

Gordon, Andrew. "Performing

London: The Type and the City  
in Germany."

paperback, London course.

LITERATURE, MAPPING, AND THE POLITICS  
OF SPACE IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

Ed. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein.

Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.

69-88.

Mapping has become a key term in current critical discourse, describing a particular cognitive mode of gaining control over the world, of synthesising cultural and geographical information, and of successfully navigating both physical and mental space. In this timely collection, an international team of Renaissance scholars analyses the material practice behind this semiotic concept. By examining map-driven changes in gender identities, body conception, military practices, political structures, national imaginings and imperial aspirations, the essays in this volume expose the multi-layered investments of historical 'paper landscapes' in the politics of space. Ranging widely across visual and textual artefacts implicated in the culture of mapping, from the literature of Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe and Jonson, to representations of body, city, nation and empire, *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space* argues for a thorough re-evaluation of the impact of cartography on the shaping of social and political identities in early modern Britain.

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- York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991), pp. 509–18, addresses the issue of commonplace books printed in their entirety (with no blank space for personal additions), she does not mention this form, with printed running heads and most of the book left blank.
57. S. K. Heninger, Jr., *The Cosmographical Glass. Renaissance Diagrams of the Universe* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1977), was the first to describe in detail the iconography of this title-page (pp. 1–3).
58. Hill, *Benck and Bureaucracy*, p. 6.
59. BL Add. ms 6038, fol. 348r.
60. *Ibid.*, fols. 409v, 250r.
61. *Ibid.*, fol. 250r.
62. Introduction to Linschoten, *Discours*, sig. A4r.

## CHAPTER 4

*Performing London: the map and the city in ceremony*

Andrew Gordon

## 1

Perspective vision and prospective vision constitute the twofold projection of an opaque past and an uncertain future onto a surface that can be dealt with. They inaugurate (in the sixteenth century?) the transformation of the urban *fact* into the *concept* of a city.' (*The Practice of Everyday Life*)

When Michel de Certeau ascended the World Trade Center the view from the top provided an insight into the alienation inherent in the activity of mapping and viewing the city. De Certeau suggests that this privileged vantage point on high affords a totalising vision of the city as a text to be read, one analogous to the theoretical visions of the 'space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer'. Both of these viewing practices construct an image of the city which remains oblivious to the activities of those on the ground, indeed is predicated upon a distanciation from the operations of the city's 'practitioners' at street level. The concern of de Certeau is with these spatial practices – the walkers whose movements enact an unauthored, unseen spatial inscription of the city – and the resistance they offer to the mechanisms of 'observational organisation' or the operational concept of a city that derives from the textualising eye, producing disciplinary spaces which correspond to an urbanistic rationale that, by the latter part of the twentieth century, was falling into decay.

This study looks in another direction. It seeks to return to the birth of that totalising moment which de Certeau speculatively locates in the sixteenth century, attempting to show how the imaging of the city from above was itself marked by the performance of a city going on down below. For if it is this moment which sees, in the construction of views of the city, the translation of the experience of the city into its

Prospective vision  
vs. Mapping  
book

conceptualisation, as de Certeau argues, then I hope to demonstrate that this process brought with it a belief in the city as an inherently spatially performed entity. The city was enacted before it was visualised, it walked before it was drawn, and the early modern viewer or imager pictured a city in terms of the organised spatial practices which were the first statement of the city as concept. This essay thus explores the relationship between two operations for whom space is the raw material in the production of representations of the city: civic ceremony and city mapping. Taking the case of early modern London it is my intention to show how the spatialising practices of the former, in which temporary configurations of the city unfold in text and performance, provide a model for the representational strategies of the latter.

## II

As a way of bringing the issue of civic representation into focus I want to begin with a passage from *Coriolanus* where the Senators challenge the inflammatory rhetoric of the Tribunes that seems likely to arouse a restless populace.

MENENTUS:

Fire, fire, fire!

FIRST SENATOR: This is the way to kindle, not to quench.

SICINIUS: To unbuild the city and to lay all flat.

ALL PLEBEIANS: What is the city but the people?

True,

The people are the city.<sup>2</sup>

This exchange offers us two opposed readings of the city of Rome. The first affords a view of the city as a constructed entity; a threat to the constitutional settlement is here a threat to the physical articulation of that idea in the civic environment. The Senators, as a representative body named for the representative space of the Senate, identify with the architectural fabric of the city. The second reading, posited by the Tribunes, maintains that civic identity resides in the social body rather than the structures which house it.<sup>3</sup> But these two readings of the city are not exclusive; they are interpretative strategies which can and do, at least on other occasions, engage in a dialogue with each other. Neither an uninhabited settlement, nor a simple congregation of people can by itself claim the title of city. Rather they make up a dialectical method of reading cities and what we are witnessing here is a breakdown in the dynamic of their interaction.

In *Coriolanus* this division is precipitated by a failure in the perform-

ance of civic ceremony.<sup>4</sup> The ritual of asking for the people's voices would enact the legitimisation of the new social order in the market-place, but here it goes awry, the protagonist's ingracious and performative execution of the rite resulting in what Richard Wilson has described as 'literally a crisis of representation in the marketplace'.<sup>5</sup> This key site in the civic topography is temporarily transformed into a space of representation in order for the fiction of plebeian political influence to be performed in a ceremonial election which inscribes the will of the people within the structures of patrician authority.<sup>6</sup>

The hopes which the Senators attach to the election of Coriolanus depend upon a certain conception of the function of civic ceremony. Its role in this context would have been to bring into correspondence the two readings of the city voiced above, to enact a conception of the city as both social body and representative space. It is precisely this understanding of civic ceremony as engaged in the production of spatially performed consensual images of the city which this paper looks to uncover. Yet, if the notion of performed space is central to ceremonial constructions of the city, it is equally vital to the reading of visual images of the city produced in maps and views and in their borders. Indeed the passage from *Coriolanus* seems almost to invite consideration of the relation between the city's performance in ceremony and its description in maps and views. If one transposes these lines to a treatment of the operation of city mapping it can be seen that each side of the dispute between Senator and Tribune articulates an entrenched resistance to the representation of the city in map form. The idea of reducing the city to a two-dimensional ground plan, an abstract network of lines on the page, cannot be reconciled with either half of the dialectic of civic self-imaging which a right performance of civic ceremony sets out to resolve.

