, with its temporal shifts and symbolic personages, the political implications of historical precedents and patterns. And it is, I contend, the ethnological tensions provoked by King James's union project that gave rise to the historiographical awareness that *Cymbeline* displays."[10]

What then of the other two central characters, Cloten and Cymbeline's unnamed queen? Whilst Cloten is apparently identified as Roger Ascham's "English Ape," and represents both Britain's barbaric origins and effeminate enslavement to continental customs[11] Cymbeline's queen is more complex and is loosely based upon the historical personage of Boudica. As Jodi Mikalachki points out, Cymbeline's queen cannot be traced back to Holinshed's account of Kymbeline's reign in England but rather to that of "Voadicia, or Boadicea," sixty years later under the Roman occupation of Britain.[12] Floyd-Wilson explores this source further by referring to Arviragus's wife, Voada, as a source in Holinshed's Scottish chronicles.[13] However, there is another source that needs to be considered in more detail, that of Hector Boece's *The Chronicles of*

---

[9] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson's '*Cymbeline*, Scotland and the English race' in which she holds up the princes' aliases of Polydore and Cadwal as evidence of Shakespeare's intentions; that is to discredit Britain's Trojan ancestry and suggest some Anglo-Saxon heritage instead. p. 110 & p. 112.

[10] Floyd-Wilson, M. *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. 171.

[11] Ibid. pp. 178- 179 for this interpretation.

[12] Mikalachki, J. *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation*. London: Routledge, 1998. p. 102.

[13] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity and Race.* p. 176. Yet, Roger Warren also refers to oral tradition and folk tales as a source for *Cymbeline*, identifying the fairy tale of *Snow White* as a convincing model for *Cymbeline's* scenario despite the lack of any surviving written version from the sixteenth century. Warren justifies this position by stating that Cymbeline's "wicked queen" is made "conventionally grotesque after a fairy tale fashion rather than a figure of genuine evil" in order to avoid "the risk of any equation with James's own queen", a necessary proviso if we consider that the character of Cymbeline was himself identified with James and that Cymbeline's queen was used to make a political statement regarding England's national status, its foreign expansion and the position of women in society. (Warren, R. (editor.) Shakespeare, William. *Cymbeline.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. pp. 16 & 62.)

Scotland, in which both Voada and Cartimandua may have provided models and ideas for *Cymbeline'*s queen.[14]

I will now explore the extent to which the figure of Boudica was appropriated by Shakespeare for Cymbeline's queen and I shall try to understand why. I would also like to examine the contribution of such representations to the historiographic debates on national origins and identity, and ask what this caricature of female power added to the social order of Jacobean England. In the first part of this analysis I will examine the historical and political context of James's projects for British unity and imperial expansionism before looking at questions of national origins and historical identity. This is followed by a brief overview of the sexual politics raised by Shakespeare's presentation of *Cymbeline* in which I try to locate Cymbeline's unnamed queen.

King of Great Britain

Of immediate interest to the present study is the change in the monarch's title from that of "Queen of England" (which James had inscribed in Latin on Elizabeth's tomb in Westminster Abbey) to that of "King of Great Britain."[15] As early as 1605 James was already being lauded as a "Second Brute," founder of Britain, in Munday's London mayoral pageant, entitled *The triumphes of re-vnited Brytannia,* wherein the character of Brute says:

> The hand of heauen did peacefully elect
> By mildest grace, to seat on *Britaines* throne
> This second *Brute,* then whom there else was none.
> *Wales, England, Scotland,* seuered first by me:
> To knit again in blessed vnity. [16]

[14] However, I should include a warning here; each interpretation of *Cymbeline* is full of pitfalls. Arthur Kirsch goes so far as to tell us that "the salient fact about *Cymbeline* ... is that it is resistant to any coherent interpretation." Op. Cit., Warren. p. 10.
[15] Walker, J.M. *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Glorianna*. North Caroline: Duke University, 1998. p. 256.
[16] Munday, A. "The Speeches deliuered by the seuerall children in the PAGEANT," *The Triumphes of Re-united Brytannia.* London: W. Iaggard. 1605.

And at the end of the pageant Troya Nova, the new Troy of London, cries: "Welcome King Iames, welcome bright Britaines King."[17] As a "second Brute" James is represented as finally repairing the damage inflicted on the nation by that first Brute who had divided Britain into the three lands of England, Scotland and Wales so that his three sons could each inherit a part of their father's domain. Although a king could not legally divide his realm into internal kingdoms[18] this reference immediately calls to mind the scenarios of Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc* and Shakespeare's *King Lear,* in which the division of the kingdom leads to discord and disaster. Although Annabel Patterson contests Glynne Wickham's assertion that *King Lear* "was designed as 'active propagation' of James's plan for the Union - a reading predicated on a theory of representation by inversion,"[19] it is important to add that the play was performed before King James in 1606 by the King's Men (who were, as their name indicates, employed by royal patronage.)

Afraid that England might lose its national identity the English Parliament was very reluctant to accept the title of King of Great Britain for James. Nevertheless, James's royal proclamation of October 1604, assumed the title of 'King of Great Britain, France and Ireland' for himself, which was followed a month later by a further proclamation announcing the issue of a single currency for Scotland and England. Two years later James introduced, again by royal proclamation, the Union Jack for all British shipping which was to be carried in the main top. Scottish and English shipping would continue to carry their own national flag underneath.[20] The king's Scottish subjects, born after his ascension to the English throne, could claim English nationality whilst free trade was also introduced between the two countries. Inevitably this did lead to friction between king and parliament and despite James's royal proclamations these were not always endorsed by the latter.

Whilst the period was imbued and highly charged with the unionist debate it should be added that these ideas were not new. Alan MacColl has traced the term

---

[17] Ibid.

[18] Op. Cit., Axton. p. 31.

[19] Patterson, A. *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England.* Wisconsin: Madison, 1984. p. 67. Patterson examines *King Lear* rather as a "test case of the historical method of interpretation in general ..... [in which] we have a play that was indeed designed to be ambiguous .... *King Lear* was also intended to be experienced differently by different audiences, or even to mediate between them, by showing that the questions under dispute were not capable of easy resolution. Something is present in the text of what both James and his opponents wanted to hear." p. 68.

[20] Bindoff, S.T. 'The Stuarts and Their Style,' pp.192-216. *The English Historical Review*. Vol. 60, No. 237. (May, 1945). pp. 196-197. See also Jenny Wormald's entry for James I, 'Triple Kingship, the union, and the English Parliamement, 1603-1610' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

"great Britain" back to a fifteenth century Scottish invention.[21] Queen Elizabeth herself had been referred to as the "Emperesse and Queene of great brittayne" in George Puttenham's collection of poems, the *Partheniades,* which were presented to Elizabeth in 1579. Partheniade 16, in which Elizabeth is identified with the goddess Pallas, reads:

> But O now twentye yeare agon
> Forsakinge Greece for Albion
> Where thow alone dost rule and raigne
> Emperesse and Queene of great brittayne
>
> (f.177r)[22]

However, whilst such titles indicate the colonial aspirations of the English, King James justified the logic of his own title, King of Great Britain, by using the medieval metaphor of the king's two bodies. Now that he was the head of two national bodies it seemed natural to suppose that these would be united as one nation. Addressing his first Parliament the following year James imagined that the ratification of his proclamation would be a simple formality:

> I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawful Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flocke: I hope therfore no man will be so vnreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King vnder the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and husband to two wiues; that I being the Head, should haue a deuided and monstrous Body [...] How much greater reason haue wee to expect a happie issue of this greater vnion which is only fastened and bound vp by the wedding ring of Astrea [...] And as God hath made Scotland the one halfe of this Isle to enjoy my Birth, and the first and most vnperfect halfe of my life, and you heere to enioy the perfect and last halfe thereof; so can I not thinke that any would be so iniurious to me, no not in their thoughts and wishes, as to cut me asunder the one halfe of me from the other.[23]

---

[21] Op. Cit., MacColl. p. 264.
[22] Hackett, H. *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. London: Macmillan, 1995. p. 104.
[23] Op. Cit., James I. *Political Works.* pp 271-3. cf. Axton. p 133.

According to James's argument king and kingdom are one body. Supported by the judges, by the Lords and by an Anglo-Scottish Protestant public (which saw such a union as a bulwark against a hostile Catholic Europe) James's project was nevertheless rejected by the House of Commons. The Commons debated the issues for the next five years and finally rejected the project because its members "objected to the alteration of the 'ancient and honourable name England'" before going on to raise the thorny question of a subject's allegiance; was it king or soil?[24] Did a subject swear allegiance to the crown's body politic or to the man who wore the crown?

A powerful metaphor used by James to persuade his subjects of their subservience to himself was that of the family. The institution of the family, used as a tool to fashion correct forms of social and political behaviour, represented the kingdom in miniature in which kings simply act within the natural laws of the father in making their absolute claims to obedience. Patriarchal political theorists such as Robert Filmer located the origins of political power within the family and they described the king as a father figure, which justified complete obedience to the state. His treatise *Patriarcha* validated such ideas by citing Biblical references to the first founding father of human society, that of Adam. As Jonathan Goldberg points out, "The title of his book immediately reveals its thesis, that the organisation of the ideal state imitates the patriarchalism of the family."[25] And where was the place of woman to be found in that male-orientated family? Under the dominance of her husband, Susan Amussen confirms when writing about the political theory of the Jacobean period, which "allowed no resistance of subjects, any more than household manuals allowed the resistance of wives or children."[26]

Such ideas of patriarchy, along with James's belief in absolute monarchy, highlight another significant power struggle of the period, that of the Crown versus Parliament which was to culminate in the civil wars of the 1640's and eventually lead to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, for when James came to the throne of England and Wales he brought with him Scottish ideas of power-broking. In his

---

[24] Ibid. Axton. p. 134. Willy Maley also quotes Francis Bacon's letters in which the English fear of clandestine Scottish migrants is raised. See Maley, W. "'This Sceptered Isle:' Shakespeare and the British Problem" in *Shakespeare and National Culture.* Joughin, J. J. (ed.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. p. 91.

[25] Goldberg, J. *James I and the Politics of Literature*: *Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and their Contemporaries*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. p. 85.

[26] Amussen, S. 'Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725,' in Fletcher, A. & Stevenson, J (Eds.) *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. p.198.

own writings on rulership, that of the *Basilikon Doron* of 1599 in which James provides advice to his son on kingship, and that of *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies,*[27] James states that as God's representative on earth all power emanates from him and that the only check on such power comes from God. In *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* he writes:

> And as ye see it manifest, that the King is ouer-Lord of the whole land: so is he Master ouer euery person that inhabiteth the same, hauing power ouer the life and death of euery one of them: For although a iust Prince will not take the life of any of his subiects without a clear law; yet the same lawes whereby he taketh them, are made by himselfe, or his predecessours; and so the power flowes alwaies from him selfe.[28]

James was sadly out of step with the political reality of English government. Whereas Elizabeth had played a delicate balancing act between her feminine weakness, her financial dependence on Parliament and demonstrations of her royal prerogative, James showed no such diplomacy. According to Robert Turner he only avoided outright confrontation with Parliament because of his absences and his delegation of power: "If nothing else, James's notorious love of the chase and his negligence in matters of state would in some measure allay anxieties about any campaign for total domination."[29]

Due to the networks of patronage and control artists were placed in the position of needing and/or wanting to represent James's views, or what they imagined his views to be on such topics as kingship and the family, national unity and identity.[30] Plays were especially important for providing a political platform for such ideas and helped in establishing support for, or criticism of, a particular ideology.[31] History plays in particular also made national history accessible to an illiterate public really for the first time, an Elizabethan achievement celebrated by Thomas Heywood in his *Apology for Actors* (1612) wherein he writes: "playes haue made the ignorant more

[27] Issued anonymously in 1598 and again in 1603 it was later included under James's name in his official *Works* in 1616.
[28] Turner, R.Y. 'Responses to Tyranny in John Fletcher's Plays' (pp.123-41), *MRDE*, vol. 4, 1989. p. 124.
[29] Ibid. p. 125.
[30] For further information on royal patronage of the major theatrical troupes see Dutton. op. cit., pp. 143, 156-157.
[31] Although in the case of criticism playwrights had learnt to use symbolism and inference in order to avoid state censorship. In such cases a writer hoped that his audience would read between the lines. See Patterson. Op. Cit., 'The Hermeneutics of Censorship,' in *Censorship and Interpretation.* p. 71.

apprehensiue, taught the vnlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as canot reade in the discouery of all our *English* Chronicles: & what man haue you now of that weake capacity, that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded euen from *William* the *Conquerour*, nay from the landing of *Brute*, vntill this day."[32] In a number of plays of the period Britain's national standing was greatly improved; its curriculum vitae was re-written giving the nation its letters of noblesse, and her credentials as a new, or re-emergent, imperial power were developed through analogy with the Roman Empire and its overseas conquests.

Heywood had written a number of history plays himself as well as some prose such as *Troia Britanica: or Great Britaines Troy* in which he gives an outmoded account of early Roman Britain. Following Geoffrey of Monmouth for his list of kings he again refers to Arviragus's marriage to the daughter of the Roman emperor, Claudius, whilst omitting any reference to his first wife, Boudica, but he does include her in the following verse (taken from Hector Boece[33]):

> Queene *Voada* a gallant *British* lasse,
> Marcht with fiue thousand Ladies by her side,
> And in one battle (if report be true,)
> Full fourscore thousand valiant *Romans* slew.[34]

It is very significant of course that Boece's Scottish Voada had, by 1609, become British which again subscribes to James's project of unification between Scotland and England and Wales.

Two of the plays which responded to the ideological challenges of the new regime and which tried to answer James's nationalistic objectives on identity, union and empire were the Romano-British plays of *Cymbeline,* which I discuss here,[35] and Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* which I examine in the following chapter. In these plays, Boudica, a woman, threatens the erection of the early modern nation on more noble and masculine foundations and this, according to Mikalachki, was her "legacy to early modern English nationalism."[36] Could this explain her fall from

[32] Heywood, T. *An Apology for Actors.* London: Nicholas Okes, 1612. F3.
[33] Heywood may have used Holinshed's 'The Historie of Scotland,' rather than Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland,* but Holinshed had taken his story of Voada from Boece.
[34] Heywood, T. *Troia Britanica: or Great Britaines Troy.* London: W. Jaggard. 1609. p. 423.
[35] I will also refer to Gent's *The valiant Welshman* because it includes one or two elements and characters from Bonduca's story and was performed around 1610.
[36] Ibid. p. 15.

grace? In the literary records of the early Jacobean period she is certainly erased from British history as Mikalachki so keenly observes:

> Any women who might have figured in the action (and they usually do so in invented love plots) have been killed off, leaving the stage free for the men to conclude the matters of true historic import. With their exclusion from the action, the stage of Roman Britain becomes the exclusive preserve of men, both British and Roman. This triumph of exclusion is figured in the masculine embrace that becomes the dominant trope of these final scenes, invoked as a metaphor of empire, and embodied in the staged embraces of male Britons by Roman commanders and the symbolic merging of their national emblems.[37]

The final union between Rome and Britain, their appearance of equality and the exclusion of women is exactly what happens at the end of *Cymbeline*. And here the representation of the ancient figure of Boudica is re-interpreted in a new, but highly detrimental light. From golden heroine to savage mother Boudica is suddenly thrown off her pedestal, and her fall from grace is partially achieved through her damaging representations in these two plays which presented Jacobean society with a highly critical exemplar of female power and a potent symbol of barbaric origins. At this point I would like to propose a reference grid in order to compare the different literary representations of Boudica circulating in Elizabethan and Jacobean society. In this way I can illustrate the diachronic evolution of Boudica's popular image from Elizabeth's reign to James's.

[37] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 104.

	Elizabeth I (1558-1603)			James I (1603-1625)		
literary texts character traits	James Aske's *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588)	*Spenser's The Ruines of Time* (c.1589)	*Spenser's Faerie Queene* (1590)	Jonson's *The Masque of Queenes* (1609)	Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (c.1609/1610)[38]	Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca* (c.1611-14)[39]
Patriotic	X	X	X	X	X	X
National Insularity					X	X
Victorious	X	X	X	X		
Heroic	X	X	X	X		
Courageous	X	X	X	X		X
Intelligent			X	X	X	
Beautiful					X	
Maternal	X					
Unnatural					X	X
Treacherous					X	X
Incompetent					X	X
Ambitious					X	
Wicked					X	X

[38] It is difficult to date *Cymbeline* and *The Tragedie of Bonduca* with precision due to the prolonged outbreak of plague which kept the theatres closed from the summer of 1608 to the winter of 1609-1610. Op. Cit., Warren. pp. 63-67.

[39] William Appleton argues that if *Bonduca's* Hengo represents the young prince Henry then the death of Hengo in the play can point to a date after November 1612 when prince Henry died. See Appleton, W. *Beaumont and Fletcher: A Critical Study.* London: Allen and Unwin. 1956. pp. 55-56. cf. Hickman, A. '*Bonduca's* Two Ignoble Armies and *The Two Noble Kinsmen.' Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England.* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. Vol. 4. 1989. p. 143.

We can see from the grid that the representations of Boudica as a proud and courageous warrior queen under Elizabeth were circulated in England immediately following the Armada Invasion of 1588, but this image of Boudica was hardened into that of a fierce, destructive and unnatural mother under James when even her intelligence was seen as a negative trait for women. However, I should explain my decision not to include Ubaldini's *Le Vite delle donne illustri, del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia* in this grid. Although it was published in London in 1591 its circulation was very restricted (it was not translated into English) and Ubaldini had divided his Boudica into two different characters, a good one and a bad one.

The English Empire

Cymbeline ends on a celebratory note of union and equality when "A Roman and a British ensign wave/ Friendly together,"[40] but this is a surprising ending if we consider how Cymbeline equates empirical control with a loss of freedom and an act of enslavement. When facing the Roman ambassador and general, Lucius, after the British victory over the Romans he says:

> Till the injurious Romans did extort
> This tribute from us we were free. Caesar's ambition,
> Which swelled so much that it did almost stretch
> The sides o' th' world, against all colour here
> Did put the yoke upon's, which to shake off
> Becomes a warlike people, whom we reckon
> Ourselves to be.
>
> (III, i, 45-52)

[40] *Cymbeline.* V, iv, 481-482.

Such a definition of empires makes it difficult to understand Cymbeline's subsequent submission to Rome. Although Cymbeline later puts his position of opposition down to the influence of his wife, he also concedes the civilising influence of Rome, where he was educated as a child: [41] "Thy Caesar knighted me; my youth I spent/ Much under him; of him I gathered honour."[42] The play does not mention, however, that Cymbeline's status in Rome as a child would have been that of political hostage. Following enemy losses in colonial wars it was Rome's policy to take the children of its client kings as royal hostages in exchange for the king's oath of allegiance, tribute and Briton conscripts into the Roman army. Rome also imposed Romanisation on its colonies, that is the introduction of Roman law, administration, education and language, and the construction of roads, towns, temples and public baths. The reduction and seduction of foreign colonies through a combination of armed force and civil pleasures was a tried and tested Roman policy which Holinshed describes when referring to Tacitus's accounts of Agricola's advances in Britain:

> In the winter following [his military campaigns] Agricola tooke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercesnesse and apt disposition to warre, they might through tasting pleasures ... desire to liue in rest and quietness: and therefore he exhorted them priuilie, and holpe them publikelie to build temples, common halls where plées of law might be kept, and other houses.[43]

However, references to the Roman annexation of Britain and its inclusion in continental Europe did not just include the pacification of a people but also its geo-political and economic opening, a significant element of which included a definition of its boundaries. In order to lay claim to new territory it is necessary to outline its geographical form. Tacitus tells us that it was during Agricola's placement in Britain that Britain was first circumnavigated by the Roman fleet. Katherine Clarke writes that this not only "led to the embrace (*complectitur)* of Britain by Roman knowledge, but also to a change in its insular status; a geographical realignment, so that it now fell

[41] Holinshed's 'Historie of England' tells us that Kymbeline was brought up in Rome, "(as some write)," that he served in the wars under Augustus Caesar and that he was knighted by him. Book 3, chapter 18, p. 479.
[42] III, i, 78-79.
[43] Op. Cit., Holinshed. 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 16, p. 505.

within the compass of the Roman world, not in the world of the elusive western islands."[44] With this in mind, Clarke remarks upon the original terminology of Tacitus's text which redefines Britain's new identity as one of "semi-attachment" to Rome that led to "a loss of strict insularity."[45] She refers to chapters ten, eleven and twelve in the *Agricola* wherein Tacitus focuses on the Roman incursions into Britain as a conquest which were "as much ... over the landscape (*situs),* the insular nature of Britain and its geographical position, as over the inhabitants (*populi*) themselves."[46]

Following the discovery of America in the fifteenth century, the lands of England, Scotland and Ireland were no longer on the fringes of Europe but were in the centre of a new *mappa mundi* and with Rome no longer the religious centre for England but the new Anglican Church of England, James found himself in the middle of a controversy over national unity and the question of precedence. The English belief was that Scotland should be incorporated into England, whereas the prevailing belief in Scotland was that the two countries were to be equal partners under the same king. At this point it is interesting to compare the speeches made by the two female characters of the play. Innogen's speech is one that marks a rupture between Britain's past insularity and its entrance onto the wider international scene of military rivalry and the quest for new markets and territory. When Pisanio tells Innogen that she must leave the court and Britain Innogen asks where she can go:

> Where then?
> Hath Britain all the sun that shines? Day, night,
> Are they not but in Britain? I' th' world's volume
> Our Britain seems as of it but not in 't,
> In a great pool a swan's nest.
>
> (III, iv, 137-140)

The image of Britain standing as an island in the world's ocean manages to integrate Britain into the bigger world of continental Europe and America which stands in contrast to "the Queen's radical Britocentrism" as Mikalachki terms it.[47] The queen's patriotic speech is of great interest for its reference to Britain's noble past, its

[44] Clarke, K. 'An Island Nation: Re-Thinking Tacitus' Agricola', *Journal of Roman Studies.*Vol 91, pp. 94-112, 2001. p. 101.
[45] Ibid. Clarke, K. p. 103.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 108.

evocation of the island's natural strength and its isolation from the outside world when she appeals to Cymbeline to resist Roman rule:

> Remember, sir, my liege,
> The kings your ancestors, together with
> The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
> As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
> With rocks unscalable, and roaring waters;
> With sands that will not bear your enemies' boats,
> But suck them up to the topmast.
>
> (III, i, 16-22)

The point concerning Britain's independent insularity is hammered home immediately afterwards by Cloten's addendum of "Britain's a world/ by itself,"[48] and although harbours such as Milford Haven[49] are represented as open doors for enemy attack, the island's physical topoi seems to exclude it from the civilised world of Rome. The queen's nationalistic position recalls that of the dying John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's *Richard II* in which Britain's insularity and island strength are also invoked in the form of:

> … this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> This fortress built by nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house
> Against the envy of less happier lands.
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.
>
> (II, i,40-45)

Again, in Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* Bonduca's first daughter calls upon the god, Andate, to protect "this blessed Isle"[50]from Roman incursions. In all these speeches the island status of England becomes not only a focus of obstruction

[48] III, i, 13-14.
[49] In Rowley's *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman,* the Romans land in Dover (recalling Julius Caesar's landings). Act V.
[50] III, i, 36.

between the rapprochement of England with Europe but also a celebration of England's imperial aspirations within the British union. "The island-empire of England," as Willy Maley terms it, was to become "the first 'British' Empire, what has been called 'the Atlantic Archipelago', [which] was fundamentally an anti-European phenomenon."[51] Maley also points to Henry VIII's appropriation of the title; King of Ireland, in 1541 and England's Act of Restraint of Appeals in 1533 which declared England an 'empire,' and "a sovereign territorial state which was completely independent of the pope and all foreign princes."[52]

However, in *Cymbeline* the elimination of the queen and her son marks a rejection of England's insularity and a plea for a more open European policy. With this in mind it is possible to suggest an analogy between the position of *Cymbeline*'s queen on foreign affairs and that of Elizabeth I which signals a movement away from Tudor England's insularity towards James's position of European cooperation and commercial competition. This idea has been suggested to me by Maley's comment regarding the social evolution of this period, of which he writes: "There are, traditionally, two ways of looking at Elizabethan society, as a beleaguered nation, insular and defensive, or as the embryo of an aggressively expansionist British Empire, as England writ large."[53] The closure of *Cymbeline,* which marks the reunion of family members, old friends and old enemies, also celebrates the re-unification of a once divided Britain and the beginning of a peaceful and expansionist English empire from its central hub at London.

I would suggest then that the new political order of James did indeed signal England's British conglomeration which went hand in hand with its scramble for colonies and commercial ambitions, not just in the British archipelago but also in the Americas. The economic attractions of America, for example, are alluded to in a number of Jacobean plays; in *The Valiant Welshman* Claudius is taken prisoner by Caradoc and when Claudius offers ransom money in return for his release Caradoc refuses by saying that he doesn't need or want his gold because he is already rich in honour:

[51] Maley, W. 'This sceptred isle': Shakespeare and the British problem.' in *Shakespeare and National Culture.* Joughin, J. J. (ed.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. p. 95.
[52] Levack, B. *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603-1707.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1987. p. 2. cf. Maley. 'This sceptred isle.' p. 97.
[53] Ibid. p. 92.

> Souldiours haue mines of honourable thougts,
> More wealthy then the Indian veynes of gold.
>
> (II, iv)

In Rowley's *A shoo-maker a gentleman* Sir Hugh also alludes to the natural resources of the newly discovered America. Just before his execution as a Christian martyr he says:

> Could I give *Indian* Mines, they all were yours;
> But I have nought to give, nor ought to take,
>
> (IV)

According to G.R. Elton it was the 1530's that first realised England's vision of an empire when Parliament declared England "an empire" and severed ties with Rome, thus creating its own religious and political entity.[54] The term of 'British Empire,' was first coined by the Welsh historian Humphrey Llwyd[55] but, "Although he coined the phrase," Schwyzer points out, "Llwyd did not use 'British Empire' to refer to Elizabeth's dominions, but only to ancient British - i.e., Welsh - conquests."[56] The name, however, along with 'Welsh history' was rapidly appropriated by a number of English historians and playwrights who assimilated Wales into Britain. This is certainly the case in *The Valiant Welshman* otherwise known as *The true Chronicle History of the Life and Valiant Deeds of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, now called Wales*, in which Caradoc is called a "valiant Bryttaine"[57] by the Roman emperor Claudius, and from Prince of Wales, through marriage with the king's daughter, he later becomes King of Wales. This analogy suggests that the British Empire was in fact an English one which based its national heritage on that of the Roman one.

The immediate political context of such references to Wales as the land from which the king of Britain emerges may be the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales in 1610. Henry, heir to the English (-Welsh) and Scottish thrones, was the hope of the unionist project, a theme which is transparent in *The Valiant Welshman*, particularly

[54] Elton, G.R. *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953. p. 3. cf. Helgerson, R. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writings of England.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1992. p. 4.
[55] Schwyzer, P. 'British history and 'The British history': the same old story?' Op. Cit., *British Identities.* p. 18.
[56] Ibid. p. 20.
[57] Op. Cit., *The Valiant Welshman*. II, iv, 1.

when the bard opens the play (shown in London in 1610) by telling the audience of the internal conflict caused by the division of Wales into North and South Wales and its "Blest vnion, that such happinesse did bring"[58] once Caradoc had reunited the country. The play further covers the military alliance between England and Wales against the Romans, and again finishes with the unity and friendship between the Britons and the Romans, the metaphorical trope for Great Britain. Other public performances such as Jonson's masque of *Oberon*, *the Fairy Prince,* commissioned by Prince Henry and performed in 1611 in honour of his investiture as Prince of Wales, also diffuses James's ideology of union. Jonathan Dollimore alludes to the costume which Inigo Jones designed for the fairy king in this masque, which was a symbolic representation of the three monarchies, brought together under James's union of Great Britain. This not only represents the official line of the royalist party but also Jacobean propaganda, bringing "all the traditional signs of authority under the governance of the contemporary monarch for the sole purpose of identifying that monarch as an historically earlier, more monolithic, and mythical form of political authority."[59]

An historical reference to Wales as the land from which British kings emerged is also to be found in Boece's description of Arniragus who had actually been "prince of Walis" before his nomination as the King of Britain by the Roman emperor, Claudius.[60] Rising from the ranks of the Welsh gentry the Tudors themselves had also emerged from Wales and consequently the Welsh dragons were part of the Tudor coat of arms, implying symbolic equality between Wales and England.[61] With the appointment of his son (who bore a Tudor king's name) as Prince of Wales, James may also have been keen to remind his subjects of his own Tudor origins through his great-grandmother, Margaret Tudor.

Wales then was under the jurisdiction of England and in *Cymbeline* it is clearly dominated by Cymbeline from his British court in London, Lud's town. However, England is never mentioned in the play, replaced by the term Britain. Griffiths begins his own examination of *Cymbeline* with the assumption that the play "is self-consciously concerned with the idea of 'Great Britain.'"[62] Within this union

---

[58] Ibid. I, i.
[59] Dollimore, J. (ed.) *Political Shakespeare.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1985. p. 117.
[60] Boece. *The croniklis of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson, 1540. The thrid buke, fo. ccci.
[61] Boling, R. J. 'Anglo-Welsh Relations in *Cymbeline*,' in *Shakespeare Quarterly.* Vol. 51, No.1. (Spring, 2000), pp. 33-66. p. 65.
[62] Op. Cit., Griffiths. p. 339.

Shakespeare makes a correlative between the terms England and Britain[63] wherein England is the dominant player but it is undeniably Wales that holds centre stage, a stage that is both unsure, undetermined and undermined. Shakespeare's settings seem to deliberately reflect the problems involved in drawing the outlines of James's new nation. In his article, 'The geographies of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline,'* Griffiths tells us that "the problematic and contested location of 'Great Britain' in the period immediately following James VI of Scotland's accession to the English throne informs the geographies of the play,"[64] later adding that "Cymbeline's ancient kingdom has the same problems with its borders as James's new, unified kingdoms."[65]

If we focus on the place of Wales in *Cymbeline* we find a number of elisions between Britain and Wales. For example, most of the scenes in *Cymbeline* take place in Wales, yet there are no Welshmen in this play[66] and no clearly defined political borders apart from Cymbeline's command to give a military escort to Lucius as far as the river Severn,[67] which stands as a geographical frontier between Wales and England. It is of interest to recall here the 'foreign' status of Wales in England's Anglo-Saxon cultural and linguistic tradition. The Anglo-Saxon word for the Welsh, *wealhas,* actually means 'foreigner' and included those people beyond the still visible monument of Offa's dyke.[68] Lucius, leaving Cymbeline's court for Milford Haven, must thus cross from England into a vague and possibly dangerous landscape before he reaches the safety of "blessèd Milford."[69] In this way Milford Haven is introduced as a "haven"[70] in the midst of Wales, or more precisely as an English haven as George Owen describes it in his treatise on Pembrokeshire in 1603:

---

[63] A correlative which seems to date back to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* and is examined in MacColl's essay, Op. Cit., in which he writes, "the construction of Britain as England ... is the primary meaning in the core tradition of medieval and early modern English national historiography." p. 249. However, Wales too was sometimes identified as a British space. For Camden Britain and Wales are synonymous, "replaced and displaced by the 'English-Saxons.'" cf. Griffiths. p. 341.
[64] Op. Cit., Griffiths. p. 339.
[65] Ibid. p. 345.
[66] Sullivan, G. *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*. California: Stanford University Press, 1999. p.146.
[67] III,v,16-17.
[68] Robbins, K. *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness.* London: Longmans, 1998. p. 20.
[69] III, ii, 59.
[70] III, ii, 61.

> a stranger travelling from England and having ridden four score miles and more in Wales, having heard no English, nor English names of people, or of places, and coming hither to Pembrokeshire, where he shall hear nothing but English, and seeing the rest before ageeable to England, would think that Wales were environed with England, and would imagine he had travelled through Wales and come into England again.[71]

For a number of critics *Cymbeline's* Milford Haven can be referred to as "an English colony that called itself Little England beyond Wales"[72] but it was also an area of contested allegiance to England, known equally well for its vulnerability as a point of entry for enemy attacks on England. In English history Milford Haven marks not only the scene of Henry Tudor's triumphal entrance into England and the monarchy in 1485 but also stands as a potential site of invasion from Spain, Ireland, Wales and, in *Cymbeline,* from Rome.[73]

Following Henry VIII's Acts of Union between England and Wales in 1536 and 1543 Wales's cultural identity was ‘Anglicised’ as the Welsh were re-educated and subsumed into an English entity. The Welsh assimilation of English culture is ironically represented in Llwyd's account below:

> [Henry VIII] deliuered [the Welsh] wholy from all seruitude, and made them in all poynets equall to the Englishmen. Whereby it commeth to passe, that laying aside their old manners, they, who before were wonte to liue most sparingly: are now enritched and do imitate the Englishmen in diet, & apparell, howbeit, they be somedeale impatient of labour, and ouermuch boastying of the Nobilitie of their stocke, applying them selues rather to the seruive of noble men, then geuynge them selues to the learnying of handycraftes.[74]

Although some linguistic concessions were made to the Welsh, such as the translation of the New Testament and prayer books into Welsh in the 1560's, this was merely a political gesture to ensure that Wales did not revert to Catholicism.[75] The

[71] George Owen of Henllys. *The Description of Pembrokeshire.* Miles, D (ed.) Llandysul, Wales: Gomer Press, 1994. p. 36. cf. Boling pp. 39-40.
[72] Ibid. Boling. p. 37.
[73] For more information on how Milford Haven activates both Welsh and English fears of invasion please see Boling's article. Op. Cit., pp 47-49 and Hopkins' forthcoming article, '*Cymbeline,* the *translatio imperii*, and the matter of Britain,' in Maley, W & Schwyzer, P. (Eds). *Shakespeare and Wales.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
[74] Llwyd, *Breviary.* 60r. cf. Sullivan p. 141.
[75] Op. Cit., Robbins. p.106.

imitation of the English, the adoption of English clothing and food, along with the vaunting of noble lineage can be reflected in the character of Cloten in *Cymbeline,* who, like Llwyd's Welshmen, has forgotten his ethnological past and degenerated into laziness and carnal pleasures. For example Cloten exhibits an inordinate love of luxury and comforts which may have been suggested to Shakespeare from an excerpt in Holinshed's *Historie of England* in which Agricola's policy of Roman acculturisation is described:

> too excessiuelie he ... procured that noble mens sonnes should learne the liberall sciences... By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the vse of good and commendable manners, and sorted themselues to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustome themselues to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the ready prouoke vs of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselues in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which amongst the vnskilfull was called humanitie or courtesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and seruitude, namelie being vsed.[76]

Holinshed's last line is interesting for its moral conclusion; an education in the humanities and the civil arts is commendable only if it is not abused.

In *Cymbeline* Cloten has evidently crossed the line between that of "humanitie or courtesie" and that of over indulgence, frivolity and a loss of self-control. Notions of barbarity and degeneracy are directly applied to him when Innogen compares him to a "puttock,"[77]a particularly ignoble bird and a scavenger, and this may imply that civility gained by submission to a foreign power can in some cases lead to a loss of humanity and even lead to regression. On the other hand Posthumus is compared to an "eagle"[78] by Innogen, which not only suggests his nobility as king of the birds but also provides Posthumus with a Roman identity[79] and an English one.[80] Both Cloten and Posthumus have submitted to Roman occupation and have received a Roman education but the end product in these two cases is different. Posthumus has embraced his new

[76] Op. Cit., Holinshed. 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 16, p. 505.
[77] I, i, 141.
[78] Ibid. line 140.
[79] The eagle was clearly understood as incarnating the Roman identity as the following quotation from Boece indicates: "Ane Egyll flew all day with gret laubour above his army ... it was interprete that the Scottis suld be distroyit be the Egyll, quhylk (which) is the ansenye (ensign) of Romanis." Op. Cit., *croniklis of Scotland.*. volume 2; book 4, fo, cliiii. (image 80).
[80] In *Henry V* Shakespeare identifies the eagle with England: "For once the eagle England being in prey" I, i, 169. This reference is included in MacColl's article. Op. Cit., p. 268.

Romano-British identity and joined the civilised race of humanity whilst Cloten has only absorbed the negative traits from his Roman education and is paradoxically shown as more primitive, cruel and uneducated than the other Britons.

In the case of Cloten and his mother their cultural assimilation is considered a failure for it has not prevented their disloyalty to the superior power of Rome. As 'outsiders' to Cymbeline's genetic family Cloten and his mother seemingly represent a degenerate and primitive form of native people. Their resistance to the civilising effects of the Roman Empire and their consequent relapse in allegiance is possibly linked to flaws in their natures and serves as a warning that any civility gained by submission could, over time, lead to atavism. It is significant too that they do not bear classical names and they are both eliminated from the play, a caveat perhaps, that not all elements of the British Isles could be quietly subdued and successfully integrated into the unionist project of Great Britain; a marker too, of an early modern anxiety regarding the fragility of colonial control and of colonial identity.

We may suggest here that the more vivid demonstrations of Anglo-Welsh conflicts in such plays as Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and George Peele's *Edward I* serve as an example of conquest through belligerent and savage violence which other supporters of empire saw as a necessary alternative for subduing the population. Highley points to the observations of an Englishman in Ireland in 1599 who wrote: "the only way to regain and recover the entire dominion of this cursed land is to proceed as King Edward I did, after long wars (and extreme losses) with the Welshmen, for the subduing of Wales."[81] Highley regards these Anglo-Welsh plays as "a screen onto which misgivings, anxieties, and fantasies about the English presence in Ireland are projected and interrogated."[82] However, such plays also raise the question of who the real barbarian is and sometimes suggest that the conquerors themselves might be responsible for instilling barbarity in subject peoples. In his *Historie of Cambria* Lluellen ap Gruffyth regards Henry IV as the real villain in the Anglo-Welsh confrontation between himself and Owen Glendower and one of its "most provocative insights," as Highley writes, is "that the [English] conquerors themselves might be responsible for instilling barbarism in a subject people."[83] When reading *Henry V*, Highley remarks upon Shakespeare's inclusions of English violence as "a reminder

[81] Quoted in Constantia Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources* (1509-1610). London: Allen and Unwin, 1923. p. 220. cf. Highley, C. *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis In Ireland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 76.
[82] Ibid. p. 76.
[83] Ibid. p. 74.

that his countrymen's claim to a moral high-ground in Ireland was untenable; there the English were as likely to merge with as to conquer a supposedly 'barbarous' enemy, as likely to bring barbarism as to cleanse it."[84] This was a contemporary anxiety felt by a number of Englishmen regarding their expatriates in Ireland.

The double anxieties of barbaric excess and the fear of going native are subtly present in *Cymbeline*. We might read Cymbeline's protest to Lucius about "the injurious Romans"[85] who took freedom away from the Britons "which to shake off/ Becomes a warlike people"[86] (my emphasis) as an example of the former and we can read the princes' continued possession of their English identity in Wales as an example of positive resistance to the latter. Yet it is within the uncharted setting of Wales that Innogen, disguised as Fidele, hides her own identity and loses her way, an allusion perhaps to the English anxieties regarding the absorption of another identity through their own acculturisation when stepping into a newly colonised land.[87] But again Innogen's pseudonym exemplifies loyalty to Britain and resistance to the foreign culture with the imposition of her own culture. She may eat Welsh food but she also introduces her more sophisticated English cooking and singing:

Arviragus How angel-like he sings!
Guiderius But his neat cookery!
Belarius He cut our roots in characters
And sauced our broths as Juno had been sick
And he her dieter.

(IV, ii, 49-53)

Whilst Innogen may have stolen the meal the three men had left in the cave when they first meet she offers to pay for it: "Good masters, harm me not. / Before I entered here I called, and thought/ To have begged or bought what I have took."[88] However, as Boling points out, Arviragus' refusal of payment and offer of hospitality instead can be

[84] Ibid. p. 147.
[85] III, i, 46.
[86] Ibid. lines 50-51.
[87] Highley's book is particularly informative on this point. His reference to Mortimer in *Henry IV,* who "goes native", is interesting for he seemingly "embodies the oldest and most pervasive of English anxieties about contact with the Irish: like those Anglo-Norman and English settlers who had abandoned past loyalties and assimilated themselves to Gaelic culture." Op. Cit., p. 90.
[88] III, vi, 44-46.

interpreted as a rejection of "English economic hegemony over Wales"[89] and as an offer of cooperation instead. In the Jacobean scenario of *Cymbeline's* representation of Anglo-Welsh relations it is apparent that domestication and reconciliation have now replaced the violence and armed conquest of the earlier Elizabethan plays.

The story of Innogen lost in Wales also seems to indicate a need for greater geo-economic understanding of new colonies and an equal need to tame the landscape held within the definition of Britain. We can assume then that Innogen's role in Wales is that of an English explorer, charting unknown territory, and that of an emissary whose mission was to domesticate the people, as indicated in her cave-keeping, and to absorb them into an English identity. It is not insignificant that Innogen bears the name of Brute's wife,[90] and is therefore a focus for British unity (as opposed to her husband's division of Britain), and that the play ends on a celebratory note of union at Cymbeline's court in London. The need to tame the Celtic fringes of Scotland and Wales is evoked by Maley when he discusses the isolation of Protestant England from Catholic Europe following the Reformation. In England the fear of a Spanish invasion through France and Scotland or through Ireland and Wales became more pronounced and the English felt it was necessary to tame its Celtic fringes in order to provide England with "buffer zones" against attack.[91] This again was a Roman strategy that the English were applying to the border areas.

In Shakespeare's evocation of Wales in *Cymbeline* the Welsh are strangely absent, which may signify their erasure from Britain or more probably their absorption into the English identity. In the Romano-British plays of the period the submission of Wales to English rule was very often dressed in the allegorical form of British submission to Rome, as Maley observes: "With the passing of the Tudor regime, claims to Welshness lost their currency, and Wales was silently absorbed into Greater England, not meriting a mention in Great Britain."[92] This now appears to be the accepted view amongst a number of critics. For example, Boling's metaphor regarding this play is clear and succinct: "in *Cymbeline*, Rome is to Britain what in Shakespeare's time England was to Wales. *Cymbeline*'s Britain plays a double role, empire to Wales but colony to Rome: as *Cymbeline's* Wales is Anglicised, so

[89] Op. Cit., Boling. p. 56.
[90] Regarding the origin and spelling of Innogen's name see Warren's appendix to his *Cymbeline.* Op. Cit., p. 265.
[91] Op. Cit. Maley. 'This Sceptered Isle:' pp. 91-92.
[92] Ibid. p. 104.

Cymbeline's Britain is Romanised."[93] Mikalachki concludes this point by stating that Innogen's flight from her father's court to Milford Haven, which effectively leads her into Roman service, is in fact a "flight from native isolation ... to Rome"[94] and this Roman and British union at the end of *Cymbeline* is not in fact one of equality but one of submission.

The representation of Wales's assimilation into England is seen by Sullivan as "both precursor to and model for a Scotland integrated into England."[95] Certainly *Cymbeline* offers us this model despite the fact that, unlike Wales, Scotland had never been conquered and integrated into the Roman Empire. Yet, this pattern presented an historical precedent for the Scots to follow in their submission to Anglo-British rule in the proposed union of Great Britain. James himself alludes to this parallel when posing the following rhetorical question to his first English parliament: "Do you not gain from the union with Wales and is not Scotland greater than Wales?"[96] In *Cymbeline* our Scottish representatives may be the personages of Cloten, the queen, and, strangely enough, Posthumus. Floyd-Wilson includes Posthumus in this grouping but contrary to Cloten and the queen he is interpreted as an "early modern Scotland - still barbaric in nature, but poised to receive the civilizing embrace of England in the proposed Jacobean union project."[97] This partially explains the oddly colonised colouring of *Cymbeline'*s nationalism for it furnishes an historical paradigm for the successful assimilation of barbaric states into empire, and advocated the successful unification of Wales and Scotland with England. It was also a model that the Tudor and Stuart states tried to apply to Ireland and to America, for although union was a byword in the Jacobean terminology of the period it also signalled England's "retreat into Britain, [and] a retreat from Europe that was also a westward and northward expansion of Englishness."[98]

It should be noted here that the humanist historians had not ignored Ireland in their accounts of Roman expansionism. Katherine Clarke discusses this point in her essay on Britain's status as an island nation and writes that although "Strabo had made it clear that Ireland fell outside the intended limits of the Roman Empire, being utterly barbarian and undesirable, a place of savagery, cannibalism, and incest (4.5.4),

[93] Op. Cit., Boling. p. 36.
[94] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 109.
[95] Op. Cit., Sullivan. p.157.
[96] Williams, G. *Recovery*. p. 474. cf. Sullivan. p. 157.
[97] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity*. p. 160.
[98] Op. Cit., Maley. p. 88.

Tacitus' *Agricola* at least harbours ambitions in that direction."[99] Clarke confirms this by stating that "Ireland, lying beyond Britain, is part of the Roman plan for future conquest."[100] We see such colonial ambitions expressed in Holinshed's *Historie of England* when Claudius, following the marriage of his daughter Genissa to Aruiragus, "sent certeine legions of souldiers foorth to go into Ireland to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome."[101] Another Roman intervention is recorded by Holinshed further on when he refers to Agricola's plans to invade Ireland.[102] What is more Boece and Holinshed both note the occupation of Ireland by the Scots in the pre-Roman period and make other references to Irish military support of the Britons against the Romans.[103] Recall also Holinshed's inclusion of Boudica's "Irish mantell" in his description of her dress, which we discuss further on, and we certainly have Elizabethan references to commercial, social and military contacts with Ireland.

The Historiographical Revolution

In investigating the significance of Boudica in the historiographical debate I shall now focus on her figure-head, Cymbeline's queen, who symbolises, not only an unrealistic attachment to a false and self-aggrandising myth of origin but an insular and aggressive form of patriotism. The most pertinent reflection of this position is to be found in her speech, already referred to, wherein she appeals to Cymbeline to "remember" Briton's nationalistic and heroic past, his royal heritage, and to rebel against the Romans by not paying the Roman tribute:

> A kind of conquest
> Caesar made here; but made not here his brag
> Of "came, and saw, and overcame:" with shame

[99] Op. Cit., Clarke. p. 102.
[100] Ibid. p. 103.
[101] Holinshed's 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 3, p. 485.
[102] Ibid. Book 4, chapter 16, p. 506.
[103] Ibid. Book 4, chapter 15, p. 503. and Boece. The thrid buke, fo. cccvi and The feird buke, fo. cl.

