



SHAKESPEARE

STAGING THE WORLD

JONATHAN BATE & DORA THORNTON

THE BRITISH MUSEUM PRESS

FOR OUR PARTNERS, PAULA AND JEREMY

This book is published to accompany the exhibition at the British Museum from 19 July to 25 November 2012.

This exhibition has been made possible by the provision of insurance through the Government Indemnity Scheme. The British Museum would like to thank the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, and Arts Council England for providing and arranging this indemnity.

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First published in 2012 by The British Museum Press
A division of The British Museum Company Ltd
38 Russell Square, London WC1B 3QQ
britishmuseum.org/publishing

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (hardback) 978 0 7141 2828 3
ISBN (paperback) 978 0 7141 2824 5

Designed by Will Webb Design
Printed by Printer Trento S.r.l., in Italy

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Frontispiece: detail of a portrait of the Moroccan ambassador, see chapter 1, fig. 26, p. 36

Contents

SPONSOR'S FOREWORD	7
DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD	8
AUTHORS' PREFACE	10
1 LONDON, CIRCA 1612: WORLD CITY	12
2 'NOW AM I IN ARDEN': COUNTRY, COUNTY AND CUSTOM	54
3 'CRY "GOD FOR HARRY, ENGLAND AND SAINT GEORGE!"' KINGSHIP AND THE ENGLISH NATION	88
4 'BEWARE THE IDES OF MARCH': THE LEGACY OF ROME	118
5 'A FAIR CITY ... POPULATED WITH MANY PEOPLE': VENICE VIEWED FROM LONDON	146
6 THE NOBLE MOOR	170
7 'FOR REBELLION IS AS THE SIN OF WITCHCRAFT': THE SCOTTISH PLAY	186
8 THE MATTER OF BRITAIN: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE	212
9 'O BRAVE NEW WORLD THAT HAS SUCH PEOPLE IN 'T'	230
10 LEGACY	260
NOTES	270
LIST OF EXHIBITS	286
ILLUSTRATION ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	296
LIST OF LENDERS	298
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	298
INDEX	299

'I may speak of thee as the traveller
doth of Venice:
Venetia, Venetia,
Chi non ti vede non ti pretia?

(*Love's Labour's Lost* 4.2.73–5)

1. *Bird's-eye View of Venice from the South*,
Jacopo de' Barbari, 1498–1500.

Woodcut, 134 x 280 cm, British Museum, London



5 'A FAIR CITY... POPULATED WITH MANY PEOPLE': VENICE VIEWED FROM LONDON

Vederete vna bella, ricca, sumtuosa, forte, citta ben fornita, adorna di belle done, popolosa di ogni gente, abundante, e copiosa di tutte le bone cose.

You shal see a fayre citie, riche, sumptuous, strong, wel furnished, adorned with fayre women, populated of many people, abundant, and plentiful of al good things.

John Florio, *Florio his First Fruites* (1578), chapter 8

Italy was one of the most important of Shakespeare's imagined places. And within Italy Venice had a special hold on the English. A fair city, an open society grown rich on maritime trade, a multicultural population, a place of fashionable innovation and questionable morals: in Venice Londoners saw an image of their own desires and fears, their own future.

'I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice: "*Venetia, Venetia, / Chi non ti vede non ti pretia*"' ('Venice, Venice, who sees you not values you not') (fig. 1). Holofernes (*Love's Labour's Lost* 4.2.73–5) quotes this well-known proverb of a kind that was commonly used for learning colloquial language.¹ Like the costume books of the late sixteenth century, which aimed to bring the world's cultures within the compass of one theatre of the world, collections of proverbs were tools for ordering experience. A proverb could instantly define the ethos of a foreign city.² And by defining what was foreign or 'alien', the English began to know themselves as a nation.

The phrasebook from which Shakespeare borrowed was probably *Florio his First Fruites which Yeelde Familiar Speech, Merie Proverbes, Wittie Sentences, and Golden Sayings* (1578), which claimed to offer 'a perfect induction to the Italian, and English, tongues'. The author, John Florio, was a resident alien in London who earned a living



2. Glass ewer, mould-blown with white cane decoration (*vetro a retorti*). Murano, Venice, 1550–1600. H. 27.5 cm. British Museum, London

**‘the trade and profit of the city
Consisteth of all nations’**

(*The Merchant of Venice* 3.3.33–4)

3. *Bird's-eye View of Venice*, Odoardo Fialetti, 1611. Oil on canvas, 215.9 x 424.2 cm. Eton College, Berkshire

as language tutor to the nobility. Shakespeare may well have met him in the household of the Earl of Southampton. Holofernes, the pedant in *Love's Labour's Lost*, does not quote the second half of the proverb: ‘*Ma chi ti vede, ben gli costa*’ (‘But he who sees you pays dearly for it’).³ Nevertheless, in Shakespeare's Venetian plays, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, there is ample demonstration of English ambivalence towards Venice, the archetypal modern city.

There was a perceived affinity between Venice and London, derived from their dynamism and attractiveness to strangers, their maritime trade and the quantity of human traffic. Venice had many roles in the English imagination: as a republic with a famous constitution and supposedly high ideals of public service, as a bulwark against the Ottoman Turk, and as a critic of the papacy, which gave it additional merit in the eyes of Protestant Europe. Lewis Lewkenor, translating a contemporary treatise on Venice's constitution in 1599, transmitted to English readers a highly idealized picture of the city's government, with its legally defined estates or orders of society, each with specific privileges, and corporations with particular functions.⁴ It was a rigid system in which each individual, including the carefully classified stranger, was expected to know his or her place under the law. Only then could harmony be maintained. Whether or not Shakespeare knew Lewkenor's book, he had enough regard for the Venetian legal system to imagine a private suit – Brabantio's against Othello over Desdemona – being heard in the middle of a threatened Turkish invasion of the frontier territory of Cyprus.⁵

Admiration for Venice's famous crystalline glass, made in Murano, drew eager consumers to the annual fair, La Sensa, to see the latest styles and techniques: trying one's hand at glass-blowing was already on the tourist itinerary by 1611, when Thomas Coryat, who travelled from Somerset to Venice on foot, had a go (fig. 2).⁶ The city had always astounded pilgrims and travellers, but appreciation of its urban spaces, architecture and painting developed at the very end of the 1500s as part of the vogue for virtuoso travel, which took an aesthetic approach to European cities and would later develop into the Grand Tour.⁷ Connoisseurship in all things Venetian was largely led in England by Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639), who was appointed in 1604 as the first post-Reformation English ambassador to Venice.⁸ In a letter of 22 April 1606 Wotton refers to a painter and printmaker, Odoardo Fialetti, who had studied under Tintoretto and stayed in Venice.⁹ Fialetti painted Wotton receiving an audience from the then Doge of Venice, Leonardo Donato, as a kind of ambassadorial souvenir. He also painted a series of Venetian doges for Wotton: these were similarly elite tourist items.¹⁰ Most impressive of all was Fialetti's bird's-eye view of Venice itself, signed and dated 1611 (fig. 3).¹¹ Based on earlier views of Venice – not least Jacopo de' Barbari's – this is early modern Venice laid out before the viewer, as it was encountered by the foreign dignitary and merchant, the tourist and the stranger. The view reaches from the Arsenal to the segregated Jewish enclave in the Ghetto. Fialetti adds figures and ships as well as gondolas and *traghetto* (fig. 4), the public ferries that still operate today over sections of the Grand Canal. Portia incorrectly refers to the ferries that plied between the islands as *traghetto* as she prepares to dress up as a lawyer before travelling



4. Detail from Odoardo Fialetti's *Bird's-eye View of Venice* (fig. 3) showing *traghetto*.

from her villa in Belmont to try Shylock's case in Venice:

Bring them, I pray thee with imagined speed
Unto the trajet, to the common ferry
Which trades to Venice.

(*The Merchant of Venice* 3.4.53–5)

Wotton's pride in his magnificent painting of Venice prompted him to have a tablet made (now missing) inscribed in Latin to commemorate his gift of the picture to Eton College, of which he was elected provost in 1629. The inscription was intended as a tribute both to Venice and to Eton: ‘Henry Wotton, after serving three times as ambassador to Venice, grew old in the happy bosom of Eton College. After twelve years as provost, passed in most agreeable amity with the Fellows, he hung in 1636, near the Fellow's table in memory of

himself, this picture of a wonderful city that seems to float.’¹² This remarkable record of the English love affair with Venice was seen in College Hall by Samuel Pepys in 1665: it has remained at Eton to this day.¹³

Shakespeare held up Venice – as did other playwrights – as a mirror to London. Using Venice in this way gave playwrights a certain psychological distance at which to probe issues of concern to London audiences. One of these was the sex trade and its impact



'the virtuous Desdemona'

(*Othello* 2.3.296-7)

5. Portrait of a Venetian lady, called *La Bella Nani*, Paolo Veronese, c. 1560. The sitter's pearl necklace and hairstyle suggest she might be a recent bride, like Desdemona.

Oil on canvas, 119 x 103 cm, Louvre, Paris

on wider society, for one of the first associations that Venice had for Londoners was with sex and its availability: the famed beauty of Venetian women, the numbers of prostitutes operating openly in the city and the supposed licentiousness of Venetian wives. This is the understood context for *Othello*, in which 'the virtuous Desdemona' (2.3.296-7) (fig. 5) stands apart from the sexual stereotypes traded by Iago, Roderigo and Cassio until the distinct categories of whore and wife dissolve into one in the latter part of the play. The presence of 'BIANCA, a courtesan' (List of Roles), Cassio's mistress, is a key element in the sexual traffic that pervades the play. Iago comments:

In Venice they do let heaven see the pranks
They dare not show their husbands: their best conscience
Is not to leave't undone, but kept unknown.

(*Othello* 3.3.225-7)

**'their best conscience
Is not to leave't undone,
but kept unknown'**

(*Othello* 3.3.226-7)

6. *A Couple Embracing in a Gondola*, from *Vere imagini et descriptioni delle piu nobili citta del mondo*, Donato Bertelli, Venice, 1578.

Engraving, W. 25 cm. New York Public Library, New York

A Venetian print of 1578 plays up to this voyeuristic view of Venetian women. It shows a gondola with a closed canopy, which the viewer can lift to show a canoodling couple hidden from public view (fig. 6). This image appealed to a German student so much that he had the print copied into his souvenir album in 1588, flap and all (fig. 7).¹⁴ However, the couple are not shown embracing but singing to the accompaniment of a lute player. This particular adaptation sanitizes the interface between the way in which Venetians translated their city to the visitors, and the way in which those visitors wished to perceive it. The Venetian Council of Ten, a major governing body in the city, was concerned enough about courtesans' antics in gondolas to patrol the canals in 1578, the year of the print.¹⁵ This degree of uncertainty about a woman's apparent virtue and transgressive inner nature is revealed in *Othello*'s desperate remark to Desdemona when he accuses her of being a whore: 'I took you for that cunning whore of Venice / That married with Othello' (4.2.98-9).