The words of the First Senator 'To unbuild the city and to lay all flat' present an implicit obstacle to the notion that the city can be translated into a representational code which would, to borrow the phrase of another of the Senators, 'bring the roof to the foundation' (3.1.203). A flat city and a city without buildings are unrecognisable *qua* cities; lacking one of the defining properties of 'citiness'. Similarly, the Tribune's rejoinder posits another area in which mapping can fail to reproduce adequately the nature of civic self-identification since a strictly geometric conception of mapping constructs an unpeopled landscape in which the inhabitants, the social body of the city, play no part.

The irreducibility of the city played out here in the terms of these two

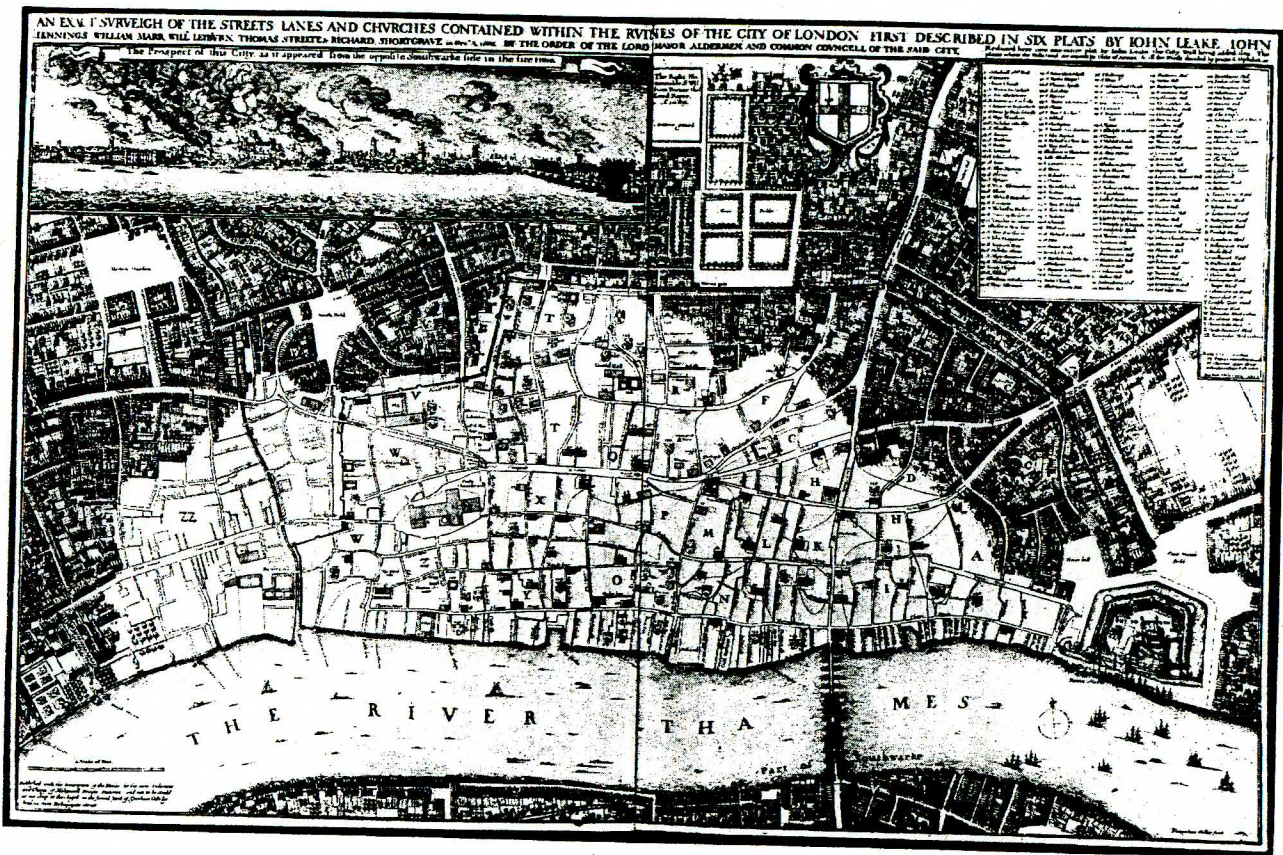


Figure 10 Prospect of London, engraving (1667)

positions appears to be borne out by the evidence of London's mapping in the early modern period. The first published maps to represent the city in the form of a linear ground plan – without people or buildings added in perspective – appeared in the aftermath of the Great Fire in 1666. Yet these publications portray in this manner only that part of the city which was destroyed by fire; the title of one underlining the significance of this representational strategy: *A Map or Groundplot of the City of London . . . by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition of it, since the last sad accident of fire, the blank space signifying the burnt part, & where the houses be those places yet standing.*<sup>7</sup> Here the extent to which geometric delineation in purely diagrammatic form challenged contemporary conceptions of the city is suggested by the fact that the area depicted in ground plan is explicitly described as a 'blank space' signifying, in place of the physically articulated presence of London, precisely the absence of the city.<sup>8</sup>