> (The first that ever touch'd him) he was carried
> From off our coast, twice beaten; and his shipping
> (Poor ignorant baubles!) on our terrible seas,
> Like egg-shells mov'd upon their surges, crack'd
> As easily 'gainst our rocks: for joy whereof,
> The fam'd Cassibelan, who was once at point
> (O giglot fortune!) to master Caesar's sword,
> Made Lud's town with rejoicing fires bright,
> And Britons strut with courage.
>
> (III, i, 22-33)

In this speech she appeals to Cymbeline's ancestors, the line of kings recounted in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history and repeats Monmouth's fiction that the Britons twice repelled Julius Caesar's forces, a fiction which is also repeated in Gent's *A Valiant Welshman* when Octavian, the king of North Wales, says: "Great *Julius Cesar,* fortunate in armes, /suffred three base reppulses from the Cliffes /of chalky Dover."[104] Now the speech does recall moments of British glory; some Englishmen could still remember the defeat of the Spanish Armada, whose ships had been broken up by the terrible seas around Britain just "like egg-shells mov'd upon their surges, crack'd /As easily 'gainst our rocks." However, Shakespeare's use of the Galfridian fiction, and his use of the queen's references to the Roman god of water when she compares Britain to "Neptune's park" are possibly meant to reflect an absurd attachment to the Galfridian legend which had invested the Britons with "a self-serving, long and glorious history,"[105] Curran writes. The irony here is that the queen has appropriated the Roman god of Neptune and has incorporated the Roman founding of "Lud's town"[106] into British history whilst rejecting any Roman identity for Britain. In placing the nation's identity on Geoffrey of Monmouth's line of mythological British kings Curran asserts that the queen's speech also reflects her "inordinate love of title and lineage - a love which represents an inappropriate adherence to an old fashioned Galfridian historical paradigm,"[107] a paradigm which is further reflected in the

---

[104] Gent, R.A. *The valiant Welshman, or, The true chronicle history of the life and valiant deeds of Caradoc*. fl. 1610. London: Printed for William Gilbertson.1663. Act II, scene i.
[105] Op. Cit., Curran. p. 10.
[106] London, Lud's town, was founded by the Romans as Londinium, following Claudius's conquest of England. See the Museum of London's site for the archaeological evidence of this; www.museumoflondon.org.uk/archive/exhibits/hslondon/arch/founding
[107] Op. Cit., Curran. p. 8.

mythological names Shakespeare has chosen for his protagonists[108] and in the chronological confusion of the sources he exploits.[109]

In order to demonstrate this Curran compares Shakespeare's treatment of the two historical methods of analysing the past; he compares the queen's speech to that of the Roman general, Lucius.[110] When Lucius arrives at Cymbeline's court with an ultimatum from the Roman emperor he refers to Julius Caesar's landing in Britain, but instead of using Monmouth as a source he cites the Roman texts of Julius Caesar and Tacitus, declaring:

> When Julius Caesar - whose remembrance yet
> Lives in men's eyes, and will to ears and tongues
> Be theme and hearing ever - was in this Britain
> And conquered it, Cassibelan, thine uncle -
> Famous in Caesar's praises no whit less
> Than in his feats deserving it - for him
> And his succession granted Rome a tribute,
>
> (III, i, 2-8)

Here then, Lucius follows the humanist line of investigation, one that bases its conclusions on the use of primary sources and respects a more balanced and objective view of the past. What is more, Lucius's diplomatic reference to the first historically named British king,[111] does not denigrate the Britons but on the contrary finds positive aspects about their prehistoric past. Once more this is the message of the Innogen and Posthumus plot which "teach[es] us how to be readers,"[112] a message Floyd-Wilson would agree with: "if we look to Holinshed's description of Cymbeline's reign to find the plot of Shakespeare's play, it's not there; what we do find, however, is evidence of the play's historiography. In the span of three paragraphs, Holinshed reveals that there are conflicting narratives about this period in Britain's history, and that those disagreements pertain to the historian's nationality - Roman versus Briton."[113]

---

[108] On the significance of the characters' names see Curran's article and Warren's Appendix to *Cymbeline* (Op. Cit., p. 265).
[109] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity and Race.* p. 174.
[110] Op. Cit., Curran. p. 9.
[111] Keith Robbins reminds us of the first Anglo-Saxon king to claim the title of *rex totius Britanniae* (King of the whole of Britain), that of Athelstan in the 10th century, who had coins struck to celebrate his successful invasions of Scotland and Wales and his defeat of the Danish. Op. Cit., p. 26.
[112] Ibid. p. 15.
[113] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 174.

The historiographical revolution of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, along with English anxieties over national origins, has already been discussed in chapter one. However, I do need to place *Cymbeline* within this movement so, at the risk of repeating myself, I will try and be brief in my coverage of key points. Following the work of Polydore Vergil, and later that of William Camden, which had effectively discredited the Brutish myth of origin for Britain, the British public had to gradually accept a very different, and less heroic, national past and come to terms with a new cultural identity which had no recorded origins before the Roman invasions of Julius Caesar and Claudius. William Shakespeare contributed his own version of this new history with *Cymbeline*, of which John Curran writes:

> *Cymbeline* has much to do with the process of reconstructing the past. [… It] goes beyond romance: it enacts a complex response to the English revolution in historiography wherein the truth about the primitive condition of the ancient Britons was discovered and the traditional British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth was discredited [...] Faced with a newly conceived barbaric heritage and yet unwilling to detach themselves from the island's most ancient inhabitants, Englishmen were learning to re-evaluate standards for judging the past, to locate virtue in savage forebears and obscure origins. [114]

Building upon the work of Brian Gibbons, Brook Thomas, and Meredith Skura, Curran summarise three historiographical plots which indicate facets of the debate between the conservative history of the discredited Galfridian party and the new history of humanist historiography, in particular the love story between Innogen and Posthumus which serves as an analogy between the two different types of history reader; the one who accepts the new history, and the one who at first rejects the revisionist version because it is raw and unidealised before finding some positive aspects in Britain's barbaric ancestors.

The second plot is that of the two lost princes who effectively represent some of the more positive aspects of primitive Britons, as Innogen discovers when Belarius, Guiderius and Arviragus share their primitive hospitality with her: "These are kind creatures," she says to herself, "Gods, what lies I have heard!/ Our courtiers say all's

[114] Curran, J.E. 'Royalty Unlearned, Honor Untaught: British Savages and Historiographical Change in *Cymbeline*,' in *Comparative Drama*. 31: 2, pp. 277-303, Summer 1997. p. 1.

savage but at court;/ Experience, O thou disprov'st report!"[115] Despite their environment and education in the wilds of Wales they are inherently noble: "'Tis wonder/ That an invisible instinct should frame them/ To royalty unlearned, honour untaught."[116] Whilst their British defence against the Romans in a narrow lane illustrates the boys' natural 'English' courage, which will be further explored subsequently, Mikalachki argues that it also stands as a rite of passage for the boys into manhood and as a metaphor for the entry of Britain into history. In the pastoral world of their cave dwelling the boys complain that they have not yet lived or experienced life like Belarius has: "We poor unfledged/ Have never winged from view o' th' nest." [117] And Arviragus adds to his brother's voice:

> What should we speak of
> When we are old as you? When we shall hear
> The rain and wind beat dark December, how,
> In this our pinching cave, shall we discourse
> The freezing hours away? We have seen nothing.
> We are beastly.
>
> (III, iii, 35-45)

Comparing himself and his brother to wild animals he complains that they are not yet men and uses the metaphor of the caged bird in order to describe the restrictions of their confined manhood:

> Our valour is to chase what flies; our cage
> We make a choir, as doth the prisoned bird,
> And sing our bondage freely.
>
> (III, iii, 42-43)

Mikalachki interprets this protest as an "exclusion from history"[118] and adds that "like the princes, Britain too would have remained outside history without entering into battle with the Romans."[119] Sullivan pushes the analogy a little further by comparing the play's conception of pre-Roman Britain as one which "bespeaks the symbolic annexation of Wales through its articulation of a *British* history understood

[115] IV, ii, 33-34.
[116] IV, ii, 177-179.
[117] III, iii, 27-28.
[118] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 106.
[119] Ibid.

finally as an *English* one,"[120] and when he refers to "both Roman and Jacobean dreams of a unified island"[121] we understand those dreams to include not only the political and economic links between regions but also the historical one which is attained via the Romanisation of Britain.

The third plot is that of the confrontation between Cymbeline, his queen, Cloten and the Romans which "represents an inordinate and foolish attachment to the antiquated Galfridian tradition."[122] These plots could, however, be transposed into a number of binary oppositions; that of Innogen and Posthumus as conflicting readers of history, that of Posthumus, who has no past and Cloten, who has both rank and lineage, that between the two princes, who represent innate British civility, and Cloten, who has benefited from a court education, but is nonetheless both "boorish and brutal."[123] Another opposition is that between the open and virtuous Innogen and her egocentric and evil stepmother.

Britain's mythical and manly origin from Trojan descent had been discredited and its barbaric past acknowledged, some compromise between barbarity and civility had to be found. One avenue of escape seemed to be through the projection of past faults onto women, such as Cymbeline's Queen, (whose original archetype, Eve, had provoked the Biblical Fall of course) and through the subservient embrace with the civilising elements of Britain's Roman conquerors. The only common point was the Roman occupation of Britain in 43 AD which gave the regions and nations of Scotland, Wales and England a common background and national heritage.

A different line of research regarding English national origins was that identified in Camden's anonymously published *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605), which Floyd-Wilson refers to as one of Shakespeare's sources for the ethnological debate within *Cymbeline*, alongside Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605). Both historians highlight aspects of England's Saxon origins, and in Verstegan's case he even states that the 'pure' English had arrived after Caesar's conquest of the Celtic British and could not, therefore, be confused with the savage barbarians described in the ancient Latin and Greek texts. He goes so far as to claim

[120] Op. Cit., Sullivan. p. 25.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Op. Cit., Curran. p. 2.
[123] Ibid. p. 8.

that James was descended from the English-Saxon kings.[124] In the following citation from Camden we could even position James as an 'honorary German':

> the Angles, Englishmen or Saxons, by Gods wonderfull providence were transplanted hither out of Germanie...This warlike, victorious, stiffe, stowt, and rigorous Nation, after it had as it were taken roote heere about one hundred and sixtie yeares, and spread his branches farre and wide, being mellowed and mollified by the mildeness of the soyle and sweete aire, was prepared in fulnes of time for the first spirituall blessing of God.[125]

Although Tracey Miller-Tomlinson remarks upon Camden's national identification with the Romans in his *Britannia* of 1586[126] which earned him Mikalachki's title of "honorary Roman,"[127] his revised Anglo-Saxon stance appealed to a very patriotic English audience who desired a position of political and legal dominance in the union project and was further developed by Camden in the revised edition of his *Britannia* in 1607 in which he implies that an Anglo-Saxon genealogy would "ensure ... a peaceful (and Anglo-dominated) union."[128]

It is Camden's contemporary argument of linguistic affiliation with the Scots which was also influential in throwing the cloak of Anglo-Saxon brotherhood over the Scots:

> [T]hey beare now the name of Scotish-men, yet are they nothing lesse than Scots, but descended from the very same Germane originall that we English men are. And this, neither can they chuse but confesse, nor we but acknowledge, being as they are, termed by those abovesaid, High-land men, Sassones, as well as we; and using as they doe the same language with us, to wit, the English-Saxon, different onely in Dialect, a most assured argument of one and the same originall.

[124] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *British Identities.* p. 106.
[125] Camden, W. *Remains Concerning Britain,* R. D. Dunn. (ed.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. p. 16. cf. Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.*
[126] Miller-Tomlinson, T. 'Hybrid Gender, Hybrid Nation: Race, Sexuality, and the Making of National Identity in Fletcher's *Bonduca.*' *Drama and the Making of National Identity in Early Modern England.* New Mexico State University: Shakespeare Association of America, 2007. p. 4.
[127] Op. Cit., Mikalachki . *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 121.
[128] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 173. (her brackets.)

Camden continues this paragraph with further references to their genetic links, the past division of their two nations and their present Protestant unification in the new empire of James I:

> I have ...respectively loved them alwaies, as of the same bloud and stocke, yea and honoured them too, even when the Kingdomes were divided: but now much more, since it hath pleased our almightie, and most mericifull God, that wee growe united in one bodie, under one most Sacred head of the Empire, to the joy, happinesse, welfare, and safetie, of both Nations, which I heartily wish and pray for.[129]

The Scots, however, wished for political equality, and historians, such as John Major (Mair), attacked this Anglo-Saxon thesis with:

> all men born in Britain are Britons, seeing that on any other reasoning Britons could not be distinguished from other races; since it is possible to pass from England to Wales, and from Scotland by way of England to Wales, dryshod, there would otherwise be no distinction to races ... I reckon both Scots and Picts to be alike Britons.[130]

However, some animosity towards the Scots is felt in Harrison's 'description of Britain' in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* in which Alan MacColl discusses Harrison's anti-Scottish revisions to the 2nd edition of 1587. MacColl focuses on Mary's trial and execution as a catalyst "reinforcing the fear of Roman Catholic conspiracy and reawakening ancient anxieties about Scotland as the natural ally of England's continental enemies."[131] As Shakespeare was working from this edition for *Cymbeline* it may explain some of the anxiety felt towards the Scottish. The expression of English nationalism within *Cymbeline*, wherein the 'foreign' queen is a representative of the Scottishness of Britain's ancient and brutish past also implies the racial superiority of the English over the other Britons. Consequently *Cymbeline* offers a doubleness in that the English race could also be identified as a later arrival

---

[129] Camden, W. *Britannia*, trans. Philemon Holland. London, 1610. p.119. cf. Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p.173.
[130] Major, J. *A History of Greater Britain.* 1521, trans. and ed. Archibald Constable. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1892. p. 18. cf. Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 171.
[131] Op. Cit., MacColl. p. 268.

which had pushed the native Britons to the fringes of an English empire and who shared an ethnic brotherhood with the Anglo-Saxons.

This interpretation is outlined by Floyd-Wilson who bases her evidence on the complementary readings of Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* and Camden's *Remains,* referred to above, both of which distance the English from the ancient Britons by placing their national origins with the Anglo-Saxons and by claiming racial superiority for the English people. Verstegan, who "was fervently Anglophile"[132] writes:

> [Historians] wrytheth that *Caesar* in his commentaries saith, that the Englishmen of his tyme had but one woman to serve for ten or twelve men, whereas in deed *Caesar* never sais so, or could so say, for that hee never knew or hard of the name of Englishmen, seeing their coming into *Britaine* was almost 500 yeares after [Caesar's] death.[133]

According to Floyd-Wilson's investigations *Cymbeline* unearths "the racial myth of Anglo-Saxon origins"[134] for the nation and "spins out an ethnological fantasy in which the Scots submit to Anglo-British rule and the English emerge as a race bolstered by their climate but unaffected by Britain's early history of mingled genealogies and military defeats."[135] In the juxtaposition of Cloten and Posthumus, both can be registered as Scots, but whilst the former is presented as the more barbaric Scoto-Britain who is not yet ready for complete Anglicisation, the latter can be seen as the Scottish Lowlander who already falls within the English sphere of political, ethnological and linguistic influence. Leah Marcus makes an interesting analogy between Cloten and Posthumus in presenting them as Scots born before and after James's accession to the English throne; those born after James’s accession could claim both English and Scottish citizenship which effectively gave them dual nationality.[136]

Within the political climate of union and empire it is clear that Posthumus's genealogy in *Cymbeline* is an important element of the play's narrative. When the two gentlemen discuss Posthumus's origins at the beginning of the play the second

---

[132] Op. Cit., Piggott. *Ancient Britons.* p. 58.
[133] Verstegan, R. *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence.* cf. Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.*p. 170.
[134] Ibid. p. 163.
[135] Ibid. p. 17.
[136] Marcus, L.S. 'Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents.' *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1990), pp. 230-233. p. 124.

gentleman asks: "What's his name and birth?" and the first answers him: "I cannot delve him to the root."[137] Posthumus's origins only go back as far as his father, Sicilius 'Leonatus', a professional soldier who fought against the Romans. Following the death of his parents and his brothers, Posthumus was then adopted into the Romanised household of Cymbeline, where he was educated and later married the British princess, Innogen. Posthumus's later disillusionment with his wife, his estrangement from Britain and then his return as a British peasant and common soldier suggest that Posthumus must come to terms with his unknown and humble origins. This recalls Curran's understanding of Posthumus as a reader of the new British history, wherein he must learn to discard the fabled heroes of British mythology and learn instead different values for judging the character of a man and of a people. This resonates with Posthumus's impassioned cry of "We are all bastards,"[138] in reference to the uncertainty of one's genetic origins. His consequent pose of humility in the play places him in the new role of pupil and British adherent, for Posthumus the Scot, as Floyd-Wilson puts it, "is not scripted to play a hero but to learn, instead, a more submissive role."[139]

The two princes of Guiderius and Arviragus, on the other hand, are scripted to play the roles of heroic English-Britons. Having grown up in the wild caves of Wales, far from the royal courts at London or Rome, they still demonstrate aspects of nobility and civility which are innate to their natures and non-taught. Although the two lost princes return to Cymbeline's court from Wales and mark the legitimacy of their English claim to the British throne, which displaces the claims of Posthumus, Cloten and his mother, they do not return from Milford Haven but from the uncharted wilderness of their mountain retreat. Having won great acclaim and honour through their defence of Britain and the defeat of the Roman army they stand not only as a model for British union but also as models for English hegemony. The staging of British resistance to Rome in Wales may remind audiences that in British history Wales was a stronghold of resistance to Roman colonisation, as testified by Tacitus when he describes the life of Caratacus,[140] but just as Caratacus was not really Welsh but English,[141] so too are our Welsh cave dwellers.

---

[137] I, i, 27-28.
[138] II, iv, 154.
[139] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 181.
[140] Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome.* Book XII, chapters 33-40.
[141] Webster, G. *Rome Against Caratacus*. London: Batsford, 1993. p. 14.

Early Modern Nationalism

Such a passionate debate is also aired in much of the early Jacobean literature which seeks to achieve some sort of self-definition and cultural identity for the early modern nation. Plays, which include *King Lear, Cymbeline,* and *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* explore national origins in terms of a power and gender crisis in which national and family allegiances fluctuate. In the Romano-British plays male anxieties over national origins are seemingly projected onto women as the element which opposes civilisation and hence, progress. At the end of these plays national stability is only achieved through a hybrid Anglo-Roman allegiance that excludes women. Take for example Innogen's male disguise in *Cymbeline.* With the assumed name of 'Fidèle' Innogen seeks to prove her wifely fidelity to Posthumus, despite his 'death,' but her allegiance to her nation and her gender are questioned, even revolutionised as her final effacement at the end symbolises female submission to "the masculine embrace"[142] of the new nation, an integral component of early modern nationalism, according to George Mosse.[143]

In her work on representations of Boudica in the early modern period, Jodi Mikalachki focuses on the two themes of sexuality and nationalism, recognising them as interdependent components of early modernism which was first expounded in Mosse's work, *Nationalism and Sexuality.* With reference to this work Mikalachki writes: "recent work on the mutually informing constructs of nationalism and sexuality defines nationalism as a virile fraternity guaranteed by its rejection of overt male homosexuality and its relegation of women to a position of marginalized respectability."[144] Furthermore, she adds: "English anxiety about the female savagery of native origins indicates how sexual concerns were already shaping nationalism."[145] These Jacobean anxieties seemed to bring attention to two pressing 'needs'; the need to re-establish a more respectable myth of origin for the nation and the need to control women more closely in society. Both these needs could be debated and achieved

---

[142] Ibid. p. 112.
[143] See Mosse, G. L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe.* New York: Howard Fertig, 1985. cf. Mikalachki. 'The Masculine Romance of Roman Britain: *Cymbeline* and Early Modern English Nationalism.' *Shakespeare Quarterly,* Vol. 46, No. 3. Autumn 1995, p. 303.
[144] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea*. p. 96.
[145] Ibid.

through the re-presentation of history, particularly in the literary texts and dramatic representations on the stage.

Some of these early modern anxieties, manifested in the allegorical form of female rebellion and submission, can be traced back to the classical writers' accounts of primitive societies and their apparent indifference to gender hierarchy which seemingly marked one of the most disturbing aspects of British antiquity. It is important to refer once again to important new elements of British history which Polydore Vergil's *Anglia Historia* had uncovered in Tacitus's lost manuscripts; the stories of the two Celtic queens of the first century AD, both of whom were disturbing and very difficult to incorporate into the traditional Roman myth of origin for the nation. Firstly, as covered in chapter one, the story of Boudica was that of a patriotic and warlike Briton who rose up against Roman oppression following a number of grievances. She managed to unite neighbouring tribes and led a successful campaign until she met the Roman legionaries in a fixed battle, was overcome and died. Cartimandua's story is the antithesis of that of Boudica's but every bit as disturbing for she lived a long and happy life over a confederacy of tribes in Yorkshire by collaborating with the Roman occupying forces. Not only this but she was apparently licentious and promiscuous, casting off her legitimate husband and taking his armour-bearer as her consort instead:

> She grew to despise her husband Venutius, and took as her consort his squire, Vellocatus, whom she admitted to share the throne with her. Her house was at once shaken by this scandalous act. Her husband was favoured by the sentiments of all the citizens; the adulterer was supported by the queen's passion for him and by her savage spirit. So Venutius, calling in aid from outside and at the same time assisted by a revolt of the Brigantes themselves, put Cartimandua into an extremely dangerous position.[146]

When writing of her reign Tacitus clearly draws a moral lesson from Cartimandua's earlier success and eventual demise. Following her betrayal of Caratacus, Tacitus writes that she showed "the wanton spirit that success breeds."[147] When Cartimandua eventually loses her kingdom Tacitus says that this was the direct result of the loss of her reputation following her adultery with her husband's armour-

[146] Ibid.
[147] Tacitus, *Histories,* Harvard University Press, 1968, Book III xliv-xlvi, p. 403.

bearer. As we can see in the above example sexuality was a central issue in representations of powerful women and the message was clear; place a woman in a position of power and the result is savage and sexual excess, self-destruction and the loss of the nation. Such a message is apparent in a number of Jacobean plays.

Barbaric stories of ancient Britain were gradually re-presented as a dividing line between the savage female of nature and the civilised man of culture. This seemed the only way of assimilating the paradox of Boudica's female sex into the new history of the nation's past. The ultimate verdict was one of women's inability to exercise sovereignty and this underscored the pressing need to tame the wild heart of women. As we shall see in the following pages this was accomplished in part by re-presenting and reconstructing the geopolitical past in the literary texts of the early modern period in which the wild heart of Britain's national origins was seen as one of maternal dominion, a dominion which was first pushed to the Celtic fringes of Britain before being broken in and integrated into the masculine world of Roman civilisation.

These two women then form the starting point for Britain's recorded past, a past which appeared to have been one of savage excess and male anxiety. As Richard Helgerson observes: "They [the English] had to know themselves as the barbarous or inferior other, know themselves from the viewpoint of the more refined or more successful cultures of Greece, Rome and contemporary Europe, before they could undertake the project of national self-making. In this sense, to be English was to be other - both before their work began and after it had been accomplished. Before, it was the otherness of the barbarian, the inferior. After, it was the otherness of the model of civility into which they had projected themselves."[148] In other words the process of self-recognition involved a complex of cultural inferiority and self-alienation as a necessary step before the process of national construction could be validated.

In the report, *Nova Britannia,* commissioned for the Virginia Company in 1609, the writer argues that his ancient British ancestors had only become civilised thanks to Roman intervention and would have remained in ignorance if "Julius Caesar with his Roman Legions (or some other) had not laid this ground to make us tame and civil."[149] Effectively, Claudius's invasion of Britain had been rapidly followed by the

---

[148] Helgerson, R. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writings of England.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1992. p. 243.
[149] Hadfield, A. 'Bruited abroad: John White and Thomas Harriot's colonial representations of ancient Britain.' Op. Cit., Baker &. Maley. p. 173.

Romanisation of England, though Wales proved more difficult to subdue and Scotland was only partially conquered. It was in England that Romanisation was most successful. Roman urbanisation and infrastructures were put into place and Latin was imposed as the political and administrative language. Though Celtic was still spoken by the indigenous population those who aspired to a public career soon embraced Roman ways and language. This is the dominant idea propounded by Camden's *Britannia* just a generation before, in which Camden asserts that union with the Roman Empire had been a necessary evil for it was through Roman pacification and education that Britain was able to leave the anonymous and barbaric mass of prehistory and was initiated into civilisation:

> This yoke of the Romanes although it were grievous, yet comfortable it proved and a saving health unto them: for [...] the brightnesse of that most glorious Empire, chased away all savage barbarisme from the Britains minds, like as from other nations whom it had subdued. [...] For [...] the Romanes, having brought over Colonies hither, and reduced the naturall inhabitants of the lland unto the society of civill life, by training them up in the liberall Arts, and by sending them into Gaule for to learne perfectly the lawes of the Romanes [... who] governed them with their lawes, and framed them to good maners and behaviour so, as in their diet and apparell they were not inferior to any other provinces.[150]

In Floyd-Wilson's introduction to her book on English ethnicity she alludes to this reference when writing: "Without the Brutish myth attesting to England's inherent nobility, William Camden made the argument that the English people's native barbarism had been purged by the Roman conquest. In this context, the English could still lay claim to civility - but not innate civility"[151] and Richard Helgerson poses this English anxiety in the question: "was English nature unalterably resistant to the nurture of civility?"[152]

In *Cymbeline* Shakespeare develops two levels of Roman influence on Britain; one of ennobling honour and peaceful friendship between the two nations, which Sullivan associates with the ideals of James I[153] and which concludes the play, and a second level of influence which reflects the degeneracy and scheming politics of

---

[150] Camden. *Britain.* p. 63. cf. Sullivan. p. 150-151.
[151] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity*. p. 15.
[152] Op. Cit., Helgerson. p. 35.
[153] Op. Cit., Sullivan p.156.

Renaissance Italy. As an example of the first Shakespeare holds up the reformed Posthumus, and as an example of the second we are given not only Cloten and his mother but also Giacomo, whom Posthumus calls a "a full-acorned boar, a German one,"[154] following Giacomo's boast that he has slept with his wife and won their bet.

According to Peter Parolin this particular plot, in which Giacomo penetrates Innogen's bedchamber, represents Britain's "fears of the Italian within"[155] which in itself is a metaphor for Britain's fear of the savage within. The same scene is repeated in *The Valiant Welshman* when the Roman, Marcus Gallicus, tries to rape Voada, Prince Gald's wife.[156] Both Marcus and Giacomo are compared to Sextus Tarquinius who raped Lucretia in Roman legend. In *Cymbeline*, Giacomo, climbing from the trunk in Innogen's room, says: "Our Tarquin thus/ Did softly press the rushes ere he wakened/ The chastity he wounded,"[157] whilst Bluso, the magician, in *The Valiant Welshman,* calls Marcus, "bloudy *Tarquin.*"[158] In both scenes the proposed rapes do not take place, which is suggestive in itself. In the Roman story, told by Ovid and Livy, Lucretia's rape led to her suicide which then provoked a popular uprising and the expulsion of the Tarquins by Junius Brutus. Brutus, the legendary founder of Britain who had expulsed the giants, is not called upon in *Cymbeline*. Instead Giacomo is exposed as a liar and a fraud and Innogen's honour is restored, as is peace with her husband and peace between Rome and Britain.

The introduction of anachronism into *Cymbeline* is explored by Parolin in his paper on 'Anachronistic Italy,' in which he sees the introduction of a decadent contemporary Italy into the play as the mechanism by which "*Cymbeline* seeks to dispel British barbarism by appropriating the mantle of Roman civilisation."[159] The character of Giacomo is clearly seen as a contemporary and amoral "Italian gentleman,"[160] whilst Posthumus, who leaves ancient Britain for Rome, arrives instead in contemporary Italy and is exposed to the dangers of Italian manners. In this way, Parolin argues: "*Cymbeline* splits Rome itself into two entities, creating contemporary Italy as a new site of barbarism against which Britain can assert its civil status."[161] Yet

---

[154] II, iv, 168.
[155] Parolin, P. 'Anachronistic Italy: Cultural Alliances and National Identity in *Cymbeline.*' *Shakespeare Studies,* Vol 30, p. 2002.
[156] *The Valiant Welshman*. V, i.
[157] *Cymbeline.* II, ii, 12-14.
[158] *The Valiant Welshman.* V, i,14.
[159] Op. Cit., Parolin. p. 189. Peter Parolin deals with anachronism in more depth on page 195.
[160] Listed as such in the 'Persons of the Play,' at the beginning of *Cymbeline.*
[161] Op. Cit., Parolin. p. 194.

the corrupt influence of Italian values can also be felt at home in Britain where *Cymbeline's* queen and her son dominate the British court which becomes "a place of machiavellian scheming receptive to Iachimo's deceitfulness."[162] Furthermore, the queen's manipulation of poisons positions her as someone who traffics in Italian vices, bringing them to the heart of Britain and exposing the English to the alien influences of another culture. This, Parolin argues, testifies more to the failures of Stuart politics regarding its Roman embrace of Europe rather than to James's successes in unifying Britain. He concludes this point by shifting the play's emphasis from one of peaceful union to one of discord in which the disjunctions between James's and his son Henry's points of view over British union and Britain's place in Europe are highlighted. The characters of Giacomo and the queen are thereby used to activate English fears that "union with Scotland would undermine Englishness [and] is a potent context for the movement in *Cymbeline* whereby alliance with Rome leaves Britain vulnerable to the depredations of Italy." [163]

Although the play levels charges of degeneracy at Renaissance Italy and outlines "Britain's vulnerability to Italian corruption"[164] it also shows its audience that this can be resisted. In the anachronistic representation of Renaissance Rome in *Cymbeline* we are shown how Posthumus succumbs to Italian influences when abroad: "His Roman virtue and status as a latter-day Aeneas are abandoned in the heat of the moment, and in the dissolute climate of contemporary Italy,"[165] Huw Griffiths writes, but once Posthumus has returned to his native soil he is able to redress his errors and to reaffirm his heroic British nature. The same can be said of Giacomo's remission at the end. The irony of Shakespeare's message seems to be "that 'Romanness' (romanitas) can only be achieved in 'Britain.'"[166] However, this did not save the English from a feeling of cultural inferiority when compared to the ancient civilisations of Rome and Athens. Such a sense of inferiority may be understood from the role Posthumus plays; he bears a Latin name and travels to Italy for protection and support.

A further example is that of Innogen's role as the disguised Fidèle in which she accepts a position as servant to the Roman commander, Caius Lucius. In this context Innogen's allegiances and her disobedience to her father need to be examined. Her secret marriage to Posthumus and her rebellious act of running away from her father's

---

[162] Ibid. p. 200.
[163] Ibid. p. 202.
[164] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 170.
[165] Op. Cit., Griffiths. p. 355.
[166] Ibid.

court in order to rejoin her husband at Milford Haven raises the question of a woman's loyalty; was it to her father or to her husband? The same question is raised in *A Shoo-maker, a Gentleman,* when the emperor's daughter secretly marries Elred, disguised as Crispine, one of the King of Britain's sons, and then leaves the palace in secret in order to give birth and escape her father's wrath. Mikalachki sees Innogen's loss of name and her assumption of a Roman identity as a metaphor for re-birth in which Britain's national identity is formed through interaction with the Roman invaders and the native land.[167] This is certainly the symbolic importance of Elred's son in *A Shoo-maker, a Gentleman*, in which the birth of Elred's and Leodice's baby represents the future union of Rome and Britain.

However, despite the encounter between Lucius and Innogen in *Cymbeline* the new relationship between Rome and Britain, and between master and servant remains unclear: "what Imogen is to Lucius cannot quite be defined,"[168] Mikalachki writes. Her description of this encounter is of interest for she makes the analogy between Lucius raising Innogen from the ground of Britain where her dead 'husband' lies and his integration of Innogen as Fidèle in his Roman entourage. Mikalachki further adds: "The Roman male is not in a position of absolute mastery, although the British female, disguised as a boy, has agreed to follow him."[169] Whilst Griffiths agrees in part with Mikalachki's interpretation of Innogen's Roman resurrection in Wales he sees Innogen's 'death' in Wales, and not her loss of name, as the metaphor for the symbolic death of ancient Britain and its restoration as Great Britain.[170] However, in reference to Innogen's assumed name of Fidèle Griffiths adds the proviso that Innogen's "loss of identity in Wales opens up the questions about the integrity of Britain as a political entity and about the ability of the term 'Britain' to sustain the union that it announces."[171]

This must represent the confusion not only in a woman's allegiance but also in that of British identity and we could reformulate this interrogation as one of divided or dual nationality especially in the case of Innogen/Fidèle who plays the double role of a Roman-Briton. It is certainly intriguing to note how often Innogen changes allegiances; she changes Britain for Rome, her father's court for Belarius's cave, then Belarius and her brothers for Lucius, and finally abandons Lucius for Cymbeline and

[167] Ibid. 109.
[168] Ibid. p. 111.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Op. Cit., Griffiths. p. 348.
[171] Ibid. p. 349.

Posthumus. As Innogen represents the metonymic identity for Britain but then assumes a Roman identity in Wales this could be taken as a manifestation of English anxieties regarding James's project of British union. This union would effectively have imposed a double identity on all its British subjects, and dual allegiance between Great Britain and the kingdoms within that union. This in turn accelerated a movement of English patriotism anxious to define its early modern national identity in opposition to that of other nations within the union and this movement is felt in the queen's patriotic speech in which she clearly has no problem of national allegiance; her one and only fealty is to Britain.

However, in *Cymbeline* there is clearly an opposition between Britain and England which is apparent in the staging of Belarius's, Guiderius's and Arviragus's resistance to the Romans in "a strait lane."[172] Taken from an episode in Holinshed's *Historie of Scotland* which took place almost a thousand years after Cymbeline's reign at a time when both the Scottish and Welsh kings had made oaths of allegiance to England, Floyd-Wilson is quick to point out that with this "one swift reference, the play shifts its history forward to the era of Anglo-Saxon rule and frames Arviragus and Guiderius as anachronistic figures in Roman Britain."[173] In the story of their heroism in resisting the Romans in a narrow lane and turning the tide of fortune against the Romans, Floyd-Wilson cites the British captain in *Cymbeline* who says: "'Tis thought the old man and his sons were angels."[174] From this single reference Floyd-Wilson develops the analogy with the word Angles and by reading *Cymbeline* alongside Camden's *Remains* she suggests that "genealogy, environment, and providence have come together to produce a race of Anglo "Angels" who will resist the cycle of degeneration implicit in the translation of empires."[175] Although the evidence for such an interpretation is slight, English admiration of the German race is apparent in other works; Holinshed's English history, wherein the Britons incite each other to rebel against Roman occupation by holding up the Germans as an model of heroic "manhood", is a good example.[176]

---

[172] *Cymbeline.* V, iii, 7.
[173] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.*p. 168.
[174] V, iii, 85.
[175] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.*p. 169.
[176] The Germans had repelled the Roman advance into their territory despite the fact that they had only a river to protect them and not an ocean like the British. Op. Cit., Holinshed's 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 9, p. 495.

As Anglo-Saxons the English are also extricated from the charge of having submitted to a foreign power, that is, of course, until the Norman invasion. Yet the charge of "German boar", cited earlier and levelled at the Italian, Giacomo, cannot be ignored, in fact it was very much present in Tudor and Jacobean Britain. Philip Schwyzer reminds us of the views of Monmouth and of Humphrey Llwyd, the Welshman, who regarded the Anglo-Saxons as "'pirates and robbers', not to mention oath-breakers and poisoners."[177] Referring to a letter from Hubert Languet to the young Philip Sydney, Schwyzer cites Languet's reference to racial difference between the Welsh, the English and the French:

> [Lhwyd] would think he had received great injury at my hands if I should call him English, because he again and again declares that he is Welsh, not English.... You are fortunate that your ancestors came from France, for he says that the Saxons, from whom the English descend were nothing but pirates and robbers.[178]

In the unionist debate we are apparently faced with a number of conflicting views and arguments regarding national origins and ethnic identity. Advocates of union with Scotland referred to the land as common ground with a common people and cited examples of ancient disunity between the people of Britain, which had effectively made possible the Roman conquest of the island.[179] This is the message of such plays as *King Lear* and *Gorboduc* in which the division of the land between the children, or at least the ways in which power is delegated, leads to national disaster and civil wars. In discussing *Gorboduc* Dutton is further impressed with the political engagement and audacity of this play which stands as "a plea for a strong monarchy and a warning of the evils of civil war,"[180] an apparent reminder to Elizabeth to make provision for the succession. However, other factions in the unionist debate are very proud of their geographical and historical differences, building on ethnological qualities as evidence of national separation and/or of racial hierarchy.

---

[177] Schwyzer, P. 'British history and "The British history": the same old story?' Op. Cit., *British Identities.* p. 17.
[178] Osborn, J. M. *Young Philip Sidney* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p.140. cf. Schwyzer, P. *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 76.
[179] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *British Identities.* p. 104.
[180] Op. Cit., Dutton. p. 35.

Locating Cymbeline's Queen

Shakespeare's plays, and others, show the Anglocentrism of British history as Baker and Maley warn us in their introduction to *British Identities.* When justifying the dominance of English texts in their examination of Renaissance Literature, they write: "Renaissance studies coalesce, and we suspect, will continue to coalesce, around iconic texts - 'Shakespeare' - that were and are implicated in a hegemonic "Englishness."[181] Whilst reminding their readers "of the specificity of literary culture as a key carrier of national identity"[182] they quote Pocock in identifying this English hegemony as a "British problem"[183] in the identity of British culture and they try to focus their attention on the expressions of the different national identities within the British archipelago. The editing of Boudica's story is a good example of the ethnological tensions present within Jacobean society in the first decade of James's reign and I would now like to turn to the conflicting narratives of Shakespeare's historical sources for *Cymbeline's* queen in order to illustrate this.

It is highly significant that the queen, who bases her prestige and title on royal lineage and dynastic rule is the only character in the play to have no name and no past. And she certainly has no place in Monmouth's *History of the Kings of England*, or in Holinshed's Scottish account of Kimbaline's reign. She is simply a caricature of a poisonous and ambitious villain. Yet in reality she does have one, or even two historical counterparts, that of Boudica, whose story Shakespeare found in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England* <u>and</u> in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, alongside the story of Cartimandua.[184] Elements such as Voadicia's/Voada's[185] nationalistic speech, her opposition to the Roman conquerors, and her suicide may have been suggested to Shakespeare by the English and Scottish chronicles, though Mikalachki only refers to Holinshed's English chronicles as a source.[186] Floyd-Wilson notes that Mikalachki "overlooks the Scottish Chronicles in her discussion"[187] but by citing Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland*[188] and also Holinshed's *Chronicles of Scotland*[189] as rival

[181] Op. Cit., Baker & Maley. p. 7.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid. p. 6.
[184] Vernon Snow notes that Shakespeare was working from the 2nd edition of Holinshed *Chronicles* for *Cymbeline.* See Holinshed, R. *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.* 2nd edition. London: Henry Denham. 1587. Reprinted 1808, 1965, New York, Ams Press, inc. 1976. p. v.
[185] Boudica is called Voadicia in the English chronicles and Voada in the Scottish chronicles.
[186] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 102.
[187] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *British Identities.* p. 114, note 7.
[188] Ibid. p. 108.

sources for the historiographical and ethnological tensions in the play, she does develop Mikalachki's "attention to *Cymbeline's* historiographical sophistication,"[190] adding that "no one has seriously entertained the possibility that *Cymbeline's* central plot may be an amalgamation of Scottish, English, and Roman histories. Or more accurately, that the play may be staging competing and irreconcilable perspectives on Britain's early history."[191] This line of research might illustrate the discrepancies in representations of Cymbeline's queen.

Floyd-Wilson focuses on the Scottish *chronicles* in which Voada, the sister of Caratake, King of Scotland, was married to Arviragus, King of Britain, but then she and her children were cast off by him in favour of a second wife, Genissa, a Roman lady.[192] Of the marriage between Genissa and Arviragus Holinshed, obviously using the Scottish sources, asserts in his English chronicles that this is "but a feined tale"[193] and furthermore, he identifies Arviragus with Prasutagus, Voadicia's husband, thereby undermining Boece's work: "Prasutagus ... is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Arviragus, king of the people called Iceni."[194] Holinshed is correct but being diplomatic he includes a number of Boece's errors in his own chronicles of Scotland with a disclaimer to his readers such as that regarding the story of Claudius invading the Orkney Islands:

> But this discourse have I made according to their owne histories, least I should séeme to defraud them of whatsoever glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to advance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the advantage oftentimes of writers scant woorthie of credit.[195]

It is certainly intriguing that one of the royal princes in *Cymbeline* carries the name of Arviragus which does suggest that Shakespeare was aware of the Scottish story of Voada.

---

[189] Ibid. p. 103, and Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* pp. 174-179.
[190] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 174.
[191] Ibid. p. 175.
[192] Holinshed, R. *Chronicles of Scotland.* The Second Volume.'The historie of Scotland. 1586. p. 46, and Op., Cit., Boece.The thrid buke, fo. cccii.
[193] Ibid. Holinshed. chapter 3. p. 485.
[194] Ibid. chapter 10. p. 495. This error is also referred to by Holinshed earlier in his work in chapter 3. p. 484, where he writes, "This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Prasutagus, is also named Armiger in the English chronicle."
[195] Op. Cit., Holinshed. 'The Historie of Scotland'. *Chronicles of Scotland.* The Second Volume. 1586. p. 46.

Although Voada is not mentioned in the English accounts of Arviragus's reign Floyd-Wilson proffers this as evidence of Voada's importance as a source for *Cymbeline:* "it is, I contend, Voada's erasure from the English *Chronicles* that attests to her importance."[196] And her importance, according to Floyd-Wilson, is that "Voada represents a history of mingled ethnic identities." [197] This is certainly the case in *The Valiant Welshman* in which Gent appropriates the character of Voada from the Scottish chronicles and re-presents her as the gentle and obedient Welsh sister of Caradoc who is later married to the King of Britain's brother.[198]

However, I contest Floyd-Wilson's assertion that Voada was erased from the English chronicles for, as Holinshed points out, Boece has confused Arviragus with Prasutagus which means that he has confused Voada with Voadicia. Confusions over spellings were frequent at the time as Holinshed points out when referring us to Tacitus's spelling of Voadicia and Dio's spelling of 'Bunduica' or 'Bunuica.'[199] Holinshed puts such errors down to the miscopying of manuscripts before the introduction of printing. When discussing the geographic confusions surrounding the name and location of Camelodunum and Colchester he writes: "some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus."[200] Boece and Holinshed certainly use similar sources for Boudica's rebellion even if Boece makes a huge number of chronological and geographical excrescences to her story, which are not missed by Holinshed, or by Shakespeare. Voada is, therefore, very much present in the English chronicles. We can, perhaps, accuse Holinshed of eliminating certain elements of her story from the Scottish version because they might have embarrassed English nationalism. For example, not only is the Scottish story an example of the intermarriage between the Scots and the Britons,[201] but the children of Voada and Arviragus held a Scoto-Briton identity. However, Floyd-Wilson suggests that the

---

[196] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. *English Ethnicity.* p. 176.
[197] Ibid.
[198] In Act IV, scene iv she is also referred to as a "warlike Dame" which suggests Gent's familiarity with the Scottish sources.
[199] Op. Cit., Holinshed's 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 10, pp. 495- 496.
[200] Ibid. chapter 6, p. 488.
[201] This argument is later supported by the reference that Holinshed makes to the British refusal to let their daughters marry the Picts (of unclear origin) who had been defeated by Marius, king of the Britons, but allowed to settle in the uninhabited Northern parts of Scotland. They instead requested the Scots, who inhabited Ireland, to send their women to the Pictish men. 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 15, p. 503. Boece's Scottish chronicles is different in that he says it was the people called "Murrays" (from Germany – see The feird buke, fo. cli) who fought with the Britons, Scots and Picts under Corbreid, king of Scotland and sister to Voada, against the Romans and after were given lands in Scotland and were married to Scotish virgins. Op. Cit., Boece. The feird buke, fo. clii.

erasure of Voada from the English chronicles was made in order to avoid any confusion between British nationalism and Scottish and Pictish rebellion[202] that could be thought subversive considering James's union project. Alternatively, we could credit Holinshed with editing Boece's inaccurate account of Boudica's life.

I would now like to develop my complementary readings of Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland*[203] and Holinshed's *Chronicles of Scotland*[204]as they may have influenced Shakespeare's play. Uniting the Britons, the Scots and the Picts, under the military leadership of her brother, Caratak, King of Scotland, the spurned Scottish Voada inspired a populist movement against her adulterous Briton husband, Aruiragus, and the Roman occupiers. After the Britons' defeat Voada, her son and two daughters were rescued and taken to Wales (Boece includes a reference to the Prince of Wales who defended them),[205] and Aruiragus and the Romans withdrew to London. Later, however, Aruiragus regrets his acts and wanting to recover his past honour and liberty he switches sides again and returns to the Britons and to his wife and children. In the meantime, his second wife, Genissa, dies. Unfortunately for Aruiragus his Britons are defeated by the Roman forces. Aruiragus surrenders but has to give hostages and accept Roman authority in return for the retention of his position as King of the Britons. In Boece's account one of the hostages includes his son, Guilderius, who is sent to Rome but falls ill and dies.[206]

Meanwhile both Boece and Holinshed take up the story of Caratak and only return to Voada after Caratak's death, when his brother Corbreid has been appointed King of Scotland, and the Isle of Man (Holinshed notes this as Anglesey) is being invaded by Suetonius's Roman forces.[207] This effectively marks the beginning of Voadicia's story as recounted by the Roman and Greek sources of Tacitus and Dio, which is the one followed by Holinshed in his 'Historie of England,' and now followed in the Scottish chronicles with one or two additions "collekit out of Godofryde wrytar of Inglis historyis, and out of Veramond, Iohne Campbell, Cornelius Tacitus, and Eutropius."[208] I have already discussed this part of Voadicia's story in chapter one so

---

[202] Op. Cit., Floyd-Wilson. p. 176.
[203] Op. Cit., *The croniklis of Scotland*. The thrid buke, fo. ccic - The feird buke, fo. clv.
[204] Op. Cit., 'Historie of Scotland.' pp. 46-54.
[205] Op. Cit., Boece. The thrid buke, fo. cccii.
[206] Op. Cit., Boece. The thrid buke, fo. ccciiii. Note too, the use of the names of the father and son, Arviragus and Guiderius for the two brothers in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline,* although Guiderius was also the name of Cymbeline's son in the Scottish and English chronicles and succeeded him as King of Britain.
[207] Op. Cit., Holinshed. 'Historie of Scotland.' p. 51.
[208] Op. Cit., Boece. The thrid buke, fo. ccci.

without going into too much detail again, other elements which are significant and which may have given Shakespeare food for thought were Boece's chronological, geographical and historical licences. These were heavily criticised by Holinshed who, speaking of the contradictions in the written sources for Britain's line of kings, and in particular the chronological errors regarding Aruiragus's reign, writes:

> Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, sith this order of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie reprooued, than either wiselie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming therof vnto those that haue perhaps séene more than I haue, or more déepelie considered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth.[209]

Boece's errors concerning the location of the Iceni and other British tribes are also censored by Holinshed: "And as for the Silures and Brigantes remooued by *Hector Boetius* so farre northward, it is euidentlie prooued by *Humfrey Llhoid*, and others, that they inhabited countries conteined now within the limits of England."[210] The inclusion of English history in the Scottish chronicles is treated with contempt by Holinshed who, using his Roman sources as a more accurate reference for British history, writes:

> none of the Romane writers mentioneth anything of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, ... so that if they had béene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; maruell might it séeme, that the Romane writers would so passe them ouer with silence.[211]

This reference recalls the perception in Edmund Spenser’s view that the Scots were actually Irish. In his dialogue between two English friends in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598), Irenæus announces that “Scotland and Ireland are all one and the same.” When Eudoxus expresses incredulity Irenæus continues:

---

[209] Op. Cit., Holinshed, 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 3, p. 485.
[210] Op. Cit., Holinshed. 'Historie of Scotland.' p. 49. On p. 51 Holinshed also notes Boece's confusion of Anglesey with the Isle of Man.
[211] Op. Cit., Holinshed's 'Historie of England.' Book 4, chapter 8, p. 493.