7. The print shown in fig. 6, modified in Erckenprecht Koler's friendship album, dated 1588. Watercolour heightened with gold, 19.4 x 14 cm. British Library, London





8. A Venetian Gentlewoman at Lent from *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Cesare Vecellio, Venice, 1590, facing f. 133. Woodcut, 15.3 x 9.5 cm. British Library, London

9. Glass goblet enamelled with a figure of a Venetian woman after a Venetian print (see Figs 8 and 14), and with a Germanic coat of arms. 'Façon de Venise', Venice or Northern Europe, 1590–1600. Blown glass, with enamelling and gilding. H. 21.5 cm, diam. 12.6 cm. British Museum, London



The Venetian sex-trade took place in full public view. A printed catalogue of 1570 listed 215 names of available women with prices and locations. At the top were the high-ranking courtesans.¹⁶ Lower down the scale were the women who lived independently in their own apartments, as the courtesan Bianca in *Othello* appears to do.¹⁷ There were also prostitutes operating in the city's many brothels.¹⁸ The very openness of the trade blurred social distinctions. Coryat, used to the English custom of having boys play the female parts, was shocked to see women on stage,¹⁹ and Sir Henry Wotton, visiting in the 1590s, wondered at the challenge in distinguishing respectable married women from whores in the street. 'Both honest and dishonest women are *Lisciate fin'alla fossa*, that is paynted to the very grave', as the English traveller Fynes Moryson noted.²⁰

'Lend me thy handkerchief'

(*Othello* 3.4.50)

10. Detail of a handkerchief belonging to either a man or woman, embroidered with a pattern of honeysuckle and grapevines and the initials 'EM'. England, c. 1600.

Linen, embroidered with silk and trimmed with silver-gilt lace, 37 x 37 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



The smallest gestures and tokens took on great significance, as documented by Cesare Vecellio in his costume book of 1590 (fig. 8). Vecellio delights in talking about Venetian betrothal and marriage rituals,²¹ but is caustic about courtesans, who, by means of what Iago calls 'a seeming' (*Othello* 3.3.234), were known to emulate 'respectable' women in their dress. Their noisiness in public usually gave them away,²² as with Cassio's concern to pacify Bianca after a tiff, 'she'll rail in the streets else' (*Othello* 4.1.163). Giacomo Franco's *Costumes of Venetian Women* followed Vecellio's book in 1609 and also had a wide currency. These visual types of Venetian women were widely diffused, copied and collected in Northern Europe, and formed an image bank for the outsiders' view of Venetian society (fig. 9).²³ Courtesans in these images convey just that feisty independence which even the virtuous Desdemona reveals in banter with Iago. All the women in *Othello* are branded as whores. Iago gives Desdemona plenty of provocation in his description of women:

Come on, come on: you are pictures out of door, bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens, saints in your injuries, devils being offended, players in your housewifery, and housewives in your beds.

(*Othello* 2.1.121–3)

Courtesans make a great play on their ungloved hands, and the elegant accessory of the handkerchief (fig. 10). The fact that a handkerchief – a love token as well as a fashion accessory – could be a moral indicator in London as in Venice is shown by a single incident involving Elizabeth I and her favourite, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester. In 1565 Leicester seized Elizabeth's handkerchief to mop his brow after a tennis match, only to be challenged to a duel by the Duke of Norfolk to protect the queen's reputation.²⁴ This is the context for the obsession with Desdemona's handkerchief in *Othello* and its journey from hand to hand. Iago only has to evoke its embroidered design, 'spotted with strawberries', to break Othello (3.3.479).²⁵

Venetian women were known to take the shocking step of dyeing their hair. Blondness in women was something of a Venetian obsession,²⁶ and was particularly fashionable as a preparation for marriage, when blonde tendrils on the forehead and loose curls on the shoulders set off the bridal dress. Do Portia's 'sunny locks', compared to Jason's golden fleece (*The Merchant of Venice* 1.1.171), take on a special significance in this respect as the characteristic of the desirable Venetian patrician bride?



'But since she did neglect her
looking-glass / And threw her
sun-expelling mask away, / The
air hath starved the roses of her
cheeks / And pinched the lily-
tincture of her face / That now she
is become as black as I'

(*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* 4.4.136-40)

11. Vizard mask worn by gentlewomen in the sixteenth and possibly into the seventeenth century to protect them from the sun when travelling. The mask was secured by a glass bead attached to a string and held in the wearer's teeth. Found folded in half and concealed within the wall of a sixteenth-century building in Northamptonshire in 2010.

Velvet, lined with silk and strengthened with a pressed-paper liner, H. 19.5 cm. Private collection

'sunny locks'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 1.1.172)

12. *A Venetian Woman Bleaching her Hair*, from *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Cesare Vecellio, Venice, 1590, facing f. 145. Woodcut, 15.3 x 9.6 cm. British Library, London



Desdemona is described as 'fair' (*Othello* 4.2.228), a word that equates blondness and pallor with beauty (see fig. 5).²⁷ Fashionable and high-status European women took trouble not to tan, sometimes wearing a vizard mask when outside in summer: a wonderful example was found in June 2010 in an inner wall of a sixteenth-century building in Northamptonshire (fig. 11).²⁸

Dyeing one's hair was an occupation for a Saturday afternoon as one sat on the roof-top platform known as an *altana*.²⁹ Vecellio's illustration seen here shows a woman with her high platform shoes, or chopines, by her side (fig. 12). These were worn as overshoes, but they had erotic associations since they were copied from the slippers worn in the Ottoman Turkish hamam (baths).³⁰ Venetian brides took pains to learn how to walk and dance in them, so that they could show off their skills, rather than their chopines (which they took great care to hide), at their wedding.³¹ Dancing, like music-making, was a desirable social accomplishment in a bride, as Othello recognizes when he agonizes about Desdemona's virtue:



'Your ladyship is nearer heaven
than when I saw you last, by the
altitude of a chopine'

(*Hamlet* 2.2.376-7)

13. Chopines, Venice, c. 1600. Wood covered with punched kid leather (not identical), L. 24 cm and 23.5 cm, max. H. of sole 19.5 cm and 18 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London



14. *Courtesan and Blind Cupid* (flap print with liftable skirt), Pietro Bertelli, c. 1588. Engraving and etching, 14 x 19.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

'Tis not to make me jealous
To say my wife is fair, feeds well, loves company,
Is free of speech, sings, plays and dances:
Where virtue is, these are more virtuous.
(3.3.206-9)

But that was just the point, for these were also the kinds of skills that were thought to distinguish the courtesan from the common prostitute.

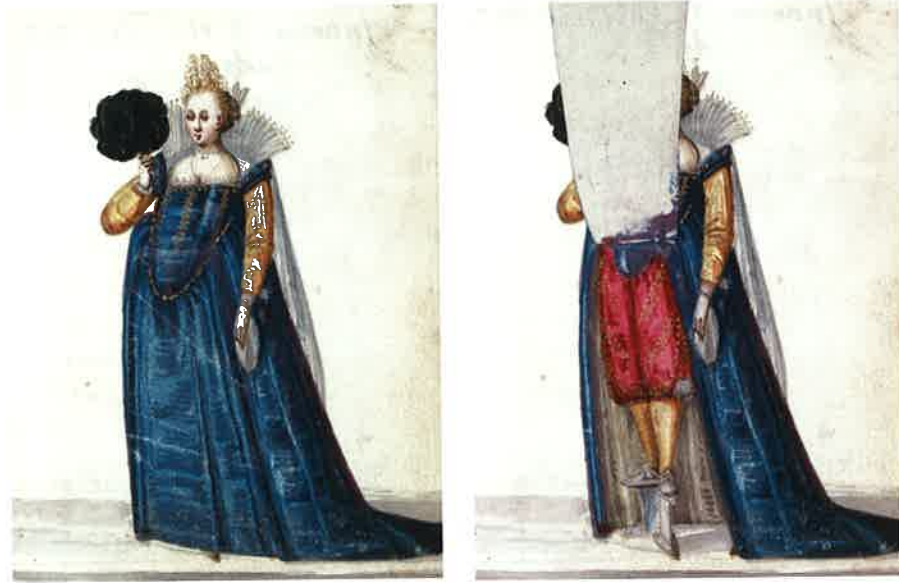
As an English visitor, Coryat had no time for chopines. When he saw a woman fall 'downe the staires of one of the little stony bridges with her high Chapineys alone by her selfe', he did nothing to help her, 'because shee wore such frivolous and (as I may truly terme them) ridiculous instruments, which were the occasion of her fall' (fig. 13).³² Coryat was probably aware that teetering platforms were associated with loose virtue, but quite how confusing these kinds of indicators could be is demonstrated in a Venetian print by Pietro Bertelli of a very special interactive kind, dating from around 1588 (fig. 14). This might almost have been designed as an advertisement for the Venetian courtesan as a tourist attraction.³³ The print shows a well-dressed Venetian woman with her hair worn in two twisted peaks or 'horns', a fashion of the late 1580s and 1590s intended to resemble the crescent moon worn by the chaste goddess Diana, but satirized as a cuckold's horns.³⁴ She stands with her expensive fan, pearls and handkerchief in a recognizably watery Venetian landscape. Cupid above her indicates an amorous purpose, and her sidelong expression is at least



'I fear me it will make me scandalized'

(*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* 2.7.61)

15. *Courtesan and Blind Cupid*, unknown artist after Pietro Bertelli (fig. 14). From the friendship album of Sir Michael Balfour, 1596–9, f. 128r. Manuscript, 16 x 27 cm, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh



suggestive. When the viewer lifts the front panel of her dress, her chopines and masculine-style breeches (*braghessi*), which she is wearing as underwear, are revealed.³⁵ One Scots visitor on the Grand Tour in Venice in 1596–9 had the print copied into his souvenir album as a permanent memento of his visit to the city (fig. 15).³⁶ When Julia decides to set off for Milan to search for Proteus in Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, her maid Lucetta counsels her to dress as a man in breeches and codpiece.³⁷ Julia is shocked: 'how will the world repute me / For undertaking so unstaid a journey? / I fear me it will make me scandalized' (2.7.59–61). She is the first of a long line of cross-dressed heroines, played by a boy dressing up as a girl, dressing up as a boy. The full charge of this experiment is only felt in the shock and titillation associated with real women dressing up as men, even if only in their underclothes, as in Bertelli's print.