Commenting upon the mapping of Paris in the seventeenth century, Louis Marin has traced the movement from the reproduction of a 'topographic image and a geographic orientation' to a situation where '[t]he representation ceases functioning as the mimesis of a spectacle to be viewed and as the representation of an appearance. It turns into a geometric schema and analogic model'.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere Marin suggests that in a 1652 map this abrupt transformation in conceptual practice is mediated by the appearance of two inserted views so that '[o]ne image is presented as what is represented, the other as representing, and the one in the other as representation.'<sup>10</sup> In several of the London maps engraved after the Fire this mediation of the geometric by the mimetic is developed in the context of the destruction of the city wrought by the blaze. Thus in a 1667 engraving (Figure 10) we find an inserted image based upon the numerous published views of the city from south of the river, here bearing the legend 'The Prospect of the City as it appeared from the opposite Southwarke side in the fire time'.<sup>11</sup>

The resulting vision of the city in the process of being unbuilt performs simultaneously the destruction of that representational icon from which its mimetic signification is derived; London loses its recognizable shape to become a city without a scape. It is this destruction of the city's iconic representational form, indeed of the very possibility of a mimetic representational space, which paves the way for the production of a geometric space in the depiction of the city. The unbuiding of the city creates a representational vacuum, a 'blank space' whose very lack of citiness is the precondition permitting the geometric space of the

linear ground plan to enter the heart of the urban terrain.

An insight into the resistance of the city map to this new geometric space is provided by the earliest dated example to be published in England. This occurs in William Cuninghame's *The Cosmographical Glasse* in the course of a dialogue between two fictional protagonists which seeks to establish the mathematical authority of cosmography over geography and chorography. The practice of chorography is defined in this context as consisting 'rather in describing the qualitie and figure, then the bignes, and quantitie of any thinge' and this re-statement of the Ptolemaic definition is illustrated with an elaborate fold-out map of Norwich.<sup>12</sup>

Cuninghame's choice of the city map to exemplify chorography provides the perfect foil to the construction of cosmography as a purely mathematical pursuit by foregrounding its treatment of the unabstractable city as a subject of (mimetic) representation. In the map-view of Norwich the spectator is situated within the terms of a visually recognisable construction of the city; presented with a realised civic space which offers the possibility of a potential engagement. The foreground features two figures, one with callipers, the other holding a pointer, who turn from a divided circle and gesture towards the city before them.<sup>13</sup> These two figures occupy a pictorial space continuous with the representation of the city. Their actions demonstrate the inhabitability of the mimetic space of the image by deictically signalling its veracity; look, there is the mill to the east, they might be saying. Yet at the same time as their presence performs a potential reality, it also underlines the constructed nature of the space which they inhabit. Their performance of the city's reality is equally a demonstration of its status as a subject within representation; their interaction with that subject foregrounding the act of reading the city's spaces in which they are engaged. As such Cuninghame's map of Norwich is suggestive of the possibility of a debate over the aims of representing civic space; the city in representation becomes a site for the production of more than one view of the city.

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That city maps were understood as representational artefacts capable of promoting certain readings of the city is suggested by the investments in particular conceptions of the city which close study can reveal. When James I granted a patent for the production of city maps, having observed the manner in which these images 'are dispersed and sent

abroad into all partes, to the greater honor and renowne of those princes in whose dominions they are', he did so in anticipation that the civic sign would signify as an index of the munificence of Jacobean rule.<sup>14</sup> Certainly the period's most widely disseminated image of London, the well known Braun and Hogenberg map view, used its title to situate the city as part of an abundant sovereign domain: *Londinum Fertacissimi Angliae Regni Metropolis* (London capital of the most fertile kingdom of England).<sup>15</sup> More specific interpretative strategies for the reading of the city might be produced by the relatively simple expedient of altering the text within the cartouches, a transformation which could be effected without the need for the image to be re-engraved or cut.<sup>16</sup> Hence the three surviving impressions of the woodcut map of London once attributed to Ralph Agas include an inscription that dates them to 1633 although the image appears from internal evidence to have been produced between 1561 and 1570.<sup>17</sup> The inserted text cites the founding of London by Brutus as taking place in 1130 [BC] and informs the reader that 2763 years have elapsed since then – the figure appears to be an updating of a 1603 impression that gave the latter number as 2733.<sup>18</sup> In each case the mathematical puzzle here accentuates a date notable for the expectation that a monarch of the House of Stuart, who celebrated descent from the Trojan Brutus, would make a royal entry into the city of London.<sup>19</sup> We shall return in due course to the entry of James, postponed until 1604. Of his successor Charles I it should be noted that the coronation and state entry into Edinburgh of 1633 gave rise to public expectations recorded by the Venetian ambassador that 'as the crowned king of Scotland he will have to make a public state entry here also.'<sup>20</sup>

The second cartouche text restates the Trojan theme and further situates the city of London within a specifically monarchic framework.

Sith Lud my Lord, my King and Lover dear,  
 Encrease my bounds: and London (far that rings  
 Through Regions large) be called then my name  
 How famous since (I stately seat of Kings)  
 Have flourish'd aye: let others that proclaim.  
 And let me joy thus happy still to see  
 This vertuous Peer my Sovereign King to be.

The London produced by this operation is a locus of majesty, the 'seat of Kings' that derives both its title and its spatial determination from the action of monarchs, in its final lines proceeding to acclaim its allegiance to the sovereign. The woodcut map furnished with an appropriate text and re-issued in anticipation of a state entry would thus represent a

imagine  
 discuss  
 London

reframing of the city for the monarch to coincide with the expected refashioning of its civic spaces to greet his arrival.

It is not the text alone, however, which produces this reading of the city in relation to the monarch as 'head and chief Chamber of the whole Realm'. The textual positioning of the image serves rather to reinforce and build upon the significance of features within the map itself which figure the city in these terms. Of these the most important is the royal barge bearing the Tudor arms depicted to the west of London Bridge, a version of which also appears in the Braun and Hogenberg map. The recent chance discovery of an additional plate belonging to the copper-plate map upon which both the former images are modelled has shown that this detail also derives from thence.<sup>21</sup> In the copper-plate fragment the barge is depicted without a coat of arms but with the caption '*Gymbula Regia*' (The Royal Standard) that signals an unambiguous inscription of monarchic presence onto the surface of the map. The narrowest dating of the copper-plate map, to 1557–9, would make possible a reading of the presence of the royal barge in reference to the coronation of Elizabeth – both Holinshed and Stow record the ceremonial activities on the Thames attending the monarch's journey up river to the Tower.<sup>22</sup> However, the significance of this detail is not to locate the map as a direct record of the coronation of Elizabeth, but to establish the reference within the map to the city as a space for the performance of ceremonial authority; a space constructed in reference to the monarchic actor.<sup>23</sup> It is this visually accessible form of ceremonial performance enacted in the spectacle of floating royalty which the presence of the royal barge on the map of London makes reference to. As such it posits within the space of the map the terms of its own reading of the city in relation to the monarch; describing not 'what the spectator should see, but *how* to see.'<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the textual framing and the presence of the royal barge, the drawing of the boundaries of the representational field also supports an interpretation of the city under the sign of a ceremonial monarchic authority through the very determination of what constitutes the city. The woodcut map depicts an expanse from Westminster through to just east of the Tower. In so doing the space of the map frames the area of civic autonomy within the twin poles of monarchic authority – the royal palace of Whitehall and the Tower of London, symbol of royal authority within the city. These are precisely the terms of reference for the ceremonial monarchic city constructed by the royal entry in what may be called the spatial narrative of the sovereign's procession. The two

focal points of royal power enclosing the *passage* of the monarch become the reference points for a signification of monarchic authority in which the appropriated places signify as royal spaces.<sup>25</sup> This circumscription of civic authority within the monarchic was itself enacted in the procession through the Lord Mayor's exchange of his sword of office before the Tower for the royal sceptre which he carried as far as the boundary of civic jurisdiction at Temple Bar.

The ceremonial city, the temporary product of the techniques of royal entry ritual, is thus inscribed within the woodcut map of London, lending it a permanence far in advance of the event itself. The representation of this image in anticipation of the entry of Charles or his predecessor is able to draw upon these elements in its own production of the city as a monarchic entity linked to the representational strategies of Stuart rule. If, however, the ceremonial city is present in the map as the civic sign becomes a subject of cartographic representation, then a contrary process is also observable in ceremonial practice as a form of cartographic discourse infiltrates the accounts of the ceremonial city. Hence Thomas Dekker describes preparations for the entry of James I in the following terms:

The Streets are surveyed; heightes, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make *Fortifications*, for the *Solennities*. Scaven pieces of ground, (like so many fields for a battail) are plotted forth, uppon which these Arches of Triumph must shew themselves in their glorie . . .<sup>26</sup>

The survey undertaken here is performed prior to the transformation of the city in ceremony; it lays the groundwork for the production of a Borgesian map, a representational surface overlaying the urban terrain itself.<sup>27</sup> The displacement of the city beneath the monarchic map is figured in the military vocabulary of fortification and battle which emphasise the occupation of civic space by this monarchic construction. The erection of the triumphal arches, the new monuments of this temporary metropolis, constitutes only one aspect of the monarchic city's reconstruction of the urban fabric. An account of the passage of James I and Christian IV of Denmark into London in 1606 demonstrates the full extent of the transformation undergone by the capital.

Within . . . double Rayles . . . sate the Maisters, Wardens, and whole Liverys of everie severall Companie through the Citie of London which companies extended their length from Tower-streete to Temple Barre, . . . amongst thes Rayles cleane through out, were fastened Banners, Cornets, Flagges, Bandrels, Ensignes, and Pendants . . . [with] all the Armes, Devises, and Honors . . . of the

same several Companies: all the houses in everie streete, through which the two Maistees didd passe, had their Penthouses and Walles covered, some with Arrasse, some with other Ornaments . . .<sup>28</sup>

The ceremonial city is constructed as a surface, a monarchic map produced by a twofold lining of the city in which the local activity of civic life disappears beneath a mass of tapestries and hangings to be replaced by the members of the Livery Companies who themselves form part of the displayed surface directed towards the presence of the monarch. Not participating in the procession, these static figures are inscribed within a monarchic viewing of the city which receives the tribute of civic authority. This production of the ceremonial city in relation to the presence of the monarch is a central interpretative theme in Dekker's 1604 entry text where London is figured as *Camera Regia*, the King's Chamber, and each of the seven triumphal arches identified as a room within this Court Royal. From the 'with-drawing chamber' of the Tower, the King progresses through the Entrance, Great Hall, Presence chamber, Privy chamber, and finally the 'beauteous gallery' from which he emerges outside the city limits.

Dekker's text reads the city's temporary ceremonial topography in precise terms, transposing a network of spatial relations that describe degrees of proximity to the monarch onto the urban spaces of London. Just as the map inscribes the spatial narrative of the ceremony in the framing of civic authority within the monarchic, producing a ceremonial city which derives its signification from the sovereign, so the printed account goes on to locate the capital as a closed, internal space. In doing so text, map and performance combine in occluding both commercial and communal conceptions of the city; the social body becomes a static surface reflecting royal authority, whilst all traces of mercantile activity are swept beneath the red carpet which converts places of exchange into spaces within the court. The ultimate statement of this transformation comes in the verses recited by the children of St Paul's:

*Tronmant* is now no more a Citie;  
O great pittie! is't not pittie?  
And yet her towers on tipstoe stand,  
Like Pageants built on Fairie land,  
And her Marble arnes,  
Like to Magricke charmes,  
Binde thousands fast unto her,  
That for her wealth and beauty daily wooc her.<sup>29</sup>

In these lines the ceremonial city literally dis-places its more mundane

counterpart; not only are its spaces and its representative authority appropriated to a celebration of monarchic authority, it also loses here the very right to be called a city. Dekker explains the device by informing the reader that 'London . . . makes no account for the present of her ancient title to be called a Citie, because during these tryumphes, shee puts off her formall habit of Trade and Commerce'.<sup>30</sup> The description of the city's transformation in these terms reveals a central opposition between this monarchic entity and the conception of the city outlined in the ceremonies of the civic authorities, for the 'formall habit of Trade and Commerce' so notably absent here is precisely what characterises readings of civic space in the annual pageants which celebrated the inauguration of a new Lord Mayor. In these events the focus was upon the civic constitution and a celebration of the trade of the Lord Mayor's Livery Company. Thus when Anthony Munday was designing the pageant in honour of the draper Sir Thomas Hayes in 1614, that meant representing London through applying the trade of clothing to the interpretation of civic space.

The walles of any Citty, were termed by the *Grecians*, according as we title our instant discourse, *Himantia Paleas*, The Cloathing or garments of the Citie. Iminating thereby, that as garments and cloathing doe ingirt the body, defending it continually from the extremities of colde and heat: so walles, being the best garments of any Citie, do preserve it from all dangerous annoyances. Here on we lay the foundation of our devise, in the honour of *Draperie* the rich Clothing of England.<sup>31</sup>

Munday, himself a member of the Drapers Company, restores to the reading of civic space the trade context which was the founding organisational principle of the structures of civic authority.<sup>32</sup> Yet this habit of trade and commerce adopted by the city to perform its own version of London was also a formal one and as well as imaging the city in terms of a particular Livery Company, the pageant sought to solemnise the operation of the civic constitution which accorded him that office. The ever-available Thomas Dekker in the dedication of his 1612 pageant addresses the newly sworn-in Mayor thus:

Honor (this day) takes you by the Hand, and gives you welcomes into your New-Office of Pretorship . . . You have it with the Harts of many people, Voices and Held-up hands: they know it is a Roabe fit for you, and therefore have clothed you in it. May the Last-day of your wearing the same, yeeld to your Selfe as much Joy, as to Others does this First-day of your putting it on.<sup>33</sup>

The Lord Mayor's office is here identified with the robe of office first worn in the ceremony of inauguration. The costume itself is a signifier of

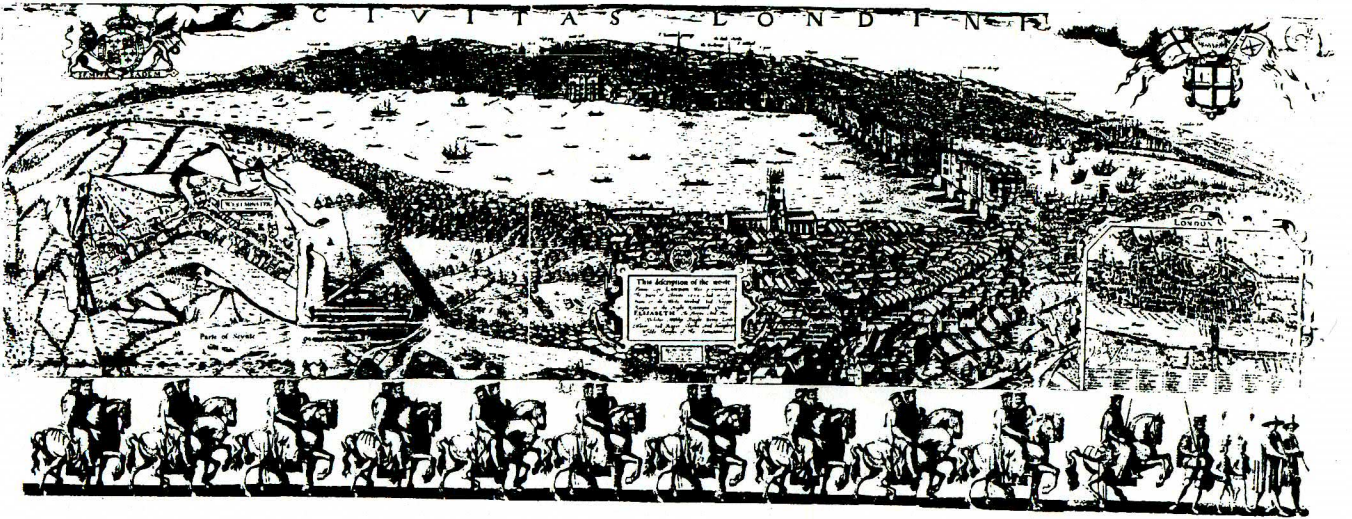


Figure 11 John Norden, *Civitas Londini* (1600)

the performed civic constitution, the people bestowing the robe with their voices of assent. Where the monarchic city had been variously figured as the seat of kings and the *Camera Regia*, the London of the mayoral pageant is a place of political representation. The representation of the social body is structured according to the fiction of elective autonomy displayed in the formal habits of the representatives of civic authority, a fiction dependent upon repeated performance.<sup>34</sup>

From the monarchic conception of the city inscribed in the woodcut map of London I want now to examine how the mayoral performance of a ritual representation of the city is translated into the form of a visual artefact in another map-view of London, John Norden's *Civitas Londini* of 1600 (Figure 11). Here the central inscription situates the representation of the city within the context of the immediate structures of civic government naming both the current Sheriffs and the Lord Mayor whose arms surmount the cartouche. This emphasis on the civic constitution is underlined by the depiction of a Lord Mayor's procession beneath the main image. Here the members of the Livery Companies who had provided a static reflection of royal authority in the monarchic ceremony, find expression for their voices and their autonomy in the procession of the city's governing officials. The portrayal of representatives of civic authority provides an evident context for the understanding of the map's own representation of London in terms of mayoral autonomy. Indeed another detail seems to invite such a reading in opposition to the monarchic ceremonial city; for on the Thames to the west of London Bridge, where the copper-plate, Braun and Hogenberg and woodcut maps display a royal barge, the Norden map includes a boat labelled 'the gally fuste'. This distinctive triple-masted vessel denotes the ceremonial craft used by the Lord Mayor on such occasions as the journey to Westminster for the oath of office, and its appearance here suggests a deliberate displacement of the monarchic presence in favour of a reference to the mayoral representation of an autonomous mercantile civic space.