> Never the more are there two Scotlands, but two kindes of Scots were indeed (as you may gather out of Buchanan) the one Irin, or Irish Scots, the other Albin-Scots; for those Scots are Scythians, arrived (as I said) in the North parts of Ireland, where some of them after passed into the next coast of Albine, now called Scotland, which (after much trouble) they possessed, and of themselves named Scotland.[212]

Returning to Voada's story we learn that after her death her two daughters were taken prisoner and whilst the eldest one was married to Marius, the Roman nobleman who had raped her, the youngest daughter continued her guerrilla warfare against the Roman occupiers before she was recaptured and executed. What is important here is the fact that Voada's daughter is specifically referred to as "Voadicia the daughter of Aruiragus" in Holinshed's Scottish text[213] and is called "Vodicia, the youngest daughter to Voada" in Boece's account,[214] which confirms the connection between Aruiragus and Voada and which is not included by Holinshed in his 'Historie of England.' This, I contend, is direct evidence that the Aruiragus and Voada of the Scottish chronicles are in fact the Prasutagus and Voadicia of Holinshed's English chronicles. The fusion and the confusion between the Scottish and English accounts of Boudica's life were, I believe, exploited by Shakespeare for his representation of *Cymbeline*'s queen, in particular her ethnological origins.

Regarding Boudica's national status in the historiographical accounts of the Scottish chroniclers she manifests connections not only with Britain, but also with Wales and Scotland. Whilst Voada's story, as portrayed in the Scottish chronicles, suggests a fusion between Scotland's and England's ethnic and historical pasts which, of course, converged with the Jacobean political climate of national union, Holinshed's Elizabethan chronicles had clearly stressed the difference between these two nations and had criticised the Scots' appropriation of English glories. On the other hand, the connection between Wales and England is such that the two kingdoms seem to merge on occasion into one nation as testified by both the Scottish and English chronicles. Note for example Holinshed's inclusion of the work of such Welsh historians as

---

[212] Spenser, E. *A View of the State of Ireland* (1633). Edited by Hadfield, A. Maley, W. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997. p. 45.
[213] Op. Cit., Holinshed's, 'Historie of Scotland.' p.54.
[214] Op. Cit., Boece. The feird buke, fo. clv.

Humfrey Llwyd in his account of English history and Boece's reference to Arniragus as a prince of Wales before his appointment as King of Britain.[215]

However, there are other elements which further complicate the debate surrounding Boudica's origins, that of her attire when addressing her troops. In Dio Cassius she is decorated with "a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantel was fastened." [216] The historian, Dorothy Watts alludes to Boudica's 'golden necklace' which corresponds to the golden torcs found at Snettisham, in Norfolk, the land of Boudica's Iceni, but which also correspond to the archaeological finds in Ireland.[217] Boudica's colourful tunic also merits attention for Watts notes that this "fabric appears to resemble modern tartans."[218] Boudica's Irish connections are also alluded to in Holinshed's English account; whereas Dio's Boudica has "tawny" hair and a "thick mantel", Holinshed transcribes these as "yellow tresses" and "a thicke Irish mantell",[219] which is not repeated by any other historian after Holinshed.[220] The question is, why did Holinshed introduce the idea of Irish clothing for Boudica? Is the covert image one of economic exchanges within the British archipelago or are we to understand that Boudica was in fact an Irish princess united with a British king following some political and military alliance? John Clapham's *Historie of England* (1602), which does not copy Holinshed's "Irish mantell" but follows Dio's description actually refers to her as "a Lady of the blood of their [British] Kings," as does Camden and Speed,[221] but her dead husband, the king of the Iceni did not leave the kingdom to her in his testament but to his daughters, which of course may imply that Boudica was in fact from the Celtic frontiers of Scotland or Ireland.

Whatever the truth of this assertion her counterpart in *Cymbeline*, the nameless queen, is represented as a ruthless and ambitious outsider who refuses to be integrated into the more civilised empire of Rome. According to Floyd-Wilson, Cymbeline's queen, with her corruption and death, represents a condemnation of a more savage Scoto-Briton past in favour of a more civilised Roman future. Addressing Cymbeline

---

[215] Op. Cit., Boece. The thrid buke, fo. ccci.
[216] Dio Cassius. *Roman History,* lxii, 1, 1-12. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Harvard University Press, 1995. Book LXII, p. 85.
[217] Watts, D. *Boudicca's Heirs.* London: Routledge, 2005. p. 94.
[218] Ibid. p. 95.
[219] Op. Cit., Holinshed. Book 4, chapter 10, p. 496.
[220] John Speed refers to the "tresses of her yellow hair," and "a kirtle thereunder very thicke pleited." See *The Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine.* London: William Hall. 1612. Book 6, p. 199.
[221] Clapham, J. *Historie of England.* London: Simmes. 1602. 'The first Booke', p. 42. Camden refers to Boudica as being of the "Blood royal." Op. Cit., *Britannia*. p. LXIV. See also Speed. Op. Cit., p. 198.

in her patriotic speech, already discussed, she refers to his ancestors and nation as "your ancestors" and "your isle," and at the end of the play Cymbeline agrees to continue paying the British tribute to Rome despite his victory over the Roman forces:

> Although the victor, we submit to Caesar
> And to the Roman empire, promising
> To pay our wonted tribute, from the which
> We were dissuaded by our wicked queen
>
> (V, iv, 460-464)

Yet if Boudica was the historical inspiration for Cymbeline's queen why is the play's character such a villain? Not only is she a court intriguer but she is also a wicked stepmother and a poisonous witch. Is it possible to suggest that Cartimandua may have been more the inspiration for Cymbeline's queen and that elements from both Boudica's and Cartimandua's stories served Shakespeare's purpose? After all, it was Cartimandua who had embraced union with Rome and who used trickery and treachery in order to betray her British opponents. She might therefore stand as a better candidate for Parolin's 'Italian within' than Boudica. Certainly, 'Cartamandua' is present in Gent's *Valiant Welshman* as the treacherous wife of Venusius, the Duke of York so London audiences were already familiar with this personage. What is intriguing with the Scottish chronicles though are the references to Cartimandua as a Scottish queen and as Caratak's stepmother who betrayed him to the Roman authorities. Of this story Boece writes: "Caratak fled to his gud mother Cartumandua quene of Scottish, quhilk eftir deceis of his fader Cadallane wes maryit apon ane valyeant knycht namit Uenisius. Curtumandia seyng Caratak distitute of all consolatioun deliuerit hym to Ostorius." [222] This same Cartimandua later imprisoned her second husband, Venusius and his friends, but after their liberation by Corbreid, the King of Scotland, and the brother of the now dead Caratak, Corbreid has her executed and refers to her as a "we[k]it woman" (wicked woman).[223] This is the same story told by Holinshed in his 'Historie of Scotland' and is simply taken from Boece. Holinshed writes: "He [Caratak] fled for succor vnto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius."[224] Later he refers to her as "that vnkind stepmother of Caratake."[225]

---

[222] Op. Cit. Boece. The thrid buke, fo. cccvii.
[223] Ibid. The thrid buke, fo. cccic.
[224] Op. Cit., Holinshed. 'Historie of Scotland.' p. 50.

In *Cymbeline* the queen is Innogen's wicked stepmother but whether she is the embodiment of Boudica or Cartimandua, or an amalgamation of both, she still represents a rejection of Britain's primitive female past in favour of submission to the civilising effects of Roman conquest. Mikalachki suggests that Cymbeline's queen, along with her son, represent a primitive and more ignorant version of the ancient Britons and she characterises their deaths as "a fear of originary feminine savagery [which] was what consistently drove early modern historians and dramatists of ancient Britain to take refuge in the Roman embrace."[226] And we may compare the character of Cymbeline to James I, the pacifist, the unionist and civilised nobleman of Renaissance Europe but within the play Cymbeline is deterred from such virtues due to the influence of "our wicked queen,"[227] the Celtic outsider or the savage within.

If union and submission are the key words of *Cymbeline* we shall now see how this applies to women. From the Jacobean depiction of Briton's English past in the literary dialogue of this play we shall now take a brief look under the curtain at the representation of women and their relegation from the stage of history and politics to the sidelines of the family and the grave.

The Relegation of Women

> Treat her as your owne flesh, command her as her Lord, cherish her as your helper, rule her as your pupill, and please her in all things reasonable ; but teach her not to be curious in things that belong her not : Ye are the head, shee is your body ; It is your office to command, and hers to obey.[228]

As I shall argue in this section a woman's place, according to James's advice to his son in the above citation, was to be found in the private sphere of the home, under the authority of a father or a husband, without whom she had very little identity.

---

[225] Ibid. p. 51.
[226] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 114.
[227] V, iv, 164.
[228] James I. *Basilikon Doron* (1599), in *Political Works,* ed. C.H. McIlwain, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, cf. Shepherd, S. *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. p. 42.

Fashioned by politically correct role models such as *Cymbeline*'s Innogen, and warned of the perils of the politically incorrect example of Cymbeline's queen, women had only a small place for self-expression and this was contained within the home; it was certainly not at the hub of political and historical expression. Quoting Phyllis Rackin's argument that women were "typically defined as opponents and subverters of the historical and historiographic enterprise, in short, as antihistorians,"[229] Christopher Highley takes the example of the "patriarchal world of the Tudor chronicles,"[230] which were used as source material for the history plays of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period in order to paint a world picture wherein "men construct nations and the canons of 'civilisation,' which women, as the embodiments of a disorderly nature and sexual desire, invariably obstruct."[231] In *King Lear*, for example, Jodi Mikalachki tells us that we are witness to "the collapse of all social structures ... from the family to the nation"[232] which was due to current "anxieties about ancient British queens intersected with concern about unruly women."[233] Kathleen McLuskie comes to the same conclusion in her essay on *King Lear* stating that when Lear, in his madness, envisages the collapse of law and all social control women are seen as the centre and source of that corruption and this "vision of chaos is presented in gendered terms, in which patriarchy, the institution of male power in the family and the state, is seen as the only form of social organisation strong enough to hold chaos at bay."[234]

Dominic Alessio contends that the representation of the model wife in written texts and in the visual arts is invariably a response to the social instability of a given period. Although he discusses the Victorian era of empire-building and class divisions his suggestion that the stereotype of 'the angel in the house'[235] "emerged in direct response to middle-class concerns over social instability,"[236] can also be applied to the Reformation. Certainly, there was a huge increase in the representation of model families in paintings of the seventeenth century and whilst such a movement may have

[229] Rackin, P. *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990. p. 148. cf. Highley. Op. Cit., p.100-101.
[230] Ibid. p. 101.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 16.
[233] Ibid.
[234] McLuskie, K. 'The Patriarchal Bard: Feminist Criticism and Shakespeare: *King Lear* and *Measure for Measure.'* in Dollimore. Op. Cit., p. 99.
[235] A phrase coined by the poet, Coventry Patmore, in 1854.
[236] Alessio, D.D. "Domesticating 'The Heart of the Wild': female personifications of the colonies." *Women's History Review.* 6:2, 1997. p. 241.

heightened the public visibility of women and children it also reinforced the patriarchal relationships between the father, wife and children.[237]

This appears to have been more of a Protestant response to the social demands of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the fear of a breakdown of the social order was particularly pronounced, due to the huge social and economic problems of the period.[238] Some reformers, such as William Gouge, tended to view the family as "a little Church, and a little Commonwealth ... whereby trial may be made of such as are fit for any place of authority, or of subjection in Church or commonwealth."[239] As far as subjection is concerned the literary texts testify to the removal of women from the public sphere of politics and military affairs, and their relocation in the domestic field of the family. Fears over rebellion and social disobedience may partly explain this demotion because it seems that even the family hierarchy of patriarchy, "the cornerstone of Elizabethan and Jacobean political theory,"[240] Underdown writes, was threatened by the rising wave of feminist thought as witnessed by the response in anti-feminist literature such as Swetnam's *Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Inconstant Women* which went through ten editions between 1615 and 1634. Local court records of the period also show male anxiety regarding the independent, rebellious or marginal woman. [241]

As social control rested primarily on persuasion and propaganda the literary texts, the visual arts and public performances were a key channel of communication.[242] If patriarchy was undermined there was a real fear that the social and political order might come crashing down. As Mikalachki expresses it: the "classical accounts of barbaric savagery and defeat were shaped into a cautionary tale about the dangers of unrestricted female agency and rule,"[243] and this was a discourse, as played out in such plays as *Cymbeline* and *The Tragedy of Bonduca* "which bans the female from history

---

[237] Op. Cit., Goldberg. p. 89.
[238] Due to a rising population in the decades between 1590-1640 problems of poverty, hunger, inflation, land shortage and vagrancy were accentuated despite the sporadic attacks of the plague. See Fletcher & Stevenson. Op. Cit., p. 216.
[239] William Gouge is quoted in William and Malleville Haller, 'The Puritan Art of Love,' *Huntingdom Library Quarterly.* Vol. 5. (1941-42). pp. 44-46. cf. Aram Veeser, H. *The New Historicism Reader.* London & New York: Routledge, 1994. p. 63.
[240] Underdown, D.E. 'The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England.' in Op. Cit., Fletcher and Stevenson. p. 117.
[241] Ibid. pp. 118-119 in which he refers to complaints made against scolds, domineering wives, single women who refused to enter service, and witches.
[242] Education and the church have already been discussed as primary factors in the transmission of the dominant ideology. See chapter one.
[243] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 116.

to the realm of nature."[244] In *Cymbeline*, for example, it is quite clear that the queen belongs to this realm of nature. With no name, yet carnal beauty and unbridled ambition, she rules the king and his kingdom. Following the queen's disappearance and the landing of the Roman army on British soil Cymbeline's uxoriousness is demonstrated when he laments the loss of his queen's military and political support: "Now for the counsel of my son and queen."[245] Such excessive dependence on his wife's guidance is regretted by Cymbeline at the end when he faces the defeated Lucius and blames his now dead wife for the non-payment of the British tribute to Rome: "We were dissuaded by our wicked queen."[246] This indicates to the audience that the queen's interference in public affairs has led the kingdom into chaos and brought the country to the brink of national disaster. Although Curran interprets the queen's wickedness rather as a lust for royalty through "the placing of the British crown," on her son's head[247] Mikalachki affirms that it is the queen's meddling in a man's world, "her political intervention," which is "the mark of her wickedness."[248]

Alessio makes an interesting point regarding the woman's family role of model wife and mother by stating that "The Perfect Lady image was intended as a means to transcend class divisions by uniting and morally regenerating the country around the ideology of motherhood."[249] We can apply this model to the Jacobean play *A Shoo-maker, a Gentleman*, in which individual merit, wifely obedience and motherhood are dominant ideals that transcend differences in rank and origins, and which bring families closer together and consolidate the power of the state. In *Cymbeline* the female role of motherhood is also evoked with the queen's political ambitions for her son but in this instance her maternal role is revoked through the spectre of infanticide, and it is then appropriated by Cymbeline when he is re-united with his sons and daughter at the end: "O what am I,/ A mother to the birth of three? Ne'er mother/ Rejoiced deliverance more."[250] Here, however, the maternal metaphor of giving birth is taken as the "appropriation of maternal authority" by Mikalachki, which effectively subordinates childbirth and maternal care to paternal control.[251] A parallel can be drawn here between Cymbeline's 'maternal' authority and that of his queen. As both

[244] Ibid. p. 19.
[245] IV, iii, 27.
[246] V, iv, 463-464.
[247] III, v, 63.
[248] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 99.
[249] Op. Cit., Alessio. p. 241.
[250] V, iv, 369-371.
[251] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 16.

mother and stepmother the queen's devotion to her son is shaped in terms of "savage maternity"[252] and calculated ambition, whilst her support of her stepdaughter is feigned and unnatural. In both cases the notion of infanticide is touched upon since the queen's plot to kill Innogen leads to the death of her own son.

Following the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, which had dominated the last fifty years of English politics, it is plausible to suggest that James's arrival on the throne of England inaugurated a fresh desire for a more masculine rule as attested by the following lines which circulated in an elegy just after Elizabeth's death:

> How happily before the change did bring
> A Mayden-*Queene*, and now a manly *King.*[253]

In the new world contest of strong national identity, empire building and economic growth, such a desire is also expressed through the representations of male bonding and all-male families in the Romano-British history plays of the time as seen in the recomposed family of Belarius and the two princes in their Welsh cave, and the fresh alliances of men at the end of *Cymbeline*.[254] Although, amongst such rejoicing, Innogen not only loses her role as future queen: "O Innogen, / Thou hast lost by this a kingdom,"[255] but also her independence by resuming her place at her husband's side, albeit still disguised as a man.

Mikalachki seems to assume that Innogen's retention of male clothing "suggests an inability to present a fully purged and subordinate womanhood."[256] This may well be true, for at the end of *Twelfth Night* for example, when Viola does not have her woman's clothing to hand and so has to remain in male costume, Orsino, her future husband, accepts her as the man she is only for the present moment but warns her of her woman's role once she re-assumes a woman's appearance:

> Cesario, Come;
> For so you shall be, while you are a man,
> But when in other habits you are seen –

[252] Ibid. p. 141.
[253] Op. Cit., Hackett. p. 220.
[254] It can be noted that the representation of male-only families may also have been used in respect of James's own childhood in Scotland, who was in effect a motherless king, brought up in a household of men. See Stewart, A. *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I.* London: Chatto & Windus, 2003. pp. 38, 40, 75.
[255] V, iv, 373-374.
[256] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. *The Legacy of Boadicea.* p. 144.

Orsino's mistress, and his fancy's queen!
(V. i. 382-385)

Although all the characters in the theatres were played by men because women were not allowed to perform in public the ideological implications of the representation of gender roles does indeed indicate that the patriarchal model of a father's and a husband's power within the family was being reinforced through such role models. If we look once again at the reflection of Cymbeline's queen as a wicked stepmother and disobedient wife, "A thing more made of malice than of duty,"[257] her character is being held up as the counter-example of Innogen's perfect womanhood; not only is the queen exposed at the end of the play as a liar and poisonous, would-be-killer, but she is also shown as politically incompetent and emotionally unstable for she goes mad and dies, presumably at her own hand.

Thus, at the time of the Renaissance, the independence of women was presented as a movement of insubordination which violated all principles of social order and led to destruction, anarchy and the loss of the nation as demonstrated in *King Lear* and in *Cymbeline.* Many history plays of the period have no place for women except in the realms of public exclusion such as within the family or in positions of subversion and madness wherein they have to be tamed or killed. Cymbeline's queen, for example, is not tamed and is thus eliminated off-scene when she commits suicide, which is seen as something unruly: "Against self-slaughter/ There is a prohibition so divine,"[258] and shows the madness of the queen (whose parallel can be found in that of Lady Macbeth.) When Cymbeline asks the physician how his queen died, Cornelius responds:

With horror, madly dying, like her life,
Which being cruel to the world, concluded
Most cruel to herself.
(V, iv, 31-33)

The foil to such madness is that of Innogen who demonstrates the ideal qualities of womanhood; obedience, respectability and married chastity, ideals which are expressed by the second lord in a soliloquy to the audience:

[257] III, v, 33.
[258] III,iv, 76-77.

Thou divine Innogen, what thou endur'st,
Betwixt a father by thy stepdame governed,
A mother hourly coining plots, a wooer
More hateful than the foul expulsion is
Of thy dear husband, than that horrid act
Of the divorce he'd make!

(II, i, 54-59)

This speech raises the thorny question of divorce, which the second lord expresses to his Jacobean and Protestant audience as a "horrid act" but which Cloten believes will be easy to obtain because Innogen's and Posthumus's marriage is between social inequals.[259] We are also left in doubt as to whether or not their marriage has actually been consummated. It seems clear that some sexual restraint was imposed by Innogen when Posthumus complains: "Me of my lawful pleasure she restrained,/ And prayed me oft forbearance,"[260] yet whether this implies simple restraint within marriage or that Innogen was in fact a virgin is unclear according to Roger Warren.[261] It seems clear to me though that the marriage has been consummated since Posthumus is only convinced of Innogen's infidelity when Giacomo describes the picture on Innogen's bedroom ceiling and describes a birth mark under her breast, intimate details that only Posthumus could know from having slept with Innogen himself.

Cloten, the 'hateful wooer,' first tries to persuade Innogen to divorce Posthumus so that she can re-marry him, which would make him heir to the British throne. When this strategy fails Cloten turns to more dramatic means such as sexual violence, a theme already evoked through Giacomo's contemplation of the sleeping Innogen in her chamber. Cloten, wearing Posthumus's clothes, plans to rape Innogen and murder her husband in altogether more savage terms:

With that suit upon my back will I ravish
her: first kill him, and in her eyes;

...

and when my lust hath
dined - which, as I say, to vex her I will execute in the
clothes that she so praised - to the court I'll knock her
back, foot her home again.

(III, v, 136-143)

[259] II, iii, 110- 114.
[260] II, iv, 161-162.
[261] See his introduction to *Cymbeline.* Op. Cit., p. 32.

Cloten's last line is significant for it also introduces the idea of taming a woman through rape. He imagines that his sexual domination of her will be followed by his domestic possession of her when he "foot[s] her home again." I will examine this idea more in the next chapter. For the moment I would like to focus on the dichotomy between rape and married chastity, which is evoked in a great number of the literary texts of the period. Take, for example, *The Valiant Welshman* which portrays the same scenario of chaste wife and would-be-rapist when Marcus enters the prison chamber of Voada and wakes her up. Here rape is represented as something which differentiates man from the animal world and one in which the honour of both the woman and the man are at stake. Voada tries to reason with Marcus by evoking her "spotlesse honour" and his "Romans name" (V, i), along with his manhood and divine retribution:

> Beasts onely are the subiects of bare sense:
> But man hath reason and intelligence.
> Beasts foules die with them: but mans soule's diuine:
> And therefore needs must answere for eche crime.
>
> (V, i)

The idea of one's reputation is paramount to an individual's sense of identity and to national honour for, in this example, it is Marcus's ‘Roman name’ to which Voada appeals. As for *Cymbeline's* Innogen her identity is only evoked as an appendix to that of a man; either as that of a daughter, a wife, a sister, or as a servant. With the loss of her husband and father Innogen also loses her identity as a woman. When Innogen first wakes beside the headless corpse of Cloten she takes the body for that of her husband, Posthumus, and cries: "I am nothing; or if not,/ Nothing to be were better. This was my master, / A very valiant Briton."[262] Even in the masculine role of Fidèle she is led into Wales by Pisanio but once he leaves her to fend for herself she gets lost and has to sleep rough for two nights before finding Belarius's cave and food to eat. Whilst staying with Belarius, Guiderius and Arviragus she stays in the 'home' when they go out hunting and later works for the fatherly figure of Lucius before returning once again to court where she resumes her place as dutiful daughter and obedient wife.

[262] IV, ii, 368-370.

This chapter has looked at the conflicting historiographic resources and references used by the English to demonstrate their ethnographic origins and national identity, and this analysis has shown how these are reflected in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline.* The play is also a record of England's patriotic stance and imperial ambitions *vis à vis* its neighbours, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish, which demonstrates the way in which cultural identity is defined in relation to the 'otherness' of the different cultures that England encountered during its phases of imperial expansion. English dreams of British union and empire, many idealists hoped, could be attained through forgiveness, peace and reconciliation, which are the final messages of *Cymbeline.* Just as Innogen and Posthumus are reconciled at the end, as are the two sons with their father, Rome and Britain make peace and past enemies are forgiven. Even *Cymbeline*'s gods "do tune the harmony of this peace"[263] which fashions a model of conciliation and cooperation on which James's dream for a united Great Britain could be achieved.

Yet such an achievement advocated not only the cultural effacement of Wales and the incorporation of Scotland within England but also exposure to 'foreign' influences which might endanger England's cultural identity. Such a danger, however, could be countered by projecting such nationalistic fears onto the feminised borders of Celtic Britain or the effeminate world of contemporary Italy and by the public effacement of women. I have tried to show how the projection of Britain's barbaric origins onto women is implicitly treated by a large number of the literary texts of the period which sought to disempower national figures such as the historical Boudica and Cartimandua by relegating them to the Celtic fringes of prehistory and the geographic margins of Britain. In positions of historical and social inferiority they could then be replaced with the virile stamp of Roman civilisation or the heroic exemplar of Anglo-Saxon manhood. Such a movement supported the Jacobean position of British union which sought a precedent for this in British mythology. However, in such a location Jacobean politics was plagued not only by the resurgence of female power in Britain's ancient history but also by the growing body of English patriotism. If the basis of identity is one's origins then it can be argued that such plays as *Cymbeline* and *The Tragedy of Bonduca* called for the exorcism of the Britons' feminine origins and the imposition of a more civilised and masculine model in order to ennoble its national identity.

[263] V, iv, lines 467-468.

Chapter 4 Domesticating the Heart of the Wild

Caratach. Why do you offer to command? the divell,
The divell, and his dam too, who bid you
Meddle in mens affairs?

Bonduca. I'll help all.

Caratach. Home,
Home and spin woman, spin, go spin, ye trifle.

Exeunt Queene *and* Daughters[1]

The dialogue above, taken from John Fletcher's romantic-history play, *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* demonstrates male anxiety over powerful women, in this case a queen, and shows the male protagonist of the play, Caratach, pushing Bonduca and her two daughters back into the domestic sphere of the home. The reference to the devil and his mother further implies that women who meddle in the public affairs of men are motivated by evil impulses which come from the wild side of their natures. Such women need to be tamed and, as we shall see under James, women were increasingly excluded from public life, from history and even from self-expression.

First presented to a London public by the King's Men, an all-male company, sometime between 1613 and 1614, this play stands as a record of the change in the status of women in Jacobean England. Not only is Bonduca excluded from the decision-making process of leadership by her cousin, Caratach, but she is also demoted as military leader and head of her family when Caratach assumes command of Bonduca's army and family, even taking their nephew, Hengo, into his care. Yet Caratach is not English. He is presented as a noble Briton but his lands are not those of Bonduca. Fletcher's *Bonduca* seems to question and formulate a composite national identity for James's new kingdom not only in terms of gender politics but also in terms of native origins, geography, historical analysis and imperial aspirations. The play presents its audience with a number of allegories, which seemingly question the male-dominated and patriarchal court of James I, the hybrid English, Welsh and Scottish identity of the new nation and the ethics of conquest. Yet, as I shall argue,

[1] Fletcher, John. *The Tragedie of Bonduca*. ed. Cyrus Hoy, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon.* 10 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. III. v. 132-135.

Fletcher's representations of Boudica are complex, ambiguous and multi-layered, to such an extent that it is sometimes difficult to uncover all the multiple meanings of *Bonduca.*

The literary critic Gordon McMullan puts such ambiguities down to Fletcher's policy of collaboration in his literary career and to his willingness to negotiate the minefields of the political, social and religious debates of his day:

> It is from these negotiations that the plays take their characteristic productive tension, the politics of unease that rejects monolithic or absolute solutions and seeks instead recognition of the inevitability of collaboration and dependence. The political resistance to absolutism has its literary correlative in the doubleness of the plays, the resistance to resolution and to a single author or viewpoint.[2]

The antithetical structure of Fletcher's play seemingly confronts us with a drama of choice wherein we are confronted with different notions of honour and dishonour, principles of gender and of social behaviour. The British embrace of the Roman enemy, the coloniser, the other, at the end further represents an initiation into civilisation and the construction of a national identity but its rejection leads to death or the loss of self-identity in the wilderness. This is the colonial message of British imperialism.

However, this sensual embrace may also offer a second allegory for the recognition and acceptance of one's sexual identity, in this case "homosexuality". The problematic of applying this sexual identity to the Renaissance is discussed by Alan Bray in *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* in which he writes: "To talk of an individual in this period as being or not being 'a homosexual' is an anachronism and ruinously misleading."[3] The solution to adopt, Bray suggests, "is to use the term homosexuality but in as directly physical – and hence culturally neutral – a sense as possible."[4] In Fletcher's *Bonduca* the love between men is represented as something superior to man's love for woman and as something which pushes women out of the public sphere. The war setting gives this implicit message certain orthodoxy simply because war is the particular expression of a nation's masculine virility within which

---

[2] McMullan, G. *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher.* Amherst: Unversity of Massachusettes Press, 1994. pp. 259-260.
[3] Bray, A. *Homosexuality in Renaissance England.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd ed., 1995. p. 16.
[4] Ibid. p. 17.

intense homoerotic feelings between men can be articulated. The two intersecting battle lines which separate the Romans from the Britons and the men from the women are represented as the antithesis of masculine Roman order and feminine barbarian chaos, and the play gives its spectators two equivocal messages (I say 'equivocal' because certain of the dialogues seem to express criticism of the dominant view); first that the new British empire under James I is imposing order and civility on the conquered peoples of Ireland and America, whereas the very notions of civilisation and barbarity are being questioned by the play. The second message apparently infers that female excess leads to the destruction and loss of the family and of the nation, whereas in fact gender identities are being aired and opened to debate by the playwright through the medium of such caricatures as Bonduca, "a brave Virago," Caratach, "General of the Britains," Petilus, "A merry Captain, but somewhat wanton," and Judas, "A corporal, a merry hungry knave."[5]

Although the themes of honour, gender politics, unity and colonial expansion are to be found in *Cymbeline,* there are some significant and troubling divergences in *Bonduca*. Even the title of the play, *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* points to an important change of focus. The paradox is that Caratach is the real hero of the play not Bonduca which suggests yet again that there are two or more segments to the plot; the one concerning Bonduca's death, and the other concerning Caratach's union with the Roman enemy, both of which serve as allegories for underlying messages which we need to analyse and to interpret if possible.

Fletcher's play is ambivalent; Bonduca's refusal to be tamed, a refusal which results in her death at the end of Act Four, can be seen as a stand for national freedom, individual freedom, for Protestant activism or female independence, whilst Caratach's capitulation to the Roman conqueror at the end of the play can be recognised as political collaboration and the union of Great Britain, as a prefigurement for England's future hegemony over the British Archipelago and parts of America or as capitulation to the Roman Catholic Empire. It can also be viewed as a moment of self-revelation wherein the character fully assumes his sexual identity. Critics, such as Paul Green and Andrew Hickman, who discuss the complexities of structure and themes in *Bonduca*, argue that the very ambiguities, and the parallels, inherent in the text are the very dynamics which make *Bonduca* a rich and challenging play.[6] However, whilst

[5] Op. Cit., Fletcher. p. 156.
[6] Green, P.D. 'Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca,'* *Studies in English Literature,* 22: 2, pp.

both critics analyse the clusters of images, metaphors and language, which point to the many ambiguities concerning honour, neither discuss the representations of homosexuality. Julie Crawford does discuss Caratach as a possible mirror image of James I in her article on the play but interprets this allegory as a denunciation of James's homoerotic and sodomitic behaviour at court.[7] Regardless of Fletcher's own political ideology and criticism of James's domestic and foreign policies there is evidence to suggest that the final exclusion of women from the play and the masculine embrace of Caratach and Suetonius at the end may well portray a positive picture of homosexuality and suggests that a man's homosexual identity cannot be suppressed. This seems to be the kernel of Fletcher's multiple meanings for the play, that identity, whether individual or national, is not a personal choice. It cannot be hidden but must be faced and assumed.

I will now examine these issues further by focussing on gender politics in the first part of this chapter and the ways in which women are excluded from the public scene. Furthermore, I will analyse the play's treatment of unruly women and their heroism as an allegory for territorial conquest and indigenous resistance before moving on to look at how sexual identities are explored by the playwright through the homoerotic exchanges between the male protagonists. Such exchanges stand for allegories of territorial consolidation, unity and national identity as primitive Britain is absorbed, tempered and civilised by the Roman Empire.

305-16, spring 1982. Hickman, A. '*Bonduca's* Two Ignoble Armies and *The Two Noble Kinsmen.' Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England.* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. Vol. 4. 1989. pp. 153-69.

[7] Crawford, J. 'Fletcher's The Tragedie of Bonduca and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* Vol 39, 1999. pp. 357-81.

The Second Sex

As far as a woman's place in the social order was concerned she was clearly viewed as the second sex. Social order rested on the family and on the community in which women lived. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson point this out in their introduction to *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England,* in which they state that "The supreme authority of the husband in marriage was clearly stated in law, in theology and in contemporary writing. There was considerable pressure for wives to live up to the models of modesty and obedience set out for them."[8] Such pressure came in the form of the ever increasing publications and tracts on the correct behaviour for young ladies in Jacobean society, which Nancy Cotton-Pearse interprets as an attempt "to frighten female readers and auditors into compliance with a patriarchal family structure."[9] She also sees the change in the status of women as a reaction following the idealisation of women during the Elizabethan period.

An example in point could be the ambiguous portrayal of Bonduca in Fletcher's Jacobean play. Evidence of this can be seen in *The Tragedie of Bonduca* apparently represents an inversion of traditional gender roles in which the binary oppositions between Caratach and Bonduca, between Bonduca's daughters, and even between Bonduca and Suetonius seemingly represent a conflict of values. Green identifies this construct as one that establishes the tensions between the masculine principles of civilised Rome and the feminine ones of barbarian Britain even adding that "the very words *woman* and *man* acquire thematic significance in *Bonduca.* In the context of the play, *woman* suggests irrationality, thoughtlessness, and violence, and is often said with contempt ... By contrast, to be a 'man' is to be reasonable and honorable in the Roman mode."[10] Bonduca's feminine savagery is thus pitted against Caratach's manly Romanitas. It is of course of great interest to note that Caratach is not in fact a Roman but a Briton. This antithetical structure subordinates the secondary messages of ethnic origins and Jacobean political policy to that of honourable behaviour. The didactic device of juxtaposing models of good and bad behaviour in Renaissance plots was current, just as it is today, but here *Bonduca* demonstrates to what extent Fletcher

[8] Fletcher, A. & Stevenson, J (Eds.) *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. p. 32.
[9] Cotton-Pearse, N. *Chastity Plays, Mirrors of Modesty.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973. p. 64.
[10] Op. Cit., Green. p. 310.

sacrifices character to theme. Here Bonduca becomes a tool, a benchmark, by which such men as Caratach can be measured.

In *Bonduca* virtue and honour do not have the same values for men and women. In Fletcher's chastity plays fidelity and obedience are the two key values of womanhood and when discussing *The Loyal Subject,* Peter Berek notes that, "Good women are the custodians of the play's key concepts of virtue, but those virtues are most meaningful when enacted by a man."[11] Cotton-Pearse suspects Fletcher of provoking an audience to speculate about the meanings of virtue as she focuses her attention on his chastity plays.[12] She recognises that Fletcher was influenced by Spenser's chaste heroine, Britomart, in *The Faerie Queene*, when he created the character Clorin in *The Faithful Sheperdess.* Whilst some critics, such as Walter Greg and Clifford Leech understand Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* as a parody of the ideals of chastity,[13] Cotton-Pearse states that, on the contrary, "Fletcher's *Faithful Sheperdess* attempts to inculcate and glorify chastity. Clorin, like Britomart, becomes the guardian spirit, so to speak, of the love adventures of the other characters."[14] However, despite Spenser's influence on Fletcher's work, the failure of *The Faithful Shepherdess* on stage made Fletcher turn to other forms of representations of honour and chastity. Whilst Fletcher's Bonduca is a far cry from Spenser's Britomart and one in which the chastity test cannot be applied, since Bonduca is a widow and her two daughters have already been raped, she still retains some ideals of honour such as nationalism, courage and an independent spirit. Nevertheless, on the Jacobean stage she is clearly presented as a danger to social stability.

In this play we can suggest that the chastity test for women has been replaced by the test of honour for men; military obedience and fidelity to fellow soldiers is the man’s trial of strength. Cotton-Pearse clearly sees "the parallel forces of loyalty and chastity [as] masculine and feminine modes of honor"[15] and within *Bonduca* it is such masculine values as loyalty, reason and honour which are put to the test. The theme of honour is immediately introduced by Caratach in the opening scene of *Bonduca* when he says: "Discretion/ And hardie Valour are the twins of Honour" (I. i. 21-22). In this

[11] Berek, P. 'Cross-dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays.' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900.* Houston, Texas: The John Hopkins University Press. March 2002. p. 368.
[12] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. pp. 151, 210 & 233.
[13] Greg, w. *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama.* London. 1906. p. 274. Leech, C. *The John Fletcher Plays.* Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1962. pp. 40, 44. cf. Cotton-Pearse. p. 144.
[14] Ibid. Cotton-Pearse. p. 143.
[15] Ibid. Cotton-Pearse. p. 208.

play the Romans are depicted as the dominant race and are clearly admired for their heroic virtue and stoicism bringing civilisation to the conquered peoples. Just before the final battle Suetonius[16] addresses his men and reminds them of their heritage and code of honour: "We have swords, and are the sons of ancient Romans, /Heirs to their endlesse valours, fight and conquer" (III. ii. 80-81). When Penyus refuses to obey Suetonius' order to join him he deprives his own men of achieving honour in battle. Ashamed of his failure Penyus chooses a Roman death and falls on his own sword. However, this interpretation is not as clear-cut as at first it might appear. Bonduca's courage and honourable suicide are also shown. When the Roman commander, Decius asks Bonduca to surrender she replies: "I am unacquainted with that language, Roman" (IV. iv. 9). On the one hand we are presented with the disobedience of a Roman officer and the courageous refusal of Boudica to surrender but on the other hand Penyus is reticent in his own suicide and only falls on his sword after a long pause with Petillius who clearly speaks about the necessity of Penyus's suicide if he is to make amends for lost honour:

> The name of *Rome*, the voice of Arms, or Honour
> was known or heard of yet: he's certain dead,
> Or strongly means it; he's no souldier else,
> No Romane in him.
>
> (IV. iii. 45-48)

Bonduca has no such doubts; she takes her poison and dies "for the glories sake" (IV. iv. 138), that is her own code of honour in defending her family, her people and her land. Whilst Green may refer to the suicides of Bonduca and her daughters as "a sensational public spectacle"[17] in contrast to the private suicide of Penyus, their funerals are quite the opposite. Bonduca's death firmly removes her from the public stage whilst Penyus continues his funeral peregrination into the final act. Despite such poor military judgement and disobedience Penyus is held up by Caratach as a "piece of endlesse honour" (V. i. 71), and is given full military honours by Suetonius at his funeral. Such a conciliatory ending for Penyus is difficult to interpret. It is equally ironic to note that the one cowardly and treacherous character in the play is not a

[16] Fletcher's play includes two spellings for the Roman general's name. In the list of characters at the beginning it is given as "Suetonius" and within the play it is "Swetonius."
[17] Op. Cit., Green. p. 313.

Briton or a woman but the well-named Roman corporal, Judas who betrays the contract he made with Caratach for a fair and honourable fight.

Feminine honour was understood in altogether different terms. Honesty, obedience, silence and sexual purity, qualities which are absent in both of the daughters in *Bonduca,* were the founding stones of a woman's honour. Furthermore, in her examination of religious and social attitudes to female chastity in seventeenth century England Cotton-Pearse underscores the point that the chaste and honest woman had to appear to be so and she was responsible for protecting her honour, her chastity and her reputation.[18] This is transparently clear when Bonduca's second daughter says to her uncle, Caratach: "We will have vengeance for our rapes" (III. v. 69) to which he replies: "By _____/ You should have kept your legs close then" (III. v. 70). Accused of implicit compliance, the rape victims of the literary texts had only one recourse to prove non-complicity; suicide.

At the end of this play Bonduca’s first daughter refers to two Roman ladies, Lucrece and Portia, who had killed themselves for this reason (IV. iv. 115-119) and then she, too, commits suicide.[19] In Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Lavinia, who has been raped by Tamora's sons, is unable to commit suicide due to the mutilation of her body but she still has to die. In order to save her honour it is her father who stabs her in the final scene of the play:

> *Titus.* Die, die, Lavinia, and thy shame with thee;
> And with thy shame thy father's sorrow die!
> (V. iii. 46-47)

Here, it is not just Lavinia'a shame which is in play but also that of her family name. This is clearly recognised by Junius in *Bonduca* when he falls in love with Bonduca's second daughter and says to himself: "But to love there .../Mine honour dare not ask: shee has been ravish'd" (II. ii. 133-4). Because of the loss of her honour through rape Junius knows that he should not fall in love with Bonduca's daughter or his own honour would be compromised.

[18] Op. Cit. Cotton-Pearse. Chapter 4. pp. 55-56.

[19] The reference to Lucrece is discussed by Cotton-Pearse pp. 90-99, but Green points out Cotton-Pearse's oversight in not identifying the negative and ironic reference to Lucrece by Bonduca's daughter here. Green p. 314, note 24. Green cites the older daughter's interpretation of Lucrece's suicide as that of the abandoned lover and not that of the rape victim.

The new representations of powerful women such as Bonduca and Tamora may reflect male anxiety regarding the independent woman. Entering the debate on the 'gender war' of the period such women were seen only as dangerous deviants, as rare exceptions, "such as God, by singular priviledge, and for certain causes ... hath exempted from the common ranke of women."[20] Coming from such a misogynist as Knox this was only a conciliatory note for Elizabeth's benefit when she became the first Protestant queen of England, and although he cites such biblical precedents as Deborah and Hulda (Judges IV, Parables III) he adds that these examples do not establish common law.[21]

The polemic surrounding female rule was hotly debated throughout the sixteenth century but with the passing of the Tudor dynasty the new era of Jacobean England sought to re-establish the conservative social order of woman on the bottom, and it exploited a number of communication tools at its disposal, such as the visual arts and the written text. Represented as sexual anomalies crossing social and moral laws on gender roles women's transgressions threatened the established social hierarchy and often led to a dramatic and bloody end. In the texts of *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* we also see the birth of a new world order of peace under the guiding hand of man.

The new masculine reign of James I was celebrated by such panegyrics as "O happy English, that have no more women and children for your king, but a king full of strength."[22] Julie Crawford even sees Fletcher's *Bonduca* as "a parody, or at least a representation, of Elizabeth," showing Bonduca and her daughters as "gender-subversive women." [23] What is more, the memory of the late Queen Elizabeth was suppressed wherever possible as were a number of other powerful women from history; they were either discredited or softened. The Duke of Sully, Maximilian de Béthune, wrote in his memoirs: "So great an affectation prevailed [at court] to obliterate the memory of that great princess, that she was never spoke of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided."[24] Although Daniel Woolf disagrees with

[20] Knox, J. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women. 1558.* p. 374. cf. Jordan, C. 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought,' *Renaissance Quarterly,* 40, (1987), pp. 421-51. p. 432.
[21] Ibid. Jordan. pp. 436-437.
[22] Marcus, L. *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. p. 4. cf. Crawford. p. 376.
[23] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 360.
[24] *Memoirs of Maxmilian de Béthune, Duke of Sully,* trans. Lennox, Charlotte. London, 1756 in Bergeron. D. *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland.* Columbia and London: University Of Missouri Press, 1991. pp. 85-6. Cf. Crawford. Op. Cit., p. 360.

this verdict[25] it should be remembered that Elizabeth had, after all, executed James's mother and that it was only when he had succeeded to the throne of England that he was free to remember this and remember this he apparently did. Basing her evidence on posthumous images of Elizabeth, Julia Walker argues, quite convincingly, that James revised Elizabeth's position in English history by ordering the re-location of both Elizabeth's tomb and his mother's, giving greater prominence to Mary's monument which effectively demoted Elizabeth's position in the Tudor line.[26] If we accept the view that Bonduca may be a fragment of Elizabeth's mirror image it is certainly supported by the fact, already mentioned, that Bonduca's burial is not shown in the play.

As for Boudica, Crawford compares the representations of Boudica under Elizabeth I with those under James and finds that "the mythological and literary representations of Boadicea changed dramatically after James's ascension, softening and domesticating her into powerlessness."[27] Women who did not conform were made to conform or were sanctioned; pushed to the margins of society as witches, Amazons or wild animals, where they had to be tamed, broken in through violence in order to be re-integrated into the nation through marriage. According to Crawford the women in Fletcher's play, *The Tragedie of Bonduca*, performed under James I, are represented as witches[28] and although I can find no direct reference to them as such, the religious frenzy of the three women is seen as driven by obdurate and blood-thirsty revenge, which is rebuked by Caratach: "Cease your fretful prayers, your whinings, and your tame petitions; the gods love courage arm'd with confidence."[29] Further on they are called "follies"[30] and Britain is said to be a country emasculated by the misrule of women and priests.[31]

The archetype of the independent woman though was that of the Amazon whose nation was thought to lie on the fringes of the known world which, for the ancient Greeks, was the Black Sea, although descriptions of its geographical location were always vague and contradictory. Whilst the closest etymological meaning of Amazon

[25] Woolf, D.R. 'Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory.' Vol 20, p.167-91, *Canadian Journal of History,* 1985.
[26] Walker, J. M. 'Posthumous Images of Elizabeth and Stuart Politics' in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of 'Glorianna'.* Walker, J. M. (Editor). North Caroline: Duke University, 1998. pp. 252-276.
[27] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 359.
[28] Ibid. Crawford. p. 362.
[29] III. i. 54-55.
[30] III. v. 67.
[31] I. ii. 200-205.

is 'breastless' (*a mazos*),[32] which was apparently self-inflicted and easier for hunting and war, the Amazons themselves were often described as beautiful femmes fatales that the ancient heroes could fall in love with, marry and die for; Achilles fell in love with and killed the Amazon queen, Penthesilea, and Theseus married Hyppolyta. Examples of such couples are found in a number of Elizabethan plays, such as Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream,* and we now need to examine the darker side to such representations.