This is the spirit in which Hamlet jokes about chopines in teasing the young boy who is to act the queen in the play-within-a-play about how he has grown: 'Your ladyship's nearer to heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a chopine' (*Hamlet* 2.2.376–7). Chopines would have been familiar to Shakespeare's audiences as elite accessories: the English poet Lady Falkland (1585–1639) mentions ones 'which she had ever worne, being very low, and a long time very fatte' in her memoirs.³⁸ In 1591 Elizabeth I had made for herself two pairs of delicate *pantobles*, open at the toes and 'laid on with silver lace', which may have resembled the pair illustrated here (fig. 16).³⁹ Similar slippers are shown with other Italian or specifically Venetian fashions in the portrait of Anne of Denmark in figure 17.⁴⁰ She holds an Italian feather fan like the Venetian one in figure 18, and she is also wearing an expensive Italian silk woven with a repeating design of peacock feathers, suitable for a woman described by her husband, King James, as 'Our earthlie Juno'. The panel of surviving silk in figure 19 is of the same type. Anne was not unusual in being an eager consumer of Italian

'I do adore thy sweet grace's slipper'

(*Love's Labour's Lost* 5.2.677)

16. Pair of slippers (chopines, *pantoble*, *pianelle*) Venice, c. 1600
Wood, velvet, leather, silver-gilt braid, lace.
L. 20.5 cm, W. 10.7 cm, H. 9 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



17. *Queen Anne of Denmark*, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, c. 1611–14.
Oil on canvas, 221 x 131 cm. Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire



'lost the handle of her fan'

(*The Merry Wives of Windsor* 2.2.7–8)

18. Handle for a feather fan, similar to that in fig. 17. Venice, c. 1550.
Gilt brass, H. 17.8 cm, W. 8.2 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



'Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 1.1.35)

19. The Venetian merchant Salanio worries about shipwrecks ruining silks in his cargo. Panel of silk dress fabric woven with a peacock feather design, like that worn by Queen Anne of Denmark in fig. 17. Italy, 1600–20.
L. 142.5 cm, W. 49 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



and specifically Venetian luxury goods, but this portrait demonstrates that she was an Italophile with an Italian motto, 'My greatness comes from above' ('La mia grandezza dal eccelso').⁴¹ She employed John Florio as Italian tutor to her daughter, Princess Elizabeth; the 1611 edition of his Italian–English dictionary was entitled in her honour *Queen Anna's New World of Wordes*.⁴²

Apart from luxury and licence, Venice was also associated in the English imagination with wealth derived from commerce: 'the wonderful concourse of strange and foreign people ... as though the city of Venice onely were a common and generall market to the whole world'.⁴³ As a model of an open maritime city, it was renowned for the fact that 'the trade and profit of the city / Consisteth of all nations' (*The Merchant of Venice* 3.3.33–4). Commerce demands credit and the Venetian solution to this – one which shocked many English commentators and Christian critics – was to turn to the Jews. Christians acted as moneylenders too, but it was still perceived as a Jewish speciality.

Usury – lending money at interest – was inextricably linked with Jews in the contemporary English imagination, for although usury was widely practised in England in the late sixteenth century, exploitative rates of interest were still associated with Jewish moneylenders, as they were elsewhere in Europe. Apart from their usefulness, Jews and prostitutes were easily identified outsiders and scapegoats when things went wrong.⁴⁴ The travel writer Samuel Purchas wrote of how 'the beastly trade of courtesans and cruel trade of Jews is suffered for gain' in Italy, and Venice was considered the most obvious example of this.⁴⁵ Venice was known to be a society in which Jews were allowed to profess their faith openly, yet they could only be accepted if they were in Venetian society but not of it, contained within a segregated community that was a condition of their toleration.⁴⁶ This was very different from the way in which a tiny number of Iberian Jews lived in London, as converts (Marranos) whose Christianity was always in doubt and who were thought to practise Judaism in secret. The fact that they were Spanish or Portuguese Jews made them even more suspect, regarded as potential spies highly placed in court and city.⁴⁷ At this period there was no acknowledged Jewish community in England, as a result of the first expulsion of a Jewish community in Europe in 1290 (see further below, p. 159).⁴⁸

Religious conversion was a major issue in Venice, as in London.⁴⁹ Shakespeare's two Venetian plays, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, are both dramas of conversion, in which individuals are 'turned' from one religion or identity to another.⁵⁰ Both plays consider difference and otherness – religious, national, racial, sexual – and fears about how encounters with such differences test, threaten or transform a society's values.

It was understood in the late sixteenth century in England that 'Antwerp and Venice could never have been so rich and famous but by entertaining of strangers and by that means have gained all the intercourse of the world'.⁵¹ And it was widely known, and often commented upon by English visitors, that Venice offered aliens a carefully defined legal status in order to make coexistence possible. Dated 1552,



'our tribe'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 1.3.101)

20. Bronze portrait medal of Elijah de Lattes, Jewish physician, and his mother, Rica. Veneto, 1552.

Cast bronze, diam. 4 cm. British Museum, London

the medal in figure 20, probably made in the Veneto, is not only the first Italian Renaissance medal commemorating a Jew, but one of the earliest portraits of a European Jew, in which the name of the individual – the papal physician and astronomer Elijah de Lattes – is proudly accompanied by 'EBREO' or Jew. It is a hundred years earlier than other European medals commemorating Jews.⁵² It was commissioned by a mother and son together, making it a confident tribute to Jewish lineage and family in a Christian context – two generations of the family had been doctors to the Pope.

Nothing like this was to be seen in London in the 1550s. Just how difficult coexistence with 'strangers' was in London, and what a live issue it was in the 1590s, is shown in the libel pinned on the door of the city's Dutch church in 1593 when tensions between native artisans and immigrants were high. The Dutch libel showed how swiftly anti-alien feeling compared foreigners to the legendary, predatory Jew: 'And like the Jews you eat us up for bread'.⁵³

The story of the Jews' expulsion from England in 1290 is an ugly one. Jews followed William the Conqueror in 1066 as the king's money-collectors and lenders, a conveniently alien group whose financial usefulness was continually tested. Although they made up less than 1 per cent of the population it is estimated that they owned up to one third of the mobile wealth of England at the end of the 1100s.⁵⁴ Antagonism towards them flared up in the first charge of ritual murder in Europe, the case of St William of Norwich in 1144 (see fig. 26), which involved the claim that Jews murdered Christian children and used their blood to bake bread.⁵⁵ Continental charges of ritual murder followed, including that of Simon of Trent in 1475, accompanied by executions and massacres of Jews. Increasing government pressure and popular anti-Semitism culminated in the Edict of Expulsion of Edward I in 1290.⁵⁶ It was not until 1656 that Jews were officially readmitted to England by Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658).⁵⁷



'Our sacred nation'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 1.3.35)

21. Sabbath lamp (?), 1200s–1300s, found in Windsor in 1717. Bronze, H. 13 cm, W. 16.2 cm. Society of Antiquaries, London

The bronze oil lamp illustrated here (fig. 21) is probably a medieval Jewish Sabbath lamp from the period before the Expulsion. It can be compared with a similar lamp excavated in Bristol on the site of the thirteenth-century settlement of New Jewry in Peter Street.⁵⁸ The Sabbath lamp is a key element in Jewish domestic rituals, as it is lit by the housewife on Friday evening, the eve of the Sabbath or day of rest, and on the eve of major festivals. Women played a vital role within the Jewish household, especially in the observation of the dietary and culinary traditions that maintained a sense of identity over the generations.⁵⁹ Jessica's responsibilities, following the death of her mother, Leah, are acknowledged in *The Merchant of Venice*: the loss of Jessica is, for Shylock, the loss of his Jewish posterity. The woodcut seen here, taken from a book of Jewish customs printed in Venice in 1600 with a Yiddish commentary (fig. 22), shows a well-dressed woman blessing the Sabbath lamp, similar to the medieval English one illustrated in figure 21.⁶⁰ If that identification is correct for this lamp, it speaks of the lost medieval Jewish community in England more powerfully than any text can do.⁶¹

The expulsion of Jews from Granada in 1492 following the Spanish re-conquest led to forced conversions and pre-emptive migration through Europe.⁶² Jews who converted or whose ancestors had converted were called Marranos, but their Christian beliefs and political allegiance were always doubted as it was thought that they had made 'a counterfeit profession'.⁶³ Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the fortunes of the Portuguese Marrano family, the Nasi, to use their Hebrew name.

'Jessica, my girl, Look to my house'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 2.5.16–17)

22. The lighting of the Sabbath lamp, from *Sefer Minhagim* (*Book of Customs*), Venice, 1600. This *Minhagim* is a key text for our understanding of Venetian Jewry at this date. It was produced in Yiddish for Ashkenazi Jews in Venice by a Christian printer, employing a Christian artist who did not understand all the details of Jewish ritual from the inside. These sophisticated woodcuts offer a visual parallel to the manner in which Shakespeare portrays a Jewish household. Woodcut, 7 x 9.5 cm. Bodleian Library, Oxford



דיין ווייבר אנלוינדן אונז אכט אין ברכה רובר ווען עט טון אין רער וואו און איז אונז האט ריא היגד און: נישטפראייט אויבר ד: איכט



'Most beautiful pagan, most sweet Jew'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 2.3.10)

23. Bronze portrait medal of Grazia Nasi, by Pastorino de' Pastorini. Probably Ferrara, 1558–9. Diam. 6.6 cm. British Museum, London

Joseph Nasi (d. 1579) was a professing Jew who became Duke of Naxos and Prince of the Cyclades in service to the Ottoman Turkish Empire at a time of increased English commercial and political activity there. The Italian medal of the 1550s in figure 23 records Joseph's sister-in-law, Grazia Nasi.⁶⁴ She is presented, probably at the time of her marriage, as a young and fashionable Italian noblewoman. She is also shown as a Jewess, for her name is proudly proclaimed only in Hebrew, for the first time on a European medal.⁶⁵ The Nasi had international political and trading links, including with the London Marrano community.⁶⁶ All Marranos were identified with international conspiracy, counterfeit Christianity and anti-Spanish prejudice. It was a powerful mix, as demonstrated in the trial and execution of the Marrano Roderigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's doctor, on a charge of trying to poison her in 1594. Lopez was imprisoned 'for intelligence with the king of Spaine' (fig. 24).⁶⁷ He was famous enough in London life to have been given a name-check, long before his execution, in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* (1592?), but his execution gave a new lease of life to

'The villain Jew'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 2.8.4)

24. Lopez Compounding to Poyson the Queene, Friedrich von Hulsen, from George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy*, London, 1627. Printed book, 20 x 14.5 cm. British Library, London



performances of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* while licensing more general anti-Semitism.⁶⁸ Prints showing Lopez busy with his plots had a long life in arguing for the special character of the English nation and its divine deliverance from internal and external threats.⁶⁹

By 1600 many English Protestants saw themselves as God's chosen people in place of the Jews: when the clergyman Lancelot Andrewes called for an annual commemoration of discovery of the Gunpowder Plot he referred to it as 'our Passover'.⁷⁰ In 1616 he used the biblical story of Esther, the young Jewess who secured the delivery of her people from the death decree of Haman by her intercession with Ahasuerus, King of Persia, as the text for his sermon recalling James's survival from the Gowrie Plot of 1600.⁷¹ Much of this sense of identification was based on the renewed study of Hebrew essential for a proper understanding of the Bible, promoted through Regius Professorships in Oxford and Cambridge following the establishment of Protestantism as the state religion in England. The emphasis on the Old Testament was part of a return to ancient values, and it had its political uses in making the case for Henry VIII's divorce and for his royal supremacy.⁷² The contribution of Jewish law is acknowledged in the Hebrew inscription referring to him as 'supreme head' on the Supremacy Medal of 1545 (fig. 25).⁷³ Such was the respect for Hebrew scholarship that the 1611 Authorized Version of the Bible was to draw on the translation skills of twenty-five English Hebraists.⁷⁴ But much of the genuine interest in the language was rooted in a sense of Christian, and specifically Protestant, superiority.⁷⁵

In the later seventeenth century, respect for Hebrew as one of the two central languages of the Bible was to lead to greater tolerance towards Jews themselves, but in Shakespeare's lifetime popular anti-Semitism remained. The charge of ritual murder remained long after the Jewish community had been forced to leave, promoted in histories, sermons and, for those who could not read, painted on the walls of churches (fig. 26).⁷⁶ Usury was common practice among Jews and non-Jews alike by the late sixteenth century – Shakespeare's father, John, was accused of it – and attitudes were changing as credit was widely recognized as an essential underpinning for business.⁷⁷ But financial exploitation remained in the popular imagination associated with Jewish moneylenders, even though they had not existed in England for 300 years.⁷⁸ Folk prejudice lived on in anti-Semitic tales, ballads and proverbs. Thomas Coryat glosses one of the latter: 'to looke like a Jew (whereby is meant sometimes a weather-beaten warp-faced fellow, sometimes a phreneticke and lunaticke person, sometimes one discontented)', stereotyping that relates interestingly to Shylock's rancorous disposition. Yet Coryat also notes that the Jews he saw in the Venetian Ghetto were 'most elegant and sweete-featured'.⁷⁹