The *Civitas Londini* proves equally provocative in its treatment of the area depicted, focusing on the city itself in a manner unlike the maps dealt with thus far. Westminster proper is almost a casualty of the curious wide angle of description in which the curvature of the earth is wildly exaggerated, heightening the centrality of the city of London at the expense of its courtly neighbour whose position is in every sense marginalised. There is also a parallel here with the spatial narrative of the Lord Mayor's Procession which focused attention on a circulation of



the key sites of the city, neglecting to traverse the walls – Munday's protective clothing of the city – and instead making the journey to Westminster for the oath in the galley foist.

The separation of London from Westminster in the long view is repeated in the insertion of two map-views which interrupt the surface of the main image but present their respective subjects in markedly different fashion.<sup>35</sup> That of London is framed by an ornamental cartouche featuring a title legend and an index of churches, markets, gates and streets beneath the image. The independent, titled city reproduced here enables the viewer to identify and locate via the key sites within its bounds, yet this apparent subjection to a totalising spatial order is mediated by the placement of the smaller map within the context of the larger view of London. The emphasis upon the city's constitution as enacted, and its spaces as inhabited, proclaims its continued performability.

By contrast, the map of Westminster is introduced via an unusual visual device in which the surface of the view is peeled back to reveal the map beneath. Where the map of London was superimposed onto the long view, its ornamental strapwork enabling it to stand out from the picture surface, Westminster is secreted beneath the level of the mimetic representation and the map-view. How are we to read this striking representation of the royal seat? Should its presence beneath the surface of the view be taken as a demonstration of the inherent priority of the royal presence over the artificial construction of the city; an image of the underlying and absolute nature of monarchic authority? In the light of the conception of the city as a product of performance revealed in the representational strategy of this image, an alternative suggests itself. The Westminster map has no index of key sites and the few places captioned, with the exception of some of the landing stages and the monument at Charing Cross, describe closed spaces such as the houses of the nobility and the walled 'Saint Jeanes parke'. The effect of this is to situate Westminster, in contrast to the city of London, as a place of exclusive, internal spaces. Yet whereas a monarchic reading of civic space as an interior was produced in the text of James I's entry in relation to the presence of the monarch, here there is no such royal presence to authorise a like reading; even the Palace of Whitehall gets no mention. Instead of a monarchic framing of the image of Westminster, the seat of royalty is defined in opposition to the independent, self-articulating capital, as a non-city, unable to perform its own image.

## IV

The Norden view, then, intervenes in a struggle to appropriate the civic sign, displacing the monarchic ceremonial city from the map, and relegating royal authority to an isolated compound from which all indication of the sovereign presence is nevertheless absent. In its place it offers an alternative ceremonial model for the reading of the city, one concerned not with a series of static devices, but governed rather by the principle of circulation. The Lord Mayor's pageants perform their version of London within the space of the city itself with the pageant floats carried through the city streets. The members of the Livery Companies and the civic officials circulate within the city of which they are themselves the representatives, performing the constitution of which they are a part. The mayoral conception of the city thus preserves the conjunction of representative spaces and the social body which together constitute the notion of a city performed in ceremony and it is this we find inscribed within the Norden image of London.

With the entry of James I we move away from the spatially performed conception of the city towards a spatially ordered viewing of one. Where descriptions of his predecessor's entry into the capital are rich in references to her ability to play her part in the ceremony, the distaste of the first Stuart monarch for the proceedings led one chronicler to comment wryly that '[h]e endured this days brunt with patience, being assured he should never have such another.'<sup>36</sup> No consummate public performer this. Another account records how, having heard talk of the preparations for the entry, 'our heroicke King . . . was desirous privately at his owne pleasure to visit them' and sought to gain a sneak preview.<sup>37</sup> In the event the desire for a private viewing of the foundations of the monarchic city was thwarted by the 'wylie multitude' who caught wind of the surreptitious presence of their sovereign. The excitement of his subjects was so great that the heroic figure was forced to take refuge within the Exchange whose gates were shut fast behind him. It was here, in this enclosed space shut off from the still operative city, that the monarch encountered a vision more to his taste:

When his Highness had beheld the Marchantes from a Windowe all below in the walkes not thinking of his comming, whose presence else would have binne more, they like so many pictures civilly seeming all bare, stood silent, modestie commanding them so to doe, which sight so delighted the King, that he greatly commended them.<sup>38</sup>

The contrast could not be greater between the press of enthusiastic

subjects and the reverent, silenced (and no doubt awkwardly surprised) merchants within the precinct of the Exchange. That the monarch retiring behind closed doors should take pleasure in the sight of these frozen subjects arranged beneath him 'like so many pictures' is symptomatic both of his inclination towards spatial ordering and away from spatial performance and, at the same time, of the difficulties of imposing such controlled readings upon the space of the city. The concern of James with the appearance of the city, and his determination to claim authority over it, translate into an urge to intervene in the regulation of the urban fabric which registers in repeated proclamations on the subject of its size and construction.

[H]ow much it would grace and beautifie the said Cities . . . for the resort and intertainment of forreine Princes . . . if an Uniformite were kept in the sayd Buildings, and the foreparts or forefrons of the houses, standing and looking towards the Streets, were all builded with Bricke and Stone.<sup>39</sup>

The preoccupation with producing an ordered surface is here directly linked to the construction of a monarchic view of the city for other privileged viewers. As such it recalls de Certeau's spectator raised to the top of the World Trade Center whose disengagement from the spatial practices of the urban morass is the precondition for an ordering of space according to a detached, ideal conception of the city. However, as I have sought to show, the early modern city held no vantage point sufficiently privileged that it could avoid altogether the intrusion of the city down below. A fact perfectly illustrated by the occasion on which James' royal visitor Christian IV scaled London's highest point to take the view:

[T]his Royall King . . . came to St. Paul's Church, where he walked and viewed the same, and from thence to the top of the steeple, where he tooke much delight to behold the beauntious scituation of London, the pleasant gardens and fields adjoining, the riches of the Thames, so furnished with ships of great countenance and worth as he graciously applauded the excellency thereof. But amongst all the other things he admired most, when the Noblemen accompanying him did report the being of a horse upon that place, comming up such a way of great danger and so hye, that he tooke very good notice thereof, and wonderfully did admire the same.<sup>40</sup>

## NOTES

1. Michel de Certeau, 'Walking in the City', *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 93-4.
2. *The Tragedy of Coriolanus*, Arden Edition (London: Methuen, 1976), 3.1.194-8. All further references to the play are to this edition.