For John Knox Amazons "were monstrous women that coulde not abide the regiment of men and ....killed their husbands."[33] Whilst used only as exotic curios to embellish pageants and court masques in the early modern period (they performed in a pageant celebrating the christening of James's son, Henry, in 1594, and they sang and danced in a masque within Shakespeare's play, *Timon of Athens)* they soon came to represent a wilder and indomitable side to human nature. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* the Amazon queen, Radigund, is represented as a voracious man-eater and indigestible female, the antithesis of Britomart. Under Elizabeth, Boudica was identified with such warriors as Britomart but under James she was also identified with the more violent and unnatural 'viragoe' of Fletcher's *Tragedie of Bonduca.*

Despite Thomas Heywood's positive use of the word "virago" in his *Exemplary Lives* of 1640 in which he describes these women as "derived of Masculine Spirits and ... Martial Enterprises"[34] others were more critical. William Prynne describes such women as "Impudent, and mannish Viragoes, or audacious Men-Women."[35] In Fletcher's *Bonduca* the stereotype of such a woman is seen in the queen who poses a threat to gender roles, national identity and social stability. Alas, her widowhood, which has opened the door to her emancipation and power as a woman, raises the proleptic spectre of a nation destabilised by female rule and defenceless against enemy attack. Bonduca is a queen and martial leader, and had been identified as such by Tacitus's description of her as "dux" (military commander) in *The Agricola* (16), but in this play the queen's military leadership is replaced by that of Caratach's. Caratach is

---

[32] Kirk, I. 'Images of Amazons: Marriage and Matriarchy' (pp. 27-39), *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives.* Macdonald, S. Holden, P. Ardener, S. (Eds.) Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1988. p. 28.

[33] Knox, J. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women. 1558* published on the internet; www.swrb.com/newslett/actualnls/FirBlast.htm and quoted in Shepherd, S. *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. p. 14.

[34] Heywood, T. *Exemplary Lives* (1640) in Green. Op. Cit., p. 309.

[35] Prynne, W. *The Vnlouelinesse, of Loue-Locke.* London, 1628. Ibid. Green quoting Carroll Camden, *The Elizabethan Woman.* Houston, New York, and London: Elsevier Press, 1952. p. 267.

represented as the adversary to the Roman attack, not Bonduca (I. ii. 126). However, just as the historical Boudica was given a regiment of women to lead in Boece's Scottish account so, too, is Bonduca in Fletcher's play:

> *Caratach.* Come, worthy Lady,
> Let's to our several charges, and henceforth
> Allow an enemy both weight and worth.
>
> (I. i. 186)

It is of passing interest to note the double sense of the word 'charge' here. Indeed both Caratach and Bonduca have responsibilities and regiments to charge the enemy but they also have their children to look after (Bonduca; her two daughters and Caratach; their nephew). Yet within the course of the play Bonduca is shown to be an incompetent and irresponsible war leader, not to mention a poor mother. She is not “a conqueror,” (I. i. l23) “but a talker” (I. i. 24) whose gender disqualifies her from understanding military strategy. The war tactics of Bonduca and her daughters are determined by sexual traps and treachery, which Caratach calls “a woman’s wisdome” (III. v. 67). Not only is Bonduca ignorant of the rules of war but she is given complete responsibility for Britain's defeat when Caratach, outraged by her inexplicable error of judgement, cries:

> *Caratach.* Charge 'em i'th' flanks: O ye have plaid the fool,
> The fool extremely, the mad fool.
>
> *Bonduca.* Why Cosin?
>
> *Caratach.* The woman fool. Why did you give the word
> Unto the carts to charge down, and our people
> In grosse before the Enemie? We pay for't,
> Our own swords cut our throats: Why? -------- on't,
>
> (III. v. 126-131)

Throughout the play the women who interfere in the affairs of men are insulted as "ye sluts, ye follies" (III. v. 67), "whore" (I. ii. 26), "the devils dam" (II. ii. 270), "jade" (II. iii. 25), "monster" (III. v. 36) and "talkers" (I. i. 24). They disrupt the harmony of the masculine sphere of war which is apparent when Caratach finds that his nieces have captured Junius and his men in a love snare. He immediately tells his subordinates to “Bear off the women/Unto their Mother” (III. v. 80-81) and when the second daughter

protests Caratach adds: “One cut her fiddle-string” (III. v. 83), meaning her tongue in order to silence her, but this was also a common metaphor for disharmony.[36]

Initial British successes are attributed to Caratach's sound military judgement, and defeat comes only when Bonduca uses her own initiative. In his monologue at the very beginning of the fifth act, which is dominated by Caratach following Bonduca's death he castigates Bonduca for her treacherous leadership in the final battle which has effectively led to the loss of the war, the destruction of the nation and of the very fabric of society with the loss of an entire generation of men:

Caratach. O thou woman,
Thou agent for adversities, what curses
This day belong to thy improvidence?
To *Britanie* by thy means, what sad millions
Of widows weeping eyes? The strong mans valour
Thou hast betraid to fury; the childes fortune
To fear, and want of friends: whose pieties
Might wipe his mournings off, and build his sorrows
A house of rest by his blest ancestors:
The virgins thou has rob’d of all their wishes,
Blasted their blowing hopes, turn’d their songs,
Their mirthful Marriage songs to Funerals,
The Land thou hast left a wilderness of wretches.

(V. i. 3-15)

Britain is now "a wilderness of wretches," a land of lost souls which, according to Jodi Mikalachki, would have been Boudica's legacy to Britain if she had been victorious against the Romans and one which has left its mark in British history: "the fear of collapsing into such grotesquely feminized savagery is Boadicea's legacy to early English nationalism."[37]

As a mother Boudica is shown to be unnatural, harsh and infanticidal by forcing her second daughter to commit suicide. Suetonius pleads with her to spare her children: "Woman, woman/ Unnatural woman" (IV. iv. 92) to which the second daughter cries:

2. Daughter. O perswade her, Romanes:
Alas, I am young, and would live. Noble mother,

[36] See the painting, *The Ambassadors* (1533), which shows a number of objects on the bottom shelf representing disharmony, such as the lute with the broken string.
[37] Mikalachki, J. *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation*. London: Routledge, 1998. p. 15.

Can ye kill that ye gave life? are my yeers
Fit for destruction?

Swetonius. Yeeld, and be a Queen still,
A mother, and a friend.

(IV. iv. 93-96)

Caratach on the other hand is represented as the caring, protective maternal figure for Hengo. In the initial stage directions in Fletcher's foul papers Bonduca enters with "(*hir Daughter)* **Hengo:** *(hir Sonne)* **Nennius :& Soldiers.**"[38] She was thus Hengo's mother but this was amended to 'aunt' and the one daughter was given a sister. We can say then that Caratach was later chosen by Fletcher to play the maternal role to Hengo in order to create a binary opposition between the destructive maternity of Bonduca's protection of her daughters and the caring maternity of Caratach.

Of Caratach's role Mikalachki notes: "Caratach takes on the maternal role [...] His whole concern in this last act is the nursing and feeding of the boy, Hengo, who is dying of sickness and hunger after the British defeat. Caratach's language to the boy is tender and protective."[39] The role of the mother has been appropriated by Caratach which in effect reverses the traditional gender identities of the sexes. In this play Bonduca may be the Queen mother but it is really Caratach who is the king and, like James, the new "loving nourish father" to his people.[40] However, two points need to be added regarding Fletcher's representation of Bonduca's motherhood here. Firstly, she refuses to charge the enemy's lines until she knows where her daughters are and that they are safe (III. v. 55-56). Secondly, Bonduca and the first daughter invoke suicide as the only means to protect their honour from the charge of whoredom (IV. iv. 96-97) and in order to protect them from further rapes (IV. iv. 110-111). With these arguments the second daughter finds the courage to kill herself. Although both Bonduca's and Caratach's roles ends in the death of their children we witness once again the exclusion of women from their maternal role.

Another facet of Bonduca's responsibility to her people is that of religious leader. At the beginning of Act three we witness the ritual act of sacrifice. A number of Britons enter, including the druids, who are singing, Bonduca's second daughter,

[38] Fletcher, John. *Bonduca.* Wilson, F.P. (ed.) The Malone Society Reprints. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1951. p. 2. See also p. xiii in the preface.
[39] Op. Cit., Mickalachki. p. 105.
[40] Orgel, S. 'Jonson and the Amazons' in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry.* ed. Harvey, E.D. Eisaman Maus, K. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990. pp 119-39 & p. 26.

strewing flowers, followed by Bonduca, the first daughter, Caratach and Nennius. In her religious role Bonduca must conjure the British gods for victory against the Romans, but her speech sounds more like an incantation to the dead and she gets no response (III. i. 1-18). Nennius and the two girls also speak, demanding revenge for their lost virginity but the sacrificial fire refuses to light. It is only when the second daughter appeals to the gods because of their dishonoured chastity that the fire begins to smoke (III. i. 50). Yet it is finally Caratach who manages to light the sacrificial fire and receives the divine sign from the gods to fight. Chastising the others he says:

> Cease your fretfull prayers,
> Your whinings and your tame petitions;
> The gods love courage arm'd with confidence,
> And prayers fit to pull them down: weak tears
> And troubled hearts, the dull twins of cold spirits,
> They sit and smile at.
>
> (III. i. 54-58)

He then calls upon the male god, *Andate,* to protect "thy little Britain" (III. i. 69) and when he promises to sacrifice his first victim on Andate's altar a flame rises giving them "leave to fight" (III. i. 77). Demonised by Caratach, Boudica relinquishes her religious role to her cousin.

The only public place in which some women could play a political role was seemingly in that of prophesy, a role played by the witches in *Macbeth*, yet even this position could be usurped by man as it was by Archbishop Cranmer at Elizabeth's christening in *Henry VIII.* It is interesting to note in passing the huge discrepancy between the prophetic role assigned to woman and that assigned to man; the former was that of the witch and the second held an official position of power as a priest. In a further suppression of a woman's place in religion Fletcher has inversed the ancient text of Dio so that the goddess, Andraste/Andate,[41] the Britons' goddess of war and victory, becomes the male god, Andate (III. i. 59 & 74), and it is Caratach, not Bonduca, who receives the divine sign from the sacrificial fire upon the alter. In this way Bonduca is abandoned by the gods, whilst Caratach is blessed by them.

As we witness here the patriarchal social order was reaffirmed in the literary and non-literary texts of the period, just as it was in the social and economic institutions of

[41] Dio Cassius. *Roman History* (Loeb Classical Library). London: Harvard University Press, 1995. lxii, 6 p.93 & lxii, 7, 3 p. 95.

the household, education and the church. It was also re-affirmed at court as an interesting anecdote from James's court demonstrates. When a "learned maid,"[42] dedicated her *Musea Virginea*, a book of verse written in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, German, French and Italian, to James I in 1616 and was presented to the King he only responded by asking: "But can she spin?"[43] This seemed to set the tone for his reign and is certainly reflected in Fletcher's *Bonduca* when Caratach tells his nieces to "Learn to spin, /And curse your knotted hemp" (III. v. 83).

The androcentrism of James's court is apparent in the visual representations of the family in the period. Naturally the iconography had to change after Elizabeth's death simply because the long rule of a virgin queen was followed by that of a family man. James was married and he did have children, including a male heir to the throne and he saw his role as that of "fatherlie authority"[44] to the nation. When James ascended the throne of England in 1603 he declared to Parliament that as a father figure he would provide his people with "their own nourish-milk." He also added: "I am the husband and the whole island is my lawful wife; I am the head, and it is my body."[45] This illustrates James's views concerning his paternal dominion over the family and the nation. A good example of this ideology is to be found in Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, c. 1628-1631, which expounds civil authority as coming from that of paternal dominion and he states "That the first kings were fathers of families."[46] What is more, "this process was particularly dependent on the patriarchal subordination of what Hobbes called the 'Dominion in the Mother,' or the primal authority of mothers over their children,"[47] Mikalachki records. Catherine Belsey also makes an interesting point when discussing the "recurrent disappearance of mothers from interpretations of the fifth commandment [honour thy father and thy mother]"[48] during the Jacobean period when the emphasis was laid more on the father as the head of the family and of the state which effectively excluded any authoritative place for wives.

[42] The "learned maid" is that of the highly educated Bathsua Makin, identified on the site; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bathsua_Makin
[43] Wilson, V.A. *Society Women of Shakespeare'sTime,* London, 1924, p.177, cf. Shepherd. Op. Cit., p.148.
[44] James VI of Scotland. *Basilikon Doron.* Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, printer to the kings Maiestie. 1599. James' treatise on kingship, cf. Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature.* California: Standford University Press, 1989. p. 85.
[45] Op. Cit., Orgel. p.126.
[46] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. p. 77.
[47] Ibid. Mikalachki. p. 117.
[48] Belsey, C. *The Subject of Tragedy.* London: Methuen, 1985.p. 158.

The visual representations of the Jacobean family increased, and these often showed the patriarchal order of the family whereby the father was seen standing, sometimes alone and at a considerable distance from his seated wife and child, as in one of the official portraits of James's son, Charles I.[49] This painting represents an ideological mirror of society with the wide gap in the middle of the canvas between the king (the patriarchal father) and his wife and child, which symbolises the space between nature and power. We can interpret this symbolic space as one which underlines the gender differences between the woman's maternal place in nature and the man's role as the patriarchal figurehead in the civilised world of culture and power.

The renowned misogyny of James I and his admiration for the masculine Roman values of heroic virtue, culture and stoicism was apparent in such homoerotic plays as *Bonduca*, in the disempowerment of women in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queenes*, and in James' own treatise on Kingship, *Basilikon Doron*, in which he advises his son on how to choose a wife:

> Remember to choose your Wife as I aduised you to choose your seruants: that shee be of a whole and cleane race, not subject to the hereditary sicknesses, either of the soule or the bodie: For if a man will bee carefull to breed horses and dogges of good kindes, howe much more carefull should he be, for the breed of his owne loynes?
>
> (*Basilikon Doron,* the Second Booke. p. 95)

And James further gives advice to his son on how to manage this wife:

> Treate her as your owne flesh, command her as her Lorde, cheerish her as your helper: Rule her as your pupill: please her in all thinges reasonable; but teach her not to bee curious in thinges that belongeth her not: ye are the head, shee is your bodie: it is your office to command and hers to obey."
>
> (*Basilikon Doron,* the Second Booke.p. 97-8)

Placing women in the same category as servants and domestic animals, they were to be subservient to man's will.

Thus the rhetorical and literary texts of the period signal a re-enforcement of traditional roles for women in the family, in the home, in the domestic sphere under patriarchal control. The progressive domestication of women in the seventeenth

[49] Henrick Pot. *Charles I and his family* in Goldberg, Jonathan. 'Fatherlie Authority' in Ferguson, M.W. Quilligan, M. Vickers, N. J. *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986. p.19.

century was accelerated under the reign of James I as images of women were taken out of the fields of politics, war, religion and history and were put back into the home where they became submissive wives and gentle mothers. This was particularly true of representations of powerful women who were gradually reconceptualised into powerlessness. In the case of Boudica she was transformed from Spenser's proud and courageous warrior queen of the Elizabethan period into Heywood's "comely lady" in 1640[50] and into a "fragile blossom"[51] by the end of the century, whilst during the Jacobean period in particular she loses her name as we see in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and Fletcher's *Bonduca*. Although she may begin with a name in *Bonduca* it is rarely used. Instead her name is frequently replaced by generic insults such as "woman fool" (III. v. 128).

The denigration of representations of powerful women under James I can possibly be traced back to his earlier education under George Buchanan in Scotland. Writing his patriotic and patriarchal *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* in 1582, Buchanan considers the place of women to be in the home: "'Tis no less unbecoming a woman to pronounce Judgment, to levy Forces, to conduct an Army, to give a Signal to the Battle, than it is for a Man to tease Wool, to handle the Distaff, to Spin or Card, and to perform the other Services of the Weaker Sex," he writes.[52] Further on he gives the examples of powerful women from the past that had taken up arms and led the country to military defeat.[53] What a contrast then with the earlier work of Hector Boece writing his *Scotorum Historiae* under James V in 1526 because Boece's literary prose celebrating the nation <u>had</u> included many examples of powerful and successful women from the past such as Voada.

Nevertheless there were representations of powerful women, written by both men and women, such as Bon Jonson's *Masque of Queenes* (1609) in which Boudica is one of the twelve virtuous women chosen to live in the House of Fame and, recalling the words of Spenser, Jonson writes:

---

[50] Heywood. *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of the Nine Most Worthy Women of the World,* London, 1640, p.72. cf. Crawford, Op. Cit., p.375, note 15.
[51] Fraser, A. *Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens.* London: Arrow, 1999. p. 324.
[52] Phillips, James. E. Jr. 'The Woman Ruler in Spenser's Faerie Queene' (pp 211-234) in *Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* 1941-2. p. 220.
[53] These ideas were given further support by Jean Bodin's *Six Livres de la République* (Paris, 1576) which were studied in Latin at the universities of London and Cambridge and widely circulated in political debate. On the political and catastrophic role of a woman's sovereignty he writes: "the Commonweale must needs so be in great daunger: For that the people being of a great and couragious spirit, will deeme a womans gouernment but ignominous, and not long to be endured." Cf. Phillips. p. 219.

> Since she (Boudica) was born here at home, we will first honor her with a home-born testimony, from the grave and diligent Spenser (Ruins of Time [106-11])
>
> Bunduca Britoness...
> Bunduca, that victorious conqueress,
> That, lifting up her brave, heroic thought
> 'Bove women's weakness, with the Romans fought;
> Fought, and in field against them thrice prevailed, etc.[54]

There were also a number of other pamphlets written in defence of women against the male oppression of the times such as Esther Sowernam's *Esther hath hanged Haman* (1617) in which Sowernam includes "the Valiant Boadicea, that defended the liberty of her Countrey, against the strength of the *Romans,* when they were at their greatest, and made them feele that a woman could conquer them who had conquered almost all the men of the then known world."[55] Sowernam's pamphlet, as is suggested by its title, was written in riposte to Joseph Swetnam's attack on women in his tract, *The Arraignment of Women*.[56] There were also literary texts such as Lady Hay's *The Masque of Amazons* (c.1617). Unfortunately the court performance of this masque was cancelled by James just before, and generally speaking historians suggest that the Jacobean period was particularly hazardous for the independent woman.[57]

The independent, assertive, quarrelsome, scolding, extravagant or immodest woman may have been perceived as a threat to the social order in the early modern period;[58] she certainly played a number of negative and comical roles in the literary texts such as the witch, the shrew, the whore or the Amazon. She was seen as rebelling against social norms and was pushed to the margins of society where she was shown as being disruptive, disorderly and a danger to public order. Those women who did challenge the gender hierarchy were often ridiculed, punished and sometimes even executed.[59] In Heywood's play, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), the central

[54] Jonson's appendix to the *Masque of Queenes* on p. 545.
[55] Ester Sowernam. *Ester hath hang'd Haman: or An Ansvvere to a Lewd Pamphlet, entituled, the Arraignment of Women.* London: N. Bourne, 1617. p. 19. See also Mikalachki. Op. Cit., p.122-123.
[56] Underdown, D.E. 'The Taming of the Scold.' Op. Cit., Fletcher & Stevenson. p. 118.
[57] Ibid. Underdown's chapter; 'The Taming of the Scold.' pp. 116-136.
[58] Ibid. Fletcher and Stevenson. p. 32, and Underdown who gives information about the court records of the times which reflected a "preoccupation with women who are a visible threat to the patriarchal system." p. 119.
[59] For more information see Mendelson, Sara. Crawford, Patricia. *Women in Early Modern England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. pp.79-80.

character, Anne deceives her husband and is then exiled from her home and separated from her children. The remorseful Anne starves herself to death. As she lies dying she is finally forgiven by her husband, but her death is the price to be paid for her re-instatement into the family. This episode is discussed by Belsey in her chapter, 'Silence and Speech' in which she concludes: "the reconciliation with Anne, who has sinned, is conditional on her death, the ultimate silence."[60] We can conclude with the axiom that a woman's place was thus one of silence.

Taming the Heart of the Wild.

In Fletcher's *Bonduca* when Junius cries:

> Why should not I
> Doat on my horse well trapt, my sword well hatch'd?
> They are as handsom things, to mee more usefull,
> And possible to rule too.
>
> (II. ii. 28-31)

he is stating that a horse and a sword are easier to rule than a woman. Yet I would like to suggest that this play in particular deals with the patriarchal objective of domesticating the rebellious woman. In the previous section I briefly discussed female rebels such as the witch and the Amazon but I did not discuss the logical extension of the rebellious woman as a wild animal. Through the deaths of Bonduca and of her two daughters we see that the strategies employed by the male protagonists to tame the women end in failure and Bonduca remains free, albeit dead. With reference to *The Taming of the Shrew* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* I would now like to highlight how Fletcher's own treatment of rebellious women, such as Bonduca and her daughters, feeds into the social idea of the disobedient woman as something wild and free that has to be broken-in through intimidation, violence and rape in order

[60] Op. Cit., Belsey. p. 177.

to be re-integrated into society through marriage. The war of the sexes is seen as the progressive taming of the female by the male through violence and marriage but we shall see that the women of the literary texts did not go down without a fight, in every sense of the word.

Outside of marriage a woman is also outside of society and belongs to the realm of nature. As such she is often depicted as something wild which must be tamed. The taming of Kate in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* is a good example of this. Kate's disobedience is taken up as a challenge by Petruccio when he cries:

> Thou must be married to no man but me:
> For I am he am born to tame thee Kate.
> And bring you from a wild Kate to a Kate
> Conformable, as other household Kates.
>
> (II. i. 268-271)

Within this play the battle of the sexes is determined by the man's strength in subduing a recalcitrant woman, and the metaphors used are those of breaking-in a wild animal, animals which go from the shrew of the title, to wild cats, horses and birds of prey. This was not a new idea. In 195 BC Cato was reported to have said: "Woman is a violent and uncontrolled animal, and it is no good giving her the reins and expecting her not to kick over the traces."[61] However, by the end of *The Taming of the Shrew* Kate utters the following words:

> I am ashamed, that women are so simple
> To offer war, where they should kneel for peace;
> Or seek for rule, supremacy, and sway,
> When they are bound to serve, love, and to obey,
> Why are our bodies soft, and weak, and smooth,
> Unapt to toil and trouble in the world,
> But that oure soft conditions, and our hearts,
> Should well agree with our external parts.
>
> (V. ii. 161-169)

Such a complete betrayal of the independent and rebellious Kate of the beginning leaves one wondering whether she is actually serious, and one suspects and hopes that this is only tongue-in-cheek, ironic rhetoric, just as Fletcher probably did when he wrote the sequel to Shakespeare's play, *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer*

---

[61] Livy, cf. Fraser, Op. Cit., p.63.

Tam'd, in which Petruccio's second wife determines upon a sex strike in order to tame him.[62] However, Underdown reminds his readers that "although it is tempting for a modern audience [of *The Taming of the Shrew*] to take Kate's final speech ironically - 'Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper/ Thy head, thy sovereign' ... the fact is that it expresses fairly accurately the ideal of husband-wife relations propounded by countless Elizabethan sermons and conduct books."[63] It is equally important to bear in mind that by the end of this play Kate has been tamed by marriage and broken-in by a husband who, in the course of a few days, has deprived his wife of food and sleep until defeated she becomes the perfect, docile and obedient wife, which concludes the happy ending of this romantic comedy.

In another romantic comedy, that of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazons is also subdued by the man she is to marry. Theseus, the Duke of Athens, has won Hippolyta's love after defeating her in battle:

Theseus. Hippolyta, I woo'd thee with my sword,
And won thy love doing thee injuries;
But I will wed thee in another key,
(I. i. 7-9)

The "injuries" refers to Theseus's rape of the Amazon queen. Their fight and the defeat of Hippolyta through rape seems to symbolise the ritual passage of a female into marriage and thus into womanhood. Traditionally, marriage was seen as domesticating the Amazon woman by integrating her into society.[64] However, Montrose also indicates that the danger of the independent woman was seen in terms of her "seductive and destructive powers,"[65] and that "Theseus' ...habitual victimization of women, the chronicle of his rapes and disastrous marriages, is a discourse of anxious misogyny which persists as an echo within Shakespeare's text, no matter how much it has been muted or transformed."[66] The same can be said of Fletcher.

---

[62] Op. Cit., McMullan. p. 157.
[63] Op. Cit., Fletcher and Stevenson. p. 117.
[64] Macdonald, S. 'Drawing the Lines – Gender, Peace and War: An Introduction,' Op. Cit., MacDonald, Holden, Ardener. p. 6.
[65] Montrose, L.A. ' "Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture.' *Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Stephen Greenblatt. London. University of California Press, 1988. p. 45.
[66] Ibid. Montrose. p. 45.

As noted in these two plays the images and means used to break-in a woman could be both violent and sexual and this is possibly due to the representation of sexually active Amazons, such as Spenser's Radigund in *The Faerie Queene*, as a threat to male identity and power. Amazons were placed on the outside of society for whom marriage signified their entry into patriarchal civility and slavery. This was expressed by André Thevet, a sixteenth century writer, when writing that the Amazons understood very well "that Patromonie was not a meane of libertie but of thraldome."[67] Marjorie Garber puts the same interpretation on marriage when discussing Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's *The Roaring Girle*, *or Moll Cut-Purse* (1611), a play which fictionalises the life of Mary Frith, known as Moll Cutpurse. Mary Frith had gained a reputation as a virago in the early seventeenth century because of her independent and assertive spirit and because of her cross-dressing. In this play the heroine, Mary Fitzallard marries Sebastian but Moll, who has assisted them in their plans to marry, refuses the married state for herself. When asked by Lord Noland when she will marry Moll answers:

> Who I my Lord? I'le tell you when, i'faith,
> When you shall heare
> Gallants voyd from serieants' feare,
> Honesty and truth vnslandred,
> Woman man'd, but neuer pandered,
> Cheates booted, but not coach't,
> Vessels older e're they'r broach't:
> If my minde be then not varied,
> Next day following, I'le be married.
>
> (M2. V. ii) [68]

In other words, never. Her answer of 'never' to marriage is because of the "social enslavement" it entails for women.[69]

Unfortunately for those women who did not wish to enter such 'enslavement' as we saw with *The Taming of the Shrew* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the actions of the men in bringing the unruly woman to heel is through the use of physical and sexual violence. If we turn to *The Tragedie of Bonduca*, we learn that the attempt to tame the female characters has already occurred before the opening of the play; Bonduca has

---

[67] Thevet, A. *The newe founde Worlde,* trans. London: Henrie Bynneman, 1568. p. 102r. cf. Montrose. p. 38.
[68] Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker. *The Roaring Girle*, *or Moll Cut-Purse*. London: Thomas Archer, 1611.
[69] Garber, M. 'The Logic of the Transvestite.' pp. 257-269. Cf. Aram Veeser, H. (Editor) *The New Historicism Reader.* London & New York: Routledge, 1994. p. 264.

already been flogged by the Romans: "they abus'd me" (I. i. 146), which is the only reference to her historical whipping, and her two daughters have been raped. The reference to the second daughter as “crackt i’ th’ ring”(I. ii. 271) can be a reference to her mental balance but its primary meaning is the loss of her virginity through rape. The 'ring' in early modern English had several meanings amongst which two are applicable here; the ring as the female vagina and the ring as the *gyrus*, a training ring for breaking-in horses.[70] Not only has she been “crackt” open by rape but she has also been broken-in like a horse.

This interpretation can be supported by the fact that the men are called "stallion[s]" (II. ii. 45) whilst the women are called "jades." In the scene where the two daughters have captured a number of Romans and are threatening to torture their prisoners the language is full of sexual innuendo. When the first daughter threatens Judas with torture: "Ye shall be set, Sir,/Upon a jade shall shake ye"(II. iii. 24), he responds with: "Sheets, good Madam,/Will do it ten times better" (II. iii. 25). And as we see in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Act Three ends with Puck's words: "The man shall have his mare again,/ And all shall be well" (III. ii. 463-4). In a more violent scenario Christopher Highley discusses Shakespeare's *Henry IV* in which he makes the parallel between the masculine vitality of fighting on horseback and the "riding" of women. Highley understands Vernon's description of the armoured prince, Hal, at the battle of Shrewsbury as referring to a man who is endowed "with a precocious sexual energy and presents his skill at horsemanship - 'he vaulted with such ease into his seat' (IV. i. 108) ... [as] a foreshadowing of the princes 'riding' of women."[71]

In another of Fletcher's plays, *The Little French Lawyer* (c. 1619-1623), written in collaboration with Massinger, one of the main characters, Dinant, is in love with Lamira and continues his love-suit to her despite her recent marriage to an older man chosen for her by her father. The obedient Lamira protects her chastity but is also amused and flattered by Dinant's attentions and so plays tricks on him. Exasperated by her taunts he finally threatens to rape her in order to break her wilful spirit:

> break that stubborn disobedient will,
> That hath so long held out; that boasted honour,
> I will make equal with a common whore's;
> The spring of chastity, that fed your pride,

[70] Partridge, E. *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English.* London: George Routledge, 1937.
[71] Highley, C. *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis In Ireland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 105.

And grew into a river of vain glory,
I will defile ...

(V. i. 243-48)[72]

The idea of breaking-in wild animals seems to have been applicable to both women and children as Lawrence Stone observes in his chapter on 'The Reinforcement of Patriarchy': "in the seventeenth century the early training of children was directly equated with the bating of hawks or the breaking-in of young horses or hunting dogs."[73] Such a tradition is clearly placed as one of the heritages of the humanist education in the Classics. Stephen Orgel writes that "From Plato onward, horsemanship had served as a symbol for the imposition of reason upon the wildness of nature or the violence of the passions."[74] This is indeed the message of the painting of *Charles I on Horseback* (c.1635-6) by Sir Anthony Van Dyck which presents the armoured king on horseback as an absolute monarch surveying a tranquil and tamed landscape below him.[75]

Returning to the rape victims as noted earlier they had two courses of action in order to save themselves from dishonour; that of suicide or that of marriage to their rapist. Even if marriage did not save them from the charge of complicity at least it saved their honour, their place in society and their lives. In a different historical reference to Boudica's daughters, that of Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland*, the eldest daughter was afterwards given in marriage to the man who had raped her: "ye eldest was gevin in mariage to ane wailzeant Roman namyt Marius, quhilk bereft hir virginite afoir."[76] This implicitly recognises that the woman is saved from dishonour through marriage with her rapist. Worse still, the woman is often held responsible for her own rape, as we saw earlier when discussing the alternative of suicide in order to prove non-complicity.

In Fletcher's play, *The Queene of Corinth* (1617) another rape victim, that of Merione, should traditionally plead for death but instead she pleads for marriage when she says to Theanor:

[72] cf. Cotton-Pearse. Op. Cit., p. 203.
[73] Stone, L. The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800. London: Penguin, 1979. p. 116.
[74] Orgel, S. 'The Role of the King.' pp. 35-45. Op. Cit., Aram Veeser. p. 40.
[75] Morgan, Kenneth (Ed.). *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984. p. 309.
[76] Boece, Hector. *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 1527, trans. (into Scots) John Bellenden, 1531, reprinted in 1936. Edinburgh and London: Chambers and Batho, vol. L, p. 147.

> You have had your foul will; make it yet fair with marriage;
> Open your self and take me, wed me now.
>
> (II. i.18)

Following Cotton-Pearse's analysis of this play we can concur with her view that "Merione is a Christianised Lucrece in that she does not contemplate suicide as a remedy for rape."[77] Instead she intends to "live a poor recluse Nun" until she dies or "till Heaven shall ... send me comfort" (II. ii. 25). The "comfort" in question would be the eventual marriage to the man who had raped her.[78]

Perhaps this view of female resistance to sex had a little to do with the popular idea that originated with Ovid that women might put up a fight but she always gives in, and this, for Ovid, was all the pleasure of sex.[79] Ovid's books about love, seduction and love remedies were notorious in his time, and were still very popular among the libertine youths of sixteenth and seventeenth century England, according to Simon Shepherd's analysis of "royal antipathy to women" and its accompanying "fashion for anti-female humour and literature."[80]

The notion of rape as a crime is ambiguous in a number of the Jacobean plays. In reality it was certainly a crime and even priests lost the benefit of clergy after 1576 if they were convicted of rape.[81] However, rape within marriage was not a crime and was only recognised as such in the British courts in 1991. If we return to the literary texts of the early modern period rape could prove a man's virility and/or his position of power within his community. This seems to be the case in a number of Fletcher's chastity plays although Cotton-Pearse inserts a certain caveat into this interpretation of Fletcher's plays when she writes: "it is ... reasonable to assume that some component of the so-called Elizabethan world picture has been lost to us, and that this loss makes us unable to see the didactic qualities in the Fletcherian plays."[82]

Certainly the initial critics of Fletcher's plays commended them for their didactic benefit in teaching correct and virtuous behaviour for the two genders and it is certainly of interest to note that the one man who carries the symbolic red beard of the virile male is the villain Judas in *The Tragedie of Bonduca.*[83] If rape was only of

[77] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. p. 163.
[78] Ibid. Cotton-Pearse. p. 162.
[79] Shepherd. Op. Cit., p. 42.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Op. Cit., Mendelson & Crawford. p. 35.
[82] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. p. 28.
[83] II, iii, 126. The symbolic value of the red beard is discussed by Bruce Smith in his book, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics.* Chicago: University of Chicago

secondary interest in Fletcher's *Bonduca* the real crime has to be that of unmanning the men. When Bonduca's daughters capture Junius and his fellow soldiers by enticing them to their camp with a love letter they literally disarm them, but the men are also unmanned because they have been caught by the daughter's treacherous love. Little sympathy is shown for the daughters' rapes and as Crawford points out the women are shown more as a threat to male control and national security. It is rather the theme of male honour which is of primary importance as she writes: "[Caratach] makes it clear that his alliance is with soldiers - even enemy soldiers - not women, and that he is concerned less with female honor, or national vengeance, than he is with male honor."[84]

With such a representation of female identity the only room for freedom and self-autonomy was through widowhood: "the gateway to freedom," Belsey affirms,[85] which was the position of Bonduca following the death of her husband, Prosutagus, named only once in the play (III. i. 46). Another gateway to freedom or "avenue of resistance," writes Crawford,[86] was through suicide. In such scenarios as *Bonduca* the deaths of the female victims is seen as an act of heroism and defiance against the male conqueror. The first daughter's speech is particularly challenging in this respect:

> Generall,
> Hear me, and mark me well, and look upon me
> Directly in my face, my womans face,
> Whose onely beautie is the hate it bears ye;
> See with thy narrowest eyes, thy sharpest wishes,
> Into my soul, and see what there inhabits;
> See if one fear, one shadow of a terrour,
> One palenesse dare appear but from my anger,
> To lay hold on your mercies. No, ye fools,
> Poor Fortunes fools, we were not born for triumphs,
> To follow your gay sports, and fill your slaves
> With hoots and acclamations.
>
> (IV. iv. 50-61)

Press, 1991. pp. 6-7. According to Smith's analysis of Simon Forman's erotic dream about Elizabeth I in 1597 the red beard was an early modern symbol of male virility, identified as such because of its associations with the colour red and hence blood, one of the four body humours controlled by the planets Mars and Venus, who were also the god and goddess of war and love.

[84] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 363.
[85] Op. Cit., Belsey. p. 153.
[86] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 364.

The first daughter's “hate” and “anger” here is interesting because it affirms her position of resistance against the Romans as well as her unwillingness to forgive following her and her sister's rapes. Their suicides will protect them from Roman 'triumphs', from further rapes and armed conflict, for death is a place "where no Wars come,/ Nor lustful slaves to ravish us" (IV. iv. 110-110). Refusing their place as controlled subject, a woman's suicide, as analysed by Belsey, was "paradoxically, the supreme assertion of both the autonomy of the subject and the sovereignty of the social body."[87] Social inequality and injustice were inevitable between the sexes.

In this light Bonduca's revolt against the Roman occupation of her country can be read as a revenge play, for Bonduca was also avenging the humiliating rapes of her daughters. Green even sees vengeance as the primary motive of Bonduca and her daughters throughout the play.[88] Bonduca certainly calls upon the gods of Britain for revenge when trying to light the sacrificial fire and asking:

> Hear us you great Revengers, and this day
> Take pitie from our swords, doubt from our valours,
> Double the sad remembrance of our wrongs
> in every brest: the vengeance due to those
> Make infinite and endless:
>
> (III. i. 3-7)

And her daughters are more explicit in demanding vengeance for their rapes (III. i. 27-35 & III. v. 69). Even Hengo, as he lies dying in Caratacus's arms, expresses a desire for revenge against the Romans for his father's death: "I once hop'd/ I should have liv'd to have met these bloody Romans/ At my swords point, to have reveng'd my father" (V. iii. 139-141).

These references suggest that rebellion against an absolute power can sometimes be justified if the ruler abuses their position of power. This theme is repeated again and again in a number of the plays by Fletcher, which Gordon McMullan reviews, and suggests that some questioning of absolute power, such as that exercised by the Roman emperors and by Stuart royalty, was being aired. Although McMullan does not read *Bonduca* in great depth, which is to be regretted, he does analyse another solo play by Fletcher, that of *Valentinian*, written at about the same time. Again, the rape of Lucina by the emperor leads to a moving speech followed by her suicide and the

[87] Op. Cit., Belsey. p. 124.
[88] Op. Cit., Green. p. 306.

assertion by McMullan that “Royal corruption can, according to Lucina, lead to legitimate rebellion in the cause of honor.”[89] Revenge and revolt though, do not seem to be the main issues of *The Tragedie of Bonduca* and culpability does not lie with the Romans. We have already referred to Caratach's response to his nieces’ rapes by the Roman soldiers: "you should have kept your legs close then" (III. v. 70), and his comparison of Hengo's father to that of the Roman Penyus (V. i. 68-71), and to add to this, we also witness Caratach's surrender to the Romans followed by his acceptance of a British union with Rome.

The principal theme of honour, achieved through Roman conquest and civility, seems to be the central point at stake here, especially since the spectre of its antitheses, female savagery, has already raised its ugly head through the setting of love traps, military mismanagement and the public spectacle of suicide and infanticide. As discussed earlier the play indicates that Bonduca's legacy to Britain was to leave it "a wilderness of wretches" (V. i. 15), saved only by Roman intervention, which was not the case in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus*. In Shakespeare's Roman tragedy, Tamora, Queen of the Goths, marries the Roman emperor Saturninus and manages to turn Rome into "a wilderness of tigers" (III. i. 54). This is certainly a revenge play led by Tamora, the barbarian empress, but one which defeminises the woman. Through its scenes of rape, murder, mutilation and cannibalism it shows that a powerful woman is no longer a woman, but a wild animal that must be tamed or killed.

The narrative of *Bonduca* is both one of gender conflict and of native resistance to empire. The title of this section stands for the domestication of women but it also stands for the taming of new colonies, new areas of wildness waiting to be civilised. The etymological origins of the word 'domesticate' means to bring into the home, as in to bring the larger outskirts of the nation into England, to bring the wilderness into the house so to speak.[90] Hayden White explores the notion of wildness in his essay 'Forms of Wildness', reminding us of its Latinate sense of "savagery" and the English derivative of "barbarian,"[91] writing that "'wildness' ... belongs to a set of culturally self-authenticating devices which includes, among many others, the ideas of "madness" and "heresy" as well. These terms are used not merely to designate a specific condition or state of being but also to confirm the value of their dialectical

---

[89] Op. Cit., McMullan. p. 170.
[90] My thanks to Tom Pughe for his help here.
[91] White, H. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. Chapter 7, p. 165.

antitheses "civilisation."[92] In other words the term was used to designate an area that man, the social animal, hoped he was not but the term also represented the stage onto which man could project his anxieties. Focusing on the "Wild Man" Hayden White further adds that this wilderness also figured as part of the physical world marked out for domestication.[93]

The imagery of animals is equally significant here; in *Bonduca* the Romans are represented as strong and noble animals such as the lion (III. v. 109-10), the tiger (I. ii. 242) and the eagle (IV. iv. 73-74), despite one or two insults from the second daughter who calls them goats (III. v. 46) and dogs (III. v. 49) both of which are domestic animals. The Britons are the antitheses of such animals, often called wolves (II. i. 18-19), wasps (I. ii. 214-214) foxes (I. ii. 242), and as hares, doves and buzzards when Bonduca accuses them of wanting to flee the enemy (III. v. 151 & 152). In every case they remain wild, with the possible exception of the dove, but not noble like the Roman animals.[94]

What is of interest to this current study is the idea that such barbarians and wild men were "enslaved to nature; to be, like animals, slaves to desire and unable to control their passions; to be mobile, shifting, confused, chaotic; to be incapable of sedentary existence, of self-discipline, and of sustained labor; to be passionate, bewildered, and hostile to "normal" humanity,"[95] and the stage onto which such ideas were projected in the early modern period was that of the female body as emblem of new lands waiting to be domesticated. In Fletcher's play the Roman soldiers' rapes of the two British girls contains these further meanings; the conquest of their bodies as an allegory for the conquest of virgin territory and its integration into the Roman Empire.

The metaphor of a woman's virgin body and that of virgin land waiting to be despoiled was also made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his *Discoverie of Guiana*:

> Guiana is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not beene opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges,

[92] Ibid. p. 151.
[93] Ibid. p. 153.
[94] Green refers to some of these images in his essay 'Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca,'* p. 306.
[95] Op. Cit., White. p. 165.

> nor their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath never been entred by any armie of strength and never conquered and possessed by an Christian Prince.
>
> (p. 115)[96]

This quotation refers to the cultural rape of a land which is inhabited but not yet 'civilised' by European man. Kerrigan agrees with Montrose's quotation of Raleigh above and also interprets such texts as expressing a shared national desire and inviting "the penetration of one culture by another."[97] This posits the vision of the new world as one waiting to be opened up, explored, exploited and possessed. America's new land as fertile female inviting male penetration was targeted by a number of the European powers seeking new conquests, colonies and trade, but here I intend only to discuss the reduction of foreign resistance to conquest.

Resistance to conquest was often broken down through rape. In an article published by Karima Guenivet, 'Femmes, les nouveaux champs de bataille,'[98] Guenivet discusses the political, economic and ethnic motivations behind rape. Possession of a woman symbolised possession of the land but rape was also a means of forced eviction from the land: "sexual crimes are also used in the context of forced evictions in order to push 'undesirables' to leave a country or a region."[99] This most probably happened to the Iceni when their lands were taken from them by the Roman occupiers. Despite the suppression of rape in many of the historical records it nevertheless occurred and was used as a military and political arm to symbolise the subjection, not just of a woman, but also of a people and its nation. This is one way of understanding the scourging of the Iceni queen and the rape of her daughters by Roman officials in 60 AD when Nero took control of their kingdom and re-distributed some of their lands amongst his retired veterans. It was also the view taken after Cesare Borgia held Caterina Sforza prisoner in 1499. After successfully taking her stronghold of Ravaldino he raped his royal captive to signify the end of her campaign for the independence of her people. [100]

---

[96] Sir Walter Raleigh. *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (1596).. Sir Robert Schomburgk (ed.) Hakluyt Society, first Ser., no. 3. New York, 1848. Cf. Montrose. p. 47.
[97] Kerrigan, J. *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, And Politics: 1603-1707.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. 126.
[98] Guenivet, K. 'Femmes, les nouveaux Champs de bataille.' *Quasimodo*, n° 9, "Corps en guerre. Imaginaires, idéologies, destructions." Tome 2. Montpellier, Spring 2006. pp. 197-213.
[99] Ibid. p. 201. My translation of: "Les crimes sexuels sont aussi utilisés dans le cadre d'évictions forcées, afin de pousser les 'indésirables' à quitter un pays ou une région."
[100] Op. Cit., Fraser. p. 62.

Rape was also used to erase the identity of a people, particularly the mass rape of an ethnic group. In 753 BC the rape of the Sabines took place when Roman soldiers carried off the young Sabine women in order to conquer their people and integrate their tribe into the Roman nation through the forced insemination of the women and intermarriage.[101] The forced insemination of Scottish women by English noblemen was also used in the thirteenth century when the droit du seigneur was re-introduced. As recently as the 1990's the forced insemination of Bosnian Muslims by Serbian soldiers and the incarceration of these women and girls in camps to ensure pregnancy during the Bosnian war was used to produce 'Chetnick' children[102] and to "contribute to the assassination of the collective memory" of their ethnic group.[103]

However, the savage mutilation of both female and male genitals was a more radical eradication of a people's identity although, in the case of women mutilating the sexual organs of men, it could constitute a displacement of the guilt carried by victims of rape, the empowerment of such victims and the choice of revenge over suicide or other forms of self-imposed punishment for the shame and dishonour of rape. One of the cautionary tales regarding female power was that of the inimical Boudica in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, which recounts the atrocity story of the Britain's revenge following one of their victories:

> For there was nothing with the Britains but slaughter, fire, gallowes, and such like, so earnestlie were they set on reuenge. They spared neither age nor sex: women of great nobilitie and woorthie fame they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, sowed them to their mouthes, that they might séeme as if they sucked and fed on them, and some of their bodies they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes.[104]

Although Jodi Mikalachki reflects on the "overwhelmingly female nature of the rebellion," as evidence of Holinshed's "condemnation of the lack of discipline and savage violence of the troops under Boadicea's command"[105] I would like to mitigate this judgement for Mikalachki fails to include all the correct historiographical

[101] Op. Cit., Guenivet. p. 197.
[102] Gutman, R. 'Rape Camps: evidence in Bosnia mass attacks points to Karadzic's pals.' *Newsday.* New York. April 1995. cf. Guenivet. p. 203.
[103] Ibid. Guenivet. p. 205. My translation of: "c'est contribuer à l'assassinat de la mémoire collective."
[104] Holinshed, R. 'The Historie of England.' *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.* 2nd edition. London: Henry Denham. 1587. Reprinted 1808, 1965, New York, Ams Press, inc. 1976. Book IV, chapter 12. p. 500.
[105] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. p. 14.

parameters in such a view. Holinshed's description is an amalgamated, and almost verbatim, account of those found in the texts of Tacitus and Dio whilst Holinshed's extrapolation: "they spared neither age nor sex," which apparently demonstrates the sexual and age equality of the torturers' targets, is glossed over by Mikalachki. It is Dio's account which gives us the detailed example of the atrocities committed on female captives but this focus was chosen more for its dramatic effect in a Roman milieu, and whilst in sixteenth century England the focus was still one of gender differences Holinshed and Dio did not have the same objectives or the same public. Writing under Elizabeth of course Holinshed was not openly writing to condemn female rule as Mikalachki suggests. She infers such condemnation by quoting the wrong source[106] when she writes: "Holinshed notes 'the shrill and vain menacing threats of the Britons, since there was among them more women than men, they having no skill in warlike discipline."[107] She fails to identify this as a line taken from Suetonius's speech to his men, found in Tacitus[108] and quoted as such in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, a speech obviously designed to give his men courage before battle was joined.

Further on in Mikalachki's analysis she again cites the treatment of this episode as evidence of early modern condemnation of female rule but she also examines the symbolism of female mutilation. In her section, 'The Savage Breast,' she identifies breast mutilation not just as a war atrocity but also as a form of public humiliation associated with female insubordination. However, in a footnote she does examine the evidence of female perpetuators of violence on male corpses when she refers to Holinshed's account of the atrocities committed by Welshwomen on the male bodies of the dead English soldiers under Henry IV: "yet did the women of Wales cut off their privities, and put one part thereof into the mouths of every dead man, in such sort that the cullions hung down to their chins."[109] She recognises castration as a corollary to breast mutilation when she writes: "just as castration symbolized the emasculation of the defeated men, so breast mutilation functioned as a symbolic defeminization of women."[110]

---

[106] Mikalachki also confuses the Roman emperors at the time of Boudica's revolt which took place in AD 60-61 during the reign of Nero and not that of Claudius. Cf. pp 12 &13.
[107] Ibid. Mikalachki. p.13.
[108] Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome,* xiv 29-39. London: Penguin, 1986. XIV, 34. p. 330.
[109] Op. Cit., *Holinshed's Chronicles.*1587: 528. Cf. Mikalachki. Op. Cit., p. 177.
[110] Ibid. Mikalachki. p. 130.

Although the scenes of such war crimes are not described in detail in plays of the period the Welsh atrocities are referred to by the character Westmorland in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and they did help form representations of powerful women as cruel, violent and wild beings. Christopher Highley interprets the Welsh atrocity scene as indicative of "a text upon which relations of power and gender are symbolically contested," and he calls these women "active participants, [who] overturn the normative sex-gender system by assuming the kind of sexual dominance that the culture reserved for men."[111] He follows the humiliation theses of Mikalachki by adding: "the most transgressive gesture of all is the women's penetration of the soldiers' 'tailes' with their own noses. Castrated and sodomized, the English soldiers are totally degraded and 'unmanned.'"[112] However, this reversal of the correct code of war conduct is restored to order, according to Highley, when Hal observes the "fair rites of tenderness" (V. iv. 97) towards his rival's corpse wherein "he reconstitutes a code of battlefield conduct that the Welshwomen had so outrageously overturned."[113]

These were not wars of gender conflict but of racial hatred. Revenge may have motivated some of the cases of sexual mutilation but the wars between the Welsh and the English (in the medieval period), and between Boudica's Britons and the Roman occupiers were ethnic conflicts within which such violent gestures not only de-sexed a people but also refused them any possibility to reproduce. When discussing the twentieth century alone Guenivet refers to the destruction and removal of the sexual organs of both men and women, but mostly of women, in such conflicts as the first world war,[114] the genocide in Rwanda[115] and the Eastern Congo:[116] "These acts are to be registered as a project of the 'annulment' of the 'other', of a race, of an identity within which the sexual crimes were motivated by the political project [of domination]."[117] This parallels the Roman practice of destroying the reproductive

---

[111] Op. Cit., Highley. p. 100.
[112] Ibid. p. 100.
[113] Ibid. p. 106.
[114] See the drawing by Joanny Durand, *Gott Mit Uns,* showing the amputated breast, sexual organs, lips and fingers of a war victim. Another drawing by Georges Henry Tribout, *A Qui Le Deuxième?* shows a German soldier holding up a woman's breast for the other soldiers to see. The woman's eyes and lips have been cut out but her sexual organs have not yet been touched and she is not yet dead. Both lithographs are to be found at the museum of Péronne in the Somme, France.
[115] Bonnet, C. 'Le viol des femmes survivantes du génocide du Rwanda,' in *Rwanda: un génocide du XXème siècle.* Paris: Harmattan, 1995. Cf. Guenivet. p. 200.
[116] Human Rights Watch. *The War within the War. Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo.* Report, June 2002. www.hrw.org. Cf. Guenivet. p. 200.
[117] Ibid. Guenivet. p. 208. My translation of:"Ces actes s'inscrivent dans une entreprise 'd'annulation' de 'l'autre', d'une race, d'une identité dans laquelle les crimes sexuelles ont été motivés par le projet politique."

capacity of enemy land. When Rome finally subdued and obliterated its Carthaginian enemy it destroyed the city, enslaved the surviving citizens and apparently strew the land with salt, thus destroying its fertility.[118] With these examples in mind the Boudican atrocity stories can be re-interpreted on both a racial and a gender level. We do not have room to discuss this aspect in great detail but such atrocities were probably motivated not only by a desire for revenge but also by racial hatred. Afterwards, such acts were also exploited in order to represent gender conflicts in the early modern nation.

A significant aspect of Bonduca's resistance to her Roman aggressors has not yet been discussed, that of her death oration before her Roman conquerors. As we saw in the first daughter's defiant speech quoted above, the reading of *Bonduca* offers a very different construction of native British identity and resistance to Roman imperialism from *Cymbeline* and is more direct and extreme in its treatment of gender politics. Miller-Tomlinson argues that despite Bonduca's occlusion from the play the playwright's treatment of her is more sympathetic than in *Cymbeline*.[119] Her speech is certainly an enigma within such a written ovation to masculine supremacy. Here I include part of it; when Suetonius tells her that she "must adore and fear the power of *Rome,*" and that she "cannot scape our strength" (IV. iv. 14-15) she replies:

> 'tis fitter I should reverence
> The thatched houses where the Britains dwell
> In careless mirth, where the blest houshold gods
> See nought but chaste and simple puritie.
> 'Tis not high power that makes a place divine,
> Nor that the men from gods derive their line.
> But sacred thoughts in holy bosoms stor'd
> Make people noble, and the place ador'd.
>
> (IV. iv. 19-26)

Despite Caratach's criticism of Bonduca she possesses courage and a very clear-sighted patriotism and love of her country, which stands in contrast to Caratach's equivocal love of Britain and his admiration for the Romans. What is more, this

[118] Ridley, R.T., "To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage," *Classical Philology* vol. 81, no. 2, 1986.
[119] Miller-Tomlinson, T. "Hybrid Gender, Hybrid Nation: Race, Sexuality, and the Making of National Identity in Fletcher's *Bonduca*." *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama* 46, 2007: 51-66. p. 53.

speech holds both a contemporary religious and political message for Jacobean England. It clearly includes the Protestant values of home, chastity and purity, but its anti-absolutist message, "'Tis not high power that makes a place divine,/Nor that men from gods derive their line," would not have been lost on an audience living under a king who did believe that he was god's elect on earth. However, such an anti-absolutist message would also have shocked contemporary audiences, particularly that of the court itself. Another reading may suggest that Fletcher is criticising Bonduca's insularity. She is represented as an insular Briton in the union question and Crawford even hints that Caratach positions her as the enemy.[120] Yet she emerges as a national icon, proposing instead a nation of people in opposition to Caratach's vision of territorial amalgamation with Rome, points that I shall discuss further on.

To conclude this section we can say that Bonduca's death even saves British honour and shows that British patriotism has not been tamed. Following the suicide of Bonduca's daughters Suetonius still pleads with Bonduca to surrender by offering her her own terms (IV. iv. 138). Refusing these she embraces her ending even claiming victory in death:

> Ye should have ti'd up death firth, when ye conquer'd
> Ye sweat for us in vain else: see him here,
> He's ours still, and our friend; laughs at your pities;
> And we command him with as easie reins
> As do our enemies. I feel the poison.
>
> (IV. iv. 142-146)

Here we may end with Hickman's conclusion: "*Bonduca* does not disrupt, after all, the tradition of praise for Bonduca as a national heroine."[121]

---

[120] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 365 & 373.
[121] Hickman, A. '*Bonduca's* Two Ignoble Armies and *The Two Noble Kinsmen.' Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England.* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press: New Jersey, Vol. 4. 1989. pp. 153-69. p. 164.

The Masculine Embrace

Following the defeat of the British in the field at the end of the play the Roman general pleads for Caratach's friendship which is finally given:

Swetonius. Excellent Britain, do me but that honour,
That more to me then Conquest, that true happinesse,
To be my friend.

[. . . . .]

Swetonius. For Fames sake, for thy Swords sake,
As thou desirest to build thy vertues greater:
By all that's excellent in man, and honest.

Caratach. I do beleeve: Ye have had me a brave foe;
Make me a noble friend,

(V. iii. 177-185)

Their friendship is then sealed by an embrace:[122]

Swetonius. Thus I embrace thee, *Flourish.*
And let it be no flattery that I tell thee,
Thou art the onely souldier.

(V. iii. 190-192)

This ending stands for the exclusion of women from the drama in which fighting and even death are seen as a substitute for sex and in which the very words 'friend' and 'souldier' can be glossed over by 'lover' due to the ambiguity of references to friendship in Renaissance England. Paul Hammond's understanding of this word in the early modern period covers a wide semantic field which includes stranger, friend, lover, sexual partner[123] and military comradeship,[124] but such meanings are imposed by the context and the scenario chosen by the writer. Gregory Woods' reading of the

[122] The embrace, as a physical sign of friendship, was common in the sixteenth century. See Hammond, P. *Figuring Sex between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002. p. 11.
[123] Ibid. Hammond. pp. 18-19.
[124] Ibid. Hammond. pp. 110-111.

word 'friend' in Sir Francis Bacon's essay 'Of Friendship' (1607) makes it clear that this reference signifies relations between men only.[125] If we follow this reading of ‘friend’ the reconciliation between the two male protagonists at the end of *Bonduca* represents, as Simon Shepherd describes it, "a male alternative to the marriage ending."[126]

The homoerotics of Renaissance friendship is discussed by Jeffrey Masten in *Textual Intercourse* in which he excavates the linguistic meanings of such words as ‘acquaintance’, ‘individual’ and ‘friendship’. Taking Richard Brathwait’s volume on *The English Gentleman* (1630) as an example, he writes: “friendship is literally made corporeal in two bodies that are one.”[127] Focussing on the collaborative texts of male friendship, such as that between Beaumont and Fletcher or between Fletcher and Massinger, Masten notes that “Renaissance theories of friendship are in fact predicated on the notion of reproducibility – they take as their basis the classical conception that friends (as Florio’s Montaigne summarizes) are ‘one soule in two bodies, according to the fit definition of Aristotle’ (p.94). Braithwaite himself notes that friendship is ‘where two hearts are so individually united, as neither from other can well be severed (p. 243); a friend is ‘nothing else than a *second selfe,* and therefore as individuate as man from himself’ (p. 293).”[128] Masten himself contends that “late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century dramatic writing occurs within this context of a collaborative homoerotics.”[129]

A later homophobic reaction to the texts of Fletcher might explain the critical condemnation of other critics like Robert Ornstein who, writing in the 1960's, wrote Fletcher off for his "mediocrity", "little vision" and "ethical frivolity" in dealing with "erotic passion" and "illicit passion."[130] Even Fletcher's biographer, Squier, concedes that by the eighteenth century "Fletcher and his inevitably linked collaborator (Beaumont) were well on the way to becoming not merely antiquities, but antiquities of somewhat doubtful propriety."[131] Masten writes that just a generation after the death of Fletcher his collaboration and homoerotic friendship with Beaumont was

---

[125] Woods, G. *A History of Gay Literature.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999. p. 74. He further discusses the intensity of male love in the friendship elegies, another vehicle of homosexual desire. p. 123.
[126] Op. Cit., Shepherd. p. 147.
[127] Masten, J. ‘Between gentlemen: homoeroticism, collaboration, and the discourse of friendship,’ in *Textual Intercourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 28.
[128] Ibid. p. 32.
[129] Ibid. p. 37.
[130] Ornstein, R. *The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965. pp. 152, 151, 163, 168.
[131] Squier, C. L. *John Fletcher.* Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986. p. 148.

interpreted as "strange production".[132] The homoerotic language of the play, particularly the following quotation wherein Caratach describes an enemy in highly erotic, even sodomitic terms, can support the 'homosexual' reading of *Bonduca*:

> I love an enemy; I was born a soldier;
> And he that in the head on's troop defies me,
> Bending my manly body with his sword,
> I make a mistress. Yellow-tressed Hymen
> Ne'er ty'd a longing Virgin with more joy,
> Then I am married to that man that wounds me.
>
> (I. i. 57-62)

Here the seemingly explicit references to homoerotic desire can be understood as the coded language of the homosexual sub-culture of the Jacobean period which poses the questions of how homosexuality was understood in Renaissance England and what was Fletcher's own position in this debate.[133] Was homosexuality understood in terms of personal and cultural identity or only as a physical act of sexual intercourse? And how was that intercourse imagined? As sodomy, intercrural penetration, oral sex or masturbation?

According to Bruce Smith in *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*, homosexuality was something that existed, that everyone knew existed but because of the legal sanctions against sodomy, homosexuality was something that remained unnamed but which had its own coded language. It was an "open secret,"[134] he writes, which was "not so much hidden *from* history as hidden *in* history. Until it acquired a definition and a name in the late nineteenth century, homosexuality was not something

---

[132] Masten, J. 'My Two Dads: Collaboration and the Reproduction of Beaumont and Fletcher.' *Queering the Renaissance.* Goldberg, J. (Ed.) Durham, NC: Duke University, 1994. p. 282. Cf. Digangi, M. *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 149.

[133] For questions regarding Fletcher's own sexual orientation see John Aubrey's description of Fletcher and Beaumont's friendship and co-habitation in which he writes: "There was a wonderfull consimility of phansey between [Francis Beaumont] and Mr. John Fletcher, which caused the dearness of friendship between them ... They lived together on the Banke side, not far from the Play-house, both bathchelors; lay together; had one wench in the house between them, which they did so admire; the same cloathes and cloak, &c.; between them" (Aubrey, J. *Brief Lives.* Oliver Lawson Dick (ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1957. p. 21). This ménage à trois is contested by Fletcher's biographer, Charles Squier (Op. Cit., p. 3) and by Philip Finkelpearl (Finkelpearl, P.J. *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. p. 40), although Fletcher had other significant and ambiguous friendships with men such as Charles Cotton the elder (Finkelpearl, p. 49) and Philip Massinger, with whom he was later buried, (Squier. p. 11 and Finkelpearl. p. 50). Fletcher's relationships with Beaumont and with Massinger are also discussed by Jeffrey Masten (Op. Cit., pp. 1-4 and 61-62).

[134] Op. Cit., Smith. p. 74. The reference to homosexuality as an "open secret" was taken from Jonathan Goldberg's article, "Colin to Hobbinol: Spenser's Familiar Letters," *South Atlantic Quarterly.* Vol. 88, 1989. pp. 107-126.

that had to be masked or covered up. Before it could become classified information, the love that dares not speak its name first of all had to *have* a name. […] To see the pattern we have to know, first of all, what to look for. To decipher the message we have to know the code."[135] Included in the sign system of homosexual literature critics have identified metaphors of military comradeship and male-bonding,[136] scenarios of war, classical frameworks, cross-dressing and references to the ancient Greeks and Romans.[137] The construction of fictional spaces, Paul Hammond tells us, deliberately left room for ambiguity, ambivalence, multiple interpretations and imaginative foreplay.[138]

Through a male-only education at the universities both Woods and Mark Lilly see the private education system as a means of promoting higher education for men, which effectively caused a social barrier between men and women when it came to conversation and companionship between the sexes.[139] Nancy Cotton-Pearse begs to differ with this interpretation concerning the exclusion of women from English society but only during the Elizabethan period. She argues that the Protestant and humanist ideals for women placed the emphasis on female education in order to produce "a new woman fit for fuller companionship with man."[140] However, female education did not go as far as a university one and Cotton-Pearse concedes that by the Jacobean period a new emphasis was being placed on women in the home whilst the educated ladies at court were not helped by "the example of the childish new queen, Anne of Denmark, or by ... James['s] feelings toward women, lecturing them on properly chaste behaviour whilst at the same time cultivating equivocal and intense attachments to male favourites."[141]

Whether this was fashion or passion is another question[142] but the male-centrism of James's court was apparent in his preference for men, in his language and in the artistic expression of the period, such as in Fletcher's *The Loyal Subject,* wherein the

---

[135] Ibid. Smith. pp. 12-13.
[136] Ibid. Smith. pp. 23 & 34.
[137] Op. Cit., Hammond. pp. 2 & 49. See also Smith. pp. 33-35. For a brief summary of the field of work concerning sexual identity and cross-dressing on the stage see Jonathan Goldberg's chapter, "The Transvestite Stage," in *Sodometries; Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992.) pp. 107-116.
[138] Ibid. Hammond. pp. 6-8.
[139] Op. Cit., Woods. p. 6 and Lilly, M. *Gay Men's Literature in the Twentieth Century.* New York: New York University Press. 1993. p. 69.
[140] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. p. 49.
[141] Ibid. Cotton-Pearse. p. 62. She also refers to Willson, D. *King James VI and I.* New York. 1956.
[142] Op. Cit., Woods. p. 80. Jonson's comic play, *Epicene, or The Silent Woman* (1609-10) opens with Truewit referring to the keeping of an "ingle" (boyfriend) as a rich man's accessory (I. i. 22-6).

General's son, Archas, disguised as the female Alinda, is pursued by the Duke's sexual desire for her/him. Peter Berek reads this scene as a caricature of James's behaviour at court by interpreting "the Duke's courtship of Alinda as a figure for James's pursuit of his favourites."[143] Even in *Bonduca* once the young Junius renounces his love for Bonduca's daughter he cries out:

> I will not love; I am a man, have reason
> And I will use it: I'll no more tormenting,
> Nor whining for a wench, there are a thousand ____
>
> (II. ii. 38-40)

'A thousand' what? The last word has been erased from the 1647 folio either because it was a swear word or an unorthodox reference to other men. Alternatively, it was left deliberately unfinished in the original manuscript in order to leave space for the spectators' own imaginative closure or because it was accompanied by the actor's non-verbal additions such as a gesture, an expression. Smith refers to such moments of aposiopesis as important rhetorical strategies in the figuration of sex between men because "spectators in the theatre [were able to] fashion in their own minds off-stage possibilities."[144]

At this point it is necessary to clarify the social and political status of sex between men in Jacobean England along with distinctions made between the terms 'homosexual' and 'homoerotic.' Homosexuality is defined by Paul Hammond as "physical sexual contact between men" whilst 'homoerotic' is understood as "feelings of sexual desire for, or erotic pleasure in the contemplation of, other men."[145] Regarding the question of sodomy Mario Digangi's *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* sheds light on this point: "'sodomite' meant more than 'a man who has sex with another man.' The label also meant that this particular man was treasonous, monstrous, heretical, and so on, and that he shared these defining traits with other deviants who may or may not have participated in same-sex relations."[146] However, when it came to sodomy between men, a man and a woman, or between a man and an animal sodomy[147] was punishable by death in the eyes of the law

[143] Op. Cit., Berek. p. 367.
[144] Op. Cit., Smith. p. 14.
[145] Op. Cit., Hammond. p. 9.
[146] Op. Cit., Digangi. p. 4 (see, too, his preface, p. ix.) This is also discussed by Hammond. (p. 8-9). Betteridge (p. 48) and Smith (p. 3).
[147] For a definition of sodomy Paul Hammond provides an interesting overview of the huge range of

although anal penetration had to be proven,[148] which indicates the difficulty of proving cases of "buggery."[149]

As far as the social status of homosexuality is concerned Jonathan Goldberg concentrates more on issues of class and age, and not on that of gender. Sexual relations between the older man and the younger one, between a lord and his man-servant could prove the virility and reinforce the power differences between the different social groups. Building on the work of Bray he states that "sodomy [...] usually names a sexual relationship on the basis of its social transgressiveness."[150] Transgression here means sexual relations between men of different social ranks. Taking the relationship between Edward and Gaveston in Marlowe's *Edward II* as an example Goldberg argues that "Gaveston has been raised from his lower-class position to be Edward's equal. Their relationship refuses the traditional hereditary social distinctions upon which the younger Mortimer insists, the hierarchies that ensured, as Bray argues, that sexual relations between men could go unnoticed in the period precisely because they were not 'sodomitical' social transgressions."[151]

Although there has been some polemic surrounding the King's own sexual orientation[152] he was at the very least bisexual, although even this is impossible to prove. He did have a wife but he kept a separate household from her, and once his patriarchal and monarchic duty of producing heirs to the throne had been fulfilled he was free to express his sexual preferences elsewhere within a selected homosocial[153] court. He surrounded himself with male minions and had a number of intimate relationships with young men (attested to in his private letters[154]) of whom his favourite lover was George Villiers. Made earl in 1617, marquis in 1618, and Duke of Buckingham in 1623, Villiers' rapid rise in power marked the downfall of James's

---

political, social and moral meanings, Op. Cit., pp. 8-9, 21-22. See also Smith, Op. Cit., pp. 3, 11, 14, 44-47. Bray, Op. Cit., pp. 14-17, 25, 65, and Betteridge, T. (editor). *Sodomy in early modern Europe.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002. pp. 3-5, 48, 51.

[148] Op. Cit., Smith. p. 50.

[149] Op. Cit., Smith. p. 50. For a review of the status of buggery, compared with that of sodomy, Jonathan Goldberg's review of a case in New England gives invaluable insight into this point. Op. Cit., *Sodometries.* pp. 238-242.

[150] Op. Cit., Goldberg. *Sodometries.* p. 118.

[151] Ibid. Goldberg. *Sodometries.* p. 121.

[152] Op. Cit., Smith. p. 14. And Stewart, A. 'Boys' buttocks revisited: James VI and the myth of the sovereign schoolmaster,' in Betteridge. Op. Cit., p. 130.

[153] 'homosocial,'a word introduced by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick for intense social bonds between men which are strongly affective, supportive, and competitive; but not (at least not ostensibly) erotic." Op. Cit., Hammond. p. 9. Cf. Sedgwick, E. K. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

[154] See Bergeron, D. *King James and Letters of Homoerotic Desire.* Iowa City, 1999, which reprints the surviving letters between James and a number of his male favourites. Cf. Hammond. p. 129.

previous favourite, Somerset.[155] Villiers followed a long list of past favourites which had included Esmé Stuart, Alexander Lindsay and John Ramsay in Scotland, Philip Herbert, younger brother of the Earl of Pembroke from 1603 onwards, and finally Robert Carr, nominated Earl of Somerset by James in 1613 before his displacement by Villiers.[156] With reference to Goldberg's argument cited before, it may have been James's tendency to promote his minions to the higher offices, thus transgressing the social rules, that caused criticism of his rule and not his sexual identity.

Such an environment at court seems to provide the background to Fletcher's *Bonduca.* Julie Crawford remarks upon this when pointing to the cancellation of Lady Hay's showing at court of the *Masque of Amazons* which was replaced by a dinner celebrating Villiers' new promotion as Marquis of Buckingham. She writes: "this juxtaposition of events crystallizes the homoeroticism and male-centrism of James' s court, one which allowed no representational space for powerful women ... [T]he seemingly anti-woman, pro-male sentiment of Fletcher's *Bonduca* is ideologically related to such juxtapositions of values and validation and the resituating of the place of women in the English court."[157]

Certainly the male-centrism of James's court did not go unnoticed or uncriticised. The Venetian Ambassador presented a report to the Government of Venice in 1607 in which he describes James as an unpopular and reclusive king who lives in isolation with a number of his male favourites.[158] James's sexual orientation came under heavier censorship from one of his own subjects, Francis Osborne, who states that "the kings kissing [his favourites] after so lascivious a mode in publick, and upon the theatre, as it were, of the world, prompted many to imagine some things done in the tyring house, that exceed my expression no lesse then they do my experience."[159] The "things done in the tyring house," obviously refers to sexual intercourse, whether this be sodomitical as Crawford concludes[160] or mutual

[155] Stewart, A. *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I.* London: Chatto & Windus, 2003. p. 271, and Wormald, J. 'James VI and I (1566–1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.lib.ex.ac.uk:80/view/article/14592. p. 31 on 'Corruption and the court: public and private morality.'
[156] Ibid. Stewart. pp. 51-52, 257-265.
[157] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 361-362.
[158] Ashton, R. (ed.) *James I by His Contemporaries, An Account of His Career and Character as Seen by Some of His Contemporaries.* London: Hutchinson. 1969. p. 9. Quoted in full in Crawford. Op. Cit., p. 366.
[159] Osborne, F. *Traditional Memoirs.* 1658 in Weldon 1:257; Bergeron, p. 87; Crawford, p. 366. This passage is also quoted in Hammond. Op. Cit., p. 129.
[160] Ibid. Crawford. p. 358, p. 366.

masturbation, oral or intercrural intercourse is difficult to determine. However, considering the criminal status of sodomy in the seventeenth century, and the nature and understanding of the classical accounts of man-man love in ancient Greek society expressions of 'male friendship' at the Jacobean court were open to ambiguity and speculation.

Indeed this begs the question of how practising homosexuals saw themselves. Certainly not as sodomites to judge by James's condemnation of them in *Basilikon Doron,*[161] but then the term 'sodomite' was used to cover a wide range of political, religious and social deviance. The question of identity is raised by Tom Betteridge when he discusses the debate surrounding issues of identity and sexual acts in the early modern period: "Did men who engaged in sex with each other view themselves as belonging to a discreet social group? Or were they simply taking part in acts that we would now regard as homosexual but which they saw as simply sexual?"[162] This point is also raised by Smith who examines the history of sexuality from an anthropological viewpoint and determines four kinds of discourse; moral, legal, medical, and poetic, which were used to condemn, praise or simply discuss homosexuality.[163] The first three discourses are concerned with sexual acts whereas the poetic discourse can be used to express sexual desire and identity. For Smith it is clear "that homosexual *acts* occur in all cultures and that what varies is the interpretation that different cultures put on those acts."[164] In the moral and legal discourse of the early modern period sodomy was a crime. Hence, homoerotic desire and sexual acts between men could only be publicly aired through the artistic discourse of the period.

In the following quotation from Fletcher's *Bonduca,* we may have a reference to the moral and legal discourses of sodomy when the villain of the play, Judas, asks Caratach's young nephew to surrender and threatens him with rape if he refuses:

> Yeeld willingly, your uncle's out of hearing;
> I'll tickle your young tail else.
>
> (IV. ii. 51-52)

With Caratach out hunting for food Hengo is left vulnerable and exposed to another man's attack on his body: "I'll tickle your young tail else." The word "tickle" has

---

[161] *Basilikon Doron.* Edenburgh : Felix Kyngston, 1603. The second Booke, p. 31.
[162] Op. Cit., Betteridge. p. 2.
[163] Op. Cit., Smith. pp. 9-17.
[164] Ibid. Smith. p. 17.

violent connotations in this context and we can understand Judas's threat to mean the anal rape of the boy. In this incident sodomy and rape are equated as one crime and it is interesting to refer to Smith's study of court records of the period which illustrate the fact that the forcible rape of a boy, as opposed to a man, was really the only case of sodomy for which men were indicted.[165] Regarding differences between the criminal status of sodomy and rape it is interesting to refer to the work of Goldberg when comparing two early seventeenth century cases in New England; one concerns the rape of two young girls in Massachusetts Bay and the other concerns a man's buggery of a mare. In the case of rape the men were whipped and one man had his ears mutilated. In the second case the man was executed which seemingly indicates that in the early modern period "raping girls is less criminal than *any* sexual act between men or between a man and an animal," Goldberg concludes.[166]

However, in a number of early modern texts the form of homoerotic intercourse remains ambiguous. In the ancient period Greek scenes of pederasty often show the older man in the role of a teacher, masturbating the youth. Following the older man's own sexual arousal the man's act of homosexual expression was thought to be that of intercrural intercourse (between the thighs) and not sodomy.[167] This is the interpretation that the poet Shelley, and many others before him, adhered to. In his 'A Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love', Shelley is unclear as to the exact nature of the Greeks' sexual acts between men but was "persuaded that it was totally different from the ridiculous and disgusting conceptions which the vulgar have formed on the subject, at least except among the more debased and abandoned of mankind. It is impossible that a lover could usually have subjected the object of his attachment to so detestable a violation or have consented to associate his own remembrance in the beloved mind with images of pain and horror."[168] Shelley clearly sees the Greek homosexual act as one of intercrural intercourse and not one of anal penetration.

Anxieties regarding sexual behaviour probably account for the mistranslation of the word "homosexual" from the original Greek when the Authorised Version of James I's Bible was translated in 1611. Bray refers to the difficulties that James's translators found when they came across two Greek words signifying homosexuality

---

[165] Ibid. Smith. pp. 49-51.
[166] Op. Cit., Goldberg. *Sodometries.* pp. 239-241.
[167] Op. Cit., Woods. p. 21 and p. 29 for the red-figure cup by the Brygus Painter (500-475 BC).
[168] Ibid. Woods. p. 117.

in chapter six of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. The first word was translated as 'effeminate' and the second word was translated with a periphrasis meaning 'abusers of themselves with mankind.'[169] This was neither clear nor satisfactory but it was the best they could conceive of in the seventeenth century. It took another panel of judges, in the twentieth century, to study the text again and "they decided," Bray tells us, "to combine the two Greek words and translate them by a single expression, one of a different order. Both were translated in a word; 'homosexuals'."[170] Because of the esoteric nature of this sexual orientation other words, used in the Renaissance to signify sexual deviance, had extra values added to them; words such as 'bugger,' and 'sodomite' were also associated with bestiality, debauchery, drunkenness, religious deviation, betrayal and even treason.[171]

As we can see from the above evidence homosexuality, or rather, the sexual act of sodomy was fiercely criticised in Renaissance England as something which threatened the established social order and as such it was a felony punishable by death. With the homosociability of James's court of course, playwrights representing male friendships had to choose between the official line of honour and chastity, or satirizing and denouncing court debauchery. A third possibility was to draw ambiguous allegories between court figures and the protagonists of their plays. John Day's play *The Ile of Gulls* performed at the Blackfriars in 1606 is an unfortunate case in point. Day was imprisoned for his allegories touching upon "the king's dishonest favorites, on the Scots, on homosexuality at court, and on a very foolish sovereign."[172] Philip Finkelpearl, in his work on the C*ourt and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* tells us that other plays were equally censored but that generally speaking Jacobean censorship was inefficient and inconsistent to such a point that one Venetian ambassador even remarked: "In this country...the comedians have absolute liberty to say what ever they wish against anyone soever."[173]

Generally speaking though male homosexuality was something that haunted the fraternal bonding of nationalism Mikalachki tells us simply because the new 'British' empire was being built on an identity of male virility which had no room for doubts

---

[169] Op. Cit., Bray p. 13.
[170] Ibid Bray, referring to work by Ellis. *Studies in the psychology of Sex; Part Four: Sexual Inversion* and Carpenter. *The Intermediate Sex.* pp. 45-7.
[171] Ibid. Bray. pp. 14, 16, 19, 20.
[172] Op. Cit., Finkelpearl. p. 64.
[173] Ibid. p. 69.

about its sexual identity and national reputation.[174] In this light Mikalachki's interpretation of both *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* are the antithesis of what I have just outlined as Fletcher's underlying message, although we both concede that "female savagery is the primary object of revulsion" in these plays and not homosexuality.[175] On the public platform even James himself was against homosexuality. Intent on strengthening the Church of England and reaffirming the Buggery Act of 1533 James adopted a severe stance towards sodomy. His book on kingship, *Basilikon Doron* of 1598, lists sodomy among those "horrible crimes which ye are bound in conscience never to forgive."[176]

However, even if the barrier between heterosexual and homosexual behaviour was vague Bray's review of homosexuality in Renaissance England does not detract from the fact that its criminal status aroused hostile revulsion in many who saw it, along with female power, as a threat to the social order. This is attested to in much of the satirical comment in the literature of the time and on the stage. Yet, if homosexuality was seen as a threat to the social order how can we explain the popularity of Fletcher's plays, particularly *The Tragedie of Bonduca,* where homosociability is highly visible? Peter Berek even speaks of the introduction of, the foreshadowing of, a new sub-culture, that of homosexuality, when describing the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: "Sometimes the plays (of Beaumont and Fletcher) ... so sharpen gender distinctions to the disadvantage of women, and sometimes they explore eroticism in ways that adumbrate the eventual emergence of a new and deviant category, homosexuality."[177]

Through the allegory of the powerful and dangerous woman the playwrights were able to explore and exploit male anxiety concerning gender identities and sexual behaviour and this is certainly what Fletcher does in *Bonduca.* In this sense the binary opposition between Bonduca and Caratach allows Fletcher the opportunity to develop other gender roles in the play. But we do need to ask ourselves who the other target public of this play was? Finkelpearl tries to answer this question by suggesting that both Fletcher and his partner Beaumont would have simply written for a private patron whether the play was to be shown at the 'private' Blackfriars (the more up-market

---

[174] Here Mikalachki is referring to George L. Mosse's work, *Nationalism and Sexuality.* New York: Howard Fertig. 1985. pp. 23-47.
[175] Ibid. Mikalachki. p. 104.
[176] James VI of Scotland. *Basilikon Doron.* Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, printer to the kings Maiestie. 1599. The Second Booke, pp. 37-38.
[177] Op. Cit., Berek. p. 360.

theatre), the 'public' Globe, at court itself, in someone's private playhouse or at someone's private residence.[178] Plays would also have been performed at the universities, at the Inner Temple[179] and we may even add at various clubs such as the Mitre and the Mermaid Tavern, where men only, who included Fletcher, Beaumont and other intellectuals, gathered.[180] However, Finkelpearl ends by stating that "there is simply no evidence that Beaumont and Fletcher 'catered' to one particular section of the public such as the gentry or the court. It was unnecessary. Like Shakespeare they had the good fortune to write as they pleased while giving pleasure, doubtless in different ways, to all ranks of society."[181]

As a misogynistic and homoerotic play about honour and male friendship it was possibly written for a male-only audience.[182] Such a play goes against the grain if we consider the number of chastity plays Fletcher wrote during his career (twenty three if we include the plays that he wrote in collaboration with Beaumont, Field, Massinger and Rowley[183]) in which the chaste woman is often courageous, spirited and intelligent.[184] Although I argue that Fletcher also gives these qualities to Bonduca it is possible to suggest that *Bonduca* was initially produced for one of the avant-garde private theatres Finkelpearl discusses,[185] although after 1609-1610 Fletcher wrote exclusively for the King's Men, and was under contract to write for the various London theatre companies.[186] Indeed the King's Men performed at court sixteen times during the winter of 1613-14 and some of these performances included Bonduca. I will argue a little further on that the male embrace between Suetonius and Caratach contains the discreet, even coded, message about one man's public privileging of homoerotic bonds. Such a hidden, ambiguous and secondary interpretation of the play allowed *Bonduca* to have a wider circulation in other public theatres.

Unfortunately for Fletcher, his reputation in "dealing merely with the humours and sentiments of men, their passions and their chances,"[187] led to his delegation of second place in the canon of literature. By the end of the nineteenth century "Fletcher

---

[178] Op. Cit., Finkelpearl. pp. 50-54, 33-34, 60-66.
[179] Ibid. Finkelpearl. p.19-20.
[180] Ibid. Finkelpearl. p. 48.
[181] Ibid. Finkelpearl. p. 54.
[182] Op. Cit., Squier. pp. 8-9.
[183] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. Appendix A. pp. 234-235.
[184] Ibid. Cotton-Pearse. p. 225.
[185] Op. Cit., Finkelpearl. *Court and Country Politics.* pp. 60-66.
[186] Op. Cit., Squier. p. 9.
[187] Swinburne, A. C. *Studies in Prose and Poetry*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1894. p. 71. cf. Squier. p. 150.

suffered from comparison with Shakespeare and from charges of immorality."[188] For a wider picture of such charges of sexual deviance we need to turn to the works of Fletcher himself. Certainly very few of the chastity plays seem to include clear representations of homosexuality. *The Custom of the Country,* written with Massinger in 1620, refers to a homosexual brothel.[189] *The Honest Man's Fortune,* co-written with Massinger and Field and performed in 1613, includes a subplot in which the male character Laverdine pursues a page.[190] Another play, that of *Valentinian*, includes a eunuch who is Valentinian's 'favourite,'[191] whilst *The Two Noble Kinsmen* explores issues of same-sex intimacy.[192]

On the other hand a number of the plays, particularly the tragicomedies, produced by Fletcher and his collaborators do foreground the theme of disorderly male heteroerotic desire and often end with the renunciation of such disruptive passions by one or more of the military characters; such is the case, we saw earlier, when Junius renounces his love for Bonduca's daughter in order to "be man again" (II. ii. 45). "In Fletcher's plays," according to Digangi, "men constitute their virility not through the pursuit of heteroerotic desire and marriage but through the establishment of homosocial and homoerotic bonds,"[193] something we shall now focus on in our study of *The Tragedie of Bonduca.* It is a text which has not been studied in great depth but by exploring such elements as the war setting, the homoerotic language, alternative representations of the family and the liminal space of the wilderness at the end we can suggest a secondary and implicit message of sexual liberation and homosexual identity in the play.

Although a number of the words used to refer to a man's 'boyfriend' are not found in *Bonduca,* words such as 'ganymede,' 'ingle,' 'catamite,'[194] perhaps we can explain this occlusion by referring to the 'cleansing' of the 1647 folio which, during the Puritan zealousness of the English Civil War, had deleted much of the stronger or offensive language of the play. A double-reading of the play is also complicated by the fact that the researcher of the twenty first century has only the written word on which to base his or her arguments. The play was published without its original music and

[188] Ibid. Squier. p. 149-150.
[189] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. p. 20. and p. 28.
[190] Ibid. Cotton-Pearse. p. 47, n. 17.
[191] Op. Cit., Bray. p. 50.
[192] Shakespeare, W. Fletcher, J. *The two noble Kingsmen.* Potter, L, (ed.) 1997. p. 1. Cf. Fletcher, John in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Gordon McMullan. On-line.
[193] Op. Cit., Digangi. p. 145.
[194] Op. Cit., Bray. pp. 13, 49, 53.

songs, as was the case for many of the Renaissance plays, but this may have been because such properties were only integrated into stage performances as cue spaces and prompts for the actors, a point which is discussed by Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern in their work on the performance of Shakespeare's plays, *Shakespeare in Parts*.[195] This is an unfortunate point in the case of Fletcher since Catherine Henze refers to Fletcher's reputation, along with that of Beaumont's, as a producer of 'musicals'.[196] Song was often included "to heighten the erotic desire of its audience"[197] she writes, but was usually deployed by the female characters in order to seduce the male protagonists. And yet in Fletcher's *Bonduca* it is not the female characters who sing but the male ones; Junius sings a love song to the audience when he falls in love with Bonduca's daughter (stage directions: II. ii. 53) and the parody of a love song is later sung by Petillius, Junius, Decius and Demetrius when Junius has fallen out of love with Bonduca's daughter (IV. i. 1-10). Later in the play Junius sings another song, but this time the parody of a love ballad in order to mock Petillius's necrophilic desire for Bonduca's other daughter (V. ii. 16-23). The actors in such plays could also have added non-verbal communication in order to clarify any ambiguities for their audiences. What is more, they would possibly have had the author to hand for advice and interpretation.

As far as the scenario is concerned it is the war setting that gives greater licence to homoerotic expression according to Mark Lilly's work on the homosexual literature of the First World War.[198] Writing that "homoerotic desire when publicly celebrated has always had to have a cover,"[199] he takes the war scenario as something which amplifies emotional and physical intimacy with other men, and with death, and somehow dissolves a man from the charge of sexual deviancy: "there is, amongst heterosexuals, an especially strong desire to 'exonerate' soldiers (as opposed to men in general) from the imputation of homosexuality."[200] In the context of our own study this can also be demonstrated. For the Renaissance for example, Woods states in the case of Shakespeare that, "the more militaristic the context of the individual play, the

[195] Palfrey, S. Stern, T. *Shakespeare in Parts.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. pp. 27, 54 & 74.
[196] Henze takes the example of Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* which "would today be considered a musical" and considers the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher as "works that contain an inordinately large amount of music." Women's Use of Music to Motivate Erotic Desire in the Drama of Beaumont and Fletcher.' *Journal of Musicology Research.* Volume 20, Number 2, 2001. pp. 97-134. p. 98.
[197] Ibid. p. 100.
[198] Op. Cit., Lilly. Chapter 5, 'The Love Poetry of the First World War.'
[199] Ibid. Lilly. p. 75.
[200] Ibid. Lilly. p. 64.

more Shakespeare demonstrates his interest in passionate relations between men."[201] We can easily refer to Fletcher's *Bonduca* in the same terms in which heterosexual love is expressed only in terms of treachery, rape and necrophilia whilst the love between men is expressed as that of sexual desire between fellow soldiers or as maternal love by the older soldier for the younger one (Caratach for Hengo).

In Fletcher's *Bonduca* the descriptions of man-to-man combat are represented as erotic forms of male-bonding. Male friendship is shown as something pure and superior to that of man's love for woman. What is even more dangerous is the fact that contact with women could lead to death as Junius and his companions discover when they fall into Bonduca's daughter's love trap:

> 1. *Daughter.* Valiant Romans,
> Ye are welcome to your Loves.
> 2. *Daughter.* Your death, fools.
>
> (III. v. 37-38)

Falling out of love with Bonduca's daughter Junius then cries with relief: "I am my self [again]" (III. v. 126), for he has recuperated his lost reason. And later one of his companions, Petillius, tells him:

> Love no more great Ladies,
> Thou canst not step amisse then; there's no delight in 'em;
> All's in the whistling of their snatcht up silks;
> They're onely made for handsome view, not handling;
> . . . . .
> Give me a thing I may crush.
>
> (IV. I. 30-41)

Here, Petillius is seemingly pleading for the superiority of sexual relations with men over that of women (although another interpretation could be that of Petillius's taste for a different class of woman).

There are other expressions of man-man sex in the play, or rather sexual innuendos, such as the scene in which Judas's company has been captured by the Britons whilst foraging for food. When Nennius provokes Judas's men by saying: "Why, is't no more but up, boyes?"(II. iii. 22), the "up" could refer to the men's swords

[201] Op. Cit., Woods. p. 98.

or to their next journey after death, but Judas responds with a sexual invitation to Nennius: "Yes, ride too Captain./ Will you but see my seat?" (II. iii. 23-24).[202] This may of course be a reference to James I's famous citation made on one occasion when he was told that his people came to see him out of love and he responded with: "God's wounds! I will pull down my breeches and they shall also see my arse."[203]

In the play one of the most symbolic forms of male-bonding takes place between Caratach and his Roman counterpart, Suetonius the Roman general, and is focussed on the field of battle. For Caratach erotic bonding with Seutonius is first aroused by the sighting of the enemy's approach which is described as a physical and desirable body when he says to Nennius:

> I see the dust flie. Now I see the Body,
> Observe 'em, *Nennius*; By ---- a handsome Body,
> And of a few, strongly and wisely joynted:
> *Swetonius* is a soldier.
>
> (III. iii. 4-7)

It is here that reference is made by Caratach to Suetonius as a real man, that of "a soldier," which shows his desire to bond with him by fighting him. Other plays, notably Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, also show the same dichotomy between military rivalry and homoerotic desire. Take, for example, the reunion between Coriolanus and Aufidius towards the end of Act four when Coriolanus's unexpected arrival at Aufidius's house transforms"brutal aggression into bonded love:"[204]

> -Let me twine
> Mine arms about that body, whereagainst
> My grainèd ash an hundred times hath broke,
> And scarred the moon with splinters.
> *(He embraces Coriolanus)*
> Here I clip
> The anvil of my sword, and do contest
> As hotly and as nobly with thy love,
> As ever in ambitious strength I did
> Contend against thy valour.
>
> (IV. v. 109-116)

---

[202] The sexual connotations of "ride" are discussed by Paul Hammond. Op. Cit., pp. 78-79.
[203] Oglander, John. Sir. *A Royalist's Notebook. The Commonplace Book of Sir John Oglander of Nunwell,* 1622-1652, pp.196-7, cf. Crawford. Op. Cit., p. 367.
[204] Op. Cit., Smith. p. 34.

Such scenarios of homoerotic desire are discussed by a number of critics. Of this speech in *Coriolanus* Gregory Woods writes that this is "undoubtedly, an avowal of love"[205] and he draws our attention to Aufidius's sodomitic metaphor of "pouring war / Into the bowels of ungrateful Rome" (IV. v. 132-133) as an illustration of this. In his study on sexual dissidence Jonathan Dollimore analyses the differences in "honourable antagonism" and "honourable alliance" between men as "an unspoken but ever-present understanding: 'I don't desire you, I desire to be like you."[206] Dollimore also discusses Freud's theory of sexual repression which demonstrates that any suppression of homosexual desire will irrupt as it seemingly does in *Bonduca.*[207] Here, for example, we have some erotic references to wounds as kisses. Recall Bonduca's reproach to her cousin:

By________ I think
Ye doat upon these *Romanes,* Caratach,

(I. i. 55-56)

to which he replies: "Witnesse these wounds, I do: they were fairly given." These "wounds" of course are metaphors either for kisses or for oral sex which Caratach illustrates by adding:

Ten Struck Battels
I suckt these honour'd scars from, and all *Romane:*
Ten yeers of bitter nights and heavie marches,

(I. i. 63-65)

Although Tracey Miller-Tomlinson interprets this citation otherwise and understands it as part of a running metaphor for the birth, suckling and induction of men into manhood through war, [208] it was not unusual to come across the metaphor of wounds for kisses.[209] The wounds inflicted on men in times of war become a safe area in which intense feelings between men can be expressed in

---

[205]Op. Cit., Woods. p. 99.
[206] Dollimore, J. *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. p. 303.
[207] Ibid. Dollimore. p. 304 and chapter 11 'Freud's Theory of Sexual Perversion.'
[208] Op. Cit., Miller-Tomlinson. p.55.
[209] It is used by Shakespeare in *Henry V* when the Duke of Exeter recounts the deaths of Suffolk and York to Henry V saying that on the battlefield York had kissed the wounds on his dead cousin's face telling him to wait for him in death. Then he had thrown himself across Suffolk's body kissing the dead man's lips before dying himself: "and over Suffolk's neck / He threw his wounded arm, and kiss'd his lips; / And so, espous'd to death, with blood he seal'd / A testament of noble-ending love" (IV. vi. 24-27).

terms of tenderness. This is also the case in Walt Whitman's poems from the American Civil War and in the elegies from the First World War.[210] In the public elegies in particular death serves as a safe barrier between a man's desire for another man and its fulfilment. In *Bonduca* Caratach delivers two elegies; the first is to Penyus whose cortège is stopped by Caratach in order for him to deliver his oration of admiration (V. i. 56-87). In this speech Caratach even compares the noble Roman to Hengo's unknown father. Caratach's second elegy is to Hengo (V. iii. 160-165) but for Bonduca and her two daughters there is nothing.

The allegory of love and war, or the analogy of sex with death, is also seen in this text with the play on such words as 'do' and 'die.' When Judas, speaking with Decius, expresses his violent and sexual desire for Caratach it is expressed in the allegory of orgasmic death:

Judas. We are Roman boyes all,
And boyes of mettle: I must doe that Captain,
This day, this very day.

....

Decius. What must you doe, Sir?

Judas. I must do that my heart-strings yern to do:
But my word's past.

Decius. What is it?

Judas. Why, kill Caratach.

(II. iv. 65-70)

As Crawford has already noted this scene demonstrates not only Judas's desire to kill Caratach but also his desire to copulate with him.[211]

The themes of sex and death have always been closely linked and even cross the border into necrophilia. In *Bonduca* the necrophilia in question concerns Petillius's desire for Bonduca's dead daughter, the second one to die. After her suicide Petillius murmurs to himself: "A love-mange grown upon me?" (IV. iv. 157). Although the necrophilia concerns that between a man and a woman it is only because of the daughter's manly suicide that Petillius has fallen in love with her:

Petillius. What do I ail, i' th' name of heaven? I did but see her,

[210] Op. Cit., Lilly. p. 68, 78-82.
[211] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 368.

And see her die: she stinks by this time strongly,
Abominably stinks: she was a woman,
A thing I never car'd for: but to die so,
So confidently, bravely, strongly.

(V. ii. 1-5)

We must bear in mind here that the female role was always played by a boy actor which could inspire a more 'masculine' side to the female part.[212] However, Petillius's 'love' for the dead woman is later mocked by Junius who has,

observ'd him,
And found him taken, infinitely taken
With her bravery: I have follow'd him,
And seen him kisse his sword since, court his scabbard,
Call dying, dainty deer; her brave minde, mistriss;

(V. ii. 89-93)

In this reference then the sword and scabbard represent the male and female sexual organs but Petillius has to renounce his love for Bonduca's daughter not just because she is dead but because she is not a man. Just as Junius had earlier cried, "The Warres shall be my Mistris now" (IV. i. 43) after recovering from his love for Bonduca's second daghter, so now Petillius is compelled to be "a new man" (V. iii. 98).

In the sub-culture of homosexuality one significant element has to be the place of the family, an element which is not ignored by Woods in his chapter on 'The Family and Its Alternatives'[213] wherein he discusses how families are recreated by all male communities. Speaking from experience he writes: "many of us create families of our own, or we find ourselves inventing new configurations of relationship which might be called alternative families or alternatives to the family."[214] Ambiguous and displaced, Lilly also identifies such alternative family relationships recreated in the trenches of the First World War where officers felt a fatherly responsibility to protect their men, many of whom are referred to as 'boys' and 'youths' in the literature of the time.[215] Some parallels can be identified in *Bonduca* where the soldiers are occasionally referred to as "boyes" (II. iv. 95) by Judas, but this is the scene of drunken jubilation when Judas and his men have been liberated from the British camp by

[212] Op. Cit, Woods. p. 78.
[213] Ibid. Woods. pp. 344-358.
[214] Ibid. Woods. p. 345.
[215] Op. Cit., Lilly. pp.70, 72.

Caratach, and Judas cries: "We are Roman boyes all,/And boyes of mettle" (II. iv. 65-66). Even Caratach calls them "boyes" (II. iii. 116) when eating with them, making a toast to their confrontation in battle the following day. Another reference to the Roman soldiers' youth is when Macer reports back to Suetonius about Penius's regiment (II. iv. 11) otherwise the men are usually referred to as soldiers and as men.

The exceptions to this rule seem to be Petillius's reference to Junius as a boy (IV. i. 14) and Caratach's numerous references to Hengo. In both cases we see a relationship of father and son between the older soldier and the younger one. In the case of Petillius he has promised Junius's mother to take good care of her son in the wars, repeating to Junius what he had said to her before leaving for Britain:

> Hear what I promised for thee; thus I said,
> Lady, I take thy son to my companion,
> Lady, I love thy son, thy son loves war,
> The war loves danger, danger drink, drink discipline,
> which is society and lechery;
> These two beget Commanders: fear not, Lady,
> Thy son shall lead.
>
> (I. ii. 32-38)

When Petillius is later tormented by Junius for loving Bonduca's dead daughter Petillius forgives him, saying: "But for your mothers sake I will forgive ye" (V. ii. 53).

In the relationship between Caratach and his nephew, Hengo, we see Caratach playing the role of both father and mother to Hengo. Caratach himself considers "the boy" his own son with such references as, "mine own boy" (V. i. 74), "my boy" (V. i. 91 and V. iii. 151), "My valiant child" (V. iii. 118) and "My deer Boy" (V. iii. 148). Crawford insists on the male embrace in such a scenario and interprets Caratach's tutelage of Hengo as one of induction into the homoerotic world of war and manhood. She interprets Caratach's name for Hengo, "My sweet chicken" (V. i. 28) as one of "sexualized minion"[216] and refers to the speech at the beginning when Caratach informs Hengo of his future:

> And, little Sir, when your young bones grow stiffer,
> And when I see ye able in a morning
> To beat a dozen boys, and then to breakfast,
> I'll tye ye to a sword.
>
> (I. i. 177-180)

[216] Op. Cit., Crawford. p. 369.

A later description made by Hengo about the enemy soldiers who " look/ Like emptie scabbards, all, no mettle in 'em" (II. iii. 61-62) further contributes to the homoerotic dimension of the play, but such homosexual relations are not without danger. The "emptie scabbards" represents "an arena to be penetrated,"[217] Crawford writes but the relationships are also between enemies and can be interpreted as violent scenes of male rape.

Caratach's maternal role is even represented as one of procreation as seen in the running metaphor of male pregnancy throughout the play. At the very beginning of the play Caratach recounts the story of how he protected Hengo by buckling him to his back with his belt, with the shield behind him. He then fought the Romans until Penyus told his Roman soldiers to lay off the fight and let Caratach escape with Hengo (I. i. 110-120). Later again he protects Hengo in the fight against Petillius, Junius and Decius by placing him behind him (III. v. 156). Finally, however, we can say that the umbilical cord between Caratach and Hengo is broken at the end when Caratach falls into Judas's trap. Thinking some kind Briton has left out food and drink for them he attaches Hengo to his belt and lowers him down the rock in order to fetch the food. The simile of the belt as umbilical cord is broken when Judas shoots Hengo. Although, the thematisation of war and male nurture as initiation into manhood is broken here, presumably because Prince Henry, represented by Hengo, "this bud of Britain," (I. i. 114) had just died, the ideals of male love and procreation still continue as witnessed by Caratach and Suetonius's embrace at the end, a union which should lead to the birth of a new nation, that of Britain.

It is in the wilderness, the liminal space reserved for Caratach at the end of *Bonduca,* that Caratach must face his own sexual identity. Eating just wild fruits and water he and Hengo sleep in a cave behind some "wilde vines" (V. iii. 24). Caratach's withdrawal into the wilderness is not only a test of survival it is also a moment of self-revelation and the acceptance of his destiny: "I am for Rome?" (V. iii. 194) he asks Suetonius following his surrender. Despite his resistance to the Romans throughout the play he asks only for a decent burial for Hengo: "Give this boy honourable earth to lie in." (V. iii. 185). Hengo is not Caratach's son here, but his death marks the end of Caratach's delusions.

---

[217] Ibid.

The Roman Embrace

Caratach saves Britain when he concludes peace with the Roman general, Suetonius, and accepts his friendship, thus forging a union between the Britons and the Romans just as in *Cymbeline.* We can interpret the ending as reconciliation between the two histories of Britain's ethnic origins, its Saxon and Celtic roots, and as an affirmation of Rome's legacy to Britain; honour, stoicism, virtue, virility and imperial ambitions. *Bonduca,* as an allegory for James's British project of union with England, Wales and Scotland, also demonstrates English hegemony over its unionist partners just as Fletcher's play demonstrates Roman hegemony over the Britons. When Caratach asks: "I am for Rome?" he knows that he will take his position as prisoner of war in the Roman army's triumph and processional entry into Rome. Thus, the Roman embrace can be taken as a fractured mirror of anxieties circulating in current Jacobean society.

Defining this play as a political allegory is difficult. At first glance the play seems to support James's political projects of British union, colonial consolidation and peace with Catholic Europe. However, some cracks in this interpretation are apparent. Caratach's nationalism and misplaced loyalty do seem to mirror James's Spanish overtures, his 'Romish' stance and absolutism. Because of Caratach's self-imposed code of honour and poor judgement in freeing Judas and his men, Hengo is later killed by Judas's trap. Blinded to the socio-political and economic realities of early seventeenth century Europe is James really throwing England's future to the lions? A number of critics do see *Bonduca* as alluding to the court and reign of James I. Julie Crawford concludes her analysis of the play by writing that, "*Bonduca*'s ambiguity about the 'heroism' and good governance of the male ruler, Caratach, does, I argue, reflect contemporary ambivalence about James as a ruler."[218]

Can Caratach and Suetonius's reconciliation be seen as a victory of masculine Roman origins over the feminine Celtic origins of the nation? In her chapter on *Cymbeline* Mikalachki states that "a fear of originary feminine savagery was what consistently drove early modern historians and dramatists of ancient Britain to take refuge in the Roman embrace."[219] *Cymbeline* may have inspired Fletcher's writing of

---

[218] Ibid. Crawford. p. 374. See also Hickman, Op. Cit., p. 167, who calls Caratach "a poor military thinker." Also see McMullan, Op. Cit., p. 95-96.
[219] Op. Cit., Mikalachki. p. 114.

Boudica's story and in fact Miller-Tomlinson points out that "*Bonduca* (c. 1613) has often been read as re-enacting the rejection of Britain's matriarchal past and the embrace of alternative patriarchal origins that Mikalachki and Floyd-Wilson find in *Cymbeline.*"[220] Nevertheless, the play manifests some doubts regarding the hybrid Anglo-Roman identity embraced by Bonduca's cousin throughout the play. On a simplistic level Bonduca symbolises those prehistoric Britons who are "a nameless press" (II. i. 38), "noteless, and out of name, but rude and naked" (II. i. 42) according to the Roman general Penyus. They are "noteless" because the written word of history has not yet included their stories. Thus prehistory also gives them no name. It is Caratach who bridges the gap between the nameless past and the written future of the British people through his affiliation with the Roman Empire. Britain's entry into history is made in a proleptic speech by Caratach at the beginning of the play when he says:

> There's not a blowe we gave since *Julius* landed,
> That was of strength and worth, but like Records
> They file to after-ages. Our Registers,
> The *Romanes,* are for noble deeds of honour;
>
> (I. i. 140-143)

This speech is stopped by Bonduca who sees herself as a storybook figure when she cries: "No more, I see my self" (I. i. 145). Penyus seems to share the same vision of history when he refuses to join Suetonius and sees his own death as an historical epitaph: "What you have been,/ How excellent in all parts,/ good, and govern'd,/ Is onely left of my command, for story" (II. i. 98-100).

The English 'Revolution' in historiography was still taking place in the early seventeenth century and with the new Jacobean regime England's national identity was in flux. Its road to re-construction was debated and contested on every level; political, economic, religious and social. Fletcher's play reflects many of these anxieties and his references to the written records and to the "ruin'd monuments" (III. ii. 71) of the Romans shows that he was well-read and well aware of the Roman legacy to Britain. However, Fletcher's play also shows us that the Roman embrace was a danger to a people's identity, just as Bonduca warns the gods when appealing to them for aid in Act Three by telling them that Roman conquest "wipes out all your stories" (III. i. 16),

[220] Op. Cit., Miller-Tomlinson. p. 52.

literally meaning that the oral history of her people will be lost and with it their identity.

Another negative side to the written word was the discrimination chosen by past historians in only writing about kings and their glorious battles. Thus a man's fame and honour could only be won in courageous deeds against the enemy. As Petillius warns his fellow captains and officers before the last battle: "That man that loves not this day,/ And hugs not in his arms the noble danger,/ May he die famelesse and forgot" (III. ii. 83-85). With this in mind history had very little room for the deeds of women. And as we shall now see neither did the land in representations of the nation.

As I noted during the Elizabethan period manifestations of the land were seen as female and this idea was ultimately personified in the person of the Queen. In the *Ditchley* painting for example, Elizabeth is standing on a map of England and is represented in symbiosis with the land and with the elements; she is England. However, in the Jacobean period there was a shift away from such female personifications of the land and a move towards male representations of the nation instead. James's nation of male dominated culture sought to subsume the Elizabethan one of the land. Man was both the patriarchal head of the family and the nation, but he was also the cultural manifestation of the nation, whilst woman was silently absorbed into the family becoming only the topographical body of that nation. This notion culminates in the manifestation of Hobbes' Artificial Man of the *Leviathan* in 1651 in which the giant torso of the Leviathan represents that of sovereign power over the nation, wielding both secular and religious power over a tamed landscape the sovereign unites in his body the people of England.[221] In Fletcher's play we can identify the binary opposition between Bonduca and Caratach as one which represents the movement away from the medieval idea of the kingdom embodied in the person of the monarch to the early modern idea of the nation embodied in the person of the sovereign ruling over, and deriving authority from, a political and geographical commonwealth of people.

Bonduca poses the question; is the nation its people or the land? As we saw earlier Bonduca's concept of Britain is clearly defined in terms of its people but for Caratach the notion of nation is determined by the land: "We grapple for the ground we live on" he says (I. i. 159), although he is actually fighting for his cousin's lands

[221] This is discussed by Mikalachki in her chapter 'From Mater Terra To The Artificial Man.' Op. Cit., pp. 18-67.

within the play and returning to his own lands with Hengo at the end. Firstly, you can lay claim to a territory because your community has established a foundation myth of origin which explains why and how you arrived there and secondly, you can lay claim to the land because you live there and your ancestors are buried there. This justifies your claim to place. In Caratach's declaration in *The Tragedie of Bonduca* he disputes peace as the Britons' objective against the Roman conquerors arguing that as the Roman conquest seeks to take their land the Britons must fight to the death and the only honourable peace that can be achieved must first begin with an alliance in death and burial in the same soil:

> Let's use the peach of Honour, that's fair dealing,
> But in our ends, our swords. That hardy *Romane*
> That hopes to graft himself into my stock,
> Must first begin his kindred under ground,
> And be alli'd in ashes.
>
> (I. i. 170-174)

The deaths of the women prevent the Romans from grafting themselves onto the British stock, but both sides certainly begin their kindred in death and burial in the land. However, the historical story did witness the intermarriage of the Romans and the Britons, a point which was to become a bone of contention when it involved the intermarriage of English colonists in Ireland and America in the early modern period.

Clearly the answer to my question above is that the nation is determined both by its people and its land. However, the question of national identity is also raised in the play. Bonduca has no doubts as to her British identity but for Caratach it is more delicate. National Identity is determined by national origins and since Caratach clearly belongs to some sort of liminal space within the play this may explain his double allegiance to Britain and to Rome. The liminal space into which Caratach retreats with Hengo is represented as a lost wilderness in the mountains and many critics have interpreted this place as the Welsh borderlands, the disputed territory of the four shires lying between the two borders of the river Severn and the river Wye, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Council of the Welsh Marches although the population living there considered themselves English.[222] If we turn to Hengo, a name introduced by Fletcher as a reference to Hengist, the first Saxon ruler of Britain, we

[222] Schwyzer, P. 'A Map of Greater Cambria,' *Early Modern Literary Studies.* e-journal, 1998. p. 2. See also Kerrigan. Op. Cit., p. 118.

are told that Caratach is taking him to his homeland and although it is never explicitly said in the play we imagine that Caratach is taking him back to Wales. As Hengo represents James's dead son, Henry, the Prince of Wales, "Britain's jewel" (I. i. 107) and "bud of Britain" (I. i. 114) Hengo's role in James's project of British unity seems of paramount importance.

There are other tacit references to Wales such as when Judas affirms that Caratach is trapped "on a steep rock, i' th' woods, the boy too" (V. ii. 101) which recalls a similar reference in *Cymbeline* when Belarius and the two princes climb higher into the mountains for safety in Pembrokeshire. John Kerrigan juxtaposes such references to that made by Holinshed concerning Caratacus's retreat to the hilltops with his men when they were attacked by the Romans in Wales.[223] Although, historically, Caratacus had managed to unite the Welsh tribes against Roman invasion, he had actually taken refuge in Wales himself when retreating before the Roman advance. The second son of Cunobelinus (Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*) Caratacus originally came from East England and had later taken over lands South of the Thames before the Claudian invasion of AD 43. A brilliant military strategist and organiser of men he was quickly accepted by the Welsh as their war leader. He was also accepted by Fletcher who merged the two rebellions of Caratacus and Boudica into one story.

Such a confusion of historical chronology, geography and national identity may be reflected in the play through references to the dragon, the symbol of Wales. The Britons' battalion is called a dragon by Penyus: "See that huge Battell moving from the mountains,/Their gilt coats shine like Dragon scales" he says to Drusus (III. v. 95-96), and later Judas says that Caratacus "H'as eyes would kill a dragon" (IV. ii. 35). However, in popular folklore it was the patron saint of England, Saint George, who killed the dragon. The dragon is slain and as Green points out the final embrace between Suetonius and Caratacus "is simply the final inevitable step in the process of 'Romanisation' toward which the old British soldier has been moving."[224] Caratach may call himself, "we ... Britains" (V. i. 1), thus focusing on his role of unifier, but it is an Anglo-Saxon England, as in *Cymbeline,* which holds the reigns of power.

The confusion over English, Welsh, Scottish and even Irish origins which the new historiography and cartography maps had thrown up is apparent in these Roman plays which seek to trace their historical conversion to civility back to a Roman

---

[223] Ibid. Kerrigan. p. 127.
[224] Op. Cit., Green. p. 316.

heritage whilst accepting their own savage prehistory by projecting it onto matriarchal British roots. Some Englishmen sought to disassociate themselves from their Celtic neighbours of Wales and Scotland by demonstrating the uncivil nature of their characters as seen in Bonduca and her daughters in Fletcher's play. These same Englishmen referred to their own more noble Anglo-Saxon heritage, represented by Hengo in *Bonduca.* Paradoxically though the English found themselves with a Scottish king on the throne of England and Kerrigan refers us to some Welsh and Irish writers who very quickly re-traced James's Celtic roots back to Wales or Ireland whilst English antiquaries viewed him as a Saxon.[225]

However, there was also the pro-British party which sought a British unity through a common ethnic front. James's son, Henry, Prince of Wales was meant to be a prime pawn in this British movement as mirrored in his double, Hengo. Penyus's reference to Hengo as Britain's "Lions whelp" (I. i. 120) reflects this optimistic and hopeful outcome but following Hengo's death Caratach shows his detachment from such hopes for a British union by saying: "Farewell the hopes of *Britain*,/ Thou Royall graft, Farewell for ever" (V. iii. 160-161). Once again Caratach's reference to Hengo as a 'graft' whose parents are not named in the play but belonged to both Caratach and Bonduca's Celtic families with a Saxon name points to his role as unifier. Kerrigan reads the relationship between Caratach and Hengo as that of "a family romance" similar to that found in *Cymbeline* where the orphaned Posthumus is instrumental in joining the Romans and Britons together.[226]

Nevertheless, as already discussed in the preceding chapter, Wales holds a significant place in many of the history plays of the period. A Welsh rebellion like that of the Nine Years War in Ireland was always a possibility, especially since Welsh national identity had been smothered by violence following the Owen Glendower rebellion of the fifteenth century. Wales was annexed by Henry VIII but appeased by the fact that Henry VIII was of Welsh lineage. Yet Wales was excluded from

[225] See Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'James our True King: The Ideology of Irish Royalism in the Seventeenth Century', in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan, eds, *Political Thought in Ireland Since the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7-35. See Robert Holland's Welsh translation of King James's *Basilikon Doron* in 1604, with its recommendation that Prince Henry learn Welsh, and the associated genealogy, which in practice appeared separately, tracing James's descent through Henry VII back to the Welsh princes and ancient British kings. This move had been anticipated in the sixteenth-century claim that James's ancestor Fleance—as featured in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*—had fled from Scotland to Wales, where he founded the Stewart dynasty by marrying a Welsh princess (e.g. Llwyd, *Breuiary*, F2v-3r). For James's Saxon origins see Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, Concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation* (London, 1605). Cf. Kerrigan. p. 119.
[226] Ibid. Kerrigan. p. 127.

complete union because of the language barrier. As already noted, Elizabeth's concession had been to translate the New Testament and prayer books into Welsh, but only to forestall any re-conversion to Catholicism. Highley points out in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* that Glendower's daughter only speaks Welsh and is represented only through her father's translation of her words into English.[227] English nationalism was not just based on the same land, king and religion, it was also based on the "kingdom of our own language,"[228] which, as Helgerson writes, "carr[ies] us from an essentially dynastic conception of communal identity ("the kingdom") to an assertion of what we recognize as one of the bases of postdynastic nationalism ("our own language").[229]

In the Roman plays produced between 1603 and 1614 the English cast themselves in the role of heirs to the Roman conquest westwards. In Fletcher's *Bonduca* Suetonius's dream is to turn the British Caratach into a Roman, "To make him Romane" (I. ii. 260) and with the analogy being made between that of a Roman and a gentleman, "I'll hang like a Gentleman, and a Roman" (II. iii. 120), says Judas, it is clear, as noted by Kerrigan that "the governing elite, schooled in classical humanism, could identify their Britishness with Roman civility and tar the mere Irish and native Americans with the brush of barbarousness….They began to embrace the idea that the Roman mission to conquer and civilise had translated westwards and been inherited by Britain."[230] The idea of Britain as the repository of old Roman values is one that Clarke identifies with Tacitus's works which of course were studied at the English universities. Clarke writes that "in observing the moral decline of Rome… Britain, as an island nation, forms the antithesis of Rome in Agricola's day, as described by Tacitus."[231]

Thus the Roman embrace of Britain provided the English with civility but Fletcher's *Bonduca* also includes a caveat concerning the pride and fall of a conquering nation; in spite of everything, the 'gentleman' and 'Roman' cited earlier refers to the treacherous and ill-disciplined Judas. And how are we to understand Bonduca's final words to her Roman victors?

---

[227] Op. Cit., Highley. p. 104.
[228] Spenser, E. in a letter written to Gabriel Harvey in 1580. cf. Helgerson, R. Introduction to *Forms of Nationhood.* p. 1.
[229] Ibid. Helgerson. p. 2.
[230] Op. Cit., Kerrigan. p. 116.
[231] Clarke, K. 'An Island Nation: Re-Thinking Tacitus' Agricola,' *Journal of Roman Studies.* Vol. 91, pp. 94-112, 2001. p. 107.

> I hate to prosecut my victory,
> That I will give you counsel ere I die.
> If you will keep your Laws and Empire whole,
> Place in your Romane flesh a Britain soul.
>
> (IV. iv. 150-153)

Bonduca's final words could be taken as English advice to a Scottish king. After all, Bonduca is addressing Suetonius, the Roman outsider and another mirror image of James. Her advice concerning the Roman take-over of Britain further positions Bonduca as an English heroine advising English hegemony over the new British archipelago. As a national text affirming a British identity dominated by England, the model of civility, her speech also demonstrates current anxieties concerning James's position of absolute power and as a corollary between Elizabeth's reign of female power and that of James's absolute patriarchy. Peter Berek even suggests that the powerful women in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays functioned as a challenge to Jacobean absolutism,[232] in which case the suicides of Bonduca and her daughters represent the subjects who got away. However, Bonduca's suicidal gesture also begs the question; who is the real conqueror and honourable victor? This implicit message advises England to approach its plantation and colonisation of both America and the Celtic fringes of Ireland, along with the introduction of English civility, with caution.

The juxtaposition of scenes which move between the British and Roman camps reinforces the difference in the positive values of the Roman army and the negative ones of the Britons. For example, the Roman soldiers are compared with the sun and with fire (IV. iii. 189, 210) whilst the British resemble a mist which is dissipated by the Roman flame:

> Upon this Enemy, who, but that we want foes,
> Cannot deserve that name; and like a myst,
> A lazie fog, before your burning valours
> You'll finde him flie to nothing.
>
> (III. ii. 75-79)

[232] Op. Cit., Berek. p. 361 & 368.

Nevertheless, despite appearances and the dominance of Roman characters in the play (twice as many as the Britons) the dramatic structure is founded on divisions within the two camps. Caratach, Suetonius' opposite number, is a British hero who possesses Roman values. Judas, on the other hand, is the Roman villain who finally suffers the fate of an adulteress when he is lapidated by a single stone from Caratach.

In *Bonduca* Britain's integration into the Roman empire stands primarily as an allegory for Welsh integration into England. This unification may well reflect England's colonial projects across the waters. If Wales holds a significant place in these Roman plays we can add that Ireland is the subtext and the sparring ground for penetration into the Americas. In *Bonduca* Britain is civilised first through violent subjugation and then through reconciliation. Both of these approaches mirror the different strategies taken by Elizabeth and James in colonising Ireland and parts of America. In the play Bonduca seems to recall Elizabeth's words and military success against the invading Armada when she says: "A woman beat 'em Nennius; a weak woman" (I. i. 15), and both were compared to viragoes. However, this is within a context of defence and the comparison between Bonduca and Elizabeth stops here. Elizabeth's military subjugation of Ireland is next represented by the Romans' violent repression of the British rebellion. In *Bonduca* just as Bonduca dies Decius enters to announce to Seutonius: "'Tis won, Sir, and the Britains/ All put to th' sword" (IV. iv. 154). The reconciliation in the play only takes place in the final act between Suetonius and Caratach.

Edmund Spenser, English colonialist and administrator for the Elizabethan court in Ireland, advised first military subjugation followed by the forced effacement of the Irish culture and the adoption of English civility through an English education, English dress and language. Jones and Stallybrass discuss this policy in their article, "Dismantling Irena," in which they refer to the 1537 English Parliamentary "Act for the English Order, Habit and Language," which was enforced by the Parliament in Dublin in 1585.[233] Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) identifies the Irish as the British used to be before being brought into civilisation through Roman intervention and insists on the fact that "Civility… does not emerge through cultural evolution but through military conquest. The English had to be 'brought unto'

[233] Jones, A. R. Stallybrass, P. 'Dismantling Irena: The Sexualizing of Ireland in Early Modern England.' *Nationalism and Sexualities.* New York: Routledge, 1992. p. 157 & 167.

civility."[234] For Englishmen such as Spenser who lived in Ireland they saw military repression of the Irish, through starvation, dispossession of their lands, plantation of English settlers, and the enforcement of English law as the only way of subduing the barbarian other.[235] Such a policy of conquest and consolidation of power would effectively threaten and eventually destroy the cultural identity of an indigenous people. In the case of Boudica's rebellion, that of the Iceni, her people, were wiped out. Only Caratach's Welsh 'capitulation' to the Romans saved the British people and the Tudors used Wales as a model for the suppression of Ireland.

The Nine Years War in Ireland ended in 1603 just a few days after Elizabeth's death but had shown the full effectiveness of the brutal suppression of a people. Some of the events must have recalled Boudica's own uprising and successes such as the Irish victory at Yellow Ford in 1598 when some 2000 English troops were ambushed and killed whilst marching to Armagh. Perhaps this is reflected within Fletcher's play when Bonduca says: "And through their big-bon'd *Germans*, on whose Pikes/ The honour of their actions sit in triumph" (I. i. 13-14). This refers to the Roman loss of three legions in Germany in AD 9 when the general Varus and his men were ambushed and massacred. The Germans then placed the ensigns of the three Roman legions on pikes as trophies commemorating their victory. Then, as in the historical story of Boudica's destruction of the Roman colonies at Colchester, London and St. Albans, the Irish rebels or freedom fighters destroyed the Munster plantation, which had been colonised by English settlers, including Edmund Spenser himself, who had to flee for their lives.

In retribution Tyrone's rebellion was put down with brutal force by the English who implemented a scorched earth policy of devastating the countryside and killing the civilian population. This strategy provoked famine, death and even led to some cases of cannibalism.[236] The idea of cannibalism is raised by Hengo at the end of *Bonduca* when Caratach returns from a fight with a Roman head in his hand. The hungry Hengo says: "Good provision./ Before I starve, my sweet-fac'd Gentleman, I'll trie your favour" (IV. ii. 79-80).

---

[234] Ibid. Jones and Stallybrass. p. 160.

[235] This is discussed by Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley in their introduction to *Edmund Spenser: A View of the State of Ireland.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1997. pp. xvii-xxii.

[236] See Hiram Morgan's *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* for more information and a list of sources and bibliographical references (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993).

James's policy of reconciliation in Ireland was a completely different approach from that of Elizabeth. He may have been motivated by a number of factors; Tudor failures in Ireland, his own experience in trying to rule such Gaelic areas of Scotland as the Isle of Lewis, and possibly ethnic empathy for a people often connected to the Scots themselves (the Scots and the Irish had frequently been referred to as one race, by English writers.[237]) According to Jenny Wormald "James never subscribed to the harsh and savage view propounded by the poet and administrator in Ireland, Edmund Spenser, and by the attorney-general of Ireland, Sir John Davies, that the only way to deal with the Irish was by the forcible imposition of English civility."[238] Instead of this James tried a more hybrid approach to colonising Ireland. His plantation of Protestant Ulster on lands taken from Tyrone and other Irish rebels included a British population of English, Scots and Irish. Other policies, implemented in both Ireland and the Scottish highlands included the education of heirs of highland chiefs in the English-speaking lowlands, whilst the heirs of the Old English peers in Ireland had to be educated in England, the same policy imposed by Roman emperors on subjugated peoples.

Critics of Fletcher's *Bonduca* have also identified references which point to the English landings in America. Petillius's description of the Britons as "painted wasps" (I. ii. 215) recalls John White's engravings of the body paintings of ancient Britons which he had taken from current descriptions of Algonquian Indians, along with references from classical sources.[239] Jowitt singles out Fletcher's play in an article discussing English colonisation of America and she recognises the polarity in Caratach's and Bonduca's leadership styles as analogous to those of James and his predecessor, Elizabeth. For example, the divisions within the Britons' camp yet their knowledge of the local terrain may well represent the indigenous tribal communities of Virginia whilst the conquering army in *Bonduca* and in America were both wrought with problems of ill-discipline and lack of food.[240] *Bonduca* is strewn with references to food, or rather the lack of it, and the threat of mutiny because of the lack of supplies. Petillius warns Suetonius by saying:

---

[237] Op. Cit., Highley. p. 68.
[238] Wormald, J. 'James VI and I (1566-1625): Triple Monarchy: Scotland and Ireland,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
[239] Julius Caesar's *The Conquest of Gaul* refers to the Britons who dyed their skin with woad (book V, 14).
[240] Jowitt, C. 'Colonialism, Politics, and Romanisation in John Fletcher's *Bonduca*,' *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900.* vol. 43, pp. 475-94, 2003. p. 476.

Sir, already
I have been tampring with their stomacks, which I finde
As deaf as Adders to delays [of ships carrying supplies]: your clemency
Hath made their murmurs, mutinies, nay, rebellions:
Now, and they want but Mustard, they're in uproars:
No oil but Candy, Lucitanian figs,
And wine from Lesbos, now can satisfie 'em:

. . . . .

This cost the Colonies, and gave *Bonduca*
(With shame we must record it) time and strength
To look into our Fortunes; great discretion
To follow offered Victory; and last, full pride
To brave us to our teeth, and scorn our ruines.

(I. ii. 165-180)

This could be a reference to the losses in America, where again cases of cannibalism were reported within the British plantation of Jamestown during the winter of 1609-1610, a period know as the "starving time," when the colony was almost lost because the ships carrying supplies from England were delayed due to bad weather.[241] Within *Bonduca*, Caratach is seen as a conciliatory indigenous leader, even providing food for the starving colonisers when feeding Judas and his men in Act Two. However, such hospitality is treacherously reciprocated by Judas at the end which may provide another example of Caratach's misguided leadership or may represent the naive simplicity of primitive man.

Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiqves and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1599 also discusses the taking of land, the removal of populations, the planting of colonies in America and the transportation or deportation of peoples as slave cargo under Elizabethan policies of trade and colonisation.[242] In David Powel's *The Historie of Cambria now called Wales* (1584) Powel covers the Welsh rebellion of Owen Glendower in which the real villain is the English king, Henry IV, who "for the offense of one man and his complices," persecutes an entire nation with "lawes both unreasonable and unconcionable (such as no prince among the heathen ever offered to his subjects.)"[243] This is further discussed by Highley, who quotes Powel: "Let anie indifferent man therefore judge and consider

[241] Ibid. Jowitt. She discusses the endemic problem of food supply in her article. pp. 480-483.
[242] Op. Cit., Helgerson. *Forms of Nationhood.* p. 165 & 186.
[243] David Powel. The Historie of Cambria now called Wales. 1584. pp. 387-88. cf. Highley. p. 73.

whether this extremitie of law, where justice it selfe is meere injurie and crueltie, be not a cause and matter sufficient to withdraw anie people from civilitie to barbarisme" (pp. 387-88), to which Highley adds: "That the conquerors themselves might be responsible for instilling barbarism in a subject people is one of *The Historie of Cambria's* most provocative insights – and one, moreover, that also appears in contemporary discourse on Ireland."[244]

With these examples in mind can we read the roman embrace of Britain in *Bonduca* as a denunciation of Britain's imperial ambitions in Ireland and/or America? Were the Britons really integrating the conquered peoples into 'civilisation' through violent subjugation followed by reconciliation and education or were they, themselves, the barbarian? *Bonduca* does seem to question the ethics of conquest and the role of Britain in the new world order. Certainly Fletcher's later play, *The Island Princess* (1621), which was performed at court, represented the effect of European occupation and trade competition on the inhabitants of the Moluccas.[245] In both these plays and others Fletcher explores the interactions between the coloniser and the colonised with a satirical eye. The double anxieties of barbaric excess and the fear of going native are also present in *Cymbeline* but in *Bonduca* these anxieties are expressed with more conviction.

Both armies in *Bonduca* are responsible for war crimes and excessive violence. When Bonduca's daughters hold Judas and his men prisoners Bonduca tells them to torture the men and then to hang them (II. iii. 15). When Bonvica, the second daughter, sends a guide to Junius to show him and his men the way to their camp and into her love trap we learn that Junius has first had the guide tortured to be sure of the story (III. ii. 40). And at the end of Act Four all the surviving Britons are executed. However, the "love-mange" (IV. iv. 156) that suddenly grows upon Petillius following the death of the first daughter shows the dangerous fascination that indigenous women could seemingly exert upon their male conquerors whilst Bonvica's love trap represents the fear of indigenous seduction. Highley places this fear "in the early modern colonial imagination [where] sex and seduction were dangerous forces that imperilled English domination in Ireland."[246]

---

[244] Ibid. Highley. p. 74.
[245] See Gordon McMullan's biography: 'John Fletcher (1579–1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9730, accessed 29 Nov 2009]

[246] Op. Cit., Highley. p. 103.

Contact with native women was represented as something which could lead to degeneracy, as shown through Petillius's necrophilic desire in *Bonduca,* and to a loss of military judgement, but worse still, intermarriage between the coloniser and the colonised, as envisaged by Junius in the play, could submerge the identity of the occupying forces leading to a loss of civility and a return to a more primitive state. Such anxieties were voiced by Spenser who even argued that placing English babies with Irish wet nurses could lead to degeneracy through the transmission of language and of Irish milk into the English blood.[247] It is likely that the elite Roman ladies living in occupied Britain in the first century AD would also have employed British wet nurses to feed their babies and this may, in part, bear some relation to the mutilation of some of the Roman women during Boudica's rebellion when the victims had their breasts cut off and sewn to their mouths to make them look as though they were drinking their own milk/blood.

Contact with the indigenous populations of Ireland and America and the difficulties of keeping a separation between the coloniser and the colonist highlighted a growing fear of going native.[248] The intermarriage between the English colonisers and the Irish, as described by Spenser, highlighted the fear of losing one's original English identity and of going native just like Mortimer had in Wales in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and Captain Tyrell had in Ireland.[249] The specter of cannibalism in Jamestown had further highlighted the fear of returning to a primitive state. Other factors, such as the description of gender and dress, show the added example of men returning to a more effeminate state of nature. Take for example the painting of Captain Thomas Lee by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger in 1594 which shows Captain Lee clad half as an Englishman and half as an Irish native. His legs and feet are both bare and he carries an Irish spear.[250] In *Bonduca* Caratach and Bonduca exchange gender roles such as maternal care and military leadership both of which imbue their judgment as parent and leader.

However, representing Bonduca as a masculine virago has also shown Bonduca to be a heroic and uncompromising nationalist and despite Fletcher's popularity at court some of his plays do represent another anxiety: "that of living under an

---

247 Op. Cit., Hadfield and Maley (editors). *Edmund Spenser.* p. 71.
248 Op. Cit., Jowitt discusses John Rolfe's marriage to the Algonquian princess, Pocahontas, in 1614 and his anxieties. p. 483.
249 Op. Cit., Highley. p. 90-91.
250 Ibid. Highley. p. 91.

implacable and inescapable monarch"[251] which included his pursuance of foreign policy and European cohesion with little interference from Parliament. This seems apparent in such projects as both Protestant and Spanish Catholic marriages for his children. Many of his subjects may have wanted him to go to war with Spain but James cast himself more in the role of *rex pacificus*. It seems that in private verses to the countess of Huntingdon Fletcher did want England and Scotland to go to war with Spain,[252] and that Prince Henry served as a focus for an anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic war party at court.[253] Henry's death in 1612 signified the end of Britain's Protestant imperial aspirations and we can consider the death of Hengo in *Bonduca* to be a tribute to the untimely death of "the hopes of Britain" (V. iii. 160).[254]

Caratach's 'Romanisation' is represented as poor leadership in freeing Judas and his men, something which leads to the direct death of Hengo from Judas's arrow, and may also question the tragic flaw in Caratach's leadership; that of James's reconciliation with Rome and Catholic Spain (he had ended the Anglo-Spanish war in 1604). If admiration for Roman values provided a backdrop to James's court then James's own Romish reputation provided the substance. Nominally James was a Protestant, but his absolutism and his pro-Catholic stance sometimes made him unpopular. As head of the Protestant Churches in England and in Scotland, but with evident Catholic tolerance and sympathies,[255] James tried to unify the Christian churches but only succeeded in alienating both the Catholics and the Puritans; the Catholic Gunpowder Plot of 1605 tried to blow up James I and the Houses of Parliament, whilst some Puritan extremists emigrated to America on the *Mayflower* in 1620.

In *The Tragedie of Bonduca*, the religious and ritualistic elements of Boudica's rebellion were included by Fletcher and carry overtones of Protestant, even Puritan ideas about kingship, chastity and purity. The opening to Bonduca's patriotic speech

[251] Turner, R.Y. 'Responses to Tyranny in John Fletcher's Plays,' *MRDE*, vol. 4, pp.123-141, 1989. p.124.
[252] Op. Cit., Finkelpearl. pp. 28-29, 188.
[253] Ibid. Finkelpearl. p. 207.
[254] This is discussed in more depth by Crawford. Op. Cit., pp. 370-371.
[255] Whilst James was a Protestant, he had been baptised a Catholic and other members of his family and friends were Catholic. These included his cousin and childhood favourite, Lennox, his mother, his wife, who converted to Catholicism around 1601-1602, and his son, Charles I, a closet-Catholic, married to the Catholic Henrietta Maria of France, who tried to reintroduce Catholicism during his own reign (Crawford. p. 311). James also tried to introduce reforms in England which had been adopted in Catholic countries. For example, he introduced the Gregorian calendar in Scotland in 1600, changing the first day of the new year to January the first but he was unsuccessful in changing this in England. England retained the Julian calendar, celebrating the new year in March, and this was not changed until 1752.

can be interpreted as a denunciation of the false Roman religion and as a reaffirmation of England's Protestant position. Her death-scene points to, and denounces, the romophilia of the play "as a form of idolatry,"[256] which still seemed to threaten the early modern Protestant movement:

> *Bonduca.* If Rome be earthly, why should any knee
> With bending adoration worship her?
> She's vitious; and your partiall selves confesse,
> Aspires the height of all impietie:

As Hickman points out, the next section of her speech (IV. iv. 15-26), quoted earlier, positions her as a good Protestant who "holds out a vision of a pastoral Britain far fitter for reverence than the impiety and viciousness of Rome."[257] As Bonduca does go on to kill herself in this scene she considers herself a martyr to her cause. When Suetonius is trying to persuade Bonduca to surrender he says: "Yeeld, and be a Queen still, a mother and a friend" (IV. iv. 95.). When his persuasions fail he says: "Be anything," to which she replies: "A Saint" (IV. iv. 139), which echoes with a surprising Catholic resonance in an otherwise Protestant-sounding context and cannot be accounted for unless it represents Bonduca's ironic retort to an impossible aspiration. These words open her death speech.

We must not forget that *Bonduca* is also the vehicle for Fletcher's main theme of honour which, placed within the context of the Romanisation of Britain, highlights two types of Romanness; that of the honourable Junius and that of the treacherous Judas. Both men are Roman but Junius seems to represent the honourable warrior of the ancient and civilised world of Rome whilst Judas represents the decadency of modern Rome. Two possible interpretations are open to the reader and to the theatre goer; Fletcher's play covers sexual degeneracy which could be both a denunciation of the decadence of James's court life as well as an attack upon the degeneracy of contemporary Italy. With the inclusion of rape and necrophilic desire, moral degeneracy has been displaced onto the Romans. This is apparent through the caricature of the red-bearded Judas who shares the last supper with Caratach only to betray him before he in turn is stoned to death by Caratach. Yet the expressions of homoerotic feeling can also be placed within the British camp, particularly in the case

[256] Op. Cit., Miller-Tomlinson. p. 61.
[257] Op. Cit., Hickman. p. 164.

of Caratach. Both Cotton-Pearse and Finkelpearl see Fletcher's didactic purpose here in denouncing the degeneracy of the modern world and the decadence of the age.[258]

There remains a certain dichotomy in the fact that a number of Fletcher's plays were both critical of the king and of the court and yet were often selected by the Master of the Revels for court entertainment where they were very popular and escaped overt censorship. Finkelpearl poses this very question and the only possible answer he finds is that James was not as tyrannical and absolute in his rule as many historians have painted him. He writes: "Thus the only possible answer to my questions about how a critical drama was possible: the atmosphere in Jacobean England was more open, perhaps more chaotic if not exactly tolerant and forgiving, than is generally described. It is astonishing what the unpredictable king permitted to go unpunished; it is astonishing what his subjects sometimes dared say directly to him."[259]

I, myself, can only finish with a provisional conclusion to this play. Fletcher may well have been playing with fire in his criticism of court life, sexual politics and James's foreign policy but in the religious and class war of power politics and nation-building which continued from the reign of Elizabeth into that of James, anxieties over national identity and imperial aspirations became more virulent and had to be aired. The story of Boudica may have served a certain number of Fletcher's didactic and moral aims in instilling more honourable values in his Jacobean peers, particularly concerning the consolidation of national identities and the integration of foreign territory into the 'British' empire. Within the play representations of women at the dawn of British history showed the savage nature of native origins and somehow justified Britain's masculine embrace of the 'civilised' Roman Empire. In this way *Bonduca* can be seen as a paradigm for the colonial enterprises of the English Empire. It also showed the need to anglicise the native, a euphemism for domesticating the wild heart of 'barbarian' and virgin territory in America and Ireland.

However, Fletcher's social vision is perhaps less clear. His representation of Bonduca and of her two daughters followed the current movement of the times and pushed the female subject back into the silent and invisible sphere of the home. *The Tragedie of Bonduca* is a record of these changes wherein the rebellious and disobedient woman is represented as something powerful and destructive contravening

---

[258] Op. Cit., Cotton-Pearse. p. 132. Finkelpearl. p. 7.
[259] Ibid. Finkelpearl. p. 246.

social norms which could undermine nations and could only end with her exclusion through death. And yet Bonduca's patriotism and heroic death are recognised within the play. She is given a long nationalistic oration followed by her courageous choice of suicide rather than surrender. Suetonius even orders an honourable funeral for her saying: "Give her fair Funeral;/ She was truely noble, and a Queen" (IV. iv. 155-156).

Conclusion

Fell, from those funeral flames
A golden mist; which token is, from high gods
Of their unending glory to endure.

Charles Doughty, 'The funeral pyre of Boadicea and her daughters.'[1]

The documented figure of Boudica first appeared in the ancient texts of the first century AD. Sinking into oblivion over the next fifteen hundred years she was to rise, phoenix-like, from the historical ashes of the past when Tacitus's Latin manuscripts were found sitting forgotten in libraries of an Italian monastery and a German one in the fifteenth century. Across the literary and historical pages of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period Boudica's story was reproduced, modified, embellished and censored in order to provide comment on contemporary politics and society. Over the next five hundred years interest in her was sporadic and has mainly coincided with the rule of other powerful women, namely Queen Victoria, Elizabeth II and Margaret Thatcher. The interest in Boudica was probably due to the fact that the presence of a powerful woman in British culture is seen as a sexual anomaly and often arouses social anxiety. The polemical discussion of such an issue could only be carried out safely at a temporal and metaphorical distance through the airing of Boudica's story in the literary texts and the visual arts.

During the Elizabethan period certain elements of Boudica's story were exploited whilst others were forgotten. For example, she was portrayed as a victorious queen of England defending her nation and its religion from invaders, elements which highlighted Elizabeth's own preoccupations. Boudica's motherhood, her daughters and their rapes were ignored. During the Jacobean period negative reviews of her story appeared. These new representations of Boudica dealt with her sexuality and female excess, which called attention to the inevitable failure of female rule and anxieties over the savage origins of the nation.

When Pocahontas arrived in England in 1616 she incited a great deal of curiosity, particularly as the English public had already become familiar with

[1] Doughty, Charles. *The Dawn in Britain,* 1906. Cf. Fraser, A. *Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens.* London: Arrow, 1999. p. 323.

representations of American Indians through a number of publications,[2] and her presence provoked questions concerning the origins of the English people. Placed at the crossroads of British origins, was Boudica a cruel and incompetent savage as in Fletcher's *Bonduca* and later, in John Milton's *History of Britain,*[3] or was she a beautiful and noble lady like the young Pocahontas? That same year Daniel Tuvil included Boudica in his chapter on the valour and courage of women in his work, *Asylum Veneris, or A Sanctuary for Ladies*. In this work he describes all the moral values of a good woman and he too addresses the reader with a question: "Have wee not in our owne Confines, that princely *Voadicea,* […] who with her warlike *Amazonians* maintaind the reputation of her State, and kept it long on foot against the fierce invasion of the *Romanes?*"[4] He then includes a quotation from Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* reproaching men for their neglect of women's history.[5] Another text, that of Christopher Newstead's *An Apology for Women: or Womens Defence* (1620), again refers to "the ancient inhabitants of this Ile, the Britaines, *Vaodicea* being their General, [who] shaked off the Romane yoke, and most of their prosperous battles were when women did leade them."[6]

The following year Robert Burton, writing his *Anatomy of Melancholy,* stated that if a woman was "tall, proper and man-like [she is], our brave British Boadicea."[7] Softened by such praise and by parallels with the American Indian she gained a definitive place among the Pantheon of world famous women in Thomas Heywood's *Exemplary Lives …of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World* in 1640.[8] Along with Deborah, Judith, Ester, Penthesilia, Artemisia, Elphleda, the queen Margaret (the

[2] The works of Harriot, Sir Walter Raleigh and De Bry. These works are discussed in chapter one. See also Hadfield, A. *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
[3] In his *History of Britain,* John Milton wrote of Boudica's rebellion: "… the *Britons* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *barbarians*; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience or estimation, either of themselves or of their Enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seem'd likest not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a distracted Woeman, with as mad a Crew at her heeles." London: J. M.[Maycock], 1670. Book 2, p. 66.
[4] Tuvil, Daniel. *Asylum Veneris, or A Sanctuary for Ladies.* London: Edward Griffin, 1616. p. 136.
[5] *Faerie Queene.* book III, canto ii, verses I & 2.
[6] Newstead, C. *Asylum Veneris, or An Apology for Women: or Womens Defence.* London: Richard Whittakers, 1620. p.19. cf. Shepherd. S. *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981. p. 145.
[7] Burton, R. *The anatomy of melancholy*. Oxford: Lichfield and Short, 1621. Part 3, section 2, Mem. 3.
[8] Heywood,Thomas. *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World,* London: Thomas Cotes, 1640. pp. 68-92.

wife of Henry VI) and Elizabeth I, Boudica's name was to become a by-word for a patriotic heroine and a call to arms in the defence of Britain[9] and women's issues.

The use of Boudica in the fields of political and social debate established her importance in representations of the British nation and in representations of the modern woman. By the nineteenth century she had already become the rallying point for national culture and political freedom. One representation of Boudica that gives us the most widely known vision of her is that of Thomas Thornycroft's bronze statue on the banks of the Thames which was erected in front of the Houses of Commons and Big Ben in 1902 (Figure 7).

Figure n° 7: Thornycroft's sculpture of Boadicea and her two daughters, (photo: Samantha Frénée).

Here an imperialistic Boadicea is standing erect and victorious with one arm raised to the skies as though she were addressing her people from a scythe-wheeled chariot. She looks both fierce and proud brandishing a spear whilst the wild horses canon off in opposite directions and her daughters crouch a little behind her, their breasts exposed. On Thornycroft's statue the lines of the poet, William Cowper are

[9] In both world wars Britain named battle ships after her. A stretch of the allies' Western Front was also called 'Boadicea Redoubt' in the First World War. It was captured by the Germans in 1918. Bond, B (editor). *The First World War and British Military History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. p. 303.

inscribed on the plinth: "Regions Caesar never knew, thy posterity will sway,"[10] which refers to Queen Victoria and the growth of the British Empire. This statue was inspired by Tacitus's description of Boudica riding round the battle field as she addressed the different tribes with her two daughters in front of her. Her physical description is that given by Dio Cassius but the scythe-wheeled chariot was added by Edmund Bolton in 1624.[11]

This representation of Boudica also shows parallels with the French Mariane and Joan of Arc,[12] and the American Statue of Liberty, who symbolise liberty, equality and patriotism. These three qualities form the basis of such female icons and in most representations of Boudica are constantly stressed. In Jonson's *Masque of Queenes* in which he describes Boudica's speeches to her people he says she "expressed all magnitude of a spirit breathing to the liberty and redemption of her country."[13] In 1649 and 1653 she is mentioned in the Leveller's petition and is said to have freed Britain from the Danes.[14] She is also used by other women to stress their political and military equality with men; Ester Sowernam wrote a text called *Esther hath hang'd Haman*, already referred to, as a counter attack on a mysogynist tract by Joseph Swetnam. [15] In the twentieth century Boudica was also called upon by the Suffragette Movement when they staged The Pageant of Great Women in 1909 to call attention to their cause.[16]

Another facet of Boudica's iconography is that of her motherhood and in the Victorian period Boudica came to represent maternal imperialism. She had a lot in common with Queen Victoria; they shared the same name (Boudica means Victoria in Celtic), both were mothers and both were widows. The political advantages of a policy of maternal imperialism were enormous since it somehow justified Britain's imperialism, whilst the prophetic myth of the immortal Boudica added a heroic lustre to Britain's expansionist programme. The title of Marie Trevelyan’s Victorian history book, for example, positions Boudica’s story as a divinatory presage of Britain’s

---

[10] These lines are from William Cowper's ode, Boadicea (1780).

[11] Bolton, E. *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraved: An historicall worke.* London: Snodham and Alsop. 1624. chapter 25. §.xxx.

[12] She is directly compared to Joan of Arc by Tuvil. Op. Cit., p. 136.

[13] Jonson, Ben. *The Masque of Queenes*. 1609 in *The Complete Masques*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969. p. 545.

[14] Macdonald, S. Holden, P. Ardener, S. 'Boadicea: Warrior, Mother and Myth,’ *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives.* Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1988. p. 54.

[15] Sowernam, Ester. *Esther Hath Hanged Haman.* London: Nicholas Bourne, 1617. p. 19.

[16] Fraser, A. *Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens.* London: Arrow, 1999. p. 300.

future world position: "Britain's Greatness Foretold: The story of Boadicea, the British Warrior-Queen."[17]

A second, simpler representation of Boudica, is that of the marble statue of Buddug/Boadicea[18] and her daughters which stands in the Civic Hall of Cardiff. It was produced by the sculptor, James Harvard Thomas in 1916 to commemorate famous figures from Welsh history and shows none of the aggressive fury of many of the other depictions. It highlights rather, the instinct of a mother; Boudica's arms encircle her children, one hand is open towards the viewer as if she were appealing for compassion and understanding in showing the childlike figures of her two daughters whilst her eyes are fixed firmly on the horizon, alert to the danger that threatens her family.

Figure n° 8: Boudica and her daughters. Webster, G. *Boudica, The British Revolt Against Rome AD 60.* London: Routledge, 1993. Illustration 1, p. 65.

[17] Trevelyan, M. *Britain's Greatness Foretold: The Story of Boadicea, the British Warrior-Queen.* London: John Hogg, 1900.

[18] Buddug is the name for Boudica in Welsh.

This image of Boudica could be that of any mother with her children and you immediately empathise with the more human representation of Boudica, a representation which mirrored the conventional role model for patriotic women in the British Empire. In 1937 the historian L. Spence wrote:

> Boadicea's disdain of Roman immortality is typical of the British Woman. [...] She was wounded in that part of her which was most vulnerable, her maternal affection, that sense of decent modesty and propriety which has always been characteristic of the British matron, and which, despite those who may choose to sneer at it, makes her one of the most valuable binding-forces of society and a guiding light to the whole British world. It is indeed remarkable that the first British matron who appears in our history should have revealed in her spoken sentiments those self-same qualities which the great majority of British wives and mothers, even in these latter days, are known to possess. [19]

Iconographic depictions of Boudica also perpetuate the recurrent myths of Boudica's victory and her British sovereignty, which were prevalent in the sixteenth century onwards. Even today Boudica is often cited, for political mileage in cases of political and military success. For example, two newspaper cartoons of Margaret Thatcher identifying her with the victorious Boudica were published after the victory of the Falklands war and on polling day of the general elections of 1987.

Figure n° 9: *The Daily Express*, 24 June 1982. cf. Fraser. Illustrations

[19]Spense. *Boadicea; Warrior Queen of the Britons.* London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1937. p. 155.

Figure 9 shows a breast-plated Thatcher driving a Roman style Boudican chariot just after her appearance on American television at the conclusion of the Falklands war. Behind her we can identify the cowboy-figure of Ronald Reagan who is sitting on a small pony watching Thatcher's fiery passage with perplexed astonishment. The following figure, n° 10, shows a rather imperious looking Margaret Thatcher driving the Boudican chariot once again and wearing the laurel leaf crown of victory as she enters Rome under a shower of flowers, thrown by an invisible crowd. This cartoon, published on polling day, 11 June 1987, represents Margaret Thatcher as a Roman senator and military general after her political victory. Here she is shown dragging her political opponents (all men) behind her chariot in chains, and these enemies, now her prisoners, are to be displayed in a public victory before the people. This seems to be a major irony since the historical Boudica was neither victorious nor an imperialist. She was not even queen of Britain.

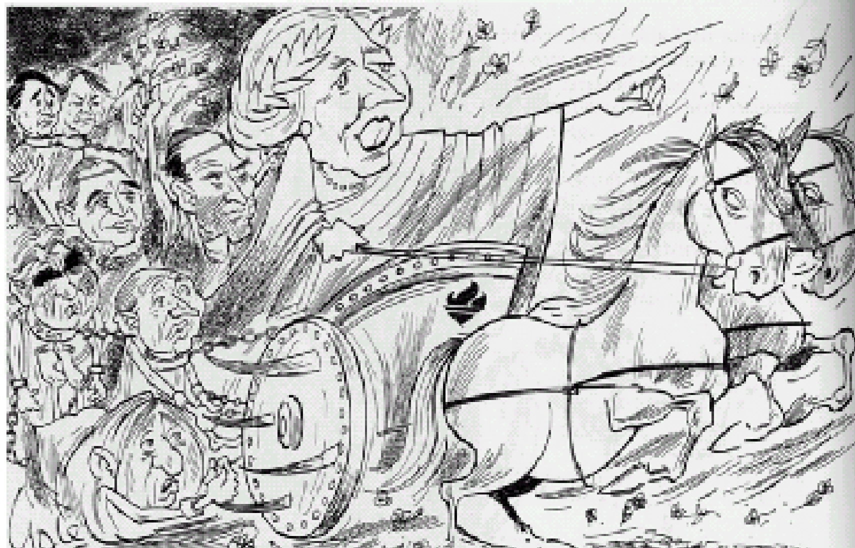

Figure n° 10: *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 June 1987, cf. Fraser, Illustrations

The success of a woman in a man's world has come to represent the predominant trait in representations of Boudica. Take for example the 2003 Ford Motor advertisement below. It exploits the emblem of Boudica in order to sell a new model of car which specifically targets the working woman. Once again we see Thorneycroft's chariot being led by a successful woman who is wearing a crown and

carrying a javelin. Under the horses' hooves and the scythed wheels of her vehicle this new Boudica is cutting down her business opponents (all men) whilst being celebrated under a shower of flowers. At the beginning of the twenty first century Boudica now represents the ideal of the emancipated woman; she is young, beautiful and powerful, with no children. What is more, she has a promising career ahead of her, full of glory and upward mobility, especially if she drives a Ford Focus.[20]

Figure n° 11: An advertisement for the Ford Motor Company: *The Independent* 10th August, 2003.

Other representations of Boudica in the last two hundred years show to what extent her personage has been appropriated by various parties and fragmented into a myriad of mirror images. National and regional entities which have claimed her, or

[20] Hingley and Unwin have identified a different car advertisement from mine, that for the Mitsubishi Colt 1800 GTI, but both advertisements use the image of Boudica to target the present-day working woman. See Hingley, R. Unwin, C. *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen.* London: Hambledon and London, 2005. p. 194.

dipped into this cultural resource bank, include Britain, Wales,[21] Scotland,[22] New Zealand,[23] America, Norfolk[24] and Essex,[25] and the Celtic fringe,[26] including Brittany.[27] Other camps include feminists and business interests such as Ford, Mitsubishi, Sly Fox Boadicea Ale (manufacturers of beer based in New York), the Iceni Brewery (based in Norfolk),[28] publicans (who run such pubs and bars as The Boadicea and Queen Boadicea in London[29]) and cruise liners.[30]

Due to the constant manipulation and exploitation of her story Boudica's name has become loaded with a multitude of meanings, both positive and negative, and it is because of her polyvalent symbolism in the present day that she has emerged as a popular and sympathetic figure in Britain's national heritage. Today, renewed interest in the icon of Boudica continues to perpetuate the myth of the warrior queen and

---

[21] For Wales I have already mentioned the statue of Boudica in the 'Heroes of Wales' gallery in Cardiff's Civic Hall but another reference to Boudica as a Welsh heroine is to be found in Marie Trevelyan's book, *The Story of Boadicea*, in which she claims that Boudica was Welsh. Cf. Hingley and Unwin. pp. 166-167.

[22] Boudica is evoked by Sir Walter Scott in 1817 when he compares Rob Roy's wife to the cruel but courageous Bonduca of Fletcher's *Tragedie of Bonduca* (*Rob Roy.* London: Penguin, 1995. p. 357). Chapter xxx of *Rob Roy* opens with the following citation:

Bonduca __________General,
Hear me, and mark me well, and look upon me
Directly in my face – my woman's face –
See if one fear, one shadow of a terror,
One paleness dare appear, but from my anger,
To lay hold on your mercies.

Although it is actually Bonduca's eldest daughter who says this in Fletcher's play (IV, iv, 50-57) Scott inscribes Rob Roy's wife in a tradition of women's resistance to oppression and he registers empathy and pity for both women; like Bonduca Helen Campbell is a brave, cruel and merciless woman with "a masculine cast of beauty" (p. 369). She is also a mother, a "virago" and an "Amazon" (p. 381) seeking revenge for her rape and other acts of violence committed against her. Rob Roy also tells the reader that he loves and respects his wife because she is his wife and has suffered enough.

[23] *The New Zealand Herald* compared Helen Clark (New Zealand's Prime Minister from 1999-2008) to Boudica during the general elections of 2008 under the title of 'Gladiator v Boadicea: No contest?' 30 October 2008. She lost the general election to John Key.

[24] Norwich Castle includes an exhibition about Boudica's rebellion which "lays a very direct territorial claim to Boudica." Op. Cit., Hingley and Unwin. p. 195.

[25] Boudica is the subject of a stained glass window in Colchester Town Hall (c. 1901/02). Ipswich Museum also has a lot of artefacts representing the regional heritage of East England, including a life-sized model of Boudica.

[26] In music Enya produced the track, 'Boadicea' on her album, *The Celts*. Warner Music UK Ltd, 1992.

[27] The Breton poet, Paol Koenig has claimed Boudica as a Celtic heroine in the campaign for Brittany's self-determination. *Boudica, Taliesin et autres poèmes.* Rennes : Editions Ubacs, 1990 (first published in 1980). pp.7- 48.

[28] The Iceni Brewery produces the 'Boadicea Chariot Ale.' Cf. Hingley and Unwin pp. 201-202.

[29] *The Boadicea* is in Charring Cross Train Station. The bar and pub, *Queen Boadicea,* is in Clerkenwell.

[30] Olsen Cruise Liners launched its ship, Boadicea, in 2006.

freedom fighter. This interest takes the form of songs,[31] paintings,[32] films and T.V. series,[33] novels, comic books and PC games.[34] However, a current concern, pointed out by Hingley and Unwin, is that of future representations of Boudica as a freedom fighter for Britain which may be problematical in the current context of relations with Iraq, Afghanistan and the Near East. These nations are fighting for their own self-autonomy and identity in the face of foreign occupation, war atrocities and civil rift. Hingley and Unwin write: "These contemporary situations involve western powers, including Britain, in dominant military roles. The ambiguity of Boudica's example again comes to the fore. She has been used to examine aspects of rebellion that relate directly to our own national experience. She may become problematic in this context because of growing concerns about national security and world peace."[35]

Solutions to this dilemma may be found in a poem written by the Breton poet, Paol Keineg who identifies Boudica not as a British queen, but as a Celtic woman of the people. The preface to the poem'Boudica' includes an excerpt from Tacitus's Annals, book xiv, but Keineg's French translation shows some poetic licence; the "British" have become "Bretons"[36] and the following excerpt centres the focus of attention on Boudica as a humble woman. Before the last battle in Tacitus's account Boudica proudly cries: "I am descended from mighty men! But now I am not fighting for my kingdom and wealth. I am fighting as an ordinary person for my lost freedom, my bruised body, and my outraged daughters."[37] Keineg's Tacitus gives this information in indirect speech: "It was not as the descendant of great ancestors, impatient to avenge her lost wealth and kingdom, that she came to them, but rather as a simple woman, fighting for her lost freedom, her battered body and the violation of her virgin daughters."[38] In this poem Boudica is represented as a guerilla freedom fighter for Brittany[39] and as an emblem of independence for other subjugated peoples

---

[31] Songs have been written and performed by the Dutch soprano Petra Berger, Steve McDonald, a Scottish singer, Bal-Sagoth, an English metal band. These are just a few examples.
[32]Boudica is portrayed on an oil painting by John McClean. Entitled, *Queen Boudica*, it can be viewed on the site; http://www.sheshen-eceni.co.uk/boudica_photo.html
[33] She was the subject of one episode of the American series, *Xena, Warrior Princess,* in 1997.
[34] For other cultural depictions see the site, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boudica#Cultural_depictions Hingley and Unwin also discuss these depictions in their book. Op. Cit., pp. 200-204, 214.
[35] Op. Cit., Hingley and Unwin. p. 214.
[36] Op. Cit., Keineg. Preface. p. 7.
[37] Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome,* xiv 29-39. London: Penguin, 1986. xiv. 34, p. 330.
[38] Op. Cit., Keineg. My translation of : "Ce n'était pas la descendante des grands ancêtres, impatiente de venger sa fortune et son royaume perdus, qui venait à eux, mais plutôt une simple femme, qui se battait pour sa liberté perdue, son corps meurtri et la virginité profanée de ses filles."
[39] Ibid. Keineg. Verse 15: "Boudica, tête penchée sur la cafetière, au milieu/des cartons et des papiers gras […]/ La reine aux cent coups frappe juste. Les femmes/ fortes et les guerriers pare-balles font

around the world (past and present), such as the Spanish under Franco,[40] the Mau Mau under British rule,[41] and the Bretons under French rule.[42] However, Keineg also presents her as an eco-warrior and an anti-globalisation activist. Keineg's poem denounces the economic imperialism of a number of multi-national corporations in the very first verse:

> Entre la naissance et la mort, entre Shell et Esso:
> gaveés de métaphysique, d'action culturelle, de mise
> en scène de tout. [43]

Verse 8 denounces the banks[44] and verse 30 criticises the exploitation of workers who have a fifty-hour working week.[45] As an eco-warrior 'Boudica' condemns the pollution caused by jets and by the burning of waste in the rubbish tips.[46] Here, Boudica is not related to Britain's national experience at all. She has been appropriated by Keineg, the Breton exile in America, and recycled as an emblem of international resistance to the economic, political and cultural hegemony of governments and transnational businesses. Is this Boudica's future role for the planet?

In the modern myth Boudica has also escaped the taint of war atrocities, despite any references to violence in the above representations. In reality she must be, at least morally, responsible for them as the war leader of the rebellion in 60/61AD. This is possibly because such a charge sits uncomfortably along side any picture of Boudica as a national heroine and as a woman. As far as representations of Boudica as a woman go, some forms of cultural expression have tried to humanise this figure. As mentioned in my introduction Mel Gibson's film of Boudica is due out next year although the first film adaptation of her story, *Boadicea,* was written by the British director, Sinclair Hall in 1928. The more recent *Boudica* (2003) is another British

---

bloc. […]/ Ici la ferraille, les ficelles du destin. Le terrain/ vague. Là, le combat pied à pied, le cocktail Molotov,/ la douleur qui mange le sein gauche. " (My translation: "Boudica, head bent over the coffee machine, surrounded by boxes and greasy paper […]/ The queen of a hundred lashes strikes well. The strong/ women and the bullet-proof warriors stand together. […]/ Here the scrap metal, the strings of destiny. The waste/ ground. There, fighting for every inch, the Molotov cocktail,/ The pain that knaws the left breast.")

[40] Ibid. Verse 16, p. 24.

[41] Ibid. Verse 18, p. 26.

[42] Ibid. Verse 35, p. 43.

[43] Ibid. p. 9. My translation: "Between birth and death, between Shell and Esso :/ force-fed metaphysics, cultural projects, a theatrical/ production of everything."

[44] Ibid. p. 16.

[45] Ibid. p. 38.

[46] Ibid. verse 9, p. 17.

film, produced for television and starring Alex Kingston as a very human and heroic mother and war leader, whilst the archaeologist, Miranda Aldhouse-Green offers readers an up-date on the latest discoveries in the field of Icenian research along with psychological insights into Boudica the woman in her most recent book, *Boudica Britannia.*[47]

Another lasting irony lies in the fact that Boudica did not actually see herself as British. A British national identity did not exist in prehistoric Britain. She was Queen, or Queen Regent, of the Iceni and any cultural and political identity she did have was firmly rooted in her regional tribe. She may have succeeded in unifying a number of other British tribes in her revolt against Rome but in reality her rebellion failed because many of the tribes did not rally to her cause. For example, the two other client kingdoms of Rome, that of Cartimandua's Brigantian confederacy in Yorkshire and that of Cogidubnus's Regni in the south, stayed loyal to Rome. Yet despite her rather obscure and tragic beginnings Boudica's career has taken her from the regional identity of the Iceni tribe in 60 AD to the national identity of the English in the sixteenth century, onto its imperial aspirations of the nineteenth century and to its global range in the present day.

To some extent the modern story of Boudica is one example of the suppression of national memory and yet, in an apparent contradiction, she is taught in the national curriculum for 11-14 year olds as part of a governmental policy to teach pupils "shared British values and […] national identity in the UK."[48] In the same Guardian article on education, from which this quote is taken, Andrew Mycock expresses the view that the teaching of history is a social tool which instils civic education and patriotism in its future citizens: "It is simply not possible to teach history or citizenship in secondary schools without promoting some notion of patriotism." He further adds that "the teaching of history is always deeply political, as it links debates about how the past influences our understanding of the present."[49] Which begs the question of how Boudica is taught in British schools?

In the school history manual, *Living Through History* for year seven, the chapter on Boudica opens with the title: "Did Boudica's Revolt Really Worry the Romans?"[50]

---

[47] Aldhouse-Green, M. *Boudica Britannia: Rebel, War-leader and Queen.* London: Longman Pearson, 2006.
[48] This article was published in the education supplement of the *Guardian*, July 17, 2007.
[49] Ibid. Andrew Maycock is a post-doctoral fellow in the school of languages, linguistics and cultures at Manchester University.
[50] Kelly, N. Rees, R. Shuter, J. *Living Through History 1: Roman Empire and Medieval Realms.*

Using a number of primary sources, including a modern artist's view of Boudica in battle array, the book corrects past errors and tries to give a balanced view of representations of her story. The Roman crimes against the Britons and Boudica's family are included a long with the war crimes committed by the Britons (Tacitus's account, not Dio's). Pupils are then asked to give their own opinion regarding Boudica.[51] Boudica may also be covered in English literature but this ground is more difficult to evaluate, unless her subject is part of a set book for an exam. I can say with some assurance, but no evidence, that Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* is less well-known and is rarely taught in schools, Fletcher's *Tragedie of Bonduca* is never taught, whilst Tennyson's poem, *Boadicea* (1859) is often considered too long and difficult because of its unusual galliambic meter.[52] On the other hand, Cowper's heroic and patriotic portrayal of Boudica (1782) might satisfy the demands of Gordon Brown (British Prime Minister and doctor of history) for more patriotic "'common glue' to bind British society together"[53] but it is perhaps too imperialistic and in consequence has not been taught in schools since the early twentieth century.[54]

My brief overview of the works examined here seems to illustrate Croce's declaration that "all history is contemporary history."[55] The new historicists and cultural materialists have developed this aphorism as a critical key in order to show how historiography responds to the needs of the present and is as much a construct of that present as a reconstruction of the past. In England's quest for self-expression and identity the controversial debate over Boudica's place in the national record only succeeded in placing Boudica right at the heart of national memory. By the early twentieth century she had already become an icon of patriotic nationalism, cultural imperialism and feminism but by the end of that century she had also assumed the roles of activist in the fields of anti-globalisation and environmental protection. The process, whereby the historical Boudica was transformed into the legendary Boadicea of the present day, seems to have been one of mythicisation. This was due to an uncontrolled and liberal policy of cultural free trade between the political and social

---

Oxford: Heinemann, 1997. p. 54.

[51] Ibid. p. 55.

[52] http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/boadicea/ See also Hingley and Unwin. pp. 153-157.

[53] Op. Cit., *The Guardian.*

[54] Op. Cit., Hingley and Unwin. pp. 157 & 182.

[55] Croce, B. *History as the Story of Liberty.* New York: Norton, 1941. p. 19. cf. Carr, E.H. *What is History?* London: Penguin. 1961. p. 21.

participants of a given community (the circulation of social energy)[56] and to a targeted ideological policy of "invisible bullets" [57] whereby political and economic bodies have used Boudica to reinforce a belief system and set of values in society. Stephen Greenblatt's article, "Invisible Bullets," refers to the role of religion in imposing power, and to the "constant production of its [the state power's] own radical subversion and the powerful containment of that subversion"[58] which enables the monarch to consolidate his/her position of authority.

In Richard Dutton's summary of the field of historiographical research he, too, includes literature as a potent force in ideological debates.[59] Such a premise was, according to Jonathan Dollimore, recognised by the early modern writers themselves such as Greville and Raleigh, who "knew then that the idea of literature passively reflecting history was erroneous; literature was a practice which intervened in contemporary history in the very act of representing it."[60] The power of literature as a persuasive tool in ideological debates is also recognised by Lucien Goldmann who discusses the significance of the literary artefact in the representation of ideas and declares that "a literary work is true, like the fable, through its secondary meaning and not by the immediate sense that it represents; the function of representation is not so much to imitate the real as to serve the expression that allows you to understand it."[61] In this way, poems such as Spenser's *The Ruines of Time* and *The Faerie Queene*, along with the plays of *Cymbeline* and *The Tragedie of Bonduca* can be viewed as cultural artefacts which vocalised and mobilised public fears and anxieties, desires and demands in the early modern period.

Furthermore, we can add Catherine Belsey's own analysis of the significance of history to explain the symbiosis of Boudica and women in positions of power: "The use of the past for nostalgic myth-making on the one hand, or the affirmation of progress on the other, has the advantage of deflecting resistance, but it is symptomatic,

---

[56] Greenblatt, S. *Shakespearean Negotiations.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990. Chapter 1, pp. 1-20.
[57] Ibid. Chapter 2, pp. 21-65.
[58] Ibid. p. 41.
[59] Dutton, R. *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama.* Iowa: University of Iowa, 1991. p. 5.
[60] Dollimore, J. (ed.) *Political Shakespeare.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1985. pp. 9-10.
[61] Goldmann, L. *Recherches Dialectiques.* Paris: Gallimard. 1959. p. 643. "L'œuvre littéraire est vraie, comme la fable, par son sens second et non par le sens immédiat de ce qu'elle représente; la fonction de la représentation n'est pas tant d'imiter le réel que de servir l'expression qui permettra de le saisir." (My translation.)

none the less of a deep anxiety about the present."[62] During Elizabeth's reign the appropriation and circulation of representations of Boudica in the literary and non-literary texts seems to illustrate this point. The historical and cultural expressions of Boudica were used to support the power base of an unmarried female monarch and to subvert any challenges to her orthodoxy. English subjects may have been anxious about the presence of a woman on the throne of England but presentations of Boudica and Elizabeth as divinely ordained queens served the purpose of promoting belief in their legitimacy and in compelling obedience. On the other hand the theatrical circulation of Boudica's failings during the reign of James I undermined Boudica's political and historical importance whilst reinforcing the patriarchal position of a male monarch on the throne as head of the state, of the church and of the family.

However, one final question remains unanswered; why did popular imagination pick up on the story of Boudica and not on that of the other contemporary queen, Cartimandua? Queen Cartimandua, whose name means 'sleek filly' in Celtic, has always been used as a convenient and negative sidekick to Boudica. Where Boudica is maternal, Cartimandua has no children (at least none are mentioned in the ancient records), where Boudica is chaste, Cartimandua exercises a voracious sexuality (she casts off her husband in order to marry his armour-bearer which eventually leads to the loss of her kingdom), where Boudica is brave and takes up arms, Cartimandua calls in the Roman legionaries to her aid and her only military prowess was shown in capturing Caratacus by a trick and betraying him to the Romans for Claudius' triumph in Rome. Yet, if the historians of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period were keen to link the foundation of modern Britain to Rome, and if they had such difficulty in integrating Boudica into the national record, why did they not light upon Cartimandua who was a Romanised Britain and fought on the side of the Romans?

The answer may lie in the fact that Cartimandua's behaviour throughout her life was morally reprehensible; morally reprehensible in that the Romans were clearly an occupying force and, therefore, Cartimandua was collaborating with the enemy. Over the ages Cartimandua has been given very little sympathy, yet she should not be judged by a cultural position which is rooted in modern times. Cartimandua was a realist protecting her tribal interests against what was clearly a stronger and more powerful enemy; Rome. In fact, as the notion of national identity did not exist she was free to make whatever military or trading alliances she thought were in the best

[62] Belsey, C. *The Subject of Tragedy.* London: Methuen, 1985. p. 223.

interests of her tribe with whatever political entities she chose outside of her regional frontier, whether that was Roman or Icenian, both were non-Brigantian from her point of view.

This thesis has attempted to follow the trail of Boudica from her rediscovery in the Classical texts by the humanist scholars of the fifteenth century to her didactic and nationalist representations by English, Welsh and Scottish historians in the sixteenth century and her appropriation by poets and playwrights under Elizabeth I and James I. As a political, religious and military figure in the middle of the first century AD this Celtic and regional queen of Norfolk is placed at the beginning of British history. Today Boudica's story is that of a foundation myth which has taken its place in national memory alongside Britannia, the Romans' personification of their British province, a figure who was equally circulated in the Jacobean period.[63] Boudica's statue stands outside the Houses of Parliament in London as a testament to Britain's imperial aspirations under Queen Victoria whilst the maternal statue of her protecting her two young daughters claims a Welsh haven in Cardiff.

In conclusion this thesis has tried to show how history, literature, politics and culture are interdependent. Both historical and literary texts can be taken and quoted as anecdotes of the cultural history of a particular place and time, and the texts that I have selected have given us a little insight into the motivations and tensions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. However, I add two cautionary notes; these same documents can also be re-applied to different arguments and different perspectives. We are all a product of our times, and just as an author's work is a little piece of his own psychological fabric and cultural history our own reading of a piece of writing can add a different layer of conceptions and misconceptions to a new interpretation of that text. My second note is in the form of an apology. This research project has shown me the limitations of my own knowledge and although I may console myself with Socrates' evaluation of man's ignorance, in which "the only true wisdom is in knowing you know nothing,"[64] it also indicates that the more you know, the more you know that you know nothing. Due to the restrictions of time and place it has not been possible to consult all the evidence. My research may have laid the groundwork for

[63] One pageant performed on the streets of London in 1605 included the figure and speech of Britannia in Anthony Munday's *Triumphs of Reunited Britannia*.
[64] This is a popular paraphrase of something Socrates is reported to have said in Plato's *Apology.* See the site, ***http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/apology.1b.txt***

research into representations of Boudica in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but a lot more needs to be done in the field of music, songs, ballads and almanacs, the last two of which include political, historical and cultural references to the ‘great highlights’ in British history [65] whilst the former include original music manuscripts for songs from the Jacobean plays.[66]

[65] Capp, B. ‘The Potter Almanacs,’ *Electronic British Library Journal.* Article 4, 2004. www.bl.uk/eblj/2004articles/article4

[66] Whilst there is original music for Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline* there is nothing for Fletcher’s *Tragedie of Bonduca*. In private correspondence between Catherine Henze and myself Henze writes: “As far as *Bonduca* goes, to my knowledge, there are no surviving music manuscripts for songs.” Henze has begun research into the music in plays by Beaumont and Fletcher. See her articles; ‘Unravelling Beaumont from Fletcher with Music, Misogyny, and Masque,’ *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* Volume 44, Number 2, Spring 2004 (pp. 379-404) and ‘Women’s Use of Music to Motivate Erotic Desire in the Drama of Beaumont and Fletcher,’ *Journal of Musicology Research,* Volume 20, Number 2, 2001 (pp. 97-134).

Appendix

Petruccio Ubaldini's *Le Vite Del Le Donne Illustri Del Regno D'Inghilterra, & dell Regno di Scotia, & di quelle, che d'altri paefine i due detti .....*[1]

Di Voadicia

La tirannide spesse volte genera sceleratezze insopportabili, onde succedendo negli offesi il desiderio della vendetta, necessariamente ogni giustitia si rovina.

Voadicia ò più tosto Boadicia fu moglie di Prafutago honorato Signor fra i Brittanni, e venendo egli à morte, e havendo lasciato herede della metà de i suoi stati l'Imperador Claudio, e dell'altra metà due sue figliuole, che lui haveva senza più, le quali nondimeno dovessero esser sotto la protettion della madre Voadicia, Avvenne, che gli ufficiali dell'Imperador havendo presa la parte che toccava à lui, volsero ancora usar l'autorità del principe loro nel governar il resto, e le due giovani insieme, si che per quella usurpata licenza essendo esse venuta nelle mani de i poco honesti ministri, furono anche violate, e la misera lor madre assai battuta son strano esempio dell'antica temperanza Romana : Onde Voadicia provocata dal giusto sdegno di cosi grave offesa ricevuta nel suo sangue sollevò, e commosse i popoli con la sua miseria à tanto furor, e desiderio di vendetta, che prese l'armi, e essa essendo lor capo, e guida, fecero una lunga, grave, e pericolosa guerra à i Romani con varia, e diversa fortuna : in tanto, che mancarono in diverse battaglie da una parte, e dall'altra fino à settanta mila persone, ma poi per una avversa giornata, che le fu data, dove la fu vinta, e le furono tagliati à pezzi trenta mila huomini, bisognò, che la cedesse del tutto la campagna à i vincitori, e come che la fortuna contraria l'havesse cosi crudelmente abbattuta dalla sua grandezza in una grave miseria, volse nondimeno ricordarsi della sua prima virtù, e morir libera, accioche ella non havesse vivendo ad esser mostrata in trionfo al superbo vincitore, e però col veleno ammazzò se stessa, lasciando memoria a i poteri di rara fortezza d'animo, e d'una honorata, e generosa prudenza.

Voadicia

Tyranny often generates unbearable villainy, which arouses in its victims a desire for vengeance; the result of which is the inevitable deterioration of justice.

Voadicia, or rather Boadicia, was the wife of Prasutagos, a Lord honoured by the Britons, who having just died, leaving half his estates to the emperor Claudius, and the other half to the only two daughters he had, whom had to remain nonetheless under the protection of their mother, Voadicia, it happened that the officers of the Emperor who, having taken the part due to him, still wanted to use the authority of their prince

[1] The French translations were made by Sandrine Soltane-Castellana. The English translations of Ubaldini were made by Dr Valentina Vulpi and Samantha Frénée.

in governing the rest along with the two young girls, so that thanks to this usurped licence, the girls having fallen into the hands of not very honest officers, were also raped, and their poor mother was sorely beaten, with a strange example of Roman temperance; In this way Voadicia seized with a justified scorn for such a serious offence to her blood, raised and moved the people with her misfortune to such a fury, and a desire for vengeance, that she took up arms, and with her as their leader and guide, they led a long, heavy and dangerous war against the Romans, with diverse and varied fortune: It is in this way that they lost a number of battles for one thing, and along with them they lost seventy thousand men. Then on an unlucky day that was dealt to her and on which she was defeated, and thirty thousand of her men massacred, she was compelled to completely abandon the campaign to the victors, and being that contrary fortune had so cruelly thrown her from her splendour into profound misery, she nevertheless, wanted to remember her first virtue, and to die free, in order to avoid being displayed alive in the triumph of the proud victor, and in this way with poison she killed herself, leaving to posterity the memory of a soul of a rare grandeur, and of an honoured and generous prudence.

Voadicia

La tyrannie souventes fois génère des scélérateries insupportables, ce qui amenant chez les offensés un désir de vengeance, il en résulte que nécessairement la justice se dégrade.

Voadicia ou plutôt Boadicia fut la femme de Prafutago, Seigneur honoré parmi les Britanniques, et celui-ci venant à mourir, en ayant laissé héritier de la moitié de ses états l'Empereur Claude, et de l'autre moitié les deux seules filles qu'il avait, lesquelles n'en devait pas moins rester sous la protection de leur mère Voadicia, il advint que les officiers de l'Empereur ayant pris la part qui lui revenait, voulurent encore user de l'autorité de leur prince en gouvernant le reste, ainsi que les deux jeunes filles avec, si bien que grâce à cette licence usurpée, étant tombées (the French makes it clear that the reference is the two young girls.) entre les mains de peu honnêtes ministres, elles furent aussi violées, et leur pauvre mère fortement battue, avec un exemple étrange de la tempérance Romaine ; ainsi Voadicia prise d'un juste mépris pour la si grave offense faite à son sang, souleva et émut les peuples par sa misère d'une telle fureur, et d'un désir de vengeance, qu'elle prit les armes, et étant leur chef et guide, ils menèrent une longue, lourde et dangereuse guerre contre les Romains, avec fortune diverse et changeante : c'est ainsi qu'ils perdirent diverses batailles d'une part, et d'autre part perdirent soixante-dix mille hommes, puis par une journée adverse qui lui fut donnée et où elle fut vaincue, et lui furent massacrés trente mille hommes, il fallut qu'elle cédât complètement la campagne aux vainqueurs, et étant donné que la fortune contraire l'avait si cruellement précipitée abattue de sa grandeur dans une profonde misère, elle voulut néanmoins se souvenir de sa vertu première, et mourir libre, afin que vivante elle n'eut pas à être montrée en triomphe au superbe vainqueur, et ainsi avec le poison elle se tua, laissant à la postérité le souvenir d'une rare grandeur d'âme, et d'une honorée et généreuse prudence.

Di Bunduica

La crudeltà guasta ogni lode di hornorato valore, e più nella guerra, che in nessuna altra attione.

Essendo ufficio d'un diligente scrittore di avvertir tanto le cose, che hanno fra di loro alcuna conformità, quanto quelle, che potrebbero esser le medesime se ben diversamente raccontate, si dirà di una certa Bunduica Britanna, la quale come donna Illustre fu ricordata da Dione historico famoso. Perciò che regnando in Roma Nerone huomo d'infame memoria, avvenne una rebellione fra i Britanni contra dei Romani, e fu perché havendo Claudio perdonato ad alcuni popoli dell'Isola alcune confiscationi di beni applicati al fisco, e di poi essendo i medesimi beni ridimandati da gli ufficiali di Nerone, quasi che fussero stati con poco giudicio donati dal predecessor Suo, e questa cagione essendo in quel tempo accompagnata da un caso privato di Seneca poco grato, o niente opportuno a gli occhi dei popoli offesi, e di già sollevati con l'animo a cose nuove si sollevarono in modo i popoli, che inanimati, e infiammati da Bunduica Donna nata di stirpe Reale, valentissima, e eloquentissima, si ragunarono sotto la di lei scorta fino a cento venti mila huomini di quella natione per vendicar i publichi e i privati torti, e veramente quanto alcaso di Seneca la cosa passava in questo modo, che egli per altro tutto honesto, e tutto prudente, come ancor apparisce per gli scritti suoi, scorticava i popoli del regno col voler ricuperar da loro la somma di molte migliaia di lire della moneta presente per l'usura di quaranta mila scudi, che egli haveva dati nelle mani di diverse persone, mescolando con le sue molte virtu un di s'honesto vitio d'avaritia, e pero risoluti si coloro alla vendetta assaltarono sotto la guida di Bunduica duoi luoghi forti de i Romani per che la distrusse Camaloduno e Verulamio luoghi nobili e vi tagliarono a pezzi un gran numero di huomini, d'ogni sorte si che si stimò che fussero fino ad ottanta mila persone tra i quali fu la nona legione : Percioche all'hora Paulino governator per i Romani si trovava nell'Isola Mona non poco occupato in una difficil guerra, e perciò hebbe Bunduica una larga occasione di scorrer per tutto, e di saccheggiar, e metter sotto sopra il paese, nelle quali incursioni ella guidata dallo spirito della vendetta per le ingiurie ricevute in se, e nelle figliuole usò alcune notevoli crudeltà, per le quali ella venne a scemar grandemente le lodi, che con molta ragion se le dovevano, con ciò sia che a diverse donne di quelle, che la sapeva, ch'erano state partiali de i Romani lei faceva tagliar le poppe, e le faceur lor metter alla bocca accio che se le volevano, le potesser mangiar : dicendo ella, che non voleva, che le si morissero di fame nuovo certo, e crudel modo di non più udita impietà. Ma molti altri tormenti erano ritrovati da lei ancora oltra modo in crudelità a vituperio, e a stratio non meno dell'uno, che dall'altro stesso de i suoi nemici, dilettandosi del sangue. Ma di poi essendo ritornato Paulino dall'Isola Mona per reprimer la rabbia dell'infuriata Bunduica, e havendo ragunate tutte le forze propie, e de gli amici insieme prese gli alloggiamenti presso de i nemici con tall sorte che non rifiutando punto Bunduica la giornata : durò la battaglia sanguinosa molto, e crudele tutto un giorno, e al fine prevalendo l'arte de i soldati vecchi, all'inconsiderato furor de i popoli paesani, furono i Romani vincitori, e con gran mortalità de i nemici gli scacciarono nelle selve, e ne i paludi, e per quei luoghi difficili ancor perseguitando gli, nè dando lor tempo di far testa in luogo alcuno del tutto gli domarono, e ridussero all'ubbidienza : ma l'ultimo fine di quella vittoria de' Romani non vedde Bunduica, perciò che nel mezo della contraria fortuna, havendo ricevuta così gran rotta, ne vedendo modo di poter rimetter insieme nuove forze, sosprappresa da un subito e

mortal dolore con la presta morte o pur costante e inuitta predendo il veleno lascio la vita, e la vittoria assoluta al nemico. Riferiscesi, che costei fu di corpo bellissimo, e per l'età sua di nobil maestà, alta, e ben disposta, e di tutte le membra ottimamente proportionata: ma però di volto severo, e atto e proprio all'essercitio militare, nel quale ella hebbe molto tempo per diverse occasioni secondo l'uso, e necessità di quei tempi a praticare: hebbe la voce ancor aspra, ma però eloquente, si dilettava nondimeno secondo l'usanza dell'altre di mostrar i capelli che le i haveva bellissimi, e usava di portar una collana d'oro quasi segno di maggioranza, e fra i soldati sempre portava in mano una arme hastata, e le sue vesti furon di colori, e con tal proportione, che quella di sopra più corta assai dell'altra dimostrava un no so che del martiale, e volse sempre intervenir in tutte le fattioni commandando, e guidando, e dirizzando le sue genti, e se pur qualche volta gli fu conceduto di potersi goder la pace, dicesi, che usò singular prudenza in governar le cose sue. Ma finalmente stimandosi da noi per molti riscontri costei esser la medesima Voadicia di sopra scritta, l'habbiamo voluta cosi separatamente descriver per soddiffattione ancora di ogni superstitioso lettore. Lasciando insomma questo tanto di lei rinfrescato nella memoria delle genti, che ella fu degna veramente di esser annoverata fra le donne grandi di questo Regno per le sue maravigliose virtú, nè la crudeltà usata da lei ne i suoi nemici non deve cancellarla del numero dell'altre ledevoli, quando che ciò fu un impeto, e un furor di vendetta più tosto che una naturale inclinatione di lei: ò che pur i vitii de i soldati Romani imparati dallo scelerato Nerone loro Imperatore erano tali, che chiamavano il gastigo condegno à i loro demeriti.

Bunduica

Cruelty destroys all praise for honourable valour, and more so in time of war than in any other action.

The work of a diligent writer is to express not only the things which have similarity between them but also those things which could be the same if differently recounted, we tell the story here of a certain Bunduica the Briton, who, as an illustrious woman, was recalled by that famous historian, Dio Cassius. When Nero, of infamous renown, ruled in Rome, there arose a rebellion among the Britons against the Romans, and this happened because Claudius had exempted certain people of the island from the confiscation of some of their goods for taxation, but later these same goods were reclaimed again by Nero's officials, as though they had been exempted by his predecessor with very little judgement. This crisis was accompanied at the same time by a private case of Seneca, unpleasant, or ill-timed in the eyes of the offended people, who, already stirring, were gripped by a new spirit, and rebelled inflamed by Bunduica, a woman of royal blood, valiant and very eloquent. Up to a hundred and twenty thousand men of that nation got united under her command, wanting to avenge public and private wrongs. Regarding Seneca this is what happened: while he was generally an honest and prudent man, as evident by his own writings, he was skinning the people of the kingdom by calling in loans of forty thousand sesterces, a sum equivalent to several thousand lira of today, which he had lent at exorbitant interest to

various people. Thus the dishonest sin of avarice was mixed with his numerous virtues. The Britons, bent on revenge and led by Bunduica, attacked two Roman fortresses, Camalodunum and Verulamium, notable colonies, and destroyed them. They killed a large number of men of all sorts, it is estimated that the number of victims was eighty thousand men, including the entire Ninth Legion. At the time, the Roman governor Paulinus, was busy waging a difficult war on the Isle of Mona, therefore Bunduica was free to roam the land, to wreak havoc, and to turn the country upside down. During these raids she was driven by a strong desire for vengeance following the offences that she and her daughters had had to endure. She committed some extremely cruel acts and for these her praises, which were duly due to her, were diminished. To a number of women that she knew had been partial to the Romans she had their breasts cut off and placed in front of their mouths in such a way that they could eat them, and she told them that she did not want them to die of hunger; never since has one heard of such a lack of compassion. Many other torments committed by Bunduica have come to light, real tortures, all more cruel and degrading than the previous ones, just like her enemies, taking pleasure in bloodshed.

Then Paulinus returned from the island of Mona in order to suppress the wrath of the bellicose Bunduica. After regrouping the whole of his armed forces along with those of his allies, he set up his camp close to the enemies in such a way that Bunduica could not refuse battle. It was, in the course of one day, a cruel and bloody battle. In the end, the skill of the experienced soldiers prevailed over the disorganized fury of the local peoples and the Romans were victorious. They killed a large number of enemies and pushed them into the forests and the marshes, and even in those difficult places they kept attacking them without giving them any chance to counteract, so they quashed them into total submission. But Bunduica did not see the final victory of the Romans, because in the midst of her adverse fate, having received such a defeat and not being able to see by what means she could put together another army, she was either taken by a sudden and fatal pain which carried her off into rapid death, or still conscious and unbeaten she drank some poison, leaving her life and also complete victory to the enemy. It is said that she had a very handsome body and for her age she had a certain nobility; she was tall, well-built, and all her body was perfectly proportioned. However, her face was severe, fit for military command, which she practiced on numerous occasions, following the use and needs of those times. She had a harsh voice, but she was eloquent. She also loved, following the common practice of women, to show her magnificent hair and she wore a golden necklace as a sign of her superiority. When amongst her soldiers she always carried a spear. She always wore colourful clothes, with a short garment on top of a longer one, which gave her a sort of martial air. She wanted to intervene in all fields, commanding, guiding and addressing her people. In times of peace, it is said that she ruled with singular wisdom. Finally, after checking thoroughly we believe she is the same Voadicia of whom we wrote before, but we have described her separately to please the reader that does not believe so. We therefore leave this in the memory of the people, that she truly merits to be commemorated amongst the great women of this kingdom for her marvellous virtues; and even the cruelty that she used against her enemies should not remove her from all the other praiseworthy women, because she did these in the rage of revenge rather than because of her natural inclinations, and also because the vices of the Roman soldiers which they learned from the evil emperor Nero, were as such that they called for a chastisement fit for their demerits.

Bunduica

La cruauté ruine toute louange d'honorable valeur, et plus dans la guerre que dans quelque autre action.

Etant le travail d'un diligent écrivain d'énoncer aussi bien les choses qui n'ont entre-elles aucune conformité, que celles qui pourraient être les mêmes si diversement racontées, nous conterons d'une certaine Bunduica la Bretonne, qui comme femme illustre fut rappelée par Dion Cassius célèbre historien. Alors que régnait à Rome Néron, homme d'infâme mémoire, survint une rébellion parmi les Bretons à l'encontre des Romains, et ce fut parce que Claude avait pardonné à certains peuples de l'Ile la confiscation de quelques biens soumis à l'impôt, mais qu'ensuite ses mêmes biens avaient été redemandés par les officiers de Néron, comme s'ils avaient été donnés par son prédécesseur avec bien peu de jugement. Cette affaire fut en ce temps accompagnée d'un cas privé de Sénèque, peu apprécié, ou peu opportun aux yeux des peuples offensés, lesquels étant animés d'un esprit nouveau, se rebellèrent de telle façon que d'autres tribus, encore soumises, les rejoignirent, enhardis par Boadicée, femme de sang royal, valeureuse et très éloquente. Ils se regroupèrent sous son commandement jusqu'à être cent vingt mille hommes de cette nation pour venger les torts publics et privés. C'est alors que Sénèque, en tant qu'homme prudent et avisé, tel que le décrivent ses propres écrits, profita de la situation pour exiger des peuples du royaume le recouvrement de la somme de quarante milles écus, somme équivalente à plusieurs milliers de lires en monnaie d'époque, qu'il avait distribuée à diverses personnes. Le sombre péché d'avarice s'ajoutant ainsi à ses nombreuses qualités. Guidés par Bunduica et résolus à se venger, les Bretons prirent d'assaut deux lieux stratégiques romains, Camalodunum[2] et Verulaminum[3], deux colonies en pleins essors, et les détruisirent. On estima à quatre-vingt milles hommes, le nombre de victimes, et parmi elles, la neuvième légion toute entière. Alors que le Gouverneur Romain Paulinus était bien occupé à guerroyer sur l'Ile Mona[4], Bunduica eut l'occasion de parcourir tout le pays, de le saccager et de le mettre sens dessus dessous. Alors que le Gouverneur Romain Paulinus était occupé à guerroyer sur l'Ile Mona[5], Bunduica eut l'occasion de parcourir tout le pays, de le saccager et de le mettre sens dessus dessous. Au cours de ses incursions, elle fut animée d'un tel esprit de vengeance suite aux supplices qu'elle dut endurer. Ses filles subirent la pire des cruautés et elle, fut déshonorée.

Lorsqu'elle apprit que plusieurs femmes avaient soutenu les Romains, elle fit couper les seins de ces dernières et les leur fit mettre à porter de bouche de manière à pouvoir les manger en leur disant qu'elles mourraient sûrement de faim si elles ne le faisaient point. Plus jamais on entendit un tel manque de compassion. Mais bien d'autres tourments commis par Bunduica ont été retrouvés, de véritables supplices tous aussi plus cruels et dégradants les uns des autres, laquelle, aux dires mêmes de ses ennemis, allaient jusqu'à se délecter du sang. Paulinus revint de l'Ile Mona pour réprimer le courroux de la belliqueuse Bunduica. Après avoir regroupé toutes ses forces armées et celles de ses alliées, il fit établir leurs campements de telle façon que Bunduica ne put refuser le combat. Ce fut, un jour durant, une bataille cruelle et

---

[2] Camalodunum, actuelle *Colchester, Angleterre* (NdT.)
[3] Verulaminum, actuelle *Saint Albans, Angleterre*
[4] Ile Mona, actuelle *Ile Anglesey, Pays de Galles*
[5] Ile Mona, actuelle *Ile Anglesey, Pays de Galles*

sanguinaire. L'adresse des soldats expérimentés l'emporta sur la masse incontrôlable des peuples paysans. Les Romains avaient vaincu et, malgré l'importante perte ennemie, continuèrent à les repousser vers les forêts, les marais ou vers d'autres endroits escarpés afin de les persécuter, de ne pas leur laisser, de quelques manières que ce soit, le temps de pouvoir faire face ; ils les domptèrent jusqu'à totale obéissance. De la victoire romaine, Bunduica ne sut ni par quelle malchance elle avait pu connaître une telle défaite, ni par quel moyen elle aurait pu reconstituer une armée. Elle fut prise d'une douleur soudaine et fatale qui l'emporta dans une mort rapide, ou bien consciente et inéluctable car en buvant du poison elle y laissa non seulement sa vie mais aussi la victoire absolue à son ennemi. Il est dit, lorsque l'on se réfère à elle, qu'elle avait un très beau corps, une certaine majesté de par son âge, grande, bien bâtie. Certes, la moindre partie de son corps était parfaitement proportionnée, mais elle avait un visage sévère, apte et destiné au commandement militaire qu'elle utilisa à diverses occasions, selon le degré et la nécessité d'en user à l'époque. Bien qu'elle eût la voix encore âpre, elle était éloquente. Elle aimait aussi, en dépit de l'habitude pratiquée par les autres, montrer ses magnifiques cheveux et portait un collier d'or en signe de maturité. Toujours l'arme à la main parmi ses soldats, elle portait toujours des vêtements colorés, avec un haut au dessus d'une robe plus longe**,** ce qui lui donnait un on ne sait quoi de martial**.** Elle voulait intervenir dans tous les domaines, commandant, guidant et envoyant ses troupes. On raconte qu'elle gouverna avec sagesse et qu'elle put même savourer quelques instants de paix.

Mais en fin de compte et après vérification, il semble que cette Voadicia dont on parle avant soit la même que celle que chacun d'entre nous a voulu décrire afin de pouvoir satisfaire le moindre lecteur,

Ainsi, nous laisserons un peu de son histoire revisitée dans les mémoires, Elle, qui fut vraiment digne de figurer parmi les Grandes Femmes de ce royaume non seulement pour ses merveilleuses vertus, mais aussi pour la cruauté dont elle fit preuve à l'égard de ses ennemis. Cette cruauté ne doit pas faire oublier la place qu'elle mérite parmi ces Femmes glorieuses. Que ce soit son impétuosité, sa soif de vengeance, son penchant naturel ou encore ces vices de soldats romains, enseignés par leur empereur Néron le scélérat, qui étaient tels, que cela réclamait un châtiment correspondant à leurs actes.

Di Carthumandua

Una constante, e fedele amicitia in ogni tempo genera frutti utili, e degni di lode.

Carthumandua ò Cartismandua Regina, o' principessa de i Briganti popoli di Britannia fu honoratamente nominata ne i passati tempi per la costante amicitia, e confederatione, che l'hebbe co i Romani : Percioche ella per levar del tutto ogni occasion di guerra dalla patria fra i suoi Britanni, e i Romani diede Caratuco Regulo, ò Signor degli Ordoluchi huomo inquieto nello lor mani, di poi che per nove anni continui egli haveva con insolente consiglio combattuto con loro con danno grande delle provincie. Ma questo fatto fu cosi mal ricevuto da gli altri Signori di Britannia, e specialmente da Venusio suo marito (percioche è pareva loro) che l'havesse voluto piu tosto adherire à i Roman forestieri, che à i suoi proprij, che la ne fu molestata, e disturbata grandemente per levargli l'autorità, e il governo, che la godeva ugualmenta con esso Venusio, e sarebbe del tutto stata superata, e vinta da loro, se da i Romani governati da Aulo Didio proccurator all'hora dell'Imperio non fusse stata soccorsa, aiutata, e del tutto assicurata nel suo stato, e nella sua degnità, accioche ella riportasse da essi degno frutto della sua costanza, e della sua fede. Ma il fine di questa donna nientedimeno da alcuni scrittori, pur dei loro si riferisce altrimenti volendo, che la si usurpasse in marito adulterino, e compagno del Regno un certo Velocato scudier di Venusio, del qual caso nacquero le guerre tra di loro : ma come la cosa si fusse ella fu donna armigera e lascio di quel suo modo di procedere largo esempio all'altre della sua natione del come l'havessero ad esser licentiose, ancor che le non nascessero principesse.

Carthumandua

A loyal friendship that endures the passage of time will bear useful and praiseworthy fruit**.**

Carthumandua or Queen Cartismandua, or princess of the Brigante peoples of Britain was named with honour in past times for the constant friendship and the confederacy that she had with the Romans so that, in order to completely remove all occasion for international war between her Britons and the Romans, she gave up to them Caratuco Regulo, or Lord of the Ordoluchi, a troublesome man, being that for nine successive years this man, with an insolent attitude, had fought against them creating great damage to the provinces. But this action was very badly received by the other lords of Britain, and particularly by Venusio her husband (for it seemed to them) that she had rather wanted to follow the Roman foreigners than her own people, so that she was harassed, and greatly disturbed by them in order to take the authority and the government from her which she shared jointly with Venusio**,** and she would have been completely overwhelmed, and defeated by them, if she had not been rescued and

helped by the Romans, governed by Aulo Didio, at that time procurator of the Empire, and in everything supported in her position, and in her dignity, in such a way that she received from him the worthy fruit of her constance, and of her loyalty. But, according to certain authors, to whom we refer even if we would like not to, the goal of this woman was no less than to cheat on her husband by committing adultery with a certain Velocato, squire to Venusio, and from this act the wars sprang up between them: but whatever the case, she was a lady of arms and from her way of behaving she left a large example to other women of the nation on how they should be licentious, even if they are not born princesses.

Carthumandua

Une amitié fidèle et constante de tous temps engendre des fruits utiles et dignes de louanges.

Carthumandua ou Reine Cartismandua, ou princesse des peuples des Brigands de Bretagne fut nommée avec honneur dans les temps passés pour l'amitié constante et la confédération qu'elle eut avec les romains : de sorte que celle-ci pour lever complètement toute occasion de guerre de la patrie entre ses Bretons, et les Romains, donna Caratuco Regulo, ou Seigneur des Ordoluchi, un homme agité, entre leurs mains, étant donné que pendant neuf années successives ce dernier avec un conseil insolent avait combattu contre eux créant de grands dommages aux provinces. Mais ce fait fut si mal reçu par les autres Seigneurs de Bretagne, et spécialement par Venusio son époux (car il leur semblait) qu'elle avait voulu plutôt adhérer aux Romains étrangers, qu'à ses propres gens, si bien qu'elle fut molestée, et dérangée grandement pour lui ôter l'autorité, et le gouvernement, qu'elle partageait également avec Venusio, et elle aurait été complètement dépassée, et vaincue par eux, si elle n'avait été secourue, aidée, par les Romains gouvernés par Aulo Didio alors procurateur de l'Empire, et en tout confortée dans son état, et dans sa dignité, afin qu'elle reçoivent de ceux-ci le digne fruit de sa constance, et de sa foi. Mais d'après certains auteurs de chez eux, l'on rapporte parfois différemment, sur le but de cette femme qui ne fut rien de moins que de tromper son mari, en commettant l'adultère avec un certain Velocato écuyer de Venusio, et de ce fait naquirent les guerres entre eux : mais comme la chose se sait, ce fut une dame d'armes et elle laissa de sa manière de procéder un large exemple aux autres de la nation sur la façon qu'elles se devaient d'être licencieuses, bien qu'elles ne naquissent pas princesses.

Bibliography:

Primary Sources:

Anger, Jane. *Her Protection for Women.* London: Richard Lone and Thomas Orwin, 1589.

Ascham, R. *The Schoolmaster.* London: Iohn Daye, 1571.

Aske, J. *Elizabetha Triumphans,* 1588. New York: Da Capo, ed. facs 1969.

Aylmer, J. *An harborowe for faithfull and trewe subjecttes, agaynst the late blowne blaste, concerninge the Govermet of wemen,* 1559. London: STC 1005; film 194.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, compiled by monks and commissioned by King Alfred, c.890; published on the internet site, www.postroman.info/anglo-saxon.htm

Barker, F. *Boadicea.* Norwich: Jarrold and Son, 1859.

Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* AD 731. London: Penguin, 1990.

Bercher, W. *Nobylyte off Wymen.c.1559.* London: ed. Bond, 1904.

Boccaccio, G. *The Decameron.* London: Penguin, 1995.

Bodin, J. *The Six Books of a Commonweale.* (translated into English, 1606), McRae, K. D. (ed.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Boece, Hector. *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 1527, trans. (into Scots) John Bellenden, 1531. reprinted in 1936, Edinburgh and London: Chambers and Batho, vol. L

Boece, Hector. *The croniklis of Scotland*. Edinburgh : Printed by Thomas Davidson, 1540.

Bolton, Edmund. *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraved: An historicall worke.* London: Snodham and Alsop, 1624.

Burton, Robert. *The anatomy of melancholy*. Oxford: Lichfield and Short, 1621.

Caesar, Julius. *The Conquest of Gaul.* London: Penguin, 1985.

Camden, William. *Britain, or A Chorographicall Description of the Most flourishing kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland.* Translated into English by Philemon Holland. London: Eliot Court's Press, 1610.

Camden, William. *Britannia,* 1586, translated into English by Dr Gibson, 1722, reproduced on C.D. by Archive CD Books, England, www.archivecdbooks.com

Camden, W. *Remains Concerning Britain.* ed. R. D. Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Clapham, J. *Historie of England.* London: Simmes, 1602.

Clapham, J. *The Historie of Great Britannia.* London: Valentine Simmes, 1606.

Daniel, S. *The first part of the history of England.* London: Nicholas Okes, 1612.

Daniel, S. *The collection of the Historie of England.* London: Nicholas Okes, 1618.

De Leseleuc, A. *Le Trésor de Boudicca.* Paris : 10/18, 1997.

Dio Cassius. *Roman History,* lxii, 1, 1-12. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Doughty, C. *The Dawn in Britain.* 6 Vols. London: Duckworth, 1906.

Ferne, J: *The Blazon Of Gentrie.* London: Jo Windet for Tobby Cooke, 1586.

Ferrers, R. *The Worth of Women.* London: William Jones, 1622.

Fletcher, John. *The Tragedie of Bonduca*. ed. Cyrus Hoy, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon.* 10 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Fletcher, John. *Bonduca.* Wilson, F.P. (ed.) The Malone Society Reprints. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951.

Gent, R.A. (Variant name forms:Armin, Robert). *The valiant Welshman, or, The true chronicle history of the life and valiant deeds of Caradoc.* fl. 1610. London : Printed for William Gilbertson, 1663.

Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae* c.504-570 ; published on the internet site, www.postroman.info/gildas

Gosson, Stephen. *The Schoole of Abuse.* 1579. published in *Renaissance Editions,* internet site: darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/gosson1

Grafton, Richard. *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England.* London, 1563.

Grafton, Richard. *A manuell of the Chronicles of Englande.* London: Ihon Kingston, 1565.

Grafton, Richard. *A Chronicle at large and mere history of the affayres of Englande.* London: Henry Denham, 1569.

Herodotus, *The Histories.* London: Penguin, 1979.

Heywood,T. *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World,* London: Thomas Cotes, 1640.

Heywood,T. *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history. Concerninge women inscribed by ye names of ye nine Muses.* London: Adam Islip, 1624.

Holinshed, R. *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.* London: Henry Bynneman, 1577.

Holinshed, R. *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.* 2nd edition. London: Henry Denham, 1587. reprinted 1808, 1965, New York, Ams Press, inc. 1976.

Hopkins, C. *Boadicea: Queen of Britain, A Tragedy.* London: Jacob Tonson, 1697. Reprinted Chadwyck Healey, 1994.

James VI of Scotland. *Basilikon Doron.* Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, printer to the kings Maiestie, 1599.

Jonson, Ben. *The Masque of Queenes*. 1609 in *The Complete Masques*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969.

Knox, J. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women. 1558,* published on internet; www.swrb.com/newslett/actualnls/FirBlast.htm and on www.pastornet.net.au/jmm/abss/abss0165.htm

Lindsay, Sir Coutts. *Boadicea: A tragedy*. London: W. Clowes, 1857.

Locke, W. *Stories of the Land We Live in: or England's History in Simple Language.* London: James Nisbit, 1878.

Llwyd, Humphrey. *The Breuiary of Britayne,* translated by Thomas Twyne. London, 1573.

Marshall, H.E. *Our Island Story: A History of Britain for Boys and Girls.* London: Thomas Nelson, 1905.

Milton, John. *The History of Britain.* London: John Martyn, 1677.

Milton, John. *The History of Britain.* London: J. M.[Maycock], 1670.

Monmouth, Geoffrey of. *The History of the Kings of England.* 1136. reprinted London: Penguin, 1966.

More, T. *Utopia.* London: Everyman, 1994.

Mulcaster, R. *Positions.* London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1581.

Mulcaster, R. *The first part of the Elementarie.* London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1582.

Munday, A. *The Triumphes of Re-united Brytannia.* London: W. Iaggard, 1605.

Munday, A. *A briefe chronicle of the successe of times.* London: W. Iaggard, 1611.

Nennius. *Historia Brittonum.* 8th century; published on the internet site, *Internet Medieval Sourcebook.* www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html

Newstead, Christopher. *An Apology for Women: or Womens Defence.* London: Richard Whittakers, 1620.

Pizan de, Christine. *La Cité des Dames.* Paris: Editions Stock/Moyen Âge*, 1986.*

Pucitta, V. *Boadicea: A New Serious Opera, in two acts.* King'sTheatre Haymarket, 1813.

Rowley, W. *A shoo-maker a gentleman.* Written by W.R. Gentleman. London: I. Okes, 1638.

Saxton, Christopher. *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales*. London, 1580.

Scott, E. *Boadicea.* London: Constable, 1975.

Scott, M. *Dreaming the Eagle.* London: Bantam Press, 2003.

Scott, M. *Dreaming the Bull.* London: Bantam Press, 2004.

Scott, M. *Dreaming the Hound.* London: Bantam Press, 2005.

Sir Walter Scott. *Rob Roy.* (1817) London: Penguin, 1995.

Shakespeare, William. *Cymbeline.* Hosley, R. (Ed.). New York: New American Library, London: New English Library, 1963.

Shakespeare, William. *Cymbeline.* Warren, R (Ed.).Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Shakespeare, William. *The Illustrated Stratford Shakespeare* (complete works). London: Chancellor Press, 1982.

Sowernam, Ester. *Esther Hath Hanged Haman.* London: Nicholas Bourne, 1617.

Speed, J. *The History of Great Britaine under the conquest of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans.* London: Iohn Sudbury & Georg Humble, 1611.

Speed, J. *The Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine.* London: William Hall, 1612.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene.* England: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1999.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Ruines of Time.* (p.471-478) In *Spenser's Poetical Works.* London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1937.

Spenser, Edmund. *A View of the State of Ireland* (1633). Edited by Hadfield, A. Maley, W. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997.

Stow, J. *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles.* London: Thomas Marshe, 1565.

Stow, J. *The Chronicles of England.* London: Henry Bynneman, 1580.

Stow, J. *The Annales of England.* London: Ralfe Newberry, 1592.

Stow, J. *Survey of London.* London: John Wolfe. 1598.

Suetonius. *The Twelve Caesars.* London: Penguin, 1986.

Sutcliff, R. *Song for a Dark Queen.* London: Pelham, 1978.

Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome,* xiv 29-39. London: Penguin, 1986.

Tacitus. *The Agricola And The Germania,* 15-17. London: Penguin, 1986.

Tacitus. *Histories,* l, 9; 1, 59-60; lll, 44-45. London: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Treece, H. *Red Queen, White Queen.* London: The Bodley Head, 1958.

Trevelyan, M. *Britain's Greatness Foretold: The Story of Boadicea, the British Warrior-Queen.* London: John Hogg, 1900.

Tuvil, Daniel. *Asylum Veneris, or A Sanctuary for Ladies.* London: Griffin, 1616.

Virgil. *The Aeneid.* London: Penguin Books, 1984.

Ubaldini, P. *Le Vite delle donne illustri, del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia,* London : Apresso Giouanni Wolfio Inghilese, 1591.

Vergil, Polydore. *Polydore Vergil's English History*. Volume 1. 1534. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis. London: Camden Society, 1846.

Vergil, Polydore. *The Anglia Historia of Polydore Vergil.* 1485-1537. Volume 74. Edited by Denys Hay. London: Camden Series, The Royal Historical Society, 1950.

Warner, William. *Albions England Or historicall map of the same island.* London: George Robinson, 1586.

Secondary Sources:

Abrahall, C.H. *Boadicea: Queen of the Iceni.* London: George G. Harrap, 1949.

Alessio, D.D. "Domesticating 'The Heart of the Wild': female personifications of the colonies." *Women's History Review.* 6:2, 1997.

Althusser, L. 'Idéologie et apareils idéologiques d'Etat;' *La Pensée*, n° 151, Paris. May-June, 1970.

Andrews, I. *Boudica's Revolt.* England: Cup, 1972.

Anglo,S. *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy.* Oxford: Clarendon.1969.

Appleton, W.W. *Beaumont and Fletcher: A Critical Study.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1956.

Aram Veeser, H. *The New Historicism READER.* London & New York: Routledge, 1994.

Aram Veeser (editor.) *The New Historicism*. New York and London: Routledge, 1989.

Auerbach, E. *Mimésis; La Représentation de la Réalité dans la Littérature Occidentale.* Paris: Gallimard, 1968.

Axton, M. *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession.* London: London Royal Historical Society, 1977.

Baker, D. Maley, W. (Eds.) *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature. Literary Criticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Barthes, R. 'The Discourse of History'. (Translated by Stephen Bann.) *Comparative Criticism* (edited by Shaffer, E. S.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, volume 3 (1981), 7-20. http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/pcraddoc/barthes.htm

Barthes, R. *Mythologies.* London : Vintage, 1993.

Bellamy, E.J. 'The Vocative and the Vocational : The Unreadability of Elizabeth in *The Faerie Queene*', *ELH,* vol 54, 1987.

Bellemin-Noël, J. *Vers l'inconscient du texte.* Paris: Puf ecriture, 1979.

Belsey, C. *The Subject of Tragedy.* London: Methuen, 1985.

Belsey, C. *Culture and the Real.* London: Routledge, 2004.

Berek, P. 'Cross-dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays.' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900.* Houston, Texas: The John Hopkins University Press, March 2002.

Bergeron, D.M. *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland.* London: University of Missouri Press, 1991.

Berresford Ellis, P. *Celtic Women.* London: Constable, 1996.

Berry, P. *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen,* London: Routledge, 1989.

Betteridge, T. (editor). *Sodomy in early modern Europe.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Bindoff, S.T. 'The Stuarts and Their Style,' *The English Historical Review*. Vol. 60, No. 237. (May, 1945), pp. 192-216.

Black, E.W. "The First Century Historians of Roman Britain.", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology.* 20:4, 2001.

Boling, R. J. 'Anglo-Welsh Relations in Cymbeline,' in *Shakespeare Quarterly.* Vol. 51, No.1. (Spring, 2000), pp. 33-66.

Bond, B (editor). *The First World War and British Military History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Bono, B.J. *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragi-comedy.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984.

Braund, D. 'Observations on Cartimandua,' *Britannia,* Vol 15, p. 1-6, 1984.

Braund, D. *Ruling Roman Britain.* London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

Bray, A. *Homosexuality in Renaissance England.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd ed., 1995.

Broaddus, J.W. 'Renaissance Psychology and Britomart's Adventures in *Faerie Queene* III' (pp.186-206), *English Literary Renaissance.* Vol 17, 1987.

Brigden, S. *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rise of the Tudors 1485-1603.* London: Penguin, 2000.

Bugliani, F. 'Petruccio Ubaldini's Accounts of England.' *Renaissance Studies,* Vol. 8, Issue 2, pp. 175-197, 1994.

Bullough, G. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare.* Vol. 8. 'Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, The Tempest.' London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Bulst, C. 'The Revolt of Queen Boudicca in AD 60: Roman Politics and the Iceni,' *Historia,* Vol 10, p. 499, 1961.

Camden, C. *The Elizabethan Woman.* London: Elsevier Press, 1952.

Campbell, J. *The Hero With A Thousand Faces.* London: Fontana Press, 1993.

Capp, B. 'The Potter Almanacs,' *Electronic British Library Journal.* Article 4, 2004. www.bl.uk/eblj/2004articles/article4

Carr, E.H. *What is History?* London: Penguin, 1961.

Cary, E. *Introduction to Cassius Dio's Roman History.* penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/Introduction*.html

Charlton, K. *Education in Renaissance England.* London: Routledge, 1965.

Churchill, W.S. *A History of the English-Speaking People.* London: Cassell and Company, 1956.

Clark, A. *The Reappearance of the Texts of the Classics.* Oxford: Forbes, 1921. And http://www.tertullian.org/articles/clark_reappearance.htm

Clarke, K. 'An Island Nation: Re-Thinking Tacitus' Agricola', *Journal of Roman Studies.* Vol 91, pp. 94-112, 2001.

Collingridge, V. *Boudica.* London: Ebury, 2005.

Collingwood, R.G. *The Idea of History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Cook, P.J. *Milton, Spenser and the Epic Tradition.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.

Cotton-Pearse, N. *Chastity Plays, Mirrors of Modesty.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973.

Crawford, J. 'Fletcher's The Tragedie of Bonduca and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* Vol 39, pp. 357-81, 1999.

Curran, J.E. 'Royalty Unlearned, Honor Untaught: British Savages and Historiographical Change in Cymbeline,' in *Comparative Drama*. 31: 2, pp. 277-303, summer 1997.

Daniel, G. *150 Years of Archaeology.* Esher: Duckworth, 1978.

David, D. *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire and Victorian Writing.* London: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Deary, T. *The Rotten Romans.* London: Scholastic Publications, 1994.

Digangi, M. *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Dollimore, J. *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault: Essays in Cultural Materialism.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Dollimore, J. (ed.) *Political Shakespeare.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985.

Dudley, D. Webster, G. *The Rebellion of Boudicca.* London: Routledge, 1962.

Dutton, R. *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English*

Renaissance Drama. Iowa: University of Iowa, 1991.

Dyson, S.L. 'Native Revolts in the Roman Empire,' in *Historia.* Vol XX, pp. 239-274, 1971.

Eagleton, T. *Literary Theory: An Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Eagleton, T. *Ideology: An Introduction.* London: Verso, 1991.

Eggert, Katherine. *Showing like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2000.

Ferguson, M.W. Quilligan, M. Vickers, N. J. *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Ferro, M. *Comment on Raconte l'Histoire aux Enfants.* Paris : Payot, 1986.

Fincham, G. 'Writing Colonial Conflict, Acknowledging Colonial Weakness,' (pp. 25-34). *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2004.* Davies, G. Gardner, A. Lockyear, K. (Editeurs). Oxford: Oxbow, 2001.

Finkelpearl, P.J. *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Fischel, E. *Famous People, Famous Lives: Boudicca.* London: Franklin Watts, 2000.

Fletcher, A. & Stevenson, J (Eds.) *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Floyd-Wilson, M. *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Foucault, M. *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison. Gallimard: Paris, 1975.*

Foucault, M. *The Will to Knowledge; The History of Sexuality: 1.* London: Penguin Books, 1998.

Foucault, M. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* London: Routledge, 2002.

Fraser, A. *Boadicea's Chariot: The Warrior Queens.* London: Arrow, 1999.

Frere, S. 'Caesar to Claudius' (pp.27-47) and 'The Claudian Conquest' (pp.48-80) *Britannia.* London: Pimlico, 1991.

Frye, S. 'The Myth of Elizabeth I at Tilbury', in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol 23, pp. 95-114, 1992.

Gadd, I.A. Gillespie, A. (eds.) *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past.* London: British Library, 2004.

Gold, A. *Warrior Queen: The Story of Boudica, Celtic Queen.* New York: New American Library, 2005.

Goldberg, J. *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and*

their Contemporaries. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

Goldberg, J. (ed.) *Queering the Renaissance.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994.

Goldberg, J. *Sodometries; Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Goldmann, L. *Recherches Dialéctiques.* Paris: Gallimard, 1959.

Greene, K. *Archaeology : An Introduction.* London: Batsford, 1983.

Green, M. *The Gods of the Celts*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1986.

Green (Aldhouse-Green), M. *Boudica Britannia: Rebel, War-leader and Queen.* London: Longman Pearson, 2006.

Green, P.D. 'Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca,' Studies in English Literature,* 22: 2, pp. 305-16, spring 1982.

Greenblatt, S. Gallagher, C. *Practicing New Historicism.* London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Greenblatt, S. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.* London, University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Greenblatt, S. *Shakespearean Negotiations.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

Greenblatt, S. 'The Circulation of Social Energy.' Chapter 31, in *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader.* Edited by Lodge, D. London: Longman, 2000.

Griffiths, H. 'The Geographies of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline,*' in *English Literary Renaissance.* 34: 3, pp. 339-58, 2004.

Guenivet, K. 'Femmes, les nouveaux Champs de bataille.' *Quasimodo*, n° 9, "Corps en guerre. Imaginaires, idéologies, destructions." Tome 2. Montpellier, Spring 2006. pp. 197-213. Site; www.revue-quasimodo.org

Guibillon, G. *La Littérature Anglaise par les Textes*. Paris: Hatier, 1950.

Hackett, H. *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary.* London: Macmillan, 1995.

Hadfield, A. Maley, W. (Editors). *Edmund Spenser: A View of the State of Ireland.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1997.

Hadfield, A. *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hadfield, A. *The English Renaissance, 1500-1620.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Halpern, R. *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation.* New York: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Hammond, P. *Figuring Sex between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.

Hanson, W.S. Campbell, D.B. "The Brigantes: from clientage to conquest."*Britannia,* 17, 1986.

Heale, E. *The Faerie Queene: A Reader's Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Heisch, A. 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Persistence of Patriarchy', in *Feminist Review,* pp. 45-55, Feb 1980.

Helgerson, R. 'The Land Speaks : Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England.'*Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Stephen Greenblatt, London: University of California Press, 1988.

Helgerson, R. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writings of England.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Henderson, K.U. McManus, B.F. *Half Humankind: Context and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England 1540-1640.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Henze, C. 'Unravelling Beaumont from Fletcher with Music, Misogyny, and Masque.' *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900.* Volume 44, Number 2, Spring 2004. pp. 379-404.

Henze, C. Women's Use of Music to Motivate Erotic Desire in the Drama of Beaumont and Fletcher.' *Journal of Musicology Research.* Volume 20, Number 2, 2001. pp. 97-134.

Herford Percy, C.H. Simpson, E. *Ben Jonson,* Volume 10. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.

Hickman, A. '*Bonduca's* Two Ignoble Armies and *The Two Noble Kinsmen.' Medieval and Ranaissance Drama in England.* Fairleigh Dickinson Univeristy Press: New Jersey, Vol. 4, 1989. pp. 153-69.

Higham, N.J. 'Brigantia Revisited,' pp. 1-19, in *Northern History,* Vol. XXIII, 1987.

Highley, C. *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis In Ireland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Hingley, R. Unwin, C. *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen.* London: Hambledon and London, 2005.

Hingley, R. 'An Imperial Legacy: The Contribution of Classical Rome to the Character of the English,' (pp.145-66) in *Images of Rome: Perceptions of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age.* Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series No 44, 2001.

Hodnett, E. *English Woodcuts 1480-1535.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Howard, J. Rankin, P. *Engendering a Nation.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Hunt, R. *Queen Boudicca's Battle of Britain.* Kent: Spellmount, 2003.

Hutton, R. *The Rise and Fall of Merry England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Hutton, R. *The Stations of the Sun.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Jackson, K. "Queen Boudicca?" *Britannia,* 10, p. 225. 1979.

James, M. *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Jameson. 'The Politics of Theory; Ideological Positions in the Postmodernism debate.' chapter 21, in *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader.* Edited by Lodge, D. London: Longman, 2000.

Johnson, P. *Elizabeth I: A Study of Power and Intellect.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974.

Jones, A. R. Stallybrass, P. 'Dismantling Irena: The Sexualizing of Ireland in Early Modern England.' *Nationalism and Sexualities.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Jordan, C. 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought,' *Renaissance Quarterly,* 40, 1987, pp. 421-51.

Jowitt, C. 'Colonialism, Politics, and Romanisation in John Fletcher's *Bonduca*,' *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900.* vol. 43, pp. 475-94, 2003.

Kahn, C. *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds and Women.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Keineg, P. *Boudica, Taliesin et autres poèmes.* Rennes : Editions Ubacs, 1990 (first published in 1980).

Kelly, N. Rees, R. Shuter, J. *Living Through History 1: Roman Empire and Medieval Realms.* Oxford: Heinemann, 1997.

Kendrick, T.D. *British Antiquity.* London: Methuen & Co.,1951.

Kerrigan, J. *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, And Politics: 1603-1707.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Knapp, J. *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England. The Representation of History in Printed Books.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Lever, J.W. *The Tragedy of State: A Study of Jacobean Drama.* London: Methuen, 1971 & 1987

Levi-Strauss, C. *Race et Histoire.* Denoël : UNESCO, 1961.

Levy, F.J. *Tudor Historical Thought.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Lilly, M. *Gay Men's Literature in the Twentieth Century.* New York: New York University Press. 1993.

Lissak, M. *Boadicea.* London: Onion Shed, 1997.

MacColl, A. 'The Meaning of "Britain" in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies.* Volume 45, Number 2 (April 2006), pp. 248-269.

Macdonald, S. Holden, P. Ardener, S. 'Boadicea: Warrior, Mother and Myth' (pp. 40-61), in *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives.* Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1988.

MacDougall, H.A. *Racial Myths in English History.* Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1982.

MacKillop, J. *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Macqueen, J. and Macqueen, W. 'Latin Prose Literature,' chapter 14. *The History of Scottish Literature.* Vol. 1: *Origins to 1660.* Edited by Jack, R. D. S. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.

Maley, W & Schwyzer, P. (Eds). *Shakespeare and Wales.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Maley, W. "'This Sceptered Isle:' Shakespeare and the British Problem" in *Shakespeare and National Culture.* Joughin, J. J. (ed.) Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997. pp. 83-108.

Martin, E. *Tacitus.* London: Batsford, 1981.

Mason, R. A. `Scotching the Brut: History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England*, 1286-1815 Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987.

Masten, J. *Textual Intercourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Matthew, H.C.G. and Harrison, B. (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004.

Matthews, D. McMullan, G (editors). *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

McIiwraith, A.K. 'Bonduca, by John Fletcher,' in *The Review of English Studies.* Greg, W.W. (ed.) New Series, Vol. 4, series 15 (July 1953). Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 283-284.

McMullan, G. *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher.* Amherst: Unversity of Massachusettes Press, 1994.

Mendelson, S. Crawford, P. *Women in Early Modern England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Mikalachki, J. *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Mikalachki, J. 'The Masculine Romance of Roman Britain: Cymbeline and Early Modern English Nationalism.' *Shakespeare Quarterly,* Vol. 46, No. 3. Autumn 1995, pp. 301-322.

Miller-Tomlinson, T. "Hybrid Gender, Hybrid Nation: Race, Sexuality, and the Making of National Identity in Fletcher's *Bonduca*." *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama* 46, 2007: pp. 51-66.

Miller-Tomlinson,T. 'Dramatic Hybridities: Sex, Nation, and Genre in *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca. Appositions: Studies in Renaissance/Early Modern Literature and Culture.*

Vol 1, May 2008. http://appositions.blogspot.com/2008/01/tracey-miller-tomlinson-dramatic.html

Millican, C.B. *Spenser and the Table Round.* Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol viii. Cambridge, Massachusettes: Harvard University Press, 1932.

Montrose, L.A. ' "Shaping Fantasies" : Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture.' *Representing the English Renaissance.* Edited by Stephen Greenblatt. London: University of California Press, 1988.

Morgan, H. *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993.

Morgan, K (Ed.). *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Morgan, V. 'The Cartographic Image of "the Country" in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.* 5th ser., vol 29, pp.129-54, 1979.

Moser, S. *Ancestral Images: The Iconography of Human Origins.* Stroud: Sutton, 1998.

Neale, J.E. *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1559-1601.* 2 vols, London: Jonathan Cape, 1953-57.

Norbrook, D. *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.

Normand, L. 'Witches, King James and *The Masque of Queens'* in Summers and Pebworth, eds., *Representing Women in Renaissance England.* London: University of Missouri Press, 1997.

Orgel, S. *The Jonsonian Masque.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Orgel, S. 'Jonson and the Amazons' in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry.* ed. Harvey, E.D. Eisaman Maus, K. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990. pp. 119-39.

Orme (Coles), B. 'Introduction'. in *Anthropology for Archaeologists.* London: Duckworth, 1981.

Ornstein, R. *The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.

Palfrey, S. Stern, T. *Shakespeare in Parts.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Parolin, P. 'Anachronistic Italy: Cultural Alliances and National Idenity in *Cymbeline.*' *Shakespeare Studies,* Vol 30, 2002. pp. 188-218.

Parry, G. *The Golden Age Restor'd; The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1985.

Patterson, A. *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles.* London: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Patterson, A. *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading*

in Early Modern England. Wisconsin: Madison, 1984.

Pearse, R. *Tacitus and his Manuscripts.* www.tertullian.org/rpearse/tacitus/index.htm

Pearse, R. *Dio Cassius: The Manuscripts of 'The Roman History.'* www.tertullian.org/rpearse/manuscripts/dio_cassius.htm

Phillips, J. E. Jr. 'The Woman Ruler in Spenser's Faerie Queene.' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* 1941-2. pp. 211-234.

Piggott, S. *The Druids.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1975.

Piggott, S. *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Pocock, J.G.A. *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Poirier, M. *Spenser: La Reine des Fées.* Paris: Editions Montaigne/Aubier, 1926.

Porter, R. *Gibbon, Making History.* London: Phoenix, 1988.

Quiller-Couch, A. *The Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1900.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924.

Reynolds, L.D. (ed.) *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.

Ribner, I. *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Richards, J. & Knowles, J. *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Richmond, I.A., 'Queen Cartimandua,' *Journal of Roman Studies* 44, 50 ff, pp. 43-52, 1954.

Ridley, R.T., "To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage," *Classical Philology* vol. 81, no. 2, 1986.

Robbins, K. *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness.* London: Longmans, 1998.

Roesch, J. *Boudica: Queen of the Iceni.* London: Robert Hale, 2006.

Rowse, A.L. *The England of Elizabeth.* London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1964.

Royan, N. *The Scotorum Historia of Hector Boece: A Study.* Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1996.

Said, E. W. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* New Delhi : Penguin Books India, 2001.

Salway, P. *Roman Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Schleiner, W. 'Divina Virago: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon,' *Studies in Philology,* vol 75, 2, (pp. 163-80), Spring 1978.

Schnapp, A. *La Conquête du Passé Aux Origines de l'Archéologie.* Paris: Carré, 1993.

Schoell, M. 'Jean Aurispa,' *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque Profane depuis son origine jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs.* Tome Septième, Livre VII, Chapitre C. Paris : Librairie de Gide Fils, 1825.

Schwyzer, P. *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Schwyzer, P. 'A Map of Greater Cambria,' *Early Modern Literary Studies.* e-journal, 1998.

Schwyzer, P. 'British history and "The British history": the same old story?'*British Identities and English Renaissance Literature.* Baker, D. Maley, W. (Eds.).Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Sealey, P. R. *The Boudican Revolt against Rome.* Buckinghamshire: Shire Archaeology, 1997.

Sharpe, K. Zwicker, S.N. *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth Century England*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1987.

Shepherd, S. *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.

Simon, J. *Education and Society in Tudor England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Smiles, S. *The Image of Antiquity: Britain and the Romantic Imagination.* London: Yale University Press, 1994.

Smith, B. R. *Shakespeare and Masculinity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Smith, B. R. *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Smith Fussner, F. *The Historical Revolution. English Historical Writing and Thought: 1580-1640.* London: Routledge, 1962.

Snyder, C. A. *The Britons.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.

Spense, L. *Boadicea; Warrior Queen of the Britons.* London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1937.

Squier, C. L. *John Fletcher.* Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986.

Stern, T. *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Stewart, A. *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI & I.* London: Chatto & Windus, 2003.

Stone, L. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Stone, L. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800.* London: Penguin, 1979.

Strong, R. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.

Strong, R. *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits.* 2 volumes. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969.

Strong, R. *The English Icon.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1969.

Sullivan, G. *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage.* California: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Summit, J. 'Monuments and Ruins: Spenser and the Problem of the English Library.' *ELH (English Literary History)*, Volume 70, Number 1 (March 1, 2003), pp. 1-34.

Suzuki, Mihoko. '"Unfitly yokt together in one teeme": Vergil and Ovid in *Faerie Queene,* III.ix*'* (pp. 172-85), *English Literary Renaissance.* Vol 17, 1987.

Todd, M. 'Revolt and Conquest Renewed' (pp. 90-102), *Roman Britain 55 BC -AD 400.* London: Fontana, 1981.

Turner, R.Y. 'Responses to Tyranny in John Fletcher's Plays' (pp.123-41), *MRDE*, vol. 4, 1989.

Turner Wright, C. 'The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature' (pp. 433-56), *Studies in Philology,* vol 37, 3, July 1940.

Turner Wright, C. 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies' (pp. 628-43), *Studies in Philology,* vol 43, October 1946.

Ure, P. Editor. *King Richard II.* London: Methuen, 1961.

Voisin, J-L. 'Boudicca, la Vercingétorix anglaise,' (pp. 60-65), *L'Histoire*, N° 329, Paris: SES, March 2008.

Walker, J.M. 'Spenser's Elizabeth Portrait and the Fiction of Dynastic Epic' (pp. 172-99), in *Modern Philology, 90*, 1992.

Walker, J.M. *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of 'Glorianna'.* North Caroline: Duke University, 1998.

Watts, D. *Boudicca's Heirs.* London: Routledge, 2005.

Webster, G. *The Roman Invasion of Britain.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Webster, G. *Rome Against Caratacus*. London: Batsford, 1993.

Webster, G. *Boudica, The British Revolt Against Rome AD 60.* London: Routledge, 1993.

White, H. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism.* Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

White, H. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation.* Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Williams, C. (1999a). '"This Frantic Woman": Boadicea and English Neo-Classical Embarrassment' (pp. 19-36), in Wyke, M. Biddiss, M. (eds) *The Uses and Abuses of*

Antiquity. Bern: Peter Lang.

Williams, N. *All The Queen's Men: Elizabeth I And Her Courtiers.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

Williams, R. *Problems in Culture and Materialism,* New Left Review Editions. London: Brtish Library, 1980.

Wood, M. 'Boadicea', *In Search of the Dark Ages*. London: Book Club Associates, 1982. pp. 13-36.

Woods, G. *A History of Gay Literature.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Woolf, D.R. 'Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory.' Vol 20, pp.167-91, *Canadian Journal of History,* 1985.

Woolf, D.R. 'Erudition and the Idea of History in Renaissance England,' *Renaissance Quartlerly.* 40, pp. 11-48, 1987.

Woolf, D.R. 'Genre into Artefact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century,' *Sixteenth Century Journal.* 19, pp. 319-54, 1988.

Woolf, D.R. *Reading History in Early Modern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Woolf, D.R. *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Woolway, J. *Spenser and the Culture of Place.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Zeigler, M. "Brigantia, Cartimandua and Gwenhwyfar," *The Heroic Age,* 1, Belleville, 1999.

Zimmerman, S. (ed.) *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Other Sources:

Internet:

Leahy, William. *'A stranger ladies thrall :' Elizabeth I, Henry Lee and the Ditchley Progress of 1592.* London, Brunel University. WWW.jmucci.com/ER/articles/ditchley

www.museumoflondon.org.uk

Map: 'Roman Britain,' *Ordnance Survey Map*. England: Southampton, 1994.

Videos/DVDs:

The Celts. London: Channel 4, 2000.

David Starkey's Elizabeth. London: Channel 4, 2003.

'The Boadicea Phenomenon: An interview with Carolyn Williams' in *Roman Britain.* Open University Videotape, BBC, 1999.

History Quest; Boadicea. BBC Knowledge series.

Battlefield Britain: Boudicca. BBC, 2004.

Boudica. ITV, 2003.

War Women. London: UK History, 2003.

<u>Music:</u>

CD: Enya. *The Celts.* Warner Music UK Ltd, 1992.