Shakespeare refers to a number of pejorative proverbial phrases in several plays in a way that suggests that his presentation of Shylock partly depends on this kind of verbal culture. But Shylock's own language is a key to his identification, such as his exotic and outlandish lament on hearing that his daughter has exchanged his wife's ring for a monkey: 'It was my turquoise, I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor. I would not



25. Supremacy Medal of Henry VIII, 1545, inscribed in Hebrew, Latin and Greek. Gold, diam. 5.4 cm. British Museum, London



**'if it will feed nothing else,
it will feed my revenge'**

(*The Merchant of Venice* 3.1.37)

26. Painted rood screen panel depicting the ritual murder of St William of Norwich by Jews, early 1400s. Oil on panel. Holy Trinity Church, Loddon, Norfolk

interested in cultural interchange between Jew and Christian in urban society, and in where the virtual boundaries lie, than in obvious physical markers such as dress. Hence the confusing mention of Shylock's 'Jewish gaberdine' (1.3.103) as a marker of difference, when Caliban's fishy cloak is described as a gaberdine too (*The Tempest* 2.2.31) (see p. 245). It may be that this kind of covering garment was a stage prop for outsiders and that it had much wider associations with difference, from Levantine Jews trading in Mediterranean markets to Gaelic woodkerns shivering in their shaggy cloaks in Ireland (see p. 112).⁸⁴ By making Shylock a figure who moves freely in Venetian society and who is not constrained within a ghetto, Shakespeare creates a far more disquieting and pervasive presence, one which his audiences would have associated with the wealthy, well-connected and highly placed Marranos they knew in London.

Italian Jews were integrated into the wider Christian society around them in fascinating ways, as shown by the Purim scroll in figure 28. The story of Purim is taken from the Book of Esther, an historical event that is commemorated every year in the

have given it for a wilderness of monkeys' (*The Merchant of Venice* 3.1.79–81). It is obvious that Leah's ring was not a marriage ring. Jewish marriage rings were not set with stones, as a ring's value in gold alone was assessed before it was used as part of the marriage ceremony. Shakespeare and his audiences were unlikely to know what a Jewish marriage ring looked like anyway.⁸⁰ Leah's ring was instead a love token of a kind familiar to Shakespeare's audiences. Mined in Persia and Tibet, turquoises were prized for their exoticism, their unique colour and their amuletic properties. They were thought to preserve the sight, and to protect the wearer from poisoning, drowning and riding accidents. Contemporary treatises also state that turquoise preserved harmony between husband and wife, which is presumably the association evoked by Leah's gift. Small sixteenth-century rings set with turquoises show that they were thought, like coral, suitable for children as amulets; other rings demonstrate that turquoises were linked with love and marriage in sixteenth-century culture.⁸¹

Shylock's reported rant when he loses both his daughter and his Venetian ducats in one night makes it quite clear which property he values most: 'My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!' (*The Merchant of Venice* 2.8.15) is a touch taken from Marlowe's stock villain, Barabas, in *The Jew of Malta*.⁸² The mention of ducats (fig. 27), like the mention of the Rialto as both an exchange market and a building, adds Venetian colour that Shakespeare's audience would have understood, but much of Shylock's presentation shows Shakespeare's apparent lack of concern about authenticity.⁸³ Shakespeare is more



**'My daughter! O my ducats!
O my daughter!'**

(*The Merchant of Venice* 2.9.15)

27. A brass coin balance and weights, made by Guillaum de Neve, 1600-54, Amsterdam; and ducat issued by Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice, 1523-38.

Wood and brass, balance H. 15 cm, W. 11 cm; box L. 15 cm, W. 9 cm. Ducat, gold, diam. 2 cm. British Museum, London

synagogue at the Feast of Purim, when a reading from a plain undecorated scroll is made.⁸⁵ However, embellished scrolls with decorated borders began to be made in late sixteenth-century Italy for use at home, and the engraved borders, which bore no relation to the sacred text, show the whole variety of grotesque ornament that was fashionable at the time.⁸⁶ The scroll shown here is one of three surviving ones of around 1573, the borders of which were designed by a Christian, Andrea Marelli, for use in Latin books. The Esther scrolls were specially commissioned: they are printed on a heavy parchment of a type used for this distinct purpose. It looks as if a Jewish patron would have commissioned the scrolls with their borders from a bookseller, probably in Rome, and then had them inscribed.⁸⁷ This confidence in adapting contemporary classical motifs for private ritual argues for a level of cultural exchange and social interaction that is otherwise hard to document for the sixteenth century. And it is a reminder that the distinctive features of Italian Jewry cannot be understood – as Shakespeare intuited – other than within the context of the wider society.⁸⁸

Shakespeare explores the deep inner hatred and prejudice between Antonio, the



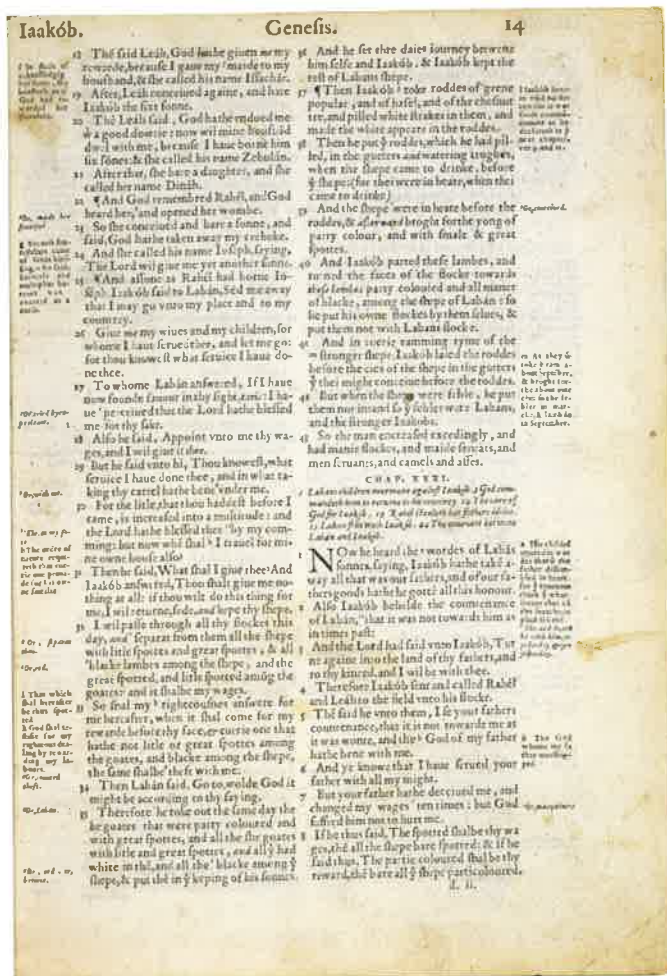
'My sober house'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 2.5.34)

28. A panel from an Esther scroll for use at home, with Hebrew text and hand-coloured marginal engravings by Andrea Marelli, Italy, c. 1573.

Engraving and watercolour on vellum, panel 17 x 28 cm. British Library, London

Christian merchant of the title, and Shylock, the Jewish trader. He shows these forces to be damaging. Shylock's refusal to 'eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you' (*The Merchant of Venice* 1.3.25-6) creates a division between business and a civility built on shared values. It was just this segregation in the practice of Jewish and Muslim traditions that most aroused antagonism in Christian communities across Europe.⁸⁹ Most chilling of all is that Shylock's famous plea for a common humanity ends with how he has learnt revenge from Christian hatred of Jews, most obviously shown by Antonio in the play: 'The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction' (*The Merchant of Venice* 3.1.48-9). Shakespeare turns the reputed vengefulness of Jews back on the Christian audience. Shylock's internalized revenge is far more disturbing to the society around him than the rants of Marlowe's Barabas. When Portia enters the courtroom she takes care to ask who is the merchant, who the Jew, which might indicate that she is pleading for time, or that the two protagonists look alike, or that she is reminding her audience that Venetian justice is



'When Jacob grazed his uncle Laban's sheep'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 1.3.61)

29. Genesis 30:31–43, from an edition of the Bible translated by William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson and perhaps others, published in Geneva, 1560. Printed book, 26 x 19 cm. British Library, London

supposedly blind to racial and religious difference. Shylock persists in his legal literalism: 'I'll have my bond' (3.3.5). If Christian Venetians hold slaves merely because they have bought them, then why do they contest his bond of flesh? Portia argues the case in his own legalistic manner: the bond can only be fulfilled if the amount of flesh is exact and no blood is spilt. So much for Christian mercy and forgiveness, but the quality of mercy is strained when Shylock is branded an alien and an outcast, and his conversion demanded, in a satire on the nature of justice that 'deliberately condoned injustice, when injustice made for its peace'.⁹⁰ Shakespeare shows 'super-subtle' Venetians at their worst.

Shakespeare probably based his impression of Judaism as a religion of traditional ritual observance and law from hearing the Old Testament read in church from the Bishops' Bible, and from his reading in the annotated Geneva Bible.⁹¹ Shylock roots his defence of usury in the Torah, the Pentateuch that begins the Old Testament of the Bible, in a literal manner associated with the Jewish tradition:

When Jacob grazed his uncle Laban's sheep –
This Jacob from our holy Abram was,
As his wise mother wrought in his behalf,
The third possessor
(1.3.61–4).

This literalism was taken up by Protestantism, and the story of Jacob cheating Laban is recounted here as told in the Calvinist Geneva Bible with its detailed commentaries (fig. 29). Jacob brandished striped sticks in front of Laban's sheep as they were mating. According to ancient folk belief, this prompted them to give birth to parti-coloured lambs, which would be Jacob's rather than Laban's. Shylock uses this as a metaphor for breeding money, as something that is manipulative but inherently natural to him and approved by God. Did Jacob charge interest, asks Antonio?

No, not take interest, not, as you would say,
Directly interest...
(1.3.66–7)

Shylock's circumlocution might arouse the uneasy suspicion of



'the lean and slippered Pantaloon, With spectacles on nose and pouch on side'

(*As You Like It* 2.7.161–2)

30. Glass goblet enamelled with figures in masquerade, probably characters from the *Commedia dell'arte*. 'Façon de Venise', Venice or Northern Europe, c. 1600. Glass, enamelled and gilded, H. 19.2 cm, diam. 12.2 cm. British Museum, London

any audience nervous about usury, long before the nature of Shylock's bond of flesh, with all its connotations with ritual murder and circumcision, is revealed.

But there is something comic, too, in Shakespeare's Shylock, which appears to draw on a playful art form, often associated with Venice, the *Commedia dell'arte*. This was a form of stylized improvisation using stock characters or 'masks', which was performed by travelling troupes of players who toured the capitals of Europe.⁹² The *Commedia* was a pan-European art form by 1600, and Shakespeare certainly knew this tradition: Jaques, in his seven ages of man, refers to how the scene shifts in the sixth age by using a figure familiar from the *Commedia*:

Into the lean and slippered pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank, and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound.
(*As You Like It* 2.7.161–6)⁹³

'Pantaloon' appears exactly as Shakespeare describes on a rare enamelled glass – either made in Venice or in the Venetian tradition – of the late sixteenth century, which is a very early depiction of the masks in action (fig. 30). The *Commedia* was a particular form of licentious and bawdy playing that featured at carnival in Venice, as in other Italian cities, either in playhouses or in the street. Foreign artists loved to depict the players and their audiences, and prints of Venetian carnival circulated widely (fig. 31).