3. On Renaissance distinctions between *urbs* and *civitas*, for which the principal precedent occurs in Book 15 of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, see the recent article by Richard L. Kagan, 'Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain', David Buisseret (ed.), *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 75-108.
4. For a recent treatment of this failure and the decisive role played by Coriolanus' 'impersonation of national identity' in the disruption of relations between patrician and plebeian, see Francis Barker, 'Nationalism, Nomadism and Belonging in Europe: Coriolanus', John Joughin (ed.), *Shakespeare and National Culture* (Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 233-65.
5. Richard Wilson, 'Against the Grain: Representing the Market in *Coriolanus*', *Will Power: Essays on Shakespearean Authority* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), p. 107. See also G. K. Paster, "'To Starve with Feeding": The City in *Coriolanus*', *Shakespeare Studies* 11 (1978), 123-44.
6. On the fictionality of this political influence see the parallels detected by Mark Kishlansky with what he terms 'parliamentary selection' during the period. *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 4-7.
7. This map is no. 20 in James Howeggo, *Printed Maps of London circa 1553-1850* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1978).
8. In a recent study of the Great Fire's impact on Restoration culture in London, Cynthia Wall has argued that the impetus for cartographic precision derived from the need 'to explore and make known the lost, the destroyed, the rearranged.' *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 83.
9. Louis Marin, *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces*, trans. R. A. Vollrath (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1990), pp. 209, 217.
10. 'The Frame of Representation and Some of Its Figures', trans. Wendy Waring, Paul Duro (ed.), *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 85.
11. *An Exact Survey of the Streets Lanes and Churches contained within the Ruines of the City of London* (Howeggo, *Printed Maps of London*, no. 21). Other examples include those printed in Amsterdam by Frederick de Wit, Marcus Doornick and Jacob Venkel (Howeggo, *Printed Maps of London*, nos. 16, 17 and 24). On the development of engraved views of London during this period see Irene Scouloudi, *Panoramic Views of London 1600-1666* (London: Corporation of London, 1953); and Ralph Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns 1575-1900* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Center for British Art, 1985).
12. William Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Classe* (London: John Day, 1559), sig. B4r.
13. For a reading of these figures which sees them as images of Cunningham at work, see Lucia Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language', *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994),

- 105–28. See also the essay by John Gillies in this volume which discusses this map and these figures in terms of the difference between the scene of cartography – the domestic interior – and the external places of chorography's production.
14. *Patent of Aaron Rathbone and Roger Buges AD 1617 no. 1* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode for the Great Seal Patent Office, 1857), p. 1. The patent was granted for a series of maps and descriptions of the cities of England which never materialised. I am grateful to Lawrence Worms for this reference.
  15. Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 6 vols. (Antwerp: Filips Galle; Cologne: apud auctores, 1572–1617), vol. 1, fol. 1. On the numerous editions of this work see the introductory essay by R. A. Skelton in the facsimile edition (New York: World Publishing Co., 1966). A close copy of the image with the same title appeared in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographie oder Beschreibung aller ländter* (Basle: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1598), pp. 58–9, and subsequent editions.
  16. This is particularly the case with woodcut maps where cartouches were generally carved with a hole for the insertion of blocks of text. See David Woodward, 'The Manuscript, Engraved, and Typographic Traditions of Map Lettering', Woodward (ed.), *Art and Cartography. Six Historical Essays* (Chicago University Press, 1987), pp. 174–212.
  17. Howgego, *Printed Maps of London*, no. 8. The dating of the original woodcut can be determined from its depiction of the spire of St Paul's which burnt down in 1561, and the evidence of alteration to show Gresham's Royal Exchange which was erected in 1566–70. This map has been suggested as 'The Carde of London' entered by Giles Godet in the Stationers' Register in 1562–3. See Stephen Powys Marks, *The Map of Mid Sixteenth Century London*, LTS publication no. 100 (London: London Topographical Society, 1964), p. 14.
  18. Thomas Dodd in *The Connoisseur's Repertory* (London: Hurst, Chance, and Co., 1825), unpaginated, describes the map in a section on the work of Agas to whom the map was then attributed. He includes a full transcription of both cartouche texts which differ from the 1633 version only in giving the earlier dating, concluding that the map was produced to coincide with James' accession.
  19. The descent from Brutus, who according to legend had ruled over an undivided *Britannia*, is a feature of the Londinium arch in the 1604 entry pageant and dominates Anthony Munday's *The Triumphs of Re-United Britannia* of the following year. See Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restored: The Culture of the Stuart Court 1603–42* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981), pp. 1–21.
  20. Quoted in David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), p. 117. The ambassador notes that arrangements are actually underway but as in 1626, when triumphal arches had been erected in anticipation, the event did not take place. Charles did eventually make a formal entry into London in 1641 but no pageant devices

