

13 • Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520–1688

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POETRY: TERMS AND MEANINGS

The English usage of the term “map” in its modern technical sense as a two-dimensional graphic representation of the earth’s surface dates at least to 1527, although this primary meaning appears infrequently in poetry and drama throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the fact that, as of 1600, maps, globes, and atlases had become commonplace; geographical knowledge occupied a central place in the intellectual life of the gentleman, statesman, or man of letters; and the mathematical principles necessary to mapping in its geographic, hydrographic, and astronomical forms were rapidly coalescing into a recognizably modern scientific pursuit.¹ For the Elizabethan poet, the “map” functioned as a conceit in a variety of figurative senses, all of which aligned it with the epitome, emblem, portrait, mirror, or digest: it evoked a visual image that encapsulated, in condensed form, emotional states, abstract qualities, or metaphysical ideas. As was the case with these other terms, the figurative use of “map” implied the spatial dimensions inherent in a diagram or other framed visual image, but this spatial sense remained secondary to the primary mimetic or communicative function of the term. Thus for Nicholas Breton, “Religion is sacred pure diuine . . . a heauenly map, a heauenly sign”;² to Francis Sabie’s Adam in his postlapsarian verse *Adam’s Complaint* (1596), Eve is a “certaine type, true figure, perfect map / Of future euilles t’all mankind to fall,”³ while Michael Drayton’s Matilda, in contrast, is “Natures fayre Ensigne, roiallie displai’d, / Map of *Elisium*, *Eden* without night.”⁴ The term is also typical of the verse *exemplum*: not only does Alexander Garden, in his versification of Breton’s moral characters, describe “An Honest Poore Man” as a “Proofe and Map of Miserie, / In patient porting of his Penurie,” but he compares all the portraits to “Maps” such as those that “Hondius hand” had drawn, which the reader should study closely for moral instruction.⁵ Elizabeth Grymeston’s “sorie wight the obiect of disgrace,” one of several verse portraits and meditations written to her son, is a bleak “monument of feare, the map of shame, / The mirror of mishap, the staine of place, / The scorne of time, the infamie of fame.”⁶ Similar fixed ex-

pressions—“map of beauty,” “map of vertue,” “map of honor,” “map of sorrow,” “map of shame”—survived well into the seventeenth century, in both poetry and drama: Thomas Kyd, Christopher Marlowe, George Chapman, and John Fletcher all use the conceit in its conventional emblematic senses, although both Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare included maps as actual technical instruments in several ways (as I discuss later).

In the sonnet, the elegy, and the ode, the map conceit acts as an index to the interior emotional or moral state of the speaker; again the idea of a visual or graphic sign expresses an intangible idea, quality, or spiritual condition. Thomas Rogers of Bryanston, for instance, draws on the modern cartographic meaning of the term but sub-

Abbreviations used in this chapter include: *Literature, Mapping* for Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, eds., *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), and *Playing the Globe* for John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan, eds., *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998).

1. The Oxford English Dictionary cites Robert Thorne’s 1527 letter in Richard Hakluyt’s *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America* (1589), although John Rastell had used a maplike prop in his 1520 interlude *The Nature of the Four Elements*, where Humanyte and Studyous Desire enter carrying a “figura” of the entire Earth and Experience later describes the nations, peoples, and seas of the world by referring to the same “figure.” See Richard Helgerson’s “Introduction” to *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2, special issue 3 (1998): 1.1–14, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/intro.htm>>. The issue includes a useful bibliography of sources on the topic of literature and mapping in the Renaissance, as well as several valuable essays. Because of word limits, I have restricted my citations in these notes to primary sources and to secondary scholarship concerned directly with geography, maps, and literature, with indication of further bibliography wherever possible.

2. Nicholas Breton, *The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to His Sonne: With the Answer to the Same* (London, 1613), Gr.

3. Francis Sabie, *Adams Complaint: The Olde Worldes Tragedie* (London, 1596), B2r.

4. Matilda, in *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 5 vols., ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), 1:217.120–21.

5. Alexander Garden, *Characters and Essayes* (Aberdene, 1625), “An Honest Poore Man,” 52, and “To the Reader,” 8; see also the dedication to Sir Alexander Gordon, A3r.

6. Elizabeth Bernye Grymeston, *Miscelanea, Meditations, Memoratiues* (London, 1604), D4v.

sumes it within a conventional emblematic usage in his elegy on the Lady Frances, Countess of Hertford: those “that like Julius Caesar seeke to measure, / The spacious clymates of the centred round / To fish for kingdomes and to purchase treasure” should instead “behold euen in the map of my sad face, / A true Cosmographie of humane woes,” because worldly conquest pales in comparison to the inevitability and permanence of death.⁷ Both Fulke Greville and Sir Philip Sidney use the image in conventional poetic senses, the former to describe the speaker’s alienation from Grace (“the mappe of death-like life exil’d from louely blisse”),⁸ the latter Astrophil’s self-revelation through the spoken word, a far more effective image than the Petrarchan conceits used by other lovers (“I can speake what I feele, and feele as much as they, / But thinke that all the Map of my state I display, / When trembling voice brings forth, that I do *Stella* love.”)⁹ Thomas Middleton, in *The Wisdome of Soloman Paraphrased* (1597), employs a variation on the typical sonnet conceit that neatly encapsulates the range of its figurative meanings: it is not the face of the speaker that reveals emotion but the face of his lover, whose embarrassed shame becomes a mirror in which he sees reflected his own transgressions: “She is my glasse, my tipe, my forme, my mappe, / The figure of my deede, shape of my thought, / My lifes character, fortune to my happe.”¹⁰ In an overlapping sense, poets might refer to the composition itself as a verbal “map” whose purpose is to portray a moral or religious lesson, a variation on the familiar trope of the text-as-mirror that was ubiquitous throughout the literature and art theory of the Renaissance. As late as 1635, George Wither still uses the term “map” as a synonym for the emblem in the dedication of his second book of emblems to Prince James and the Countess of Dorset; Wither offers his book as a “*harmeless pleasantnesse*” that will “*dispose / Their Mindes to VERTVE*” if they “*enquire / What things those are, that represented be, / In ev’ry MAP, or EMBLEM, which they see.*”¹¹

Many of the major Elizabethan poets, however, rarely or never refer to maps, a fact that once again underscores the novelty of elaborate geographical and cartographic conceits in a Jacobean poet such as John Donne: neither Thomas Wyatt nor Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, nor George Herbert, for instance, ever employs the map conceit. At least one contemporary of Donne’s, Samuel Daniel, was overtly suspicious of maps, warning in his *Defense of Ryme* (ca. 1603):

We must not looke vpon the immense course of times past as men ouer-looke spacious and wide countries from off high Mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true Nature of the soyle or the particular syte and face of those territories they see. Nor must we thinke, viewing the superficial figure of a region in a Mappe that wee know strait the fashion and place as

it is. Or reading an Historie (which is but a Mappe of Men, and dooth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true Substance of Circumstances then a superficial Card dooth the Seaman with a Coast neuer seene, which alwayes prooues other to the eye than the imagination forcast it), that presently wee know all the world, and can distinctly iudge of times, men, and maners, iust as they were.¹²

As noted earlier, Sidney uses the conventional map conceit only once in his verse, in *Astrophil and Stella* (st. 6), although in Sonnet 91 he compares a glimpse of Stella’s hands, cheeks, or lips to “Models such be wood-globes of glistring skies” (l. 11), because each “peece” is a sign or index of her full, unapproachable beauty, an image that Donne revisits in his “Love’s Progress.” Spenser also uses the map conceit only once, in his translation of Joachim Du Bellay’s *Antiquitez de Rome* (1558), the *Ruines of Rome* (1591), whose twenty-sixth sonnet concludes with an elaborate comparison between the pencil of the draftsman or painter, the level and square of the carpenter, and the “loftie style” and “naming” power of the poet: the mere name of “Rome” itself becomes “th’auuncient Plot . . . displayed plaine,” which in turn “The map of all the wide world doth containe.”¹³ Elsewhere, as Oruch has observed, Spenser’s poetry tends to follow the classical rhetorical tradition “in making topography essentially a figure of speech, in contrast to the antiquarians and historians, who made it a subject unto itself.”¹⁴

Even a poet as learned and as conscious of intellectual innovation as Ben Jonson invokes maps extremely rarely: the image makes a passing appearance in the “Song to Atlas” in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) in a usage that combines the cartographic and the emblematic senses

7. Thomas Rogers, *Celestiall Elegies of the Muses in Celestiall Elegies of the Goddesses and the Muses* (London, 1598), “Qvatorzain 6: Erato,” C3v.

8. *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville*, 2 vols., ed. Geoffrey Bullock (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), 1:134.80.

9. *Astrophil and Stella*, in *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 6.12–14.

10. Thomas Middleton, *The Wisdome of Solomon Paraphrased* (London, 1597), chap. 9, verse 11, Mr.

11. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London, 1635), dedication to the second book, following 62.

12. Samuel Daniel, *A Defence of Ryme, in Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 vols., ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1904), 2:356–84, esp. 370.22–35; partially cited by Bernhard Klein in *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Houndmills, Eng.: Palgrave, 2001), 91.

13. *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William Orma et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 400.362–64.

14. Jack B. Oruch, “Topographical Description,” in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 691–93, esp. 692.

of the term,¹⁵ although his “Certaines Verses Written vpon Coryats Crvdities” praises Coryat for the particular decorum with which he translates his travels into narrative, allowing “for each particular mile, / By the scale of his booke, a yard of his stile,”¹⁶ and his sharp satire of projectors in *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616) singles out their use of mathematical calculations and the “suruay” (2.1.52), as Meer-craft seeks fenland that is ripe for drainage and Fitz-Dottrell looks in “the map” to see “what to be of” (2.3.38–39), settling finally on the title “Duke of Drown’d-land” (helpfully compared to “Groen-land” by Inge the broker).¹⁷ Given Jonson’s documented interest in architecture and geometry (in both its speculative or emblematic and its practical modes), his use of the “broken compass” as his own personal emblem, and his residence at Gresham College, where he was presumably familiar with the protoscientific instruction offered by William Gilbert and others (an influence reflected overtly in his 1632 play *The Magnetic Lady*), we might expect to find a more pronounced interest in cartographic instruments and conventions in his work.¹⁸

Not all poetic treatments of landscape during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, however, can be called “cartographic,” if the term is to retain any specificity as a literary descriptor. The shifting allegorical landscape of romance is often quite antithetical to representation on a map, as several critics have argued of the *Faerie Queene*, particularly when compared to the detailed topographical references in *Paradise Lost* (as I discuss later).¹⁹ Flourishing contemporary genres of landscape, such as the georgic or the pastoral, as well as their offspring the country house poem, often represent their central topographic objects through well-established classical conventions that differ significantly from the abstract, systematized, quantitative spatial conventions of the map.²⁰ Andrew Marvell offers the most significant example: when he concludes *Upon Appleton House* (1651) by calling it the “Heaven’s Center, Nature’s Lap, / And Paradise’s only Map,” the image still depends primarily on the traditional emblematic function of the map conceit as signaling a metaphysical correspondence that only poetry, and *not* the survey or the topographic map, can capture, although in other poems Marvell draws more obviously on the surveys and views found in contemporary atlases.²¹

15. “Ope, aged Atlas, open then thy lap / and from thy beamy bosom, strike a light, / yt men may read in thy misterious map / all lines / and signes / of roial education . . .” *Ben Jonson [Works]*, 11 vols., ed. Charles Harold Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Mary Spearing Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925–63), 7:487.218–23; cf. Jonson’s ode to Lady Venetia Digby, *Underwood* LXXXIV, 9.196 (*Ben Jonson*, 8:288).

16. *Ungathered Verse* XII, 9–10 (*Ben Jonson*, 8:379).

17. “All Crowland / Is ours, wife; and the fens, from vs, in *Norfolke*, / To the vtmost bound of *Lincoln-shire*! we haue view’d it, / And

measur’d it within all; by the scale! / The richest tract of land, Loue, i’ the kingdome!” 2.3.49–53 (*Ben Jonson*, 6:198). Cf. also the image of fleas skipping in a map used to rebuke a braggart soldier-traveler in Epigram CVII, “To Captayne Hvngry” (*Ben Jonson*, 8:68–69), and the satire of statesmen who “know the states of *Christendome*, not the places: / Yet haue they seene the maps, and bought ‘hem too, / And vnderstand ‘hem, as most chapmen doe” in Epigram XCII, “The New Crie,” 8–10 (*Ben Jonson*, 8:58–59).

18. See especially the evidence collected by A. W. Johnson in *Ben Jonson: Poetry and Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); see also D. J. Gordon, “Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones,” in *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 77–101. Barbour suggests that Jonson might have consulted the map of Africa published with John Pory’s English translation of Leo Africanus’s *Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), although as Barbour observes, Niger and the Nile are invoked for their emblematic associations and do not seem to have had any specifically topographic significance for Jonson. See Richmond Barbour, “Britain and the Great Beyond: *The Masque of Blackness* at Whitehall,” in *Playing the Globe*, 129–53, esp. 132–34. More recently critics have rediscovered the scatological urban topography of Jonson’s “On the Famous Voyage,” Epigram CXXXIII (*Ben Jonson*, 8:84–89), a mock-epic journey through the sewers of London; see Andrew McRae, “‘On the Famous Voyage’: Ben Jonson and Civic Space,” in *Literature, Mapping*, 181–203, with bibliography.

19. Including the famous marriage of the Thames and Medway in the *Faerie Queene* (4.11), which both Berger and Klein characterize as cosmological, rhetorical, and mythological rather than cartographic, tracing it to narrative accounts by William Harrison, William Camden, and John Leland rather than to Christopher Saxton or a similar graphic source, although Berger points out that the lost *Epithalamion Themsis* probably was more cartographic, citing Spenser’s letters to Harvey; see Harry Berger, *Revisionary Play: Studies in the Spenserian Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 210–11, and Bernhard Klein, “Imaginary Journeys: Spenser, Drayton, and the Poetics of National Space,” in *Literature, Mapping*, 204–23, and idem, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, 164–70. See also Wyman H. Herendeen, “Rivers,” in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 608, who offers a similar reading but also notes that the passage is “a rare instance of the intrusion of real geography” into the poem; the extensive discussion of the tradition in Wyman H. Herendeen, *From Landscape to Literature: The River and the Myth of Geography* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1986), esp. 117–339; and Joanne Woolway Grenfell, “Do Real Knights Need Maps? Charting Moral, Geographical, and Representational Uncertainty in Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*,” in *Literature, Mapping*, 224–38. But see Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 27–52, who emphasizes the passage’s cartographic aspects, and Wayne Erickson, *Mapping the “Faerie Queene”*: *Quest Structures and the World of the Poem* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996).

20. See, among others, James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630–1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979); Chris Fitter, *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. 262–99; Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580–1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 76–89; and Sanford, *Maps and Memory*, 75–97, who argues that Jonson’s “To Peshurst” does reflect the conventions of the estate survey, as does John Scattergood in his “National and Local Identity: Maps and the English ‘Country-House’ Poem,” *Graat* 22 (2000): 13–27.

21. *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, 2 vols., ed. H. M. Margoliouth (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 1:96.767–68; see also “Upon

POETRY: NEW DEVELOPMENTS

As the different uses by Sidney, Jonson, Spenser, or Marvell indicate, the conventional emblematic senses of the term “map” had begun to converge with its modern technical meaning as an instrument of geographical representation, as well as with the meanings of other technical words associated with measurement and cartography, such as “plott,” a diagram, schematic, or surveyor’s map; “model,” used for wooden globes as well as for images and other constructions, as in Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella* 91; and “card,” a chart used for navigational purposes.²² Spenser uses the latter three times in the *Faerie Queene*, where Guyon is compared to the “Pilot well expert in perilous waue,” who, having lost sight of his “stedfast starre,” “Vpon his card and compas firmes his eye, / The maisters of his long experiment”²³; here the technical instrument becomes a metaphor for an internal and metaphysical moral compass that directs Guyon’s journey (“So Guyon hauing lost his trusty guide” must rely only on the pattern “of his owne vertues, and prayse-worthy deedes” [2.1, 5]). Similarly, when Britomart describes herself as “withouten compasse, or withouten card” (3.2.7.7, my emphasis; see also the description of the Fisher’s boat “that went at will, withouten carde or sayle” [2.8.31.2]), the image indicates a lack of clear purpose or self-conscious moral principle, or at least one that is still in the process of development. But Spenser’s most significant reference to maps as technical instruments occurs outside of a lyric context, in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (ca. 1595–96), where Eudoxus interrupts his discourse to draw out “the mapp of Ireland” that will illustrate his proposals for the enforced repopulation of the territory and the transformation of the landscape; this moment, and the text of the *View* as a whole, has been of particular interest to scholars of Elizabethan colonial efforts in Ireland, a rapidly expanding field in which some of the most innovative analysis of the relationships between cartographic and literary representation has been written.²⁴

Sonnet 44 of Michael Drayton’s sequence *Idea* (1599), meanwhile, offers a paradigmatic example of how both emblematic and cartographic meanings might be combined in the context of love poetry, and one that links the image to the related term “model”: “Whilst thus my Pen strives to eternize thee, / Age rules my Lines with Wrinkles in my Face, / Where, in the Map of all my Miserie, / Is model’d out the World of my Disgrace” (2: 332.1–4). Drayton had employed the same image in his earlier *Matilda* (1594); in both cases, the map conceit conflates the marks of care on the human face; the graphic, ruled line of the graphic map or chart; and the regular, measured verse line of the poet.²⁵ Both instances are also contemporary with Maria’s more comic simile in

Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* (1601), when she compares Malvolio’s smile, crinkled and striated, to “the new map with the augmentation of the Indies.”²⁶ Critics have suggested an explicit reference to Edward Wright’s world map, the *Hydrographiae descriptio* (1599), published in Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* and based on Gerardus Mercator’s projection of 1569,²⁷ although, like Drayton, Shakespeare had used the image in an entirely conventional way several years earlier, both in “Sonnet 68”

the Hill and Grove of Billborow” (ca. 1650), which, as Scattergood argues, emphasizes only the insufficiency of cartographic representation, but also Emilia Lanyer’s “Description of Cookeham” (1611), which adopts the position of the royal, and specifically English, cartographic gaze: the house is “A Prospect fit to please the eyes of Kings: / And thirteene shires appear’d all in your sight, / Europe could not afford much more delight” (cited by Scattergood, “National and Local Identity,” 17).

22. I have discussed these terms in more detail in Henry S. Turner, “Plotting Early Modernity,” in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. Henry S. Turner (New York: Routledge, 2002), 85–127, and idem, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

23. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977), 2.7.1–2, 6–7.

24. See, among others, Rudolf Gottfried, “Irish Geography in Spenser’s *View*,” *ELH* 6 (1939): 114–37; Bruce Avery, “Mapping the Irish Other: Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*,” *ELH* 57 (1990): 263–79; David J. Baker, “Off the Map: Charting Uncertainty in Renaissance Ireland,” in *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 76–92; Julia Reinhard Lupton, “Mapping Mutability; or, Spenser’s Irish Plot,” also in *Representing Ireland*, 93–115; Bernhard Klein, “The Lie of the Land: English Surveyors, Irish Rebels and *The Faerie Queene*,” *Irish University Review* 26 (1996): 207–25; idem, “Partial Views: Shakespeare and the Map of Ireland,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2, special issue 3 (1998): 5.1–20, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/kleipart.htm>>; idem, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, esp. 61–75 and 112–30; John Breen, “Spenser’s ‘Imaginatiue Groundplot’: *A View of the Present State of Ireland*,” *Spenser Studies* 12 (1998): 151–68; Mercedes Maroto Camino, “‘Methinks I See an Evil Lurk Unespied’: Visualizing Conquest in Spenser’s *A View of the Present State of Ireland*,” *Spenser Studies* 12 (1998): 169–94; McLeod, *Geography of Empire*, 32–75; and Mark Netzloff, “Forgetting the Ulster Plantation: John Speed’s *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611) and the Colonial Archive,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 313–48, with full bibliography.

25. “Looke on these browes, the perfect Map of care, / The truest mirrour of my miserie, / In wrinkled lines where sorrowes written are” (*Works of Michael Drayton*, 1: 224.379–81).

26. William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night; or, What You Will*, 3.2.66–68, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 1768–1821, esp. 1798.

27. See C. H. Coote, “Shakspeare’s ‘New Map,’” *New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, ser. 1, no. 7 (1877–79): 88–99; J. D. Rogers, “Voyages and Exploration: Geography: Maps,” in *Shakespeare’s England: An Account of the Life & Manners of His Age*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1916), 1:170–97, esp. 173–74; and the discussion and bibliography in John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 41, 47, and 50.

(ca. 1595), where the cheek is “the map of days outworn,” and in the *Rape of Lucrece* (1594), where the face of Lucrece is “that map which deep impression bears / Of hard misfortune, carved in it with tears.”²⁸ In using the first sonnet of his *Idea* (first appearing in the 1619 edition) to develop an extended metaphor of travel, Drayton suggests that the entire sequence that follows does not simply “tell of his [i.e., Drayton’s; he is the “adventurous Sea-farer” of l. 1] Discoverie / How farre he sayl’d, what Countries he had seene, / Proceeding from the Port whence he put forth,” but:

Shewes by his Compasse, how his Course he steer’d,
When East, when West, when South, and when by
North,
As how the Pole to ev’ry place was rear’d,
What Capes he doubled, of what Continent,
The Gulphes and Straits, that strangely he had past,
Where most becalm’d, where with foule Weather
spent,
And on what Rocks in perill to be cast. . . . (2:311.35
and 6–12, my emphasis)

The sequence promises a visual overview of love’s progress oriented by the cardinal points. One of John Donne’s several verse epistles to “Mr. T. W” refers to the verse itself in an emblematic sense as “the strict Map of my misery,”²⁹ but this is by far the most conventional use of the image in Donne, whose work famously elevates maps, globes, and compasses to a new level of metaphysical conceit by combining their well-established and even formulaic meanings with their function as instruments of navigation; in Donne we see most clearly both the sense of genuine novelty that accompanied changes in cartographic representation during the Elizabethan period and the way its influence on the logical and associative habits of poetic composition produced a new interest in the technical aspects of maps, charts, and instruments that became more pronounced during the next century.³⁰

DONNE

Scholarship on Donne’s use of maps and cartographic images has focused on his experience in navigation and overseas military expeditions to Cadiz with Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, in 1596 and to the Azores with Sir Walter Raleigh in 1597 and has attempted to identify maps and books that might have inspired him: candidates include Humfrey Cole’s map of the Holy Land in the 1568 Bishops’ Bible; medieval tripartite (also known as T-O) maps; Jodocus Hondius the Elder’s 1595 world map (the “Drake Broadside Map”); the cordiform projections of Bernardo Silvano (1511), Oronce Fine (1531 and 1536), or Gerardus Mercator (1538); and the images of the compass engraved by Theodor de Bry in

The Mariner’s Mirror (1588), although compass images were common in emblem books and were ubiquitous in the maps of the period, including those in Christopher Saxton’s 1579 atlas or John Speed’s *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611).³¹ Several critics have suggested that Donne’s poetry engages specific technical problems of cartographic projection: the problem of “paradoxal” or “loxodromic” navigation around an oblique, spiraled line, addressed in “A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning”; stereographic projection of double hemispheres, alluded to in both “Love’s Progress” and “The Good-Morrow”; the distortions implied in translating a two-dimensional cartographic representation to a three-dimensional globe and vice versa, resonant in “A Valediction: Of Weeping,” “Hymn to God, My God, in My Sickness,” or the fourth meditation in *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*.³²

28. William Shakespeare, “Sonnet 68,” l. 1, and *Rape of Lucrece*, ll. 1712–13, both in *Norton Shakespeare*, 1945–46, quotation on 1945, and 641–82, quotation on 679, respectively. See also the movement of Lucrece’s golden hair upon her sleeping breath, which shows “life’s triumph in the map of death” (l. 402, p. 651).

29. *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols., ed. Herbert Grierson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), 1:206.8.

30. Compare Samuel Rowlands’s “Glutton” in his *Looke to It: For, Ile Stabbe Ye* (London, 1604), which explicitly draws on the iconography of early map engraving—the character is “Fac’d like the Northwinds-picture in a Map” (E2v)—or Robert Heath’s “On a Map of the World Accidentally Faln into the Water and Spoiled,” in his *Clarastella: Together with Poems Occasional, Elegies, Epigrams, Satyrs* (London, 1650), “Occasional Poems,” 14.

31. Robert L. Sharp, “Donne’s ‘Good-Morrow’ and Cordiform Maps,” *Modern Language Notes* 69 (1954): 493–95; William Empson, “Donne the Space Man,” *Kenyon Review* 19 (1957): 337–99; Robert F. Fleissner, “Donne and Dante: The Compass Figure Reinterpreted,” *Modern Language Notes* 76 (1961): 315–20; John Freccero, “Donne’s ‘Valediction: Forbidding Mourning,’” *ELH* 30 (1963): 335–76; Marvin Morillo, “Donne’s Compasses: Circles and Right Lines,” *English Language Notes* 3 (1966): 173–76; Donald K. Anderson, “Donne’s ‘Hymne to God My God, in My Sickness’ and the T-in-O Maps,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 71 (1972): 465–72; Stanton J. Linden, “Compasses and Cartography: Donne’s ‘A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning,’” *John Donne Journal* 3 (1984): 23–32; Jeanne Shami, “John Donne: Geography as Metaphor,” in *Geography and Literature: A Meeting of the Disciplines*, ed. William E. Mallory and Paul Simpson-Housley (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 161–67; Graham Roebuck, “Donne’s Visual Imagination and Compasses,” *John Donne Journal* 8 (1989): 37–56; Eileen Reeves, “John Donne and the Oblique Course,” *Renaissance Studies* 7 (1993): 168–83, with full bibliography; Howard Marchitello, *Narrative and Meaning in Early Modern England: Browne’s Skull and Other Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 68–74; Lisa Gorton, “John Donne’s Use of Space,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2, special issue 3 (1998): 9.1–27, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/gortjohn.htm>>; Shankar Raman, “Can’t Buy Me Love: Money, Gender, and Colonialism in Donne’s Erotic Verse,” *Criticism* 43 (2001): 135–68; and David Woodward, “The Geographical Imagination of John Donne” (unpublished manuscript, presented to the Logos Society, University of Wisconsin–Madison, November 2000), 5–6.

32. Reeves, “John Donne”; Roebuck, “Donne’s Visual”; but see Woodward, “Geographical Imagination,” 5 and 10–12.

“Hymn to God,” in particular, demonstrates the difficulty of separating the novelty of early modern cartographic conventions from the persistence of older cosmographical and scholastic traditions in Donne’s work, as several scholars have observed; for Donne the cartographic gaze is as eschatological as it is analytical.³³ Such is also the case in “Obsequies to the Lord Harrington’s Brother: To the Countess of Bedford,” in which Donne uses the act of poetic meditation upon the soul of the dead Lord Harrington to make “this place a map of heav’n, my selfe of thee” (1:271.13–14) and uses the map conceit to overlay the historical with the timeless, the particular with the universal, the terrestrial with the celestial, the physical with the metaphysical, microcosm with macrocosm, individual soul with God. Other uses of cartographic and geographical imagery in Donne’s work enable more secular analogies: in “Going to Bed” the speaker is an explorer of the lover’s “America! my new-found-land” (1:120.27); in “The Good-Morrow” the importance of “sea-discoverers” and “maps” is negated by the solipsistic, possessive, and dilating experience of the lovers (1:7.12–14); and in “Love’s Progress” (1:116–19), meanwhile, the nose of the lover is a meridian line between two suns, leaving cheeks like hemispheres and lips like the Canary Islands (ll. 47–53). As the speaker shifts direction and moves upward over the lover’s body from the ground, the foot becomes the “map” for “that part / Which thou dost seek” (ll. 74–75), an “Emblem” (l. 79) and a guide for the progress of the kiss upward toward the “Centrique part” (l. 36), and a striking example of what can only be described as cartographic fetishism, as word substitutes for map, map for foot, foot for mouth, mouth for purse, purse for genitals, all designated throughout the poem by a coy, free-floating demonstrative “this” (l. 38).

MILTON

After Donne, the most significant convergence between cartography and seventeenth-century poetics occurs in the work of John Milton, whose interest in geography has been well documented; in *Paradise Lost* (1667) it becomes possible to demonstrate in detail a direct relationship between the act of literary composition and the consultation of specific atlases, travel narratives, and histories, many published with elaborate maps.³⁴ In his treatise *Of Education* (1644) Milton recommended that students read classical writers, such as Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, Caius Julius Solinus, and Thomas Geminus, as well as modern geographers, such as Pierre d’Avity (in particular, his *Les Estats du Monde* [1614]) in the original, not simply for geographical information but as a component of their linguistic training.³⁵ With these readings the student should “learn in any modern Author, the use of the

Globes, and all the maps, first with the old names; and then with the new,”³⁶ should undertake exercises in the “instrumentall science of *Trigonometry*, and from thence to Fortification, *Architecture*, Enginry, or navigation,” and “procure . . . the helpfull experiences of . . . *Architects*[,] *Engineers*, *Mariners*, *Anatomists*. . . .”³⁷ Even after lapsing into complete blindness in 1652, Milton continued to purchase atlases, writing to his friend Peter Heimbach in Italy in 1656 to complain about the price—130 florins—of a multivolume atlas that Heimbach was to purchase for him: “Since to me, blind, pictured maps could hardly be useful, surveying as I do the actual globe with unseeing eyes, I fear that the more I paid for the book, the more I should mourn my loss. I beg you to do me the further favor to find out . . . how many volumes there are in the whole work and which of the two editions, Blaeu’s or Jansen’s, is the fuller and more accurate.”³⁸ Both Cawley

33. Cf. “The Dampe,” where “When I am dead, and Doctors know not why, / . . . my friends curiositie / Will have me cut up to survay each part” (1:63.1–3); on mapping and anatomy in the period more broadly, see Caterina Albano, “Visible Bodies: Cartography and Anatomy,” in *Literature, Mapping*, 89–106; for broader discussion of Donne’s scientific knowledge, see Marjorie Hope Nicolson, “The ‘New Astronomy’ and English Imagination,” in her *Science and Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), 30–57; Charles M. Coffin, *John Donne and the New Philosophy* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1958), esp. 175–94; Majorie Hope Nicolson, *The Breaking of the Circle: Studies in the Effect of the “New Science” upon Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960).

34. See Elbert N. S. Thompson, “Milton’s Knowledge of Geography,” *Studies in Philology* 16 (1919): 148–71; Allan H. Gilbert, “Pierre Davity: His ‘Geography’ and Its Use by Milton,” *Geographical Review* 7 (1919): 322–38; idem, *A Geographical Dictionary of Milton* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919); George Wesley Whiting, *Milton’s Literary Milieu* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), esp. 94–128; Robert Ralston Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951); Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 1:355–84, esp. 367 and 384; McLeod, *Geography of Empire*, 137–46; and the many annotations by David Masson, ed., in *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1874), and A. W. Verity, ed., in *Paradise Lost*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929). For a discussion of Milton’s broader scientific knowledge, see Kester Svendsen, *Milton and Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), and the discussion and bibliography in two recent articles by Catherine Gimelli Martin, “‘What if the Sun Be Centre to the World?’: Milton’s Epistemology, Cosmology, and Paradise of Fools Reconsidered,” *Modern Philology* 99 (2001): 231–65, a revision of early scholarship on Milton’s supposed geocentrism, and idem, “‘Boundless the Deep’: Milton, Pascal, and the Theology of Relative Space,” *ELH* 63 (1996): 45–78, which argues that Milton’s epic geography depends on a view of infinite space similar to the mathematical conceptualization of the universe typical of the seventeenth century.

35. *Of Education*, in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 8 vols., ed. Don M. Wolfe et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953–82), 2:390–92 and notes.

36. Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, 2:389

37. Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, 2:392–94.

38. Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, 7:494–95.

and Whiting argue that Milton inquired after the 1649–59 edition of Johannes Janssonius's *Novus atlas*, noting that it was the source for Milton's list of winds in *Paradise Lost* (bk. 10, 699–706).³⁹

Discussion of Milton's geographical knowledge has focused on three primary areas: his own exercise in modern geographical writing, *A Brief History of Moscovia* (1682); Adam's spectacular survey of the globe in *Paradise Lost* (bk. 11, 370–411) as well as the many topographical details that Milton used throughout the poem to construct his epic similes; and Satan's temptation of Christ on the mount in *Paradise Regained* (bk. 3, 269–321 and bk. 4, 25–80). In *A Brief History of Moscovia* Milton commends the study of geography as “both profitable and delightful” and offers an account of English exploration of Russia and trade with the Baltic States;⁴⁰ this account closely follows materials gathered in both Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* of 1598 and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) and advertises that it has been “Gather'd from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses.”⁴¹ Adam's spectacular vision of the world and of biblical history in *Paradise Lost* (bk. 11) demonstrates a focalizing technique in Milton's epic narration that links the reader's knowledge to an act of viewing from a divine, universal perspective that is perfectly congruent with contemporary techniques of cartographic projection, as Adam and Michael “ascend / In the visions of God” to “a hill / Of Paradise the highest, from whose top / The hemisphere of Earth, in clearest ken, / Stretched out to the amplest reach of prospect lay,” where Adam's “eye might there command wherever stood / City of old or modern fame” (bk. 11, 376–86). Milton here adopted the very technique of “old and new names” he had earlier recommended to his students, juxtaposing a contemporary topography of empire and trade with Adam's subsequent vision of biblical history.⁴² On the basis of spelling and word placement in the original texts, Milton's critics and editor's have each offered convincing arguments for Milton's sources, with Cawley emphasizing in particular Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie* of either 1652 or 1657,⁴³ Whiting the 1606 edition of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*,⁴⁴ and Verity the English translation of Mercator's *Atlas* (1636–38) by Henry Hexham; Verity argues that the latter was also an important source for *Lycidas*, noting that the poem was published only one year after the Mercator edition.⁴⁵ Other likely sources for Milton's topographical details include Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa* in John Pory's 1600 translation, with accompanying map;⁴⁶ the maps in William Camden's *Britannia* (first appearing in the Latin edition of 1607, in English in 1610), with the latter also consulted for *Lycidas*;⁴⁷ and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625).⁴⁸

The topography of the Holy Land presented particular difficulties to Milton, because eye-witness accounts could

offer only contemporary details and not direct evidence for the biblical events that were more important to him; as Purchas had commented, “Now the place cannot be found in earth, but is become a common place in mens braines, to macerate and vexe them in the curious search hereof.”⁴⁹ Perhaps for this reason, Milton emphasizes Michael's purging of Adam's “visual nerve” with “euphrasy and rue,” which pierce him “even to the inmost seat of mental sight” and “enforced” Adam “to close his eyes” (bk. 11, 414–19), because the vision that follows is spiritual rather than empirical. For his description of paradise—its location in Eden (bk. 4, 208–14) and its incomparable beauty (bk. 4, 268–85)—Milton relied on the maps of paradise and Eden in the 1568 Bishops' Bible or several later Bibles; on the 1606 edition of Ortelius, with a map of Canaan and a chart of the wanderings of Abraham that resembles Michael's narration (bk. 12, 135–46); and on a map in Raleigh's *The History of the World* (1614).⁵⁰ Other important sources for his geography of Palestine include Thomas Fuller's *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (1639) and *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650),⁵¹ Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the*

39. Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 123; Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 101–2, 121–22; Thompson, “Milton's Knowledge,” 167.

40. Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, 8:474.

41. Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, 8:476; see Thompson, “Milton's Knowledge,” 151–55, and Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 42–64.

42. See Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 132.

43. See, in particular, Cawley's analysis of the comparative description of the garden in paradise in *Paradise Lost* (4.280–84), pointing out that Heylyn's map of Africa draws the line of the equator so that it lies directly over Mount Amara and noting the position of Mozambique in relation to Arabia on the same map, thus accounting for the “north-east” direction of the winds in bk. 4, 159–63 (*Literature of Travel*, 70).

44. Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 94–128, esp. 119–26; see also Thompson, “Milton's Knowledge,” 149–50, 164, and 166–67, and Cawley, *Literature of Travel*.

45. Verity, ed., *Paradise Lost*, 2:382 n. 353, and Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 23–24, 35, 96, 106–7, and 110. But Cawley cites other possible sources in Ortelius and Heylyn and concurring scholarship in *Literature of Travel*, 93–96; see also Thompson, “Milton's Knowledge,” 165.

46. Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 114, noting that Milton's commonplace book proves he knew the work.

47. Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 101–2 and 104–7.

48. Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 97, again citing evidence from Milton's commonplace book.

49. Cited by Thompson in “Milton's Knowledge,” 157.

50. See the maps in the 1568 *Bishops Bible* placed after Genesis 2, Numbers 33:46, Joshua 19, 2 Maccabees, and Acts; see also Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 15, 22, 108 and n. 37, and 111–12; Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 110 (citing other possible fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources for the topography of the Holy Land), 113–14, and 123; and Thompson, “Milton's Knowledge,” 159–60.

51. See Thompson, “Milton's Knowledge,” 157–58 and 166; Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 102 and 115–17; and Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 109–10, who also traces the fallen gods passage in bk. 1, 457–63, to Fuller's engravings of Jewish idols in *A Pisgah-Sight* (p. 112) and notes that Fuller's “Map of Benjamin” in the same work illustrates

Turkes,⁵² and George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610* (1621), a source for "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" and for *Samson Agonistes* as well as for *Paradise Lost*.⁵³

DRAMA

John Gillies has pointed out the essential conceptual proximity between atlas and stage, "theater" and "globe," during 1570–1640, the peak of England's dramatic literary production; the preface to the 1606 English translation of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, in fact, offers his maps as a kind of dramatic performance reduced to graphic form: in "the Mappe being layed before our eyes . . . we may behold things done, or places where they were done, as if they were at this time present and in doing."⁵⁴ Thomas Dekker also recognized an essential mimetic capacity shared between stage and map, prefacing his *Old Fortunatus* (1599) with an entreaty that recalls the Chorus passages in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (also 1599) but in a more explicit cartographic register:

And for this smal Circumference must stand,
For the imagind Sur-face of much land,
Of many kingdomes, and since many a mile,
Should here be measurd out: our muse intrtreats,
Your thoughts to helpe poore Art, and to allow,
That I may serue as Chorus to her scenes,
She begs your pardon, for sheele send me foorth,
Not when the lawes of Poesy doe call,
But as the storie needes. . . .⁵⁵

The plays of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Thomas Heywood, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Richard Brome, William D'Avenant, and John Dryden, to name only the most obvious examples, all demonstrate the appeal that the new geography had to early modern playwrights and audiences alike across all genres, from roman comedy to romance, court masque to revenge tragedy, history play to adventure play. This "cartographic imagination," as Gillies has called it, is particularly evident at two levels: in the blatant exoticism of the plays' characterization, from Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Barabas, and Balthazar to Shakespeare's Othello, Shylock, and Caliban, Heywood's Mullisheg, or Beaumont and Fletcher's Pharamond, the hot-blooded Spanish king of *Philaster* (1608–10), and in the massive geographic displacements that were possible on a stage that used very little fixed scenery, representing England and France, Wales and Cyprus, Denmark and Morocco with equal facility and often using the flexible scenic structure of performance to juxtapose distant locations in a single play, much as did a printed atlas.⁵⁶

At a more local level, the London "city comedies" made famous by John Marston, Thomas Middleton,

Thomas Dekker, and Jonson gave a symbolic form to contemporary urban experience by correlating "citizenship" not simply with a sense of legal and institutional belonging but with a physical placement in a realistic urban topography that an audience could recognize from the many maps, views, and chronicles of London from the period, such as the Copperplate map (1550s), the so-called Agas map (1560s); the maps by John Norden (1593) or Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg (1572); the

Jacob's dream of the angels descending and ascending in ways that closely resemble Milton's account in bk. 3, 510–15 (p. 123).

52. Thompson, "Milton's Knowledge," 156–57, and Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 128.

53. See Verity, ed., *Paradise Lost*, 2:383 nn. 392 and 396 and 2:645–46 nn. 143 and 144; see also Cawley, *Literature of Travel*, 102–8.

54. "To the Courteous Reader," cited by Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, 97.

55. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, 4 vols., ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 1:115, "Prologue," 15–23.

56. A rapidly growing field of scholarship: see, among others, Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), esp. 123–54; Ania Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Gillies, *Geography of Difference*; Frank Lestringant's influential *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. David Faussett (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Jean E. Howard, "An English Lass amid the Moors: Gender, Race, Sexuality, and National Identity in Heywood's 'The Fair Maid of the West,'" in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia A. Parker (New York: Routledge, 1994), 101–17, and the other essays in that collection; Jyotsna G. Singh, *Colonial Narratives / Cultural Dialogues: "Discoveries" of India in the Language of Colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Jerry Brotton, "Mapping the Early Modern Nation: Cartography along the English Margins," *Paragraph* 19 (1996): 139–55; idem, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Michael Neill, "'Material Flames': The Space of Mercantile Fantasy in John Fletcher's *The Island Princess*," *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 28 (1997): 99–131; and Marina Leslie, "Antipodal Anxieties: Joseph Hall, Richard Brome, Margaret Cavendish and the Cartographies of Gender," *Genre* 30 (1997): 51–78; Daniel J. Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 207–30; idem, "Trafficking with the Turk: English Travelers in the Ottoman Empire during the Early Seventeenth Century," in *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 35–52, and the documents and essays in that collection; and Shankar Raman, *Framing "India": The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

panoramas of Antoon van den Wijngaerde (1543), Norden (ca. 1600), or Claes Janz. Visscher (1616); and John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598). The process of coming to knowledge about London's urbanization during the period was inseparable from the process of generating forms and images in which "the city" as a conceptual entity could be rendered as an object of knowledge, its often conflicting self-definitions examined, reconciled, or subordinated to one another.⁵⁷

In several Elizabethan and early Jacobean plays, actual maps or charts probably appeared as props on stage; these were integral to the narrative development of the action and served as connotative or symbolic elements in the plays' larger poetic structure and ideological *programme*. Lear's use of a map to divide his kingdom in the opening scene of Shakespeare's play (1605–6), for instance, seems little more than an instrumental convenience, but as the premeditated nature of his actions becomes increasingly clear, the map reveals itself to be a rhetorical prop precisely calculated to lend the *appearance* of neutrality, objectivity, and equality to an action that is obviously strategic and prejudicial. By the end of the scene, the map, like a distorted mirror, has exposed Lear as needy and manipulative—a portrait deepened into dishonesty and outright treachery if we juxtapose against it Shakespeare's other "division scene" in *1 Henry IV* (1596–97), where Hotspur and the rebels use a map to parcel out their anticipated dominion, their literal diversion of rivers becoming a figurative reshaping of the English nation and its political topography.⁵⁸ In a similar way, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* asserts his will to conquest by proclaiming that he will literally redraw the world in his own image, as in a cartographic mirror:

I will confute those blind geographers
That make a triple region of the world,
Excluding regions which I mean to trace
And with this pen reduce them to a map,
Calling the provinces, cities, and towns
After my name and thine, Zenocrate.
Here at Damascus will I make the point
That shall begin the perpendicular.⁵⁹

This passage, as well as *Tamburlaine*'s long speech at the close of part 2 (5.3.126–60), in which he calls for a map and uses it to trace out the topographical sequence of his conquests, has been much cited in criticism on the geographical imagination of the early modern period, from Seaton's early article demonstrating that Marlowe followed Ortelius to the letter to Greenblatt's seminal new historicist analysis of the play as exemplifying the expansionary ethos of the period to Bartolovich's more recent Marxist discussion of the play in terms of both early modern primitive accumulation and postmodern globalization.⁶⁰

POETICS AND MAPS: EARLY MODERN SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONTEXTS

In the last two decades, critics have begun to focus more sharply on the shared presuppositions, both formal and ideological, between the map and the literary text and on the historical conditions in which these different kinds of cultural products were embedded, but more remains to be said about the specific ways in which a culture of "map-

57. See especially Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy*, 2d ed. (New York: Methuen, 1980); Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. 212–93 and 431–77; Jean E. Howard, "Competing Ideologies of Commerce in Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Part II*," in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. Henry S. Turner (New York: Routledge, 2002), 163–82; Sanford, *Maps and Memory*, 99–138; Janette Dillon, *Theatre, Court and City, 1595–1610: Drama and Social Space in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Fran C. Chalfant, *Ben Jonson's London: A Jacobean Placename Dictionary* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978).

58. See p. 720 in this volume. Gillies discusses other Shakespearean references to map or maplike documents in his *Geography of Difference*, 45–47 and 65–67, and his "Introduction: Elizabethan Drama and the Cartographizations of Space," in *Playing the Globe*, 27–41. On cartography in *King Lear*, see Frederick T. Flahiff, "Lear's Map," *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 30 (1986): 17–33; Philip Armstrong, "Spheres of Influence: Cartography and the Gaze in Shakespearean Tragedy and History," *Shakespeare Studies* 23 (1995): 39–70; Henry S. Turner, "King Lear Without: The Heath," *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 28 (1997): 161–93; Garrett A. Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 92–123; Bruce Avery, "Gilded Continents and Plenteous Rivers: Cartography as Rhetoric in Shakespeare," in *Playing the Globe*, 46–62; Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, 95; and John Gillies, "The Scene of Cartography in *King Lear*," in *Literature, Mapping*, 109–37. See also three readings of space in *Cymbeline*: Georgianna Ziegler, "My Lady's Chamber: Female Space, Female Chastity in Shakespeare," *Textual Practice* 4 (1990): 73–90; Glenn Clark, "The 'Strange' Geographies of *Cymbeline*," in *Playing the Globe*, 230–59; and Sanford, *Maps and Memory*, 53–74.

59. Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts 1 and 2*, ed. John D. Jump (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 1.4.4.73–80.

60. See Ethel Seaton, "Marlowe's Map," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* 10 (1924): 13–35, and idem, "Fresh Sources for Marlowe," *Review of English Studies* 5 (1929): 385–401; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 193–221; Crystal Bartolovich, "Putting *Tamburlaine* on a (Cognitive) Map," *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 28 (1997): 29–72, with bibliography; Garrett A. Sullivan, "Space, Measurement, and Stalking *Tamburlaine*," *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 28 (1997): 3–27; Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*; John Gillies, "Marlowe, the *Timur* Myth, and the Motives of Geography," in *Playing the Globe*, 203–29, esp. 205, and 225; idem, *Geography of Difference*, 52 and 56–57; and Mark Koch, "Ruling the World: The Cartographic Gaze in Elizabethan Accounts of the New World," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2, special issue 3 (1998): 11.1–39, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/kochruli.htm>>, on Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*.

ping” and a culture of literary imagination or “invention” may have informed one another during the period. Two areas of research are likely to prove particularly fruitful in this regard: analysis of contemporary social networks and studies of reading habits. Social relationships among men of letters, engravers, and mathematical practitioners were not unusual, whether at the universities or in London, at Gresham College or at court, as Cormack has shown; in the homes and private libraries of men such as John Dee, who briefly taught Sidney; or simply in meadows, workshops, and other sites of applied mathematical activity: Sidney himself began supervising the fortification works at Dover Harbor as of 1584, where he consulted the “plots” or diagrams of proposed solutions with English mathematical practitioners such as Thomas Digges and Thomas Bedwell, as well as with foreign engineers.⁶¹ Gabriel Harvey owned and annotated several works by English practitioners, including Digges, Thomas Blundeville, John Blagrove, the navigator William Bourne, and the Gresham mathematical lecturer Thomas Hood; many were personal friends who introduced him to the world of London instrumentmakers, which he seems to have known intimately. In his *marginalia*, Harvey remarked that while his friend Edmund Spenser was “not completely ignorant of globes and astrolabes,” he was “inexperienced in his astronomical rules, tables, and instruments” and complained that “it is not sufficient for poets, to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite artists, & curious vniuersal schollers,” singling out Geoffrey Chaucer, John Lydgate, and Sir Philip Sidney (“As-trophilus”) for their astronomical knowledge.⁶²

Secondly, as Harvey’s annotations show, the reading habits of men like Sidney, Dee, Spenser, Jonson, and Milton were omnivorous and comparative, and they consulted maps, charts, and diagrams alongside the scriptures, histories, classical letters and orations, ethical and political treatises, and coterie of literary compositions and translations that formed the private curriculum of the educated humanist. In *The Booke Named the Gouvernor* (1531), Thomas Elyot wrote of world maps:

For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, cities, seas, ryuers, and mountaynes, that vneth in an olde mannes life can nat be iournaide and pursued: what incredible delite is taken in beholding the diuersities of people, beastes, foules, fisses, trees, frutes, and herbes? To knowe the sondry maners & conditions of people, and the varietie of their natures, and that in a warme studie or perler, without perill of the see, or daunger of longe and paynfull iournayes? I can nat tell, what more pleasure shulde happen to a gentill witte, than to beholde in his owne house euery thyng that with in all the worlde is contained.⁶³

Robert Burton felt similarly, writing in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621):

Me thinks it would well please any man to look upon a Geographicall Map . . . Chorographical, Topographical delineations, to behold, as it were, all the remote Provinces, Townes, Citties of the World, and never to goe forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the Scale and Compasse, their extent, distance, examine their site. . . . What greater pleasure can there now bee, then to view those elaborate Maps, of Ortelius, Mercator, Hondius, &c. To peruse those bookes of Citties, put out by Braunus, and Hogenbergius? To read those exquisite descriptions of Maginus, Munster, Herrera, Laet, Merula, Boterus, Leander Albertus, Camden, Leo Afer, Adricomius, Nic. Gerbelius, &c.?⁶⁴

Burton himself “never travelled,” he wrote, “but in Mapped or Card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever bene especially delighted with the study of Cosmography” (1:4); as Chapple has demonstrated, cartography also furnished Burton with a metaphor for his own methodology by offering an overview or anatomical gaze suitable to the discovery of both psyche and earth.⁶⁵ “To anatomize this humour aright,” he wrote in his preface, “through all the Members of this our *Microcosmus*, is as great a taske, as to . . . finde out the *Quadrature* of a Circle, the Creekes and Sounds of the North-East, or North-West passages, & all out as good a discoverie . . . of *Terra Australis Incognita*,” and “in undertaking this taske, I hope I shall commit no great error or *indecorum*, if all be considered aright, I can vindicate my selfe with *Georgius Braunus* . . . who . . . drawne by a *naturall love* . . . of *Pictures and Mappes, Prospectives and Corographicall delights, writ that ample Theater of Cities*.”⁶⁶

61. On Dee, see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); on geography in England, see Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580–1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); on Sidney at Dover, see Turner, “Plotting Early Modernity,” 104–5, and idem, *English Renaissance Stage*, chap. 3.

62. Cited in *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), 162; see also 211–12.

63. Thomas Elyot, *The Booke Named the Gouverneur*, 2 vols., ed. Henry Herbert Stephen Croft (1883; reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 1:77–78, and see also 1:44–45; cited by Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, 86.

64. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 5 vols., ed. Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling, and Rhonda L. Blair (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989–), 2:86–87; cited by Anne S. Chapple in “Robert Burton’s Geography of Melancholy,” *Studies in English Literature* 33 (1993): 99–130, and Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, 87.

65. Chapple, “Geography of Melancholy,” 103–4; see also Albano, “Visible Bodies.”

66. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1:22–23; see Chapple’s detailed discussion (with further bibliography) of Burton’s analysis of the “melancholy world” as portrayed in the human face of the so-called

The English preface to Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1606) argued that the atlas was ideally suited to the reading of history, because notable events could be better understood by situating them topographically; Sir Thomas Elyot advocated the same practice in *The Governour*, and Sidney would recommend it again in a letter to his friend Edward Denny (1580), where he advised the reading of Ortelius, "Sacroboscus & Valerius, or any other of Geography" in one hand and the practice of drawing geometrical "plots" with mathematical instruments in the other.⁶⁷ More than half a century later, Milton would still recommend Sacrobosco as a guide to astronomy for his nephew, Edward Phillips.⁶⁸ There is reason to suppose that Sidney was recommending a standard conjunction of exercises, partly because Samuel Daniel, as quoted earlier, seems to have been objecting to this exact practice, but also because Richard Mulcaster included drawing along with reading, writing, singing, and playing music in his influential curriculum for the young student, *Elementarie* (1582), because drawing, he believed, was useful to "manie good workmen," who pursue "architectur, pictur, embroderie, engraving, statuarie, all modelling, all platforming, . . . besides the learned vse thereof, for Astronomie, Geometrie, Chorographie, Topographie and som other such."⁶⁹ Insofar as written composition and textual analysis both depended on an intimate knowledge of the logical and rhetorical *topoi* common in the period, the most basic intellectual procedures of the early modern student were in some sense always spatialized: this had always been true of the arts of memory, and it found further emphasis in the work of Petrus Ramus (1515–72), which spatialized analytic thought by breaking texts and subject matter into diagrams, trees, and geometrical figures.⁷⁰ Ramist method is in fact referred to as a "mapp" in the Cambridge University play *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* (ca. 1598), which lampoons Gabriel Harvey in part because he had become a proponent of Ramist ideas.⁷¹

Thus when Sidney argues in *An Apologie for Poetrie* (ca. 1579–83, published 1595) that "therefore, as in Historie, looking for trueth, they goe away full fraught with falshood, so in Poesie, looking for fiction, they shal vse the narration but as an imaginatiue groundplot of a profitable inuention," we may hear in the word "groundplot" (or "groundplat," as the variant Ponsonby edition of the same year reads) not only Sidney's own experience with instruments and technical drawings of engineering problems, but the spatializing techniques of Ramist analysis and the *topoi* of logical argument and rhetorical composition—all in a text whose attempts to define the specifically "poetic," "invented," or "literary" work quickly rendered it canonical.⁷² For Sidney, the "groundplot" has become a tool of reading or critical reflection that correlates the act of intellectual analysis with the for-

Fool's Cap Map (1575; see fig 53.4) engraved by Jean de Gourmont in Chapple, "Geography of Melancholy," 114–19, and Richard Helgeron, "The Folly of Maps and Modernity," in *Literature, Mapping*, 241–62, esp. 243–49. Burton's attitude finds a satiric form in Richard Brome's play *The Antipodes* (1636), where Peregrine, a character so fascinated by his reading of Mandeville's travels that he has failed to consummate his marriage and threatens to lapse into a melancholic psychosis, is cured by taking a fanciful voyage, via a masque performance, to the underside of the earth, where the extreme inversion of all social order forces him to break out of his solipsistic reveries.

67. See Turner, "Plotting Early Modernity," 105.

68. Gilbert, "Pierre Davity," 324.

69. Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie . . .* (London, 1582), 58.

70. On the *topoi, loci*, or commonplaces, a set of logical categories and rhetorical subjects used by the student as a basis for analysis, argument, or invention and derived from Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others, see Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (New York: Pageant Press, 1962); Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 12–38; Rosemond Tuve, *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 258–381, esp. 331–55; idem, "Imagery and Logic: Ramus and Metaphysical Poetics," in *Renaissance Essays from the Journal of the History of Ideas*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller and Philip P. Wiener (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 267–302; Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Sister Miriam Joseph, *Rhetoric in Shakespeare's Time: Literary Theory of Renaissance Europe* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962); Frances Amelia Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); and Peter Mack, "Humanist Rhetoric and Dialectic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 82–99.

71. See *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* in the *Three Parnassus Plays* (1598–1601), ed. J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1949), act I, where Philomusus addresses Studioso, a figure for Harvey: "But cann wee hit this narowe curious waie / Where are such by wayes and erroneous paths? / Saye whats the firste Ile wee muste trauell in?" and Studioso replies: "The firtse lande that wee muste trauell in (as that / oulde Hermite toulde me) is Logique. I haue gotten lacke / Setons mapp to directe vs through this cuntrie. This lland / is, accordinge to his discription, mucche like Wales, full of / craggie mountaines and thornie vallies. There are twoo / robbers in this cuntrie caled Genus and Species, that take / captiue euerie true mans Inuention that come by them." John Seton's *Dialectica* (1545 and many subsequent editions) was a popular logic textbook favored by Ramist reformers such as Harvey; see Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), 18 n. 17 and 29–40, and Wilbur Samuel Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500–1700* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), 238–40. Sidney himself had met Ramus in Paris weeks before his death during the Saint Bartholomew Day's massacre and maintained friendships with many English Ramists, including Gabriel Harvey, Abraham Fraunce, and William Temple, who in 1585 became his secretary; on Ramus, see Walter J. Ong, "System, Space and Intellect in Renaissance Symbolism," in *The Barbarian Within and Other Fugitive Essays and Studies* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 68–87, and idem, *Ramus*.

72. Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 vols., ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1904), 1:148–207, esp. 185; see Forrest G. Robinson, *The Shape of Things Known:*

ward progression of the reader, who “maps” arguments, allegorical figures, or philosophical concepts onto discrete “places,” perceiving them temporally but tabulating them in memory according to a spatial form, or even arranging them according to the model of the atlas or the topographical survey. As Strephon declares to Claius at the opening of Sidney’s own *Arcadia* of 1590, gazing at the spot where Urania departed, “Here we finde, that as our remembrance came ever cloathed unto us in the forme of this place, so this place gives newe heate to the feaver of our languishing remembrance. . . . As this place served us to thinke of those thinges, so those thinges serve as places to call to memorie more excellent matters.”⁷³

CONCLUSION: TOWARD AN ANALYSIS OF EARLY MODERN TOPOGRAPHESIS

Modern criticism has only recently begun to recover the fundamental mimetic and imaginative congruence between the topographic and verbal “text” that was recognized by early modern authors. If many geographers now commonly approach the map less as a quantitative and referential instrument of social science than as a semiotic or ideological mode of representation with distinct ethical implications and worldviews, literary critics working in a broad range of areas all now find indispensable a scrutiny of the way texts assemble topographic elements to form a complex “poetic” geography. The work of Henri Lefebvre, Gaston Bachelard, Michel de Certeau, Louis Marin, and Michel Foucault has been particularly influential in this project and has served as a common theoretical reference point for scholars working in the fields of both geography and literature.⁷⁴ Until recently, geographers have been somewhat quicker to examine how the “map” functions as a “text” than literary critics have been to study the way a “text”—especially the poetic, dramatic, or narrative text traditionally studied in literature departments—might function as a map.⁷⁵ By way of conclusion, I shall now suggest some directions in which this analysis might proceed.

Sidney’s “Apology” in *Its Philosophical Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 122–28, and Ong, *Ramus*, 38 and 302.

73. *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1590) in *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, 4 vols., ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–26), 1:6–7.

74. Henri Lefebvre’s *La production de l’espace*, first published in 1974, was translated as *The Production of Space* by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) and attracted critical attention in literary studies soon thereafter, largely through its dissemination in the work of geographers such as David Harvey, esp. his *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989); and Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994). Lefebvre’s work has proved especially influential, above all his distinc-

tions between a “representation of space” (the space of “science”: those plans, charts, and maps, usually produced by centers of power, that depend on geometrical and mathematical principles of organization, aspire to empirical objectivity, and present a visual image of a quantified and abstract notion of space), a “representational space” (the space of “culture” and meaning: the imaginative, symbolic, ideological, places and spaces typical of literature, painting, myth, or other conventional and “invented” forms, but also the phenomenological, psychological, or emotional ways that these spaces and places are perceived, understood, and lived), and “spatial practice” (the space of society: the lived habits and modes of institutional organization, both self-conscious and silently habitual, that give structure to social groups, political entities, or modes of production). Other seminal theoretical texts include Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (New York: Orion, 1964); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Louis Marin, *Utopics: Spatial Play*, trans. Robert Vollrath (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1984); and idem, *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988). And see also the collected essays of Louis Marin, *On Representation*, trans. Catherine Porter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), esp. chaps. 6 and 12; Michel Foucault, “Questions on Geography,” in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. and trans. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 63–77; idem, “Space, Knowledge, and Power,” trans. Christian Hubert, in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 239–56; and idem, “Different Spaces,” in *The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954–1984*, vol. 2, *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley et al. (New York: The New Press, 1998), 175–85.

75. Of the geographers, J. B. Harley has had the most influence in literary studies through his work on cartography; see his essays collected as *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). See also Arthur Howard Robinson and Barbara Bartz Petchenik, *The Nature of Maps: Essays Toward Understanding Maps and Mapping* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); Denis Wood with John Fels, *The Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford, 1992); and Denis Wood, “Pleasure in the Idea / The Atlas as Narrative Form,” in *Atlases for Schools: Design Principles and Curriculum Perspective*, ed. R. J. B. Carswell et al., Monograph 36, *Cartographica* 24, no. 1 (1987): 24–45. Also of interest are E. H. Gombrich, “Review Lecture: Mirror and Map: Theories of Pictorial Representation,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, 270 (1975): 119–49, a detailed discussion of the perceptual and epistemological problems involved in map production from the Renaissance to the twentieth century; Eileen Reeves, “Reading Maps,” *Word & Image* 9 (1993): 51–65, a study of the way Renaissance humanists regarded maps as “*legenda* or ‘things to be read,’” much as they regarded literary texts, as well as of the gendered implications of different literacy types of visual literacy that carried through to the nineteenth century; and Valerie Traub, “Mapping the Global Body,” in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clarke Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 44–97, a discussion of racialized and gendered images of the body in Renaissance maps. Following the influential work of Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), esp. chap. 3, and Gillies, *Geography of Difference*, much of the scholarship cited in these notes has begun to move toward what I am calling *topographesis*; see especially Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, and the essays in the collections edited by Gillies and Vaughan (*Playing the Globe*), and Gordon and Klein (*Literature, Mapping*). The work of Tom Conley has gone furthest in this direction; see esp. *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); idem,

If we define “topographie” after Arthur Hopton as “an Arte, whereby wee be taught to describe any particular place”⁷⁶ and “topographia” after George Puttenham as the “description . . . of any true place” or of any “counterfait place” or fictional invention, “which ye shall see in Poetes,”⁷⁷ then we may define *topographesis* as the representation of place in any graphic mode—writing, painting, drawing—and particularly in those forms of expression that tend to be more conventionalized rather than less so. These would obviously include texts of all kinds (“literary” or otherwise), but also images or diagrams and even built structures such as buildings and monuments, particularly when these are approached as “texts” with a coherent semiotic structure and a communicative function, and especially when they are realized in the graphic form of a drawing or a verbal description. The separate accounts by Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and the joiner Stephen Harrison of the songs, speeches, and arches offered to James I in 1604 as he entered the city of London on his accession day provide excellent examples of the latter case; here we encounter an unusually intricate example of *topographesis*, not least because the “text” survives in three very different versions, each observing different mimetic conventions and implying different political attitudes.

Topographesis must be understood as operating on two distinct levels simultaneously. It functions first at a semantic, semiotic, or symbolic level, the level of “artfulness” or of the formalizing impulse in the textual representation of place. Here *topographesis* describes the specific way in which any given text integrates the representation of place into the wide variety of interpretive conventions that were typical of different genres, subject matters, or stylistic modes during the period and that formed the core of early modern literary and art theory. It includes questions of vocabulary (register, tone, groups of associated terms, philology), questions of signification (the mimetic presumptions of reference and “meaning,” or of *how* different semiotic codes represent place in any given text and the ways these differ between a poem, a stage representation, or a prose narrative, for instance), and the analysis of larger-scale meaning-units such as icon, image, or sequences of ideas (place as a particularly saturated element of meaning in a text; the use of multiple places to develop a larger “theme” or argument).

Second and more broadly, however, *topographesis* denotes the representation or constitution of place in the larger discursive networks typical of a given society or period and its institutional structures: we may call this *topographesis* in its ideological mode. This level includes, but extends beyond, the semantic or symbolic level, insofar as ideological representation always works through the more narrow formal conventions that structure and give meaning to any given text and that endow certain

places with a ready-made significance that may be confirmed, appropriated, challenged, and so forth. The elements and rules of combination that structure *topographesis* in its ideological mode are obviously quite complex and depend on the configurations of fields of power and knowledge in any given historical moment, as well as on the overdetermined relationship between any text and the society in which it was produced; analysis of these relationships has been the primary focus of new historicist and cultural materialist literary criticism for at least the last two decades.

Literary examples of *topographesis*, therefore, would include any work that represents place in a particularly salient, concentrated, or complex semiotic fashion and uses location as a significant component to structure a variety of ideological or cultural scripts. Those texts that adopt formal conventions that are most closely analogous to the techniques of cartographic representation will be of particular importance. These textual conventions would include any technique of objectification, abstraction, reduction, or idealization, chief among them:

1. techniques of framing or bordering a representational field or setting it apart from the object or world to which it is presumed to refer;
2. a referential semiotic mode that posits as conventional a one-to-one relationship of correspondence between the signifier inside the frame of the text and the object or world outside of it;
3. a protoempirical attitude in which the communication of *information* about the world in an objective way has become a significant component of the work’s formal conventions, as in modes of writing that emphasize description over narrative action;
4. an emphasis on seeing or viewing as the privileged mode of apprehending this objective information about the world; and
5. at the same time, an analytic posture that explicitly relies on artificial projections and models to present information that could not be gained by the naked eye alone:

“Putting French Studies on the Map,” *Diacritics* 28, no. 3 (1998): 23–39; and idem, “Mapping in the Folds: Deleuze *Cartographe*,” *Discourse* 20 (1998): 123–38. I would like to thank the students in my spring 2002 graduate seminar at the University of Wisconsin–Madison on “Imaginary Topographies / Early Modern *Topographesis*” for helping me to clarify many of the ideas discussed in this chapter.

76. Arthur Hopton, *Speculum Topographicum: or the Topographicall Glasse* (London, 1611), B; cited by Stan A. E. Mendyk, “*Speculum Britanniae*: Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700” (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 22. See especially Hopton’s discussion of chorography and antiquarian writing, 3–101.

77. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Baxter Hathaway ([Kent, Ohio]: Kent State University Press, 1970), 246.

i.e., of objects that are too large (continents, seas, oceans), too small (crystalline or molecular structures), too distant (stars, planets), too hidden (mechanical elements or bodily organs, geological layers, interior rooms), or too abstract (social, economic, or physiological processes) to be apprehended directly by the reader and that assist in his or her act of comprehension of them.⁷⁸

Any early modern text that demonstrates one or more of these characteristics forms a likely candidate for the analysis of how the formal and ideological conventions of maps might have influenced fictional or imaginative writing.

The finest example is surely Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516, English translation 1551), as evidenced by many details: the engraved maps that accompanied the Latin editions of the text, framing its narrative with a graphic survey or overview; the additional frame narrative of More's own encounter with Raphael and the subsequent framing of Utopia itself by Raphael's account; the oscillation between a narrative and an empirical, descriptive mode that surveys the island directly, exposing it through discourse to the reader's eye and penetrating into the interiors of houses and even into Utopian psychology; the modeling and analysis of contemporary social and economic problems in England, first through dialogue and then through projection, displacement, and inversion onto the cartographic narration of Utopia itself; and the elaborate self-referentiality that draws attention to its own artifice and stages More's own act of social analysis in the form of ideological critique.⁷⁹

Some of the most fruitful avenues of research into the relationships among literature, landscape, and mapping have centered on questions of national identity, particularly after Helgerson's pathbreaking analysis of the Elizabethan "writing" of England and of the critical importance that mapping and surveying played in the formation of an explicitly spatialized national self-concept. In this regard, Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* offers another paradigmatic example of a text whose vision of the landscape is distinctly cartographic because, as Klein has pointed out, Drayton not only integrates a map of shires and rivers before each of the poem's thirty songs but invokes the technical language of the surveyor to construct his narrative voice.⁸⁰ When, in Song 19's celebration of English explorers and their itineraries, Drayton urges his muse to "exactly show / How these in order stand, how those directly flow" (ll. 15–16), he draws on several cartographic conventions simultaneously: a concern for empirical accuracy and referentiality, the abstraction of concrete particularities into abstract signs ("these" and "those" functioning as the pronomial equivalent of the iconographic symbol or unit of measure), and an interest in spatial dimension marked by direction

("how those directly flow"), position, and relation among elements ("how these in order stand"). The section devoted to the Russian voyages of Anthony Jenkinson (1557–58) strings together a series of place-names (Duina's mouth, Volgad, Moscovia, Bactria, Boghors) by reiterating verbs of seeing ("behold," "measuring," "survey'd," "to view," "to see") no fewer than eleven times in twenty lines; the substance of the poem literally becomes a grand panorama of places linked by the movement of the reader's virtual eye.

Much work remains to be done in identifying the salient features of an early modern *topographesis*, and many texts deserve further scrutiny in this regard: one need think only of Spenser's Bower of Bliss or the proem to book 2 of the *Faerie Queene* comparing Faerie Land to an undiscovered Peru, Amazon, or Virginia; of the ever-expanding editions of Hakluyt's voyages, Thomas Harriot's elaborately illustrated narrative of the Virginia expedition, Raleigh's narrative of Guiana, or, much later, Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688), all of which depend on the conventions of prose romance as much as on the empirical description of topography; of Marvell's "Bermudas" or "To His Coy Mistress," both inconceivable before Raleigh, Donne, Mercator, or Ortelius; of John Hall's celebration of the atlas and the armchair voyage in his "Home Travell," derivative of the conceits of both Donne and Marvell; of Robert Herrick's poem on travel to his brother, "A Country Life"; of the geographically elaborate prose utopias and dystopias of Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* (1605), with fictional maps, or Thomas Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe* (1599), an elaborate satire of humanist chorography; or of William Warner's verse history, *Albions England; or, Historicall Map of the Same Island* (1586, and many subsequent editions).⁸¹ In the

78. See John Pickles, "Texts, Hermeneutics and Propaganda Maps," in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text, and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (New York: Routledge, 1992), 193–230, esp. 217, and Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, 41.

79. I draw on Marin, *Utopics*; idem, *Portait of the King*, 169–92; idem, *On Representation*, 87–114 and 202–18; Fredric Jameson, "Of Islands and Trenches: Neutralization and the Production of Utopian Discourse," in *The Ideologies of Theory: Essays 1971–1986*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 2:75–101; and Françoise Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Denise Bratton (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

80. See Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space*, 150–55; McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, 253–61; and Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 139–47.

81. For John Hall's "Home Travell," see his *Poems by John Hall* (Cambridge, 1646), 47; on John Hall, mapping, and other geographic satires, see Robert Appelbaum, "Anti-geography," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.2, special issue 3 (1998): 1–17, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/appeanti.htm>>; on Nashe's satire of chorography, see Henry S. Turner, "Nashe's Red Herring: Epistemologies of the Commodity in *Lenten Stuffe* (1599)," *ELH* 68 (2001): 529–61

end, the frequency with which Renaissance poets employed the map-image or the number of references to actual maps in literary works is only a broad measure of the influence that innovations in cartography had on contemporary writers, because sustained geographical met-

aphors and analogies with overseas trade and discovery were so ubiquitous throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that they formed one of the period's most characteristic features.

the Renaissance, John P. Snyder 11 The European Religious Worldview and Its Influence on Mapping, Pauline Moffitt Watts 12 Early Modern Literature and Cartography: An Overview, Tom Conley 13 Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520â€“1688, Henry S. Turner 14 Cartography and Literature in Early 1470â€“1650, Peter Barber 55 Colonial Cartography in a European Setting: The Case of Tudor Ireland, J. H. Andrews 56 The Kingdom of Scotland: Cartography in an Age of Confidence, Jeffrey Stone 57 The London Map Trade to 1640, Laurence Worms 58 Chartmaking in England and Its Context, 1500â€“1660, Sarah Tyacke 59 Colonial Cartography under the Tudor and Early Stuart Monarchies, ca. Pauline moffitt watts. 12. Early Modern Literature and Cartography: An Overview. www.press.uchicago.edu/books/HOC/HOC_V3_Pt1/Volume3_Part1.html. 1/3. 13. Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520â€“1688. Henry s. turner. 14. Cartography and Literature in Early Modern France. Nancy bouzrara and tom conley. 15. Literary Mapping in German-Speaking Europe. The history of literature of the Early modern period (16th, 17th and partly 18th century literature), or Early Modern literature, succeeds Medieval literature, and in Europe in particular Renaissance literature. In Europe, the Early Modern period lasts roughly from 1550 to 1750, spanning the Baroque period and ending with the Age of Enlightenment and the wars of the French Revolution. The Early Modern period in Persia corresponds to the rule of the Safavid dynasty. In Japan, the "Early Modern period