Shakespeare's Shylock the Jew seems to have some of Pantaloon's characteristics as an antisocial miser with an exploitative, lazy servant and a daughter who is longing to escape from an overbearing father.⁹⁴ When he is invited out to dinner by Christians, Shylock counsels his daughter Jessica to 'look to my house' (*The Merchant of Venice* 2.5.17). His former servant Lancelot warns that there will be masquers about. Shylock urges his daughter not to follow the Venetian custom of craning out of windows to view the masquers in the street, so exposing herself to common view, but to bar the shutters of 'my sober house' (2.5.34). A London audience



'Christian fools with varnished faces'

(*The Merchant of Venice* 2.5.31)

31. *An Italian Carnival*, Arent van Bolten, Netherlands, c. 1588–1633. Pen and brown ink, and brown wash, over black chalk, 44.3 x 61 cm, British Museum, London

would have seen carnival as a time of licence and sexual escapade. An engraving showing Venetian carnival (fig. 32) is inscribed in Latin: 'if they are fleeing the light, then what may they be up to?'⁹⁵ Jessica uses the cover of carnival to elope at night, dressed as a boy, from the window in Shylock's absence.

The play deals with every kind of traffic and merchandise. It opens with the Venetian merchant Salerio worrying about his ship, 'my wealthy *Andrew*', being wrecked, a detail which enables the text to be dated to late 1596–7 since the ship was real, a Spanish prize captured at Cadiz (1.1.28).⁹⁶ Shylock lists all the threats to ships at sea, from piracy – which was becoming increasingly familiar to British merchants – to natural dangers, in a way that would resonate with London audiences.⁹⁷ One of Antonio's ships is later wrecked on 'the Goodwins, I think they call the place' (3.1.3), a reference to the treacherous sands off the Kentish coast.⁹⁸ Shakespeare's Antonio (unlike the wealthiest Venetian merchants of the day) evidently lacked insurance, which would make these losses ruinous.⁹⁹

Just as perilous and real to a contemporary London audience was the result of human traffic and trading. The servant Lancelet's affair with a black African slave, which occurs offstage, results in a pregnancy, the fate of which, like Aaron and Tamora's mixed-race child in *Titus*, is just too hot to handle within the play.¹⁰⁰ Shylock holds the issue of miscegenation up for questioning in his eloquent bid for the legality of his bond:



32. *A Venetian Carnival Scene on a Terrace*, Pieter de Jode the Elder after Pozzoserrato, c. 1595–8. Engraving, 37.4 x 50.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

You have among you many a purchased slave,
Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
You use in abject and in slavish parts,
Because you bought them. Shall I say to you,
Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?
(4.1.91–5)

Shakespeare gives this critique of slavery to Shylock, which might have surprised London audiences given that Marranos, because of their Iberian origins, were particularly (though not exclusively) associated with black-slave-owning in contemporary London.¹⁰¹ Shylock knows that no white Christian Venetian, however much lip service they pay to mercy and tolerance, will agree to miscegenation. Nor would Londoners have condoned it, even though (or perhaps because) it appears to have been happening around them. Only four apparently cross-racial marriages are documented in London in the 1570s, but it is clear that whites and blacks did have sex and/or marry in real life as they were portrayed fictionally in *Titus* and *Othello*. This was something new, and babies born to these unions challenged the theory that environment decided skin colour, as expressed by one George Best in 1578: 'I my selfe have seene an Ethiopian as black as cole brought into England, who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was, although England were his native country, and an Englishwoman his mother.'¹⁰²

given here is partly derived from the forthcoming *Catalogue of Paintings in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London* by Jill Franklin, Bernard Nurse and Pamela Tudor-Craig. This material has kindly been made available in advance of publication by the Society of Antiquaries and all copyright is reserved by the Society. We are grateful to Pamela Tudor-Craig, Kate Owen and Maurice Howard, President of the Society of Antiquaries, for their assistance.

38 A raised right shoulder for Richard III mentioned by John Herd in Thomas Purnell (ed.), *Historia Quatuor Regum Angliae*, London 1868, p. 133, which was dedicated to William Cecil in 1562. See Tudor-Craig 1973, op. cit. in n. 37 above, cat. P44; and Maria Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall, The Palace and its Keeper*, 2 vols, Society of Antiquaries, London 2004, vol. 1, p. 93, item 746.

39 Gaimster et al. 2007, op. cit. in n. 35 above, cat. 49; Hepburn 1986, op. cit. in n. 20 above, pp. 71–89. Another example in The Royal Collection is in Windsor Castle.

40 William Catesby as Cat, Sir Richard Ratcliffe as Rat and Viscount Lovell as Dog; see Marks and Williamson 2003, op. cit. in n. 36 above, p. 205.

41 Tudor-Craig 1973, op. cit. in n. 37 above, p. 60.

42 Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Badges and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, vol. 7, London 1998, p. 289, no. 281h. For the York example see Marks and Williamson 2003, op. cit. in n. 36 above, cat. 69.

43 W. Scott, LEIC-A6C834, 2009, 'A Medieval badge'. From the report: 'The badge was found during the search for the battle of Bosworth field and provides good evidence for the presence of a member of the king's personal household in the area. It thus adds weight to the other archaeological evidence, which has now located the battlefield.' Treasure case number 2009T480; Museum accession number at Bosworth Battlefield Museum X.A19.2011.

44 Gaimster et al. 2007, op. cit. in n. 35 above, cat. 83; John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* 4 (part 2), 1811, p. 557 and pl. 91; Colum Hourihane, 'The processional cross in late medieval England: the Dallice Cross', *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. 71,

London 2005, p. 99.

45 Trowles 2008, op. cit. in n. 24 above, pp. 70–1.

46 W.H. St John Hope, 'The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel of King Henry the Fifth', *Archaeologia*, vol. 65, 1914, pp. 129–87, esp. p. 152.

47 We are grateful to Tony Trowles and Christine Reynolds for details from the Archive of Westminster Abbey of these alterations and the service held to commemorate them in 1971, at which Laurence Olivier declaimed the St Crispin's Day speech from *Henry V* in the Abbey.

48 Claude Blair in Alexander and Binski 1987, op. cit. in n. 13 above, cats 626–33.

49 Henry Keepe, *Monumenta Westmonasteriensa*, London 1682.

50 See St John Hope 1914, op. cit. in n. 46 above, p. 180 and pl. XVI, for a drawing of 1707 showing Henry's arms surmounted by the leopard crest above the cap of estate, but no helm or saddle, supported on the crossbeam. Lisa Monnas, 'Textiles from the funerary achievements of Henry V' in J. Stratford (ed.) *The Lancastrian Court, Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*, Donnington 2003, p. 139; Blair 2003, op. cit. in n. 36 above, cat. 54a.

51 For the achievements as a group see St John Hope 1914, op. cit. in n. 46 above, p. 181; Monnas 2003, op. cit. in n. 50 above; Blair 2003, op. cit. in n. 36 above, cat. 54a–c. The quotation is from Monnas 2003, p. 140. For individual pieces see the catalogue section here.

52 James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare*, London 2005, p. 82.

53 Camden, *Britannia*, quoted from the 1637 edition of Philemon Holland's English translation, p. 683.

54 Shapiro 2005, op. cit. in n. 52 above, p. 111.

55 See <http://www.lib.ed.ac.uk/about/bgalleries/Gallery/researchcoll/ireland.html> for this specific copy of the text with its original woodcuts. For Drummond and his Shakespeare reading see James Shapiro, *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?*, London 2010, pp. 269–70: in his manuscript library catalogue of 1611 Drummond listed *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, attributing both to 'Shaksp'.

56 See Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*, New Haven and London 1978, pp. 112 and 255, for

'Waterford' or 'Irish rugges'. John Florio glosses the *Bernia* or 'Sbermia' as 'An Irish or seaman's rugge', 'An Irish rug or mantle', 'A kind of friar's poore garment or frocke': see Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior*, London 1991, p. 162.

57 Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race and Colonialism*, Oxford 2002, p. 18.

58 Karen Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*, London 1995, cat. 120; and Hearn, *Marcus Gheeraerts II: Elizabethan Artist in Focus*, London 2002, fig. 6 and pp. 18–19; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 50–2 and 289, n. 64.

59 Hiram Morgan, 'Tom Lee the posing peacemaker' in Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict 1534–1660*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 132.

60 Michael Gaudio, 'The truth in clothing: the costume studies of John White and Lucas de Heere' in Kim Sloan (ed.), *European Visions: American Voices*, London 2009, pp. 24–32, and in particular pp. 25–6 for De Heere.

61 For the helmet see Angus Patterson, *Fashion and Armour in Renaissance Europe*, London 2009, pl. 43. For the blackwork shirt see Susan North, 'An instrument of profit, pleasure and of ornament': embroidered Tudor and Jacobean dress accessories' in Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt (eds), *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Twixt Art and Nature*, New York 2008, pp. 39–77, esp. p. 46, and figs 3–9 for the blackwork partlet and sleeves in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

62 Shapiro 2005, op. cit. in n. 52 above, p. 109.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

64 Shapiro 2005, op. cit. in n. 52 above, p. 74.

65 Shapiro 2005, op. cit. in n. 52 above, p. 114.

66 Paul Hamner, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 199–216.

67 For the Cadiz portrait see Hearn 2002, op. cit. in n. 58 above, fig. 4, p. 22, and fig. 13 for the Trinity College portrait.

68 Hearn 1995, op. cit. in n. 58 above, cat. 121.

Chapter 4

- For an ingenious but highly speculative argument favouring *Julius Caesar* (and a date of 12 July 1599) on the basis of calendrical references, see Stephen Sohmer, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play: The Opening of the Globe Theatre 1599*, Manchester 1999.
- See further Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain*, Basingstoke 2004, p. 10.
- For the print series see Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restored*, Manchester 1981; and Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, London 1998, cat. 3a. See also Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment*, London 1604.
- For a balanced overview of the debate see Richard L. Levin, 'The Longleat Manuscript and *Titus Andronicus*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 3, Autumn 2002, pp. 323–40.
- Martin Biddle in *The Renaissance at Sutton Place*, London 1983, cat. 91; Lindsay Stainton and Christopher White, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth*, London 1987, cat. 1; Susan Doran (ed.), *Elizabeth I*, London 2003, cat. 96.
- 'Imaginary progress' as there is no evidence that she visited Nonsuch that year, 1568. The British Museum drawing relates to a second, more highly finished, drawing by Hoefnagel which was offered at Christie's, London, on 7 December 2010, lot 11, and exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museums' *Gothic* exhibition (see Richard Marks and Paul Williamson [eds], *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547*, London 2003, cat. 352). The elaborate coach in which Elizabeth I is shown in both drawings recalls a coach made in her reign and given by the Muscovy Company as a gift to the Tsar of Russia, Boris Godunov, in 1604: the coach is now in the Kremlin in Moscow: see Julian Munby, 'Queen Elizabeth's coaches: the wardrobe on wheels', *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 83, 2003, pp. 311–67.
- James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare*, London 2005, p. 300.
- This, OA 9184, and the other hornbook in the British Museum collection, PE 1937.1108.1, which dates from the sixteenth century, are exceptionally rare survivals. See Tarnya Cooper, *Searching for*

Shakespeare, London 2006, cat. 15. We are grateful to Annemariëke Willemsen of Nederland Middeleeuwen, Leiden, for her help in interpreting the British Museum examples.