- or arches were constructed for the occasion.
21. The newly discovered section was displayed along with the two other extant plates in the exhibition 'London's Lost Map' at the Museum of London, March–May 1998.
  22. See John Stow, *The Annals of England* (London: R. Newberry, 1600), p. 1075; and Raphael Holinshed (ed.), *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles* (London: John Harrison, 1587), vol. II, p. 1172. For the dating of the map after 1557 see *The A to Z of Elizabethan London*, LTS publication no. 122 (London: London Topographical Society, 1979), p. xi n. 4. The latest date of 1559 is adduced from the representation of the cross at St Botolph, Bishopsgate, which according to the diary of Henry Machyn, was destroyed in August of that year. Its presence in the Braun and Hogenberg map, but not the earlier woodcut map, precludes the possibility of sequential derivation, demonstrating that they were independently based upon the copper-plate original. The evidence for the derivation of the two later maps from the copper-plate engraving is given in full in Marks, *The Map of Mid Sixteenth Century London*, pp. 11–18.
  23. On this aspect of royal ceremonial see R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: the English Royal Entry in London, 1485–1642', A. L. Beier et al. (eds.), *The First Modern Society. Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 65–93.
  24. Marin, commenting on the function of certain figures in the work of Le Brun and Poussin, 'The Frame of Representation', p. 84.
  25. The various titles of the pageant texts for both Elizabeth and James refer to the royal entry in terms of a *passage through the city* from London to Westminster. See also Lawrence Manley's reading of the 'syntax' of the ceremonial routes which focuses on the the liminal and post-liminal phases of the Lord Mayor's procession and that of the new monarch. *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 221–58.
  26. Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment* (London: T. Man Jr, 1604), sig. 89r. The same passage appears in Harrison's illustrated record, in which the arches are shown with a ground plan and scale bar beneath them, reinforcing the notion that the ceremonial city persists as a mapped entity which even outdoes the performance since 'the hand of Arre gives them here a second more perfect being; advanceth them higher than they were before . . . so long as the Citie shall beare a name'. Stephen Harrison, *The Arches of Triumph* (London: John Windet, 1604), sig. B1r.
  27. See Jorge Luis Borges, 'Of Exactitude in Science', *A Universal History of Infamy*, trans. Norman Thomas di Giovanni (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 131.
  28. *The King of Denmarkes welcome: Containing his arrivall, abode, and entertainment, both in the Citie and other places* (London: Edward Allde, 1606), pp. 19–20.
  29. *Magnificent Entertainment*, sig. F2r.
  30. *Ibid.*, sig. F2v. The explanation is necessitated by the objections of those 'to

- whose settled judgement and authority the censure of these devices was referred, [and who] brought . . . these lines into question'. Manley discusses this passage in terms of the rival discursive claims on the segment of the processional route shared by royal entry and Lord Mayor's pageant, *Literature and Culture*, pp. 255–6.
31. Anthony Munday, *Himantia-Poleos. The Triumphs of Olde Dreperie, or the rich Cloathing of England* (London: E. Allde, 1614), pp. 5–6.
  32. On the broader involvement of the Livery Companies in the promotion of civic consciousness see James Knowles, 'The Spectacle of the Realm: Civic Consciousness, Rhetoric and Ritual in Early Modern London', J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds.), *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 157–89.
  33. Thomas Dekker, *Troia-Nonæ Triumphans. London Triumpling* (London: J. Wright, 1612).
  34. It is important to note the distinction between the annual re-affirmation of the order of civic government in the Lord Mayor's procession and the far rarer incidence of a monarchic entry – even so celebrated an exponent of pageantry as Elizabeth made only two state visits to the city in the course of her reign.
  35. The maps are copied from the first published maps to represent London and Westminster independently in Norden's own *Speculum Britanniae: The first parte. An historical & chorographical description of Middlesex* (London: n.p., 1593).
  36. Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (London: Richard Lownds, 1653), p. 13.
  37. Gilbert Dugdale, *The Time Triumphant* (London: R. B., 1604), sig. B1v.
  38. *Ibid.*, sigs. B1v–B2r.
  39. 'A Proclamation for restraint of Building in and about London' [10 September 1611], reprinted in *Stuart Royal Proclamations: I*, ed. James Larkin and Paul Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 270, no. 121. For further examples see nos. 51, 78, 120, 152, 175, 186, 204 and 255 in the same volume.
  40. Henry Roberts, *England's Farewell to Christian the Fourth, Famous King of Denmark* (London: W. Welby, 1606), reprinted in John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 4 vols. (London: J. Nichols, 1828), vol. II, p. 77.

## Visible bodies: cartography and anatomy

### CHAPTER 5

Caterina Albano

According to Gerard Mercator, the aim of geography is to enable contemplation of the magnificence of God's creation, the mark of divine perfection manifesting itself both in the configuration of the world and in the human body.<sup>1</sup> By inscribing his geographical project within a theological frame, Mercator's validating gesture renders the study of the world a mode of providential revelation. In a parallel move, Helkiah Crooke explains in the introduction to his *Microscographia* (1615) – a synopsis of earlier anatomical texts – that the body is a little world, 'an epitome of the whole creation', because its 'admirable structure and accomplished perfection . . . carrieth in it a representation of all the most glorious and perfect works of God'.<sup>2</sup> Crooke's deployment of the ancient *mise en abyme* of the macrocosm figured in the body, occurring within a treatise meant to popularise the achievement of anatomical studies, is a telling example of the persistence into the seventeenth century of the need to conceptualise the body in relation to the order of the universe:<sup>3</sup> 'in my journey', Crooke explains, 'if I have not made new discoveries; yet certainly I have sounded the depth more truly, entered farther into the continents, coasted the shores, plied up the firths, discovered the inhabitants, their qualities, their tempers'.<sup>4</sup>

The tendency of the early modern period to conceive of body and space in terms of an inherent correspondence manifests itself in the practice of representation. Where the dissected body was commonly visualised in the foreground of a contextualising landscape, in geographical illustrations the 'body of the map' was often framed with personifications of the continents or images of inhabitants depicted in their regional costumes.<sup>5</sup> Whilst a reciprocity between body and space clearly appears to have affected the development of both anatomical and cartographic representations in the sixteenth and early seventeenth