9 Eton College Library, Fd.8.19, *Ovidii Nasonis metamorphoseon lib. xv. Ab Andrea Naugerio castigati, & Vict. Gisclini scholiis illustrati ... Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1575* (though the drawing may belong to the late seventeenth century).

10 Nicholas Penny, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth-century Italian Paintings, Volume 2, Venice 1540–1600*, London 2008, p. 278.

11 Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, London 1986, no. 94.

12 Penny 2008, op. cit. in n. 10 above, p. 286.

13 Dolce's letter to Contarini, in G.G. Bottari, *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura e Architettura*, 7 vols, Rome 1754–73, vol. 3, 1759 pp. 257–60. Translation from James Northcote, *The Life of Titian*, 2 vols, London 1830, vol. 1, p. 344. See discussion in C. Ginzburg, 'Tiziano, Ovidio e i codici della figurazione erotica nel '500', in *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi veneziani*, 1976, Vicenza 1980, pp. 125–35. Quoted also in Stanley Wells (ed.), *Shakespeare Found! A Life Portrait at Last*, Stratford-upon-Avon 2011, p. 66.

14 'Ut faciem etposito corpus velamine vidit, / Quale meum, vel quale tuum, si femina fias, / Obstipuit.'

15 It is unlikely to have been painted in 1601–3 when the earl was imprisoned in the Tower, or after 1603 when he was created Knight of the Garter: R.W. Goulding, 'Wriothesley portraits authentic and reputed', *Walpole Society*, vol. 8, 1919–20, pp. 51–2.

16 Thom Richardson of the Royal Armouries, to whom we are extremely grateful for information about the armour, points out that it bears close comparison with a number of armours which are recorded as being of French manufacture. Two suits at Windsor Castle are broadly comparable, one said to have belonged to Charles I as Prince of Wales (no. 577) and the other (no. 786) to Henry, Prince of Wales – it seems to be depicted in a miniature of him limned by Isaac Oliver in

1607, See G.F. Laking, *The Armoury of Windsor Castle*, London 1904, pls 29 and 33.

17 Stuart Pyhr and Thomas Richardson, 'The "Master of the Snails and Dragonflies" identified', *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*, vol. 14, no. 4, September 1993, pp. 329–63.

18 See John Cunally, *Images of the Illustrious*, Princeton 1999, chapter 5, on this custom in Northern Europe, including England, in the sixteenth century.

19 Shapiro 2005, op. cit. in n. 7 above, p. 178.

20 Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, 47.25.1.

21 The aureus went on display at the British Museum in the Rome City and Empire gallery (Room 70) from the 'ides of March' 2010. This account of the coin is mainly provided by Ian Leins, Department of Coins and Medals, to whom we are most grateful. We would also like to thank Michael Winckless, a private collector and owner of the coin (who has generously lent it to the British Museum on a long-term basis), for his encouragement in interpreting it with reference to Shakespeare. An example of this coin once owned by George III and now in the British Museum has for some time been known to have been a fake. Another specimen owned by the Deutsche Bundesbank appears to be genuine.

22 See Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, Leeds 2007, p. 278, on bonnets as part of the livery of the hunt. See also Hayward, 'The sign of some degree': the financial, social and sartorial significance of male headwear at the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI', *Costume*, vol. 36, 2002, pp. 1–17; and Jane Malcolm-Davies, 'He is of no account ... if he have not a velvet or taffeta hat': a survey of 16th-century knitted caps', *Dress and Textile Specialists*, April 2011, pp. 21–5. See Cooper 2006, op. cit. in n. 8 above, cat. 13, for another cap found in Moorfields.

23 Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres*, Oxford 2000, pp. 3–4.

24 We are grateful to William Sherman for this explanation of Dee's illuminated frontispiece to this manuscript.

25 See Robert Poole, 'John Dee and the English calendar: science, religion and empire', http://www.hermetic.ch/cal_

http://www.hermetic.ch/cal_ stud/jdee.html, further developed in his *Time's Alteration: Calendar Reform in Early Modern England*, London 1998. See also Benjamin Woolley, *The Queen's Conjuror: The Life and Magic of Dr Dee*, London 2002, p. 193. On Dee more generally, and especially his vision of a 'British empire', see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance*, Massachusetts 1995.

26 See Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age*, London 2008, p. 382.

27 For the imagery of the phoenix in relation to Elizabeth I see Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *William Shakespeare, Complete Works*, RSC, London 2007, p. 2,396 for Robert Chester and Shakespeare himself, and p. 2,343 for the mysterious poem now known as 'The Phoenix and the Turtle'.

28 Doran 2003, op. cit. in n. 5 above, cat. 204.

29 British Museum, CM 1856.0701.778.

30 Susan Walker and Peter Higgs (eds), *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*, London 2001, cat. 135.

31 Walker and Higgs 2001, op. cit. in n. 30 above, cat. 210: compare with her profile portrait on the bronze eighty-drachma coin of Cleopatra, 51–30 BC, cat. 179.

32 Gaia Servadio, *Renaissance Woman*, London 2005, p. 40. Thomas Coryate admitted that a top Venetian courtesan was likely to prove 'a good Rhetorician, and a most elegant discourser, so that if she cannot move thee with all these foresaid delights, shee will assay thy constancy with her Rhetorical tongue'.

33 Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven and London 1997, pp. 92–3; Cathy Santore, 'Julia Lombardo, *somtuosa meretrice*: a portrait by property', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 41, 1988, pp. 44–83.

34 Lynne Lawner, *Lives of the Courtesans*, New York 1987, p. 34.

35 Walker and Higgs 2001, op. cit. in n. 30 above, pp. 201–2 and 304 (fig. 11.1).

36 See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, New Haven and London 1982, no. 24, p. 187, for the Elton quote.

37 For the critical history of the idea of Shakespeare's 'black Cleopatra' see Francesca T. Royster, *Becoming Cleopatra: The Shifting Image of an*

Icon, London 2003, chapter 2.

38 George Abbott, *A brief description of the whole world wherein is particularly described all the monarchies, empires and kingdoms of the same, with their academies. As also their severall titles and situations thereunto adjoining. Written by the most Reverend Father in God, George, late Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, London 1599, reprinted 1636, p. 162.

39 John Rainolds, *Th' overthrow of stage-plays by the way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes wherein all the reasons that can be made for them are notably refuted; th' objections answered, and the case so cleared and resolved, as that the judgement of any man, that is not froward and perverse, may easilie be satisfied. Wherein is manifestly proved, that it is not onely unlawfull to bee an actor, but a beholder of those vanities. Whereunto are added also and annexed in th'end certeine latine letters betwixt the sayed Maister Rainoldes, and D. Gentiles, reader of the civill law in Oxford, concerning the same matter*, London 1599, p. 77.

Chapter 5

- Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 178 and 174–85 on the place of proverbs in language teaching in Elizabethan England.
- John Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, London 1964, pp. 18 and 28.
- John Florio, *Florio his First Fruites which Yelde Familiar Speech, Merie Proverbs, Wittie Sentences, and Golden Sayings*, London 1578, p. 34.
- Lewis Lewkenor, translation of Gaspar Contareno, *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, London 1599, pp. 5–6; Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice*, Oxford 1983, pp. 146 and 166.
- Hale 1964, op. cit. in n. 2 above, p. 30.
- Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, London 1611, p. 248.
- Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Coryat's crudities and travel writing as the "eyes" of the prince' in Timothy Wilks' (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived*, Southampton 2007, pp. 85–103.
- Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols, London 1907, vol. 1, p. 46. See also O'Callaghan 2007, op. cit. in n. 7

- above, on Coryat's debt to Wotton.
- 9 Edward Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, London and Portland, Oregon 1998, pp. 163–7, esp. 165–6 for the Italian text of the letter.
- 10 Wotton left these to Charles I: they are still in the Royal Collection. See Laura M. Walters, 'Odoardo Fialetri (1573–c. 1638): the interrelation of Venetian art and anatomy, and his importance in England', PhD thesis, University of St Andrews 2009, vol. 1, pp. 156–60 for portraits of Doges left to Charles I by Wotton in his will of 1637. For prints on the same subject see Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620*, London 2001, cat. 124.
- 11 Chaney 1998, op. cit. in n. 9 above, fig. 20; Walters 2009, op. cit. in n. 10 above, pp. 169–70.
- 12 'Henricus Wottonius, post tres apud Venetos legationes ordinarias, in Etonensis Collegii beato sinu senescens, eiusque, cum suavissima inter se sociosque concordia, annos iam 12 praefectus, hanc miram urbis quasi natantis effigiem in aliquam sui memoriam iuxta sociale mensam affixit. 1636'. Pearsall Smith 1907, op. cit. in n. 8 above, p. 210.
- 13 The painting has recently been conserved thanks to the generosity of the Friends of Eton Collections.
- 14 Erckenprecht Coler, friendship album, British Library, Egerton MS 1208, fol. 19.
- 15 Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven and London 2004, p. 185.
- 16 John Hale, *The Civilisation of Europe in the Renaissance*, London 1993, p. 499. See Georgina Masson, *Courtesans of the Italian Renaissance*, London 1975, pp. 152–68, on Franco. Montaigne was not all that impressed by them on a visit in 1580: 'and yet he saw the noblest of those who make a traffic of it; but it seemed to him as wonderful as anything else to see such a number of them as a hundred and fifty or thereabouts spending like princesses on furnishings and clothes, having no other funds to live on except from this traffic; and many of the nobles of the place even keeping courtesans at their expense in the sight and knowledge of all.' *Montaigne's Travel Journal*, translated and with an introduction by Donald M. Frame, Stanford 1983, p. 56.
- 17 Fortini Brown 2004, op. cit. in n. 15 above, pp. 173–87; Cathy Santore, 'Julia Lombardo, *suntuosa meretrice*: a portrait by property', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 41, 1988, pp. 44–83. The Walens friendship album shows a courtesan leading her client into her bedchamber: British Library, Add. MS 18991, fol. 46.
- 18 See *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary. Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the 16th Century*, London 1903, p. 412, for an excellent analysis of the structure of the sextrade in Venice.
- 19 Sara F. Matthews-Grieco with the assistance of Sabina Brevaglieri (eds), *Monaca, moglie, serva, cortigiana: vita e immagine delle donne tra Rinascimento e Controriforma*, Florence 2001, p. 91, with reference to the actress Isabella Andreini of the Gelosi company. See also Kathleen McGill, 'Women and performance: the development of improvisation by 16th century commedia dell'arte', *Theatre Journal*, vol. 43, 1991, pp. 59–69, esp. pp. 65–8.
- 20 *Shakespeare's Europe* 1903, op. cit. in n. 18 above, p. 412.
- 21 Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni: The Clothing of the Renaissance World. Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas*, London 2008, p. 177. Fortini Brown 2004, op. cit. in n. 15 above, pp. 141–57; Wendy Thompson in Andrea Bayer (ed.), *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, New York 2008, cat. 64.
- 22 Rosenthal and Jones 2008, op. cit. in n. 21 above, pp. 190 and 195.
- 23 Many of them are dated in the albums, signed and inscribed by local dignitaries and visiting students, which indicate the kind of circulation these images had. See Rosenthal and Jones 2008, op. cit. in n. 21 above, p. 19; M. Nickson, *Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum*, London 1970; J.-U. Fechner, 'Some 16th century albums in the British Library', *Stammbücher als kulturhistorische Quellen*, Munich 1981; I. O'Dell, 'Jost Amman and the Album Amicorum: drawings after prints in autograph albums', *Print Quarterly*, vol. 9, 1992, pp. 31–6. J.I. Nevinson, in 'Illustrations of costume in the Alba Amicorum', *Archaeologia*, vol. 106, 1979, pp. 167–79, contests a relationship between costume prints and albums, which seems counterintuitive when looking at a number of them. See also n. 34 below.
- 24 Susan North, 'An instrument of profit, pleasure and of ornament': embroidered Tudor and Jacobean dress accessories' in Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt (eds), *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'Twixt Art and Nature'*, New York 2008, pp. 39–55, esp. p. 53; Will Fisher, *Materialising Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*, Cambridge 2006, p. 36.
- 25 Fisher 2006, op. cit. in n. 24 above, pp. 181–2; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 203–6.
- 26 Rosenthal and Jones 2008, op. cit. in n. 21 above, p. 193.
- 27 Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages 1500–1800*, Cambridge 2005, p. 59.
- 28 For this vizard mask and its find details see J. Cassidy, 'A post medieval mask', NARC-151A67 2010. It is possible that the mask was deliberately concealed within the building to bring good luck or ward off evil influences: see the Southampton University project at <http://www.concealedgarments.org/information/>. Such masks rarely survived; a later example is in Norwich Castle Museum, F.7.3.
- 29 Coryat 1611, op. cit. in n. 6 above, p. 261.
- 30 Elizabeth Semmelhack, *On a Pedestal: From Renaissance Chapines to Baroque Heels*, Toronto 2009, pp. 31 and 44. See also Elizabeth Bernhardt's webpage on Venetian chopines at <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~ebernhart/index.shtml>.
- 31 Semmelhack 2009, op. cit. in n. 30 above, p. 56.
- 32 Coryat 1611, op. cit. in n. 6 above, p. 262.
- 33 Lynne Lawner, *Lives of the Courtesans*, New York 1987, pp. 20–21; Semmelhack 2009, op. cit. in n. 30 above, fig. 38; Linda Wolk-Simon in Bayer 2008, op. cit. in n. 21 above, cat. 103.
- 34 Rosenthal and Jones 2008, op. cit. in n. 21 above, p. 182.
- 35 Her underclothes symbolize the kind of boyish freedom and hermaphrodite appeal that Pietro Aretino archly celebrated in the courtesan La Zufolina: 'You are a man when you are chanced on from behind and a woman when seen from in front.' Fortini Brown 2004, op. cit. in n. 15 above, p. 185; Lawner 1987, op. cit. in n. 33 above, p. 23.
- 36 See Peter Humfrey, Timothy Clifford, Aidan Weston-Lewis and Michael Bury (eds), *The Age of Titian: Venetian Renaissance Art from Scottish Collections*, Edinburgh 2004, cat. 169, for the Ballfour Album. We are grateful to Jeremy Warren for this reference and to Iain Gordon-Brown for details of this particular miniature.
- 37 Fisher 2006, op. cit. in n. 24 above, p. 65.
- 38 Heather Wolfe (ed.), *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, Life and Letters*, Cambridge and Arizona 2001, p. 186.
- 39 Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlocked*, London 1988, pp. 214–15.
- 40 Karen Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in English Stages 1500–1800*, London 1995, cat. 130.
- 41 See Blake de Maria, *Becoming Venetian: Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice*, New Haven and London 2010, pp. 38–9, on English taste for Venetian objects and the Ragazzoni family presence in England as merchants.
- 42 Wyatt 2005, op. cit. in n. 1 above, pp. 252–4.
- 43 Lewkenor 1599, op. cit. in n. 4 above, p. 1.
- 44 For two German anti-Semitic broadsides of 1618 and c. 1615 see British Museum, PD 1880, 0710.895 and 1876, 0510.518. For analysis of the image of the Judensau (Jewish sow) in Frankfurt see Amos Elon, *Founder, Meyer Amschel Rothschild and his Time*, London 1996, p. 33.
- 45 Quoted in Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race and Colonialism*, Oxford 2002, p. 160.
- 46 Pullan 1983, op. cit. in n. 4 above, p. 166.
- 47 Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible*, Farnham 2008, p. 111.
- 48 W.D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English-speaking World: Great Britain*, New York 1996, pp. 36–41. David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England*, Oxford 1994.
- 49 Pullan 1983, op. cit. in n. 4 above, p. xiv; James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, New York 1996, pp. 131–65.
- 50 Daniel Vitkus, 'Turning Turk in *Orbello*: the conversion and damnation of the Moor', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2, Summer 1997, pp. 145–76.
- 51 Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, p. 183.
- 52 Daniel Friedenburg, *Jewish Medals from the Renaissance to the Fall of Napoleon*, New York 1970, p. 42; Philip Atwood, *Italian Medals c. 1530–1600 in British Public Collections*, London 2003, cat. 420.
- 53 Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, pp. 184–5.
- 54 Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, Oxford 1963, p. 14.
- 55 Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 47 above, p. 108. Depictions of St William of Norwich, thought to have been murdered by Jews in 1144, survived the Reformation and can still be deciphered painted on at least five rood screens in East Anglian churches. The best of these are at Loddon in Norfolk (fig. 26 here), Eye in Suffolk and Maddermarket in Norwich (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 24.1894). Of these, only the Loddon screen shows William stretched out in a saltire-type cross on stakes as if crucified. The others show him with his attributes of sets of nails and a hammer. We are grateful to Lucy Wrapson for this information. For the Loddon screen see M.R. James and Augustus Jessop (eds), *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich by Thomas of Monmouth*, Cambridge 1896, frontispiece; and M.R. James, *Suffolk and Norfolk*, London and Toronto 1930, pp. 18–19 and 128. See also Andrew Moore and Margit Hofner, *The Art of Faith: 3,500 Years of Art in Norfolk*, Norwich 2010, cat. 2.8.
- 56 Rubinstein 1996, op. cit. in n. 48 above, p. 39; see also Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, pp. 43–88, on the interpretation of the expulsion.
- 57 Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 48 above, p. 109; Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, pp. 62–76. For Jewish rites observed in London within these communities see E.R. Samuel, 'Passover in Shakespeare's London', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 26, 1974–8, pp. 117–18.
- 58 This identification of the lamp as a Sabbath lamp is contested, though the argument for its use as a Jewish ritual object is made by Raphael Ralph Emanuel in 'The Society of Antiquaries' Sabbath lamp', *Antiquaries Journal*, 2000, pp. 308–15, by comparison with another lamp excavated in Bristol. Compare also a lamp in the Jewish Museum in New York, which was allegedly found in the Jewish quarter of Deutz, near Cologne: see Maurice Berger, *Masterworks of the Jewish Museum*, New York 2004, p. 94; David Mickenberg (ed.), *Songs of Glory: Medieval Art from 900–1500*, 1985, pp. 180–1; George Schoenberger, 'A silver Sabbath lamp from Frankfurt-on-the-Main' in Oscar Goetz (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Georg Suarzenski*, Chicago and Berlin 1951, p. 156, no. 23. It is to be hoped that a forthcoming publication of this and other lamps by Bruce Watson will illuminate the status and significance of these pieces.
- 59 Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, p. 70; Hale 1993, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 167.
- 60 Kapparat, part of the festival of Yom Kippur: see Diane Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish: Gender, Identity and Memory in the Illustrated Yiddish Books of Renaissance Italy*, Leiden and Boston 2004, fig. 86b and pp. 96–101, for this 1600 illustrated edition of a Yiddish book of customs and its woodcut illustrations, which may have been designed, if not printed, by a Christian artist.
- 61 David Gaimster, Bernard Nurse and Julia Steele (eds), *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain 1707–2007*, London 2007, cat. 32.
- 62 Hale 1993, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 167.
- 63 Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, pp. 13–42; Peter Berek, 'The Jew as Renaissance man', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 51, 1998, pp. 128–62, esp. p. 128.
- 64 Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 48 above, pp. 51–2.
- 65 For the medal of Grazia Nasi see Friedenburg 1970, op. cit. in n. 52 above, pp. 44–6; Atwood 2003, op. cit. in n. 52 above, cat. 591; and Stephen Sher (ed.), *The Currency of Fame*, New York 1994, cat. 67.
- 66 For London Marranos see Beverley Nenk, 'Public worship, private devotion: the crypto-Jews of Reformation England' in David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (eds), *The Archaeology of Reformation*, Leeds 2003, pp. 204–20.
- 67 Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 48 above, pp. 104–7; Dominic Green, *The Double Life of Dr Lopez*, London 2004; Rubinstein 1996, op. cit. in n. 48 above, p. 44.
- 68 Green 2004, op. cit. in n. 67 above, p. 4; Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, p. 185.
- 69 Prints showing Lopez plotting appeared first in *Papish Plots and Treasons from the Age of Elizabeth* in 1606 and then in George Carleton's *A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy* in 1627. See Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, p. 250, n. 136; and Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 48 above, pp. 102–5, for later dramatic references to Lopez as villain.
- 70 Lancelot Andrewes, 'A sermon preached before the king's majesty at Whitehall on the fifth of November 1606' in *Ninety-Six Sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrewes*, 5 vols, Oxford 1841, vol. 4, p. 204. For the growing British identification with the Jews as the chosen nation in this period see Achsah Guibbory, *Christian Identity, Jews and Israel in Seventeenth-century England*, Oxford 2010, pp. 21–55.
- 71 See Lancelot Andrewes, *XXCI Sermons*, London 1629, pp. 844ff., for this sermon. We are grateful to James Shapiro for this reference.
- 72 Henry invited Marco Raphael, a Venetian Jew, to England in 1530–1 to help him root his divorce from Catherine of Aragon in the Book of Leviticus: see Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 48 above, pp. 15–48; see also Susan Doran (ed.), *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch*, London 2009, p. 108 and cat. 114.
- 73 The medal is the first undoubted English official medal, and was significant enough for Noukious Nikander to record its making, weight and inscription in detail: 'from that time forward the English have alienated themselves from the domination of the Roman pontiff and perform their ecclesiastical ceremonies in a peculiar manner'. See G. Lloyd-Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language*, Manchester 1983, pp. 190–215. For the medal see Mark Jones, 'The medal in Britain', *Médailles*, 22nd Congress, Helsinki 1990, p. 18; Richard Bishop, 'Hebraica Veritas', in *Auction Insider*, Spink, London, Autumn 2009, p. 20; and Barrie Cook in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (eds), *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547*, London 2003, cat. 353. In *Gothic* it is attributed to Henry Basse, Chief Engraver at the Royal Mint in London. See also Philip Atwood, 'The medallion tradition – what is it?', *Médailles*, 2010, p. 90.
- 74 Lloyd-Jones 1983, op. cit. in n. 73 above, p. 272.
- 75 Alison Shell and Arnold Hunt, 'Donne's religious world' in Achsah Guibbory (ed.), *John Donne*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 65–82, esp. p. 66.
- 76 Shapiro 1996, op. cit. in n. 49 above, p. 103.
- 77 Norman Jones, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England*, Oxford 1989, pp. 145–74; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke 1998.
- 78 Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, London 2003, p. 217.
- 79 Coryat 1611, op. cit. in n. 6 above, p. 232.
- 80 For Jewish custom and three fourteenth-century rings set with miniature buildings symbolizing the Temple of Jerusalem see Christine Descatoire (ed.), *Treasures of the Black Death*, London 2009, pp. 60–1, cats 1–3. A fine fifteenth-century example has been in the Munich Kunstkammer since it was recorded in an inventory of 1598: *Schatzkammer der Residenz München*, Munich 1992, no. 52. For later rings of a second type with filigree and enamel see Hugh Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest, The Jewels*, London 1986, cat. 51; and Diana Scarisbrick and Martin Henig, *Finger Rings*, Oxford 2003, pl. 17. Some of these may be seventeenth-century but many may be later, since they were popular with collectors in the nineteenth century.
- 81 Three sixteenth-century rings in the Victoria and Albert Museum cover this range: see 955-1871 for a child's ring; M-2-1959 for a ring with initials and a heart; and M.281-1962 for a Netherlandish gimmel ring associated with marriage and with an appropriate inscription.
- 82 Jonathan Bate, introduction to *The Merchant of Venice* in Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *William Shakespeare, Complete Works*, RSC, London 2007, p. 415.
- 83 Shakespeare does not mention the Ghetto or the curfew in Venice, nor the rule that Jews should wear a red cap out of doors, but it is not possible to tell whether this is ignorance, lack

- of concern for detail or the absence of fine-tuning. We are grateful to Kate Lowe for her comments here.
- 84 Shylock refers to 'my Jewish gabardine', which might be a long outer garment like that worn by Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Turkish Empire or in Spain: see Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in Venice*, Philadelphia 1930, p. 171. John Gillies suggests a gabardine resembled Tom's blanket in Lear: see John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 96–7.
- 85 Ilana Tahan in Rickie Burman, Jennifer Marin and Lily Steadman (eds), *Treasures of Jewish Heritage, The Jewish Museum, London*, London 2006, p. 62.
- 86 Ibid., p. 144.
- 87 Eva Frojmovic, 'The perfect scribe and an early engraved Esther scroll', *British Library Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1, Spring 1997, pp. 68–80; Ilana Tahan, *Hebrew Manuscripts: The Power of Script and Image*, London 2007, cats 137–8. Wolfthal 2004, op. cit. in n. 60 above, also points out that the printing revolution enabled collaboration between Jews and Christians in making books of customs like the one referred to here.
- 88 Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt, *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures*, Oxford 2009, p. 14.
- 89 Hale 1993, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 167; Loomba 2002, op. cit. in n. 45 above, p. 71.
- 90 Katz 1994, op. cit. in n. 48 above, p. 106, citing A.F. Pollard. Loomba 2002, op. cit. in n. 45 above, pp. 141–2.
- 91 Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age*, London 2008, p. 148.
- 92 One famous troupe, the Gelosi, acted for Henri III of France when he was in Venice in 1574; he invited them to France as the first of many Italian touring troupes of players in the country, who played to elite audiences: see Charles Sterling, 'Early paintings of the *Commedia dell'arte* in France', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1, Summer 1943, pp. 11–32.
- 93 Teresa J. Faherty, 'Othello dell'arte: the presence of *Commedia* in Shakespeare's tragedy', *Theatre Journal*, vol. 43, 1991, pp. 179–84, esp. p. 181.
- 94 M.M. Mahood (ed.), *The Merchant of Venice*, Cambridge 2003, p. 12.

- 95 'An fugitant lucem, si bene quid faciunt!': see Fortini Brown 2004, op. cit. in n. 15 above, p. 186.
- 96 Mason Vaughan 2005, op. cit. in n. 27 above, p. 59; Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World*, Cambridge 1998, p. 30.
- 97 Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy 1580–1630*, Farnham 2010, pp. 126–7.
- 98 De Maria 2010, op. cit. in n. 41 above, p. 43.
- 99 Ibid., p. 43.
- 100 Loomba 2002, op. cit. in n. 45 above, p. 90.
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Chapter 6

- 1 Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Othello: A Contextual History*, Cambridge 1994, and *Performing Blackness on English Stages 1500–1800*, Cambridge 2005; Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, 'Before *Othello*: Elizabethan representations of sub-Saharan Africans', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 1, 1997, pp. 19–44; Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*, Cambridge 2003; Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race and Colonialism*, Oxford 2002.
- 2 Jonathan Bate, introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, Arden Shakespeare, London and New York 1995, p. 41; Mason Vaughan 2005, op. cit. in n. 1 above, p. 48.
- 3 For tawny Moors in contemporary imagining see John Pory (trans.), *The History and Description of Africa* by Leo Africanus, edited by Robert Brown, 3 vols, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, vol. 1, pp. 131–2.
- 4 Angus Patterson, *Fashion and Armour in Renaissance Europe*, London 2009, p. 62.
- 5 See *ibid.*, p. 62, for Greene. We are grateful to Angus Patterson for information on rapiers in the Victoria and Albert Museum and their context.
- 6 A fine English rapier of around 1600 in the Victoria and Albert Museum bears spurious marks for Toledo and Milan, another famous centre for armourers (M.51-1947).
- 7 See Tobias Capwell, *The Real Fighting*

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- 11 M.J. Rodriguez-Salgado (ed.), *Armada 1588–1988*, London 1988, cat. 2.37.
- 12 See Vitkus 1997, op. cit. in n. 10 above, p. 149, citing Enry Jones, 'Othello', 'Lepanto' and the Cyprus Wars', *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 21, 1968, pp. 47–52.
- 13 See a broadside of around 1570 on the genealogy of Ottoman rulers from Othman I to Selim II, British Museum, PD 1871.0812.811.
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- 16 Kate Lowe, 'The stereotyping of black Africans in Renaissance Europe' in T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe (eds), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 17–47, esp. pp. 39–40; David Bindman, 'The black presence in British art' in David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, *The Image of the Black in Western Art, from the Age of Discovery to the Age of Abolition*, Harvard 2010, pp. 235–70, esp. p. 236, fig. 124. Compare the headdress worn by a black subject in a Flemish portrait miniature of the first half of the sixteenth century, formerly on the Paris artmarket, www.dejonckheere.be, to be exhibited at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore in 2012–13. Also the headdress worn by Katherina, black slave of 'Brandão the factor's clerk', drawn by Dürer in Antwerp in 1521, which has a

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- 17 Compare a set of enamelled copper horse-trappings in the British Museum, PE 1890.1004.1, for which see O.M. Dalton, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second Series, vol. 21, pp. 376–80; Jay Levenson (ed.), *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, Washington 1992, cat. 55.
- 18 Fritz Saxl, 'Costumes and festivals of Milanese society under Spanish rule', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 13, 1936, p. 11; Robertson 1954, op. cit. in n. 15 above, p. 68.
- 19 Enrico Maria dal Pozzolo, 'Appunti su Catena', *Venezia Cinquecento*, vol. 16, no. 31, 2006, pp. 80–2.
- 20 Edward Pechter, *Othello and Interpretative Traditions*, Iowa 1999, p. 35.
- 21 James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, New York 1996, pp. 185–7.
- 22 See Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689*, Gainesville 2005, pp. 13 and 24–33, for the 1600 visit and its significance for *Othello*. See John D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama*, Gainesville 1992, for commercial and diplomatic relations between England and Morocco.
- 23 Bernard Harris, 'A portrait of a Moor', *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 2, 1958, p. 95. See Chapter 1, n. 34.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 89–97; Matar 2005, op. cit. in n. 22 above, p. 36. We are grateful to Scotford Lawrence for letting us read his unpublished lecture on the portrait and for help in interpreting it.
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- 27 Devisse and Mollat 1979, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 187; Paul Kaplan, 'Isabella d'Este and black African women' in Earle and Lowe 2005, op. cit. in n. 16 above, pp. 125–54, esp. p. 134.
- 28 Devisse and Mollat 1979, op. cit. in n. 16 above, pp. 188 and 194.

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- 30 For Unton see Bindman 2010, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 239.
- 31 Kaplan 2005, op. cit. in n. 27 above, p. 348, n. 23.
- 32 Bindman 2010, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 237.
- 33 Intiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisibile*, Farnham 2008, pp. 115–19.
- 34 Knutson 1991, op. cit. in n. 26 above, pp. 110–26; Habib 2008, op. cit. in n. 33 above, pp. 117 and 268–70.
- 35 Habib 2008, op. cit. in n. 33 above, p. 106. Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, London 2003, pp. 210–14.
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- 39 Loomba 2002, op. cit. in n. 1 above, p. 52.
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- 42 Jim Sharpe, 'Social strain and social dislocation 1585–1603' in John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 192–211.
- 43 Vitkus 1997, op. cit. in n. 10 above, pp. 145–76, esp. p. 162.
- 44 Christopher Harding, "'Hostis Humani Generis': the pirate as outlaw in the early modern law of the sea' in Claire Jowitt (ed.), *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder*, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 29–30. Christian corsairs also took Muslim captives: Nabil Matar, 'Piracy and captivity in the early modern Mediterranean', pp. 56–73 in the same volume, quotes an Arabic poem of 1471 on p. 56, describing Muslim victims of a Portuguese raid.
- 45 Habib 2008, op. cit. in n. 33 above, pp. 88 and 96.
- 46 Lowe 2005, op. cit. in n. 16 above, p. 21.
- 47 Only about four fire-blowers of this type survive: this one belonged to Sir Hans Sloane and was part of the founding collection of the British Museum in 1753. See W. Hildburgh, 'Aeolipiles as fire blowers', *Archaeologia*, vol. 94, 1951, p. 48; Jeremy Warren, 'Sir Hans Sloane as a collector of small sculpture', *Apollo*, vol. 159, February 2004, p. 36; Marta Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (eds), *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, London 2006, pp. 299–300. For the symbolic use of a fire-blower figure in customary law of land tenure at Hilton Manor up to 1631 see Arthur MacGregor, 'Jack of Hilton and the history of the hearth-blower', *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 87, 2007, pp. 821–94.
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- 50 J.P. Filedt Kok and M. de Winkel, 'A portrait of a black African man by Jan Mostaert', *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum*, vol. 53, no. 4, 2005,

- pp. 470–7; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Enseignes*, Florence 1996, fig. 237 and p. 239; Lowe 2005, op. cit. in n. 16 above, pp. 44–7, fig. 10.
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- 56 Kaplan 1982, op. cit. in n. 48 above, pp. 11–12; and Kaplan 2010, op. cit. in n. 53 above, pp. 109–10 and fig. 44.
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- pp. 470–7; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Enseignes*, Florence 1996, fig. 237 and p. 239; Lowe 2005, op. cit. in n. 16 above, pp. 44–7, fig. 10.
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- 65 For Indian and Turkish associations see Tait 1986, op. cit. in n. 64 above, p. 93; for African associations see Hein 2002, op. cit. in n. 62 above, p. 171, fig. 9; Seelig 2005, op. cit. in n. 62 above, p. 208, esp. n. 71.
- 66 Hein 2002, op. cit. in n. 62 above, pp. 171–2.
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- 68 A point made in Loomba 2002, p. 137; and in Vaughan and Mason 1997, op. cit. in n. 1 above, p. 44. Published by Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture.