Fairies in Early Modern English Drama: Fictionality and Theatrical Landscapes, 1575-1615

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Summary

This thesis demonstrates a change in the depiction of fairy characters in English dramatic works composed between 1575 and 1615. The Introduction begins by offering a background examination of the diverse manifestations of fairies in both folklore and mythology. Then, in order to examine the manner in which dramatic works uniquely engage with this complex network of fairy symbolism, I explain key concepts from narratology that can be re-appropriated to describe the ways that fictional worlds are constructed in theatrical contexts. I finish the Introduction with a discussion of landscape and its centrality to the formation of these fictional worlds.

Chapter One examines three Elizabethan entertainments performed between 1575 and 1591: the entertainment at Woodstock (1575) by George Gascoigne, the entertainment at Norwich (1578) by Thomas Churchyard, Bernard Garter, and William Goldenham, and the entertainment at Elvetham (1591) by Thomas Watson and Nicolas Breton. I examine the manner in which these works integrate the fictional settings of the performances with the rural English countryside locations where their original performances physically took place.

In Chapter Two, I examine four stage plays written between 1588 and 1593: John Lyly's *Galatea* (1588), John Lyly's *Endymion* (1588), Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (1591), and the anonymous *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* (1593). Each of these plays features fairy characters that appear in natural, outdoor, and non-urban landscapes, which had to be evoked in a relatively bare performance area. I further classify these landscapes into three subtypes, which I term the "forest landscape," the "lapsed landscape," and the "dreamscape." I briefly point out that each of these landscape subtypes is also present in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.

Chapter Three argues that William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), the anonymous *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600), the anonymous *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* (1600), and William Percy's *The Faery Pastorall* (1603) are paradigmatic of changes occurring to the fairy character in many of the dramatic works composed in the late 1590s and early 1600s. The fairies in these dramatic works are not limited to a single setting, but instead interact with landscapes that conceptually feature elements of both indoor and outdoor spaces, what I term "composite landscapes." I examine three types of composite landscapes operating within these plays: performative/real, microscopic/universal, and natural/domestic.

Chapter Four identifies the appearance of the so-called counterfeit fairy figure in four plays composed after 1597: Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597), Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), Robert Armin's *The Valiant Welshman* (1612), and the anonymous *The Honest Lawyer* (1615). Increasingly embedded in the interior spaces of the urban household, this chapter identifies three types of metaphorical space within this sphere: the feminine, the erotic, and the commercial. I argue that the appearance of the counterfeit fairy indicates the increasing skepticism surrounding the credibility of the fairy figure.

The Epilogue discusses the afterlife of the fairy figure in Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones' masque *Oberon the Faery Prince* (1611). Noting the relative absence of the fairy figure from English dramatic works after 1615, I conclude by briefly outlining the remaining dramatic works in which fairies appear as characters between 1615 and the closing of the theaters in 1642.

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For Joe Chacon

A Note on the Texts

Unless otherwise stated, all scholarly references are taken from the following editions (listed alphabetically by author): Anonymous, *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*, in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. Warwick Bond, vol. 3 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1902);[1] Anonymous, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600; repr., London: Malone Society Oxford University Press, 1965); Armin, Robert, *The Valiant Welshman, or, The true chronicle history of the life and valiant deeds of Caradoc the Great…* (London, 1663) (available on EEBO, Wing 118:11); B. J., *The tragical history, admirable atchievments and various events of Guy Earl of Warwick…* (London, 1661) (available on EEBO, Wing 765:05); Dekker, Thomas, *The Whore of Babylon*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955); Dekker, Thomas, John Day, and William Haughton, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy (Lust's Dominion)*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Cyrus Hoy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Greene, Robert, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, ed. J.A. Lavin, New Mermaids (London: Bouverie House, 1967); Lyly, John, *Endymion*, ed., David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Lyly, John, *Galatea*, in *Galatea and Midas*, ed. George Hunter and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Percy, William, *The Faery Pastorall*, in

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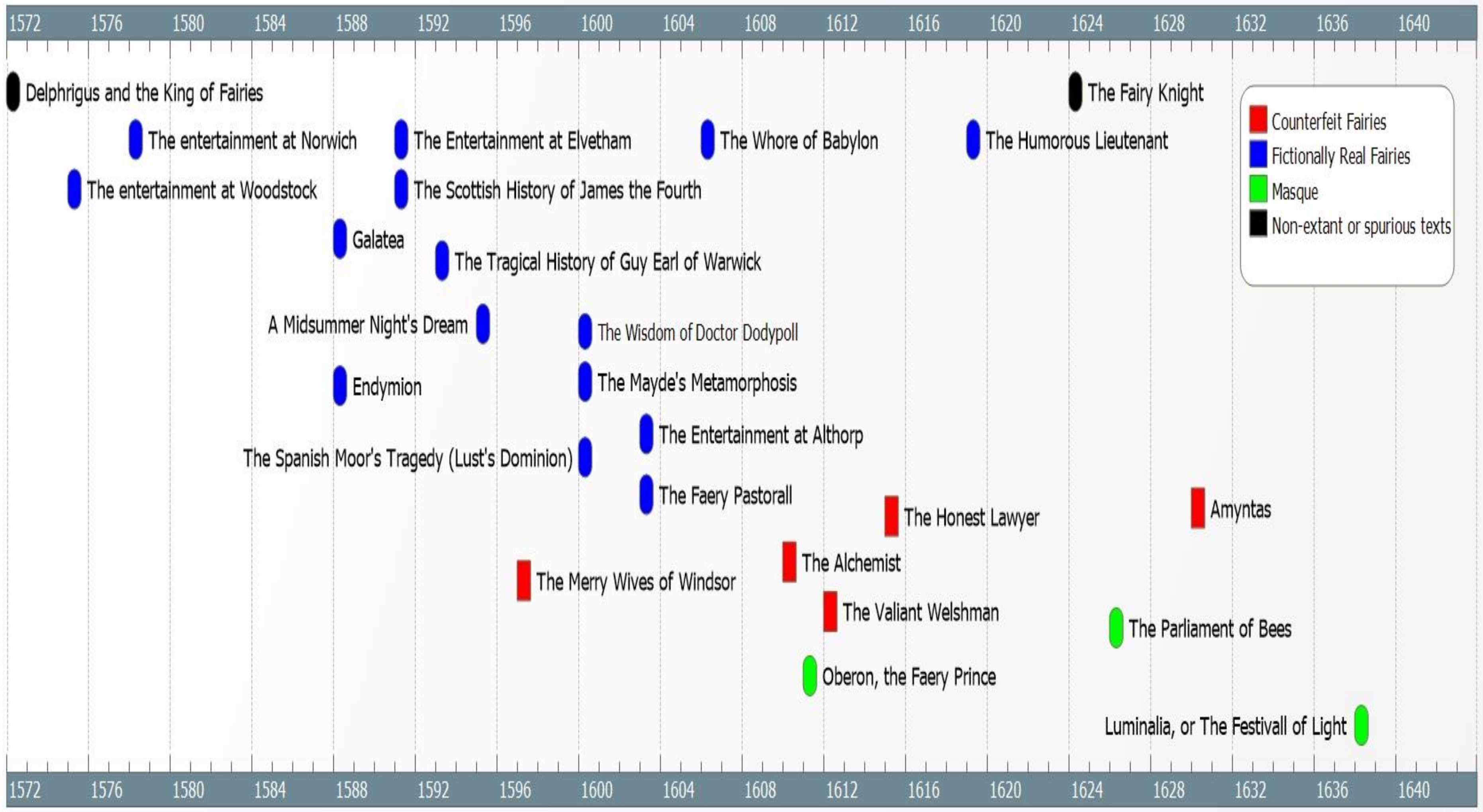
[1] The authorship of this play has been contested since its publication in this collection. Because this edition remains one of the more reliable source texts, I have chosen to cite this edition while still treating the play as having unknown authorship.

Robert Denzell Fenn, “William Percy’s Faery Pastorall: An Old Spelling Edition” (PhD Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1997) (available on ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, NQ27140); Jonson, Ben, *The Alchemist*, ed. Elizabeth Cook, New Mermaids 2nd ed. (London: A & C Black, 2004); Jonson, Ben, *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, in *A Book of Masques,* ed. Gerald Eades Bently (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Jonson, Ben, *Entertainment at Althrop*, ed. James Knowles, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson, vol 2: 1601-1606*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012); S.S. *The Honest Lavvyer* (London, 1616) (available on EEBO, STC 1392:25). For references to Shakespeare’s dramatic works, I refer to *The Norton Shakespeare,* ed. Stephen Greenblatt, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2008).

When discussing the various accounts of the Elizabethan entertainments, I use the material compiled in *John Nicols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Authorial and editorial information for the individual texts can be found in the footnotes.

References to dramatic works are to act, scene, and line number, unless otherwise indicated. For texts from *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), references are to the signature if there are no page numbers. Unless otherwise stated, the dates I assign to each of the dramatic works that I examine throughout this thesis refer to the approximate composition dates, taken from Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson eds., *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue,* 8 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). All references to Wiggins and Richardson cite to the play numbers assigned in their catalogue.

Approximate Dates of Composition for Dramatic Works: 1575-1615



Created with Timeline Maker Pro v3. Produced on Sep 26 2018.

Introduction

In early autumn of 1575, Elizabeth I and her courtiers received a surprise visit as they were dining at a lavish banquet hosted by Sir Henry Lee near his Woodstock manor in Oxfordshire. Riding up out of the woods in a carriage in the company of six boys, the fairy queen appeared in a display of grandeur that, in the words of the anonymous narrator, "might wel argue her immortality" and then approached Elizabeth, greeting her with the following speech:

> As I did roame abroade in woddy range,
> In shae to shun the heate of Sunny day:
> I met a sorrowing knight in passion strange.
> By whom I learned, that coasting on this way
> I should ere long your highnesse here espie,
> To whom beares a greater loue than I? [1]

The fairy queen also presented Elizabeth and her ladies with gifts: an ornately embroidered gown for Elizabeth and nosegays for each of her ladies.[2] The fairy queen then joined Elizabeth at the banquet until Elizabeth drove away in her own carriage that evening. The appearance of this fairy figure was a part of the day's entertainment, carefully orchestrated and arranged for Elizabeth by Sir Henry Lee himself. The design of the whole production was highly elaborate, aiming to transform the landscape around Woodstock into the fictional world of the performance.

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[1] Gabriel Heaton, ed., "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock, 29 August -3 September 1575," in *John Nicols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources,* ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, vol. 2: 1572-1578 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 403.

[2] A nosegay is "a bunch of flowers or sweet herbs." *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* n. "nosegay."

As one spectator observed, it was a performance of which “never before, nor hereafter, shal I see the like.”[3]

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this appearance of the fairy queen in the entertainments at Woodstock performed as part of Elizabeth I’s summer progress of 1575 was the first instance of a fairy character scripted into an English dramatic performance. Over the next forty years, the fairy became a ubiquitous character type in early modern English drama, appearing in nineteen extant dramatic works and reaching what can be described as an apogee around 1600. After 1615, it nearly disappeared from England’s theatrical output: only four dramatic works (two plays, one masque, and one short dramatic text) featuring fairies can be found in the textual record between 1616 and the closing of the theaters in 1642.[4] The rise to popularity and the subsequent decline of the fairy figure in early modern English drama offers a unique opportunity to study the manner in which fairy beliefs and practices circulated and were embodied in performance spaces of early modern England.

This project examines fairy figures in English dramatic texts composed between 1575 and 1615, arguing that these texts shift from portraying fictionally real fairies to fairies that are counterfeit within their respective dramatic universes. Coinciding with this development is a shift in the locations in which these characters appear. In their earliest theatrical manifestations in the Elizabethan entertainments, fairy characters appear in outdoor landscapes. As the depictions of fairies begin to change from fictionally real to counterfeit, the characters gradually transition into indoor spaces. I argue that this development indicates a significant historical shift toward the demythologization of the fairy figure—the process through which these figures began to be widely conceived of and written about as entities of fiction.

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[3] Heaton, “Queen Elizabeth’s Entertainment at Woodstock,” 402.

[4] I discuss the four texts featuring fairies that were composed after 1615 in more detail in the conclusion. These texts are John Fletcher’s *The Humorous Lieutenant* (1619), Thomas Randolph’s *Amyntas* (1630), John Day’s *The Parliament of Bees* (1626), and William Davenant’s *Luminalia, or The Festival of Light* (1638). Thomas Berger, William Bradford, and Sidney Sondergard also suggest that fairies are present in William Hemming’s *The Jew’s Tragedy* (1622). However, in the text itself, these characters are listed as “furies.” Inconsistences in early modern spelling might suggest no difference between “furies” and “fairies,” but in the context of the tragedy where the furies appear in relationship to multiple suicides, they seem to be more related to devils. Contemporary audience members may not have made such distinctions, as I discuss in the Introduction. Thomas Berger, William Bradford, and Sidney Sondergard, eds. *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama: Printed Plays, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

This study identifies four major trends in how the fairy characters are represented in the course of this development. I begin by examining the appearances of the fairy figure in outdoor aristocratic entertainments produced between 1571 and 1591. These performances were played partially or completely outdoors and featured fairies that were integrated with these natural outdoor performance spaces. Later, around the late 1580s, fairies appeared in Elizabethan stage plays that were performed in various indoor venues. Although these plays still represented fairies as credible entities and were set in outdoor landscapes, the distinction between the space of the performance and the setting of the play required the fairy figures to interact with space differently than they did in the outdoor entertainments. After 1595, fairy characters appeared in English drama with increasing frequency, and I argue that these appearances begin to reflect an increasing skepticism toward the fairy figure, which manifested itself in changing depictions of the landscapes with which the fairies interacted. Fairies in these plays are integrated into what I term "composite landscapes." Constituted by the overlapping representations of space on stage, composite landscapes evoke properties of both indoor and outdoor spaces. The final phase of representations of fairy figures in early modern English drama that I have identified begins with the appearance of the counterfeit fairy in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1597. Appearing primarily in and around indoor spaces of urbanized locations, I argue that the presence of the counterfeit fairy signals a new mode of fictionality in early modern English drama. The dramatic works composed in this new mode of fictionality depicted fairy characters that were not credible entities, either in the actual universe of early modern England or in the secondary universe of the performance. This four-fold structure informs the design of the thesis with the individual chapters corresponding to the respective trends in the theatrical representation of the fairy figure that I have identified.

“Despite of the teeth of all rhyme and Reason”: The Question of Belief

That there was a change in the depiction of fairies sometime around the turn of the sixteenth century seems to be upheld almost ubiquitously by scholars, although investigations surrounding this claim seem to disagree about the sort of change it was. In 1930, Minor White Latham’s *The Elizabethan Fairies: the Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* posited that Shakespeare invented a diminutive fairy figure which ultimately removed “everything homely, substantial or dangerous” from fairy lore.[5] In 1959, Katharine Briggs’ extensive cataloguing of the various types of fairies sought to disprove claims from “Dr. Margaret Murray and Mr. White Latham – that the more amiable characteristics of the later English fairies are a result of Shakespeare's invention, adopted immediately by other writers, and so endeared to English imagination as to pass readily into folklore.”[6] Her classifications, while problematic in their near-taxonomical approach to fictional beings, demonstrated that fairies have varied substantially across their many depictions in medieval and early modern folklore and literature; she disproved, or at least mitigated, claims that a diminutive type of fairy arose wholly out of early modern innovation. Nevertheless, there remains the sense that fairy-like figures underwent an irrevocable shift in early modern England, usually with an undertone of distaste toward fairies that were perceived as more Shakespearean. Purkiss' extensive study of the history of fairy figures points out how the increased number of depictions of fairies in literature might have engendered changes in the perception of these supernatural entities, still identifying Shakespeare as the fabricator of "another kind of fairy…whose characteristics are not darkness and death, but tininess, endearing sweetness – and freakishness."[7] More effectively, perhaps, are recent tendencies to examine representations of fairies as both a reflection of and catalyst for new conceptions of popular culture, domestic ideology and community, and emerging national identities. In each of these approaches, dramatic works are central to examinations of early modern fairy belief. According to Kevin Pask, theater is key to understanding early modern representations of fairies because "Shakespeare's theater occupied the place partly abandoned by old folk beliefs and recently discredited Catholic rituals, replacing older forms of magic with theatrical magic."[8] While the importance of theater is implicitly recognized within each attempt to define the shifts surrounding fairy figures in early modern England, there has yet to be a comprehensive study of the numerous appearances of fairy characters in early modern English dramatic works.

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[5] Minor White Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies: the Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 17.

[6] Katharine Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck: An Examination of Fairy Beliefs Among Shakespeare’s Contemporaries and Successors* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), 12.

Defining exactly how manifestations of the fairy changed in early modern England—and how the early modern theater was involved in this process—is intrinsically difficult because of the ineffable nature of belief itself. Even in its earliest manifestations, "fairy lore," a term I use to describe the collective set of beliefs, practices, and traditions surrounding fairies as a whole, frequently offers contradictory depictions regarding the nature of fairy figures and the sincerity with which they were believed.

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[7] Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories* (London: Penguin, 2000), 158.
[8] Kevin Pask, *The Fairy Way of Writing: Shakespeare to Tolkien* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), *2*.

Early modern English historical and legal accounts clearly demonstrate some of the problematic contradictions surrounding the credibility of the fairies. For instance, the "Ancient Indictments in the King's Bench referring to Kent 1450-52" describes an incident from January 1540 where Thomas Cade and a group of rebels calling themselves "the servants of the queen of fairies" dressed in drag and painted their faces black; they then broke into the Duke of Buckingham's Park and poached over eighty of his deer residing near Penshurst.[9] Certainly, the more than thirty rebels named in the indictment were performing their roles as a means of participating in an act of protest, rather than expressing their own credulity in fairy lore. A year later, William Cheeseman and his company would commit a similar act.[10] Mary Ellen Lamb suggests that such instances do not constitute a system of literal belief, but indicate the presence of a discursive community constructed to obscure agency, particularly in instances of class conflict. However, early modern England's law was similarly undecided about the actuality of danger posed by fairies. Consorting with fairies was not specifically mentioned under the 1563 *Act Against Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts*; the Act merely forbade harmful "enchantment" to another person or to livestock.[11] In particular, the early modern populace held the belief that people and cattle could become diseased or "elf shot" by witches or fairies.[12] By contrast, the 1604 *Act Against Conjuration, Witchcraft and Dealing with Evil and Wicked Spirits*, passed shortly after James I took the throne, expressly forbade communing with witches or "familiar spirits," including fairies, in any way.[13]

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[9] F. R. J. Du Boulay, ed., *Kent Records: Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society* (Ashford, UK: Kent Archaeological Society, 1964), 254-55, accessed June 20, 2018, http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Pub/KRV/18/Contents.htm.

[10] Mary Ellen Lamb suggests that these protests satirically questioned the rights of elite classes. She posits, "the historical Cade's superficially absurd assertion of his sovereign right to territory in the name of the queen of the fairies made a serious political point. Cade's pretense parodied the claims of an elite group to exclusive rights to own land." "Taken by the Fairies: Fairy Practices and the Production of Popular Culture in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 291.

[11] Marion Gibson, *Witchcraft and Society in England and America, 1550-1750* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003); Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 3.

[12] See Alaric Hall, "Getting Shot of Elves: Healing, Witchcraft and Fairies in the Scottish Witchcraft Trials," *Folklore* 116, no. 1 (April 2005): 19–36.

Another of the problematic contradictions that arises in examining the origins and nature of belief in fairies is the tendency for authors to depict fairy beliefs as belonging to the past. Fairies in both medieval and early modern texts frequently occupy "a belief system held reverently until *just* recently," but is outmoded in the author's contemporary day.[14] Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale" (written between 1386 and 1400), for instance, suggests humorously that fairies used to be readily observed across England, but have been more recently replaced by friars and other religious figures: "This maketh that ther ben no fayeryes. / For ther as wont to walken was an elf / Ther walketh now the lymytour himself."[15] Over two hundred years later, Richard Corbett's poem, "The Fairies Farewell," similarly insists on the extinction of an older belief system that existed in an unspecified Catholic past. The poem proclaims:

> But now, alas, they all are dead;
> Or gone beyond the seas;
> Or farther for Religion fled;
> Or else they take their ease.[16]

Thus fairy belief was constantly referred to as a thing of the past, no longer relevant to contemporary society.

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[13] Gibson, *Witchcraft and Society*, 3.

[14] Wendy Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep? Fairylore, Merry Wives, and Social Struggle," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 68. https://doi.org/10.1353/shq.2001.0021.

[15] Chaucer, "Wife of Bath's Tale," *Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer,* ed. Larry Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), lines 872–74.

[16] Corbert's poetry circulated in manuscript throughout his life (1592 - 1635) and was compiled and published in 1807 by Octavius Gilchrist. Richard Corbert, "The Fairies Farewell," *The Poems of Richard Corbert* (London, 1807), poem number 213.

However, there is substantial evidence to demonstrate that fairy belief was still actively held by at least a small portion of the population despite these and other literary instances suggesting the contrary. Somerset healer Agnes Handcock (tried in 1438) was said to call on a fairy in order to help her cure children, who were themselves affected by spirits or fairies.[17] In 1555, Joan Tyrrye of Taunton reportedly met a fairy man in the marketplace, and was struck blind after attempting to speak to him.[18] Influenced by the Scottish witchcraft trials, references to fairy encounters become more frequent in the English trial records of the seventeenth century. Ronald Hutton relates the story of Jacob Behmen, a man accused of witchcraft in the middle of the seventeenth century, for "attempting to cure people with a white powder. He told the court that he obtained it from fairies living in a knoll under the rule of their queen, and the jury acquitted him because his cures seemed generally to work."[19] This case is particularly interesting to discussions of belief because the rationale of the judge and jury is supposedly recorded by John Webster in 1677. Webster wrote of the case that, "I remember the judge said if he were to assign him punishment, he should be whipped from thence to Fairy-hall, and did seem to judge it to be a delusion."[20] While the judge's sarcastic response indicates that Behmen was tried by a group of fairy non-believers, the dismissal of his case, and presumably his career as a healer, does seem to rely on the fact that his mysterious white powder, at least, was credible.

Within the fiction of the dramatic works themselves, there are frequently competing depictions regarding the credibility of fairy lore and the sincerity with which it ought to be considered. This is especially true in instances where the fairy-like figures influenced by Greco-

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[17] Jean Goodrich, "Fairy, Elves, and the Enchanted Otherworld," in *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages,* ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015). 461; Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 132.

[18] Goodrich, "Fairy, Elves, and the Enchanted Otherworld," 461; Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 131-2.

[19] Ronald Hutton, *The Witch: A History of Fear, from Ancient Times to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 224.

[20] John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (London, 1677), 301.

Roman mythology and Celtic mythologies are juxtaposed with depictions of fairies from local English folklores, defined as "the traditional beliefs, legends, and customs, current among the common people."[21] For example, in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the Athenian court ruled by Theseus, which constitutes the initial setting of the play, evokes elements of Classical mythology, while the fairies who occupy the forests beyond the palace and city derive from early modern English folklore. Of course, the play systematically destabilizes these distinctions and fosters ambiguity about the credibility of both traditions. Theseus, who is himself a figure of Classical mythology, dismisses fairy belief as "airy nothing" given "a local habitation and a name,"[22] even as the fairies prepare to enter the Athenian palace at the end of the production.[23]

Methodology: Possible Worlds

I suggest that it is through examining these types of contradictions and intersections in fairy lore that its ideological fault lines are most productively exposed. In focusing my analysis on the fairies only as they appear in dramatic works, I attempt to call attention to a genre that scholars have long recognized as important to early modern depictions of fairies. More importantly, however, this approach allows a definitive starting point from which to examine the various convoluted and contradictory representations of the early modern fairy belief: each of the fairy characters I examine across this thesis is a fictional construct. Taking Doreen Maitre's suggestion that, "we use what we learn from fiction to adjust our picture of what is, or could be the case of the actual world," I suggest dramatic works provide insight into how early modern authors and audiences engaged with fairy lore.[24] Rather than undertaking a study of belief, therefore, this project is interested in the ways that individual works engage with, modify, and innovate fairy lore in order to create the fictional world of the text as presented by the drama.

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[21] *Oxford English Dictionary,* n. "folklore."
[22] *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 5.1.17-8.
[23] *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 5.1.16-7.

Understanding the way that fairies function within particular performance spaces relies on the manner in which the fictional worlds they populate are constructed. In an approach similar to James Wade's, my project draws "from recent textual imaginings of possible worlds theory… developed by literary theorists in the latter part of the twentieth century to address problems of narrative semantics, phenomenology, and fictionality."[25] Stemming from the work of philosopher Gottfried Leibniz, possible worlds theory posits that in relation to the world I inhabit (the actual world) there exist infinite possible worlds that are the products of mental activities, such as dreaming, imagining, and storytelling.[26] Each possible world, according to Ruth Ronen, "contains a set of entities (objects, persons) organized and interrelated in specific ways (through situations, events and space-time)….Yet the fictional world is constructed as a world having its own distinct ontological position, and as a world presenting a self-sufficient system of structures and relations."[27] Thus, each of the dramatic works I examine constitutes its own fictional world with its own network of fairy beliefs and practices that, while informed by the actual world, are distinct.

Unlike other fictional worlds, the worlds constructed in dramatic works are embodied in the physicality of the actual world. Recent studies in narratology have applied possible worlds theory as a way to explore the spatial dimension of narrative texts; their work suggests a critical vocabulary that can be applied to dramatic constructs.[28] Focusing on the relationship between the fictional world and the actual world, Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu describe a "storyworld" that is completed in the mind of the reader (or in this case, audience member) into a "coherent, unified, ontologically full, and materially existing geographical entity."[29] What I term "dramatic world" constitutes the totality of the geographical spaces both represented in the performance and evoked by the text. Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu distinguish this from a "narrative universe" that consists of "the world presented as actual by the text, plus all the counterfactual worlds constructed by the characters as beliefs, wishes, fears, speculations, hypothetical thinking, dreams, fantasies, and imaginative creations."[30] In theatrical contexts, I refer to a "dramatic universe," which can help us to examine the changing depictions of fairy figures and their complex relationships to the landscapes and spaces they occupy.

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[24] Doreen Maitre, *Literature and Possible Worlds* (Middlesex: Penbridge Press, 1983), 13.
[25] James Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2.
[26] Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu. *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative: Where Narrative Theory and Geography Meet* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2016), 25.
[27] Ruth Ronen, *Possible Worlds in Literary Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 8.

However, theater's unique paradox of being simultaneously "real" and "not real" generates a complex process of signification. This essential paradox in many ways articulates the complex social and historical concern over the veracity of fairy belief throughout history. Moreover, the range of early modern attitudes regarding the credibility of the fairy figure complicates discussions of fictionality in early modern theatrical contexts. This is especially true when fairies are evoked in order to create ambiguity in the distinction between the fictional world of the performance and actual world of early modern England. While Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu focus on the relationship between the actual world and fictional worlds, Pavel's application of possible worlds theory is also useful in analyzing the paradox of dramatic texts because of the manner in which he posits that fictional worlds ought to be examined on their own terms. His work problematically treats narrative, ritual, and dramatic texts in the same way, but his principles can be cautiously applied to examine the internal structure of dramatic universe. Pavel distinguishes between the actual world and the world presented as real by the text suggesting, "since the really real world enjoys a definite priority over the world of make believe, we may distinguish between primary and secondary universes within dual structures."[31] I use this distinction to describe the difference between fairies that are believed to exist in the primary universe (the universe of the audience) and fairies that are believed to exist within the secondary universe (dramatic universe).[32] Therefore I am able to discuss the differences between the fairy as actual/fictional within the primary universe and real/counterfeit within the secondary universe.

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[28] Patrick Colm Hogan applies the diegetic principles of emplotment to Shakespeare's Hamlet as a case study to demonstrate how discourse operations can function in memetic works such as drama. While the chapter focuses specifically on Shakespeare's narrative idiolect, Hogan suggests, "these principles are presumably not confined to Shakespeare; hence they point to features widely available to dramatists." Patrick Colm Hogan, "Emplotting a Storyworld in Drama Selection, Time, and Construal in the Discourse of *Hamlet*," in *Storyworlds across Media: Toward a Media-Conscious Narratology*, ed. Marie-Laure Ryan and Jan-Noel Thon (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 50.

[29] Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu. *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative*, 24. Ryan's first book is most concerned with the way that the actual world relates to fictional worlds; it describes "the principle of minimal departure," which suggests that readers build representations of fictional worlds based on what they know to be true of the real world. Marie-Laure Ryan, *Possible Worlds, Artificial Intelligence and Narrative Theory* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1991).

[30] Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu. *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative*, 25.

The gradual evolution of the fairy figure in the secondary universe from fictionally real to fictionally counterfeit represents, what I term, two distinct modes of fictionality – patterns in the ways in which audiences, writers, and readers are expected to construct, interact with, and interpret fictional worlds. I argue that particularly in the dramatic works of the late sixteenth century (mainly those I examine in Chapters One and Two) the fairies are treated as mythological beings in their respective dramatic universes. Scholars of medieval belief have suggested that "far from being irrelevant or frivolous, myths are poetic truths, expressions of the most profound truths of a culture, a 'truth beyond truth, a scared narrative.'"[33] Karen Armstrong argues that while modern cultures have come to equate myths with the stories and events that are demonstrably untrue, people before the eighteenth century, "were more concerned with what an event had meant. A myth was an event which, in some sense, had happened once, but which also happened all the time."[34] (Her definition resonates with wider traditions throughout history designating fairies as part of a faded belief system replaced *just* recently by current forms of belief.) I describe the dramatic universes that evoke a fairy of mythological import as having a "mythological mode of fictionality." For instance, the fairies that appear in the dramatic world of John Lyly's *Endymion* operate within such a mythological mode of fictionality. They act as the protectors of the embodied moon goddess, Cynthia. In the play, when Corsites trespasses upon a bank of ferns known as lunary (the implicit property of the celestial goddess), he is attacked by the fairies, who pinch him and curse him because "saucy mortals must not view / What the queen of Stars is doing, / Nor pry into our Fairy wooing."[35] While they are fully present and embodied within the world of the performance, their presence hints at their continued power in the dramatic universe beyond this immediate encounter. They guard mortals sleeping under the queen's protection, but they also claim to have a "midnight hay-de-guise" to attend. The play suggests the fairies have access to an ontologically complete dramatic universe. This universe extends beyond the human reality of Corsites that constitutes the dramatic world represented on stage. More importantly, however, this dramatic universe also extends beyond the mimetic representation of the actual world, pointing to a mythological depth that the audience cannot fully comprehend or experience. I argue that the mythological mode of fictionality of the fairies in *Endymion* is representative of the manner in which fairy figures first appear in early modern English drama.

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[31] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 57.

[32] This is in line with what Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu describe as a "narrative universe," which is defined as the storyworld and all possible worlds of the text. *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative,* 25.

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[33] Stephen Pollington, *The Elder Gods: The Otherworld of Early England* (Ely: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2011); Stephen Glosecki, ed., *Myth in Early Northwest Europe* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 2007), xxiv. Pavel also suggests, "the mythological mind is said to distinguish between at least three kinds of statements: factual statements, which cover everyday life, true statements, referring to gods and heroes, and fictions, which include stories other than myths (fables, funny moral stories)." Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 41.

[34] Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth*, 7.

[35] John Lyly, *Endymion*, ed. David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 4.3.35-6.

In stark contrast to the dramatic works operating in a mythological mode of fictionality, the presence of the counterfeit fairies in several plays written after 1597 points to a change in the way that fictional worlds are constructed. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, for instance, local townspeople pretend to be fairies in order to play a trick on Falstaff. The dramatic world presented by the play mirrors the actual world of early modern England at a roughly contemporary time to its performance. It portrays a range of attitudes regarding fairy belief, from Falstaff's foolish credulousness to the wives' witty ability to manipulate the lore. More importantly, however, while the dramatic universe itself includes fairy lore, it proposes a set of structuring principles that deny the plausibility of an ontologically real fairy. Unlike previous depictions of fairies, these dramatic works point to fairies as the fantasies of the overly credulous, even within the paradigm of the theatrical performance and with the willing suspension of disbelief.

These later plays demonstrate the increasing choice authors made to move representations of fairies outside of the mythological mode of fictionality. As Pavel observes, "Fictional domains… are not necessarily consecrated as such from the beginning of their existence. Rather, fictionality is, in most cases, a historically variable property."[36] Farah Mendlesohn and Edward James have examined similar shifts in narrative texts. They suggest that the historical moment in which "the fantastic becomes material for self-conscious art," occurs sometime in the eighteenth century as a response to The Enlightenment. However, utilizing the example of the supernatural in *Macbeth*, they question if the play "reflect[s] the credulity of author and audience? Or is it a skeptical author inviting his rationalist audience to mock a king (James VI of Scotland and I of England) known to believe in witchcraft and the supernatural? If the latter, we must push the self-conscious use of the fantastic back in time by at least two centuries."[37] While their study attempts to define the fantasy genre in narrative, they aptly point to the particular use of fantastic elements as "self-conscious"—as a means of participating in social, religious, and psychological discourses. Of course, the shifts that they identify in narrative texts are not necessarily applicable to dramatic texts intended for performance. Theater communicates differently "through ostension, that is, the act of directly demonstrating rather than describing a fictional world."[38] I argue that the changes in the depiction of the fairy figures in dramatic works that I identify across this thesis mirror the changing interactions with systems of belief surrounding these figures in the actual world of early modern England at large.

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[36] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 80.

The process by which the fairy figure wanes from its mythological capacity represents, what I call, a process of demythologization.[39] What Pavel terms "fictionalization" refers to a process wherein myths become fictitious when "the weight of the basic story proportionally diminishes."[40] This process does not constitute an immediate change, but instead, "the gradual fictionalization of myths recalls the development of village states surrounded by primitive forest: fictional spots develop within the mythological texture; the borders remain fuzzy."[41] I argue that in theatrical representations, this process of demythologization is best seen in the interactions between the fairy figures and the landscapes of their respective dramatic universes. When the fairies first appear in dramatic works, they appear in natural outdoor landscapes. However, as the fairies move from real within the secondary universe to counterfeit, they increasingly become associated with indoor spaces.

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[37] Farah Mendlesohn and Edward James, *A Short History of Fantasy* (Faringdon: Libri Publishing, 2012), 4.

[38] Lida Krüger, "'Stop Putting Words in my Mouth!' Undermining the Binary between the Actual and the Fictional," *New Theatre Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2016): 244.

[39] Rudolf Bultmann originally used the term demythologization in 1941 as a description of his hermeneutic approach to religion. However, I have chosen to use the term "demythologization" throughout this thesis instead of Pavel's "fictionalization" due to the convoluted nature of the term "fiction" within the context of theater, as I discussed previously.

[40] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 80.

[41] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 80.

Literature Review

Scholarly investigations into fairies have their roots in the 1800s when a general interest in collecting and preserving antiquated traditions and customs emerged. As Peter Burke suggests, "The popular culture of the years around 1800 was found just in time, or so the discoverers thought. The theme of a vanishing culture which must be recorded before it is too late recurs in their writings."[42] This mindset both generated the impetus for scholarship on the fairies and greatly affected the priorities of researchers for the majority of the century to follow. The foundation of the Folklore Society in 1878, and the subsequent establishment of *The Folk-Lore Record* (Now *Folklore*), drew increased attention to early modern English fairy beliefs and practices throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Scholars such as E. K. Chambers, whose edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1896 featured a large appendix on "The Fairy World," Alfred Nutt, whose 1900 *The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare* represents the first monograph-length study of English fairy mythology, and Minor White Latham constituted some of the first fairy scholars.[43] These earliest studies were centered on Shakespeare, generally lauding his innovation of a new type of literary fairy in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that was separate from, but ultimately drawn out of, the fading remnants of an oral folkloric tradition.

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[42] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 40. Kevin Pask has argued that this 'vanishing culture' theme dates significantly earlier, to the late 1700s when "John Aubrey had already assumed the disappearance of popular rural beliefs, which he associated with the spread of literacy since the Civil Wars." Pask, *The Fairy Way of Writing*, 8.

[43] E. K. Chambers, ed., *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1896); Alfred Nutt, *The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare* (London, 1900).

Unfortunately, studies of the occult in general, and fairy beliefs more specifically, became intertwined with spiritualist movements that were conducting research in order to verify belief in fairies. In 1927, for instance, the Fairy Investigation Society was founded in order "to accumulate knowledge and to classify the various orders of nature spirits" for its members who sincerely believed in the reality of fairies and other supernatural beings.[44] The society was active, and published substantially, until 1960, with a brief interruption during the outbreak of the Second World War. On the other hand, Egyptologist Margaret Murray developed an infamous theory of the European witch cult, which denied that witches employed any forms of so-called "operative magic," the supernatural spells and occurrences for which witches were generally blamed. Instead, but unfortunately based on the unscrupulous editing and manipulation of historical sources, Murray posited that witches were part of an underground movement, condemned for preserving pagan rituals throughout Christianized Europe. Jacqueline Simpson has demonstrated that Murray's theories were not generally as accepted by scholars as previously maintained, but a lack of vehement opposition allowed these views to circulate unchecked even in important academic circles. As a result, the 1969 republication of Murray's entry on witchcraft in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* made her theories "virtually infallible in the eyes of the public….They were also accessible to journalists, film makers, popular novelists, and thriller writers, who adopted them enthusiastically; by now they are so entrenched in popular culture that they will probably never be uprooted."[45] The reputation of folklorists, and by extension literary scholars of folklore, has arguably also never fully recovered. On the other hand, Katharine Brigg's *Anatomy of Puck*, along with her subsequent publications from the 1950s through the late 1970s, represent some of the most thorough initial compilations of fairy belief and practices in early modern England. "It is striking," notes Simon Young in his 2013 research on The Fairy Investigation Society, "that the generally tolerant and reasonable Katharine Briggs ignored the spiritualist take on fairies."[46] The body of scholarship characterizing and historicizing the fairy figure, however, tended not to distinguish between references to fairy lore and a system of living beliefs.

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[44] Simon Young, "The History of the Fairy Investigation Society," *Folklore* 124, no. 2 (August 2013): 139.
[45] Jacqueline Simpson, "Margaret Murray: Who Believed Her and Why?," *Folklore* 105 (1994): 89. Simpson suggests that Murray "wanted to strip away every concept of the paranormal or supernatural from the concept of witchcraft—and yet in the 1950s her descriptions of alleged rituals, festivals and organizations of witches were used

In contrast to studies of fairies, studies on other aspects of the occult, and witchcraft in particular, more readily examine occult beliefs as social, cultural, and textual phenomenon. Diane Purkiss' *The Witch in History* (1996), for instance, effectively examines the ways that the image of the witch has been manipulated in feminist terms, both in its original context, and in the wake of feminist movements beginning in the 1970s.[47] Continental scholars, such as Carlo Ginzburg, Gustav Henningsen, and Wolfgang Behringer have conducted more socio-historical or anthropological approaches to the supernatural, examining the roots of witch beliefs as expressed in folklore and popular culture. While elements of their respective approaches have come under scrutiny for taking early modern beliefs as evidence of earlier (mainly medieval) modes of thinking, they productively expose numerous traditions which intersect with fairy lore: reports of the banditti, the good people, the wild hunt, and the phantom army.[48]

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by Gerald Gardner as a blueprint for setting up a new system of magic and religious rituals, the Wicca movement of Britain and America, now the most widespread and best known branch of Neopaganism. Simpson, "Margaret Murray," 89.

[46] Young, "Fairy Investigation Society," 139-56.

[47] Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentith Century Interpretations* (London: Routledge, 1996). See also Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (London: HarperCollins, 1996).

[48] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1983); Gustav Henningson, "'The Ladies from Outside': an Archaic Pattern of the Witches'

Scholarship on early modern fairies, or fairies in general, was relatively scarce until the advent of New Historicism in the 1980s. Roy Strong and Frances Yates called attention to Elizabethan paradigms of power and representation, particularly those surrounding Elizabeth I herself.[49] Scholars such as Phillipa Berry, Louis Montrose, and Mary Beth Rose, in particular, have pointed out the potentially more problematic nature inherent in the multifaceted formulations of Elizabeth's identity, especially as a female ruler.[50] Because several of these formulations of Elizabeth's identity evoked the occult, for example references to the queen as "Diana" or "the fairy queen," New Historicists facilitated a view of fairies and other preternatural figures in early modern writing as potentially subversive forces connected to historical, religious, and political contexts. As a result, studies of fairy figures in the last twenty years have resurrected the problematic textual, social, and historical constructs surrounding these figures, which had previously been overlooked in comparison to the dynamic approaches being applied to other supernatural figures such as ghosts or witches. These perspectives have generally led scholars to reanimate discussions surrounding the fairy figure with one of two approaches. Either fairies are examined as central to the "self-fashioning" of Elizabethan and Jacobean court identities or fairies are used to draw attention to the manner in which fairy folklores could operate in the rhetorical nexus in between literary "high" and folkloric "low" forms of cultural production.

Sabbath," in *Early modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Wolfgang Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf: Chonrad Stoeckhlin and the Phantoms of the Night*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998).

[49] Roy Strong, *Gloriana The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico 1987); Frances Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1999).

[50] Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989); Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Mary Beth Rose, "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I," *PMLA* 115, no. 5 (Oct., 2000): 1077-82.

While neither constituted a completely distinct approach, the prolific variety of contexts in which early modern fairies appear necessarily requires scholars to choose an initial focus, with certain texts rendering themselves instantly apparent. The former focus, on the role of fairies in court politics, most directly addresses the obvious need to reexamine the fairies in relation to representations of Elizabeth herself in the wake of cultural poetics. Naturally, these investigations tend to focus on texts explicitly intended for, and specifically addressed to the fairy queen herself, such as the Elizabethan entertainments or Spenser's *The Faerie Queene.* Matthew Woodcock's *Fairy in the Faerie Queene: Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (2004), for instance, examines the manner in which Spenser employs fairy narratives in *The Faerie Queene* as a self-conscious commentary on representations of the queen. It is an important monograph, not only for filling so obvious an omission from Spenser studies, but also in offering one of the first monograph-length works exclusively dedicated to, what he terms, the "textual ontology" of fairies, "how fairy stories are constructed and read, and ignoring the subjective issue of what fairies 'were' or 'are.'"[51] As I discuss in Chapter One, the entertainments performed for Elizabeth on her summer progresses were integral in establishing Elizabeth's epithets as "the fairy queen," placing the fairy queen amid other representations of the monarch as a mythological entity. Scholars such as Jean Wilson, Matthew Woodcock, and Gabriel Heaton examine how the immediate and embodied nature of performance in the entertainments allows a direct communication between the audience (in this case Queen Elizabeth) and the performers.[52] These scholars identify the manner in which the entertainments contribute to the various performances of royal identity in narratives surrounding depictions of the queen (what Susan Frye has termed the “competition for representation”).[53]

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[51] Matthew Woodcock, *Fairy in* The Faerie Queene*: Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 7.

[52] Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Totowa, N.J.: D.S. Brewer, 1980); Matthew Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments," in *Elizabeth I Always Her Own Free Woman,* ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Gabriel Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit: The 'Tale of Hemetes,'" in *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing,* ed. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: The British Library, 2007).

On the other hand, the influence of New Historicism drew increasing attention to the centrality of fairy lore to an emerging sense of early modern “popular culture.”[54] For the most part, representations of fairy figures in early modern English public theater, folklore, and ballads have proved particularly conducive to this type of analysis for the manner in which these genres tended to communicate across divisions in social and economic status. Articles by Mary Ellen Lamb and Wendy Wall, published in *Shakespeare Quarterly* in 2000 and 2001 respectively, recognized the integral role of fairy lore in describing early modern English social, cultural, and class conflicts. Lamb’s cultural materialist approach, in particular, views fairy lore as a discursive strategy employed within certain localized communities (or occasionally across communities) to subvert unwanted forms of social control. Laying groundwork for Wall’s examination of the “class-specific practices that subtend debates about English community in the late sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries” in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Lamb transcends previous scholarship by offering one of the first views of fairies as textual and discursive constructs. Problematically, focusing on the production and reception of fairy figures in so-called “popular culture” generally does not account for the vivid presence of fairy characters in more courtly constructs, specifically Elizabethan and Jacobean entertainments and masques. In its capacity as a longer work, Regina Buccola's *Fairies, Fractious Women, and the Old Faith: Fairy Lore in Early Modern British Drama and Culture* (2006), more effectively accounts for the courtly implications of evoking fairy figures to challenge constructs of class and gender by examining popular conceptions of Catholicism in post-Reformation England. Still, some of the works best offering a methodology through which to ameliorate tensions between fairies of folklore and the fairies absorbed into the mythology of the so-called cult of Elizabeth, are those that more explicitly question the nature of the narratives surrounding the queen, such as those by Julia Walker or Susan Frye.[55]

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[53] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Purkiss similarly argues that the depiction of the fairy queen across these entertainments is not solely complimentary. The fairy queen appears as “the protagonist of a number of stories which deal precisely with the theme of men’s endless and helpless desire for a powerful, inaccessible woman, and the danger her desires pose to them.” “Old Wives Tales Retold,” 103.

[54] Recent studies in popular culture have noted that divisions between “high culture” and “low culture,” presuppose a problematic binary. This binary would have been even more problematic in early modern England, where “the shape of ‘popular’ or ‘low’ culture was rendered all the more indistinct by a massive social movement underway in the seventeenth century but not yet completed.” Lamb, “Taken by the Fairies,” 278. See also: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978); Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield, eds., introduction to *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Sue Wiseman, “Popular Culture: A Category for Analysis?,” in Dimmock and Hadfield, eds., *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 15-28.

Obviously, such superficially imposed distinctions—the difference between scholarship that moves toward fairies' courtly constructs from an examination of the fairy figures' popular roots, versus those arriving from the opposite direction—are only possible because of the inherently privileged status of Spenser and Shakespeare in a field that is only recently beginning, what Buccola describes as, the "arduous task of rescuing fairy beliefs and traditions from the category of "folklore," which has, in its turn, been unfairly relegated to ghetto status in intellectual circles."[56] A simple increase in academic attention to fairies and a general trend toward interdisciplinary studies have substantially increased the quality of research, especially where several critical approaches have been applied or less canonical texts examined. As a general trend, recent approaches to fairies have offered trans-regional or trans-historical perspectives or re-situated the fairies within broader views of the occult. Diane Purkiss'

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[55] See especially Mary Villeponteux's re-examination of *The Faerie Queene* in "'Not As Women Wonted To Be: Spenser's Amazon Queen," in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana,* ed. Julia Walker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998). Frye, *The Competition for Representation.*

[56] Buccola, *Fairies, Fractious Women, and the Old Faith: Fairy Lore in Early Modern British Drama and Culture*, xxv.

Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories, published in 2000, which examines fairy practices from ancient Mesopotamia to today, is currently the most cited general history of fairy belief. While it has come under some scrutiny in recent years for not accounting for regional differences and for its taxonomical categorization of fairies, it is one of the first comprehensive histories of both literary and folkloric references to fairies.[57] Ronald Hutton has tracked changes in depictions of fairies from the twelfth through the seventeenth centuries, while scholars such as Michael Ostling and Richard Forest distinguished the properties of fairies through a collocational analysis of lexicon surrounding fairies and other preternatural beings.[58] The role of supernatural figures has been most prominently addressed as it appears across medieval Europe, which has profoundly re-contextualized fairy belief within medieval cultures. Richard Firth Green's *Elf Queens and Holy Friars* questions the nature of fairy belief in the Middle Ages, exploring how vernacular and literary expressions of fairy belief became intertwined with Christian theology.[59] The several publications of Nancy Caciola and Claude Lecouteux have each demonstrated the cultural history of popular beliefs regarding the supernatural amid Christian ideology.[60] Engaging with these works requires caution, however, because we cannot assume a direct, or necessarily linear, progression in the ways that medieval and early modern people understood the occult. The varied anthropological, historical, and cultural approaches these studies take are most helpful, perhaps, for the manner in which systems of belief are not viewed as stable or coherent practices, but rather demonstrate the appearance of fairies (or fairy-like beings) amid a myriad of other competing ideologies and influences.

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[57] I have to suspect the collection of essays regarding of regional fairy traditions across Brittan and Ireland recently compiled by Simon Young and Ceri Houlbrook is an attempt to respond to such criticisms as they attempt to explore "scarce and isolated references to folklore" revealed through the increasing accessibility and digitization of texts. Simon Young and Ceri Houlbrook, eds., *Magical Folk: British and Irish Fairies - 500 AD to the Present* (London: Gibson Square, 2018).

[58] Hutton, "The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014); Michael Ostling and Richard Forest, "'Goblins, owles and sprites': Discerning early-modern English preternatural beings through collocational analysis," *Religion* 44, no. 4 (2014): 547-72. https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2014.886631. What Ostling and Forest discover through this method is that that words such as "imp, incubus, and familiar have well-circumscribed associations and are restricted to specific genres. However, goblin and fairy often appear in definitional or synonymizing phrases (e.g. 'the fairies are spirits'), or, in contrast, are used in 'indiscriminate pairings' (e.g., 'ghosts and goblins')." Their approach to fairies and other preternatural beings as rhetorical constructs provides concrete evidence of the problem of nomenclature that scholars of the supernatural, and fairies in particular, have perpetually struggled with.

[59] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[60] Nancy Caciola, *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016); Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Claude Lecouteux, *The Hidden History of Elves and Dwarfs: Avatars of Invisible Realms* (Rochester,

Although the majority of studies on early modern fairies mention the dramatic works in which they appear, to date there has not been a comprehensive critical study focusing specifically on the construction and transmission of fairies in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. As I discussed previously, scholars have been quick to point to the numerous manifestations of fairies in early modern English theater as unique—albeit with a problematic emphasis on "Shakespeare's fairies." To explore this uniqueness, perhaps slightly against the grain of current tendencies to resituate supernatural beings within broader social and anthropological histories, I examine a specific manifestation of the supernatural within a condensed temporal and regional context. The dramatic works I consider were written and performed (and in some cases circulated in textual reproduction) within a relatively small geographical area. The fact that there are a vast number of these dramatic texts offers a largely ignored corpus of fictional works, indicating that as much attention ought to be paid to why and how this genre repeatedly employed this figure, as much as to any actual system of belief. James Wade uses possible worlds theory to examine the ways in which "Romance authors recognized this creative potential, and in a fully fictional form that allowed for, and even privileged the presence of marvels and the supernatural, these authors used fairies to explore issues and achieve narrative

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VT: Inner Traditions, 2018); Claude Lecouteux, *Phantom Armies of the Night: The Wild Hunt and the Ghostly Processions of the Undead* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2011); Claude Lecouteux, *Witches, Werewolves, and Fairies: Shapeshifters and Astral Doubles in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2003).

effects that could not be accomplished in any other way."[61] Likewise, I examine the presence of fairy characters as integral to the construction of the fictional worlds they inhabit. In *The Fairy Way of Writing* Kevin Pask argues that the creative originality of exemplified in the supernatural motifs of early modern English writing would come to characterize "the modern conception of literature after the middle of the eighteenth century."[62] In early modern England, the theater was central to this construction.

Defining Fairies

While the story of the rise and fall of the fairy in early modern English drama follows a mostly straightforward trajectory, the larger context surrounding it is more complicated. Deriving from the Old French *fée* and Latin *fata* (the English word "fate" derives from the same etymology) the first recorded instance of the word "fairy" in English is in the early fourteenth century in three Middle English lais in the Auchinleck manuscript: *Guy of Warwick, Sir Degarré,* and *Sir Orfeo.*[63] In medieval and early modern England, fairies constituted what James Wade calls the "ambiguous supernatural," spanning across several literary and oral traditions and signifying differently throughout its diverse manifestations.

From their earliest manifestations in the textual record, there seem to have been competing views not only on whether fairies were credible figures, but also on what they fundamentally were. Depictions of fairies vary greatly from source to source in terms of their origins, appearances, and motivations. Often, these depictions can be contradictory.[64] For instance, while fairies could be helpful entities who rewarded humans, other stories portray them as capable of terrible and erratic violence. The fairies of medieval romance tradition, usually depicted as austere, courtly, and aloof, existed alongside a multitude of cultural practices, particularly among the rural English populations, who associated fairies more often with the mundane tasks of household work and the instillation of social mores.[65] These multifaceted and sometimes contradictory depictions of fairies allowed for unique interpretations in early modern English drama, as authors frequently embraced and further intertwined the meanings brought to fairy traditions by both high and low cultures. Perhaps one of the reasons fairies became so prominent in England's sixteenth and seventeenth-century drama is that in almost all their manifestations fairies were linked to music and dancing, which constituted integral components of Elizabethan and Jacobean stage practices. Although individual dramatists adapted fairy mythology to suit the particular requirements of each performance, a few key themes emerge frequently from the dramatic works I examine in this thesis. While I am particularly interested in how individual authors utilize and innovate fairy traditions for dramatic performance, appreciating these innovations necessitates an understanding of the commonalities appearing across their extensive textual history.

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[61] Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance,* 1.
[62] Pask, *The Fairy Way of Writing,* 1.
[63] James Wade argues, "as the multiple usages in the miscellany would suggest though, "fairie" was probably current in the English oral culture some time before." *Fairies in Medieval Romance*, 4.
[64] See, for instance, the various accounts of fairy belief in Young and Houlbrook, eds. *Magical Folk*.

One of the unifying motifs that is pervasive throughout fairy lore is the close relationship between fairies and specific types of landscapes. As preternatural entities, fairies necessarily derive from outside the human community; therefore, most references to fairies tend to implicitly map them onto particular geographic areas, specifically those remote areas located at the margins of human habitation or knowledge. Fairies most often appear around forests, marshes, bogs, caves, crags, and other landscapes that are generally difficult for humans to access. The unfamiliarity of such landscapes can be interpreted as a metaphor for the dangerous and marginal qualities of fairies.[66] Following a similar logic, fairies are frequently associated with underground kingdoms, which mirror (and occasionally subvert) the normative kinship structures and social hierarchies that govern the world above.[67] Dwelling underground also implicates fairies with burial rituals, and they frequently are encountered at gravesites and tombs, particularly near burial mounds found throughout the British Isles.[68] Most sources suggest that fairy beliefs originate in these isles and that early modern English fairy practices in part derive from Celtic mythology. Diane Purkiss points out that this assumption "is often left tactfully unexplored," and posits additionally that Celtic fairy mythology was itself derived from the folklore of ancient Greece and Mesopotamia.[69] Although scholars have made different arguments for their origins, the fairy lore present in early modern England was not formed in isolation from the rest of Europe; it developed from Classical Greco-Roman, continental (particularly French), and Celtic traditions. Where fairy mythology circulates alongside Christianity, some stories about the origins of the fairies suggest that fairies are the purgatorial souls of the dead that cannot pass on.[70] Richard Firth Green has suggested that some of the earliest medieval sources of fairy lore depict close parallels between fairy land and emerging medieval notions of purgatory.[71] This has created a series of metaphorical associations between fairies and liminal spaces such as those on or near property boundaries or in the areas surrounding doorways.[72] In their more nefarious manifestations, fairies are associated with darkened landscapes and nighttime. Yi-Fu Tuan suggests, "Darkness creates a sense of isolation and of disorientation. In the absence of sharp visual details and with the ability to move curtailed, the mind is free to conjure up images… upon the slenderest perceptual cues."[73] According to Tuan, this disorientation created by darkness and obscured landscapes perpetuates a fear of harm coming within an otherwise familiar community.[74] The entertainments presented to Elizabeth I both at Woodstock and at Norwich, for instance, refer to the fairies as having black or dark faces.[75] Like the seemingly magical power of darkness, fairies were also believed to have the ability to manipulate visual perception. Shape shifting was one of their favorite tricks and they were often thought to assume the form of (or otherwise conjure up) the Will O'the Wisp lights that could lead travelers astray at night.[76] Puck in a *Midsummer Night's Dream,* for instance, is accused of misleading "night-wanderers, laughing at their harm."[77] The association between fairies and the Will O'the Wisp is probably what the townspeople are trying to evoke in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* when they light tapers to convince Falstaff that he is haunted by fairies. It also adds a folkloric element to John Lyly's evocation of fairies as "stars" in *Endymion.*[78]

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[65] Cf. The courtly depiction of Auberon (Oberon) in *Huon of Bordeaux* versus the household spirits that became associated with Robin Goodfellow and tedious household chores such as those described by Wendy Wall. John Bourchier, *Huon of Bordeaux: Done into English* (Melbourne: Leopold Classic Library, 2016)*;* Wendy Wall, ""Why Does Puck Sweep?".

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[66] Diane Purkiss has observed, "throughout most of Europe, fairies are linked to features of the known landscape, especially to dangerous, marginal or conspicuous places." *Troublesome Things,* 92. The types of landscape considered "dangerous" vary between cultures and fairy lore frequently reflects these attitudes.

[67] Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories* (London: Penguin, 2000), 119-20. In Scotland, in particular, fairies are thought to reside inside the Scottish hills. Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck*, 29.

[68] See also Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 70.

[69] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 12.

[70] Regina Buccola, "Shakespeare's Fairy Dance with Religio-Political Controversy in *The Merry Wives of Windsor,"* in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England,* ed. Dennis Taylor and David Beauregard (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 160.

[71] Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, 148-93.

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[72] In the final scene of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* for instance, Puck is "sent with broom before, / To sweep the dust behind the door." William Shakespeare*, A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2008). 5.2.19-20.

[73] Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that belief in witchcraft stems from a certain fear of the landscape, particularly darkened landscapes. He suggests, "Dark nights curtail human vision. People lose their ability to manipulate the environment, and feel vulnerable." *Landscapes of Fear* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), 15; 107.

[74] Tuan defines this fear as a fear of "witchcraft."

[75] See Chapter One, note 205 (below).

[76] Also known as the *ignis fatuus*, the Will O'the Wisp is "a phosphorescent light seen hovering or flitting over marshy ground, and supposed to be due to the spontaneous combustion of an inflammable gas (phosphuretted hydrogen) derived from decaying organic matter; popularly called Will-o'-the-wisp, Jack-a-lantern, etc." *Oxford English Dictionary,* n. "ignis fatuus." For an explanation of the phenomenon, see Diane Meredith, "Hazards in the Bog – Real and Imagined," *Geographical Review* 92, no. 3 (July 2002): 319-33.

[77] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.39.

[78] John Lyly, *Endymion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Although they are usually depicted as residing beyond human habitation, fairies were believed to seek out humans for a variety of reasons. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Gerald of Wales, Gervase of Tilbury, Walter Map, Ralph of Coggleshall, and William of Newburgh are among the earliest recorded sources to claim that fairies could abduct humans into the fairy world.[79] Later iterations of fairy lore frequently depicted fairies stealing human infants and seducing and abducting men and women.[80] These scenarios arise in a number of different variations across medieval and early modern England's literature and folklore. In both the ballads of "Thomas the Rhymer" and "Tam Lin" a young man traveling alone at night is abducted by the fairy queen and becomes embroiled in an erotic love affair with her.[81] Women were also taken by fairies, as in *Sir Degare*, where a princess is raped in the woods by a fairy knight. Purkiss has noted the vampiric nature of these encounters; in each instance, the fairies seek human flesh, both as a means of satiating an erotic hunger and in order to propagate their own bloodlines.[82] Fairies were also believed to abduct human infants, often replacing the child with a fairy changeling.[83] Healthy babies were particularly apt to be stolen or exchanged for sickly, thin, or disfigured changelings before their first christening.[84] Rituals to coerce the fairies into exchanging the changeling child for the human child often involved considerable cruelty. Susan Eberly notes that abandoning the child, beating it with a hot iron, or bathing it in foxglove were common "remedies," suggesting, that changeling rituals were "little more than socially countenanced forms of infanticide."[85] On the other hand, the violent abduction of both adults and children by the fairies implies that these abduction and changeling narratives may have been a way to discuss taboo topics such as infant mortality, disability, incest, and rape.

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[79] Hutton, "The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition," 1138.

[80] Jason Gleckman suggests a correlation between the erotic undertones in fairy mythology and new Protestant ideologies surrounding eroticism in marriage. "'I know a Bank …': A *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Fairies, and the Erotic History of England," *Shakespeare* 10, no. 1 (2014): 23-45. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450918.2013.766237. For more on romance with the preternatural or paranormal both in historical roots and contemporary fiction, see John Lennard, *Of Sex and Fairie: Further Essays on Genre Fiction* (Penrith, UK: Humanities EBooks, 2010).

[81] In some versions of these stories, the fairy queen appears to travelers at a crossroads, which aligns her with the witch figure Hecate. Yi Fu Tuan observes that certain places and landscapes are associated with incarnations of the devil. Hecate "appeared at the crossroads, invisible to human beings but visible to dogs, which howled terrifyingly. Offerings were placed at these crossroads each month to propitiate the goddess and her cohorts. In medieval times good Christian folk also avoided crossroads during the dark hours; where Hecate had once reigned, witches and ghouls of hell now congregated under the aegis of the devil himself." *Landscapes of Fear*, 107. Gerhild Scholz Williams suggests that evil beings and minions of the devil are apt to be linked to landscape through their transitory nature and thus often encountered at crossroads. "Making Time Go Away: Magical Manipulations of Time and Space," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 11, no. 1 (Summer 2016) 94-108.

[82] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 68.

[83] See also Regina Buccola, "'None but Myself Shall Play the Changeling': Fairies, Fortune- Tellers, and Female Autonomy in *The Spanish Gypsy*," *Preternature:* 1, no. 2 (2012): 173-96.

While both adults and infants singled out by fairies could lose their lives in the courses of these encounters, fairies sometimes granted the humans they dealt with various gifts. For Thomas the Rhymer, his affair with the queen of fairies granted him occult abilities, including the ability to predict the future. In other cases, fairies would grant mortals financial rewards. For instance, fairies were known to leave coins in the shoes of children or servants. Fairies could even grant riches beyond the wildest imagination. Because of the correlation between fairies and underground kingdoms, fairies were rumored to guide mortals to hordes of buried treasure. In other cases, fairies were associated with more common forms of household assistance. Robin Goodfellow, a household trickster spirit who becomes associated with fairy lore in the wake of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and other fairy-like creatures were known for granting help with chores. In exchange for a bowl of milk or cream, for instance, Robin would assist with traditionally women's work such as spinning hemp, drawing water, and cleaning hearths.[86] On the other hand, this type of fairy was particularly capricious, and just as likely to punish mortals who did not leave out food or keep clean houses as they were to assist those who did.

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[84] See Joyce Underwood Munro, "The Invisible Made Visible: The Fairy Changeling as a Folk Articulation of Failure to Thrive in Infants and Children," in *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays*, ed. Peter Narváez (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1997): 250-83; G.M. "Fairies and Christening," *Notes and Queries* 180, no. 5 (1941): 85-6.

[85] Susan Schoon Eberly, "Fairies and the Folklore of Disability: Changelings, Hybrids and The Solitary Fairy," in *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays,* ed. Peter Narváez (University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 227-250.

[86] See Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 152-6; Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies."

The frequent depictions of fairies as malignant beings often brought them into conflict with religious doctrine in post-Reformation England. Protestants were particularly hostile to fairy beliefs and perpetuated the fallacy that fairy belief was a product of the medieval Catholic "Old Faith," although in reality, the Catholic Church had been similarly unreceptive to fairy traditions.[87] Regina Buccola suggests, "Such conflation of fairy belief with Catholic doctrine became a Reform Protestant strategy for attacking rural superstition and Catholicism, both of which were perceived as ideological threats to the primacy of Protestantism."[88] Protestant doctrine radically simplified the ambiguities surrounding fairy lore and fairies were dismissed as idle delusions or denounced as demonic entities.[89] Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) set out to challenge the power of fairy lore across communities and blithely attributed fairy belief to the literal-minded and overly credulous (women and children were particularly susceptible in Scot's mind). He also suggests that practices, such as leaving out bread sopped in milk overnight, are the products of antiquated superstition and Catholic propaganda.[90] Just thirteen years later, however, James VI of Scotland's (future James I of England) *Demonologie*

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[87] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), 160. Julio Caro Baroja's chapter in *Early Modern Witchcraft: Centres and Periferies* offers a nuanced depiction of "how the figure of the witch, already known in pagan antiquity, took on different characteristics in subsequent periods, after the triumph of Christianty." He examines the ways that Medievial theologians retrofitted popular belief in witches and the supernatural into Christian binaries of good and evil. Often this relied on viewing supernatural entities as the product of demonic deception, and not, therefore, "absolute realities." "Witchcraft and Catholic Theology," 19; 25. His observations immediately preceed those of Stuart Clark (in the same monograph), the juxtaposition of which highlights the ironic similarities in ways that Catholic and Protestant factions "blamed witch-hunting on their religious opponents" through similar nuansced interpretation of popular superstition. "Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c. 1520-c. 1630)," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 45.

[88] Buccola, "Shakespeare's Fairy Dance," 160.

[89] Darren Oldridge, "Fairies and the Devil in early modern England," *The Seventeenth Century* 31, no. 1 (2016): 1–15. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/

[90] Reginald Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (London, 1584; 1665). Wing 1129:18. *Early English Books Online.*

(1597) attempted to inculcate readers on the dangers of witchcraft, warning against involvement with fairies because they constituted agents of the devil.[91] Coincidentally, the textual transmission of such works allowed fairy mythology to circulate rapidly among an increasingly literate urban public, who may not otherwise have had access to this kind of knowledge. In fact, Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* and James I's *Demonology* may have been the only textual sources of fairy mythology for London-based playwrights, including Shakespeare.[92] The influence of these texts facilitated the spread of fairy lore into cultural imagination and consequently, fairy beliefs gained newfound popularity across England and were preserved for future generations.

The various and disparate depictions of fairies have similarly led to problems with nomenclature in contemporary criticism. Some recent scholars have made implicit distinctions between the terms "preternatural" and "supernatural" as a way to describe the uncanny or otherworldly qualities of the fairies. Deriving from the French *supernatural* or Latin *supernaturalis,* "supernatural" describes that "belonging to a realm or system that transcends nature, as that of divine, magical, or ghostly beings; attributed to or thought to reveal some force beyond scientific understanding or the laws of nature; occult, paranormal."[93] On the other hand, the term "preternatural" is an English derivation modeled from Latin construction, referring to the Latin prefix "*praeter-*" meaning "more than" or "beyond" and the root word *nātūra*.[94] "Preternatural" is defined as something which is "outside the ordinary course of nature; differing from or surpassing what is natural; unnatural." For the sake of clarity and consistency, I refer to fairies as "preternatural" beings because of the sense in which the term more intimately locates them within the constructs of mythology, as something "beyond" rather than "above" human experience. As Karen Armstrong suggests, "mythology is an art form that points *beyond* history to what is timeless in human existence, helping us to get *beyond* the chaotic flux of random events, and glimpse the core of reality."[95] While this term more closely fits the description of fairies in dramatic works, a few texts also evoke figures from Classical mythology. When examining *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* in Chapter Three, for instance, I adhere to convention in referring to the Classical deities as "supernatural" when they appear alongside the fairies.

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[91] *Daemonologie: in forme of a dialogue, diuided into three bookes. Written by the high and mightie prince, Iames by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith. &c* (London, 1603). STC 1854:25. *Early English Books Online.* A later example is Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1638). STC (2nd ed.) 4162. *Early English Books Online*.

[92] Diane Purkiss has suggested that "Reginald Scot [was] Shakespeare's chief and often his only source for English folklore." *Troublesome Things,* 158.

[93] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, adj. "supernatural."

[94] Latin *nātūra* means "birth, constitution, character, the genitals, the creative power governing the world, the physical world." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, n. "nature."

In dramatic works authors constantly adapted, innovated, or otherwise had to negotiate the ambiguous motifs running through fairy lore in order to speak to contemporary audiences. As a result, fairies became increasingly embroiled in the contemporary political discourse of each generation of writers. Certainly, when the Earl of Leicester entertained Elizabeth I at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire in 1575 by staging a performance based on Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur,* the fairy-like role of the Lady of the Lake given to Elizabeth did not have many of the resonances of folkloric fairies. With the help of the playwright George Gascoigne, Leicester reworked Malory's narrative, casting the queen as the Lady of the Lake and himself as her rescuer in order to represent himself as a suitable match in marriage. Elizabeth's reaction to the proposed script was disastrous, and Elizabeth replaced Leicester's planned performance with an impromptu display of her sovereign power in the form of a gift-giving ceremony. The ceremony was a fairly humbling rejection of Leicester's intended marriage proposal and a warning that the queen did not perceive any of her courtiers as her equals. In October of the same year, the dramatic performances presented to Elizabeth at Woodstock by Sir Henry Lee formulated a response to Leicester's entertainment, artfully offering a multitude of perspectives on the subject of marriage in his entertainment by incorporating into it various autonomous unmarried female figures. One of these figures—the powerful, unmarried, and sovereign fairy queen—delighted Elizabeth, prompting her to ask for a printed copy of the text. However, Diane Purkiss has discussed the problematic nature of the fairy queen generally, and at Woodstock in particular, as a "rewriting of a range of stories, probably women's stories or old wives' tales, which survive only in fragmentary form, but which gesture at women's investment in the idea of a powerful and eroticized matriarchy which is not an object of desire but a possible fantasy self."[96] The fairy queen presented at Woodstock also exhibits several of the attributes of fairies from folklore that I have discussed earlier. She resides in the woods, generally avoids the sunshine, and appears surrounded by children. The fairy queen also refers to the idea that her face has been "transformed" in the presence of Elizabeth, potentially suggesting that she had a darker countenance previously.[97] It was this depiction of a fairy queen, derived from the inseparable aspects of the medieval romances, folkloric tradition, and theatrical innovation that became associated with Elizabeth's (and later James') court. In 1591, Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* solidified the image of Elizabeth I as "the fairy queen," depicting Elizabeth as a preternatural, sovereign, and autonomous female monarch. While aligning Elizabeth with the fairy queen frequently projected a positive image of the queen as an immortal and mythological figure, it simultaneously recalled the multifaceted associations fairies derived from folklore. Therefore, evoking fairies in dramatic works created resonances between the secondary universe of the play and the commensurate body of folkloric, narrative, political, and poetic depictions of the fairies in the actual world. Each subsequent iteration of the fairy figure throughout Elizabethan and Jacobean drama evoked both the royal image of the monarch and this complex network of folkloric symbolism.

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[95] Karen Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth* (New York: Canongate, 2005), 7-8. Emphasis added.

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[96] Diane Purkiss, "Old Wives Tales Retold: the Mutations of the Fairy Queen," in *'This Doubled Voice' Gendered Writing in Early Modern England,* ed. Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke (London: Macmillan, 2000), 104.
[97] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 403.

With the various associations surrounding the fairy figure, it is interesting to consider that the fairy characters in early modern English drama are lacking few characteristics that are commonly associated with depictions of fairies in wider transmissions of fairy lore. For example, in many folkloric sources, visiting the fairies usually entail an unusual phenomenon: humans leave their sleeping bodies behind them and travel to fairy land in spirit form. Claude Lecouteux has examined variations of the motif of "the astral double." While the double frequently appears in association with fairies, witches, and werewolves, Lecouteux argues that the appearance of the fairy double serves as an indicator of a human's fate; it most commonly appears in the form of a protector, lover, or even wife.[98] More frequently, this double takes the form of a fairy "familiar," a term which can refer either to a fairy that serves as a human's spiritual guide or to a fairy's animal companion.[99] Gustav Henningsen, for instance, describes the trial records of a group of Sicilian witches, identifying as the *donas de fuora.* This group, ostensibly accompanied by the "Queen of Fairies" (*Donna Zinelor*), travelled "in spirit" on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday nights feasting and visiting houses throughout the community; they peered into closets and kitchens, blessed children, and received supernatural insight.[100] As far as anyone could tell, those that went out with the fairies never left their beds. In many ways, the night traveling described by Henningsen resembles the idea of a Witches' Sabbath. Described in detail in the witch-hunting manual the *Canon Episcopi*, the Witches' Sabbath describes a group of witches (many in spirit form) who would reportedly travel great distances at night, performing various demonic acts, from pacts with the devil, to orgiastic activities, to cannibalism.[101]

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[98] Lecouteux, *Witches, Werewolves, and Fairies*, 64.

[99] For more on the witches' familiar see Emma Wilby, "The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland," *Folklore* 111, no. 2 (2000): 283-305.

[100] Henningsen, "'The Ladies from the Outside,'" 198-204.

Despite its various manifestations and common association with fairies, the spirit double does not seem to inform Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic works. It is only in Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* that a familiar spirit is referenced. In the play, Dapper seeks out the fairy queen in order to gain a fairy familiar, who is supposedly granted to him by the con artists in the form of a fly that he must not ever look at. Obviously, since *The Alchemist* features counterfeit fairies, Dapper never witnesses his astral double. Perhaps references to the dream-like state of the lovers in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* might also have evoked the idea of the spirit double for early modern audiences. When the lovers arrive safely back at the Athenian court, they describe their experience in the fairy forest saying it feels as though "yet we sleep, we dream."[102] While the lovers express the quixotic quality of their experience, Theseus physically finds them sleeping in the Athenian forest, suggesting that they have indeed moved in body and not just in spirit.[103] For all its importance to fairy folklore, and in identifying witches in various trials throughout the eighteenth century, hardly a trace of the spirit traveling phenomena is present across the nineteen dramatic works I examine in this thesis.

Traditionally, in depictions of the fairies in folklore, fairies frequently appear either embodied as, or accompanied by certain kinds of animals.[104] Lecouteux suggests:

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[101] Emma Wilby, "Burchard's Strigae, the Witches' Sabbath, and Shamanistic Cannibalism in Early Modern Europe" *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 8, no. 1 (2013): 18-49. doi:10.1353/mrw.2013.0010. For more on the importance of the *Cannon Episcopi* see Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf,* 49-53.

[102] *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 4.1.190.

[103] *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 4.1.125-50.

[104] Particularly prevalent in Norse mythology, is the notion of a *fylgia* or an animal spirit companion. Stephen Pollington, *Leechcraft: Early English Charms, Plantlore and Healing* (Ely: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2011), 62.

> Since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there has existed a direct relationship between fairies and certain animals: the wild boar, the doe, the stag. These animals correspond, of course, to the hunting-related canons of courtly civilization and reflect its aristocratic culture, but they also have a pronounced supernatural character, which is indicated by its color—white, for example—or by an anatomic detail, or even a strange behavior.[105]

In the dramatic works I examine, however, there are limited animal appearances. Other than the white bears that pull Oberon's coach in Jonson's *Oberon the Fairy Prince,* animals do not physically feature in any other dramatic performance. References to animals are likewise limited. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* Falstaff does put on antlers in order to woo Mistress Ford and Mistress Page shortly before the fairies arrive, evoking a stag. The entertainments presented to Elizabeth are frequently performed alongside other courtly activities such as hunting, however animals do not feature in the entertainments themselves. Perhaps this is partly due to the nature of dramatic performance and the inherent difficulty involved in acting alongside animals.

Perhaps the most surprising element of fairy lore missing from dramatic works is the reputation fairies had to heal (or bring about illness as well). Both witches and fairies in early modern England were frequently called upon for their supernatural knowledge of the human body. Like the case of Jacob Behmen's mysterious white powder given to him by the fairies, there are enumerable instances of self-proclaimed or court-proclaimed witch-healers and leeches calling on the fairies for assistance in their craft.[106] This integral part of fairy lore is shockingly absent from the depictions of fairies in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. While the fairies in several of the texts do *cause* illness especially in the form of fairy pinches (in *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Endymion,* and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* for instance) the fairies do not offer cures or are not called upon for help in a healing process.

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[105] Lecouteux, *Witches, Werewolves, and Fairies,* 67.

[106] Records of this are too numerous to recall. For a few examples, see Hutton, *The Witch,* chap 8; Purkiss, *Troublesome Things;* Henningsen, "'The Ladies from the Outside,'" passim. Gustav Henningsen, "The Witches' Flying and the Spanish Inquisitors, or How to Explain (Away) the Impossible," *Folklore* 120, no. 1 (April 2009): 57-74.

Collectively, the dramatic works I examine draw from numerous folkloric and textual sources as inspiration for the fairies that populate their respective dramatic universes. However, the fact that certain motifs commonly associated with fairies are not present across any of the dramatic works suggests that playwrights did have a shared definition of what distinguished fairies from other preternatural beings, however nebulous that definition was. While an examination of the dramatic works featuring fairies does not contribute to a definition of fairies, it does perhaps suggest that early modern English playwrights evoked fairies to fill a specific function in the dramatic works, which was distinct from their other manifestations in fairy lore.

Fairies in Dramatic Landscapes

In examining the manner in which the fictional worlds evoked in dramatic texts evolve over the course of forty years, my project identifies a change in the landscapes that fairies fictionally inhabit within the dramatic works themselves. As texts meant to be physically performed, dramatic works derive meaning from the constant interplay between the space of the performance, and the landscapes and spaces imagined to compose the fictional world. Phenomenological approaches to space beginning in the twentieth century have created competing definitions of space across different disciplines.[107] Broadly defined, space represents a

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[107] In 1958, Gaston Bachelard's *La Poétique de l'Espace,* which examines the relationship between memory and interior spaces, began a new approach to space through what he calls "topoanalysis," the "psychological study of the localities of our intimate lives." *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 8. In the mid-1970s, geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan began to seriously engage with phenomenological philosophies. Tuan argues that place allows humans to get to know the world through perception and experience. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). In 1974, French urban theorist

"continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied."[108] Recent narratologists have drawn attention back to the importance of this broad concept of space in the creation of fictional worlds. Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu suggest two key ways in which space intersects with narrative: As "an object of representation," and as "the medium in which narrative is realized." [109] They suggest the several diverse roles that space occupies, including, "a focus of attention, a bearer of symbolic meaning, an object of emotional investment, a means of strategic planning, a principle of organization, and even a supporting medium."[110] On the other hand, the second half of their study focuses on the manner in which space functions as the environment in which narrative is physically developed in instances such as street signs, commemorative plaques, and museum layouts. While in narratology, these constructs may be separate, in dramatic works, the way that space is represented is always necessarily dependent on the actual physical space of its performance.

I argue that the process of demythologization of the fairy figure as it occurs in early modern English drama is most clearly demonstrated through the changing interactions between fairy characters and the landscapes they inhabit. Initially, the fairy figure appears in outdoor and natural landscapes. First recorded in 1598 in accounts of Dutch painting, the term landscape initially referred to the representation of vast natural outdoor views in art.[111] In present usage, it

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Henri Lefebvre published *La production de l'espace*, in which he accounts for various abstract types of space, including socially produced space, spaces which humans have attached meaning to in some form. *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). Perhaps one of the most influential concepts of space is Martin Heidegger concept of "dwelling." Heidegger argues that the act of place-creation produces space, that is, building produces place which constructs the space around it. *Poetry, Language, Thought,* trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row). Edward Relph developed Heidegger's concepts of space in order to examine the deeper importance of place to humans by suggesting that "the essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as profound centers of human existence." *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 43.

[108] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, n. "space."

[109] Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu, *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative,* 1.

[110] Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu, 1.

[111] *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* n. "landscape." For more on the history of landscape and its relationship with place, see Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2004), 17.

refers to "the arrangement or pattern of 'things on the land' and the terrain, shape, and structure of land," but, more importantly, it also implicates "the social and cultural significance and meaning of such patterns and terrains."[112] Recent studies in literary landscapes have begun to examine the manner in which the imagined landscapes of a text can also be read as reflections of actual geographic features and the cultural practices that surround them.[113] The first early modern English dramatic works featuring fairies relied on the landscape to evoke fairy mythology. In these early works, the physical and metaphorical inscriptions of cultural practice on the landscape served as a means of validating and perpetuating a mythological mode of fictionality.

The entertainments held for Queen Elizabeth I at Woodstock, for instance, were performed in the outdoor landscapes surrounding the manor house at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, only a few miles from Sir Henry Lee's ancestral home in Ditchley. As I discuss in Chapter One, the physical, actual-world geography of this location was important for its long-standing connection with the Tudor dynasty.[114] In this way, the location itself served as a historical reminder of Elizabeth's ancestral claim to sovereign power (and painted a positive picture of Lee's own personal connection with and fealty to the queen). The secondary universe, however, describes a series of miracles—including the restoration of sight to the blind, the reunion of lost lovers, the appearance of the fairy queen—that are possible, according to the text, only in a particular location. Thus the performance of these miracles substantiates the mythological potential of the landscape through reenactment. Each of the entertainments for Elizabeth that I examine in Chapter One utilizes natural outdoor landscapes similarly.

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[112] Noel Castree, Rob Kitchin, and Alisdair Rogers, eds. *A Dictionary of Human Geography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), n. "landscape," http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199599868.001.0001/acref-9780199599868.

[113] See Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu, *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative*; Jane Suzanne Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature* (London: Routledge, 2012), 4.

[114] Woodstock had been a royal manor for centuries. Henry II had kept his mistress Rosamond Clifford at Woodstock in a bower in the park. Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit," 88.

However, such utilization of landscape facilitated a shift in the way that the fairy figures were presented in early modern English drama. The plays I examine in Chapter Two, for instance, are also set in natural outdoor landscapes but were performed in indoor venues.[115] This necessitated a change in the ways in which the fairy characters had to interact with the physical space of performance; much more of the setting had to be evoked through props and verbal cues. By contrast, the indoor spaces in which the counterfeit fairy appears, represent a change in the way fairies were thought to relate to their fictional worlds. Performed in indoor venues, plays featuring the counterfeit fairies are typically set in populated residential landscapes, either in London itself or the towns surrounding it. Like real fairies, counterfeit fairies inform, and are informed by, the cultural practices that shape the landscapes they inhabit. Steeped in the contemporary culture of these urban locations, the counterfeit fairies do not occupy a mythological mode of fictionality. Instead, their presence represents the domestic, commercial, and erotic concerns current within the urbanized spaces they inhabit.

Focusing on the presence of fairies specifically in dramatic works has a two-fold advantage: this project attempts to account for all presently known extant plays in English featuring fairy characters from the early modern period. Many of the plays I examine across this project have been neglected by scholars. I suggest that perhaps a part of the reason that some of these plays have been overlooked is the ambiguous nature of the fairy themes woven into their cores that render them opaque outside of a comprehensive appreciation of the socio-historical contexts which originally produced them. For instance, *The Honest Lawyer,* rarely noticed since its initial composition in 1615 (and performance by the Queen Anne's Men in the same year), involves three con artists who disguise themselves as fairies to rob a usurer. The masque-like robbery is oddly disjointed from the rest of the violent crimes perpetuated throughout the play. However, the choice to use a fairy disguise resonates in a play about social inequality and dishonest business practices only if understood in light of the common association of fairies as potential sources of illicit wealth. Resituating the fairies within a network of theatrical representations allows a more nuanced understanding of these dramatic works both individually and as a group.

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[115] Each of the four plays I examine in this chapter was performed within a building, either in an aristocratic residence, an indoor private theater, or a public outdoor theater (which while it has no roof is still a building). The physical stage or stage-like space in which the plays were performed had to suffice to evoke any landscape implied within the plot.

Moreover, focusing on fairy figures exclusively in early modern English drama offers the potential to examine its genre-specific requirements. Drama is unique in that the texts are meant to be performed, in most cases, by live actors. In non-dramatic prose and poetry, fairies can operate without such constraints. Elucidating this point, James Wade's genre-specific study of fairies in medieval romance suggests that fairies are not subject to the principles that govern human realities and therefore offer almost limitless potential to the ways in which authors imagined and utilized such figures. Wade suggests that the writers of romance "recognized this creative potential, and in a fully fictional form that allowed for, and even privileged, the presence of marvels and the supernatural, these authors used fairies to explore issues and achieve narrative effects that could not be accomplished in any other way."[116] In other words, these texts are not constrained by the need to be realistic or performable. On the other hand, dramatic works featuring fairies present a unique paradox: the seemingly limitless "creative potential" afforded to authors by the evocation of preternatural figures is subject to the physical limitations of human embodiment. Dramatists that evoke the fairy figure uniquely engage with this contradiction. A genre-specific study therefore offers insight into the manner in which authors evoked the fairy figure in order to achieve distinct theatrical and rhetorical effects while engaging with the physical limitations of live dramatic performance.

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[116] Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance,* 1.

In the rich theatrical and cinematic afterlives of some of these plays, most notably *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* technology has frequently been used to depict the extra-human qualities of the fairies.[117] This recent tendency of rendering the fairies divorces these plays from their original performance contexts, where distinctions between the human and preternatural was far less clearly defined. Each of the plays I examine deals with this problematic ambiguity differently. I argue that, in some instances, the relative indistinguishability between human and preternatural figures is particularly poignant. For instance, in the entertainments at Woodstock, the fairy queen offered a preternatural reflection of Elizabeth's sovereign power. Some performances evoke the fairies as a means of generating spectacle through imaginative interludes, as in *Galatea.* In other plays, such as *Guy Earl of Warwick* or *Endymion,* props and staging practices are used to recreate fairy magic with theatrical magic. Several of these theatrical "tricks" still leave modern scholars musing over the exact details of their technical execution. Still other performances draw attention to the divide between the supernatural character and human actor as a point of humor, emphasizing the ridiculousness of fairy belief, as seen in *The Valiant Welshman,* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* which I discuss in Chapter Four.

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[117] As early as 1935, Max Reinhardt adapted the 1934 Hollywood Bowl production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for film. In the first entrance of Titania and her fairy train at the beginning of act 2, scene 1, the film is manipulated to make it appear as though Titania is descending on a moonbeam. Recently, live theatrical performance has begun to incorporate technology in order to make the magical elements scripted into early modern plays more realistic. In 2016, The Royal Shakespeare Company produced an adaptation of *The Tempest* which featured a CGI version of Ariel. I suggest that these innovations render it increasingly difficult to modern audiences to access a historical renditions of magical figures. Max Reinhardt, dir. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* film adaptation of William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers: 1935), DVD; Gregory Doran, dir. *The Tempest* by William Shakespeare, Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, 2016. See also: Scott MacQueen, "Midsummer Dream, Midwinter Nightmare: Max Reinhardt and Shakespeare Versus The Warner Bros," *The Moving Image* 2 (2009): 30-103.

Identification and Selection of Texts

The selection and identification of relevant dramatic works featuring fairy characters offers a particular challenge: while Elizabethan and Jacobean textual references to fairy figures leading up to their first appearances in drama are frequent, these texts do not necessarily agree on what a fairy is. As I discussed previously, fairies are associated with a whole range of sometimes contradictory characteristics from physical features to habitual behaviors. Discussing the problematic terminology surrounding fairies, Emma Wilby notes that "spirits were labelled differently depending on geography, education and religious perspective, and categories of spirit overlapped considerably."[118] James Wade has argued that "the lack of consistent signifiers meant that, at best, fairies remained ambiguous and liminal; or perhaps at the same time this relationship between signifier and signified operated vice versa. That is, their ambiguous nature resisted any concrete signifiers."[119] In order to minimize this problem of nomenclature, my thesis discusses dramatic works from the selected time period that explicitly list fairies in their *dramatis personae* as fairies.

It is important to recognize, however, that the lack of clear terminology to distinguish between various preternatural entities may also simply reflect a lack of contemporary concern over such distinctions. A portion of early modern England's population disinclined to belief in the supernatural dismissed the fairies outright, with no need to categorize such entities further.

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[118] Wilby, "The Witch's Familiar," 284.

[119] Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance,* 5.

Reginald Scot emphasizes the ridiculous nature of the various creatures evoked by "our mother's maids," who "have so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, [and] sylens, […] that we are afraid of our owne shadowes."[120] Scot goes on to list over twenty preternatural entities, each of which he believes to be as non-existent as the fairies. For those who were credulous, the distinctions between such creatures may have been equally irrelevant. For many, the good/evil binary distinction of Christian orthodoxy meant that any manifestation of supernatural power not wielded by God was necessarily a work of the Devil and therefore indistinct from all of his other incarnations.[121] For this reason, I argue that the original authorial/editorial choice to employ the term fairy directly in the dramatic texts provides a useful criterion for the identification of dramatic texts relevant to the discussion surrounding the complex nature of the fairy figure in early modern English drama.

Even with such a concrete criterion in place, a few particular dramatic works feature definitionally problematic fairy-like figures: most famously, perhaps, the fairy-like Ariel from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, designated in the *dramatis personae* as an "aiery spirit."[122] However, some of the descriptions of Ariel's powers are reminiscent of the fairies. Ariel's ability to shape shift, proclivity for conjuring up music, and powers deriving from elemental forces closely resemble the features of several other entities explicitly named fairies by other texts. Indeed, Ariel is referred to once in the play as a fairy, although this is by way of insult rather than identification.[123] Therefore, I have chosen not to include *The Tempest* in my examination of early modern English dramatic works featuring fairies because of the prevailing identification of Ariel as a "spirit." In the first scene in which Ariel appears, for instance, Prospero repeatedly refers to the character as "my Ariel" or "my spirit." This is not to say that the original early modern audience would not have recognized Ariel as a fairy anyway, but in a play concerned with the magical power of language, I argue that Prospero's description of Ariel shapes his identity.[124]

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[120] Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, 85.

[121] Nancy Caciola discusses some of the problems in distinguishing between holy and demonic supernatural occurances in *Discerning Spirits*.

[122] Fairies are frequently referred to in a similar manner. In the *Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, the fairies are described as having "bodyes made of lightest ayre." E2r. In William Percy's *The Faery Pastorall*, one of the fairies likewise describes how he changed into "myne own Airie shape." 4.10.60.

[123] Ariel is referred to in one instance in the play as a "fairy." As Caliban leads Stephano and Trinculo around the island, Stephano tells Caliban, "Monster, your fairy, which you say is a harmless fairy, has done little better than

Grim the Collier of Croyden (1600) and *Willy Beguiled* (1596) also feature another definitionally problematic fairy-like figure called Robin Goodfellow. The typical representation of Robin Goodfellow in folklore associates him with demonic figures. In the woodcut accompanying the ballad, "The Mad Merry Prankes of Robbin Good-Fellow," for instance, Robin Goodfellow is portrayed as a figure with cloven hoofs partially dressed in animal pelts.[125] It was only after the appearance of Robin Goodfellow in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that this figure became associated with fairies. One of Shakespeare's innovations was to include supernatural and preternatural entities from folklore and integrate them harmoniously into one dramatic universe ruled over by a fairy queen and king. In the first scene featuring fairies, a fairy from Titania's train meets Oberon's mischievous henchman, Puck, recalling: "you are that shrewd and knavish sprite / Call'd Robin Goodfellow." The fairy then recounts other names by which Robin is known: "those that 'Hobgoblin' call you and 'sweet Puck', / You do their work, and they shall have good luck: / Are not you he?"[126] Shakespeare adopts the household laboring

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played the Jack with us." In the dramatic universe of *The Tempest* "fairy," is a derogatory term used when there is no real threat of danger, rather than a way of identifying Ariel. *The Tempest,* 4.1.217-19.

[124] Characters such as Caliban, on the other hand, reject Prospero's efforts to endow "thy purposes / With words that made them known." Ariel embraces this identity evoked through Prospero's summons, promising to "do my spiriting more gently." *The Tempest,* 1.2.362; 1.2.300.

[125] *The mad-merry prankes of Robbin Good-fellow* (London, 1625), Tract Supplement A5:1[124]. *Early English Books Online*. For an explanation of this image, similar images, and potential interpretations see Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies."

[126] *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.40-1.

Robin Goodfellow figure from folklore and recasts him as Oberon's fairy servant. Shakespeare's formulation of an inclusive fairy kingdom is so pervasive that, even in modern contexts, preternatural entities stemming from diverse backgrounds and traditions are frequently classified broadly as fairies. *An Index of Characters in Early Modern Drama* thus lists *Grim the Collier of Croyden* as a play featuring fairies.[127] In fact, an original stage direction designates the presence of "furies" who guard the ghost of Malbecco, a wealthy noblemen driven to suicide by his wife, on the journey to hell. In the play, the furies and Robin Goodfellow are agents of Pluto and the judges of hell. Although both *Grim the Collier of Croyden* and *Willy Beguiled* were written and performed after *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* both plays harken back to more popular depictions of the Robin Goodfellow figure as a devil or demon figure.

In order to account fully for the evolution of the fairy character in early modern English drama from fictionally real to fictionally counterfeit, my analysis begins in 1575 with the first appearance of the fairy as a scripted character in the Elizabethan entertainments. I have then identified what I hope are all extant dramatic works that explicitly feature the preternatural characters identified in the dramatis personae listings as fairies, from this first appearance until their significant decline after 1615.[128] In some chapters, particularly in Chapter Three, which deals with the abundant manifestations of fairy characters in dramatic works around the turn of the seventeenth century, I have strategically focused my analysis on the texts that best exemplify the relationship between fairy characters and landscapes at this stage in their evolution.

Organization

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[127] Thomas Berger, William Bradford, and Sidney Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama: Printed Plays, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[128] For the plays that do not have dramatis personae, I identify fairy characters based on the designation of speaker in the text.

This thesis is organized chronologically with a secondary consideration of genre. In order to analyze the earliest representations of fairies in early modern English drama, Chapter One examines three dramatic works from 1575 to 1591: *The Entertainment at Woodstock* (1575) by George Gascoigne, *The Entertainment at Norwich* (1578) by Thomas Churchyard, Bernard Garter, and William Goldenham, and *The Entertainment at Elvetham* (1591) by Thomas Watson and Nicolas Breton.[129] I argue that these first appearances of the fairy figure in dramatic performances align the mythological landscapes that the plots of the entertainments are set in with the rural English countryside locations in which their original performances took place. Often, these entertainments spanned the course of several days and were integrated into the daily activities of the aristocratic households which hosted them. In each location, these entertainments were written and performed with the local natural landscape in mind, which provided spaces for the performance according to the actual topographical features available. I suggest that these Elizabethan entertainments attempted to adapt an available mythological mode of fictionality to a contemporary dramatic form and physically integrate it into actual English landscapes.

Chapter Two examines four stage plays written between 1588 and 1593 featuring fairy characters: *Galatea*, *Endymion, The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick,* and *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*. John Lyly's *Galatea* and *Endymion* were both performed for the court at Greenwich by the Children of Paul's theater company in 1588.[130] The anonymous

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[129] Harry H. Boyle suggests George Buc may have acted as a third contributor to *The Entertainment at Elvetham.* "Elizabeth's *Entertainment at Elvetham*: War Policy in Pageantry," *Studies in Philology* 68, no. 2 (April 1971): 146-66.

[130] *Galatea* was first entered into the Stationers' Register on April 1, 1585 as "A Comoedie of Titrus and Galathea." It is uncertain how similar this entry is to the version published under the title *Gallathea* in 1592 and it is also not clear why the entry into the Stationer's Register predates its performance. For various theories about the play's early textual history, see George Hunter and David Bevington, Introduction to *Galatea* by John Lyly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 4-6 and Warwick Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1902).

Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick (1593)[131] and Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (1591)[132] were both performed in public theaters.[133] These four plays feature the fairy figure in natural, outdoor, and non-urban landscapes. I have further classified these landscapes into three subtypes, which I term the "forest landscape," the "lapsed landscape," and the "dreamscape." I discuss how, in performance, each of these landscapes would have been originally constructed in a relatively bare performance area. I argue that the relationship of the fairy characters to the landscapes of the dramatic universe in each of these four plays initiates a process of demythologization of the fairy figure in early modern drama. I point out that each of these landscape subtypes is also present in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in order to demonstrate the relationship between depictions of fairies in Elizabethan drama and non-dramatic poetry.

Chapter Three discusses a change in how fairies were portrayed on the early modern English stage in the late 1590s and early 1600s. I argue that William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), the anonymous *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600), the anonymous *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* (1600), and William Percy's *The Faery Pastorall* (1603) are indicative of a change in the mode of fictionality operating in a plethora of plays written and performed around this time.[134] Each of the plays I examine in this chapter depicts what I term "composite landscapes." These landscapes are comprised of two contrasting and complementing types of space. I identify three composite landscapes operating within these plays: performative/real, microscopic/universal, and natural/domestic. Within the text, these landscapes indicate a change in the mode of fictionality that early modern drama used to portray the fairy figure. I suggest that this changing mode of fictionality ultimately gives rise to the counterfeit fairy in plays.

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[131] The 1661 print attributes the play to "B.J." No definitive date or author has been decided on by critics, although the ambiguity has produced some interesting scholarship. Currently, most scholars seem to support the work of Helen Cooper, which proposes a composition and performance date between 1593 and 1594, for the version that survives in the 1661 printing. Helen Cooper, "Guy of Warwick, Upstart Crows and Mounting Sparrows," in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). John Peachman argues that *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* is a response written by Ben Jonson to Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.* If this is true, Peachman posits a date as late as 1598. "Ben Jonson's 'Villanous Guy,'" *Notes and Queries* 56, no. 4 (December 2009): 566-74. https://doi-org.elib.tcd.ie/10.1093/notesj/gjp197.

[132] The exact composition date of the play is not known, but, as J.A. Lavin has pointed out, it is usually given the composition date of 1591. Robert Greene, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth,* ed. J.A. Lavin, New Mermaids (London: Ernest Benn, 1967). Wiggins and Richardson suggest 1590, with limits between 1588 and 1592. *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 3, no. 1079.

[133] The 1661 printed text of *Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* suggests that it was "acted frequently with great applause." The 1598 printed text of Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* suggests that it was "sundry times publicaly played.' Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642,* vol. 3, no. 854.

Chapter Four traces the appearance of this so-called counterfeit fairy figure in early modern English drama. I examine four plays: Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597), Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), Robert Armin's *The Valiant Welshman* (1612), and the anonymous *The Honest Lawyer* (1615).[135] I argue that the appearance of the counterfeit fairy indicates a new mode of fictionality, one no longer resembling the mythological constructs that fairies first appear in, but one that paints them as impossibilities even within their respective dramatic universes. I read these fairies as increasingly embedded in interior spaces, particularly those of the urban household, examining three types of metaphorical spaces within this sphere: the feminine, the erotic, and the commercial.

Ultimately, the presence of the counterfeit fairy in early modern English drama signals the fairy figure's irrevocable divorce from the earlier mythological mode of fictionality. By analyzing the complex interactions between landscape, fictionality, and theater, my project traces the evolution of the fairy character across early modern English drama. To this end, my project concludes by briefly discussing the afterlife of the fairy figure in the Jacobean masque, focusing specifically on Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones' *Oberon the Faery Prince* (1611). I argue, similarly to the counterfeit fairies that I examine in Chapter Four, the fairies of Jonson's masque are not portrayed as actual possibilities, even within the fiction of the performance. Instead the fairies' main function is to highlight the aristocratic abilities of the courtiers who portrayed them. In this masque, the outdoor landscapes that the fairy figure occupied in the earlier dramatic works was physically reconstructed indoors for the performance. In contrast to the stage plays featuring fairies, there is actual visual evidence of what the fairies looked like and how they were performed, and I examine ideas surrounding the credibility of the fairy figure in this new context defined by a broader range of documentary evidence. Noting the relative absence of the fairy figure from English dramatic works after 1615, I suggest that the shift around the turn of the seventeen century in English drama away from works from featuring a fictionally real fairy to a fictionally counterfeit fairy indicates a broader change in attitudes regarding the credibility of the fairy figure and fairy lore.

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[134] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* is often attributed to Lyly, although authorship is still subject to debate. I choose to treat the play as having uncertain authorship. I have strategically selected to examine these four plays from this time period. However, I briefly discuss other plays featuring fairy characters including: *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (or *Lust's Dominion*) (1600), *The Faery Pastorall* (1603), and *The Whore of Babylon* (1606).

[135] Attributed to S.S.

Chapter One: Elizabethan Entertainments, 1575-1591

On August 29, 1575, Elizabeth I and her court arrived at the royal manor in Woodstock. For the duration of her stay until around October 3,[136] she was occupied almost daily with entertainments hosted by Sir Henry Lee, the Lieutenant of Woodstock.[137] The appearance of fairies in these entertainments constitutes the first recorded manifestation fairy characters in early modern English drama. Elizabeth's delight at these performances and her request for a copy of the text inspired similar entertainments, and, in the forty years that followed, the fairy figure appeared frequently as a character across early modern English drama.

However, these first appearances of the fairy figure were different from the interpretations that followed in the later stage plays and almost unrecognizable as the predecessors to the counterfeit fairies appearing in the dramatic works from around 1597 onwards.[138] The fairies that featured in the entertainments at Woodstock (1575), the entertainments at Norwich (1578), and to a great extent also those that appear in the later entertainments at Elvetham (1591) were presented as real and potent entities. These first manifestations of the fairy figure utilized a mythological mode of fictionality which presented the fairy not only as real within the plot of the entertainment itself, but blurred the border between the dramatic universe created within the entertainment and the actual world of early modern England. This mythological mode of fictionality is most readily apparent in the use of landscapes that are present in each of the three entertainments I examine in this chapter. I will look at three distinct landscapes that the fairies occupy in these works, which I term the distant landscape, the country house landscape, and the natural landscape respectively. I argue that these entertainments use the fairies, inspired by medieval romance and English folklore, in order to align the landscapes in which the plots of the entertainments are fictionally set with the rural English countryside locations in which their original performance physically took place.

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[136] Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure," 100.

[137] See E. K. Chambers, *Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait* (London: Clarendon Press, 1936).

[138] The first references to a counterfeit fairy that I have been able to identify is in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Probably written in 1597, the first known performance is 1602. Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 3, no. 1079.

The Distant Landscape in the Entertainments at Woodstock

The entertainments that accompanied the usual visits of Queen Elizabeth I and her court to the English countryside typically took place in the summers between 1564 and 1602, with some interruption during the troubled decade of 1580.[139] The plots of the entertainments that featured fairy characters were usually set in a distant landscape, either in exotic locations or in a fictional past. This required the actual landscapes that the entertainments were performed in to be reimagined by the spectators, and often physically altered by the organizers. The hosts built entire palaces, created lakes or bowers, or otherwise updated whole cities in order to make the landscapes evoked by the entertainments a physical actuality. In doing so, the landscapes of the primary universe (actual early modern England), figuratively or physically became the landscapes of the secondary universe (the universe created within the drama).[140]

The Elizabethan entertainments are unique for the way in which they intricately configure the primary universe to the desired specifications of the secondary universes. Early modern stage plays held in outdoor theaters such as The Globe or The Rose, and later indoor theaters such as

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[139] Selma Jeanne Cohen, ed., "Elizabethan Progresses," *The International Encyclopedia of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). *Oxford Reference Online.* https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780195173697.001.0001.

[140] Marie-Laure Ryan, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu define "narrative universe" as "the world presented as actual by the text, plus all the counterfactual worlds constructed by the characters as beliefs, wishes, fears, speculations, hypothetical thinking, dreams, fantasies, and imaginative creations." I apply their definition to dramatic texts, describing it as the "dramatic universe." *Narrating Space/Spatializing Narrative: Where Narrative Theory and Geography Meet* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2016), 24-25.

Blackfriars, were designated performance spaces; these spaces confined the secondary universe to the performance space of the primary universe. Through the use of actions, language, and props, this performance space became the world that was presented as real within the play— In *Hamlet*, for instance, The Globe Theater, or any of its other performance venues, became Hamlet's castle in Denmark (a point probably not missed by Shakespeare or his characters when Hamlet remarks "while memory holds a seat / In this distracted globe").[141] In the entertainments I discuss here, however, this model of fictional world creation is reversed, and the secondary universe is inseparable from the actual geographic boundaries of the primary universe.

Throughout the entertainments for Elizabeth, fairy characters usually appear in settings that are, in some way, either temporally or physically distant from the actual primary world locations in which the performance physically took place. By physically altering the landscapes of the performance space in order to resemble the otherworldly landscapes of faraway places or the distant landscapes of the past, the entertainments create the illusion that the past, or the otherworldly, has converged with the actual landscapes of contemporary early modern England. The convergence of the distant landscapes of the secondary universe and the local landscapes of the primary universe in the entertainments allows fairies to occupy a mythological mode of fictionality, which extends beyond the immediate context of the plots and effects the contemporary actuality of early modern England. Thomas Pavel describes one of the requisites for myth is distance from actuality:

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[141] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I.5.97. The first performance of *Hamlet* in 1600 makes by the Lord Chamberlin's Men (later the King's Men in 1603) means it may have been one of the plays used to open the company's Globe Theater. Richard Burbage played Hamlet in its first iterations, and the play was instantly successful. However, the play was also performed in a number of other venues. In 1607, in one of its earliest known performances, *Hamlet* was performed on a ship owned by the East India Company called the Dragon, which was off the coast of Sierra Leon at the time of the performance. The title page of the 1603 quarto edition tells us that it was also performed at Oxford and Cambridge. In its original performances, actors anachronistically wore Elizabethan clothing, so, while costuming was an important part of the spectacle, it did not assist in portraying the setting of the play. In each iteration of the performance, the play's setting in medieval Denmark was evoked in various, diverse performance spaces. Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642,* vol. 4, no. 1259. For more on theatricality in *Hamlet,* see Charles Forker, "Shakespeare's Theatrical Symbolism and Its Functions in *Hamlet,"* in *Fancy's Images: Contexts, Settings, and Perspectives in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1990).

> The transformation of an everyday event into legend injects vividness and significance into events and beings no so much by setting them *against* a conventional pattern as by forcefully fitting them *into* such a pattern, namely by transporting them across the borders of insignificant actuality into the memorable domain of myth. Still, remote as it may be from the profane territories, the world of myths is not perceived by its users as fictional. What mythification does to being and events is to render them distant, sometimes inaccessible, but at the same time nobly familiar, eminently visible…Today we understand fiction as a realm effectively cut off from the actual world *sub speciae vertatis;* we should not forget, however, that the separation between everyday life and legends….enhanced rather than affected their exemplary truth.[142]

In portraying the beings and events of the entertainments as located at a distance from everyday life, yet inscribed on the local and familiar landscapes, the organizers of such performances were able to utilize the power of this mythological mode. In these entertainments, the secondary world of the performance could, and often did, have socio-economic and socio-political consequences in the actual world.

Planning to successfully entertain the queen, however, required more than a singular well-received performance. The Woodstock entertainments took place over an extended period of time, between Elizabeth's arrival in Woodstock on August 29 and departure on October 3, 1575. Over the course of at least two days, Elizabeth was entertained with performances that were integrated into the business of the court.[143] Together, the performances constitute the various pieces of an over-arching story, compiled for Elizabeth by George Gascoigne in the text *The Queen's Majesty's entertainment at Woodstock, 1575*. Therefore, the dramatic universe was never fully disentangled from the actual world for the duration of Elizabeth's stay. As E. K. Chambers suggests, in such pageants "the Tudor kings and queens came and went about their public affairs in a constant atmosphere of make-believe, with a sibyl lurking in every court-yard and gateway, and a satyr in the boscage of every park."[144] The landscapes surrounding Woodstock manor in Oxfordshire, only a few miles from Sir Henry Lee's ancestral home in Ditchley, are essential to the plot of the entertainment and the construction of the dramatic universe. The surviving account of the entertainment begins as Hemetes the hermit interrupts a fight between the knights Contarenus and Loricus.[145] He conducts the knights to the queen's bower, which was constructed outdoors for the occasion and recounts "The Tale of Hemetes the Hermit": seven years ago, in Cambaia, Duke Occanon's daughter Gaudina[146] fell in love with a knight "of estate but meane but of value very great." Occanon, objecting to the match, hired an enchantress to convey Contarenus into the air to the "very bondes of the Ocean sea."[147] Gaudina left Cambaia in search of her knight and traveled to see the oracle Sybilla at her grot.[148] There she met Loricus, who had left his own country to make himself worthy of his own love.

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[142] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 41. Emphasis added.

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[143] When Elizabeth was entertained at Woodstock, she was presented with the "Tale of Hemetes" and a sequel, "The Play of Occanon and Gaudina" which took place over two separate days. Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 2, no. 583.

[144] E. K. Chambers. *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 1:107.

[145] Although a number of different copies of the manuscript survive, each is incomplete and none recounts the beginning of this tale. See Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 371-3.

[146] Spelled "Cambaya" in the Gascoigne manuscript. Spelling has been maintained within quotations. I use the spelling of Gaudina suggested by Heaton, from George Gascoigne's 1576 manuscript (BL, Royal MS 18.A. XLVIII). The 1585 eyewitness account *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock* refers to this character by the name of Caudina. The Ditchley manuscript also contains a copy of "The Tale of Hemetes" (BL, Add. MS 41499A, fos. 4-5) which contains variants in spelling including Grandina, Gaudina, or Gandina. Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock."

[147] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 375.

[148] Sybilla's grot refers to a "grotto [or] a crypt under a church." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, n. "grot."

Meanwhile, Hemetes had been blinded at the temple of Venus because of an incomplete devotion to love, but was granted the ability to prophesy the fortunes of lovers by Apollo. Three separate predictions (by the enchantress, Sybilla, and Hemetes) foretell that Gaudina and Loricus will not part company and Hemetes will not regain sight until they have found a country of "most peas,"[149] two most valiant knights have fought, two of the most constant lovers have met, and "the most virtuous lady in the world shal be theare to looke on."[150] At the queen's arrival, Hemetes regains his sight; therefore, Queen Elizabeth fulfills the prophecy, marking her as the most virtuous lady. The rest of the puzzle is made clear: England (centered around Woodstock in particular) is revealed to be the country of most peace, the knights are revealed to be the most valiant, and Gaudina and Contarenus turn out to be the truest lovers.[151] Hemetes asks the queen to dine with the lovers until they return to Cambaia, and Elizabeth is led to the hermit's house for a banquet. In the house, the fairy queen appears with six boys and presents Elizabeth with a gift. The queen retires to the manor for the evening in her own coach and is serenaded by "The Song in the Oke" as she departs.[152]

Elizabeth interrupts the plot of the story *in medias res,* and Hemetes recounts the tale of how they have each arrived into this present moment. It is a story intricately tied to location, which draws attention to various distant landscapes and their specific roles in the current performance. Hemetes begins his tale saying, "Not long since, in the country of *Cambaya* which is scytuate neere the mouthe of the riche *Indus.*"[153] In the Woodstock entertainments, the faraway landscape is named after an actual city, Cambaia, and the fictional geography of the secondary universe is mapped onto the actual geography of the primary universe. Gabriel Heaton notes that "the Kingdom of Cambaia roughly corresponded to present-day Gujarat and was centered on the port of Cambay (Khambat). The region had been conquered by the Morguls at the beginning of the 16th c., and was a centre of Portuguese trading and colonial activity."[154] The tale depicts a series of peripatetic characters. The physical and emotional proximity of Gaudina and her unworthy suitor Contarenus, described as a knight of "estate but meane but of value very great," is the major plot conflict.[155] Gaudina's father, Occanon, paid twenty thousand crowns to a sorceress to cause "Contarenus to be caught upp and carried in the ayre from the coastes of Cambaya to the very bondes of the Occean sea."[156] In search of him, Gaudina also "conveyed herself most closely from the borders of Cambaya…till at last she arrived at the grott of Sybilla wheare by chance she mett a most noble knighte cleped Loricus."[157] Loricus as well is described as having "lefte his owne country and betooke hym self altogether to travel."[158] Hemetes, the hermit and narrator of the tale, has also been on pilgrimage to Paphos in Cyprus to visit the temple of Venus and, after losing his sight, was conducted to "this hill hard by, wheare I have wintered many a yere farre from the woes & wrongs, the world besides is full of."[159] All of these narratives described by Hemetes are about transience, about the difficulties posed by geographical and political boundaries, and about magical conveyances across such boundaries. These tales which constitute the entertainment intersect in the present moment of the queen's arrival and are resolved because the characters finally arrive in the same location. England is never explicitly named in the text, but the fulfillment of three separate prophesies marks it as "a country of most peas [peace]."[160] The prophecy is only able to be fulfilled in the present physical location in the country of most peace, and by extension only upon the arrival of the queen at Woodstock. Thus the English landscape serves not only as the location of the performance and the setting of the play, but also an essential element in the plot. The arrival of the queen at Woodstock marks her as one of the characters in the tale and Elizabeth's own travels from London to Woodstock are repositioned as another backstory and assimilated into the entertainment. As Jean Wilson aptly puts it, "once again the world is transformed for and by Elizabeth; her presence verifies myths, and the presence of the mythological creatures makes her supernatural."[161] The landscapes of the secondary universe thus intertwine and rely on the landscapes of the primary universe.

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[149] Spelled variously throughout the text, referring to the country of "most peace."
[150] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 379.
[151] For more on the prevalence of prophecy in Elizabethan Progresses and additional examples, see Rachel Kapelle, "Predicting Elizabeth: Prophecy on Progress," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 24 (January 2011), 83-105.
[152] Immediately following the performance, Elizabeth asked to be given a written copy of the text. Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, eds., *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue,* vol. 2: *1567-1589* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), no. 583.
[153] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 374, footnote 697.

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[154] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 374.
[155] Heaton, 375.
[156] Heaton, 375.
[157] Heaton, 376.
[158] Heaton, 377.
[159] Heaton, 379.

Even before the readers (or the contemporary early modern spectators) can understand the central role that the landscape plays in fulfilling the prophesy, the entertainment repeatedly draws attention to specific locations with physical demarcations. At the beginning of the entertainment, Elizabeth is seated in an earthen bower, which has been physically constructed out of the landscape. After Hemetes interrupts the fight between Loricus and Contarenus, he leads the characters and the queen "to the place where the Quenes Maiestie stood (in a fine Bower make of purpose couered with greene Iuie, and seates of earthe with sweete smelling hearbes…)."[162] Here, he tells "The Tale of Hemetes the Hermit" to the queen and the other characters, which describes each character's background story. The bower space physically utilizes elements of the landscape to construct a place from which Elizabeth can view the performance. This bower is both outside of the entertainment and within it; in the primary universe, the bower functions as a temporary throne, allowing Elizabeth a clear view of the entertainment, marking her as a the primary spectator for whom the drama was performed. However, the drama simultaneously positions the queen as a character in this space, and brings the other characters to her. As Hemetes announces to the jousting knights "cease your fighte and follow me/ so shall you heare that yow woulde little believe," and then "he bringeth them al to the place where the Quenes Maistie stood." [163] Elizabeth is engaged in the plot by the characters as they actively move through the landscape of the primary universe. The queen's "interruption" of the knights' duel creates the illusion that the characters have stopped their activity in order to see the queen at a certain location, rather than the queen coming to see the entertainment. Elizabeth's presence thus makes her an active participant of the dramatic universe, which is inextricably connected to the landscapes surrounding the manor at Woodstock.

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[160] Heaton, 379.
[161] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 97.
[162] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 374.

The fairy queen similarly appears in a privileged location within the landscape. Just as Elizabeth is located within an earthen bower, indicating the beginning of the performance, the fairy queen appears at the hermit's house at the pivotal moment in which the fictional landscapes of the entertainment and the actual landscapes of contemporary Elizabethan England are conflated in the performance. After Hemetes tells his tale, he leads the queen, her company and the actors (still in character as the two knights and Gaudina) away from Elizabeth's bower to his home, announcing: "Here most noble Lady have I brought you to this most simple hermitage / wheare as you shall see small cunning but of nature, and no cost but of good will."[164] The hermit describes his home as "of nature," because it is constructed of earth, ivy and a bent oak tree, making a partially open-air dining area for the banquet. While the hermit's house is described as humble, the space can fit Elizabeth, the actors, the members of her court, and her hosts at Woodstock along with large dining tables, a variety of food options, and several large portraits hung throughout the space on the make-shift walls. The eyewitness account of the performance describes the construction of this set "as never before, nor hereafter, shal I see the like."[165] The hermit's house bridges the divide between the actual world and the world of the play, by acting as a functional space in both. Perfectly integrated with and constructed from the physical elements of the natural world, the house is the fantastical setting of the dramatic performance and a physical set for the actors in which to perform. However, like any of the houses of local aristocrats that have hosted Elizabeth across her progresses, or like the Woodstock manor itself, the hermit's house acts as a domestic residence where the queen can be hosted, dined, and entertained.

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[163] Gabriel Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 373-4.
[164] Heaton, 403.

The transformation of the English countryside into the distant mythological kingdom of most peace required by the tale is rendered complete by the appearance of the fairy queen. After the hermit guides Elizabeth from her bower where the story began to his house, she sits down to a banquet. The fairy queen appears in the middle of the meal and proclaims:

> As I did roame abroade in woddy range,
> In shae to shun the heate of Sunny day:
> I met a sorrowing knight in passion strange.
> By whom I learned, that coasting on this way
> I should ere long your highnesse here espie,
> To whom beares a greater loue than I?
> Which when tooke roote still mounting up on height.

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[165] Heaton, 402.

When I beheld you last nigh to this place,

With gratious speech appeasing cruell fighte.

This loue hath caused me transforme my face.[166]

The fairy queen, in this representation, thus readily materializes within the woods of England.[167] Like the interrupted knights, the fairy queen has come to view Elizabeth, and not the reverse. In fact, Elizabeth is adored by the fairy queen, who has sought her out. The speech references past encounters between the fairy queen and Elizabeth "nigh to this place,"[168] which has supposedly inspired the fairy queen's admiration for and devotion to Elizabeth. In this formulation, Elizabeth is the main preternatural figure of the play, coming from a distant landscape, fulfilling the prophesy, and happily resolving the drama.

Even though the fairy queen makes an appearance, Elizabeth holds the transformative power in both primary and secondary universes. It is, after all, Elizabeth's arrival, rather than the arrival of the fairy queen, that has allowed Hemetes to regain his sight and the lovers to meet.[169] Elizabeth's power supersedes the curse of Classical deities such as Venus who had placed the curse on Hemetes in the first place, or preternatural creatures such as the fairy queen, whose face has been transformed because she witnessed Elizabeth "appeasing cruell fighte." This figuration of the queen of England as superior to Classical deities and other preternatural figures, suggests a quasi-divine head of church and state. In keeping with the concept of kingship as a divine right, thus establishing the precedent for England as a theocracy, Elizabeth's queenship is negotiated in both divine and mythological metaphors.[170] Elizabeth I was apparently pleased with the representation of her kingdom in this light and chose to participate in the entertainment, accepting gifts from the fairy queen for herself and nosegays for her ladies in waiting after the entertainment, even going so far as to give an "earnest command that the whole in order as it fell, should be brought her in writing."[171]

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[166] Heaton, 403.

[167] The physical presence of the fairy queen in the entertainments at Woodstock stands in stark contrast to her more elusive presence in texts such as Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* where the fairy queen is constantly quested after, but perpetually out of reach.

[168] There are several references to an earlier encounter between Elizabeth and the fairy queen. Matthew Woodcock suggests that it probably refers to one of Elizabeth's previous visits to Woodstock in 1572 and 1574. Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure,"103. A surviving proclamation suggests 1572 as a potential possibility. It announces the postponement of a tournament which provides evidence of the entertainment although there is conflicting evidence as to the dates. See Heaton, ed., "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 365. Heaton also suggests, "it is possible that the Fairy Queen simply refers to the earlier meeting of Elizabeth, Hemetes, Contarenus, Loricus, and Gaudina." 403.

[169] Fairies were linked to occult gifts, particularly sight or supernatural visions. Here it is Elizabeth that takes the role as the giver of occult gifts.

Most commonly, the distant landscape in the entertainments was inspired by the landscapes depicted in Arthurian legend. As Wilson suggests, "Since the time of Henry II, dubious claims to the English throne had been reinforced by an appeal to an Arthurian millenarianism…Elizabeth's sex belied any direct identification with Arthur, but the Fays [fairies] so often associated with the Arthurian legend provide a convenient image with the necessary resonances."[172] In positioning Elizabeth as part of an Arthurian tradition, the writers and producers of these entertainments sought to praise Elizabeth's sovereignty and, in the process, gain royal favor. Evoking the figure of Arthur was a convenient way to do this as it aligned the court of Elizabeth with the golden age of the round table. The seemingly distant landscape of Arthurian romance is purposefully recalled and inscribed onto the rural English countryside.

However, understanding the function of the landscapes from Arthurian mythology and their evolution in the entertainments is problematized by the polyvocal nature of the written accounts of these performances. Where a single host of the entertainment can be identified, the written textual account of the events is usually a third-person eye-witness account. Furthermore, several scholars have commented on the high levels of self-consciousness displayed by the writers and hosts of these entertainments and their purposeful manipulation of the relatively indefinite boundary between the landscapes of the entertainment and the political landscape of Queen Elizabeth's court.[173] This is especially true in the written accounts that followed the entertainments. Using the textual account of the Norwich entertainments as an example, David Bergeron suggests, for instance, that Thomas Churchyard "astutely, relentlessly, and purposefully shapes the pageant text [at Norwich] to put himself in the best possible light as reporter and author."[174] Churchyard also stepped in as an actor in the fairy song and dance at Norwich, and offers the following commentary on his own performance: "yet as I durst, I ledde the yong foolishe Phayries a daunce, which boldness of mine bredde no disgrace, as I heard said it was well taken."[175] Churchyard's supplemental commentary acts as a reformulation of his own role in the entertainment; he highlight his abilities and position of power over "mine owne works and inventions, with the which did no any one deale but my selfe," while still maintaining the role of humble and faithful reporter to the queen.[176] In each text, the original performance context is glossed with a highly subjective, manipulated, and occasionally intertextual interpretation of the performance.

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[170] See Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, eds., *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Mary Beth Rose, "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I," *PMLA* 115, no. 5 (October 2000): 1077-82.

[171] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock,"409-10.

[172] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I*, 25.

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[173] See Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure." Matthew Woodcock, *Fairy in* The Faerie Queene, 2004).

[174] David M. Bergeron, "The 'I' of the Beholder: Thomas Churchyard and the 1578 Norwich Pageant," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I,* ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 142.

[175] Matthew Woodcock, ed., "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk, August 1578," in *John Nicols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* I: *A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, vol. 2: 1572-1578 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 748.

[176] Matthew Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk, August 1578," 748.

The same competing representations can be seen in the account of the entertainment at Woodstock. The documentation that survives of the Woodstock entertainment derives from various sources, the most important of these sources is an anonymous pamphlet printed in 1585 for the bookseller Thomas Cadman.[177] This is, however, only one eye-witness account and the complex relationship between the fairy figure and its place in the conflation of primary and secondary universes is demonstrative of the nature of early modern English drama as a collective enterprise. Edward Dyer had the keepership of Woodstock manor since 1570, and is known to have written at least one of the lyrics to the songs performed in the entertainment.[178] Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Sir Henry Lee also assisted in directing and planning the entertainments. Although Lee was an established writer, and was clearly a favorite of the queen,[179] it was George Gascoigne, not Lee, who produced the manuscript of the entertainment at Elizabeth's request and translated it into Latin, Italian, and French. The elaborate frontispiece depicts Gascoigne, in armor kneeling before the queen and presenting the manuscript to her.[180] In both the entertainments themselves, and the textual reproductions of them, fictionalizing the desired relationship between Elizabeth and her courtiers was a means of achieving actual political objectives. Often, in these cases, an elaborate and well-constructed secondary universe could be indiscernible from the actuality of the performance context in the primary universe.

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[177] This pamphlet gives an account of the "Tale of Hemetes the Hermit," the devices that followed the tale, and the play of Occanon and Gaudina that was performed as a continuation on 20 of September. The nearly seamless plot transition between the tale, the speeches, and the performance leads to the claim by Wiggins and Richardson that the entertainment was "performed over two days in September," suggesting an approximate date of 19 September for the performance of "Tale of Hemetes." However, the pamphlet that Wiggins and Richardson cite does not include the oration presented to the Queen presented by Laurence Humphry on 11 September, after the Tale of Hemetes. *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 2, no. 583. Heaton, on the other hand, suggests that "Humphrey's oration took place on 11 September, after the Tale of Hemetes, but the play was not performed until 20 September." The separation of more than a week between the tale and the performance seems supported by the 1585 pamphlet transcription with the author's promise that: "But to keepe my promise for the rest, I will begin in order to make you pruit of the sequel: which indeed followeth, as an apt consequent to what is past. Therefore shal you understand, that upon the 20. Day of the same moneth, the Queene being disposed to spend her time with some delightes, the Comedy was presented, acted before her Maiesty." Gabriel Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 359, 410.

[178] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 364.

[179] Heaton discusses that Lee was also known as a writer of emblems, concerts, and hymns for the queen, although it is difficult to discern which works are his. Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit," 97.

[180] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 360. Heaton suggests that "books and other texts were often part of the gift-exchange that characterized entertainments," "The Queen and the Hermit," 96.

The fairy figure gave both the host of the entertainment and the author of the textual account of the performance access to these representations of self in desired roles of power at court by projecting themselves as part of this distant Arthurian realm. Sir Henry Lee was perhaps the most successful model for transposing the realities of the secondary universe into actuality within Elizabeth's court. As Heaton observes, "the distinct and identifiable role Lee created for himself at court was constructed in large part through pageant fictions."[181] In the entertainments at Woodstock, Lee scripted himself as the "most noble" knight Loricus. This role gave him the opportunity to publicly display his martial prowess and relationship with the queen. Woodstock was the ideal location, as it had connection to the chivalric medieval past that allowed Lee's role verisimilitude in the actual contemporary English court. As Heaton further suggests, the relationship created in the entertainment "between Loricus and his lady which overlays Lee's relationship with Elizabeth reinforces the importance of his role as her champion, a role which was to be central to his career at the court for at least the next fifteen years."[182] Lee apparently began assuming his role as the queen's Arthurian champion sometime during the entertainments at Woodstock and never completely cast off the character, even naming his own successor in 1590.[183] The title that Lee held as "Elizabeth's champion" was one that was never created by the queen or officially recognized. Lee's role as Elizabeth's champion was a self-actualizing fiction, going well beyond what Stephen Greenblatt has described as Renaissance self-fashioning.[184] The fairy mythology that permeated the landscapes of the entertainments, combined with the purposefully blurred distinction between the landscapes of the primary and secondary universes allowed hosts and writers, such as Lee, to position themselves as positive characters within the entertainment and in actuality in the good graces of the queen and her court.

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[181] Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit," 89.

[182] Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit," 91.

[183] Heaton, goes on to observe that Lee "was so successful in constructing this role that when he retired from the tiltyard in 1590 he was even able, through an elaborate ceremonial he himself invented, to bestow his role on a successor: George, Earl of Comberland." "The Queen and the Hermit," 89.

[184] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Allegorically representing one's desired position in the court could be a far more dangerous option than simply eliding the distinction between actuality and fictionality. The problems with, what I term, an allegorical mode of fictionality are most evident in the entertainment at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire, to which the entertainment at Woodstock responds almost directly. The Earl of Leicester's entertainment at Kenilworth has been commonly read as a marriage proposal to the queen, and focuses mainly on the worthiness of Leicester himself as a marriageable partner.[185] The planned performance drew inspiration from Malory and the kidnap of the Lady of the Lake in *Le Morte D'Arthur* by the nefarious knight Sir Bruce. Here, Gascoigne, who wrote and recorded the Lady of the Lake scene for the entertainment, had reworked Malory's narrative to position Leicester as the rescuer.[186] As Matthew Woodcock suggests, Elizabeth refused to participate in the entertainment at Kenilworth "preferring instead a narrative that allowed her to unequivocally assert and display her sovereign authority."[187] In refusing to play the part of the Lady of the Lake (a role that Woodcock sees as a "fairy queen" figure):

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[185] See Elizabeth Goldring, ed., "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Kenilworth, 9-27 July 1575," in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* I: *A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources,* ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, vol. 2: 1572-1578 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 231-331. For more on the Kenilworth entertainments, see Susan Frye, "Engendering Policy at Kenilworth," in *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): 56-96.
[186] Goldring, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Kenilworth," 288.
[187] Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure," 100.

> Elizabeth consciously chose to re-assign her place in captivity and rescue narratives as a direct identification with the Lady of the Lake as a form of disempowerment. In the political dramas played out at Kenilworth, the fairy queen figure is not, even at this stage, an unproblematic or uncontested representation of Elizabeth, but a means of modeling the queen's response to the question of marriage and interrogating the limits of her powers.[188]

This refusal of the queen to participate in the drama meant that she both understood the allegory and had a strong answer to the implicit question of marriage to Leicester.[189] Both the masque of Diana and Isis and the Lady of the Lake rescue scene were rewritten and Elizabeth had them replaced them with an "elaborate allegorical device featuring Elizabeth's rescue of the Lady of the Lake that rewrote the chivalric narrative of the imprisoned female."[190] Elizabeth thus commandeered the allegory, sending the message that she had control over both the dramatic representation and Leicester.

Lee, especially, was cautious not to make the same mistake and indeed was not subjected to the same censorship. The Woodstock entertainments, instead of assigning her a role in the presented allegory, offered a spectrum of representations of feminine autonomy. In the entertainments at Woodstock, for example, Gaudina can be seen as representative of the queen, as she refuses to marry. On the other hand, the fairy queen, who dwells somewhere in this "country of most peas" is an unmarried, nearly divine figure.[191] However, the fairy queen's insistence to Gaudina on the benefits of marriage for the sake of national wellbeing provided a convoluted and multifaceted representation of the tricky question of Elizabeth's marriage. While each representation of marriage could be seen as indicative of Elizabeth’s own potential marriage, the various settings of the performance in seemingly far-off lands maintain the sense that these models of marriage could be distinct and distant from a model that is suggested for Elizabeth. Setting the entertainment at Woodstock in a distant landscape invited the queen to engage in exploring the secondary universe that was created for her, a universe that was potentially not as subject to the constraints imposed on a female monarch by the patriarchal tradition before her.

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[188] Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure," 100. For more on the queen's responses to representations of marriage, see Susan Doran, "Juno versus Diana: The treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581," *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995): 257-74.

[189] Later entertainments reposition Leicester as subordinate to the Queen and not worthy of a royal match seemingly as a means of apology for this overstep.

[190] Frye, *Elizabeth I*, 62.

[191] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 379.

This transformation of the local landscapes into a mythological one had a practical purpose as well. Elizabeth’s travels throughout her life were surprisingly limited. The tour of East Anglia, during which the Entertainment at Norwich was performed, was in fact the furthest Elizabeth would travel form London during her entire reign. The performances were an opportunity to demonstrate the unique attributes of the more proximate provinces and therefore make an argument for their worth. As Jean Wilson suggests:

> The purpose of the progress was three-fold: it was desirable for the Court to remove from London during the summer, partly because of the insalubriousness of the city during the hot weather and partly because of the plague; the tours round congenial areas of the country and visits to families, many of whom were her relatives (like the Hudsons) or friends (like the Norrises), provided the queen with what amounted to a summer holiday, and the progresses were invaluable as public-relations exercise on the part of Elizabeth and her administration… for the queen to be Entertained by a town assured the towns people of their own importance.[192]

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[192] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 38-9.

In this way, those who were able to plan an entertainment for her majesty sought to align the landscapes of their own estates with the political interests of the English monarchy and therefore position themselves as invaluable resources to the crown. The fairy figure, simultaneously evoking an exotic distant land and imbedded in local English folklore, could ventriloquize the relationship between queen and courtier, but also the relationship between the metaphorical seat of the queen in London and the provincial localities of the performances. The distant landscapes presented in the entertainments suggested the size of the monarchy to her various political officers and the fealty of local administrators across that distance.

While the landscape of Arthurian romance is one source of inspiration, the entertainments also drew from the depictions of landscape in English folklore. As Diane Purkiss discusses, the ballads “Tam Lin” and “Thomas the Rhymer,” each feature similar plots: In the English countryside, a young man encounters a beautiful lady. He speaks to her, and she turns out to be the queen of the fairies, who takes him as her prisoner in fairyland.[193] Purkiss notes the implicit (or occasionally explicit) sexual undertones of such encounters and the abductions of the young men, but further points out that both young men mistake the fairy queen for the Virgin Mary, which prompts them to speak to her: “This mistake leads them to address her in language fraught with the rhetoric of courtly, and even amorous submission, and it is perhaps this rhetoric which both seduces and condemns them to sexual enslavement and its outcome, the threat of death and hellfire.”[194] The invocation of the fairy queen figure in Elizabeth’s entertainment gains new significance when understanding this folkloric precedent. Both the image of the fairy queen and the virgin queen were common epithets for Elizabeth over the course of her reign.[195] Well recognized as part of the so-called "cult of Elizabeth," these images belong to a multifaceted depiction of imagery representing the queen and her relationship with her subjects. The proximity of the Virgin Mary figure to the fairy queen figure problematizes interpretations of this figure in the entertainment, especially in relationship to the physical landscape closely integrated into the performance. Each manifestation of Elizabeth's image transforms the English landscape into something distant and less recognizable in order to present her as a mythological or supernatural entity.

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[193] See Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 130.
[194] Diane Purkiss, “Old Wives Tales Retold,” 109.
[195] See Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).

The Distant Landscape in the Entertainments at Norwich

Elizabeth's 1578 Progress to East Anglia included a stay in the city of Norwich from August 5 to August 22.[196] The city had been completely transformed for her arrival, and the entertainments that took place over the course of her stay were staged in venues throughout the city and in the surrounding countryside. The accounts of the Queen's Progresses through Suffolk and Norfolk and the entertainments that accompanied almost every one of her movements are compiled in John Nicol's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* from a variety of different source texts including Holinshed's account of the queen's visit to East Anglia, Bernard Garter's *The Ioyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwhich,* and Thomas' Churchyard's *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk…* Of this material, however, it is Churchyard's account of the entertainments put on throughout Elizabeth's week in Norwich that give the best sense of preternatural creatures, including the fairies, which his devices helped bring to life.[197]

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[196] Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 2, no. 643.

[197] Originally published and available from: Thomas Churchyard, *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk* (London, 1578). STC 192:07. *Early English Books Online*.

The plot of the Norwich entertainments is episodic compared to the entertainments at Woodstock. Upon the Elizabeth's arrival in Norwich on Saturday, August 16, the queen passed through the marketplace where music played and speeches were read, enhanced with elaborate costumes and banquets. The city itself and the surrounding areas were transformed into a distant, mythological landscape. Garter describes the city saying, "As for the tyme if hir continuance there, Norwich seemed (if any such there be) a terrestriall Paradise," seemingly unaware at this point of the infernal creatures that Churchyard would dream up.[198] Entering Norwich, the queen was greeted by the current mayor and escorted into the city by its mythical founder. The mayor, Sir Robert Wood, greeted Elizabeth on the border of Norwich "threescore of the most comlie yong men of the Citie as Bachelers, appareled all in blacke Sattyn doublets, blacke Hose, blacke Taffata Hattes nad yeallowe Bandes….and so apparelled, marched forwards two and two in a ranke. Then one which Represented King GVRGUNT, sometime King of Englande, which builded the Castle of *Norwhich."* The presence of King Gurgunt indicates that the entertainment is set in the mythological past, and Elizabethan Norwich is physically transformed into this distant landscape, which facilitates the presence of other preternatural creatures throughout the entertainments.

From her first steps into Norwich, Elizabeth constantly moved within the world of the entertainments. When she first arrived in the city, she was welcomed with a song. This first song draws attention to the distant landscape of the performance and its role in the dramatic universe being created within it: "O Norwich, here the well spring runnes,/ whose virtue still doth floe/ And loe this day doth shine two Sunnes."[199] Then, the queen is addressed by a boy "wel and gallantly decked, in a long white roabe of Taffata, a crimson Skarfe wrough with gold, folded on the Turkishe fashion about his browes."[200] His speech also refers to the city, this time personified: "Great is the ioy, that Norwich feels this day,"[201] and the personified City of Norwich appears as a character later in the day to welcome the queen. The series of entertainments presented to the queen over the duration of her stay physically and thematically center on the city, drawing attention to its history and identity. The organizers made physical changes to ensure that this identity was the one that resembled the distant landscape of the dramatic universe they imagined. Norwich was diligently cleaned in the months previous to Elizabeth's arrival, at least the portions of the city that Elizabeth might see. Houses were strategically updated and painted along Elizabeth's route, and the sets for various entertainments were erected throughout the city.

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[198] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 786.

[199] This is one of the few moments that the English name for the town is evoked within a written transcript of the entertainment itself. This information is called to attention more frequently in the eyewitness accounts of the performance, rather than the text itself. Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 722.

The day after Elizabeth arrived was Sunday, and no entertainments were performed so that the day could be spent in prayer. On Monday, the pageantry resumed, continuing on its earlier themes emphasizing the importance of Norwich through the evocation of distant landscape. Churchyard's own commentary suggests the correlation between the otherworldliness of the pageantry and the distance of the queen's travels to the setting of the performance: "I made a device, as though Mercurie had bin sente from the Gods, to request the queene to come abraode, and beholde what was devised for hir welcome, the whole matter whereof doth follow."[202] The invitation from Mercury invites and welcomes Elizabeth into this distant landscape. As in the entertainments at Woodstock, Elizabeth has an active role in perpetuating the mythological mode of fictionality. The entertainments describe how Elizabeth's presence transforms the landscape with her appearance "abroad." Mercury comments on the transformation of the city:

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[200] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 722.
[201] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 723.
[202] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 723.

> *the blacke infernall spreetes*
> *Ranne out of Hell, the earth so trembling than,*
> *And like yong laddes they hopt about streetes.*
> *The Satyres wilde, in forme and shape of man*
> *Crept through the wooddes, and thickets full of breeres,*
> *The water Nymphes, and Feyries straight appears*
> *In uncouth forms, and fashion strange to view:*
> *The hagges of Hell that hatefull are of kind,*
> *To please the time, has learnd a nature new,*
> *And all those things that man can call to mind,*
> *Were gladdes to come, and do their dutie throwe.*[203]

The first reference to the fairies in the entertainment is one that combines the characters of Classical mythology with Christian saints and characters from folklore. It is Elizabeth's arrival that has caused Jove to shake the heavens and earth and bring these wild creatures out from the underworld. However, her presence is also said to change their natures. Churchyard here offers "a fanciful rationalization of the appearance of historical and mythical figures to entertain Elizabeth, attributing the presence of heavenly and hellish (although now ameliorated) entities…to a divine desire to use such 'rare' sights to entertain Elizabeth."[204] The poem suggests that the evil aspects of fairy lore, the "ghosts of men" that they are sometimes associated with, have been quelled, and the landscape has simply been transformed in order to offer Elizabeth "rare" sights.

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[203] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 725.
[204] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 725, footnote 840.

Similar to the entertainments at Woodstock, the transformation of the local landscape into the mythological landscape is attributed to Elizabeth herself. The fairy queen's speech to Elizabeth in the entertainment at Woodstock claims that she has changed her face, and her darker countenance has turned white.[205] In a similar claim, Churchyard suggests that the infernal spirits have changed their natures. The tradition in the entertainment is that Elizabeth's presence in the distant landscape transforms the nature of the city and the characters within the dramatic universe, setting things right and ameliorating the city's darker side.

In actuality, the writers and performers worked tirelessly to adapt the entertainments to create this illusion that the landscapes were distant mythological landscapes and that Elizabeth's arrival activates the mythology causing base things to change their natures. Churchyard's account of the Norwich entertainments is especially transparent about the efforts required in entertaining royalty. On Wednesday, Churchyard's extravagant water pageant that required the performers (some of whom were dressed as nymphs) to be on boats, was canceled due to bad weather. In an emergency re-write accomplished overnight, Churchyard changed the entertainment to take place in an artificially (and hastily) constructed cave alongside the roadway where Elizabeth would be riding. The nymphs of the Wednesday water pageant were repurposed in Thursday's entertainment, but due to more rain, the entertainment was again canceled and the actors "were driven to seeke for covert and comfort, in so muche, that although some of us in

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[205] Matthew Woodcock raises two potential readings of this encounter asking, "is it an allusion to an earlier entertainment in which the fairy queen appeared with a somehow darker countenance than her present appearance? Or is it more of a figurative reference to an expunging of the more sinister associations that the fairy queen figure possesses?" "The Fairy Queen Figure," 103.

Boate stoode under a Bridge, we were all so dashed and washed."[206] On Friday, the day of the queen's departure, Churchyard was desperate to perform something for the queen. He intercepted the queen on her way out of the city with a last-minute device. Using the same boy actors, props, and costumes from the canceled performances on Wednesday and Thursday, he transformed the nymphs into fairies. The nymphs-turned-fairies sprung from behind a set of bushes along her route out of the city and delivered seven speeches before playing timbrels and dancing.

This theme of Elizabeth's transformative power over distant landscapes, however contrived, was important especially in the East Anglian tours. In the summer of 1578, Elizabeth and her councilors were divided on several points of policy coming to a head in that year: "The issues included policy toward the Netherlands… and also toward Scotland; the problem of both recusant and non-recusant Catholicism…what to do with Mary Queen of Scots; and the perennial operatic question of royal marriage."[207] The diocese of Norwich (including Suffolk and Norfolk) was particularly strained with concerns over these issues.[208] Only six years earlier, Thomas Howard, a Catholic and the Duke of Norfolk, was executed, which led to the extreme polarization of the region between deeply entrenched Catholic sympathies and radical Puritanism. The division between queen and councilors can most clearly be seen in the debates surrounding the recent events in Norwich, and it is possibly for this reason that the summer progresses of 1578 saw both the queen and court march through East Anglia, directly into a major political hotbed. The fairy character's appearance in the Norwich entertainments is inseparable from the physical and political landscape of the East Anglican tours.

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[206] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 739.
[207] Patrick Collinson, *This England: Essays on the English Nation and Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 123.
[208] Collinson, *This England*, 125.

The progresses were an overtly political tactic occurring alongside other court business in the East of England. As Collinson has suggested, "East Anglia in 1578 is where historical geology is best able to uncover the fundamental faultline in Elizabethan politics."[209] However, the progresses and the entertainments put on for Elizabeth functioned as a two-way exchange between the monarch and her subjects. At the time of the Norwich entertainments, fairies were often read as a symbol for Catholicism as the old faith; the transformation that they undergo in the entertainments perhaps indicates that they had aligned with the ideals of Protestantism in Churchyard's invention.[210] As Keith Thomas suggests, "there was a Protestant myth that fairy-beliefs were an invention of the Catholic Middle Ages." According to protestant ideology, fairies were a means by which Catholic priests spread deception among the ignorant masses in order to distract them from the various indiscretions of the church. However, "this much echoed view was grossly unfair, not only because fairy-beliefs were older than the Roman Catholicism, but because the medieval Church had itself been hostile to fairy mythology."[211] Still, the very presence of the fairies throughout the Norwich entertainments are equally representative of a pre-Reformation connection to the landscapes of the English countryside. Mercury's speech in the first day's entertainment suggests that "The water Nymphs, and Feyries straight appears / In uncouth forms and fashion strange to view…/ To please the time, had learned a nature new."[212] They pop out of the hedges on Friday's entertainment and recite:

> But When Cupid was condemd and Venus fell in rage,
> And Wantonness & Riot rude, for knackes were clapt in cage,

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[209] Collinson, *This England*, 123.
[210] Regina Buccola, *Fairies, Fractious Women, And The Old Faith: Fairy Lore in Early Modern British Drama and Culture* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2006).
[211] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline*, 608.
[212] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 725.

> And all the ragment rowe of Gods, to one great God gave place,
> We sillie Pharyries were afeard, therewith to shew our face.
> Yet when we saw a Maske wel likt, and God condemnd appeere,
> We did consult, as last farewell, the Phayries should be heere.

The fairies of this entertainment are scared to appear, knowing that old gods have been replaced, and they identify with this older religious hierarchy. Churchyard's positions the fairies as a product of old systems of belief that are still present, but lying dormant under the influence of new religious ideologies. In this way, despite their proclaimed loyalty to the queen, the fairies are potentially ominous figures because they hint toward the resilience of recusant beliefs that could metaphorically (or literally in the secondary world of the drama) pop out of the ground at any moment.

The Country House Landscape and the Entertainments at Woodstock

In each of the entertainments I examine in this chapter, the fairies appear in outdoor landscapes, often associated with the rural areas surrounding aristocratic estates.[213] These estates were designed and constructed as demonstrations of the wealth and power of those that owned them, in part by showcasing their ability to host and entertain royalty within their walls. Each of the entertainments featuring fairies is set outdoors, a trend which tellingly begins to change in later stage plays in which fairies are represented as less real within their respective dramatic universes, discussed in Chapter Three. The outdoor landscapes where these entertainments take place emphasized their connection to a mythological English past and the folklore of the local culture. This landscape was so central to the construction of the entertainments that the owners of the great houses where Elizabeth stayed during her progresses demonstrated the worth and capabilities of their estates by foregrounding the houses' seamless integration into the local landscape, rather than their distinction from it. The country houses near the performance areas of these entertainments served as a backdrop for the performances. I argue that the greatness of the houses that hosted these performances was measured by their contribution to a mode of fictionality that portrayed the fairies as forces surrounding the daily operation of the household.

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[213] The entertainments held at Woodstock were unique because Woodstock was a royal manner rather than an estate where most of the other entertainments were held.

While these houses were obvious physical structures, they were also symbolic and actual centers of local administration. Many of the inhabitants surrounding local estates, either tenants, servants, or local tradespeople, were loyal to the landowner and could be called upon for financial and martial support. In return, the land owners held significant political and economic power. Elizabeth's visits, as Wilson points out, were an integral part of assuring this reciprocity:

> The days of the private army had been ended by Henry VII's statute of Livery and Maintenance, but the local power of the noble families was very great. Not only the household servants, but the tenants, dependents, and locals who wished to retain the favour of the land-owner would jump to his bidding…Elizabeth's visits to these great houses thus reinforced the power of the local magnate, enhancing his prestige in the eyes of his neighbors and dependents, and ensuring that should they be called upon to follow him on her service, they would do so more willingly for their belief that their master was high in the queen's favor, and might be in a position to prefer his adherents.[214]

This display of power is embodied in the estates that that loom in the backgrounds of the entertainments.

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[214] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 40.

The ideal aristocratic country household was an entity that operated not in isolation from the landscape but rather in a form of symbiosis with it. Several contemporary literary genres reflect this idea. Sidney's *Arcadia,* composed in the late sixteenth century, for instance, highlights the role of the house as part of the rural landscape. On the approach to Kalander's house, the landscape is described: "As for the houses of the cou[n]try (for many houses came under their eye) they were all scattered, no two being one by th'other, & yet not so far off as that it barred mutual succour: a shew, as it were, of an acco[m]panable solitarines, & of a civil wildnes."[215] The ideal country house was both a prominent landmark within the rural landscape and inseparable from it. This vision was later perpetuated in the topographical poetry of the "country house poem" genre, which in part praised the unity between the house and the landscape.[216] This genre was specifically marked "in the constant references to architecture which occur in most of these poems…in the deep concern with the social function of the great house in the life of the community, and in the understanding of the reciprocal interplay of man and nature in the creation of a good life."[217] The entertainments actively created a similar unity between the houses nearby and the landscape of the dramatic works themselves. The purposefully blurred distinction between estate and countryside functioned to similarly blur the distinction between the actual architectural structure of the estate in the primary universe and the mythological landscape of the secondary universe. As Wilson suggests, a house's "organic relationship with the country in which it is situated, and of which it forms part, includes its possession of and by real wood-gods and nymphs and figures who so often populate the grounds of country houses entertaining royalty."[218] The estate and its owners were represented simultaneously by the power of its architectural presence and its mythological and archaic connections to the landscapes upon which it stood.

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[215] Phillip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, 1655), p. 6. Wing 1622:23. *Early English Books Online*

[216] These poems dramatize the encounter with the house through the narrator's approach through the countryside. In Ben Jonson's poem "To Penshurt," depicts the encounter between the speaker of the poem and the Sydney family home at Penshurt. In Sidney's *Arcadia,* it's an encounter between the character Musidorus and Kalander's house. Aemilia Lanyer reverses this model. In "The Description of Cooke-ham," the speaker's leave-taking of the house prompts the poem. She describes the manor leased to the Countess of Cumberland's brother, William Russell of Thornhaugh. Aemilia Lanyer, *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer,* ed. Susanne Woods (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 130.

[217] G. R. Hibbard, "The Country House Poem of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19, no. 1/2 (January – June 1956): 159.

In actuality, many of the structures Elizabeth encountered on her progresses were constructed or modified explicitly for the purpose of entertaining the queen. Often, these modifications tried to simulate the natural connectedness between the house and the surrounding landscape, but were ostentatious and expensive. More than making the house appear in a natural symbiotic relationship with the surrounding area, the modifications sought to portray the message that the house always had existed in this state. The entertainments sought to create a mode of fictionality that was based in and supported by a physically constructed actuality. By including the fairies in the entertainments taking place on the grounds surrounding these estates, the entertainments sought to surpass the reality of what could physically be achieved so that the estate became preternaturally embodied in the landscape.

Ideally, the country house's integration into the landscape, allowed it to operate as an entity onto itself that was ready at all times to adhere to a standard of a hospitality worthy of entertaining the queen. The Woodstock entertainments specifically formulate the dramatic works in order to highlight both aspects of the property. The Woodstock property was differentiated from many of the other houses at which Elizabeth was entertained because it was a royal manor rather than an aristocratic estate.[219] The conglomerate royal manor was comprised of the medieval kings' houses as well as the park, administered by the manor.[220] The location of the entertainment was not the private household of any one of the producers. Lee who, as already discussed, was a prominent figure in planning the entertainments at Woodstock was, not working alone on the project. As Heaton reminds us, "It is important to remember that he [Lee] was the Queen's Lieutenant at a royal manor, not her private host: Lee was not performing in his own dominion…Lee ultimately had his rights to the Lieutenantship of Woodstock through Dyer, who had been granted the position of Steward of Woodstock in 1570, but farmed it out."[221] Thomas Peniston held the position of deputy lieutenant of Woodstock after he acquired the reversion of the manor in 1571, and Lee acquired Peniston's interests by 1573.[222] The fact that neither Lee nor Dryer was the sole owner might explain why Hemetes the hermit stepped in as the host of the entertainment, narrating the story, welcoming Elizabeth, and guiding her through the landscape.

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[218] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 41.

[219] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 362.

The ideal natural countryside, then, was not one devoid of human interaction, but one dotted with country estates each operating in harmony with the surrounding landscape. In the entertainments at Woodstock, one of these idealized houses was the manor in the park, but an equally important one was the hermit's house constructed especially for the occasion out of natural elements by an unnamed artist who, "the praise of the beholders coming would have sufficed the worker for his travel: although hee was not satisfied for his skil, by more then 40. pounds." [223] The queen's first encounter with the hermit's house in the Woodstock entertainment draws attention to the importance of this structure within the dramatic universe by describing the queen's approach to the house:[224] "the poore hermit… begins to tread the way before the queen, which her Maiestie espying, refused her steed, and betook her self in sort to the use of her feet."[225] The queen thus approaches the house for the first time on foot, and walking up to it, "fel into some discourse and praise of his good tale, which…scarce fully begun, the Queens Maiestie had sight of the house." The boundaries between secondary (the dramatic) and primary (the actual) universes were nonexistent in this encounter. The moment when Elizabeth approaches the house[226] is an encounter of both the architectural structure of the house and its ideal integration into the fictionality of the performance.

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[220] According to the Victoria County History, "The 'demesne towns' were Bladon, Combe, Hanborough, Hordley, Stonesfield, Wootton, and, from the 16th century, Old Woodstock, which earlier had been treated as part of Wootton. The borough of New Woodstock, created out of Bladon parish in the 12th century, was for long answerable to the bailiffs and farmers of Woodstock manor, but finally achieved independence; the park, although usually held with the manor, acquired separate officers and administration." Victoria County History, "Oxfordshire." https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk.

[221] Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit," 93.

[222] Victoria County History, "Oxfordshire."

[223] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 402. The only surviving account of the description of Hemetes' house comes from the *Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock* printed for Thomas Cadman in 1585. It was later recorded in Nicols' Progresses. There is no secondary eyewitness account to the spectacular

At this point in the entertainment, the hermit has just told "The Tale of Hemetes," recounting the events (fictional and actual) that have brought everyone to this location. He described the unapproved love between Gaudina and Contarenus that has caused Contarenus to be conducted away from Cambaia, the unfortunate loss of Loricus' love and his curse to wander, and the hermit's blindness. None of these will resolve "tyll att one time and in one place, in a country of most peas, two most valyaunt knightes shall fighte, two of the most constant lovers shall meete, & the most virtuous lady in the world shalbe there to look on." The end of this story establishes Elizabeth as the most virtuous lady, and highlights her role within the narrative that has "scare begun." As Heaton suggests, "As with many entertainments, the fictional world constructed in 'Tale of Hemetes' connects with reality through the figure of the queen who, as

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construction of the home, and no mention of it in Gascoigne's manuscript copy of *Hemetes the Hermit* that he presented to the queen.

[224] I argue that this encounter is similar to the moments of encounter in the country house poem, the realization of the house amid the landscapes causes praise from the narrator.

[225] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock,"401.

[226] The country house poems which I have mentioned are not addressed to the queen. The encounter that occurs in the entertainments between Elizabeth and the house are changed for their appropriate audience.

well as being the primary spectator, was drawn into the tale itself."[227] This notable temporal shift occurs as Elizabeth physically changes her location within the landscape by following the hermit to the house. This marks the moment where Elizabeth crosses from the primary universe into the secondary universe of the entertainment.

Elizabeth's movement further into the dramatic universe, paves the way for preternatural entities such as the fairy queen to enter. The hermit excuses himself and leaves Elizabeth and her courtiers to enjoy the banquet within the elaborately constructed house. The house is the perfect image of royal hospitality as it is able to entertain the queen even when its hosts are not present.[228] According to the logic of the dramatic universe, the fairy queen is able to locate Elizabeth because she expects Elizabeth will be in the hermit's home. The fact that the fairy queen has been informed of, and actively seeks out Elizabeth in the hermit's house indicates that both the hosts in the primary universe and the characters in the secondary universe understood this location as suitable for the entertainment of royalty. However, the hermit purposefully understates the value of the house, engaging in the humility topos, saying "Here most noble Lady have I not brought you to this most simple hermitage / where as you shall see small cunning but of nature, and no cost but of good will."[229] His assertion that the house is simple and has no cost, is bellied by the anonymous author of the text, who describes the compensation given to the architect of the elaborate structure. The discrepancy between the accounts of the narrator of the primary universe and the narrator of the secondary universe draws into sharp relief the lengths that aristocrats would go to present the image of the house as aligned with the settings represented in the entertainments.

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[227] Heaton, "The Queen and the Hermit," 91.

[228] Wilson suggests that Penshurst, the Sidney family home was the ideal model for this. It had "passed the test of a great house, and proved itself fit to entertain a king—and proved itself so when the king arrived unexpectedly, without the warnings and elaborate preparations granted on more formal visits of the progresses…It can entertain a King who comes around unannounced because it is always ready to entertain, and its standards are royal. It can even, in the warmth of its welcome, supply the place of a whole area that would normally have turned out to great a royal visitor. The Sidneys do not have to be there to ensure this – the house is so well-run, almost such a power in its own right, that it can welcome the king in their absence with all due provision and ceremony." *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 41.

[229] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 403.

These narrative and political tactics are perhaps rendered more obvious by the contents of the hermit's house in the Woodstock entertainments, which are aiming to impress Elizabeth: The house in the middle of the forest is decorated by "a number of fine Pictures with poises of the Noble or men of great credite, was in like sort hanging there, wherewith many were in love…the whiche posies, with some perfect nore of their pictures, I would have presented unto you: but because the Allegories are hard to be understood."[230] The posies presented along with the pictures are explicitly allegorical. Later, the narrator recounts the gifts to the queen of "a goune for her Maieste of great price" along with gifts to her ladies. The narrator of the textual accounts of the entertainments recounts: "to gratifie the rest of the Ladies present, there was devised mane excellente and fine smelling Nosegayes made of all cullere to every one whereof was annexed a posy of two verses, given by a handmayde of the fairy queene, and one above the rest of greatest price for the Queenes Maiestie with her posie in Italian."[231] The fictional premise that the hermit's house is humble helps to facilitate the elaborate system of gift-giving and its intricate ties to political favor. The guise of humility maintained within the dramatic universe, codified this process of implicit political bribery.

In folkloric precedent, fairies or fairy queens often gave gifts to those less fortunate. Mortals who were fairy favorites occupied a dangerous position: they were given monetary or occult gifts, but fairies were depicted as fickle and there was often the threat of harm to the fairy favorite within the exchange, even if the mortal could stay within the good graces of their preternatural benefactor. Often devious sexual threats are implied; fairy queens were known to abduct and keep young men they favored and male fairies that gave elaborate gifts to poorer females were frequently the cause of illegitimate pregnancies.[232] The gifts the fairy queen presents to Elizabeth at Woodstock are intended to be signs of Elizabeth's status. Here, Elizabeth's court is praised as equivalent or superior to the preternatural court of the fairy queen. As Woodcock suggests, "The Woodstock entertainment uses the association of fairy with wealth and largesse as a means of presenting a gift to the queen whilst at the same time placing Elizabeth into the special position as recipient of the fairy queen's favor and love."[233] However, the fairy queen in the Woodstock entertainments would not be immune from the implications of fairy gift exchange established in folklore. Purkiss suggests that, for Elizabeth's poorer subjects, receiving the favor of Elizabeth was as potentially implausible a fantasy as receiving gifts from a fairy queen. Purkiss suggests "besides the entire fantasy is so evidently based on a system of government where bribes and gifts function as ways to integrate oneself with the powerful that is constant denunciation of trickery and theft."[234] As I discuss in Chapter Four, this gift exchange fantasy (and its humorous or disastrous consequences) was reproduced in various forms in the stage plays, often based on real accounts of people from lower classes who, in various forms, have tried to reproduce this exchange and mainly been gulled.

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[230] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 402. My excising leaves out mention of the French ambassador's particular delight at the presence of the pictures. Significantly among the Queen's party at Woodstock, French ambassador Bertrand de Salignac and Michel Castelnau were both present at Woodstock.

[231] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock,"404.

The Country House Landscape and the Entertainments at Norwich

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[232] For examples, see Purkiss, *Troublesome Things.*

[233] Woodcock, "The Fairy Queen Figure," 404.

[234] Purkiss, "Old Wives Tales Retold," 112.

The royal progresses were a part of an already established and well-constructed political drama, as the queen travelled outside of London to visit the various country estates of her courtiers and relations. For the entertainments at Norwich in particular, the queen entered a politically turbulent portion of her realm. Queen Elizabeth's presence in the city of Norwich and its surrounding estates was purposefully political, and the fairy figure in these entertainments as an element of the political and actual landscape that surrounded the city.

A brief overview of the entertainments planned by Churchyard and Garter demonstrate the relationships between the city and the country houses surrounding it. Churchyard's account glosses over many of the devices planned by Garner and Goldingham's devices, leaving them to be described by Garner's account.[235] Read together, these two texts provide insight into the pageantry and politics that occupied the queen's attention while there. The queen stayed for the majority of her visit in the palace of the Bishop Nathaniel Freake, who she herself appointed to the position.[236] Throughout the week, however, beginning with her arrival on Saturday, August 16, 1578, the queen was entertained with various devices each time she passed through a part of the city. On Saturday, Elizabeth was welcomed outside of the city and escorted in by Sir Robert Wood and a procession of mythical characters. She advanced to a pageant in Saint Stephen's parish, which extended into the marketplace. Sunday she spent in prayer. On Monday, Churchyard sent the boy actor playing Mercury to invite Elizabeth to see pageants every time she stepped outside. On Tuesday, the first of Churchyard's devices, a water show with nymphs was canceled due to poor weather, and Churchyard rescheduled and repurposed his show to suit the riverbank that Elizabeth should pass by; this entertainment is rained out as well. [237] On Thursday, Goldingham created a pageant of the Classical deities who present Elizabeth with gifts, and on Friday, Churchyard entertained the queen with a final pageant successfully as the queen and her court left Norwich. Although Churchyard's devices were canceled several times due to bad weather, he was insistence in producing an entertainment that took place outside. In order to present an outdoor fairy pageant, Churchyard had to wait until Elizabeth rode in or out of the city on one of her various visits to the estates surrounding Norwich. In refusing to move the entertainments featuring fairy characters indoors, Churchyard resolutely maintains the aesthetic prescribed by the Woodstock entertainments, wherein country estates serve as an integrated backdrop to a fairy-filled landscape.

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[235] Garner hints to Churchyard's texts with suggestions such as "The Wednesday towards the evening, master Churchyard was likewise readie upon the water with another devise, when her maiestie was without the gates towards mount Surrey." Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk" 804.

[236] Nathaniel Freake, appointed by the queen, was an unlikely candidate due to his history of traveling with Puritans. Collinson says, "he seems to have owed his advancement from the bishopric of Rochester to Norwich in part to Leicester, and both Leicester and Burghley probably congratulated themselves on having avoided the appointment of one or other of the stern advocates of conformity." However, once he arrived in Norwich, he became a staunch advocate of the Queen's stricter policies, which lead him into a lifelong battle with diocesan chancellor John Becon. *This England*, 126.

Elizabeth's stay in Norwich was highly anticipated and the entire city was renovated to receive Elizabeth. In preparation for Elizabeth's arrival, the Assembly at Norwich lifted regulations limiting the numbers of foreign tradesmen from outside of Norwich working in the city in order to complete several updates. The updates were made legal requirements, and, on pain of imprisonment or fine, the inhabitants of Norwich were required to update and plaster their houses (at least toward the street side where Elizabeth would be riding), remove rubble and sewage, and gravel the walkways.[238] As Zillah Dovey points out "These exceptional measures, which were put into effect for a comparatively short period, present a quite alarming picture of conditions in the city in normal times."[239] Despite all of these improvements, Churchyard's commentary on arriving three weeks before the queen in order to arrange the entertainments suggested he thought the town could not have had much notice of the queen's arrival, indicating that he thought it not prepared to entertain royalty.

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[237] The first of Churchyard's entertainments took place on Elizabeth's way back from this dinner. Churchyard's first show with fairy-like creatures (the nymphs that would eventually be turned into fairies after this planned performance was not able to proceed) was after Elizabeth had dined at Surrey house. The execution of the Earl of Surrey in 1547, had reverted the property back into the procession of the crown. Elizabeth granted the house back to the Earl's son, The 4th Duke of Norfolk, who was in turn executed in 1572. After his execution, the house remained in the ownership of his son Phillip. Phillip had been on progress with the Queen from Kenninghall to Norwich and was the eventual host of Wednesday's dinner. Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: the Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Phoenix Mill, UK: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1996), 79.

[238] Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress,* 780.

Churchyard's canceled Tuesday entertainment is one example of the relationship between the political business Elizabeth conducted indoors (in the city and in surrounding country estates) and the outdoor entertainments featuring the fairy figure. On Tuesday, Elizabeth went hunting two or three miles outside of St Benet's Gate in Lady Jerningham's deer park at Costessey, where she dined with her hostess that evening. Clearly, "Elizabeth has come for sport, certainly not to honour her involuntary hostess. Lady Jerningham was known to have Catholic sympathies and, as the widow of an official of Mary Tudor, was inevitably suspect."[240] While Elizabeth was an avid huntress, the visit to the Jerningham estate equally allowed a political opportunity to display the power over the monarch and watch for recusant activity. As Collinson describes it, Norwich was in a region "whose very soul was at stake, as progressive, Protestantizing, elements competed for the upper hand with conservative, Catholic, or crypto-Catholic forces…. But that did not mean that her government intended to be religiously neutral: quite the opposite."[241] All of this unrest loomed behind the newly painted facades of the Norwich streets and on the grounds surrounding the estates belonging in majority to foreign, Catholic landowners. The insides of the aristocratic houses that dotted the backdrop to Churchyard's fairy entertainments were the settings for the court's own poignant spectacles, which in some instances nearly resembled a scripted pageant. For example, in Euston Hall on the road to Norwich, home to Edward Rokewood, Elizabeth and her councilors had already made a sort of "curious piece of carnivalesque theatre" of their own. Richard Topcliffe "found" an image of the Virgin Mary in the barn. After some joyous country dancing, the idol was burnt in front of Elizabeth and her court to joyous applause.[242] Reflecting on this account, the stay at Lady Jerningham's estate outside of Norwich is suspect; Elizabeth's very presence served as a means of surveillance and social control. What is striking about the accounts of the queen's travels as she approaches Norwich is the seeming artifice surrounding the whole visit. Inside the city, houses had to be plastered "towardes the stretes side" only, and visible damage to the streets repaired. The whole city became an elaborate set, and the entire visit political propaganda masking as pageant entertainment. After Elizabeth and her court left, the show was apparently over: all temporary injunctions placed to keep the city clean were lifted, and the city returned to its former squalor.

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[239] Dovey, 780.

[240] Lady Jerningham was not called to court during the progresses that summer (whether because of her age or her position as a hostess is unknown), but she was well connected with several families whose recusant members were summoned to court. Dovey, 76.

[241] Collinson, *This England,* 125.

Churchyard would have been well aware of the nature of Elizabeth's political business in the city and in her visits to the estates surrounding it. Several times, he claims that he desires to make the queen laugh, perhaps trying to provide comic relief to a potentially stressful political schedule. However, even Churchyard's entertainments, inseparable as they were from the physical landscapes that they were performed in, was perpetually communicating with the metaphorical political landscape. Each of the entertainments featuring fairies occurs outside of the city walls, on the route to or from one of the country estates Elizabeth visited. In this way, Churchyard attempts to emulate the mythological mode of fictionality present in the Woodstock entertainments (or even those of Kenilworth) that conflates the secondary universe of the performance into the primary landscape. There is a sincerity to his construction of the dramatic universe: he chooses boy actors that “seemed to be the chosen children of a world,” and integrates them into the natural landscape, having them dance on riverbanks and hills surrounding country estates. In this way, Churchyard attempts to reach backward in time, placing the estate in the backdrop of his entertainment for its historical weight and stability. He uses the fairy figure to appeal to the mythology of the landscape, rather than setting his entertainments in turbulent recent history.

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[242] Collinson, 127-8. Spelling maintained in quotations.

The dichotomy between the Churchyard’s use of the landscapes in the country surrounding the city of Norwich in the dramatic universe and the politics of the actual universe inside is announced at the beginning of the week. In the first of Churchyard’s entertainments on Monday, the boy representing Mercury, delivers a speech to the queen, saying that he was to deliver a message to:

> Tell hir that she is to me so deere
> That I sppoynt by man’s device and arte
> That everyday she shall see sundrie shoes
> If that she please to walke and take the ayre;
> And that so soone as oute of doore she goes…
> Some odd device shall meete her Highnesse straight.[243]

Churchyard comments that he was well satisfied with the queen’s reception of the message and that the speech was “very well taken and understood.” Churchyard creates an indoor-outdoor dichotomy. He has set up the secondary universe of his entertainments in a way that intrinsically links it to the politics of the Elizabethan court.

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[243] Woodcock, “The Queen’s Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk,” 724.

Churchyard rigidly adhered to his construction of an out-of-doors secondary universe. Henry Goldingham's masque, which was offered by the Mayor on behalf of the city and recorded in Garter's account of the entertainment, for instance, was held inside the Privy Chamber of the Bishop's palace and indicates that indoor performances were a practical option. In Garner's entertainment, the fairies are notably absent, and it is instead filled with figures from Classical mythology. Even after Garner's successful masque at the Palace, and the ruination of Churchyard's costumes by the rain, he tries again on for the final performance of the fairies, refusing to let go of this mythological aesthetic.

The Country House Landscape and the Entertainments at Elvetham

The entertainments that the earl of Hertford put on for Elizabeth in Elvetham in 1591 were, apart from Kenilworth,[244] the most costly and elaborate of the entertainments among Elizabeth's progresses. Hertford's small Elvetham estate was completely redone for the occasion of Elizabeth's visit. Hertford erected several structures to accommodate the queen and her court, (including "A Larderie, Chaundrie, Wine –seller, Ewerie, and Panterie…a large Hale for entertainment of Knights…a long Bowre for her maiesties Guard," etc [245]) together with an artificial lake "cutte to the perfect figure of a half moone."[246] To commemorate the occasion, John Wolfe entered *The Honorable Entertainment* into the stationer's register eight days after the queen's departure.[247] The fairies that appear in this entertainment are represented as the maids of the fairy queen. The first day's entertainment celebrated Elizabeth's arrival with an oration and a masque. The second day (Tuesday) Elizabeth watched a large water pageant on the artificial lake. On the third day of the entertainments, 23 September 1591, "Thursday morning, hir Maiestie was no sooner readie, and at hir Gallerie wondow looking into the Garden…whereof the fayrie queene came into the Garden."[248] After addressing a speech to Elizabeth, "the fairy queene and hir maids danced about the Garden, singing a song of sixe partes, with the musicke of an exquisite consorte, wherin was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Cittern, Treble-viol, and Flute."[249] The relationship between the fairies and the country homes of this entertainment is constructed and utilized in a slightly different manner than that of the either the entertainments at Woodstock or the entertainments at Norwich. Of the entertainments, it is the only one that is set directly outside of one of the houses where Elizabeth was staying for the evening during her progress. In this entertainment, unlike in both Woodstock and Norwich, the queen is able to witness the fairy queen from her vantage point indoors and overlook the dancing in the garden from above.

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[244] The Harfield Entertainments might have also rivaled these two, but it only now exists in fragmentary form.

[245] H. Neville Davies, ed. "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham, 20-23 September 1591," in *John Nicols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* I: *A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources,* ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, vol. 3: 1579-1595 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 571.

[246] Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham," 572.

[247] The entertainment was published in two quarto pamphlets. The first quarto (referred to as Q1) is the basis for most editions of the Elvetham entertainments as it survives in three copies. The second quarto was recently

While the fairies that appear in the Elvetham entertainments do not step indoors, the queen is able to see the outdoor performance from inside. In the performances that take place throughout the Elvetham entertainment, this is the only day's entertainment to be staged in this manner. At Elvetham, like at Woodstock, the fairy queen presents Elizabeth a gift as a part of the performance. The fairy queen "brough with hir a garland made in forme of an imperiall crown," but the distance between the queen and the performer changes the way this gift is presented. The

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rediscovered in the archives at Windsor Castle in 2008, and yields some significant textual differences from the Q1 version. For more on the publication and confusion surrounding these pamphlets see Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham," 563-9.

[248] Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham, 592.

[249] Davies, 593.

fairy queen, then "in the sight of hir maiestie, she fixed [the garland] upon a silvered staffe, and sticking the staffe into the ground, spake."[250] This is the only entertainment wherein Elizabeth and the fairy queen have a physical distance between them during the presentation of gifts. In this construction, the fairy figure is rendered no less real in the dramatic universe of the performance, nor did it seem to bother Elizabeth, who was so delighted by the performance that, according to the witness account, "commanded to heare is sung and to be dances three times over, and called for divers Lords and Ladies to behold it."[251] In this entertainment, however, the country house that is hosting the queen, rather than being the background for the performances of the fairies, is physically present in the performance space as a barrier between the queen and the action within the dramatic universe.

The physical space of the house was utilized differently from the previous two entertainments, but the conceptual space, and its interrelationship with the political messages was constructed in a similar way. The anonymous author of the entertainments sought to use the dramatic universe as a means by which gain the favor of the queen by enacting it. The Earl of Hertford, who hosted the entertainments, was a family relation of Elizabeth, and his marriage to Katherine Grey (Lady Jane Grey's sister) earned a longstanding disfavor with the queen.[252] In planning the entertainments, Hertford purposefully borrowed from the foremost fashions of royal entertaining, while keeping the tone politically neutral.[253] What is immediately evident in the entertainment itself, is the role of the physical country property in hosting and entertaining the queen. The author describes the necessary construction as happening "on the sodaine" to make the house suitable "for the receipt of so great a Maiestie, and so honorable a traine."[254] Expressions of unworthiness along with assertions about the suddenness and unexpectedness of the queen's arrival (however true) were a rhetorical tactic employed in many instances to subtly emphasize the quality of the house and loyalty of its family to the queen in false humility. However, Elvetham house was truly unfit for a royal visit. Elvetham was one of the smallest estates of the Earl of Hertford, and is described as "being situate in a parke but of two miles in compasse, or thereabouts, and of no great receipt." Elizabeth was familiar with the house and probably announced her intention to visit here, rather than in a more suitable location, as a means of expressing her longstanding displeasure with the Earl of Hertford and exerting her control over the family estate. The construction of a suitable place for entertaining the queen takes on its own political message and the Earl of Hertford uses its unworthiness as a stage for his own political performance long before the entertainments actually took place. He used the physical property to demonstrate "the desire he had to shewe hus unfained loue, and loyal dutie"[255] Like the earlier entertainments, the major expansion of Elvetham house for the entertainment relies on a transformation of the local landscape, and the integration of landscape with the setting of the entertainment. The Elvetham entertainments are unique not only in their considerable expenditure, but in the complete construction of the secondary universe: Elvetham required enough expansion that the whole estate was modified to suit the purposes of the entertainment. The Proem to the entertainment describes the undertaking of the renovations:

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[250] Davies, 592.

[251] Davies, 593.

[252] As Davies suggests, "Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford, was a cousin of the Queen, and son of the Duke of Somerset and Protector who had been executed on a charge of treason in 1552. In 1560, Herford secretly married Lady Katherine Grey (1540?-1568), sister of Lady Jane Grey, for which the rash pair were imprisoned in the Tower, and their two sons declared illegitimate. Although Lady Katherine was confined until her death in 1568, Hertford was released in 1563, but was subject to various forms of restraint until 1571…during the late 1570s and 1580s, he was able to play some part in public life." "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham," 569. His eldest son Edward Seymour also married without consent in 1582.

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[253] Wilson describes the entertainment as having "none of the personal qualities of those offered by the Norrises, or by Lord Burleigh on her visits to the Theobalds, which is hardly surprising in view of the suspicion in which Elizabeth held Hertford." *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 96.

[254] Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham, 570.

[255] Davies, 570.

> His Honor [Hertford] with all expedition set artificers a worke, to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, many days before her Maiesties arrival to inlarge his house with newe rooms and offices. Whereof I omit to speake how many were destined to the offices of the queenes household, & will only make mention of other such buildings as were raised on the sudden, fourteenscore off from the house, on a hill side, within the said park, for the entertainment of Nobles, Gentlemen, and others whatsoever.[256]

The text then goes on to list over twenty new rooms that were constructed for the arrival of Elizabeth and her train.

The result, as Wilson argues, is that these entertainments project the sense that "Elvetham [w]as a place removed out of the diurnal world"[257] The house is not overly impressive by Elizabethan standards, perhaps, but the performance offers a chance for Hertford to fashion himself as completely dedicated to the project. The textual account of the performance highlights the relationship between his architectural and authorial abilities, demonstrating mastery in both be presenting the construction efforts as a willingness to build on mere hearsay:

> The Earl heard a rumor, or was (more probably) warned that Elizabeth intended to drop in on him unexpectedly, not at one of his major residences, but at the tiny Elvetham. He immediately set to work to create a wood-and-canvas palace, together with a large crescent-shaped artificial lake (it must have been about one hundred yards across at its

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[256] Davies, 570. The text derives mainly from the Q2 text, the only extant copy at the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (RCIN 1024755). In the Q1 text refers to three hundred artificers working on the project. Two copies of this quarto survive at the Lambeth Palace Library and the Cambridge University Library.

[257] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 97.

> widest point) on which he staged a water-pageant which may well have found its inspiration in those currently fashionable in Italy.[258]

The entertainments performed at Elvetham drew on the best themes of its predecessors, along with current fashions. Hertford began construction on what essentially was a custom-built secondary world in which magical creatures such as the fairies seemed to belong. At Elvetham, the primary world is completely reconstructed to fit the needs of the dramatic universe. As Wilson describes, "What sets Elvetham apart is partly the exquisite realization of the idealized atmosphere of Elizabethan mythology…and partly the careful modulations of the type of entertainment provided."[259] This complete upheaval of the primary world demonstrates the place of the fairies in the larger "idealized atmosphere" that the entertainers sought to create. Fairies and their entertainments delighted the queen and were an integral part of the secondary universe as Elizabethans imagined it.

The proem acts as a type of guide for the reader, and the narrator intends to it to be read as a topographical map. He says: "therefore I am to requeste the gentle Reader, that when any of these places are brieflie specified in the sequele of this discourse, it will please him to have reference to this fore-description."[260] Both quartos produced of the entertainment were published with a map insert, detailing the new buildings and the devices planned. Whereas Woodstock and Norwich seemed to derive the credibility of their fairy mythologies in the entertainments by concealing the human labor, and positioning the house as an organic part of the archaic landscape, the Elvetham entertainments claim their verisimilitude through the expansive and expensive production of the secondary universe.

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[258] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 96.
[259] Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I,* 98.
[260] Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham," 573. Indeed, in both the Q1 and Q2 versions of the text, the author has provided a kind of map, intended to help the reader navigate the secondary universe.

The Elvetham entertainment signals a change in the way that early modern authors and audiences understood and articulated the relationship of the primary universe to the secondary universe. Nearly fifteen years separate the Elvetham entertainments from the earlier two entertainments featuring fairies, and I argue the changing depictions of landscapes influenced by the emergence of fairy characters into playhouses and the increased popularity of fairy characters in general cannot be underestimated. Across this thesis, I describe the gradual change in the depiction of fairy characters to indoor locations as they become increasingly counterfeit within their respective dramatic universes. While the fairies of the Elvetham entertainments are real within the dramatic universe of their performance, it is interesting to note that the later of these entertainments allows the queen an indoor vantage point from which to view this performance. Between the performance of the earlier entertainments and the Elvetham entertainments, a number of stage plays featuring fairies such as *Endymion* (1588) and *Galatea* (1588)[261] had already been performed. These plays adapted the themes of the earlier entertainments for indoor performances by the Children of St. Paul's for Queen Elizabeth at court.[262] This may factor into the slightly different presentation of the fairy figure in this entertainment. I argue that this change is so clearly articulated in this entertainment because of the physical construction of the secondary universe. In the later stage plays, there is no such lingering physical evidence of the secondary universe, a theme expounding upon in Puck's epilogue in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for instance.

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[261] Lyly has been put forward as a potential author for each of these plays and Bond suggests Lyly, also may have had some hand in drafting the entertainment. Bond particularly advocates for Lyly's authorship in the Fairies song "With Fragrant Flowers," Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham," 568.

[262] We know, for instance, that the Children of St. Paul's performed *Endymion* at Greenwich Palace on Friday, February 2, 1588. *Galatea*, with its limited fairy presence, was performed at least one at Greenwich Monday, January 1, 1588. That the plays were performed outside of court is fairly certain, but information regarding their subsequent performances or popular reception. What is certain, however, is that the association between fairies and Elizabeth was well integrated into the English cultural imaginary by the time that the entertainments at Elvetham took place.

The change in the landscapes that fairies inhabit during the entertainments at Elvetham may have had an underlying practicality. At the time of the Elvetham entertainments, Elizabeth was almost sixty years old. The queen made fewer public appearances as she aged, preferring to maintain the image of her in her youth, especially to the outward public. This image of Elizabeth as the eternally young and immortal fairy queen became increasingly important as she aged, and the epithet of the "fairy queen" would have been well recognized by the time of the entertainments, especially in the wake and popularity of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in 1591.[263] As Roy Strong argues, toward the later years of Elizabeth's reign, Elizabeth exhibited:

> extreme sensitivity over her personal appearance and her awareness and fear of its decay. In her portraits it is reflected in a policy of deliberate rejuvenation. This may or may not have reflected vanity so much as genuine fear of the dangers inherent in dwelling on the physical mortality of the sovereign while the succession was unsettled. As a result, sometime around 1594 a government decision was taken that the official image of the queen in her final years was to be a legendary beauty, ageless, and unfading.[264]

In July 1596, by order of the Privy Council, all images of the queen had to be approved by the Sergeant painter and less sightly portraits were destroyed.[265] I argue the image of the fairy figure in early modern drama was similarly effected by Elizabeth's increasing age, and the manner in which secondary universes were created for the queen changed. Where once the outdoor landscape inhabited by the fairies was accessible to Elizabeth, like in the entertainments at Woodstock where she follows the hermit to his house on foot, the fairies increasingly have to stay closer and more accessible. In doing so, they are less active, less intertwined in the mythological universe, and perhaps, like the fairy queen herself, declined from their previous vibrancy.

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[263] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Pearson Longman, 2007). All subsequent references are to book, canto, paragraph, and line number from this edition unless otherwise specified.

[264] Strong, *Gloriana*, 20.

[265] Strong, *Gloriana*, 14.

Unfortunately, this evolution in the manner in which secondary universes are constructed is difficult to fully examine as the tradition of entertainments for Elizabeth seems to move away from depicting the fairy figure, and the fairy becomes increasingly popular in stage plays. One notable exception is Ben Jonson's *Entertainment at Althrop* which was performed in June of 1603 for the new Queen Anne of Denmark and the young Prince Henry. As I discuss later in this chapter, the entertainment takes place in the outdoor landscapes of the Spencer family home at Althrop in Northamptonshire. The reinstatement of fairy characters in the outdoor landscapes for the Althrop entertainments corroborates the idea that the entertainments at Elvetham were modified to accommodate an ageing queen Elizabeth. Jonson's lively entertainment, on the other hand, "captures some of the excitement generated by the new royal family, and… emphasizes dynastic continuity."[266] While this entertainment enforces the correlation between the appearance of the fairies and the outdoor landscapes, I suggest several notable changes from the appearance of fairy characters in the outdoor landscapes of Woodstock or Norwich anticipates the appearances of the counterfeit fairies I examine in Chapter Four and the demythologized fairy figure of Jonson's masque *Oberon, The Fairy Prince.*

There is an intriguing note, however, about the fairy queen in the entertainments at Ditchley. Henry Lee, who had consciously fashioned himself as Elizabeth's knight by appealing to Arthurian mythologies throughout the tiltyards he presented to the queen, unsurprisingly follows a similar pattern in the entertainment at Ditchley on September 20 through September 21, 1592. Ditchley was Sir Henry Lee's main residence, about four miles outside of Woodstock where the 1575 entertainment was performed, and Gabriel Heaton suggests that the entertainment on September 20, 1592 most likely was held once again at Woodstock.[267] Here the fairy queen is mentioned, although never explicitly appears in the performance.[268] “The Old Knight’s Tale” opens with an explicit reference to the 1575 Woodstock entertainments, saying “Not far from hence nor very long agoe / the fayrie queene the fairest queene saluted,” making specific reference to the “enchaunted pictures” that decorated the hermit’s house during the banquet.[269] The Old knight recounts how he had taken a lover against the warnings of the queen (straying devotion was similarly problematic for both the blind hermit in the Woodstock entertainment):

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[266] James Knowles, introduction to *The Entertainment at Althrop* by Ben Jonson, 397.

With this the Just revengefull fayrey queane
As on that had conceaved anger deepe
And therefore ment to execute her teene
Resolved to cast me in a deedly sleepe

The link between fairies and sleep is a familiar one, present in stage plays such as *Endymion*, which I examine in Chapter Two. Here the fairy queen is vengeful and dangerous, unlike her previous depiction in the Woodstock entertainment, but quickly disappears from the text.

In the 1575 Woodstock entertainment, the creation of the secondary world was elaborate and integral to the entertainment. In the Ditchley entertainment, the focus is not on the creation of the secondary universe or the evocation of a mythological mode of fictionality but draws attention to a set of physical objects linked to both entertainments: Henry Lee’s collection of portraits from the hermit's house in Woodstock. There has long been an association between the "Ditchley" portrait of Queen Elizabeth and her visit to Henry Lee in 1592. As it has been suggested by Heaton, as part of the entertainment, Elizabeth looked over the portraits from the 1575 Woodstock entertainment. Having a "newly commissioned portrait would have been ideally suited to be the triumphant conclusion to this sequence. The inscriptions, with their emphasis on the queen's power, ability to change circumstances, and forgiveness, are well suited to that occasion."[270] In this entertainment, Ditchley uses fairy mythology as a means to vie for political favor. By evoking the secondary universe created by Lee in the Woodstock entertainments, Lee can once again put the Woodstock portraits on display and reimbue them with significance.

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[267] The original text of Nicols’ *Progresses* incorrectly suggests that the performance took place at Lee’s house in Quarrendon, Buckinghamshire. Heaton, “Sir Henry Lee’s Entertainments for the Queen,” 682.
[268] It is interesting that this entertainment draws some obvious influences form Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*, the first three volumes of which were published only two years earlier. In Spenser’s work, the character of fairy queen (here an explicit pseudonym for Elizabeth) never physically appears in the narrative.
[269] Heaton, “Sir Henry Lee’s Entertainments for the Queen,”688.

The Natural Landscape and the Entertainments at Woodstock

The early appearances of the fairy figure in the entertainments that I examine here rely on the integration of the primary universe of actual early modern England with the secondary universe of the performance. I argue that these first appearances of the fairy figure in dramatic performance evoke a mythological mode of fictionality by aligning the landscapes that the plots of the entertainments are set in with the rural English countryside locations in which their original performances took place. In each location, these entertainments were written and performed with the locally available landscape in mind, which provided spaces for the performance according to existing geographical features. I suggest that these Elizabethan entertainments attempted to adapt an established mythological mode of fictionality to a contemporary dramatic form and physically integrate it into actual English landscapes. Each of the entertainments situates the secondary universe within the meadows, forests, and earth of the rural English countryside.

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[270] Gabriel Heaton, "The Ditchley Portrait," in *John Nicols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* I: *A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elizabeth Archer, vol. 3: 1579-1595 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 703.

As discussed in this chapter, the plot and conflicts of the Woodstock entertainments revolve around location. Contarenus is removed from Cambaia because of his love for Gaudina, several of the characters have been sent from their homelands by choice or force to wander, and the prophecy that restores the equilibrium is not complete until they have arrived at the country "of most peas." While the plot relies on this location, the setting of the entertainment is built into the physical geography of the early modern landscape. Elizabeth first encounters the entertainment in a bower that has been constructed for her to sit in. The bower is marked as a space from which the queen can view the performance as an audience member. In this way, Elizabeth is outside of the dramatic universe situated in the actual Woodstock. Significantly, this place is carved out of the earth, physically constructed from the actual dirt and rock of the primary universe. However, the distinction between primary and secondary universe gradually collapses as "The Tale of Hemetes" unfolds. It is revealed through a prophesy that the conflicts of the world of Cambaia cannot be resolved until the characters "had found owte a place, wheare men were moste stronge, and women moste fayre, the country most fertyll the people most wealthy, the government mot just, and the princes most wourthy."[271] The physical geography of the place where Elizabeth watched the performance (the bower in Woodstock) is thus revealed to be an important location within the dramatic universe as well as within the actual universe. In doing so, the entertainment utilizes a mode of fictionality that does not prioritize the events or landscapes of the primary universe over those of the secondary.

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[271] Heaton, 377.

The entertainment then requires Elizabeth to move further into the dramatic universe by physically following the hermit into the woods. As she does so, she encounters Hemetes' house, which is similarly constructed from the physical landscape of the primary universe. The narrator describes the architectural structure of the house:

> The ground from thence reared litle & litle to the altitude of forty foot or more, the path in mounting covered with fresh turves, with… the way was railed with lattice, beset in sweet flowres & Ivy, as before: above in the house was a Table made in order of a halfe moon…But leaste I hold you to longe, this mount made, as I have sayde, about an Oake, the toppe whereof was inforce by strength; too bende down her branches to cover the house.[272]

Oak trees in particular, and sylvan landscapes more generally, were associated with enchanted places.[273] As the queen departs for the evening, she is presented with "The Song in the Oake" that depicts a person who has been transformed into an oak tree. Lee probably drew his influence from Virgil and from the entertainments at Kenilworth.[274] The song survives in various poetical miscellanies, suggesting that the image of the enchanted oak tree and enchantment circulated before and beyond the Woodstock entertainments. As a part of the hermit's house, however, the singularity of the tree is not because of its enchantment, but because of the architectural prowess of an actual human artist. The tree of the primary universe is physically bent over to facilitate the construction of a location required in the dramatic universe. Simultaneously, the enchanted oak tree of the secondary universe functions as an actual space where Elizabeth and her train can dine. Primary and secondary universes are one and the same in this model of fictionality, where the artist functions both as architect and enchanter to bring the dramatic universe into actuality.

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[272] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 402.

[273] Herne's Oak in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is another such example of a performance utilizing this trope.

[274] Heaton, "Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock," 408. See also Shirley Clay Scott, "From Polydorus to Fradubio: The History of Topos," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 75 (1986): 27-57.

The later stage plays, and those of Lyly in particular, try to replicate this mode of fictionality with varying degrees of success as I discuss in Chapter Two. The presence of the stage, and the physical separation of the secondary universe from the landscapes it seeks to represent creates a nearly unavoidable separation between the actual universe and the dramatic universe, forcing the audience to recognize the world of the play as secondary to the actual world. While the movement of the fairy figure to representation on England's early modern stages makes this shift almost inevitable, I argue that there is more than a change in physical location at work. For example, in the 1592 entertainments at Ditchley, the performances again take place in Woodstock, but the formulation of the relationship between the primary and secondary universe is altered. In the 1592 Ditchley entertainments, the events of the 1575 Woodstock entertainments are reimagined as a place "Not far from hence nor very long agoe / the fayrie queene the fayrest queene saluted." The alliterative line positions the fairy queen as Elizabeth's allegorical secondary world equivalent, wittily drawing attention to one of Elizabeth's epithets, most prominently expressed by Spenser, as the fairy queen. Lee's word play of "fairy queen" and "fairest queens" portrays the interaction in 1575 as a textual and performative meeting of primary and secondary universes. However, in its original performance, these universes were never conceived of as separate entities. Woodstock uses the natural landscape as a means of establishing the universe of the performance as simultaneous and synonymous with the universe of early modern England, drawing from a mythological mode of fictionality.

The Natural Landscape and the Entertainments at Norwich

Churchyard similarly employs the natural landscape in order to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality. Mercury's first speech at the queen's arrival justifies the presence of the fairies and other creatures in the entertainments. He appeals to popular beliefs about the nature of fairies, spirits, and sprites as creatures of the devil, therefore creating a mythology for the secondary universe consistent with popular conceptions of folklore in the primary universe. Here, of course, he suggests that these creatures have changed their ways in the presence of Elizabeth and simply seek to entertain by providing her "rare sights." Churchyard's representation of the universe begins by bringing the attention of the audience to the landscape. He provides the apocalyptic image of the souls of men falling from heaven and "some in the ayre, and toppes of trees did rest, / some fell on Toures, and stately houses high, / some snucke in Seas, whose names were drouned now, / And some did light on land…"[275] Churchyard's entertainments conceive of the preternatural happenings, not as a result of a secondary universe that is being encountered by the audience, but as a result of Elizabeth's presence in the primary world, which causes the dormant powers of the landscape to be stirred into action.

Churchyard's first person account of the various performances he planned for Elizabeth detail his conception for the role of the fairy figure the creation of a credible and memorable dramatic universe. On Wednesday evening, Churchyard had planned a water pageant, which did not feature fairy characters, but this pageant had to be rescheduled due to poor weather. The entertainment of the nymphs similarly had to be rescheduled and the nymphs were rescripted as fairies, demonstrating the perceived similarities between these two creatures in Churchyard's mind. All three performances are recorded by Churchyard. More importantly, however, the descriptions of each of the performances utilized a similar landscape, and demonstrated the connection between this landscape and the mode of fictionality that Churchyard attempted to portray.

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[275] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 725.

The credibility of the dramatic universe relies, for Churchyard, not on the portrayal of the creatures, but on the way that they are connected to the surrounding landscape. Churchyard's first entertainment was going to make use of a natural lake, but last minute changes required Churchyard to create a set on a river bank for Thursday's entertainment. Working in undesirable conditions,

> I caused a place to be made and digged for the Nymphes of the water, the manner and proportion whereof, was in this forme and fashion. Firste, there was measure taken for threescore foote of grounde every way, the hole to be made deepe and foure square, whiche ground covered with a Canvas paynted greene like the grasse, and at every side on the Canvas ran a string through Curtayne rings, whiche string might easily be drawn any kind of way, by reason of two great poales that lay along in the grounde, and aunswered the Curtayne or Canvas on eache side so, that drawing a small corde in the middle of the Canvas, the earthe would seem to open, and so shut againe, as the other end of the cord was drawen backwards.[276]

The nymphs themselves are dressed in white linen or silk and adorned with moss and sedges. Churchyard describes their beauty as "the chosen children of a world."[277] Their appearance is accompanied by music and they are supposed to deliver speeches to the queen. The nymphs, in this set-up, are aligned with the natural landscape by the same theatrical mechanics through which the hermit's house in Woodstock was constructed out of a tree.

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[276] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 737.

[277] Woodcock, 738.

The speeches that the nymphs were supposed to speak during this entertainment are dutifully recorded by Churchyard. The nymphs in his creation are aligned with many of the folk traditions of fairies. The second nymph also recalls how they are creatures of darkness: "We shun the Sunne, yet love the Mone, & hate the open light." Furthermore, the second suggests that that "We are some hold of Womens sexe, and gladde with men to meete."[278] Most importantly, the third nymph is explicitly portrayed as a fairy.[279] The third nymph says:

> The Phayries are another kind, of elves that daunce in darke
> Yet can light Candles in the night, and vanish like a sparke,
> And make a moyse and rumbling great, amoung the dishes oft,
> And wake the sleepie sluggish Maydes, that lyes in Kitchen loft.
> And when in field they treade the grasse, from water we rapayre,
> And hoppe and skippe, with them sometime, as weather waxeth fayre.[280]

The fairies from popular folklore traditions, both the type that clean kitchens, and those that abduct lustful young men, and the light and gleeful creatures that enjoy dancing and laughing are represented in the speech.

Unfortunately, this performance is also delayed and Churchyard's creation of the cave remains unwitnessed because of a heavy rainstorm.[281] According to Churchyard, he is determined to do something to celebrate the queen's last day in Norwich and sets up a final show using the boys that were nymphs and recasting them as fairies. Unable, or perhaps unwilling at this point, to construct an extravagant set out of the natural landscape for this last-minute performance, Churchyard and the performers found “a ground, by which the queene must passe, enclosing my company in the corner of a field, being defenced with high and thicke bushes…[and] appointed that seven Boyes of twelve, should passe through a hedge from the place of our abode (which was gallantly trimmed).”[282] In the rush to prepare this entertainment for the queen, Churchyard is not as concerned with the credibility of the performance. He says his intention is to make the queen laugh. Churchyard describes how “these Boyes you must understand) were dressed like nymphs of the water, and were to play by a devise and degrees the *Phayries*, and to daunce (as neere as could be imagined) like the *Phayries.*”[283] The idea that they are dressed as nymphs, Churchyard suspects, will be a point of humor. They are not meant, in this instance to be as credible as the nymphs were supposed to be in their first manifestation. Churchyard’s changed description of his boy actors from “the chosen children of the earth” in the first performance to being fairies “as near as can be imagined” points to the idea that a part of the humor in Churchyard’s final entertainment is the inefficacy of this portrayal. Whereas the nymphs of the first and second performances were supposed to be haunting and beautiful, the various misfortunes have made it so that Churchyard finds these depictions humorous because of their failure to look like *real* fairies. This indicates that, for Churchyard, at least there was a correct and believable fairy figure that could be created; they were supposed to be dressed in fine clothes with sedges in their hair, well organized, connected to a body of water, beautiful, and accompanied by music. They are not supposed to be the piece-meal costumed actors with ruined silks who simply pop out of hedges. These characters, to Churchyard, are laughable.

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[278] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 747.
[279] Woodcock, 747.
[280] Woodcock, 747.
[281] Churchyard describes the performance humorously as "we were all so dashed and washed that it was a greater pastime to see us looke like drowned Rattes, than to have beheld the uttermost of the Shewes rehearsed. Thus you see, a Shew in the open fielde is alwayes subject to the suddatne change of weather, and a number of more inconveniences than I expresse." The city lost many of the silk and velvet costumes to the rain. Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 739.

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[282] Woodcock, “The Queen’s Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk,” 748.
[283] Woodcock, 748. Italics indicated by text.

Since the fairies are not meant to be credible, or Churchyard believes they fall humorously flat of the nymphs he intended to create, it is interesting to note what elements of the performance Churchyard retains through the various manifestations. Although he draws to his audiences' attention that the fairies are dressed as nymphs and therefore their character portrayals do not match, he still maintains their connection with the landscape as part of the story. He notes that he "departed the Citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted my purpose and the matter I went about."[284] Churchyard's desire to portray preternatural characters requires, in his mind, that the performance take place outside of the city in a natural landscape. This is reiterated and recognized by the speech of the third fairy during the performance: "Yea out of hedge we crept in deede, where close in caves we lay, /… To make hir laugh, we clapt on clotes, of Segges and Bulrush both, / That she should know, & world should say, lo there the Pharyries goth."[285] The characters themselves recognize and account for the inconsistences of the dramatic universe with the expectations of the mythology and the liberties they have taken, explaining that they have been in hedges waiting for the queen and have "clapt" on coats of sedges so that she knows what they are supposed to be.

The Natural Landscape and the Entertainments at Elvetham

The entertainments at Elvetham also evoke a mythological mode of fictionality by situating the fairy characters into the natural landscapes of the primary universe. One of the most extraordinary instances of this is the large crescent-shaped lake The Earl of Hertford designed for the water pageant.[286] The proem of the entertainment describes the specifications of the lake: "Between the Earles house and the foresaid hill…there had been made in the bottome by handie labour, a goodlie ponde, cutte to the perfect figure of a halfe moone."[287] The lake is a huge undertaking, complete with "three notable grounds" (i.e. islets), each with a different theme. In the text of the entertainment, Nereus, a water sprite, narrates the effect Elizabeth has had on the secondary universe. He claims that Elizabeth's arrival has restored the masts of the great ships to the trees they once were, and has transformed "Yon uglie monster creeping from the South…Bu selfe-same beames is chang'd into a Snaile, / Whose bul-rush-hornes are not of force to hurt."[288] The narrator suggests that the giant snail sculpture created out of bulrushes, was a real and threatening monster until Elizabeth arrived. The theme of Elizabeth's transformative power is again present. While in the previous entertainments Elizabeth's presence is portrayed as awakening the preternatural forces of the landscape, at Elvetham, Elizabeth's arrival neutralizes preternatural threats by returning them to the natural landscape.

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[284] Woodcock, "The Queen's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk," 748.
[285] Woodcock, 749.

The fairy characters of the entertainment on fourth day, unlike the Classical gods, goddesses, and nymphs of the water pageant, greet Elizabeth in the morning outside her window. In each of the past entertainments, the fairy queen and her train have encountered or sought out Elizabeth as she passed through the various natural landscapes. However, in this entertainment the fairy queen "came into the Garden, dancing with hir maides about hir."[289] Although the garden space is still an outdoor landscape, it is quite different than the woods that lend credibility to the fairies at Woodstock or the green outside of the city that Churchyard eventually sought out for his fairy entertainment. As I suggest earlier, the later date of the entertainment seems appropriate for this more domesticated depiction of the fairies.

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[286] Strong argues that "the earliest reference in the portraits to the cult of Elizabeth as the moon goddess, Cynthia or Diana, occurs in a miniature by Nicholas Hillard. It takes the form of a crescent-moon-shaped jewel in her hair with, on either side, a series of other jewels in the form of arrows, allusions perhaps to Diana the huntress." The portrait probably dates between 1586-7. Strong, *Gloriana*, 125.
[287] Davies, "The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham, 572.
[288] Davies, 584.
[289] Davies, 592.

While the fairies of the Elvetham entertainments do not physically encounter Elizabeth in the same natural outdoor landscapes, their speech still evokes a close connection to natural landscape:

> I that abide in places under ground
> Aureola, the Queene of Fairy land,
> That everie night in rings of painted flowers
> Turne round, and carrol our Elisaes name:
> Hearing that Nereus and the Slyvane Gods
> Have lately welcomed your Imperiall Grace,
> Opend the earth with this inchanting wande,
> To doe my duetie to your Majestie,
> And humlie salute you with this Chaplet,
> Geven me by Auberon, the Fairy King.

The fairy queen Aureola emerges from the ground, forcing physical landscapes to open up so that she may pay homage to Elizabeth. This fairy queen partakes in the entertainment tradition of showing preferment to Elizabeth and worshipping her as queen of the whole land, but the image painted of Aureola's admiration of Elizabeth is haunting and potentially threatening: she calls out Elizabeth's name while dancing every night.[290] Many folk traditions associated the fairies with ancestors or evil spirits, and here the association between the fairy queen and Proserpina, the queen of the dead is made explicit. Aureola is “belov’d in heaven” and will “cause the heavens to enlarge thy golden days.”[291] Although she does not threaten Elizabeth, Aureola here is painted as having the power over life and death.

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[290] The name of the fairy queen in this production is draws resonances with Christian tradition and also recalls the association between fairies and light sources. "Aureola" refers to the "luminous radiance surrounding the whole figure in paintings of Christ and sometimes of the saints." *Brewers Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* 19th ed. (London: Chambers Harrap, 2013). In reference to light, the term also means, "the luminous white or bluish disc, surrounded by a brown ring, sometimes observed directly surrounding the Sun or Moon. The term is also used to describe the bright area with no definite boundary commonly seen surrounding the Sun in a clear sky." *A Dictionary of Geology and Earth Sciences*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), n. "aureole."

In this way Aureola is slightly more otherworldly than previous depictions of fairies. This depiction of the fairy queen and her maids associates the fairy figure with natural landscapes similarly to the other two entertainments, but they are not *of* the natural landscape in the same way that the fairies at Woodstock or Elvetham spring from the landscape of the primary world. Aureola comes from a different plane of existence altogether. She is loved by heaven, dances on earth in nightly rings, and dwells underground. She has been sent by Auberon, the fairy king who does not make an appearance in the text, which suggests there is a complete fairy world that exists beyond Elvetham. While the mode of fictionality of the earlier two entertainments relied on a convergence of primary and secondary universes, this is the first entertainment that depicts the fairy realm as entirely separate from the world of early modern England.

The Natural Landscape in the *Entertainment at Althrop*

The entertainments that took place at Althrop at the Spencer family home in Northamptonshire were some of the first entertainments to be presented to Anne of Denmark in the wake of her new position as queen of England as her progress traveled from Edinburgh to London. Accompanied by the young prince Henry and over 200 people, the progress served as a symbolic demonstration of the arrival of a new reign. As James Knowles suggests, “the new king recognized the significance of his wife’s journey in ‘anchoring’ his regime, and much effort was expended ensuring a magnificent procession."[292] Similarly to the entertainments presented to Queen Elizabeth at Woodstock or Norwich, the fairies that appear in Jonson's *Entertainment at Althrop* are set outdoors, utilizing the natural landscapes of the English countryside. While the relationship of the fairies to the natural landscapes of the English countryside assists in recalling a mythological mode of fictionality that governs the dramatic universes of the entertainments I have examined previously, the performance demonstrates some small changes to the manner in which the fairy characters interacted with and drew meaning from the natural landscapes they inhabit. I suggest that these changes indicate an attempt to negotiate the place of Elizabethan fairy mythology in the new regime amid the changing perceptions of the fairy figure at large.

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[291] Davies, 592.

The entertainment is both fictionally and actually set in the forests near Althrop. Anne's arrival in the actual forest landscape to the sound of coronets prompts the emergence of preternatural creatures in the secondary universe. Curious about the sounds, a satyr pops his head out of the forest. Seeing the queen and prince and realizing they are "of heavenly race," the satyr hides himself in the bushes. Queen Mab and her train of fairies come "tripping up the lawn" and start to welcome Anne with a song and dance. Their festivities are interrupted by the satyr who taunts Mab with a series of rhymes that associate the fairies with dairy maids, changeling children, and household work. While these are activities normally associated with the fairies of folklore, the fairies in this case take offense at the satyr's increasingly crass jibes. Eventually losing their patience with him, they stop singing to pursue him through the woods and pinch him. They apologize to the queen for his "wild strain" and continue their welcome to Queen Anne, who they refer to as "Oriana." The fairies present Anne with a gift and John Spencer, the young heir to the Spencer family is offered as a companion for the prince. Seamlessly, the performance transforms into a hunt, to see "how he [John Spencer] hunteth instantly."[293] After a successful hunt, the party retired for the evening.[294] The entertainment ceased for a day of rest on Sunday and continued on Monday with a banquet, Morris dance, and a series of addresses to the queen.[295]

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[292] James Knowles, introduction to *The Entertainment at Althrop* by Ben Jonson, 395.

Much like the entertainments presented to Elizabeth at Woodstock and Norwich, *The Entertainment at Althrop* is able to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality by integrating the landscapes of the primary and secondary universe. The Spencer estate at Althrop was famous for its woodland hunting grounds, which serve both as the fictional setting of the entertainment and the actual location of its performance. In this construction, Anne's movement through the physical landscapes of the primary universe allows her to encounter the satyr and fairy characters. When she first enters the woods, for instance, the satyr "*lodged in a little spinet*" is seemingly surprised at the presence of the queen and questions the cause of the commotion, asking "What may all this wonder be?"[296] The fairies likewise emerge from their concealment in a thicket and dance in the "*an artificial ring that was there cut into the path*."[297] By utilizing this natural environment, Jonson creates the illusion that fairies and other preternatural beings that exist within the forest are not only real within the fictional world of the performance, but exist as part of a mythology that informed and is influenced by the actual world. Moreover, their song expresses the fairies' joy at Anne's visit and portrays their dance as a form of commemoration:

> Now they print it on the ground
> With their feet in figures round

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[293] Jonson, *The Entertainment at Althrop,* 203.
[294] The queen killed two deer, while the prince killed six. Knowles, Introduction to *The Entertainment at Althrop,* p. 396.
[295] According to Jonson, these entertainments were less successful because "by the reason of the throng of the country that came in, their speaker could not be heard." *The Entertainment at Althrop,* 217-8.
[296] Jonson, *The Entertainment at Althrop,* 1; 10. Italics indicate an original stage direction.
[297] Jonson, 20-3.

Marks that will be ever found,

To remember this glad stound.[298]

The presence of a fairy ring, in particular, evokes a mythological mode of fictionality by offering physical evidence of their presence in the primary universe. Supposedly inscribed into the ground by the repeated footfalls of the fairies' dance pattern, the circle cut into the ground suggests that the fairies have been present in this physical location on multiple occasions in the past. The celebration of Anne's presence therefore becomes integrated into this fairy ritual. The dance also works as a form of memorialization, a way for the fairies' performance to physically "print" the queen's arrival onto the landscape. In discussing the Elizabethan entertainments, Cooper observes that "the use of the literal landscape helped to bridge the gap between myth and reality….Elizabeth's reign established itself as mythopoetic even before her death partly because of the way the celebrations of her could help transform the actual."[299] By intentionally impressing "marks that will be ever found" into the ground, the fairies transform the actual landscape and assist in blurring distinctions between primary and secondary worlds. In this way *The Entertainment at Althrop* attempts to integrate the performance for Anne into the mythological mode of fictionality that characterized the entertainments for Elizabeth.

The entertainment continuously draws attention to location and foregrounds the forest landscape as central to the figuration of the new monarchy. Althrop was slightly different venue than the homes of major magnates that Anne had visited previously along her progress from Edinburgh to London. As Knowles suggests, "the move from Holdenby, a house associated with the Elizabethan regime, to a new location literally and symbolically resituated the monarchy. This double aspect of homage to the deceased queen and strategic differentiation of the new regime runs throughout the *Althrop Entertainment*."[300] To this end, setting the entertainment in the forest landscape recalls aspects of the Elizabethan entertainments, particularly the entertainment at Woodstock, where Elizabeth walked into the forest on foot. Jonson's entertainment invites Anne to engage with a secondary universe that that is nearly continuous with the depictions of the universes created for Elizabeth. On the other hand, the entertainment uses the same landscape as a means to differentiate Anne's reign. The fairies inform Anne that Spencer, has not "allowed about this place / any of the female race."[301] In mentioning this, the fairies specifically depict this particular forest landscape as a place for Anne, rather than her predecessor. Thus rendered distinct from the locations Elizabeth frequented during her reign, the landscape offers a way for the Spencer family to align themselves specifically with the new regime. Culminating in a climatic hunt, the performance literalizes Spencer's role as the keeper of the forest, a huntsman, or "our woodsman." The entertainment also features a role for "*Lord Spencer's eldest son*" who appears "*attired and appointed like a huntsman.*" Like Sir Henry Lee's conscious self-fashioning in the entertainments at Woodstock, John Spencer is both actually, and in the fictional world of the entertainment, given "to the service of this Prince / And with [him] these instruments / of his wilde and sylvan trade."[302] Almost like the fairies themselves, his sudden appearance out of the woods and introduction to Prince Henry by the satyr assists in blurring the boundary between actual and fictional.

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[298] Jonson, 27-30.
[299] Cooper, "Location and Meaning in Masque," 141.

While the performance attempts to animate the mythological mode of fictionality present in the Elizabethan entertainments, I argue that *The Entertainment at Althrop* is noticeably effected by the demythologization of the fairy figure in the stage plays that separate its performance from the earlier performances of the Elizabethan entertainments. While the fairies in *Althrop* are depicted as real entities that are integrated with the outdoor rural landscapes of the English countryside, their associations with aspects of indoor and domestic spaces are referred to throughout the drama. For instance, when the fairies first attempt to greet Anne, the satyr that interrupts their song reminds audiences of the competing depictions of the fairy queen by taunting her:

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[300] Knowles, Introduction to *The Entertainment at Althrop,* p. 395.
[301] Jonson, *The Entertainment at Althrop,* 117-8.
[302] Jonson, *The Entertainment at Althrop,* 177-8; 194-6.

> She that pinches country wenches
> If they rub not clean their benches,
> And with sharper nails remembers
> When they rake not up their embers;
> . . . .
> This is she that empties cradles,
> Takes out children, puts in ladles.

These accusations of Mab's interference in household affairs are taken by the fairies to be insulting, and they punish the satyr by pinching him. While the fairies never explicitly acknowledge these activities, the satyr's rhyme points to the competing representations of the fairy as a credible figure. Unlike the fairy queen that appears to Elizabeth at Woodstock, for instance, Queen Mab seems to be a slightly less regal figure. Her fairy dance is easily interrupted by the satyr's disrespectful taunting, which he says is because she would not kiss him earlier. More importantly, the fairy characters that appear at Althrop lack some of potency of their Elizabethan forbearers. Particularly, Knowles claims that "in common with its Elizabethan antecedents, *Althrop* imagines Queen Anne's arrival as transforming the landscape, here returning the grieving host to society."[303] While Anne's arrival has indeed transformed Spencer's grief over the loss of his wife, since previously no one but the fairies was "free to trace / All his grounds as he to chase," I argue that this "transformation" is far less substantial than those presented in the Elizabethan entertainments. At Woodstock, for instance, Elizabeth's presence restores a blind hermit's sight. Furthermore, on the first day of the entertainments at Norwich, Mercury's speech presents an apocalyptic image of "infernal spirits" who crawl out of the ground and change their nature at the sight of Elizabeth. In Elvetham, as well, Elizabeth's arrival is said to have transformed a vicious sea monster into bull rushes. Anne's arrival at Althrop, by contrast, creates a slightly less preternatural transformation on the landscape as Spencer's grief has kept him from previously accepting company.

Jonson's choice to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality in *The Entertainment at Althrop* by integrating the fairy characters into the rural outdoor landscapes of the English countryside draws direct parallels with the Elizabethan entertainments. However, because several years separate *Althrop* from the entertainments featuring fairy characters at Woodstock or Norwich, Jonson's entertainment was undoubtedly influenced, at least in part, by the nearly ubiquitous presence of fairy characters in early modern English stage plays around the turn of the seventeenth century, as I discuss in Chapter Three. I argue that the changing relationships between fairy characters and the landscapes they inhabit in these plays demonstrate changing perceptions about the credibility of the fairy figure and the manner in which the fictional worlds they occupy were constructed. Although *The Entertainment at Althrop* integrates fairy characters in outdoor landscapes of Althrop's forest, like the entertainments al Elvetham, the fairy characters that occupy the entertainments at later dates seem somewhat reduced from the vibrancy of their predecessors.

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[303] Knowles, Introduction to *The Entertainment at Althrop*, p. 397.

Conclusion

The entertainments performed for Elizabeth at Woodstock in 1575 and at Norwich in 1578 are the first appearances of the fairy character in early modern English drama. The manifestation of this character type, especially since dramatic works featuring fairies seemed to delight Queen Elizabeth, progressively began to be more prevalent, eventually spreading to the stage plays of the 1580s and 1590s. Together with the entertainments at Elvetham, these manifestations of the fairy figure utilized a mythological mode of fictionality which presented the fairy not only as real within the plot of the entertainment itself, but blurred the border between the dramatic universe created within the entertainment and the actual world of early modern England. Particularly because all of these entertainments were written and performed for Elizabeth I, they functioned as a strategic effort to reinforce the image of the monarch, alongside the fairy characters of the play, as an enduring mythological figure. I suggest that this mode of fictionality is best seen in the virtual interchangeability between the landscapes that the entertainments' plots are set in and the actual landscapes upon which they are performed.

This mythological mode of fictionality is most readily apparent in the use of three landscapes that are present in each of the three entertainments I examine. The distant landscape, the landscape of the country house, and the natural landscape, while each intertwined, each prominently figure in the creation of a mythological mode of fictionality that was central to these performances. Evoking several of the motifs from English folklore, these performances brought new attention to the manner in which the fairies could be evoked in performance and paved the way for representations of fairy characters in later stage plays.

Chapter Two: Early Modern English Stage Plays, 1588-1593

On January 1, 1588, the fairy figure made a brief appearance in the New Year's Day festivities at Greenwich Place in John Lyly's *Galatea.* This event marks the first appearance of the fairy figure on the early modern English stage. While fairies had appeared frequently in the outdoor landscapes of the Elizabethan entertainments, this character type quickly integrated itself into repertoires of both children and adult theater companies. As Chapter One demonstrated, representations of fairies in Elizabethan entertainments featured fairy characters integrated within the natural landscape. However, the transition to the physically more limited space of the stage required a different approach to fairy mythology.

This chapter examines four stage plays featuring fairy characters between 1588 and 1593: *Galatea, Endymion, The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick,* and *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*. John Lyly's *Galatea* and *Endymion* were both performed for the court at Greenwich by the Children of Paul's theater company in 1588.[1] The anonymous *Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* (1593)[2] and Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (1591) were both performed in public theaters. These four plays feature the fairy characters that are connected to the outdoor and non-urban landscapes they inhabit. I have classified these landscapes into three subtypes, which I term the forest landscape, the lapsed landscape, and the dreamscape.

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[1] *Galatea* was first entered into the Stationer's register on April 1, 1585 as "A Comoedie of Titrus and Galathea." It is uncertain how similar this entry is to the version published under the title *Gallathea* in 1592 and it is also not clear why the entry into the Stationer's register predates its performance. For various theories about the play's early textual history, see Hunter and Bevington, introduction to *Galatea,* 4-6.

[2] The 1661 print attributes the play to "B.J." No definitive date or author has been decided on by critics, although the ambiguity has produced some interesting scholarship. Currently, most scholarship seems to support the work of Helen Cooper, which proposes a composition and performance date between 1593-4, for the version that survives in the 1661 printing. Cooper, "Guy of Warwick." John Peachman argues that *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* is a response written by Ben Jonson to Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.* If this is true, Peachman posits a date as late as 1598. "'Villanous Guy.'"

The main distinction between the plays I examined in Chapter One and the four plays I examine in this chapter is the difference in the location of their performance. Each of the entertainments examined in Chapter One was both actually and fictionally set in the rural landscapes of the English countryside.[3] By contrast, each of the four plays I examine in this chapter was performed within a building: either in an aristocratic residence, a private indoor theater, or a public outdoor theater (which while it has no roof is still a building). The physical stage or stage-like space in which the plays were performed had to suffice to evoke any landscape implied within the plot.[4] I argue that the movement from the outdoor performances of the entertainments to the stages or stage-like spaces on which the plays were performed engenders a new manner in which early modern audiences had to interact with and understand the dramatic universe of the performance.[5] Helen Cooper's analysis of location in the early modern English masque and entertainment tradition provides a useful starting point for exploring the transition of the fairy figure to the stage. Cooper observes:

> One of the greatest differences between drama and royal entertainment or masque lies in the interpretation given to the acting area and its relationship to the audience… Locality in the Elizabethan [stage] theatre is fluid; Shakespeare and his contemporaries rarely specify particular settings, and modern editorial practice has belatedly caught up with them. One thing is, however, consistently important: the stage represents somewhere

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[3] As Chapter One explains, the first part of the entertainment at Norwich is set in the city center when Elizabeth first arrived. The individual performances featuring fairy characters generally took place outside in the more rural landscapes surrounding the city.

[4] While stages may have been erected indoors, more likely the performance space was on the same level as the audience. Little is known about the acting area at Greenwich Palace. While this acting area may not have been lofted, it has an implied separation from the space of the audience

[5] For a definition of "dramatic universe" see Introduction, note 32 (above).

> different from the spectators. It stands for Elsinore or Venice or ancient Rome; or if it stands for London, as happens in the city comedies, it stands for the London whose literal reality the audience has left behind on entering the theatre. There is an imaginative divide between audience and playing area; and the presence of actors on stage, or the use of a chorus or prologue whose function is to link the two worlds, only serves to sharpen the distinction.[6]

It is this distinction between the world of the audience and the world of the performance (what I refer to as primary universe and the secondary universe respectively) that creates a critical change in the way that the fairy figure functions in early modern English drama.[7]

I argue that the manifestations of the fairy figure in stage plays and court comedies specifically utilize the mutability of the Elizabethan stage to evoke the outdoor landscapes that the entertainments physically had access to. In the entertainments, characters were able to interact with and move into the landscape; in this way, the performance space of the entertainments was physically vast and gave the impression of being without boundaries. Thus, the secondary universe was authenticated by the physical evidence in the primary universe and its conceptual extension into the vast landscapes beyond. As Pavel suggests, the mythological realm is characterized by "a privileged space and a cyclical time. Gods and heroes inhabit the sacred space, but this space is not felt fictional: if anything it is endowed with *more* weight and stability than mortals' spaces."[8] While the outdoor performances of the entertainments allowed characters to move through the landscape, the stage plays and court comedies had to evoke these landscapes inside, in a physically limited performance space. This construction threatens to expose the a priori hierarchy of worlds that was neatly hidden in the entertainments—the fact that secondary universe exists within and is reliant on the primary. In order to maintain the mythological "weight and stability" of the secondary world, the court comedies and stage plays I examine in this chapter evoke landscapes without boundaries similar to those represented in the entertainments. While the performance area is confined, the plays are characterized by settings that evoke spatially and temporally vast landscapes. Relying on the vastness of these landscapes, the four plays I examine in this chapter evoke a fairy figure that operates in this mythological mode of fictionality.

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[6] Cooper, "Location and Meaning," 135.

[7] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 80-1.

[8] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 77. As Armstrong similarly suggests, myths "speaks of another plane that exists alongside our own world, and that in some sense supports it." *A Short History of Myth*, 4.

Landscape and Mythology in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*

A renewed interest in plays based on romance heroes, such as those featured in *Huon of Bordeaux* in 1593 and *Godfrey of Boulognein* in 1594, also influenced how landscapes were depicted in designated indoor performance spaces.[9] Frequently in the medieval source texts for these revivals, vast landscapes helped to facilitate the journey of the hero through various trials, his physical movement across space indicating a metaphorical movement toward an enlightened spiritual state. The influence of the romance genre on the settings of the plays I examine in this chapter can be perhaps best exemplified through Spenser's epic romance *The Faerie Queene*.[10] The manner in which Spenser adapts the forest landscape, the lapsed landscape, and the dreamscape of medieval romance for the purposes of his early modern epic offers insight into the way that these four stage plays similarly utilize these landscapes to construct cohesive dramatic universes featuring fairy characters.

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[9] Both plays are mentioned in Phillip Henslowe's diary. Alfred Harbage, "A Contemporary Attack on Shakespeare?", *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 16 (1941): 42–9. Peachman suggests a later publication date for *Guy Earl of Warwick*, positing the play was a satire of the archaic and "mouldy" romance revivals of this time, "'Villainous Guy,'" 568.

[10] Spenser published books I, II, and III in 1590. They were republished together with book IV, V and VI in 1596. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* p xvii. The earliest mention of *The Faerie Queene* is in a letter written in 1580. Edmund Spenser, *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betvveene tvvo vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English refourmed versifying*…(London, 1580). STC 355:04. *Early English Books Online*.

The Faerie Queene readily adopts the forest landscape of medieval romance in order to position the secondary universe of the poem as part of an established mythology, allegorically recasting it for its late sixteenth-century readership.[11] As Corinne Saunders suggests, Spenser's forest "offers a landscape in which the creation of an alternative world is possible, continuing the romance tradition. […The] forest is an inner psychological landscape, reflecting but recasting the forests of medieval romance." From the first lines of Canto One, the journey that the Redcrosse Knight undertakes is defined in conjunction with the landscape he inhabits, but the forest in particular quickly becomes a focal point. As Redcrosse and Una progress on their journey, they encounter the "wandering wood," which is first described as "a shadie groue […] / Whose loftie trees yclad with sommers pride." The woods are revealed as "no place for living men," harboring dangerous creatures such as the monster Errour.[12] The forest, along with its alluring dangers and possibilities for preternatural encounters, functions within the plot as an expansive geographic area across which the psychological and moral developments of its characters are mapped. Each of the four plays I examine in this chapter progress in a similar fashion, where the fictional world of the text relies on the forest landscape for the authenticity of its supernatural encounters.

The presence of the "otherworld" haunts the medieval romances as a tangential plane which can be accidentally encountered at any time as the characters move through various landscapes on their respective quests. As Corinne Saunders suggests, "Romances tend to create a nebulous ethos of the supernatural associated with a particular figure or landscape."[13] These landscapes are subject to a dream-like ambiguity of perception: darkened spaces, eclipsed time, disproportioned geographies, frozen or suspended actions, and altered states of consciousness. Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* adapts dream-like landscapes, what I term dreamscapes, from the medieval romance tradition as an external reflection of the hero's internal state. The ambiguity that the dreamscape perpetuates poses an additional challenge to the hero's virtue throughout the quest, physically and psychologically obscuring his clarity of direction. In Book One, Una and the dwarf spend the evening in the enchanter Archimago's Hermitage "hard by the forests side." Their location ultimately allows the sorcerer to send Redcrosse an "ydle dream" which alters his perception of Una overnight. In his altered state of mind, Redcrosse leaves Una and the dwarf before the sun rises and continues his quest through the forest alone.[14] Dreamscapes are particularly perilous not only because they render otherwise difficult landscapes difficult to navigate, but also, as Spenser's allegory demonstrates, dreamscapes make characters metaphorically susceptible to loosing sight of truth and virtue, particularly in religious contexts. In the four plays I examine in this chapter, suspended states of sleep and altered states of consciousness are similarly always brought about by the black magic of ill-intentioned sorcerer; clarity of perception is only restored by virtuous deeds and characters. The dreamscape perpetuates a blurred sense of reality within these plays by continually challenging perceptions of the space surrounding the characters in the secondary world. Latent in this challenge is a pressure on sharp distinctions between reality and dream, truth and misperception, and life and death. Often in the plays I examine, the dreamscape's ability to blur such distinctions is thematically extended, creating an increased pressure on the idea of clear distinctions between the primary and secondary universes.[15]

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[11] Theoretically, Spenser's primary audience was Elizabeth herself as the epic is dedicated to her and Spenser traveled to England from his post in Ireland to gift her a copy.
[12] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* I.I.13.6; I.I.13.8-9.

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[13] See Corinne Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 179.

[14] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* I.II.7.1-3.

The plays I examine in this chapter also adopt elements of the lapsed landscape similar to those in Spenser's text. The lapsed landscapes I examine throughout this chapter are those usually demarcated by the presence of stone structures that have either physically subsided into the earth or offer access into it. Spenser's forest is dotted with various castles, caves, ruins, and chthonic spaces that frequently mark the locations of challenges to the hero's virtue. In the plays, these kinds of sites are often indicated by the stationary set pieces in the performance space which represent the various locations of the secondary universe. In the plays, as in *The Faerie Queene*, these sites serve as indicators of lapsed landscapes which blur temporal boundaries between the present reality of the secondary universe, and the mythological history on which the secondary universe relies.

More importantly, Spenser's poem offers perspective on how the landscapes of the medieval romance tradition are adopted into and function within early modern literary constructs. These landscapes are not felt as a passive presence in either Spenser's epic romance or in the plays themselves. In Spenser's Faerie Land, like in the plays that are performed in the 1580s and 1590s, the landscape itself takes on an active role; Spenser's vast and seemingly boundless "wandering wood" inspires the peripatetic trajectory of the narrative. While each of the characters in Spenser's romance moves through the landscape in order to fulfill his or her specific quests, there is always the sense that the landscape just as frequently influences their respective trajectories by aiding or altering the movements of the characters who move within it.

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[15] This motif is taken up in later plays as well. In Puck's epilogue to *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Puck suggests that displeased audience members think of the performance as though "you have but slumbered here," further rendering the divide between primary and secondary worlds suspect. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, epilogue 3.

Thus the landscapes' power is transformative, both providing the space for the moral and psychological transformations of the characters, and itself transforming to effect change upon the trajectory of the quest. On the stage, the landscapes function in much the same way as in *The Faerie Queene*, allowing for the transformation of the characters within the space of the dramatic universe. The trajectory of the plot and the development of the characters are directly linked to the movement through the geographic and temporal vastness of the landscape. In this way, the plays borrow from the romance tradition to create a cohesive dramatic universe which is understood by audiences to extend well beyond the immediate physical constraints of a specific performance space.[16]

The Forest Landscape in *Galatea*

The first English stage plays to feature fairy characters, *Galatea* and *Endymion* were written by John Lyly and performed at Greenwich within a month of one another.[17] Although they were performed for the first time in the same year, *Galatea* undoubtedly was written, at least in some version, at an earlier date.[18] Both of these plays integrate the fairy figure into vast forest landscapes in order to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality. As Saunders suggests, "That the forest was frequently portrayed in literature as a place of mystery, fear and danger is scarcely surprising, for such areas as these must even in England have represented landscapes of the unknown."[19] Although the terms wood, grove, and forest are used interchangeably within the four plays I examine in this chapter, the term forest most clearly describes the vastness and variation that defines these landscapes. Deriving from the Latin root "foris," which literally means "outside," the term "forest" indicates an extensive geographical territory. Forest landscapes are composed both of the wild wooded areas, that stood in stark contrast to urban landscapes, and the cultivated clearings maintained as part of human activity.[20] The fairy figure is entangled in these multiplicitious historical and symbolic associations because of its close relationship with the forest landscape. While the forest landscape maintained close ties with the communities that cultivated, relied on, and interacted with this landscape, it is ultimately a space that is ideologically opposed the internal workings of the human community. Setting the fairy figure in the forest landscape that is metaphorically "outside" of the human realm, allowed it to function as a part of an authentic mythology.

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[16] For more on fairy mythology present in *The Faerie Queene*, see Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser's Fairy Mythology," *Studies in Philology* 15, no. 2 (April 1918): 105-22; Michael Murrin, "The Rhetoric of Fairyland" in *The Rhetoric of Renaissance Poetry: From Wyatt to Milton*, ed. Thomas O. Sloane and Raymond B. Waddington (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 73-95.

[17] For more on John Lyly, and his predominance as an author, see Andy Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

[18] *Galatea* was entered into the Stationers Register in 1585 and printed in 1591 in a markedly clear text with entrances, exits, and (occasional) clear stage directions that suggests that the sudden appearance of the fairy dance in act 2, scene 1 was explicitly written into the original performance by Lyly. Several scholars have noted the particularly good quality of Lyly's texts. Hunter and Bevington have noticed *Galathea* in particular, "in eight of its scenes we find mid-scene entries marked; and there also are some (minimal) stage directions. Given the similar change to be found in *Endymion*, one is bound to wonder if the change in format is connected to the change of company and playhouse and Lyly's loss of control over the actors." Hunter and Bevington, introduction to *Galatea*, 4. If their appearance was accompanied by a song and dance, such might be lost. As Hunter and Bevington suggest of the play, "It is not hard to assume that the play originally ended with another song, now lost, like most songs in Lyly plays." Lyly, *Galatea,* 24 n26.

The dramatic universe of *Galatea* depicts a forest landscape which actually existed in early modern England. The plot is set in Lincolnshire on the banks of the River Humber in Northern England. This landscape would have been well known to Lyly, as the Humber divided "Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, flowing near Mexborough, where Lyly's wife had property, and joining the North Sea at Spurn Head."[21] The plot, by contrast, is not based on actual events. In the dramatic universe of *Galatea*, the community sacrifices the fairest virgin to Neptune's monster in order to appease the god once every five years. In order to save his daughter Galatea from Neptune's monster, Tityrus disguises her as a boy. Also thinking his daughter Phillida to be the most fair, Melibeus too disguises her as a boy and sends her to "roam about these woods till the time be past and Neptune pleased."[22] Meanwhile, Diana and her nymphs are hunting in the forest when they encounter Phillida and Galatea. Diana allows the girls, still in disguise, to join her hunting party Phillida and Galatea fall in love with one another, each supposing the other to be a handsome boy. In a subplot, three brothers (Robin, Rafe, and Dick) are shipwrecked and each seek their fortunes on land. Rafe, meets an Alchemist's boy while wandering in the forest and shortly thereafter sees a dancing troop of fairies, which he takes as a sign that he should learn the trade of Alchemy. When Neptune discovers that the fairest virgin has been withheld from him, he threatens to flood the land, but Diana intervenes. The gods strike a truce and Neptune recalls the virgin sacrifices. Diana changes one of the girls into a boy so that Galatea and Phillida can be married.

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[19] Corinne Saunders, *The Forest of Medieval Romance: Avernus, Broeliande, Arden* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 3.

[20] I use the term "cultivated clearings" to refer particularly pastures for rearing livestock, but also as the 16th century progressed, the forest was increasingly cleared for human habitation. These clearings are intrinsic to the forest defined in the OED as "the name of several districts formerly covered with trees, but now brought more or less under cultivation, always with some proper name attached, as Ashdown, Ettrick, Sherwood, Wychwood Forest." *Oxford English Dictionary Online.* n. "forest."

In such a construction, the actual history of Lincolnshire forest and the mythological plot of the dramatic universe are inextricably linked, and the preternatural entities that appear throughout the play occupy a pseudo-historical reality. The opening dialogue between Tityrus and Galatea is a description of the landscape that surrounds the characters:

> TITYRUS: The sun doth beat upon the plain fields; wherefore let us sit down, Galatea, under this fair oak, by whose broad leaves being defended from the warm beams we may enjoy the fresh air, which softly breathes from Humber floods.

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[21] Hunter and Bevington, Introduction to *Galatea,* 32n5.
[22] Lyly, *Galatea,* 1.4. 28-30.

> GALATEA: Father, you have devised well, and whilst our flock doth roam up and down this pleasant green you shall recount to me, if it please you, for what cause this tree was dedicated unto Neptune, and why you have thus disguised me.[23]

Tityrus continues to describe the history of the region and its customs and rituals. The tree is situated near the ruins of Neptune's temple, where people used to come to pray for safe voyages, but after the Danish occupation, the temple was destroyed. In revenge, Neptune flooded the land, drawing back the waters only under the condition that the fairest virgin is sacrificed every five years. The mythology that governs the dramatic universe is projected onto an actual English location through the invocation of the landscape surrounding the Humber.[24]

This specific forest location is specified again when the characters in the subplot, the brothers Dick, Rafe, and Robin, wash ashore shore after the shipwreck in act 1, scene 4. The Mariner that enters with them announces where the wreck has landed them: "you are now in Lincolnshire, where you can want no fowl if you can devise means to catch. There be woods hard by, and at every mile's end, houses."[25] The setting of the play in Lincolnshire is described throughout the play as both the mythological realm of Classical deities and as a recognizable contemporary landscape. Upon arriving in Lincolnshire, Rafe tells his brothers "let us to the woods and see what fortune we may have before they be made ships." [26] Rafe's comment would have been topical for the original early modern audience. Around the time the play was written, the English navy launched a ship-building program (in 1583 and 1584) that effected the dockyards in the area. The deforestation that supported the timber industry left the landscape physically changed, which Rafe's comment anticipates. The dramatic universe of *Galatea* interweaves the mythological past of the region that accounts for the existence of Classical deities with a picture of the contemporary Lincolnshire landscape.

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[23] Lyly, *Galatea*, 1.1.1-8.

[24] This sort of conflation of mythological origin stories or mythological heroes with actual English historical events and people, was fairly frequent. It was not uncommon, for instance, for families to claim to be geological descendants of mythological heroes.

[25] Lyly, *Galatea*, 1.4.13-5.

[26] Lyly, *Galatea*, 1.4.73-5; see Anne Lancashire, introduction to *Gallathea and Midas* by John Lyly (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), xiv.

The locus of this mytho-historical account of the landscape is represented by Neptune's Tree under which Galatea and her father sit at the beginning of the play. Neptune's tree is frequently referred to throughout the text, and the characters must, after wandering through the woods, navigate their way back to this tree to resolve the ultimate conflict of the plot in Act 5, when Neptune's call for the sacrifice of the fairest virgin must be answered. Functioning similarly to Herne's Oak in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, this tree serves as both the metonymic symbol of the vast forest landscape—"this pleasant green" and the woods beyond—and that landscape's connection to and verification of the mythology that surrounds it. At least a single tree would have almost certainly been physically present during the original performance either as a removable prop, or as a dressed column, especially since the performance calls for Hebe to be tied to Neptune's tree in Act 5, scene 2.[27] As Hunter and Bevington's reconstruction of the performance suggests, the play "makes very little demand on staging […] the remains of a raft could have been used for the scene in which the boys are cast up on the shore after their shipwreck (1.4), but the same property tree [Neptune's Tree], turned on its side, might have served as well."[28] The tree's physical presence on stage embodied and concretized the threat of the landscape's destruction at Neptune's constantly-anticipated arrival and the connection between landscape and mythology posited in the play more generally.

While the dramatic universe of the play is centralized around Neptune's tree on the bank of the river Humber—in the first scene Galatea and her father sit under Neptune's tree to recount the past, and in the final scene the characters gather around the tree to negotiate the end of the virgin sacrifices—the majority of the plot takes place in the forest, which the characters refer to constantly throughout the play: Melibeus and Phillida "roam about the woods;" Cupid plans to "whilst I am truant from my mother…use some tyranny in these woods;" Galatea resolves to "follow him [the disguised Phillida] into the woods;" Phillida likewise plans to "go into the woods [and] watch the times;" and finally the characters are reunited as Melibeus announces that the girls are "in yonder woods; and methinks I see them coming." [29] While the "woods" are repeatedly evoked in the text, the forest landscape occupies a nebulous geographic area in comparison with the strict invocation of the Humber's banks in the opening and closing scenes. As Peter Saccio observes, "The girls enter the no-man's land of the woods and are almost completely out of touch with the sacrifice situation thereafter."[30] While the forest landscape evokes the sense of a "no-man's land," Galatea and Phillida discover that the forest is indeed populated by both human and preternatural characters: Diana's nymphs, the fairies, and other Classical deities occupy the same landscape as the three brothers, the alchemist, and the girls. As is the case with nearly all staged productions, the use of strategic entrances and exits allows characters of the main plot and subplot to move past each other without meeting in the dramatic universe while occupying the same physically limited space in the primary universe. This evokes a forest landscape vast enough to contain each of the various plot trajectories.

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[27] Lyly, *Galatea*, 5.2.

[28] Hunter and Bevington, Introduction to *Galatea*, 20-21.

The fairy characters that appear in the play are integrated into the vast forest landscape, which unobtrusively houses the entirety of *Galatea's* dramatic universe. As Hunter and Bevington suggest, "all scenes take place out-of-doors, and the 'woods' serve as a unspecific background into which characters can disappear, and from which they can emerge without raising the question of where they have been doing there."[31] After Rafe, Dick, and Robin have gone their separate ways to seek their fortunes, Rafe wanders through the woods disgruntled, saying "Would I were out of these woods, for I shall have but wooden luck. Here's nothing but the skreeking of owls, croaking of frogs, hissing of adders, barking of foxes, walking of hags. But what be these?"[32] The entrance of the fairies quickly follows the list of other people and creatures and that typically inhabit forest landscapes.[33] The fairies enter, perform a dance, and exit as quickly as they came.[34] Unlike the Classical deities that Galatea and Phillida encounter, the fairies are a part of perfectly normal occurrences, and do not cause any preternatural disturbances or evoke any magical acts. They appear along Rafe's journey to seek his fortune and, in the same manner that Rafe decides to leave the vocation of a sailor after the shipwreck, Rafe decides to follow the fairies, "so fair faces never can have such hard fortunes."[35] In the forest landscape, the reality of the fairy appearance goes unexplained and unquestioned. Their presence is tied to a mythological mode of fictionality wherein the presence of preternatural beings is a natural occurrence.

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[29] Lyly, *Galatea*, 1.3.28-9; 2.2.11-1; 2.5.13-4; 2.4.6; and 5.3.115.
[30] Peter Saccio, *The Court Comedies of John Lyly: An Allegorical Dramaturgy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 123.

The Forest Landscape in *Endymion*

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[31] Hunter and Bevington, Introduction to *Galatea*, 20.

[32] Lyly, *Galatea,* 2.3.2-5.

[33] According to the OED, a hag denotes "An evil spirit, dæmon, or infernal being, in female form […] also to malicious female sprites or 'fairies' of Teutonic mythology." However, it is also used to refer to "A wooded enclosure; a coppice or copse," perhaps highlighting the close association between fairy-like figures and the forest landscapes they are frequently found within. *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* n. "hag."

[34] If there was a song specifically written for the fairy dance, Blout's 1623 edition does not include it. As Hunter and Bevington note, "Blout's text is chiefly notable for giving texts for many of the songs implied or mentioned in the stage directions of the quartos" Introduction to *Galatea,* 3-4. No such song has been attributed to this scene in either Blout's text or since.

[35] Lyly, *Galatea,* 2.3.6-7.

Endymion similarly sets most of the action of the play in the vast forest landscape in order to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality within the limited space of the theater. Unlike *Galatea* where the entirety of the dramatic action is contained within the forest, however, the plot of *Endymion* also portrays landscapes well beyond the immediate forest landscape in which its initial action is set. In the play, Endymion is in love with the moon, Cynthia, but Cynthia is chaste and therefore unattainable. The earth, Tellus, is jealous that Endymion, who was once her lover, has stopped desiring her. In order to get Endymion back, Tellus hires the witch Dispas to make him fall in love with her. Dispas is unable to control love, and therefore casts Endymion into a deep sleep instead. Cynthia learns of Endymion's sleep and sends Endymion's friend Eumenides to search for a cure. Eumenides arrives at a magic fountain that will answer any one question for a true lover. Eumenides' love for Semele is true, and while he wants to ask the fountain how to win her favor, he asks for Endymion's cure instead. He learns that Endymion can only be awakened by a kiss from Cynthia. While Eumenides is on his quest, Cynthia hears Tellus speak poorly of Endymion and banishes Tellus to a castle in the desert, entreating Corsites to stand guard there. Tellus seduces Corsites and asks him to demonstrate his dedication to her by moving Endymion from the lunary bank where he is sleeping, despite the fact that she knows this to be impossible. When Corsites tries to move Endymion, he is pinched by the fairies who guard Endymion's sleep. Cynthia enters and kisses Endymion to break the curse. Tellus confesses and Cynthia orders a series of punitive marriages: Semele marries Eumenides and Tellus marries Corsites. Endymion cannot marry Cynthia, but nevertheless vows to remain faithful to her.

Like in *Galatea*, the dramatic universe of *Endymion* is comprised of vast forest landscapes modeled after actual early modern spaces. However, *Endymion* is not as deeply concerned with providing a geographical correlation between locations in the primary and secondary universe in the same way that *Galatea* seems insistent in its connection to specific places in actual Lincolnshire. Instead, the dramatic universe of *Endymion* extends beyond regional boundaries, depicting an entire cosmos modeled on the actual known universe. Although the text does not rationalize it, Cynthia is both the moon and the monarchial embodiment of the celestial body.[36] Thus Endymion's vacillating love interest from Tellus to Cynthia, which drives the central plot, is articulated across cosmological spaces: Tellus is diametrically opposed to Cynthia. Like Cynthia, Tellus is both the planetary earth and the female embodiment of the earth figure. She consistently describes herself in terms of this image, saying her "body is decked with fair flowers, and veins are vines, whose ears are corn to bring strength, and whose hairs are grass to bring abundance."[37] Cynthia's palace, located in the forest landscape, is the locus of her mythological power over this earth from which she is able to dispatch courtiers all over the Classical world, to Thessaly, Zontes, Greece, and Egypt.[38]

The centrality of the forest landscape to the dramatic universe of *Endymion* is indicated by the presence of the tree under which Endymion sleeps. References to this tree at various points throughout the play evoke a landscape similar to the forest depicted in *Galatea,* wherein Neptune's tree indicates the forest surrounding the banks of the river Humber. On stage, these two trees function as synecdochically for the vast forest landscape in which the play is set, but also mark a specific site of mythological or ritual significance in their respective plays.[39] In *Galatea*, as discussed earlier, Neptune's tree marks the location of the virgin sacrifices, which tie history of the human realm to Classical mythology. In *Endymion,* the tree on the lunary bank recalls both the mundane aspects of the human realm and their connection to mythological occurrences. The growth of the tree through the passing of seasons, for instance, reflects both the mundane human measurement of time and Endymion's magical defiance of it. Eumenides uses the tree as an ordinary metaphor for the extraordinary length of Endymion's sleep saying, "the twig to which thou laidst thy head is now become a tree."[40] The tree is also marks the presence of fairies that guard and protect Endymion under it. The tree's physical presence, whether as a prop or a dressed-up column, facilitates the dramaturgical role of the supernatural elements and functions as an indicator of the mythology of the dramatic universe.

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[36] As Andrew Bozio points out, "Endymion's fascination with the moon posits a complex relationship between contemplative desire and the contours of space." "The Contemplative Cosmos: John Lyly's *Endymion* and the Shape of Early Modern Space," *Studies in Philology* 113, no. 1 (Winter 2016), 56.

[37] Lyly, *Endymion,* 1.2.21-4.

[38] Lyly, *Endymion,* 3.1.51-5.

[39] Trees of course, have both Classical and biblical resonances.

The fairy characters are connected to and encompassed within the forest landscape surrounding Endymion's tree. However, in a more physically restricted performance space, these vast landscapes were more difficult to evoke in the primary universe while still maintaining a coherent sense of spatial relations in the dramatic universe. Bevington provides a thorough analysis of Lyly's staging devices and suggests how the stage may have been set for *Endymion*:

> the fountain is to be located near the lunary bank but not precisely on the same spot. Some differentiation of the two, even if they are directly adjacent, has distinct advantages in the staging of this play. It allows both to exert their felt presences when they are not actively in use. Both would profit from the use of a curtain, to screen off Endymion from view during his long sleep and to conceal the fountain (if it was a practical stage structure) when it is no longer needed; alternatively the fountain could be painted on such a curtain [….] A tree would be required for the beginning of Act V, for the sleeping Endymion remains in view from this point until he is awakened […] the play provides the

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[40] Lyly, *Endymion,* 5.1.57-8.

> opportunity for the tree to age in appearance, since the curtain presumably conceals the lunary bank from end II.ii to IV.iii.[41]

In this construction, the play utilizes changes in the landscape to represent magical occurrences. Endymion's torment over his love for the moon goddess Cynthia causes him to seek sleep outdoors, on a bank where, "never grew anything but lunary."[42] Endymion's tortured love for Cynthia causes him to make the correlation between the "lunary bank" and Cynthia, goddess of the moon. However, the presence of lunary, a low-growing fern of the *Botrychium lunaria* genus, on stage would have served as an indicator both of the setting in a forest landscape, and evoked a sense of its supernatural associations.

In the dramatic universe of *Endymion,* the landscape contains magical properties, whether is it evoked through language or specific props. When Corsites is bruised black and blue due to fairy pinches, rubbing lunary over his skin heals the marks instantly in the dramatic universe. The prop of the lunary fern used in this trick would have appeared magical to audience members in the actual universe as well. In another example, the magical sleeping curse that Dispas casts on Endymion is evoked through language that recalls the cyclical power of the landscape; she curses him to "sleep out thy youth and flowering time and become dry hay before thou knowest thyself green grass." She uses another stage prop, a branch of hemlock, which she waves over his face to solidify the curse.[43] The curse over Endymion works by making this character physically connected to the landscape that surrounds him. While Corsites tries to move Endymion, he suggests that Endymion is "Turned, I think to earth, with lying so long on the earth."[44] In both the dramatic universe and the actual universe, elements of the landscape are infused with magical potential.

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[41] David Bevington, introduction to *Endymion,* by John Lyly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 53; 56.

[42] Lyly, *Endymion,* 2.3.10-12.

[43] Lyly, *Endymion,* 2.3.38-9.

[44] Lyly, *Endymion,* 4.3.15. Corsites himself is a legendary hero in the dramatic universe of *Endymion.* On his failure to move Endymion, he recalls to himself his past feats, saying, "Didst not thou Corsites, before Cynthia pull up a tree that forty years was dastened with roots and wreathed knots to the ground?" Lyly, 4.3.13-17. Notably, Corsites

The Forest Landscape in *Guy Earl of Warwick*

Of the plays I examine in this thesis, the anonymous *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* can be most explicitly classed as a medieval romance revival. In the late 1590s the story of Guy of Warwick circulated in many different forms[45]; Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* even adapted the Guy figure for Guyon, the Knight of Temperance. In the play, Guy of Warwick accompanied by Phillip Sparrow, leaves England on a pilgrimage, which later turns into a crusade, to Jerusalem. Guy's wife, Phillis, is pregnant and gives Guy a ring which he vows to never to remove while he is alive.[46] Eventually, Guy and Sparrow come to the Tower of Donather where an evil enchanter casts a spell on Guy, freezing him and casting him into a deep sleep. Oberon enters with his band of fairies and wakes Guy with music and dancing. He grants Guy a "charming wand" that dissolves the tower. Sparrow has hidden from the enchanter and when he reappears, the fairies pinch Sparrow. Then Oberon conducts Guy and Sparrow safely to the Holy Land. In the Holy Land, Guy defeated the Saracens and returns to England. Guy keeps his identity secret for six more years because he has vowed not to reveal himself to his people for

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compares moving Endymion to uprooting a tree, further concretizing the connection between Endymion and the forest landscape in which he rests.

[45] The story of Guy of Warwick was first composed in Anglo-Norman around the middle of the thirteenth century, and was put into print by various Tudor publishers starting around 1500. As Cooper suggests, "Until the early twentieth century, Guy enjoyed the same instant customer recognition as that other medieval hero Robin Hood." "Guy of Warwick," 121.

[46] The play supposes familiarity with the Guy of Warwick legend and considerably condenses the tale. The condensed version leads to Phyllis announcing her pregnancy to Guy at the wedding and Guy leaving directly afterwards. Certainly, in the original tale, Guy's son is not conceived out of wedlock, nor is this implied within the play.

twenty-seven years and has been on pilgrimage at this point only for twenty-one.[47] He therefore takes up residence in a cave outside of Warwick castle. In disguise as a palmer, Guy visits his wife daily for the remaining six years of his vow. Seven days before Guy's promise is fulfilled, an angel appears to him to tell him he will die before the time is up. Concerned that he will not be able to reveal his identity to Phillis, Guy considers breaking his vow but ultimately resolves to remain resolute. Guy's (now grown) son Rainborne locates Guy on his deathbed, but does not recognize him. Guy gives Phillis' ring to Rainborne. Phillis recognizes the ring but arrives at the cave too late. The play ends with the country's mourning.

The dramatic universe of *Guy of Warwick* is composed of vast forest landscapes which Guy and Sparrow must traverse on their quest. These landscapes and locations closely resemble actual world landscapes (such as the woods outside of Warwick), and locations including England, Turkey, the Holy Land, and Denmark. The majority of act 2 describes Guy and Sparrow's encounter with the enchanter and their rescue by Oberon and his band of fairies "in these woods."[48] After Guy falls asleep, susceptible to the enchanter's curse, Oberon appears with his fairies to rescue Guy. Oberon summons his fairy train by evoking their relationship to the forest that surrounds them saying, "You harmlesse spirits of the flowry Meades,/ Nymphes, Satyres, Fawnes, and all the Fairy train." The fairies, and the landscape itself, are active in Guy's rescue. This forest space is under dual jurisdiction of both political and magical forces. Although Guy and Sparrow are still in the forests outside of Warwickshire, which means that the space is presumably controlled by the King of England who appears later in the play, Oberon also claims it as his domain. Oberon introduces himself saying, “I am the Fairy King that keeps these Groves.” Both the King of England and Oberon can seemingly claim jurisdiction over this landscape without contest, but this arrangement is not clearly defined or explained within the play. The forest landscape is a vast but nebulously defined space that functions simultaneously in the human world and fairy world in the dramatic universe.

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[47] There are several logical inconsistences throughout the play. Guy's vow to be on pilgrimage for twenty-seven years without revealing his identity is introduced in the final act of the play although there is no previous reference to it.

[48] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* B3r.

Sparrow in particular, seems familiar with the quest topos and the role of the Hermit within it. He assumes the Hermit must have a house in the woods and similarly must be willing to dine the travelers. When the Hermit assess Guy's quest as valiant, Sparrow similarly justifies his own "famous actions and valorous Atchievments of one Squire Sparrow" insisting to Guy:

> my Mistris Parnell is as precious to me, as your Lady Phillis is to you, we have gotten them both with child; and all the difference is, that Phillis is your wedded Wife, and Parnell is my unmarried Mistris, and we must needs run up and down killing of Dun Cowes, Dragons, Wild-boars and Mastiff Dogs, when we have more work at home then we can well turn our hands to. (B3v)

Although in this passage, Sparrow's comparison of himself and Guy demonstrates an alternative reading of the text, where Guy's valiant deeds are the results of bad husbandry and avoiding marital obligations.

Similar to *Galatea*, the forest landscape in *The Tragical History of Guy of Warwick* functions to blur boundaries between the mythology of the dramatic universe and history of the actual universe. For example, Oberon claims to keep the forest outside of England on behalf of his friend Huon of Bordeaux, connecting another mythological character with the dramatic universe of the play. The opening of the play mentions various other heroic acts which Guy has presumably carried out such as the slaying of the Dunne cow and the Windsor boar. [49] Each of these creatures is connected to a specific location in the actual world. Thus the fairies that Guy and Sparrow encounter in Warwick forest are presented as another of Guy’s mytho-historical encounters, speaking to an actual cultural history of Warwickshire. As Cooper points out, the mythology of Guy of Warwick was recognized as more or less an authentic history by at least some people; “The Dudley family, who held the earldom of Warwick until Ambrose’s death in

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[49] Helen Cooper gives some insight into Guy’s conquests suggesting, “The cow sounds rather bathetic, but its ribs, which were variously preserved in Warwick Castle and St Mary Redcliff, Bristol, were whale sized at least in the case of the one at Bristol, which still exists, this is because it did indeed come from a whale. The rib at Warwick Castle has now been replaced by one of its horns, which bears an uncanny resemblance to an elephant tusk. The tradition of the ‘dun’ (mud-coloured) cow may relate to the wild, and notably fierce, off-white cattle native to Britain, common in the twelfth century but now surviving in a single herd in Northumberland.” “Guy of Warwick,” 122. These artifacts suggest the delicate interplay between myth and history, and, in some capacity, how mythologies perpetuated by the plays influenced the geographies of the actual world.

1590, claimed decent from Guy, and Ambrose's brother Robert, earl of Leicester, commissioned a fine hand-drawn genealogy showing his decent from his heroic ancestor."[50] The play uses the nebulous borders of the forest landscape to obscure the boundaries between history and mythology.

The Forest Landscape in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*

Robert Greene's *Scottish History of James the Fourth* focuses on the fictitious relationship between England and Scotland brought about by the marriage of Dorothea to King James IV, and is set almost entirely in the forest landscapes of Scotland.[51] The plot relies on the "sit and see" framework most famously popularized by Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*.[52] Bohan resides in a tomb "away from the world" because of the evils he has encountered across his lifetime. He is visited by Oberon and his fairies, who entertain him with music and dancing. Bohan, in return, calls his two sons Slipper and Nano the dwarf to perform a Scottish jig. Pleased, Oberon offers the aid of the fairies for Slipper and preferment at the queen's court for Nano. Bohan offers another entertainment, a dramatized exemplum to "show thee why I hate the world by demonstration," which is the play detailing the King James IV plotline. In the play, the King of Scots marries the King of England's sister Dorothea. At his own wedding, James sees Ida, the Countess of Arran's daughter, and immediately falls in love with her. The King and his corrupt advisor Ateukin contrive to murder the queen by hiring a French hitman, Jacques. In a subplot, Slipper, Nano, and Andrew seek employment and are hired by Ateukin. Slipper is hired to pick Ateukin's pocket for papers regarding underhand dealing in property, but Slipper instead finds the order for Dorothea's death. Dorothea learns of the King's plans and flees into the forest disguised in men's clothes with the help of Nano. Jacques wounds the queen and assumes she is dead. Nano runs for help and the queen is dragged back to the Countess of Arran's estate, where she recovers.[53] Slipper and Andrew are blamed for involvement in the queen's murder and are imprisoned in the tower to await execution. Oberon fulfills his promise from the frame story and rescues Slipper from execution. The King of England arrives on Scottish soil announcing his intentions for revenge. Dorothea travels to court and reveals her identity and forgives James, stopping the otherwise imminent English invasion.

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[50] Cooper, "Guy of Warwick," 121. Leicester, of course, entertained Elizabeth at Kenilworth as discussed in Chapter One.

[51] J.A. Lavin suggests that the play is based on Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatomith,* and possibly the drama *Arrenopia* based on the same text. He suggests "the war in the play is thus fought between England and Scotland, instead of between Ireland and Scotland, as in Cinthio. This permits Greene to make comments on the desirability of amicable relations, if not union, between England and Scotland." Introduction to *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, Xiii-xiv.

[52] The difference here is that Bohan and Oberon are characters, not the abstractions typical in this sort of device. However, Lavin has convincingly argued that the structure of *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* and its characters are similar to those found in late morality plays. According to his reading, Ateukin is very clearly a vice character and Dorothea resembles the patient Grizelda figure. Lavin, Introduction to *James the Fourth*, xxxvii-xix.

The play is set in Scotland, and while the geography of the play invites various allegorical readings because many scenes take place in between key political locations, the dramatic universe ultimately operates according to its own rules. [54] Throughout much of the play, the spatial relationships between actual cities and places mentioned in the text are skewed, and fictional places occupy a similarly nebulous spatial proximity to one another.[55] The historical context suggests that many of the scenes, particularly involving James, take place at court, and in act 2 an original stage direction reads "The Countess of Arran and Ida discovered in their porch, sitting at work: a Servant attending." Act 4, scene 1, however, begins to draw the various locations dispersed throughout the dramatic universe together. The huntsmen that greet Ida and the countess of Arran describe themselves as "Your neighbors neigh, that have on hunting been."[56] As Jacques is pursuing Dorothea, he encounters the same huntsmen, and when Jacques does locate Dorothea and injures her in act 4, scene 4, Nano is able to locate Sir Cuthbert and convey the injured queen to his nearby house. It is only in Dorothea's narrating of her tale to the King of England at the end of the play, that the landscape is specifically described: "The French-born Jacques, for to end my days: / He, traitorous man, pursu'd me in the woods, / And left me wounded."[57] While the forest landscape was not specifically evoked until this point in the play, the "woods" are mentioned three times in the retelling of the story by Dorothea and Sir Cuthbert. Thus locations mentioned in the dramatic universe are drawn together. The forest thus acts as the magical space that surrounds and contains all the happenings of the play.

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[53] In the original text, these scenes are placed out of order.

[54] In demonstrating the similarities between Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* and David Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis,* Richard Hillman points out that the image of the stoical and angry Scotsman that Bohan represents was a common image and further promoted allegorical interpretation for contemporary English and Scottish politics. He suggests, "Whether it did so by promoting a direct association or something more vaguely cultural no doubt depended, like many dramatic allusions, on a particular spectator's range of reference." "Scottish Histories: Robert Greene's *James the Fourth* (c. 1590) in the Light (and Shadow) of David Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (1552)," *Scottish Literary Review 9,* no. 2 (Autumn/Winter 2017), 60.

[55] The choruses and introduction, for instance are set near the tomb where Bohan resides because he "hates the world" is described as "away from the world."

Greene was probably not as concerned with logical continuity in the secondary universe as much as with the practicality of representing it on the physical space of the stage. In other words, nothing in the play specifies the setting as the forest before act 4, and the bare stage could have been an ambiguous placeholder for any non-urban landscape. The play is riddled with examples of inconsistencies in the spatial dimensions of the dramatic universe. For instance, after Jacques attacks Queen Dorothea in the woods, the queen is close enough to the widow's house to seek help there in her weakened state. Jacques and Ateukin return to court to announce to the king that he is free to pursue marriage to Ida, mistakenly believing that the injuries that Jacques dealt to Queen Dorothea have been fatal. In act 5, scene 2, an original stage direction reads “enter from the widow’s house a service.” Jacques and Ateukin witness this service and realize that it is for Ida’s wedding. Immediately on seeing the wedding, they realize that their attempt to secure Ida for the King has failed, and they flee from the court. Jacques and Ateukin see Ida’s wedding procession even though they are presumably back at court. Based on the spatial dimensions of the secondary world, this would be physically impossible since the forest presumably stands between the court and the widow’s house. On stage in the primary universe, however, this spatial dynamic is possible because the stage “house” representing the widow’s house was within close physical proximity to the other actors. In this scene, the play prioritizes the stage space in the primary universe over the vast landscapes depicted in the secondary universe. This happens at various points throughout the play. Slipper and Nano, who are present in the frame story, are characters within the play as well, and Oberon, who is watching the story of “why Bohan hates the world” as an audience member, breaks into the action of the performance in order to rescue Slipper in Act V, scene vi. What is interesting then, is that when a clear picture of the landscape does emerge out of these inconsistencies, it is the forest landscape and, suddenly, in 5.4, Dorothea and Sir Robert Cutbhert stress that Dorothea was found in the “woods” three times within the space of 26 lines.

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[56] Greene, *James the Fourth,* 4.3.42.
[57] Greene, *James the Fourth,* 5.4.20.

Dorothea’s suggestion in act 5 scene 4 that the earlier action took place in the woods, casts a retrospective shadow on the previous scenes, one which aligns the forest in the dramatic universe of *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* with expectations of fairy encounters. The mere presence of the Oberon figure in the Induction evokes the forest landscape he rules over. Similar to the Oberon character in the *Tragical History of Guy of Warwick* who keeps the forest under the charge of Huon of Bordeaux and rescues Guy from the enchanter, Oberon in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* operates as a protector of the forest landscape. He is similarly able to intervene with the affairs of the mortal characters in the main plot of the play. When needed, Oberon’s jurisdiction over the landscapes of the play overrides the orders of the king. Oberon’s forest in this play is paradigmatic of forest landscapes in other dramatic works. As Lavin suggests, “it’s a critical cliché that Greene showed Shakespeare what could be done with romantic comedy,” and there are obvious echoes between the forest landscape in *The Scottish History of James IV* and in the forest landscape outside of the Athenian palace in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.[58]

The Lapsed Landscape in *Galatea*

The fairy figure in each of the plays I examine in this chapter is embedded in a landscape that recalls the past in order to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality. While the forest landscape often evokes a connection to medieval romance, as previously discussed, the fairies are frequently linked to a past far beyond the world of romance, to a landscape that evokes the periphery of human history. Such landscapes are often discernable by the presence of megalithic structures, stone edifices, or chthonic spaces. As David Lowenthal suggests, “memory and history both derive and gain emphasis from physical remains. Tangible survivals provide a vivid immediacy that helps assure us there really was a past.”[59] Topographical features that have physically subsided into the earth, or that otherwise expose the layers of earth and stone under the ground, make apparent the palimpsestic layers of time inscribed onto place. I term these kind of settings “lapsed landscapes.” The presence of these landscapes provides a connection between past and present, perpetuates a cyclical sense of time, and mythologically authenticates the figures that occupy such spaces. As Karen Armstrong suggests, one of the criteria by which myths are defined is that they are "nearly always rooted in the experience of death and the fear of extinction."[60] By evoking the ancient past, these lapsed landscapes allow a glimpse at extremity and the limits of human existence. Evoking the lapsed landscapes within the dramatic universe of these plays permits "a disorderly meshing of past and present."[61] The disruption in temporal linearity within the dramatic universe mirrors similar disruptions that occur in the space of the actual theater. I argue that the lapsed landscape in the four plays I examine in this chapter, allows the fairy figure access to a mythological mode of fictionality by evincing a reality outside of the bounds of the secondary universe that influences, interacts with, and informs the primary.

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[58] Lavin, Introduction to *James the Fourth*, xv.

[59] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xxiii.

The dramatic universe of *Galatea* is constructed around the ruins of Neptune's temple. As Tityrus explains the reason for Galatea's disguise, he recounts the history of the region, as discussed above. This history remains one that stems from and remains inscribed in the landscape:

> In times past, where thou seest a heap of small pebble[s], stood a stately temple of white marble which was dedicated to the God of the Sea (and in right, being so near the sea). […] But Fortune, constant in nothing but inconstancy, did change her copy, as the people their custom; for the land, being oppressed by the Danes who instead of sacrifice committed sacrilege, instead of religion rebellion, and made a prey of that in which they should have made their prayers, tearing down the temple even with the earth.[62]

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[60] Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth*, 4.

[61] Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature*, 134.

[62] Lyly, *Galatea* 1.1.15-31. The increasing regularity of iambic rhythms suggests a poetic line, rather than the prose implied by the lines breaks of the 1592 text that Hunter and Bevington's edition studiously honor. It is possible to assume that Lyly wrote in blank verse, and that the 1592 printing did away with Lyly's original line breaks. However, while the rhythm and alliteration at work in the passage certainly seem to suggest a poetic line, there are no regular patterns that allow a consistent division into metrical lines.

The ruins of the temple, now reduced to a heap of pebbles, foreground the present conflict of the play in relationship to the historical and mythical reality of the dramatic universe. This mythical history of the dramatic universe perpetually reasserts itself. By disguising his daughter as a boy to avoid the sacrifice, Tityrus aligns himself with the historical figures of his own story, who have likewise forgotten the importance of sacrifice to the gods and instead "committed sacrilege." Like the Danes who tore down Neptune's temple causing Neptune to flood the lands in anger, Tityrus' attempt to shield his daughter from the sacrifice reinstates the threat of Neptune's wrath. In the final act, when both Tityrus and Melibeus have hidden their daughters, Neptune again threatens to flood the earth. Changes in the landscape of the dramatic universe are directly related to changes in the customs and traditions of the people and the way in which they neglect to uphold rituals of the past.

The lapsed landscape in *Galatea* cyclically reasserts the power and presence of mythology into the present moment of the play. The "heap of small pebbles" that is the remains of Neptune's Temple and "this fair oak," under which Galatea and her father sit are juxtaposed throughout the play, marking the riverbank as the site of both past and present ritual.[63] Tityrus explicitly describes Neptune's temple as a place where sailors went to make sacrifices to the ancient god, but it has been torn down "even with the earth." The temple has physically subsided into the landscape. However, the mythology of the dramatic universe is beyond the scope of human control, and an oak tree has grown in this temple's place. This oak serves as the new location of sacrifice where the fairest virgin must be tied every five years. Although trees have grown where temples once stood, the dramatic universe still is one in which the mythological past continually reasserts itself into the present reality.

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[63] This continued presence of ritual also assists in maintaining the mythology of the dramatic universe. As Armstrong notes, "mythology is usually inseparable from ritual. Many myths make no sense outside a liturgical drama that brings them to life, and are incomprehensible in a profane setting." *A Short History of Myth*, 3.

The presence of the temple ruins is a constant reminder of both the threat the landscape can pose, and its cyclical and mythological power. In *Landscape in Children's Literature*, Carroll describes how "formed through the disordering of materials and metaphysical boundaries, ruined spaces are always ontologically and physically unstable and, in literature, these instabilities always foreshadow the collapse of other boundaries such as that between the normal and the fantastic, between the present and the past, between safety and the danger."[64] In drama, more specifically, I argue that we can add to this list the collapse of the boundary between stage and setting, between primary and secondary worlds. In evoking an actual geographic space in Lincolnshire as the site of Neptune's temple, the play recalls the power that this landscape hold over its actual inhabitants of early modern England. Yearly floods and tidal changes in the actual landscape are linked to mythical events in the universe of the play, blurring distinctions between primary and secondary worlds.

In the dramatic universe of *Galatea*, the ruins of Neptune's temple not only marks a visible location where mythology is written upon the landscapes of the dramatic universe, but also serves as a reminder of that mythology's omnipresence in the landscapes of the dramatic universe. The mythological balance of the landscapes facilitates the constant and persistent appearance of preternatural entities that are an essential part of the structure of the dramatic universe of the play. Presence of fairies, nymphs, enchanters, and other preternatural figures that seemingly spring out of the landscape points to a coherent and complete dramatic universe that extends beyond the immediate world of the play.

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[64] Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature*, 158.

The Lapsed Landscape in *Endymion*

Two main structures evoke the presence of the lapsed landscape in *Endymion:* the castle in the desert to which Tellus is exiled, and the fountain where Eumenides seeks the cure for Endymion's sleeping. These features are consistently evoked in close proximity to one another in the text although they represent the aims of two different quests on opposite sides of the dramatic universe. In act 3, scene 1, Cynthia dispatches her courtiers to various locations across the dramatic universe; within the space of fifteen lines, she discharges Eumenides toward the fountain and Corsites to the castle in the dessert.[65] Against Cynthia's orders, Corsites returns from the desert to try to move Endymion, while, in the next scene, Eumenides returns from his journey to the fountain with the cure for Endymion that Cynthia requested. The diametric opposition of these two features of the lapsed landscapes frames the appearance of the fairy characters.

The lapsed landscapes in the play are located on the periphery of Cynthia's kingdom. Heading in an opposite direction from Corsites, Eumenides departs to Thessaly to seek a cure for Endymion when he encounters the magic fountain.[66] In the dramatic universe of *Endymion*, the fountain has a unique history, drawing its power from beyond the immediate or contemporary context of the play. The fountain demonstrates the ancient nature of the landscape that surrounds it by evoking motifs from older texts, which would have been recognizable to the intended early modern English audience. The encounter with the magical fountain functions as a test of moral character, a trope familiar from English romances and Geron resembles figures such as Hemetes the Hermit in the Entertainments at Woodstock. The fountain's physicality, however, evokes a lapsed landscape far beyond the world of romance. There is a twenty-year time lapse as Eumenides travels across the landscapes of the dramatic universe, and on encountering Geron, describes Endymion as "waxing old and ready for the grave."[67] Eumenides describes the passing of time in relationship to Endymion's impending interment into the earth. The fountain that offers the potential to cure Endymion's long slumber has been present for at least the fifty years that Geron has been residing by it in the forest and has been a point of pilgrimage for lovers seeking answers, who attempt to look to the bottom of the fountain. As Carroll suggests, "Caves, graves, and holes in the ground open up and expose the buried layers of both time and space, making the chronotopic correlation between time and space apparent without the need for excavation."[68] To get the answers he seeks, Eumenides must be able to clearly discern the bottom of the fountain by gazing into the earth. This answer, physically interred within the ground, allows Eumenides to reverse the temporal chronology of Endymion's ageing sleep.

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[65] Lyly, *Endymion,* 3.1.40-5.

[66] Thessaly itself was "fabled for skill in the use of potions and philters." Lyly, *Endymion,* 119n49.

Similarly the castle in the desert is a place of exile to which Cynthia banishes Tellus "there to remain and weave" in order to "make thy tongue an example of unrecoverable displeasure."[69] When the castle is first described, the image is that of a ruinous and decrepit ancient space. Corsites brings Tellus there, saying "Here is the castle, fair Tellus, in which you must weave […] I am sorry so fair a face should be subject to so hard a fortune, and that the flower of beauty, which is honoured in courts, should here wither in prison."[70] The castle is described as an oppositional space to Cynthia's court, but Tellus resists this image, insisting that the despair of the castle delights her. Later in the play, the descriptions of the castle change, becoming more aligned with Tellus' views. When Corsites confesses his love for Tellus, he says that in order to win her love, he would "set all the ladies of the castle free."[71] In the same scene, Tellus sends Corsites to move Endymion, effectively freeing herself from Corsites' watch and decides "I will in and laugh with the other ladies at Corsites' sweating."[72] The castle in the desert takes on a character outside of Cynthia's description. In this way, the castle functions completely independently from Cynthia's court, with its own history and part of a completely separate landscape.

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[67] Lyly, *Endymion,* 3.4.19-20.
[68] Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature*, 141.
[69] Lyly, *Endymion*, 4.1.41-3.
[70] Lyly, *Endymion*, 3.3.1-5.

If the two lapsed landscapes of dramatic are at the periphery of the dramatic universe, the fairies that appear within *Endymion* are located in the geographic and conceptual center of the dramatic universe near Cynthia's court. Each courtier has departed from and returns to the lunary bank as a beginning and ending point on their respective quests to a lapsed landscape. Corsites is charged with guarding Tellus in the castle in the desert, but fails his task. He allows Tellus free reign in the castle and immediately goes to move Endymion at her request, despite understanding it will "incur the displeasure of Cynthia."[73] As punishment, the fairies pinch him and leave him covered in fairy spots. Eumenides succeeds at the fountain, remembering his responsibility to "both friendship and duty, [the] care of Endymion and the commandment of Cynthia." On returning to the lunary bank, he does not receive punishment by the fairies. Evoking motifs from romance quests, the fairies connect the lapsed landscapes by acting as judges of moral character in the landscapes surrounding Cynthia's court. In *Endymion,* the setting of Cynthia's court resembled the contemporary court of early modern England, and various parallels between Elizabeth and Cynthia helped to solidify this link. The association between Queen Elizabeth I and a Diana-like or moon goddess figure was widely circulated. As Roy Strong suggests "the earliest reference in the portraits to the cult of Elizabeth as the moon goddess, Cynthia or Diana, occurs in a miniature by Nicholas Hillard [probably 1586-7. It takes the form of a crescent-moon-shaped jewel in her hair with, on either side, a series of other jewels in the form of arrows, allusions perhaps to Diana the huntress."[74] As characters journey away from this contemporary space, they similarly transgress the temporal distance between the contemporary space of the court and the lapsed landscapes they encounter.

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[71] Lyly, *Endymion,* 4.1.53.
[72] Lyly, *Endymion,* 4.2.87-8.
[73] Lyly, *Endymion* 3.4.111-3; 4.3.8-9.

The outdoor landscapes of the play, I argue, are the location of the supernatural and preternatural occurrences of the play. At the beginning of the play, Endymion walks outdoors most of the night because of his habit of gazing at the moon, which is part of the reason he is so susceptible to other preternatural forces such as the curse put upon him by Dispas. At the beginning of the play, Endymion mainly describes Cynthia as a supernatural celestial figure, saying he will "be settled either to die or possess the moon herself."[75] In act 3, however, the spaces of Cynthia's court are revealed. In the court, Cynthia appears on stage as a character, who, although she is still spoken of as "the moon," is surrounded by and able to interact with the other, human characters. The space of Cynthia's court is recognizable as a reflection of the actual human spaces of the Elizabethan court. As the characters leave this more contemporary space and enter the outdoor landscapes of the play, they move across temporal and spatial boundaries. Recognizable character types from early modern and medieval romance, such as Geron the hermit who resides in the forest, as well as familiar locations, such as magic wishing wells and moon-lit banks, populate the outdoor spaces of *Endymion's* dramatic universe. Cynthia's various courtiers leave the space of the court and move toward these markers of ancient landscapes, geographically and temporarily bridging the expansive landscapes of the play with the contemporary space of Cynthia's court and the contemporary court of the audience.

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[74] Strong, *Gloriana*, 125.
[75] Lyly, *Endymion*, 1.1.18-9.

The Lapsed Landscape in *Guy Earl of Warwick*

In *Guy Earl of Warwick*, Guy's romance-like journey to the Holy Land is marked by various trials of his moral fortitude. However, Guy's moral and spiritual character can only be tested and proved by reconnecting with the mythological forces of the dramatic universe in order to overcome supernatural challenges. Guy's interaction with lapsed landscapes allows the critical connection between his present reality and the mythological history of the dramatic universe. The presence of ancient sites throughout the text indicate points through which to access the latent potential of the mythology inscribed into the landscape. From the walls of Jerusalem, where Guy defeats the Saracen army, to the cave in Arden Wood where he spends his final days, these ancient sites reassert the historical past of the dramatic universe into the present reality of Guy's trials. These lapsed landscapes, as I term them, demarcated by the presence of ancient sites, indicate a disruption in the vast temporal linearity of the dramatic universe. In doing so, they function to reassert the role of mythology both to the present reality of Guy's quest and within the primary world of its performance. Situating the fairy figure within these lapsed landscapes calls attention to its reality within the play and to its mythological potential within the actual world.

On stage, such vast geographical space across which Guy moves to fulfill his quest would have to be adapted to a physically limited performance space. Like many early modern stage plays, *The Tragical History of Guy of Warwick* was probably not performed, nor was it designed to be performed in one particular performance space. As Cooper suggests:

> The stagecraft of the play suggests that it could originally have been designed with a traveling company in mind, or at least for the ease of traveling. It has a large cast list, but could at a pinch be acted by just seven players, six men and a boy. Its lack of elaborate stage effects or properties (at most, high shoes for Colbron, a couple of firecrackers for thunder and lightning, and perhaps a collapsible tower) would make it easy to perform anywhere.[76]

Clearly, whatever props that the play uses to represent the lapsed landscapes presented by the text were easily portable. If traveling companies performed in outdoor venues, aspects of the landscape such as the cave where Guy resides in the last years of his life, may have been physically indicated by a feature in the actual landscape where the play was performed. Each performance would have offered a different construction of the landscape in the dramatic universe based on what was available in that performance space. In each performance location, the lapsed landscapes would have functioned slightly differently based not only on the physical performance space, but also on cultural interactions with and interpretations of place derived from local knowledge, recent history, and traditional legends.

Guy's encounter with Oberon and his fairy train outside the Tower of Donather takes place in one of the lapsed landscapes on which the dramatic universe relies. Unlike many of the other supernatural encounters of the play, however, Guy's moral fortitude and legendary strength are not enough to bring down the tower and the enchanter within. Instead he is frozen and cast into a deep sleep, and the success of Guy's quest is negotiated in a battle over his fate between the enchanter and Oberon. The seasonal changes to the landscape embody this conflict. For instance, instead of attacking Guy directly or causing bodily harm, the enchanter's curse describes apocalyptic changes in the landscape that surrounds Guy. He curses Guy saying, "let all my horrid Vapours cease their strength; / Let the Air Freeze, the Earth be cold as Ice, / whereon this during Knight doth set his Feet."[77] In direct opposition to the enchanter's wintry curse, Oberon summons his fairy train with a depiction of a springtime landscape: "You harmlesse spirits of the flowry Meades, /... that waits on Oberon the Fairy King, /attend me quickly with your silver tunes." The tower is the focal point around which such conflicts center, and when it vanishes, the enchanter and his power over the landscape also disappears. [78]

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[76] Helen Cooper, "Guy of Warwick," 124-5.

In *The Tragical History of Guy of Warwick* the lapsed landscape recalls not only the ancient history of the dramatic universe, but collapses boundaries between distinct fictional worlds. When Guy and Sparrow first arrive at the Tower, Guy describes the space for the audience: "This is the stately Tower of *Donather*, / where *Huon* of *Bordeaux* a courageous Knight / slew *Angolofar* in a single Fight." The encounter between Angolofar and Huon that Guy describes is a directly taken from chapter thirty-two of John Bourchier's 1540 English translation of *Huon of Bordeaux*.[79] This text is referenced again a few lines later when Oberon enters and introduces himself to Guy and the audience, saying "I am the Fairy King that keeps these Groves, / for Huon of Bordeaux sake, thy Warlike friend,"[80] The characters each demonstrate familiarity with the *Huon of Bordeaux* tale, not as a fictional text, but as a real and present history of the dramatic universe. In the 1540 *Huon of Bordeaux* translation, Huon ignores the advice of Oberon and enters the tower to slay the giant inside. Sparrow, generally portrayed as the foolish character, also demonstrates familiarity with this portion of the tale by warning Guy about the "monstrous Gyant" that lives inside the tower.[81] While Sparrow, and perhaps audience members, expect Guy to have an adventure similar to that of Huon and encounter the giant inside the tower, this expectation is ironically subverted. The giant, as Guy has already explained, was killed long ago by Huon. The tale of *Huon of Bordeaux* is taken as historical fact for the characters in *Guy Earl of Warwick.* The events and relationships established in the *Huon of Bordeaux* romance serve as a background against which *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* is set. Like all lapsed landscapes, the landscape surrounding the Tower of Donather facilitates the disorderly meshing of past and present in the dramatic universe. However, the tower serves as a locus of the landscapes' mythological potential. It facilitates a collapse of the boundaries, not only between the ancient and present, but also between the fictional worlds of *Huon of Bordeaux* and *Guy Earl of Warwick.* In doing so, it mythologically authenticates the figures that occupy such spaces as figures such as Oberon and his fairies are perpetually recalled from their ancient past to assist in new quests.

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[77] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* B3v.

[78] There is the significant possibility that a part of the humor in this scene may derive from the sense that these landscapes, and this sudden battle between good and evil, lack sincerity and may have been portrayed by slap stick movements and over-acted roles.

[79] John Bourchier Bernes, Huon of Bordeaux: Done into English. Contributing authors Bernard and Robert Steele (Melbourne, Australia: Leopold Classic Library, 2016). Helen Moore suggests that "an indirect connection between Jonson and the play of *Guy* exists via Huon of Bordeaux, which was not only a source for *Guy* but likely a source for the name of Oberon as borne by Prince Henry in Jonson's masque *Oberon, The fairy Prince* (performed in 1611)." Introduction to *Guy Earl of Warwick,* Facsimile of first edition (1661; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), xxi

[80] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* B4v.

The disruption of the boundary between fictional worlds within the dramatic universe mirrors similar disruptions that occur in the space of the actual theater. The sudden disappearance of the Tower, for instance, facilitates a collapse between primary and secondary universes. In the secondary world of the play Oberon gives Guy a magic wand, describing its abilities to dissolve enchantments "in this world." However, when the tower disappears in the secondary world of the play, it also actually vanishes from sight in the early audience. Cooper's suggestion that a collapsible tower was used to create the vanishing structure necessitated by the text seems a plausible way to recreate the fairy magic on stage.[82] Fairy magic, as it is described here and as is evidenced in the disappearance of the tower, has the power to alter the landscape, including the landscape of the actual world. This ability is given physical evidence in the actual moment of stage magic.

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[81] Sparrow is corrected by Guy who says, "It is no giant but some dammed sorcerer or enchanter." *Guy Earl of Warwick*, B3v.

The Lapsed Landscape in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*

Of the plays I examine in this chapter, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* most clearly demonstrates the ability of the lapsed landscapes to operate as the conduit for mythology. In the play, Oberon and his band of fairies discover the reclusive Bohan living in a tomb "away from the world." Oberon seems to approve of Bohan's misanthropy and thus offers him a fairy jig as entertainment, which Bohan reciprocates with a dance performed by his two sons. Bohan offers a third entertainment, a dramatic exemplum of "why I hate the world by demonstration," which turns out to be the main plot of the play detailing the James IV plotline. While Bohan remains on stage, presumably watching from a landscape "away from the world," Oberon and his fairy servants are able to move between the frame story and the James IV plotline. Therefore the lapsed landscape containing the tomb from where Bohan watches the performance is perpetually present, as the place where the story originates from.

The lapsed landscape is evoked through the presence of Bohan's tomb on stage. This chthonic stone structure is indicated by an original and long stage direction which reads: "*enter Aster Oberon, King of Fairies; and Antics, who dance about a tomb placed conveniently on the stage; out of the which suddenly starts up, as they dance, Bohan, a Scot, attired like a ridstall man, from whom the Antics fly. Oberon manet.*"[83] Although this lengthy stage direction has prompted much scholarly debate because the notably poor quality of the text has allowed for various interpretations, scholars generally agree that the tomb would have been set on stage before the action began.[84] Fairies are the first characters to appear on stage, presumably coming out from within the tomb to dance around it. The fairy figures which populate this dramatic universe are, as Armstrong suggests is necessary for myth, "rooted in the experience of death." As Purkiss has noted, various stories that detail encounters between humans and fairies posit a relationship between fairies and ancestral power of deceased kinsmen. Folkloric precedent already closely establishes fairies as having "links with the dead, and some are the dead."[85] Bohan particularly chooses this location because of its closeness to death and separation from the living explaining, "shutting myself into this tomb, where if I die, I am sure I am safe from wild beasts [...and] gif [if] all my friends fail me, I shall have a grave of my own providing."[86] The gravity of the presence of the tomb on stage as a physical prop at the beginning of the play immediately distinguishes the performance space as a lapsed landscape, and aligns the fairies that emerge from within it with a mythological mode of fictionality.

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[82] Cooper, "Guy of Warwick," 124.

[83] Greene, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth,* induction.

This chthonic space that Bohan has labeled as "away from the world" can be said to be the principal landscape of the play. The vast variety of landscapes evoked in the James IV storyline, originates from the Bohan frame story told beside his tomb. Furthermore, the story of Bohan's life that has led to this reclusive behavior is also articulated in terms of landscape. As he describes the origins of his misanthropy to Oberon, he discusses the movement through various locations, each leading him closer to the lapsed landscape where he intends to spend his final days. He recounts:

> I was born a gentleman of the best blood in all Scotland [...] I then changed court for country, and the wars for a wife: but I found the craft of swains more vile, than the

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[84] Cf. Glynne Wickham, ed., *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660,* vol. 2, 1576-1660 (London: Routledge, 2002), part 1, 318.

[85] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 48.

[86] Greene, *James the Fourth,* Induction, 68-70.

> knavery of courtiers: the charge of children more heavy than servants, and wives' tongues worse than the wars itself: and therefore a gave o'er that, and went to the city to dwell, and there I kept a great house with small cheer […] which when I noted, the court ill, the country worse, and the city worst of all.[87]

Bohan's movement through different landscapes offers a pessimistic interpretation of various livelihoods that would have most likely been recognizable to an actual early modern audience. While the play is a spurious history wherein Bohan supposedly recounts the events of the year 1520, the induction suggests a contemporary relationship to the landscapes of early modern England and the lifestyles, and the problems with living in various communities. Bohan makes clear that his decision to leave the world does not derive from ignorance of the world, but an understanding of the repetition of human events. He tells Oberon that "in the year 1520 was in Scotland, a kind overruled with parasites, misled by lust […] much like out court of Scotland this day."[88] Bohan's transience through the various landscapes of the dramatic universe ultimately ending up in the lapsed landscape paint a clear picture of a complete and wholly realized dramatic world. Bohan's desire to move beyond that world is both his desire for death, and a desire to connect with mythological meaning beyond the human plane of existence.

The play thus offers a moral and political commentary framed in Bohan's story. The characters that attempt by demonstration to enact its shortcomings occupy a conceptual and spatial periphery. As Diane Purkiss suggests of fairy figures, "fairies come from outside, from outside the community, civilization, even when they seem to share its values."[89] Bohan as well is "attired like a Redesdale man," which Lavin notes describes both "a wild, ferocious appearance," and an association with the people of Tinsdale and Riddesdale who were infamous for outlawish behavior.[90] As Armstrong suggests, and as Bohan and Oberon's exemplum proves, "myth is not a story told for its own sake. It shows us how we should behave."[91] By appearing in the lapsed landscapes of located outside of the human community that Bohan has just abandoned, the fairies in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* are able to offer a moral reflection of human behavior.

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[87] Greene, *James the Fourth,* Induction, 40-66.
[88] Greene, *James the Fourth,* Induction, 102.
[89] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 48.
[90] Lavin, Introduction to *James the Fourth*, p. 5.

The Dreamscape in *Endymion*

In the Elizabethan entertainments, in romances, in epic and lyric poetry, and in ballads, representations of encounters with fairy figures drew on the metaphor of the dream to describe an experience that is real, but is seemingly separate from the actual world. In this way, dream landscapes are frequently evoked in the plays I examine throughout this chapter as a means of negotiating the magical otherworldly qualities of the dramatic universe within the physical restrictions of the actual performance space. In the four plays I examine in this chapter, characters are frequently subjected to magical forces, which cause them to undergo periods of sleep, suspended animation, or death-like states. In these states, the landscapes of the play become subject to, or occasionally assist in perpetuating, a dream-like ambiguity of perception. The darkened spaces, eclipsed times, and distorted geographies that indicate the presence of dream-like landscapes, what I term dreamscapes, are closely associated with the preternatural presence of the fairies. The fairies that appear within these landscapes are often able to navigate and often control these spaces, evidencing their mythological power through their interactions with the landscapes of the dramatic universe.

The dramatic universe of *Endymion* is ruled over by the moon goddess Cynthia. Her perpetual presence and her celestial rulership foregrounds the various spaces of the play as dreamscapes. This relationship between the fairy figures and the dreamscapes of the dramatic universe, and the continued association between fairies and dreamscapes throughout the play derives, perhaps, from political figurations of Elizabeth herself as a celestial ruler. Elizabeth's association with the moon goddess allows her to take on characteristics both human and divine, forever changing, but perpetually present. The landscape that surrounds her, as Bevington notes, "is similarly undefined, in its uncertain sense of place (vaguely on earth or in the heavens), its dreamlike quality, its romantic and magical possibilities."[92] J. P. Conlan has effectively warned of the limitations of reading court comedy allegorically by searching for direct correspondences between characters and Elizabethan courtiers, especially in Lyly's plays which are so frequently subjected to such readings.[93] However, the associations between Elizabeth and Cynthia, even if without a strictly allegorical correspondence, allow the dreamscape to function at full mythological capacity.[94] The presence of an Elizabeth-like figure, and the fact that *Endymion* is written for and about her, blurs distinctions between the mythological power latent within the landscapes of the secondary universe, and the seemingly preternatural power of the monarch in the actual universe.

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[91] Karen Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth*, 3.

The dreamlike and magical quality of the landscapes within the play originates in Cynthia's celestial power, a point which Endymion readily recognizes. Endymion's lovesickness for Cynthia that engenders the conflicts of the play stems from his recognition of her ability to effect the metaphorical and physical landscapes of the dramatic universe. In the opening dialogue between Endymion and his friend Eumenides, Endymion describes the moon as constant in its ever-changing power describing

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[92] Bevington, Introduction to *Endymion*, 15.

[93] Cf. J.P. Conlan, "The Fey Beauty of *A Midsummer Night's Dream:* A Shakespearian Comedy in its Courtly Context," *Shakespeare Studies* 32 (2004): 118-72.

[94] See for instance such as The Masque of Diana and Isis in the Kenilworth Entertainments. Elizabeth insisted that this masque be rewritten before it was performed. Elizabeth, recognizing the marriage proposal that Leicester intended through the entertainments, replaced the masque with, what Frye reads as an "elaborate allegorical device featuring Elizabeth's rescue of the Lady of the Lake that rewrote the chivalric narrative of the imprisoned female." Frye, *Competition for Representation*, 62.

> There is nothing thought more admirable or commendable in the sea than the ebbing and flowing; and shall the moon, from whom the sea taketh this virtue, be accounted fickle for increasing and decreasing? Flowers in their buds are nothing worth thill they be blown, nor blossoms accounts till they be ripe fruit.[95]

Endymion argues that the moon's ability to change shape, the ebbing and flowing tide, and the various other natural cycles of the world all make her virtuous and worthy of courtship. His perspective recognizes the pervasiveness of the dreamscape even out of Cynthia's presence. Initially, Endymion's insistent evocation of the dreamscape is seen as madness due to his tortured moon-gazing and wakefulness. To the characters besides Endymion, Cynthia has not appeared as an embodied figure, and it seems "peevish to imagine the moon either capable of affection or shape of a mistress."[96] As Endymion sleeps under Dispas' curse, however, Cynthia appears as an embodied figure, giving his perspective solidity and form. For the majority of the play Endymion remains asleep, suspended in his own version of reality. Endymion sleeps for forty years, during which time the landscape and characters around him have changed: the sapling near him has become a tree, his friends are older, and he himself has aged past recognition. Endymion's vision of Cynthia's cyclical nature of the moons power is brought to fruition when Cynthia reverses the effects of Endymion's long sleep and restores his youth.

The presence of the dreamscape in the dramatic universe is not only evidenced through the distorted temporal linearity over which Cynthia has control, but is similarly reflected in the terrain of the dramatic universe. For instance, the lunary bank ferns on which Endymion falls asleep draws Endymion because of its connection to the dreamscape. Lunary, a fern similar to a moonwart, is a fern that unfurls at nighttime in the presence of moonlight.[97] Interestingly, Lyly's association with this plant and a moon goddess figure is first established in *Galatea* when Diana's nymph Telusa suggests that virgin's thoughts are "like the leaves of lunary, which the further they grow from the sun, the sooner they are scorched with his beams."[98] The dreamscape presented here is an extension of Cynthia's royal and celestial power. Similarly to Cynthia's power to wake Endymion by a kiss and her ability to restore his youth by shining on him, the lunary itself is curative of magical ailments. Corsites is marked black and blue by the fairy pinches, and his fairy spots are cured by rubbing the lunary fern into his skin.[99] The dreamscape is present within almost every aspect of the dramatic universe and is the source of its mythological power.

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[95] Lyly, *Endymion,* 1.1.42-7.
[96] Lyly, *Endymion,* 1.1.22-3.

The fairies function as potent mythological forces within the dramatic universe of *Endymion* because of their association with and ability to navigate the dreamscapes of the play. They primarily appear in the play as servants Cynthia, referring to her as the "Queen of Stars," and therefore aligning themselves with stars or lesser celestial bodies. Similar to Dispas' enchantment that put Endymion into an enchanted slumber at the beginning of the play, the fairies cast a sleeping spell over Corsites. Like Endymion's prolonged sleep, the enchantment they cast carries the weight of bodily harm and close relationship with a death-like state. The fairies' song draws attention to the punitive nature of the sleep they are imposing on him, "Sharp nails to pinch him blue and red, / Till sleep has rocked his addle head. / For the trespass he hath done.”[100] Although the singing and dancing of the fairies presents them as light-hearted entities, Corsites’ makes clear the extent of their power and his fear at their preternatural capabilities. After Corsites’ has awoken, Cynthia asks Corsites to undertake a watch over the grove where Endymion sleeps, he excuses himself from the task, saying, “I should rather break into the midst of a main battle than again fall into the hands of those fair babies.”[101] Corsites’ fear makes the violence of the fairy encounter explicit.

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[97] *A Dictionary of English Folklore*, ed. Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), n. "moonwart." 10.1093/acref/9780198607663.001.0001.

[98] Lyly, *Endymion*, 3.1.20-2.

[99] Lyly, *Endymion*, 4.3.136-9.

The incantation they recite also draws attention to the nature of Corsites’ crime which merits the death-like slumber that the fairies subject him to. Corsites incurs the wrath of the fairies for trespassing upon the dreamscape that is claimed by Cynthia and her fairy subjects. In other depictions of fairy dreamscapes, such as *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, for instance, fairies are limited to these nocturnal dreamscapes. The fairies “must away by break of day.” However, in *Endymion,* the dramatic universe is perpetually within Cynthia’s lunary gaze and subject to her power, and the fairies that act as protectors of her dreamscape are portrayed as real and potent mythological forces. In the dramatic universe of *Endymion,* the dreamscape from which the fairy figure derives its power allows this figure to occupy a mythological mode of fictionality. In this mode, fairy magic, even as presented on stage, is not limited to the temporal boundaries of night time. It maintains the ability to influence the waking human world.

The Dreamscape in *Guy Earl of Warwick*

Guy’s encounter with the sorcerer at the Tower of Donather and his subsequent rescue by Oberon and his band of fairies shows interesting parallels with the enchanted sleep of Endymion.

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[100] Lyly, *Endymion,* 4.3.40-3.
[101] Lyly, *Endymion,* 4.3.174-6.

As Guy rushes into the tower to vanquish the enchanter, the enchanter's magic freezes Guy in his place. Thus frozen, the enchanter casts a spell that ensures Guy will not move from the dreamscape that the enchanter has confined him in:

> ne're shalt thou go alive out of this place.
> Thus do I lay a charme upon thy head,
> a hell bred slumber close thy sences up;
> there groveling lye, and never more arise […]
> a black inchanted charme close up thine eyes.[102]

The curse that the enchanter casts over Guy is a curse inextricably linked to landscape; Guy's curse, similar to Endymion's, is to be indefinitely tied to a particular location in the secondary universe. While the enchanter casts a sleeping curse over Guy, the phrasing he uses also evokes images of death; Guy's inability to leave the landscape is portrayed as an interment. The charm will cause Guy to never "go alive out of this place" and to "never more arise." The control that the fairies have over the dreamscapes allow them to operate as intermediaries between charmed sleep and death, confirming Purkiss' observations that fairies have links with the dead.[103] As we have seen, for instance, in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth,* Oberon and his fairies love Bohan because he lives in a tomb. In *Endymion* as well, the fairies guard Endymion's death-like slumber, and condemn Corsites to a similar fate. In Guy's case, Guy is never to "go alive out of this place," whereas when Dispas casts the spell over Endymion, she tells him "thou mightiest have commanded Tellus, whom now instead of a mistress thou shalt find a tomb."[104] Guy is frozen to the earth, and Endymion, Corsites suspects, has turned into earth by lying too long in one place. Thus the death-like sleep imposed on Guy is explicitly linked to the locality where the dreamscape originates.

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[102] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* B4r.
[103] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 70.
[104] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* 2; Lyly, *Endymion*, 2.3.31-2.

Directly after the enchanter's exit, Oberon and his band of fairies enter to wake Guy, essentially rescuing him from the enchanter's death sentence. As Oberon and his band of fairies arrive to wake "this sleeping Knight that lies upon the ground," an original stage direction indicates that they lift the curse over Guy by dancing around him playing music and waving the enchanted wand. When Guy wakes, the fairies have presumably transformed the landscape and Guy is unable to recognize his surroundings. The presence of the fairies causes Guy to see the landscape around him as differently. He awakes and questions himself, "Where art thou Guy? what heavenly place is this?"[105] In doing so, Guy draws attention to the immediate change in perception that the fairies are able to evoke within the dreamscape. Previously described as "hellish" because of the presence of the enchanter, the landscape is now enchanted in a different fashion, described as "heavenly." Fairies in this context are crucial tools in the creation of the dreamscape.

The dreamscape is similarly marked by an ability to condense and distort time and space. In *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick* the fairy magic that Oberon presents to Guy is an essential part of this dreamscape. Not only are the fairies able to wake Guy, but, as though in a dream, their magic works to condense the expansive landscape of the dramatic universe. After they pinch Sparrow as punishment, they transport Guy to his destination in the Holy Land saying, "Guy give me thy hand, / the way i'le shew thee to the Holy Land."[106] In the next scene, Guy has arrived in the Holy Land. The ability to transport or move is aided, at least in the primary universe, by theatrical magic that is explained by fairy magic in the secondary universe.

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[105] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* B4r.
[106] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* C1r.

Before Guy makes his first entrance onto the stage in the Holy Land, the personified character of Time enters and speaks asking the audience to, "think now that Guy of Warwick he is gone, / leaving these Fairies and King Oberon , /and now to fair Jerusalem takes his way."[107] Oberon's "magic" is inseparable from the apparatus of theater. The disordering of temporal linearity allows a dream-like quality, which allows audiences a model to accept the sudden misapprehensions, asymmetries in the dramatic universe of the play, and thus aide in creation a believable fairy mythology in the space of the theater.

Conclusion

Transitioning depictions of fairies in dramatic works from the outdoor performance spaces of the Elizabethan entertainments, to the indoor performance spaces of the early stage plays, required a change in the manner in the fairy characters were represented. In the entertainments, fairy characters actually and fictionally interacted with the outdoor rural landscapes of the English countryside. In *Endymion, Galatea, The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick,* and *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, on the other hand, the performance space was representative of the settings implied within the plot. This construction implied that the dramatic universe of the performance relied on, and was constrained within the physical space of the performance in the actual world.

Representing the fairy figure in an indoor performance creates an integral change in way these figures had to interact with the landscapes of their respective universes. I suggest that the changing interactions between fairies and the landscapes of the theater might have inspired questions about the place of fairies in larger cultural narratives as well. Certainly, the demonstrable changes to the manner in which dramatists and actors created and innovated the fictional worlds in order to accommodate a more restricted performance space offered an opportunity to conceive of the theatrical function of fairies differently. *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* in 1591, for instance, begins to position the fairy figure as a key piece of the metadramatic structure framing the play within the play. In positioning the fairy characters as intricately intertwined with the landscapes of the secondary universe, these four plays portray the fairy as an omnipotent force that supersedes the boundaries imposed by theatrical representation. In the fiction of each of these plays, the fairy figure is a real figure that lends itself to the creation of a mythological mode of fictionality.

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[107] *Guy Earl of Warwick,* C1v.

The fairies of *Endymion*, *Galatea*, *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick,* and *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* operated not only as representations of actual systems of belief, but also as figures embedded in the cultural, political, and historical spaces of actual early modern England. In this way, the fairies that featured in the stage plays composed between 1588 and 1593 owe much of their theatrical conception to the manifestation of fairy characters in the Elizabethan entertainments. Using the imaginative potential of the Elizabethan stage, the four plays I examine in this chapter evoke fairy characters that occupy the vast outdoor landscapes of coherent and ontologically complete dramatic universes. The fairies that inhabit the dramatic universes of these four plays most frequently appear in association with three distinct subtypes of this outdoor landscape: the forest landscape, the lapsed landscape and the dreamscape. I argue that the close connection between the fairies and the landscapes they inhabit allows them to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality, which allowed them to operate beyond the fiction of the play and speak to the concerns of actual early modern England.

Chapter Three: Demythologization and Composite Landscapes, 1595-1603

A conspicuous change begins to occur in the depictions of fairy characters in early modern English drama around the turn of the seventeenth century. The fairy characters that appear in plays around this time find themselves somewhere between the wholly otherworldly depictions of fairies that haunt the moonlit landscapes of John Lyly's *Endymion* (1588) discussed in the previous chapter, and the cynical representation of prostitute Dol Common as the fake fairy queen in the gritty urban landscape of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), which I will discuss in the next chapter. [1]

While the fairies in *Endymion* are real within the world of the play, much of the plot (and humor) of *The Alchemist* is dependent on the audience's understanding that Dol Common is definitely not a real fairy. These two plays offer two different modes of fictionality and therefore present two arguably irreconcilable depictions of early modern fairies. In the earlier mode, audiences are asked to believe for the duration of the play that there exists a secondary universe, one wherein fairies are real and occupy a unique geographical space.[2] In the other, later, mode, audiences are offered a representation of a familiar early modern London landscape, and asked to believe for the duration of the play that an ordinary woman named Dol Common pretends to be the fairy queen in order to con money out of an unsuspecting customer called Dapper.[3] The contrast between these two plays is demonstrative of a change occurring across the nineteen extant Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic works featuring fairies from the period between 1575 and 1615 that this thesis examines.[4] Across this forty-year span, a pattern in the depiction of fairies begins to emerge: as fairies increasingly occupy dramatic worlds that resemble the indoor, urban, or domestic landscapes of early modern London and its surroundings, they become increasingly less real within the universes of their respective plays.

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[1] Landscape can be defined as "a construct; a portion of land or territory that is shaped and given order either physically (through cultivation or building) or imaginatively (through art or literature)."Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature* 2. See also Stephen Siddall, *Landscape and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[2] See Introduction, n30

[3] This play is based on true events. In January 1613/14, the publication of *The severall notorious and lewd cousnages of Iohn West, and Alice West, falsely called the King and Queene of Fayries* describes the manner in which Alice West managed to con a large sum of money from Thomas More of Hammersmith by pretending to have a message from the King and Queen of Fairies. Katharine Briggs argues that the similarities between The Alchemist

In this chapter, I discuss the transitional stage of this evolution by examining four plays dating from 1595 to 1603: William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), the anonymous *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* (1600), the anonymous *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600), and William Percy's *The Faery Pastorall* (1603). I suggest that these four plays are paradigmatic of a number of early modern English dramatic works performed around this time, each demonstrating changes to the way that fairy characters appeared in drama. In these plays, I argue, fairy characters are not limited to a single setting. Instead fairies occupy composite landscapes consisting of both indoor and outdoor settings. These composite landscapes function simultaneously within the primary and secondary universe as settings, sites of historical and folkloric significance, and indicators of a changing system of belief. This chapter examines three distinct binaries that delimit such landscapes that the fairies in these four plays inhabit: performative and real, microscopic and universal, and natural and domestic.

I suggest that the settings of the three plays in these composite landscapes demonstrate a process of demythologization of the fairy figure, even as the plays themselves attempt to adapt

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and these instances is remarkably close. However, *The Alchemist* was performed in 1610 and printed in 1612, which, Briggs suggests, might indicate that "the Wests' doings were common report before they were brought to trial." *The Anatomy of Puck*, 109.

[4] My introduction discusses the reasons for my selection. In addition to the nineteen extant dramatic works I have identified, Wiggins and Richardson have also suggested that fairies feature in a non-extant play titled *Delphrigus and the King of Fairies,* which was potentially performed in the 1570s. However, due to the contradictory evidence surrounding its existence, I begin my analysis in 1575. *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 2, no. 629.

their characters to the contemporary reality of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thomas Pavel suggests:

> Fictional domains, therefore, are not necessarily consecrated as such from the beginning of their existence. Rather, fictionality is in most cases a historically variable property. Fictional realms sometimes arise through the extinction of the belief in a mythology; in other cases, conversely, fictionalization originates in the loss of a referential link between the characters and events described in a literary text and their real counterparts…Thus the frontiers of fiction separate it on one side from myth, on the other from actuality.[5]

The four plays that I discuss in this chapter demonstrate the intermediary phase in the process of fictionalization through changing depictions of the fairy figure. In Lyly's *Endymion,* the fairies function within a mythological realm that speaks of "another plane that exists alongside our own world, and that in some sense supports it."[6] However, the later counterfeit fairies, such as the fairy queen in *The Alchemist* reposition fairies in a mode of fictionality "describing events that the reader believes to be impossible" or fantasy.[7] In this chapter, I argue that the fairies that begin to appear in early modern English drama around the turn of the seventeenth century move between the indoor spaces representing the real world of the play and the mythological outdoor spaces of the fairies in what can be described as a hybrid model of these two modes of fictionality.

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[5] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 80-1. Pavel suggests that the difference between folklore and mythology is difficult to determine. See page 77. Wolfe defines folk tales as "a tale from oral tradition, as opposed to literary fairy tales." Gary K. Wolfe, *Critical Terms for Science Fiction and Fantasy: A Glossary and Guide to Scholarship* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 42. Certainly, in the plays I examine within this chapter, the hybrid fairies of folk traditions and mythological figures speaks to the difficulty in this distinction.

[6] Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth*, 4.

[7] Wolfe, *Science Fiction and Fantasy*, 38.

The Dramatic Works of the 1590s and 1600s

The presence of the fairy figure in early modern English drama was at its height in the late 1590s and early 1600s, appearing in varying performance contexts and across multiple dramatic subgenres. Between 1595 and 1606 alone, seven stage plays featured fairy characters, three of which were composed in 1600. Additionally in 1603, fairies appeared in a Jacobean entertainment at Althrop, as I discussed in Chapter One. This relatively high number of dramatic works featuring fairy characters marks a period of experimentation with and increased apprehension about the role and credibility of the fairy figure. From within this period, I have strategically selected four stage plays that are illustrative of the complex relationship that is emerging throughout dramatic works around this time between the fairy figure and what I term "composite landscapes": *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Mayde's Metamorphosis, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* and *The Faery Pastorall*. More importantly, however, I've selected these works because of the key ways that they engage with fairy characters in other dramatic works and with the larger political, social and cultural narratives in which they appear.

A brief analysis of each of the plays featuring fairy characters around the turn of the seventeenth century makes the importance of the four plays I have chosen to examine in this chapter increasingly apparent. The fairy's increasing popularity as a character in early modern dramatic works was greatly influenced by the 1591 publication of the first three books of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (written between 1580 and 1599).[8] Spenser's text circulated widely and was republished together with books four through six in 1596. As I discussed in Chapter Two, Spenser's fairy knights are real within the secondary universe of the text positioning the poem's fairyland in a mythological mode of fictionality. Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, Spenser's secondary universe is composed of outdoor landscapes that are strikingly similar to those of the earlier stage plays. However, as these texts inevitably continued to circulate, I suggest that Spenser's highly influential work had two major implications for future depictions of fairy characters in early modern drama. Primarily, in offering the image of Elizabeth's kingdom as "faerieland," Spenser aligned fairy traditions with "Englishness" in a broader sense than perhaps previously endorsed in local folklores.[9] The entertainments utilize the physical performance spaces in order to evoke a mythological mode of fictionality, centered around and created through Elizabeth's presence. Spenser achieves a similar effect through allegory. As Matthew Woodcock suggests, "In announcing his decision to 'conceiue' Elizabeth using the image of the fairy queen, Spenser draws attention to his allegory and provides an inaugural, albeit partial decoding for the reader."[10] Elizabeth is both the rhetorical key to deciphering Spenser's allegorical meaning in the primary universe and the allegorical fairy queen toward whom Redcrosse knight journeys in the secondary universe. As in the entertainments, Elizabeth is the central force from which Spencer's universe derives its mythological potential.

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[8] See Chapter Two, note 10 (above).

More importantly, Spenser makes explicit the allegorical correlation between Elizabeth I and the figure of the fairy queen, suggested in the entertainments that I examine in Chapter One.[11] Spenser has constructed such a formidable allegorical precedent, that the dramatic works that follow are cautious in their staging of fairies, particularly fairy queens. With the exception of the counterfeit fairy queen in *Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1597, many dramatic works avoid the figure of the fairy queen altogether.[12] However, as Briggs suggests, *A*

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[9] See Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?," 92.

[10] Woodcock, *Fairy in* The Faerie Queene, 55.

[11] For more on the publication of *The Faerie Queene* see: Jean R. Brink, "Materialist History of the Publication of Spenser's Faerie Queene,'" *The Review of English Studies, New Series* 54, no. 213 (February 2003): 1-26.

[12] This figure was frequent in earlier dramatic works such as *The Entertainment at Woodstock* from 1575 (which I discuss in Chapter One) and Lyly's *Endymion* in 1588 (which I discuss in Chapter Two).

Midsummer Night's Dream is particularly bold. If we read Shakespeare's fairy queen Titania as an allegory for Elizabeth, the play "does Elizabeth no favours… Shakespeare can knock the queen about, make her marry a worker with an ass's head." By contrast, Spenser's fairy queen is mentioned throughout the text but is never directly depicted. In Briggs' words "Spenser hardly dares to write about or invoke her."[13] Shakespeare is able to depict the fairy queen in so bold a manner because he cautiously avoids the allegorical "decoding" that Spenser encourages, writes primarily for the public theater audience instead of the court or the queen herself, and writes a popular short stage play instead of Spenser's chosen prestigious and lengthy genre of epic romance. The most important difference between the plays I examine in this chapter and Spenser's allegory, I argue, is that the universes of these plays generate significance through dramatic universes that are constructed of various composite landscapes instead of relying on allegorical correspondence between primary and secondary universes. [14]

However, by the mid-1590s, the dramatic works I examine in this chapter are beginning to depart from the mythological mode of fictionality that Spenser evokes. In 1595, Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* depicted fairies that proclaimed themselves to be "spirits of another sort," marking the beginning of a change in the way that fairies manifested in early modern English drama. Shakespeare's source material is partially responsible for liberal innovations Shakespeare made to the fairies. Diane Purkiss suggests, "Shakespeare's chief and often his only source for English folklore" was Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* published in 1584. As I discussed in the introduction, fairies and practices involving fairies or other preternatural entities were increasingly demonized or dismissed following the English Reformation. Protestants were particularly keen to "attempt to reorder the world of spirits to conform to Protestant interpretations of scripture, and the resulting elimination, or reimagining, of beings such as fairies, hobgoblins, and imps."[15] To this end, Scot wrote the *Discoverie of Witchcraft* in order to highlight, what he believed to be, the absurdity of a number of fairy practices in rural communities throughout England. Scot's work conflates fairies with numerous other preternatural entities, dismissing them universally as childhood fears instilled by "our mother's maids."[16] In doing so, Scot places beliefs and practices from varying origins and disparate traditions in opposition. Perhaps paradoxically, Scot's famous, and often quoted, lists of preternatural entities may have given these practices increased visibility in England at the time. The lists of preternatural beings that Scot enumerates seem to populate the dramatic universe *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* where Shakespeare places them under the rule of a fairy king and queen.

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[13] Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck,* 179.

[14] Theorists have suggested a difference in the ways that allegory and fiction (including narrative fiction, fantasy fiction, and other genres) utilize metaphor to generate meaning. Farah Mendlesohn, for instance, suggests of fantasy that "what all of these critics, and many writers of fantasy from George MacDonald and David Lindsay to J.R.R. Tolkien, have in common is an insistence that fantasy is not allegory, something that frequently places them at loggerheads with criticism of fantasy by many children's literature critics, which tends to assume allegory and to search for metaphoric meaning." *Diana Wynne Jones: Children's Literature and the Fantastic Tradition* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), XV; see also Thomas Pavel's discussion of Charles de Man. *Fictional Worlds,* 60.

The increased popularity of the fairy figure across a number of different genres inevitably led to increased manifestations of this character in dramatic works as well. In 1600, three plays featuring fairy characters were composed: *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* by John Lyly, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (or *Lust's Dominion*) by Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day, and *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll.* Each of these plays indicates a changing mode of fictionality surrounding the fairy figure, articulated in part through the vacillation of the fairy character between indoor and outdoor settings. From this group of plays, I have chosen to examine *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* specifically because of the manner in which they are particularly demonstrative of the changes the fairy figure undergoes between the late 1590s and early 1600s. These plays exemplify and anticipate the manner in which the fairy figure generates meaning through its interaction with composite landscapes throughout the rest of the early 1600s.

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[15] Oldridge, "Fairies and the Devil," 1.
[16] Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft,* 85.

The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* in particular are indicative of the wider context surrounding this development. In *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* fairies appear in several incarnations throughout the play. References to fairy lore circulating in the dramatic universe of the play precede the physical manifestation of the fairies as characters. At the beginning of the play, a servant named Haunce suggests that the new tenant in the house, Lassenberg, pays nightly visits to the fairies. According to Haunce, the house is "haunted" by fairies, who also frequently leave money in his shoes overnight. Haunce's references to fairies in the play, may or may not refer to the real preternatural creatures that manifest later in the dramatic universe. As Gary Butler points out, "the study of oral tradition is a specialized investigation, one oriented towards a particular variety of speech acts and communicative events," which may rely on more than one referent. Therefore, the term "fairy" as described by Haunce may "no longer served the primary function of communicating information related to his culture's traditional belief system."[17] Instead, Haunce's references may indicate "the ongoing use of fairy practices in order to allude to understandings, especially understandings of human sexuality, shared within a discursive community."[18] However, Haunce's potentially euphemistic references to fairy hauntings at the beginning of the play contrast with their subsequent physical appearance. In act three, the Peasant who is wandering outside stumbles upon a troupe of fairies having a banquet on a green hill. In their haste to leave, the fairies leave behind one of their jeweled cups, which the Peasant takes. The scene is evocative of a legend preserved by the Musgrave family of Edenhall in Cumberland about a cup in the family's possession. First recorded in 1791, the story suggests:

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[17] Gary R. Butler, "The *Lutin* Tradition in French-Newfoundland Culture: Discourse and Belief," in Peter Narváez, *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays* (University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 8; 10.
[18] Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 280.

> a party of Fairies were drinking and making merry round a well near the Hall, called St. Cuthbert's well; but, being interrupted by the intrusion of some curious people, they were frightened, and made a hasty retreat, and left the cup in question: one of the last screaming out,
>
> *If this cup should break or fall,*
> *Farewell the Luck of Edenhall*.[19]

Thus the dramatic universe of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* evokes disparate traditions and utilizes the fairy figure to communicate various meanings to the audience. I examine this play as representative of the changing fairy figure for the way in which it depicts fairies in both indoor and outdoor settings, and demonstrates a range of beliefs regarding the credibility of such a figure.

In a similar manner, *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* exemplifies the changing representations of the fairy figure occurring in English drama in the early 1600s. In the play, three brothers encounter fairies while wandering in the woods and begin to question them about their names and their daily activities. The fairies, named "Penny," "Cricket," and "Little, little Pricke," give their respective names and describe how they each spend their time. The exchange that takes place between the fairies and the brothers describes the odd antics of the fairies, everything from flying on the back of a fly to biting sleeping maids. As I discuss in the introduction, folkloric fairy traditions offered multifaceted and occasionally contradictory depictions of these figures. By evoking several of these disparate traditions, Penny, Cricket, and Little, little Pricke draw attention to the incongruity of such practices as a source of humor. However the dramatic universe of the play also incorporates Classical gods and goddesses, who intervene in the affairs of the human characters. There is an ostensible difference between the mythological presence of the Classical deities and the quaintness of the fairies throughout the play. I have chosen to examine *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* because it uniquely demonstrates the changing mode of fictionality surrounding the fairy figure by juxtaposing the various traditions surrounding supernatural and preternatural beings.

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[19] George Laurence Gomme, ed., *The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Being Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1731 to 1868: Popular Superstitions* (1791; repr., London: Elliot Stock, 1884), 189-90.

In this chapter, I specifically examine *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* and *The Faery Pastorall* for the manner in which they exemplify the changes to the fairy figure occurring around the turn of the seventeenth century. The several instances of appearances of the fairy as a real figure in dramatic works around this time, demonstrate similar attempts to negotiate the fairy figure within a mythological mode of fictionality, especially after the appearance of the first counterfeit fairy in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1597. For instance, in *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* by Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day, the fairy figure similarly appears in a hybrid mode of fictionality. The play opens as the dying King warns his son and heir Phillip to beware of Eleazar the Moor. In an attempt to assert his power over the Regent, Cardinal Mendoza, Phillip ignores his father's warnings and appoints Eleazar as regent. When Phillip begins to pursue Eleazar's wife Maria, Eleazar encourages Maria to poison Phillip. Maria gets hold of a sleeping potion instead, and Oberon suddenly appears in the chamber with his fairy train, and warns her of her own impeding death:

> Before he wake thou shalt be slain;
> His mother's hand shall stop thy breath, […]
> Adieu Maria, we must hence,
> Imbrace thine end with patience;
> Elves and Fairyes make no stand,
> Till you come in Fairy Land.[20]

Immediately after warning Maria of this dire fate, the fairies exit and Maria is murdered. As Maria dies, she refers once again to the fairies' warning:

> Heaven open the windows, that my spotlesse soul,
> Riding upon the wings of innocence,
> May enter Paradice, Fairyes farewell;
> Fernandoes death in mine you did foretell.[21]

The gravity of the fairies' appearance in the middle of the unfolding tragedy harkens back to a mythological mode of fictionality. Across the forty-year time frame I examine in this thesis, fairies appear mainly in comedies. The only other tragedy featuring fairy characters is *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick*, in which Oberon and his train of fairies rescue Guy from a deathlike slumber, aiding him in his quest and magically transporting him to the Holy Land. In *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy,* by contrast, Oberon's pronouncement of Maria's murder and the order he gives to "make no stand" to prevent it, is a chilling depiction of fairies as agents of death. However, their appearance indoors, instead of having them embedded in outdoor landscapes, signals a change from the previous depictions. In a play composed during the Anglo-Spanish war, the association between the Catholic Spanish court and the fairies, trivializes their appearance. Protestants in England frequently and incorrectly perpetuated the idea that fairy practices were the product of Catholic deceit, dismissing both as ignorant superstition. The dramatic universe of the play is populated with characters that are symbolic of Catholic corruption, including cardinals and friars. Literalizing references to "Fairy Land" as a euphemism for death, the play depicts Maria's dying hope to "enter paradise" and "come in Fairy Land" as an ignorant set of assumptions.

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[20] Thomas Dekker, John Day, and William Haughton, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy (Lust's Dominion),* in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker,* ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 3.2.79-87.

[21] Dekker, Day, and Haughton, *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy,* 3.2.113-6.

In 1606, Thomas Dekker's allegorical drama, *The Whore of Babylon* rejects the hybrid mode of fictionality, which was developing in the other plays I examine across this chapter. Instead, amid the increasingly frequent appearances of the counterfeit fairy across the 1600s, Dekker attempts to reanimate a mythological mode of fictionality influenced by Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* with a dramatic allegory detailing the various assassination attempts on Queen Elizabeth. *The Whore of Babylon* flopped on opening night.[22] In the Lectori, Dekker maintains complete confidence in his work, blaming the actors for the poor performance, although Dekker himself was not present at it.[23] In reality, the dense allegory was most likely difficult for audiences to understand in live performance and the lengthy explanations needed for two of the five dumb shows may have distracted from the spectacle they intended to provide.[24]

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[22] Susan Krantz, "Thomas Dekker's Political Commentary in The Whore of Babylon*," Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 35, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 271-91.

[23] Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Ed. Fredson Bowers vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), "Lectori," p. 497, lines 24-43.

[24] Peter Hyland, "The Failed Performance of Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*," *The Hare* 1, no. 2 (November 2012). http://thehareonline.com/article/failed-performance-dekkers-whore-babylon.

I argue that *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*, and *The Faery Pastorall* are each an integral part of a larger pattern emerging in English fairy drama between 1575 and 1615. No longer belonging to the outdoor landscapes of the earlier plays such as *Endymion* and *Galatea*, and not yet portrayed as the counterfeit fairies that dominate the indoor spaces of the later plays, the fairies of the plays I discuss in this chapter vacillate between the binary poles of the composite landscape within the dramatic worlds they inhabit. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600), *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* (1600), and *The Faery Pastorall* (1603) are marked specifically by this failure to limit the fairies to a single landscape. This chapter examines three binaries that delimit the composite landscape that the fairies inhabit in the plays from 1595 to 1600, which I have categorized broadly as performative and real, microscopic and universal, and natural and domestic landscapes.

Landscapes of Performance in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, the *Mayde's Metamorphosis*, and *The Faery Pastorall* all draw attention to their own performance. While elements of metatheater are common in early modern English dramatic works, these four plays use metatheatrical devices to position their fairy characters in a unique landscape: the plays call attention to the landscapes as simultaneously real and performed. Within the respective dramatic worlds, the landscapes of performance and the real landscapes they are set in are interconnected, each providing the dramatic or physical foundation for the other. The fairy figure in these plays is able to move between the performed landscapes of the theater in the primary universe and the real landscapes of the dramatic world in the secondary universe.

By contrast, earlier stage plays featuring fairies asked the audience to "imaginatively take what is shown on the stage for what it is supposed to show, usually the enactment of a specific story."[25] Chapter Two discussed the landscapes the fairies inhabit in earlier plays such as *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, *Endymion*, *Guy Earl of* Warwick, and *Galatea*. I argue that fairies in these plays are tied with specific landscapes and topographical features, particularly outdoor landscapes that are seen as real within their dramatic universes. In this earlier mode of fictionality, audiences willingly suspend disbelief and there is a direct and specific correlation between elements in the primary universe and elements in the secondary universe: actors represent fairies and the stage represents the outdoor landscape where these creatures can be encountered. However, in the three plays I examine in this chapter, spaces of performance are metatheatrically present not only as the architecture upon which the dramatic world is built, but also as a setting within the play itself.

The close relationship between the fairies and the landscapes they appear in is clearly laid out in act 3, scene 1 of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as the Mechanicals rehearse for a performance at the court. The play begins as Duke Theseus and the Amazon warrior Hippolyta have announced their wedding day, promising to hire an acting troupe to perform at the wedding. The Mechanicals take to the nearby woods to rehearse their play.[26] As they enter the woods, Quince designates "a marvelous convenient place for our rehearsal," and describes the rehearsal space saying, "this green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn brake our tiring house, and we will do it in action as we will do it before the Duke."[27] In this specific example, the actor playing

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[25] Frank Zipfel, "Fiction across Media: Toward a Transmedial Concept of Fictionality," in *Storyworlds Across Media: Toward a Media-Conscious Narratology (Frontiers of Narrative*), ed. Marie-Laure Ryan and Jan-Noel Thon (Lincoln, Nebraska: Nebraska University Press, 2014), 103.

[26] See C.L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972).

[27] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Quince would presumably point to the various parts of the actual playhouse in the primary universe. In doing so, however, he would align the physical features of the playhouse with their corresponding features in the secondary universe, renaming them as a “green plot” and a “hawthorn brake.” Just one scene earlier, the audience was asked to suspend disbelief completely and to imagine the stage as a “green plot” frequented by fairies. In this scene, the actual stage reasserts itself in the drama, simultaneously becoming the architecture containing the dramatic world and a feature within it. Thus, the play draws attention to the various composite landscapes: landscapes that are presented as real within the play simultaneously function as landscapes of performance.

Robin Goodfellow enters in the middle of this rehearsal. “Puck,” as Oberon refers to him, is able to see clearly the composite landscape and the place of fairies within it. He instantly recognizes his chance to fit into the action. He exclaims “What a play toward? I’ll be an auditor— / An actor, too, perhaps, if I see cause.”[28] Puck acknowledges both the metatheatricality of the moment, and his dual roles as a fairy and actor embedded within the landscapes of the play. Harry Berger convincingly argues for the importance of such a movement between the conceptual spaces within the dramatic world and their interaction with the actual world:

> Simply as a pattern of withdrawal and return, the shuttling between normal and green…worlds is of too widespread an incidence to be identified with the genius of a particular age and culture. The significant Renaissance contribution lies in the doubling of this pattern so that the second world, or heterocosm, assumes the status of a green world in relation to the first world of the audience. And it would be misleading to think of

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[28] *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3.1.67-8.

> the pattern within the second world as an image of the larger dialectic between second world and audience; nature is better seen as imitating art in this situation; fiction provides actuality with its model[29]

It is no wonder, then, that the characters of *A Midsummer Night Dream* themselves continuously struggle to disentangle the reality of their own “normal” world from the fairy world when these landscapes continuously overlap. Their dramatic universe relies on Berger’s suggested doubling, a point not missed by Hermia, who recognizes “methinks I see these things with parted eye, / When everything seems double”[30] once the lovers have returned to Athens from their encounters with the fairies.

Puck’s acting, and his ability to view the layers of reality and performance inscribed onto the landscape creates an intermediary space within the dramatic world. Pavel’s clear distinction between primary and secondary universes no longer suffices. If anything, the play creates tripartite levels of reality, wherein the audience exists in a primary world, the world of Athens constitutes a secondary world, and the dream-world of the fairies takes place in a tertiary reality. However this schema is systematically destabilized throughout the play in instances such as the Epilogue, where Puck addresses the audience directly as both character and actor. If we accept Berger’s argument that the doubled dramatic universe serves as more than an “image of the larger dialectic between second world and audience,” then Puck’s disruption of the distinction between primary and secondary universes points to the ability of the fairies to operate beyond the fiction of the play, demonstrating their mythological capacity. Unlike even the audience members, the fairies have access to all landscapes: performed and real, actual and fictional. Fairies, in this context, are part of a fictional realm that fulfills itself "by going beyond itself and invading life."[31]

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[29] Harry Berger, *Second World and Green World: Studies in Renaissance Fiction Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 38; Berger argues that the green world has two essential properties: “first, since it is only metaphorically a place or space, it embodies a condition whose value should not remain fixed but should rather change according to the temporal process of which it is a part…the second quality of the green world is that it is ambiguous: its usefulness and dangers arise from the same source,” 36.

[30] *A Midsummer Night’s Dream,* 4.1.186-7.

Landscapes of Performance in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*

The widespread use of metatheatrical devices across early modern dramatic works meant that the binary of performance and reality inscribed into the landscapes in the three plays I examine here was intricately tied to an already established conceptual space. Within the plays, this conceptual space often indicated the interaction between human and preternatural characters.[32] Pavel describes the manner in which "juggling with ontological structures in fiction is a widespread device in late Renaissance and Baroque literature, signaled by the frequent occurrence of the play-inside-the-play (*The Spanish Tragedy, Hamlet, The Taming of the Shrew*)."[33] The popularity of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* made the play-within-a-play frame story a particularly common theatrical device in the 1590s.[34] In *The Spanish Tragedy*, The Ghost of Andrea and the allegorical figure of Revenge sit on the edge the stage to watch the mystery of Andrea's death, and comment on the action as the story that constitutes the play becomes the play-within-a-play.

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[31] Berger, *Second World and Green World,* 37.

[32] The term preternatural describes that which is beyond "the ordinary course of nature," rather than that which is supernatural, or "belonging to a realm or system that transcends nature." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, n. "preternature;" adj. "supernatural." The term has recently been used to describe the rare and unusual magical happenings found in folklore, rather than the super-human acts of Classical deities. Cf. Ostling and Forest, "'Goblins, owles and sprites.'"

[33] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 63

[34] Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. Andrew Gurr and J.R. Mulryne, New Mermaids 3rd ed. (London: Methuen Drama, 2009).

The first extant play featuring fairies that employs similar tactics is Robert Greene's *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (1591), discussed in detail in Chapter Two. In the play, a Scotsman named Bohan has renounced the world and waits in his tomb, where he is visited by the King of the Fairies, Oberon. Oberon's entrance with his fairy attendants does not impress Bohan, who brags of the dancing abilities of his two sons, Slipper and Nano (a dwarf). Oberon and Bohan then watch the story of a Scottish King, who in Bohan's words is so "over-ruled with parasites, misled by lust, and many circumstances too long / to trattle on now, much like our court of Scotland this day."[35] Nano, Slipper, and Bohan thus slip in and out of the frame story and into the historical plot that is said to take place in 1520. This play sets a precedent for the plays that I examine in this chapter. The main story line that Bohan introduces takes place in Scotland, but at this point in the play, there is the sense that it also takes place in another world. This idea is made explicit when Oberon asks Bohan "why thou dwellest in a tomb and leavest the world."[36] The landscape that audiences are asked to imagine is marked by the physical presence of the tomb "placed conveniently on stage."[37] Likely drawing from the allegorical representation of Revenge in *The Spanish Tragedy,* Oberon's presence in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* establishes a tradition of allowing preternatural creatures, such as fairies, who exist within the secondary universe, to step "away" from the dramatic world and enter a transitional space.[38]

If we understand the history of the fairy figure in dramatic works as increasingly tied to metatheatrically interrelated landscapes, it is no surprise that *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* opens with a reflection on the role of art. At the beginning of the play, Earl Lassenberg of Germany[39] has disguised himself as Cornelius, a “mercenary painter.”[40] Famous for his skill as a painter, but yet unrecognized in his disguise, Lassenberg boards at Flores’ house (Lucilia’s father) in order to stay close to Lucilia[41] without her father’s knowledge. He lodges as a bedfellow with Flores’ servant, Haunce, but reportedly goes to see the fairies at night instead of sleeping. When Flores throws a banquet to entertain the visiting Prince Alberdure (hoping to marry Alberdure to his other daughter Cornelia), Lassenberg’s disguise is revealed. Alberdure’s servant Motto recognizes Lassenberg’s style in the painting of Lucilia, particularly in its otherworldly and “antick” composition.[42] Thus exposed, Flores insists that Lassenberg and Lucilia marry. A chase ensues much like in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* as Lucilia follows Lassenberg into the forest. In a subplot, a Peasant stumbles across a hill in the woods, where the fairies are having a banquet and absconds with a magic cup moments before Lassenberg and Lucilia enter the scene. Lassenberg and Lucilia are detained by this band of fairies, who are under the control of an enchanter. The enchanter falls in love with Lucilia and tries to cast a spell to make her forget her love for Lassenberg. The enchanter’s spell and the fairy hill are dissolved by Flores’ ring as he enters led by the Peasant, both hoping to steal more treasure from the fairies.

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[35] Greene, *The Scottish History of James The Fourth*, Induction, 103-5.

[36] Greene, *The Scottish History*, Induction, 38-9.

[37] Greene, *The Scottish History*, original stage direction, Induction.

[38] The frame story of *The Spanish Tragedy* would have been widely familiar to audiences. The play was "one of the most popular and influential of plays in its own day." Philip Edwards, introduction to *The Spanish Tragedy,* by Thomas Kyd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), l.

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[39] Throughout the 1600 edition of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, various spellings of the name appear (Lassingbergh, Lassengbergh, Lassenbergh, Lassinbererge). I use the spelling from Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, which suggests that Lassenberg is the Earl in Prussia. Further support for this spelling is the presence in the play of Earl Hardenberg from the Low Countries (modern-day Netherlands). These details position the play as set loosely in actual early modern territories. While I have maintained most of the idiosyncrasies of the spelling, I have made the names of characters uniform across all quotes for clarity. Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 4, no. 1227.

[40] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, A3v. The play is sometimes attributed to George Peele.

[41] Also spelled Lucillia, and in one instance Lucia.

[42] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, A3v.

Lassenberg's vocation as a painter creates an invisible frame story around the rest of the plot. The play opens with Lassenberg and Lucilia on stage; Lucilia is engaged in her needlework and Lassenberg is in the process of painting her in that posture. Through Lassenberg's conversation with Lucilia, the audience is acquainted with Lassenberg's assumed role of Cornelius. As Lassenberg paints Lucilia, he offers the following defense for both the occupation of the artist and the role of art:

> A Painter faire Lucia? Why the world
> With all her beautie was by painting made.
> Looke on the heavens colour'd with golden starres,
> The firmamentall ground of it, all blew.
> Looke on the ayre, where with a hundred changes
> The watry Rain-bow doth imbrace the earth.
> Looke on the sommer fields adorn'd with flowers,
> How much is natures painting honour'd there?[43]

Lassenberg's disguise, until it is discovered, positions him as an effective actor within the play. Simultaneously, Lassenberg's suggestion that the world was created by a painter, combined with his ability to paint, positions him as an authorial figure. His speech evokes a topographically complete world from "the sommer fields" in line 30 to "the Mynes" and further "on the Easterne shore" in line 32.[44] In so describing this act of painting, Lassenberg details the landscapes that are present within the dramatic world. As the play progresses, Lassenberg moves from describing the landscape to interacting with it as he runs from Lucilia later in the play, threatening to "wander where some boysterous river parts / This solid continent, and swim from thee."[45] In this way, the landscapes of the play that Lassenberg has painted into existence in imaginations of the audience at the beginning of the play, become a reality within the dramatic world that he must contend with.

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[43] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* A3r.
[44] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* A3v.

It is not just Lassenberg's performance or his painting that take on metatheatrical roles. In the play, mimetic and diegetic arts are easily interchanged. As Caroline Van Eck suggests: "Introducing the visual arts in a theatrical performance is not a mere matter of mixing media or genres."[46] Instead, it collapses established distinctions between artistic mediums and "suggest[s] transgressions of the boundaries between representation and presence."[47] Lassenberg's speech does precisely this: in viewing the dramatic world as "painted" into existence, he calls attention to other forms of representation, particularly his own performance. Van Eck's suggestion is supported in the play itself: in response to Lassenberg's defense of art, Lucilia tells Lassenberg, "You paint your flattering words Lassenberg, / Making a curious pensill of your tongue."[48] Poetic language and visual and performing arts are working together here to destabilize the distinction between the primary and secondary universes.

Just as Puck recognized his position within the binaries of reality and performance operating in the landscapes of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* the fairies of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* are first mentioned in this metatheatrical overlap. Haunce (Flore's servant) repeats Lassenberg's stories about how the latter spends his evenings:

> We have the finest Painter here at board wages, that ever made Flowerdelice, and the best bed-fellow too: for I may lie all night tryumphing from corner to corner, while he goes to

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[45] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E2r.

[46] Caroline Van Eck and Stijn Bussels, *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2011), 10.

[47] Van Eck and Bussels, *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture,* 11.

[48] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* A3r.

> see the Fayries: but I for my part, see nothing; but here a strange noyse sometimes. Well, I am glad we are haunted so with Fairies: For I cannot set a cleane pump down, but I find a dolar in it in the morning. See, my Mistresse Lucilia, shee's never from him I pray God he paints no pictures with her.[49]

At this point in the play, Haunce may or may not believe in the fairies, and may be euphemistically employing them to suggest Lassenberg's affair with Lucilia. It is equally unclear how audiences were supposed to interpret the stories of Lassenberg's fairy hauntings. Mary Ellen Lamb suggests that references to fairies in early modern England often served a popular discourse that was used to thwart systems of social control: "Haunce uses fairy allusions to describe an informal system of bribery which insures his silence about the nighttime visits of his mistress' wealthy lover."[50] Certainly, Haunce's next comment, "See, my Mistresse Lucilia, shee's never from him I pray God he paints no pictures with her," suggests a humorous awareness of the relationship.[51] Haunce's references to the fairies as potentially not real anticipates the appearances of embodied counterfeit fairies that I discuss in Chapter Four.

Whatever artistic and authorial control Lassenberg had toward the beginning of the play in the frame story is overturned as the landscapes of the dramatic world become increasingly entangled. Motto, a servant of Alberdure, recognizes the quality of the painting. When Flores questions the author of the work, Motto replies:

> My Lord, I thinke more Art is shadowed here,
> Then any man in Germanie can shew,
> Except Earle Lassenberg; and (in my conceipt)

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[49] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* A4r.
[50] Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 285.
[51] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* A4r.

This worke was never wrought without his hand.[52]

The reality of Lassenberg’s identity is exposed through the very art that, at the outset, allowed Lassenberg to control the fairy narrative through his performance as Cornelius. Lassenberg’s embarrassment at being recognized causes him to “seeke me out some unfrequented place” and it is in this new setting that the completeness of Lassenberg’s painted world is fully realized.[53] The fairies of Lassenberg’s stories are real in the new landscape that Lassenberg escapes to. Like the place “away from the world” that Bohan evokes in *The Scottish History of James the Fourth,* the metatheatrical landscape depicted in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* is an “unfrequented” place that belongs neither to the primary universe of the audience, nor fits entirely within the dramatic world of the play.

A Midsummer Night’s Dream and *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* begin to draw attention to the fictionality of the fairies through binary depictions of performance and reality operating in the plays' composite landscapes. Presenting fairies as a part of metatheatrical and meta-artistic landscapes automatically places fairies at the intersection of the primary and secondary universes. In doing so, the plays featuring fairy characters begin to suggest a change in contemporary views of the fictionality of fairies.

Landscapes of Performance in *The Faery Pastorall*

William Percy’s *The Faery Pastorall*, composed in 1603, similarly highlights the increasing hesitation surrounding the credibility of the fairy figure in early modern English drama.[54] The plot is entirely set in the fictional forest Elvida, which is being overrun with poisonous fauna under the curatorship of Hypsiphyle.[55] Oberon relieves Hypsiphyle of her responsibilities and puts the forest under the care of Orion, who arrives with a train of three young fairies: Learchus, Picus, and Hippolon. They meet local fairy huntresses Florida, Camilla, and Fancia and express their interest in them, but the huntresses play tricks on each of their respective suitors. Similarly to the dramatic works I discussed in Chapter Two, the fairies in *The Fairy Chase* are embedded in a forest landscape, which lends itself to the creation of a fully-formed dramatic universe. Especially as the play progresses, however, the fairy characters in the play begin to question their roles within the dramatic universe and in larger fairy mythology circulating throughout the primary universe.

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[52] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* C1r.

[53] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* D2v.

In act 4, scene 10, the fairy schoolmaster David philosophizes with Christophel, the keeper of the forest, and other fairy servants Salomon, Atys, Hylas, and Sapho about the existence of various spirits. Salomon, for instance, wants to know if "Kelowe," is a real or not, probably referring to the family name of a deceased local hero.[56] David dismisses the reference to Kelowe as "an idole, a chimaera." Christophel, on the other hand, suggests Kelowe is related to the ghosts of the Roman *Siccius Dentatus* tradition.[57] Atys offers philosophical analysis of the function and form of mythology, suggesting that the figure is hyper-real: “I say he is above a Thing, for he is compact of many Things.” Although David has previously dismissed the idea, as he drifts off to sleep, he suggests he knows “a charme will fetch him,” presumably from beyond the grave. The fairies’ witty replies to one another demonstrate a range of possible attitudes toward and explanations about the origins of preternatural beings. Debating about which entities are a “thing,” “no thing,” or “above a thing” makes not only for a humorous conversation, but also for an important debate about the nature of mythology itself. At its core, their discussion is about the composition and construction of the dramatic universe that surrounds them. Especially since some traditions involving the fairies suggested that fairies were the spirits of deceased ancestors, the conversation between fairies on stage about the reality of such ancestral spirits begins to draw attention to the world of the fairies as fictional.

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[54] Two substantive versions of the manuscript appear, offering several alternative titles, including *The Fairy Chase* and *A Fairy Hunt in Elvida.* Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642,* vol. 5, no. 1401. The text survives in relatively few forms and the only other notable edition of the text is: William Percy, *The Cuck Queanes and Cuckolds Errants or The Bearing Down the Inne. A Comoedye. The Faery Pastorall, or Forrest of Elves,* Ed. Joseph Haslewood (London: Roxburge Club, 1824). As noted previously, all citations refer to Percy William, *The Faery Pastorall*, in Robert Denzell Fenn, "William Percy's Faery Pastorall: An Old Spelling Edition" (PhD Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1997). I refer to this edition because it is the only substantive version that gives attention to both manuscripts and has marked line numbers.

[55] Alternatively spelled Hypsiphile

[56] If Kelowe referred to a specific individual or tradition, the reference seems to be now lost to a contemporary reader. Early bearers of the name Kelowe include William Kelowe in 1524 from Helston, Cornwall. Patrick Hanks, Richard Coates, and Peter McClure, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), n. "Kelowe." https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199677764.001.0001. Diane Purkiss suggests the importance of family names in relationship to the landscapes they are buried within. Particularly "in Celtic areas, the clan system preserved intact the idea of a powerful, though dead, male ancestor who gives name and identity to everyone in the clan… A memory was also preserved in the mounds as places of the dead, places where powerful dead might impart virtue to the surrounding countryside, long after the names of their original inhabitants were forgotten." *Troublesome Things,* 70.

Their conversation is implicitly metatheatrical, drawing attention to the various levels of reality inscribed onto the landscapes of the dramatic universe. However, the subtle suggestions of the opening dialogue are substantiated as Christophel suddenly asks the others, “I wonder if there be Faeryes?”[58] Atys replies incredulously, “A butcher looked about for the knife he held in his mouth, and he a Faery himself enquireth whither there be any.” Christophel’s question, whether or not “there be faeryes” appears out of place in a play that has previously depicted a seemingly cohesive and self-sufficient dramatic universe populated exclusively by fairy characters. However, the question points beyond the reality of the dramatic universe. As Burt O.

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[57] The *Siccius Dentatus* that Christophel suggests is “a tradition which perhaps derives from Varro celebrates the numerous military campaigns, exploits, wounds, and honours of this legendary ‘Roman Achilles.’” Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3 rev. edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[58] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 4.10.20.

States notes about the nature of theatrical performance, “the actor takes us *into* a world within a world itself. At the bottom, it is not a matter of the illusory, the memetic, or the representational, but a certain kind of *actual,* of having something before one’s vision –and in the theater one’s hearing.” Christophel’s musings then, are not simply about the world presented as real within the text. Instead, they point to theater’s ability to evoke fairies that are in dialogue with the composite landscapes that surround them, questioning their place in the constructs of the performance and reality.

Atys’ seemingly dismissive reply that “a faery himself enquireth whither there be any” offers an equally interesting philosophical point about the nature of reality within the construct of theatrical performance. Atys’ evidence for the existence of fairies ironically implies that he himself is a fairy. Of course, in the context of the performance, indicating the presence of a fairy character on stage simultaneously evokes the physical presence of the actor portraying the fairy (States’ “certain kind of actual”) and the fairy figure in the fiction of the play. Indeed, Atys’ dismissal does not seem to fully substantiate claims for the existence of fairies, because each of the other characters proceeds to offer additional evidence. The additional evidence they offer further embeds the fairy characters within the composite landscapes of the performance. As proof, Sapho begins a story saying, “for to assure you there be Faeryes, I will tell you what I did myself gentlemen.” He then describes how he transformed himself into a fly and “fell into an old woman’s cherne, where with the mylke so long did I piddle […] they could not bring him to butter all.”[59] Following suit, Atys replies with the details of his own story, saying “I fell into a barbers bolle in forme of a crab, where so long I bobd against the Mouth of him between wind and water, that in spite of his nose […] he went to bed sober as he sat down.”[60] These stories that supposedly substantiate the existence of fairies, are strikingly similar to those told about Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Puck is described as the spirit who "Skim[s the] milk, and sometimes labour[s] in the quern / And bootless make the breathless housewife churn; / And sometime[s] make the drink to bear no barm."[61] A few lines later, Puck continues:

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[59] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 4.10.169-70.
[60] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 4.10.170.

> And sometime lurk I in a gossip's bowl,
> In very likeness of a roasted crab,
> And when she drinks, against her lips I bob
> And on her wither'd dewlap pour the ale.[62]

By the time Percy was composing *The Faery Pastorall*, the dramatic pastoral genre was a relatively dated form. Percy's play draws most of its influences from the 1590s, leading Fenn to suggest that "Percy was clearly not concerned with what was happening on the English public stage [at the time] when he wrote his plays."[63] Percy's plays are demonstrably influenced by Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* in particular. In having the fairies in *The Faery Pastorall* repeat narratives similar to those that Puck tells in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* in order "to assure you there be faeryes," Percy metatheatrically points to theater's role in spreading and substantiating fairy lore. More importantly, however, the stories about fairies in both *The Faery Pastorall* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* provide magical ascriptions to otherwise perfectly normal occurrences such as spilling drink and spoiling batches of cream. In this way, the "proof" of fairy existence mocks the self-referential nature of fairy stories and demonstrates the increasingly tenuous place of fairies as credible entities within the primary universe.

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[61] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.36-8.
[62] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.47-50.
[63] Fenn, "William Percy's Faery Pastorall," 37.

Microscopic and Universal Landscapes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

The fairies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* and *The Faery Pastorall* are all depicted as physically small and critics have been quick to point to this as an Elizabethan (and particularly Shakespearean) innovation.[64] Furthermore, scholars are divided on how the size of the fairies affects the interpretation of these characters. For instance, Diane Purkiss suggests that the smaller size of the fairies in the plays (she focuses particularly on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) began "the job of sweetening and simplifying the fairies," which ultimately divorces depictions of fairies from their more credible predecessors.[65] Briggs, on the other hand, defends the idea that the depiction of fairies as small did not ruin the verisimilitude of their power, suggesting that the fairies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* are still "creatures of another order, but definite, clear-cut and natural, with none of that flimsy quality that strikes one in later fairy stories; They are not human beings made small, Titania… is every millimetre a fairy queen." Instead, Briggs accuses later authors such Drayton, Browne, and Herrick for miniaturizing the fairies by "writing fantasies on littleness."[66] Here, however, Briggs points to a larger concern with the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* and *The Faery Pastorall* at the turn of the seventeenth century*:* they are at the crux of a central issue of fictionality that is still being debated by scholars. I suggest that the landscapes that the fairies are able to interact with due to their smaller size is contradicted by the physical restrictions of the early modern theater. I argue that the four plays I examine in this chapter embrace this contradiction, portraying the fairies in both expansive universal and confining microscopic landscapes simultaneously.

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[64] Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the depiction Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet* are frequently cited as evidence for Shakespeare's diminutive fairies. Mercutio describes Mab in I.4.1.4.55-8

> She is the fairies' midwife, and she comes
> In shape no bigger than an agate stone
> On the forefinger of an alderman,
> Drawn with a team of little atomi.

[65] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 181.

[66] Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck,* 47; 56.

In earlier depictions of the fairies, such as those in *Endymion,* fairy magic permeates every landscape of the dramatic world. For example, when Endymion is placed under an enchanted sleep, Cynthia, the goddess of the moon, dispatches various servants across the world to seek a cure. Endymion rests for forty years guarded by the fairies, who watch over him from the vantage point of the stars. In contrast, the fairy magic of the later plays such as *The Alchemist* is limited and confined to small, indoor spaces, if it can be called magic at all. Dapper, in trying to win the favor of the fairy queen, is gagged, wrapped up in a petticoat, and locked up within the house for the majority of the play. Within the urban landscape of this play, the power of the fairy queen (real or imagined) is limited to this tiny interior space. The fairies in the four plays I examine in this chapter function in a landscape that is located between these two extremes. While the fairies of these plays are confined to miniature landscapes, each play specifically points to the place of the miniature landscape within the larger and boundless landscapes of the play. In his analysis of visual perception in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Adam Rzepka terms this miniature world of the fairies the microsphere.[67] I suggest that neither of these polarized depictions of landscapes is able to exist physically on the early modern stage and therefore both function simultaneously to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the microsphere within the larger constructs of the dramatic world.

A Midsummer Night's Dream is illustrative of how the microsphere operates within the three dramatic universes I examine in this chapter. In the first scene of the play featuring fairies

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[67] Adam Rzepka, "'How Easy is a Bush Supposed a Bear?': Differentiating Imaginative Production in *A Midsummer Night's Dream," Shakespeare Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 324.

(act 2, scene 1), Robin Goodfellow, representative of the court of Oberon, meets an unnamed fairy, who is one of Titania's fairy attendants. The fairy describes his service to the queen:

> And I serve the Fairy Queen
> To dew her orbs upon the green.
> The cowslips tall her pensioners be.
> In their gold coats spots you see
> Those be rubies, fairy favours;
> In those freckles live their savours.
> I must go seek some dewdrops here,
> And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear.[68]

Further details of the fairies' interaction with the landscape are filled in throughout the play. When the fairies are scared, they "creep into acorn cups and hide them there."[69] Able to dwell in flowers, Titania describes the fairies that surround her as small enough to wage "some war with reremice for their leathern wings / to make my small elves coats."[70] Later in the play, Oberon describes Titania's sleeping place, suggesting "I know a bank where the wild thyme blows, / Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows, / Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine."[71] The floral landscape that the fairy evokes is easily recognizable in the actual world of rural early modern England. However, the dramatic universe requires a reexamination of the things familiar: cowslips become pensioners, dew drops become pearls, and snakes and bats become formidable enemies.

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[68] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.8-15.
[69] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.31.
[70] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.2.4-5.
[71] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.247-50.

However fantastic the miniature world of the fairies seems within the dramatic universe, there is no stable topological correspondence between the microsphere, the dramatic world, and the actual world. Without warning, the microsphere expands into the landscapes of the entire universe of the play. From the description of a miniature Puck, who is able to lurk within a gossip's bowl in line 47, the domain of the fairy microsphere is suddenly writ large only forty lines later, when Titania suggests to Oberon:

> the winds, piping to us in vain,
> As in revenge have sucked up the sea
> Contagious fogs which falling in the land
> Hath every pelting river made so proud
> That they have overborne their continents.[72]

Briggs has suggested that Titania's speech aligns the fairies with powerful elemental spirits, and believes that this overrides the smallness and elegance of their other depictions.[73] More importantly, however, Rzepka argues that:

> Shakespeare's insistence on the microsphere here serves as an acute, clearly purposeful provocation. These fairies are not accidental failures of representation, but neither are they successful representations. Instead, they announce theater's capacity to work comfortably within the apparent paradoxes of representation it is uniquely capable of posing.[74]

Therefore, instead of seeing the size of the fairies as a departure from or a minimization of mythological durability, we can begin to resituate the characters in these three plays as negotiating the mode of fictionality through which to view the fairy characters. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a part of this tradition, similarly engaging smaller fairies to interact with increasingly interconnected landscapes.

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[72] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.88-93.
[73] Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck*, 47.
[74] Rzepka, "'How Easy is a Bush Supposed a Bear?,'" 324.

Microscopic and Universal Landscapes in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*

Yet the play that deals perhaps most conspicuously with changing notions of fictionality of the fairy figure through competing depictions of microscopic and universal landscapes is *The Mayde's Metamorphosis.* It also features "little" fairies, who use their size as another means of interacting with and generating meaning through the various layered landscapes of the play. *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* is rarely mentioned in criticism except in its similarities to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. However, the fairy microsphere presented in the play stems from Lyly's earlier plays, including *Galatea* and *Endymion,* as well as from a variety of other influences.[75] The fairies of this play operate within the polarized depictions of microscopic and universal landscapes, each occupying the same theatrical space to form the increasingly fictionalized space of the fairies.

In *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* Telemachus, the Duke, has ordered Eurymine's death because his son, Ascanio, is deeply in love with her despite her low birth. Eurymine escapes into the woods where she meets Gemulo, a shepherd, and Silvio, a ranger, who help her to make a home in the forest, while Ascanio goes looking for her. Falling asleep in the woods, Ascanio is sent a dream by Juno to help him find Eurymine. Eurymine also runs into a Classical deity, Apollo. To save herself from being raped by the god, she tricks Apollo into turning her into a male. In a subplot, Joculo, Mopso, and Frisco (servants to Ascanio, Gemulo, and Silvio respectively) meet and dance with fairies in the woods. Eventually, Eurymine's metamorphosis is undone and she is restored to her original gender. Telemachus learns that Eurymine is the long lost daughter of a deposed Prince and Ascanio and Eurymine are able to marry at last.

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[75] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and George Peele's *Old Wives' Tale* (1595) were sources for *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*. Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 4, no. 1231.

The only scene featuring fairies (act 2, scene 2) of the *Mayde's Metamorphosis,* however, is not the first supernatural occurrence of the play. In the previous scene (act 2, scene 1) Juno and Venus are in a competition over who possesses superior powers. This is when Juno sends Somnus to give Ascanio a dream to help him locate Eurymine. Waking, Ascanio proclaims the potency of his oneiric vision:

> Thy shape it was: alas *I* sawe not thee:
> That sight were fitter for the Gods then mee.
> But in dreames, there any truth be found,
> Thou art within the compass of this ground
> Ill range the woods, and all the groves about,
> And never rest until I find thee out.[76]

The fact that the scene ends at Ascanio's waking is significant because it distinguishes the dream world from the waking world within the play itself. While the forest space in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* is almost always synonymous with the dreamscape, the play is particularly cautious to position the fairies as separate from any tertiary world created within the space of dreams. Instead, the Classical deities are present in the dream only, while the fairies are carefully placed within the dramatic world. It is the waking world, and not the dream world, that Mopso, Frisco, and Joculo enter into as they stumble upon the fairies. This "real" level of the dramatic world is described as sylvan through the references to the overgrown forest, and the play consistently draws attention to this landscape and its role in the movement of the characters throughout the play.[77]

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[76] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.1.226-32.

What is significant about the microsphere that these fairies inhabit in the dramatic world of the *Mayde's Metamorphosis* is its concrete placement within the woods, which the rest of the characters constantly move through. Stage directions indicate that Mopso enters first at one door, Frisco enters at another and Joculo enters “in the midst”.[78] While Ascanio is “roving the woods about,” Joculo, Mopso, and Frisco encounter the fairies at the chance intersection of their individual movements through the forest space of the dramatic world.[79] The landscape is portrayed as vast and expanding well beyond the small subsection that the fairies inhabit. Juno, for instance, visits the sleeping Ascanio in the forest briefly, then waits on the shoreline with her peacock-drawn chariot for news of his waking.[80] The play gives references to distant cities, shorelines, caves, and other locations, but the fairies are located within a small ring in the middle of the woods. The inability of the fairies to leave the ring limits them from accessing the mythological realm that the Classical deities are able to interact with.

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[77] Other descriptions include: “we trained you to this wood, / Where you must sacrifice your dearest blood,” 1.1.110-1; “The woods I feare, such secret power shal proue / As they’ll shut up each path: hide every way, / Because they still would have her go astray,” 2.1.73-5; “Little thought I when out of doore I went, / that thus my life should stand on argument,” 1.1.165-6; “Amoungest these trees,” 1.1.260; “Although there be such difference in the change, / To live in Court and desert woods to raunge,” 3.1.121-2.

[78] *The Mayde’s Metamorphosis*, original stage direction, 2.2.

[79] Meeting in the middle or at a crossroads had folkloric significance. In the ballad of Thomas Rymer, the protagonist meets lady, presumably a fairy, who shows him the crossroads to heaven hell and elfin. This choice is reproduced in Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*. Erin Madeleine Sebo, “Sex, Politics and Religion: The Transformation of the Figure of the fairy queen from Thomas off Ersseldoune to ‘Thomas Rymer,’” *English Studies* 94, no. 1 (2013): 11–26.

[80] *The Mayde’s Metamorphosis,* 2.1.136-7.

Entering into this microsphere of the fairies unwittingly, the three human characters sing and make bawdy puns, which seems to attract the fairies. Echoing the singing of Mopso, Frisco, and Joculo, three fairies then enter singing and dancing:

By the moon we sport and play
With the night begins our day:
As we daunce the deaw doth fall
Trip it little Urchins all
Lightly as the Little Bee.[81]

Mopso, Frisco, and Joculo are scared of the fairies but each human character asks one of the fairies for their name. Each fairy introduces himself, giving his name and a comical rhyme punning on the name. The first fairy is introduced as "Penny," the second as "Cricket," and the third as "Little, little Pricke."[82] Penny opens with:

I do come about the coppes,
Leaping upon flowers toppes:
Then I get upon a flie,
Shee carries me above the skie:
And trip and goe.[83]

At first glance, Diane Purkiss' suggestion that Shakespeare began "the job of sweetening and simplifying the fairies," seems fully realized in the charming depictions seen here. The microsphere of *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* mimes the sweeter features of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*'s fairies. Penny is little and seemingly unthreatening as he is able to walk on the tops of flowers and ride on the back of a fly. The trochaic tetrameter of his rhymes recalls the fairy incantations of the fairy lullaby in *A Midsummer Night's Dream:* "You spotted snakes with double tongue / Thorny hedgehogs be not seen."[84] I suggest that the overall construction of the scene, where mortals question the names of the fairies, which generates several instances of punning, is gleaned from the interaction between Bottom and the fairies in act 3, scene 1 of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* I argue that the smaller size, and the seeming sweetness of the fairies depicted in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* may be an indication of Shakespeare's influence, but it does not render them less believable or real within the dramatic universe of the play.

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[81] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.54-9.
[82] This fairy is always referred to as "Little, little Pricke" and never as just "Pricke."
[83] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.84-8.

The fairy microsphere in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*, contained though it might be, maintains a sense of permanence. Frisco's exclamation "O they be the Fayries that haunt these woods," suggests that the fairies, unlike many of the other characters that have taken to the woods temporarily, belong permanently to this landscape.[85] The stability of the fairies' place in the landscape in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* demonstrates the potency of their reality within the secondary universe and recalls their folkloric history in the actual, primary universe. Penny's name, for instance, recalls a denominational minuteness of a coin, but also the tradition in folklore that fairies were known to leave money or jewels for mortals whom they favored.[86] Money from the fairies (especially money found outdoors) was often a guise for more illicit transactions and connoted money that was "neither earned nor stolen." [87] This, of course, happens in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, when Haunce recognizes the fairy money given to him as a reward for his silence regarding the affair between Lassenberg and Lucilia. This model is reversed and perverted in later plays such as *The Alchemist* and *The Valiant Welshman,* where mortals tend to pay prostitute "fairies" for sexual services.

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[84] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.9-10.
[85] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.61.
[86] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 114-57; Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck,* passim. There was a particular tradition that fairies would reward good housework by leaving money in servants' shoes. See Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft,* passim.
[87] Mary Ellen Lamb suggests that the money the Old Shepard finds alongside the "fairy changeling" Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* describes the recognized conditions of her parentage. The Old Shepard recognizes that "the money represents payment, presumably by the mother, to whichever stranger would rear the infant." Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 284.

Folkloric tradition also indicated that, however sweet the fairies might seem, accepting fairy money could be dangerous. As Michael Ostling and Richard Forest point out, fairies are most commonly associated with certain activities in folklore: they "occasionally *leave* money…and more frequently *take* human beings."[88] In other words, accepting supposed fairy money often caused the recipient to go missing. This connection adds a new layer to Mopso's reluctance to allow the fairies to play music for them, even when the fairy insists "it shall not cost you a Penny." Gifts from the fairies, even if it does not come with hidden costs to the receiver, are traditionally enchanted. The fairies' "ability to change shape meant that their appearance could not be trusted. Likewise, 'fairy money' was worthless and 'fairy gold' fooled the eye."[89] While the dream of the mythological world presented to Ascanio offers him "more truth" in finding Eurymine, there is the sense that the dramatic universe of *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* itself is not to be trusted. Penny, just like found fairy money, will not stay and "cannot be pursed." Penny's name and his presence as a small figure within the expansive secondary universe speak to an underlying folklore of which the human characters are aware. While Penny is small, his surroundings are still recognized to have a mythological potency by the characters within the dramatic world, which still inspires a real hesitation in the interactions between the fairies and the mortals. By mapping the traditions of the primary universe onto the landscape of the secondary universe, fairies are recognizable as familiar and credible entities.

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[88] Ostling and Forest, "'Goblins, owles and sprites,'" 557. Italics indicated by the text.
[89] Oldridge, "Fairies and the Devil," 3.

The microsphere in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* thus demonstrates the changing mode of fictionality operating in the three plays I examine in this chapter. On one hand, the microsphere of the fairies is located within the forests of the vast outdoor landscapes. This is the kind of landscape that, in Pavel's words, has "more weight and stability than the mortals' spaces."[90] On the other hand, this mythological forest landscape represents a place where, according to traditional fairy lore, one finds small denominations of money connoting an already established human presence that expands beyond the microsphere of the fairies in the dramatic universe.

The microsphere's containment and separation from the rest of the world of the play indicated that the fairies were more and more frequently a product of an urban audiences' fantasies rather than a part of the primary universe. This included, or perhaps especially indicated, sexual fantasy. From Joculo, Mopso, and Frisco's entrance, the scene is full of sexual innuendos, which further increases the probability that Penny's name has a commercial and simultaneously erotic undertone. Little, little Pricke underscores the occasionally predatory nature of fairies' sexual advances. He waits for when "I feele a gyrle asleep" and then he "byte[s] her like a flee."[91] The threat of fairy pinches or bites, however small, evokes the accounts of sexual assault attributed to fairies that were, in reality "ordinary and sordid encounters at a time when serving girls were often perceived as fair sexual game by their masters."[92] The three boys who encounter the fairies in *The Mayde's Metamorphosi*s are in turn threatened "oh you must needs daunce and sing: / which if you refuse to doo, / We will pinch you black and blew."[93] The rhyme indicates the weight of bodily harm that fairies could supposedly carry. Joculo, Mopso, and Frisco's escape without pinches in return for their cooperation in the dance. After their encounter with the fairies, the boys reappear in act 3, scene 2 a little lost, asking one another "where hast thou been frisking?"[94] The question is never answered and the play gives no further references to where the boys have been. There is a sense that the place they have visited is outside the dramatic world and hence somehow ineffable.

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[90] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 77.
[91] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.93; 96.
[92] Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 286.
[93] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.101-3.

This instance of fairy abduction is, despite the threat of violence voiced by the fairies, much lighter in tone than the examples recorded in fairy lore. Regina Buccola cites ballads featuring fairies, providing insight into fairy abductions of the past: "The ballad of Tam Lane thus records an array of sexual abductions linked to the fairy realm… All such narratives, of course, provide supernatural explanations for the quite natural events of illegitimate pregnancies or instances of sexual incontinence." Sexual abductions by so-called fairies could often be cases of assault, rape, murder, and dismemberment. As Reginald Scot claimed, people taken by fairies "have been found lying in some Meddow or Mountain bereaved of their sences, and commonly of one of their Members to boot."[95] The potentially dark threat of fairy violence is never realized in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* as the plot remains within the bounds of comedy.

Lyly uses the binary depictions of microscopic and universal landscapes to create a hierarchy of otherworldly creatures within the dramatic world. *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* features two different types of non-human beings: the fairies and the Classical deities. Unlike the Classical deities I discussed earlier in this chapter, the fairies remain contained within their microsphere. Their static location within the forest landscape is connected with the fairy ring created by the pattern of their dancing:[96]

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[94] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 3.2.10.

[95] Scot's use of the word "members" indicates that people who have been abducted by the fairies have been found dismembered or disfigured. Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, 51.

> Round about, round about, in a fine Ring a:
> Thus we daunce, thus we dance, and thus we sing a.
> Trip and go, too and fro, over this Greene a:
> Al about, in and out, for our brave Queene a.[97]

The fairies are attached to the microsphere within the dramatic world, while the Classical deities possess the power to invade the dramatic world with more potent force.

The fairies are furthermore contained in the microsphere through the bodies of the child actors who portrayed them in the original productions. In all three plays, fairies would have most likely been played by children.[98] In *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* the references to the "little urchins" and the sexual innuendos throughout the scene reflect that the play was written with a children's company in mind. Edel Lamb argues:

> Size, age, and the correlation between child players and adult parts are crucial concerns on the stages of the Children of Paul's and the Children of the Chapel in the early years of their revivals. The disparity between the children and youths in their pre- and early teenage years that formed these companies in 1599 and 1600 and the adult parts they were required to perform would have been striking, particularly in the Blackfriars

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[96] In fairy lore, naturally occurring circular spaces (such as mushroom rings and hills) marked the boundary of fairy spaces. As Latham suggests, early modern superstition "forbade any mortal invasion of that part of the earth which fairies chose to occupy, especially the rings which enclosed their dancing places. So well recognized was the ban which rested upon the latter that any circular spaces in England were, for safety's sake, regarded as fairy property." *The Elizabethan Fairies*, 122.

[97] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.105-9; Reavley Gair suggests, "Pearce's star pupil was Thomas Ravenscroft, a chorister in 1598, the author of The Urchin's Dance in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* and probably one of the fairies who performed it, singing 'round about, round about, in a find Ring a. He was a child prodigy" *The Children of Paul's: the Story of a Theatre Company 1553-1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 167-8.

[98] Jay Halio, *Shakespeare in Performance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 10; Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck*, 45.

> playhouse where some audience members sat on stage thus establishing a visual contrast between the bodies of the adult audience and the children players.[99]

The term "little" occurs frequently in the fairy encounters in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* and *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll.*[100] Two particular lines in the song of the fairies in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* that accompanies their entrance refer to them as little: "Trip it little urchins all: / lightly as the little Bee."[101] This is confirmed by human characters a few lines later, when Joculo asks, "I pray you, you prettie little fellow, what's your name?"[102] In *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* the Peasant who walks across the fairy banquet realizes that he has been spotted by the fairies and exclaims, "Gods ad, a fine little Dapper fellow has spyed me: what will he doo?"[103] This term is not used to describe the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* and instead, the smallness of the fairies is implied through their relationship with the landscape. [104]

Microscopic and Universal Landscapes in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*

The fairy microsphere in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* is located in a specific place: the fairy cave at the bottom of a green hill. Unique to this play, the human characters are able to return to and often explicitly seek out the fairies throughout the text. Static topographical landmarks including a hill and a cave allow the characters to do this. The first fairy encounter of the play is accidental when the Peasant is lost. However, the Peasant brings Flores and Haunce back to the spot where he had first encountered the fairies, describing the spot where he found the cup as, "in a cave in the bottome of a fine greene hill, where I found a company of Fairies."[105] In the next scene, the Peasant leads Haunce and Flores to the location, describing their journey as they travel: This is the greene Sir where I had the Cup, / And this the bottome of a falling hill, This way I went and following the sound / And see…"[106] In staging this play, the hill would probably not have been visually available to audiences, but is consistently evoked through language before each human-fairy interaction.

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[99] Edel Lamb, *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theater* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2009), 20.

[100] Little, in reference to people can mean "short in stature." Another meaning of the word, seems to be functioning in this context as well: "Not having wealth, status, or influence; undistinguished and ordinary, poor." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, adj. "little."

[101] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.56-7; one further definition of "little" suggested by the *Oxford English Dictionary* is "Of an animal or plant species or variety: distinguished by small size from related or similar forms." "Little Bee" in this instance may actually refer to a type of bee. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, adj. "little."

[102] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.87.

[103] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E2r.

[104] The term little is only used once in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as an insult to Hermia. *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 3.2.325.

While *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* seem to give the impression that an encounter with the miniature world of fairies *could* be a matter of suspending disbelief or apprehending everyday objects with an imaginative perspective, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* consistently depicts a single location of the microsphere. As Rzepka suggests of the objects in the microsphere of *A Midsummer Night's Dream:*

> Within the floral proliferation the audience is encouraged to imagine on stage, Shakespeare embeds a second-order model of this imagery and its artificial production in the work the fairies are said to perform on plants and flowers…In the Elizabethan playhouse, however, such language also foregrounds the fact that the spotted cowslip may be no more present onstage than the "rubies" [of the cowslips' spots]: they are superimposed orders of imaginative production, each of which flags a pleasurable misapprehension of its product.[107]

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[105] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E3v.
[106] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* F1r.
[107] Rzepka, "'How Easy is a Bush Supposed a Bear?,'" 320.

The fairies in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, small though they may be, have a habitat that occupies a real space in the dramatic world and can be visited again and again. The microsphere of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is constantly associated with dreamscapes and purposefully refuses to inscribe the fairies as realities either within the dramatic universe world or within the actual primary universe. The microsphere in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* also features worlds that rely at least partly on the audience's imagination to reconstruct the directions to the microsphere through the larger surrounding landscapes of the forest.

However, the *Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* seems to offer a proof of the existence of the fairies within the dramatic world by providing a set of clear directions to their location. In a plot that features a skeptical character like Haunce, the play verbally justifies many of the physical depictions of the fairies as little.[108] The enchanter who controls the fairies is able to do so through his alchemical knowledge. Directly after the Peasant steals the cup from the fairy banquet, the enchanter threatens, "I will bind thee in some hellish cave…You that are bodies made of lightest ayre…worthy are to endure, / Eternall penance in the lake of fier"[109] Even Flores, portrayed throughout the play as greedy and gullible, seems to understand the microsphere and its place within the developing composite landscape. When the Peasant tried to sell Flores the cup and describes how he and Flores might return to the fairy hill to acquire more jewels, Flores announces, "Tis sure some place enchanted which this ring / Will soon dissolve and guard me from feare."[110] Flores thus recognizes the rules that govern the operation of fairies in the dramatic universe. Previously unannounced to the audience, Flores has a ring in his possession which will dissolve the fairy hill in the woods. This brief moment in the play seems to indicate that the appearance of these little creatures is not unexpected in the dramatic world. In fact, the fairy microsphere can be summoned by an alchemist or enchanter, spring up overnight in the forest, and be easily dissolved with special tools such as Flores' ring.

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[108] Haunce has named Lassenberg's affair as a fairy haunting, and immediately disbelieves the Peasant's story of the cup, warning Flores, "he stole it I warrant you." *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E3v.

[109] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E2r.

[110] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E3v.

Microscopic and Universal Landscapes in *The Faery Pastorall*

It is unclear if any of Percy's plays was ever produced and, unlike the other plays I examine in this chapter, *The Faery Pastorall* was not intended for public performance.[111] The entirety of the play is set in fairy land in the fictional forest Elvida and features exclusively fairy characters as they move through various indoor and outdoor spaces. While the performance space represents the vast entirety of the fairy forest, the fairies possess the ability to shape shift, taking on various forms in order to interact with microscopic elements of the vast landscape represented on stage. This evocation of a composite landscape that contains both microscopic and universal landscapes in the same performance area reflects changing ideas about the place and credibility of the fairy figure.

Interestingly, Percy's play includes a series of stage directions elucidating how he envisioned the secondary universe to be represented in performance. The directions offer an extensive list of what he refers to as "The Properties," the various sign boards and large set pieces required for the performance, including a hollow oak, a kiln, a cote, a bench of turf, and a green bank, among others.[112] It is clear that Percy intended that each of the properties to remain in the performance space for the duration of the play because of the concerns he voices about the difficulty of fitting in all the properties "by reason of Concurse of the People on the stage." Robert Denzel Fenn has suggested that Percy's use of the term "people" rather than "actors" suggests he might have had spectators in mind as well. At Blackfriar's, where Percy may have anticipated a performance of his play, important spectators were traditionally seated in the acting area:

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[111] Fenn, "William Percy's *Faery Pastorall*," ii. Madeleine Hope Dodds suggests that the play might have been written for James I's visit to Syon House on June 8, 1603. "William Percy and James I," *Notes and Queries* 161 (1931): 13-14.

[112] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall*, "The Properties."

> given the cluttered nature of this play's stage, and remembering that there are fully seventeen characters onstage during the last scene, there would be little room for spectators, and the difficulty might be accommodating the actors. Percy's suggested solution for this dilemma is to omit the various properties and [… use] more signboards to represent the various traps and devices, letting the audience imagine that the actors are trapped in the way they describe in the dialogue.[113]

Percy envisions a performance space that allows for static correspondences between the set pieces in the primary universe and the specific topographical features and locations they represent in the secondary universe. While the set pieces can be removed and represented by signboards in order to accommodate additional people on stage, the secondary universe is still ideologically linked to a specific physical area of the performance space. The presence of sign boards "obtrude both as objects and linguistic symbols whose meaning and perhaps veracity must be pondered."[114] The movement of actors from one set piece to another represents a corresponding movement of the fairies through the landscape of the secondary universe. Setting the performance space in this manner allows the representation of a complete, albeit miniature, version of the secondary universe.

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[113] Fenn, "William Percy's *Faery Pastorall,"* 54.
[114] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country,* 268.

The presence of these large set pieces on stage facilitated imaginative interactions between the fairy characters and the landscapes represented on stage. When the three young fairies that accompany Oberon in his train express their romantic interest in Hypsiphyle's fairy huntresses, the huntresses agree to "serve them each an elvish trick."[115] Florida then meets with Learchus in the woods, pretending to welcome his advances, but suggests that "Hypsiphyle holdeth so stricke a watch / over mee and over my sisters, that / there is no place to fulfill thy wish."[116] Pretending to hear Hypsiphyle in the bushes, then, Florida convinces Learchus to hide in a well. She lowers him down by a pulley and then leaves him there in the water. Staging this scene places certain physical restrictions on the actor portraying the fairy figure. Presumably the well could have been located over the trap door on the stage floor. Fenn suggests, however, that "Percy probably did not have the trap in the stage floor in mind for this well since he has specified the use of the trap when he wishes it in *The Aphrodysial*."[117] Alternatively, the well could have been built high enough for the actor portraying Learchus to hide behind, but the sizes of the props used required the actors to be physically small enough to interact with the various devices on stage and, on an already crowed stage, child actors probably would have been great assets, making the fairy microsphere partly a product of physical necessity.

However, perceiving the fairies as physically smaller gives them access to new spaces within the dramatic universe. Throughout the play, the actors portraying the fairies interact with the set pieces in similar ways, by climbing into or through them. Later in the play, Picus is persuaded to climb into the hollow of a tree, where he is stung by bees, and Florida is locked into a brick kiln. While the fairies reportedly possess the ability to shape shift, none of the fairies is able to free himself from the physical restrictions of the various traps. Similar to the composite landscapes they inhabit, *The Faery Pastorall* portrays fairies whose physically smaller statures allow them far greater access to various spaces, and at the same time are far less powerful due to their physical limitations.

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[115] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 1.4.89.
[116] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 2.3.57-9.
[117] Fenn, "William Percy's *Faery Pastorall,"* 52.

The manner in which fairies in *The Faery Pastorall* interact with the various set pieces that represent elements of the landscape is distinct from the use of props in previous chapters. For instance, John Lyly's *Endymion,* which I discuss in Chapter Two, features a magic fountain, which would have closely resembled the "lowe well with roape and pulley" required by *The Faery Pastorall* and is similarly present on stage throughout the play. In *Endymion,* however, the fountain's embeddedness into the landscape operates as a physical manifestation of ancient landscapes and their correlation to the governing mythology of the dramatic universe. As Carroll suggests, "Caves, graves, and holes in the ground open up and expose the buried layers of both time and space, making the chronotopic correlation between time and space apparent without the need for excavation."[118] In the play, only a true lover will possess the ability to discern the bottom of the well. Being able to see clearly into the landscape, and by extension into the past, is a means of accessing occult knowledge – the answer to any single question. Eumenides is therefore able to see to the bottom of the well and discern a cure for the sleeping curse placed on his friend Endymion. In *The Faery Pastorall,* however, the fairies have a very different set of interactions with a very similar set piece. Physically smaller, the fairies possess the capability to crawl into the smallest features of the landscape. Instead of allowing Learchus access to the mythological potential of the landscape, the well is a threat, exposing his child-like vulnerability to elements of the landscape. While the fairies that I examined in Chapter Two generally possess an elemental control over the landscapes of their respective dramatic universes, the plays I examine in Chapter Three demonstrate a change in the interactions between the fairies and the landscapes they inhabit.

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[118] Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature*, 141.

While the three fairy huntresses and their suitors are portrayed as child-sized both in the descriptions of their physicality in the secondary universe and in their interactions with the set pieces of the primary universe, conversations between them indicate that the fairies have access to a microsphere similar to the tiny landscapes presented in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* As David, Christophel, Salomon, Atys, Hylas, and Sapho, discuss the existence of various preternatural entities, each fairy offers a narrative about their humorous interactions with humans as a means of furnishing evidence for the existence of fairies. Hylas narrates:

> I crept, on a tyme, between a Gentlewomans legges in her sleepe, in the lyknes of a Flea, she supposing it had beene a lowse caught me betweene superficies of her finger and Thumbe; when as I by reason of that small corpulence I then possessed, slipping furth her nayles kept such a Tickling […] till being broade day (as faeryes shun the morning starr) I then lept right from furth her, so vanisht into myne own Airie shape againe too.[119]

The fairies' ability to shape shift offers them an unsettling ability to interact with mortals relatively undetected. Re-imagined as able to interact from the microscopic vantage point of a flea, the fairies have a magical ability to access both indoor and outdoor spaces, able not only to get stuck inside wells or trees, but also to slip into the bedchambers of gentlewomen in order to harass them at night. In *The Faery Pastorall,* the fairies' ability to become microscopic allows them access to a greater variety of spaces, becoming increasingly dangerous to humans, but renders them all the more vulnerable to various dangers inherent in the landscape.

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[119] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 4.10.51-60.

Natural and Domestic Landscapes in A Midsummer Night's Dream[120]

The mythological power of the natural landscapes is often subverted by the increasing presence of the domestic landscapes within the dramatic world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Mayde's Metamorphosis, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* and *The Faery Pastorall.* The fairies in these plays increasingly draw attention to a changing mode of fictionality through interactions with landscape that are all at once a part of a natural world and a domestic space.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon and Titania first meet in the woods, but with the intention of blessing the Athenian Palace after the wedding of Theseus and Hippolyta. On their first meeting, Titania accuses Oberon:

> Why art thou here,
> Come from the farthest Steppe of India?
> But that, forsooth, the bouncing Amazon,
> Your buskin'd mistress and your warrior love,
> To Theseus must be wedded, and you come
> To give their bed joy and prosperity.[121]

Oberon has come from across the globe, from India, in order to visit Theseus' house. Ultimately fulfilling his purpose in the final act, he plans to "Dance in Duke Theseus' house triumphantly, / And bless it to all fair prosperity."[122] At the end of the play, Robin Goodfellow, or Puck, Oberon's fairy henchman, delivers the epilogue to the play with a broom in hand, sweeping behind the door. Several critics have suggested that "Puck's door," represents the fairies' liminal status, as creatures halfway between the forest spaces the fairies inhabit and the home space that they have come to bless.[123] It is equally important to note that the door to the palace does not necessarily separate the domestic sphere of the play from wild or exotic landscapes. Bottom and his fellow Mechanicals have been, after all, rehearsing in the "palace wood."[124] As James Calderwood points out, "A forest proper is a kind of sylvan zone between civilized and wild, and thus the 'palace wood' in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* occupies a space between orderly law-governed Athens and the true wilderness beyond."[125] That is, the forest of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* would have been within the jurisdiction of the royal palace, based on the legal regulations of forest spaces in early modern England. Of course, these laws are anachronistic for the play's nominal setting in ancient Athens, but audience members could have understood this space portrayed in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as both the wild and dangerous space of the romance tradition, in such creations as The Wandering Wood in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* and as a space connected to and controlled by the aristocratic household.[126] As Julie Sanders suggests, the average early modern audience member might have seen the forested space, "somewhat against the grain of pastoral literary poetics, perhaps…these woodland locales were also very much everyday working spaces and therefore, these attitudes and practices impacted in quite serious ways on the livelihoods of the mixed communities that lived there."[127] The palace wood was vast, but it was a controlled area of wilderness intended for the private use of the aristocratic household and the privileged working community within it. There are suggestions of a dangerous and fantastic world beyond the wood, places such as “the furthest steep of India” from whence Oberon has just arrived, but the play is set at the intersection of these landscapes. It is not just “Puck’s door” that is located in a symbolic “in-between” space. The entire sylvan landscape is a locale of mythological potency, fictionalized by an artificially imposed system of early modern property ownership. The woods that the fairies occupy in the play constitute a landscape that is legally and socially connected to the early modern household and, at the same time, is physically separate from domestic landscapes of the dramatic world.

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[120] Unlike the fairies I examine in Chapter Four, the fairies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* are not restricted specifically to indoor spaces. I use the term domestic to describe spaces and landscapes that are "of or belonging to the home, house, or household," although not necessarily indoors. Natural landscapes are those "formed by nature; not subject to human intervention." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, adj., "domestic;" adj., "natural."

[121] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.68-73.

[122] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 4.1.86-7.

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[123] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things;* Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?" For an interesting discussion of how these doors may have functioned in the physical space of the theater, see Tim Fitzpatrick and Daniel Johnston, "Spaces, Doors, and Places in Early Modern English Staging," *Theatre Notebook* 63, no. 1 (2009): 2-19.

[124] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 1.2.94.

[125] James L. Calderwood, *Harvester New Critical Introductions to Shakespeare:* A Midsummer Night's Dream, ed. Graham Bradshaw (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 88.

[126] See also Jennifer Vaught, "Spenser's Dialogic Voice in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*," *Studies in English literature, 1500-1900* 41, no. 1 (2001).

[127] Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 67.

Natural and Domestic Landscapes in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*

The first suggestion of the presence of fairies in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* is Haunce’s reference to “haunting” by the fairies, which occurs in Flores’ house where Lassenberg and Lucilia are staying. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the play shifts outdoors after Lassenberg’s identity is discovered and it causes him to “seeke me out some unfrequented place” and “restless wander from the world.” Here, the painter encounters fairies that are real within the dramatic world, instead of the fairies he has verbally constructed to hide his affair with Lucilia.

Just as Hermia and Lysander escape to the woods of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* to avoid Hermia’s betrothal to Demetrius, Lassenberg similarly leaves the domestic space in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* in order to escape his betrothal to Lucilia. These natural landscapes that are haunted by the fairies are sought after specifically for their location outside of the constructs of the law, family, and societal obligation. In *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* the Peasant who first encounters the fairies offers a few more details about the location of the fairies in the larger landscapes of the play: "Tis night, and good faith I am out of my way / O harke what brave music is this under the green hill."[128] These natural landscapes are seen by the characters within the play as separate from the rest of the dramatic world and outside of human influence. While various characters return to visit the fairies throughout the play, the first encounter occurs because the Peasant is lost in this natural wilderness.

However, in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* the fairies enter bringing banqueting supplies with them, and so in a sense begin to domesticate the green space. The natural landscape consisting of the green hill and the forest, suddenly becomes domesticated through the additions of a table and cups.[129] The Peasant is consequently undaunted by, and actually hopes for, a direct interaction with the fairies:

> O dainte, O rare, a banquet, would to Christ
> I was one of their guests: God's ad, a fine little
> Dapper fellow has spyed me: what will he doo?
> He comes to make me drinke. I thanke you sir
> Some of your victuals I pray sir, nay now keepe your meate
> I have enough I, the cup I faith.[130]

The fairy hill in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* has all the suggestions of a deeply dangerous place: the Peasant is lost in the middle of the night, and Lassenberg, passing by only a few lines later, is on his way to "seeke me out some high slippery close, / where every step shall reache the gate of death."[131] Regardless of the threat attached to the places they frequent, the scene quickly transforms, revealing the image of domestic tranquility around the table. The fairies here are nonetheless not interpreted or understood as real threats to the rest of the characters in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*.[132]

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[128] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E1v.

[129] The enchanter specifically calls for these banqueting items to be removed upon the exit of the fairies. *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E4v.

[130] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E2r.

[131] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E2r.

In each scene, these fairies continue to domesticate the natural landscape around them, bringing out banqueting props and setting up the feast, even in the middle of other tasks such as abducting Lucilia and Lassenberg. Upon both of their entrances, the fairies haul around this banquet. The original stage directions in act 3, scene 3 read: "fairies enter bringing in a banquet," and in act 3, scene 5 "Enter Enchanter, leading Luc. & Lass. Bound by spirits, who being laid down on a green banck, the spirits fetch in a banquet." Later, when this scene is interrupted because the Peasant leads Haunce and Flores back to the fairies to look for more treasure, the enchanter tells the spirits "We are betrai'd, haste spirits and remove / This table and these cups remove I say / Our incantations strangely are dissolu'd."[133] During their quick withdrawal, another original stage direction calls for "exeunt Enchanter, with spirits and banquets."[134] On the dramaturgical level, the enchanter's call to remove the set pieces functions as a cue for a scene change, and the enchanter's call for their quick departure is a direction both to the actors in the primary universe and the fairies they portray in the secondary universe.

There are three banquet scenes in the play, each of which demonstrates the presence of composite landscapes. The first is in act 2, scene 1, where the Earl Lassenberg's disguise as the humble painter Cornelius is revealed. As I discuss earlier in the chapter, the exposure of Lassenberg's real identity causes him to flee, seeking out natural landscapes in an attempt to escape his betrothal to Lucilia. Lassenberg flees from banquet in Flores' house, directly into the second banquet of the play. The second and third banquets of the play are those held by the fairies. Each of these three scenes is constructed in the primary universe in a similar manner—the actual bare stage with a table and banqueting props laid out.[135] This scene would have been most readily visually recognizable as a domestic scene, as indeed is the case in the first banquet. However, the first banquet is oddly reenacted in the fairy banquets that follow. While the props provide physical evidence of a domestic scene, the natural landscape is linguistically constructed every time this specific set of actors enters the scene.[136]

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[132] The Peasant's reaction to seeing the fairies is very different, for example, from Corsites' reaction in Endymion discussed in Chapter Two. When Corsites first sees the fairies, he is petrified exclaiming, "what are these so fayre fiends that cause my hayres to stand upright, and spirits to fall downe? Hags-out alas! Nymphes!-I crave pardon." Lyly, *Endymion*, 4.2.26-8.
[133] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E4v.
[134] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E4v.

This construction indicates a changing mode of fictionality even within the play. In the first banquet, which takes place in Flores' house, Lassenberg's disguise is revealed. When Lucilia's father, Flores, learns Lassenberg's true identity, he becomes instantly aware of the affair that has been going on between the lovers. The fairies, who have "haunted" Lucilia's bedchamber with strange, presumably sexual, noises until this point in the play, are revealed to be nothing more than a euphemism for the couple's nightly meetings.[137] Just as the first banquet in Flores' house breaks the allusion of Lassenberg's fairy haunting, the third banquet held in the woods by the fairies similarly calls the reality of the fairies into question. At this point in the play, the fairies are understood to be real within the dramatic world as they have taken Lucilia and Lassenberg hostage. However, once Flores enters the scene, the fairy "incantations strangely are dissolu'd".[138] While the fairies in the second and third banquets are taken to be real within the dramatic universe, there is still the sense that they are part of a mode of fictionality that is quickly dissolving.

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[135] This would most likely have been the same table in all three scenes, perhaps with a different cloth or different place settings.

[136] Krüger summarizes the argument of Bert O. States that "certain items retain a high degree of self-givenness on stage and cannot be imitated, including clocks, fire, animals, and children," and suggests that we add the "acts of kissing and eating" to this list. "'Stop Putting Words in my Mouth!,'" 245. Within the text, the Peasant drinks from the cup, although there may be other characters that consume this banquet as well. These acts of "self-givenness," especially when repeated throughout the play, call the primary universe into sharp relief. That is, the act of eating cannot be acted. The body of the actor and the body of the character are doing the same action in the actual universe. For more on banquets on the early modern stage. See Diane Purkiss, "The Masque of Food: Staging and Banqueting in Shakespeare's England," *Shakespeare Studies* 42 (2014): 91-105.

[137] See Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 285.

Once the fairy enchantments are interrupted by Flores, the fairy banquet is "dissolu'd", and the banqueting table is carried away, the play shifts once again to reference fairies as though they have not previously manifested. Once again, the play portrays fairies as a rhetorical construct leading to hesitation about the reality of fairies within the dramatic universe. After the fairies disappear in act 4, scene 3 the Peasant asks Haunce to pay back a promised debt. Haunce replies, "Ill pay thee morningly every morning, as / long as thou livest, looke in thy right shooe and thou / shalt finde a sixe pence." The Peasant retorts, "What a fowle knave and fairie."[139] While Haunce did find "fairy money" in his shoe earlier in the play, the Peasant's response makes it clear that Haunce has no intention of handing the Peasant this money. The play demonstrates a hybrid mode of fictionality. The fairies function in composite landscapes comprised of domestic and natural elements. As this landscape changes throughout the play, the fairies become counterfeit or real depending on the context of the scene. In this way, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* anticipates the mode of fictionality of the later plays where fairies are wholly counterfeit and remain in domestic landscapes.

Natural and Domestic Landscapes in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*

The correlation between fairies and domestic landscapes is present in an entirely different manner in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis.* In act 2, scene 2, three fairies are introduced. Upon meeting Cricket, Frisco responds "I would I were a Chimney for your sake,"[140] and Cricket delivers the following rhyme to Mopso, Frisco, Joculo, and the other fairies:

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[138] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* E4v.

[139] *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* F4r.

> When a deawe drop falleth downe
> And doth light vpon my corwne
> Then I shake my head and skip.[141]

Cricket equates himself with the structure on a slanted roof that diverts rain water.[142] Cricket, the passage thus suggests, is aligned with the architecture of the early modern home. More than simply sharing a name with this structure, the riddle Cricket recites suggests that he indeed *is* this structure, and serves the same function—to divert water from the roof. The play draws attention to the relationship of fairies and the indispensable physical and performative parts they play in the home space.

Even when the fairies portrayed in the four plays discussed in this chapter were associated with the natural and untamed landscapes, their connection to domestic spaces was inescapable because of the correlation between the fairies and the child actors who played them. The plays, begin to align fairies with the spaces of childhood: the nursery, the home, and the surrounding areas. The actual genre of literature for children did not exist at this point but, as Wall discusses:

> As recipients of fairy tales, children (a term signifying differently over the centuries) constituted a privileged group who could still cling, temporarily, to a belief system that many would be encouraged to renounce when they entered adulthood…early modern

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[140] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.77.

[141] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.89-91.

[142] A chimney-cricket is a "protective structure erected over a roof where a chimney-stack penetrates it, to improve the water-proofing." James Stevens Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

> writers projected an individual chronological evolution for elite children, who had to renounce folktales as part of their initiation into upper-class adulthood."[143]

Wall suggests that the "many" who do renounce fairy tales are the children of upper-class families, and emerging "middling sort" who would learn to identify themselves as elite through disbelief in the tales of the lower classes, namely serving women and children. In the plays I discuss in this chapter, fairies are increasingly limited to these landscapes.

The fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Mayde's Metamorphosis, The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* and *The Faery Pastorall* were increasingly portrayed as smaller and more childish, both of which were sources of humor on the early modern stage. Therefore, the hybrid mode of fictionality in the three plays I examine here, increasingly used fairies as comedic figures. Each play solicits audience laughter to emphasize the inauthenticity of the fairies, both in the primary and secondary universes, setting these audience members apart as elite in their refusal to accept the presented fiction. This dynamic is replicated in the final scene of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* when the aristocrats watch the play performed at court by the Mechanicals. The Mechanicals, preparing for their play, are led by the constantly bumbling Bottom who does "not doubt but to hear them say it is a sweet comedy" and is confident in their own success.[144] However, the play of Pyramus and Thisbe that the Mechanicals perform, although technically a tragedy, is perceived as entirely comical by the members of the court. Egeus describes the play to Theseus saying,

> It is not for you. I have heard it over,
> And it is nothing, nothing in the world unless
> you can find sport in their intents

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[143] Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?," 68.
[144] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 4.2.37.

> Extremely stretched, and conned with cruel pain
> To do you service[145]

The Mechanicals, on the other hand, are immersed in their dramatic world to the point where Snug announces that "I snug the joiner am / a lion fell, nor else no lion's dam" because he is scared that his performance of the lion's part will be too believable.[146] In this absurd interchange, the elite are established by their relationship to the dramatic world of the play-within-a-play.[147] The elite, the play suggests, separate themselves from, and laugh at, the world represented by the Mechanicals. The Mechanicals, however, find it hard to distinguish the world of their play from the reality of the wider dramatic universe.

The relationship between domestic spaces of childhood and the fairies are similarly marked by humor in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll.* Edel Lamb suggests that several of the plays performed by the Children of St. Paul's:

> celebrate childishness and youthfulness by presenting the follies and unruly behavior of youth….These plays thus exploit the unique performance context and foreground the presence of the child who is at once both the character and the player. Indeed, many of the children's plays repeatedly draw attention to the fact that they are being performed by children, through referenced to their size, childishness, and their satires against authority figures and old age.[148]

In *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* the entrance of the fairies is marked by bawdy humor. In *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* the fairies enter in the middle of a comedic conversation between Mopso, Frisco, and Joculo. They joke with one another openly. Mopso suggests, "your jest goes too low sir" to which Frisco replies "O but tis a tickling jest."[149] The puns that ensue about the fairies' names add to the suggestion that the fairies are simply adding more comedic material to the scene.

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[145] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5.1.77-81.
[146] Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5.1.219-20.
[147] See Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," especially 303-5.
[148] Edel Lamb, *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theater,* 5.

Natural and Domestic Landscapes in *The Faery Pastorall*

In the dramatic universe of *The Faery Pastorall,* the main conflict centers around the care of and rulership over the forest of Elvida. Hearing reports that the "frutefull and flourishing Forest of Elvida goeth to decaye,"[150] Oberon sends Orion to the forest with a letter, demanding that Hypsiphyle "surrender the sayd forrest together with Appurtenaunces thereto belonging to my well beloved kinsman Orion right famous for his skill and industry thourough out forests and chases." [151] Orion and Hypsiphyle's disagreement details the abuses of the landscape for which Hypsiphyle is being called to renounce her title. Their argument reveals Hypsiphyle's intricate understanding of the forest's ecology and the fairies' role in maintaining it. Orion complains that Hypsiphyle has let wild boars feed on tree bark and young trees of the forest, ruining the shelter for the fairies and for the deer she maintains.[152] Hypsiphyle replies that the boars have been intentionally placed to clear the brush because the deer "Feede better on short grass," and that larger trees have been able to thrive.[153] Similarly, Hypsiphyle has allowed an increase of snakes and toads to take care of the other pests. The lengthy disagreement demonstrates the fairies' integration with the symbiotic relationships of the natural landscape. At the same time, Hypsiphyle is similarly quick to point out that "Faeryes may alter things as their pleasure, / That if any Thing w' have spent out Tyme / the same may be redrest in twink of eye."[154] The forest landscape that appears natural has, in fact, been cautiously and selectively domesticated under fairy supervision. In this way, Elvida is a composite landscape, evoking the properties of both the natural and domesticated spaces.

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[149] *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* 2.2.41-2.
[150] Percy, *The Faery Pastorall,* 1.1.16.
[151] Percy, 1.1.15-21.
[152] Percy, 1.1.45-51.
[153] Percy, 1.1.55.

The disagreement over the management of the forest also engenders a series of disagreements between Oberon and his train and Hypsiphyle and her fairy huntresses. The natural landscapes of the secondary world thus become a metaphor for domestic concerns: courtship, husbandry, and the balance of male and female authority and autonomy. Unwilling to surrender her authority, Hypsiphyle challenges Orion to a hunt to prove who is more skilled and promises to marry him if he wins control over the forest. As the challenge begins, the fairies of Orion's train begin to court Hypsiphyle's fairy huntresses. Florida, Camilla, and Fancia each reject their respective suitors, articulating their displeasure in terms of the landscape disputes surrounding them. They agree "since they come t'enchroach on Elvida / Not like commissioners but conquerors / […] We serve them each an elvish trick."[155] As discussed earlier, the huntresses' tricks employ various topographical features of the landscape to entrap their suitors. The fairies each utilizes the various layers of the landscape to define and negotiate the relationships formulated throughout the play through the landscape.

While the forest of Elvida metaphorically evokes the elements of both natural and domestic landscapes, the fairies' imaginative use of various elements within the landscape suggests that the secondary universe utilizes and conceives of physical spaces differently as well. For example, the young trees that Orion accuses Hypsiphyle of letting the boars eat, serves as shelter for both the deer and fairies. This allows for, as Rzepka suggests, a "pleasurable misapprehension” for the audience in primary universe, wherein the domesticated landscape of fairy domiciles is superimposed onto the natural landscape. Even within the dramatic universe, the fairies themselves are subject to imaginative misapprehension. Another scene sheds some light on the types of places that fairies easily mistake for domestic spaces. Weary from hunting, and lost from the rest of the party, Florida returns to the well in order to release Learchus and get herself a drink of water. Unbeknownst to her, Learchus has already escaped and disguised himself as Christophel in order to exact revenge on Florida. Learchus engages her in the following conversation:

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[154] Percy, 1.1.75-7.
[155] Percy, 1.4.85-8.

> **Learchus**: My lodge so nie
> If your ladyship vouchsafe accept of it
> You may command a cup of summer beere
> **Florida:** Sir, I thank you, point me to your lodge but.
> **Learchus:** The brick you see
> **Florida:** What hast done mee? Sirra
> Hast shut me into a milk new furth.[156]

In the scene, Florida mistakes a brick kiln located in the forest for Christophel’s house. Florida’s acceptance of the kiln as a house points to the ways in which fairies possess the ability to imaginatively repurpose space. Fairies in the dramatic world of *The Faery Pastorall* are not beholden to the rules that govern the actual universe: trees become shelters, wells become fairy traps, and kilns become houses. Because of its imaginative potential, the spaces that the fairies interact with in the dramatic universe of the play are never explicitly defined as natural or domestic and can function as both simultaneously.

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[156] Percy, 4.2.7-11.

Conclusion

The change of the fairies from outdoor landscapes to a composite landscape of natural and domestic spaces on early modern stages required audiences to imagine theatrical space differently. Previously, audiences were asked to expect and accept fairies in places associated with nature such as the forest, the meadow/green, or the ancient landscape of castles and ruins. In these four plays, audiences are increasingly presented with fairies in domestic landscapes that are increasingly less real within their respective dramatic worlds. The four plays featuring fairies that directly precede the rise of the counterfeit fairy in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* all superimpose elements of domestic space onto the natural landscape. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Titania and Oberon leave the woods to bless Theseus' palace, in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* the fairies lay out a banquet, in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* one of the fairies is identified by his relationship to an architectural structure within a house, and in *The Faery Pastorall* the fairies move through various indoor and outdoor spaces throughout the play.

The landscapes that the fairies inhabit within their respective dramatic worlds speak to a changing system of belief about the fictionality of the fairy figure. In the plays written before 1595, the fairy figure is almost entirely portrayed in a natural outdoor landscape. Over time, early modern dramatic texts begin to depict a fairy figure that is not real within the dramatic world it inhabits. These counterfeit fairies that arise in the plays after *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are almost always portrayed as existing in indoor spaces. For example, in Robert Armin's *The Valiant Welshman* (1612), Caradoc's wedding masque features a fairy queen. While real magic is present in the play, such as the magic herb that Caradoc uses to defeat a monster summoned by a witch and her son, the fairy queen of the wedding masque is understood by the characters to be a boy dressed for the entertainment. Morion, Caradoc's young and foolish cousin, falls in love with this figure. In an attempt to meet her, he is convinced to strip naked and is robbed of his clothes. In the space of the home, the magic that presides over the rest of the play is reduced to a set of tricks played by con artists. Ultimately, as I discuss in Chapter Four, and as the fairies of the plays I discuss in this chapter begin to suggest, this shift points to the idea that there is something inherently inauthentic about fairies that originate in the domestic sphere.

The fairies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600), and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis* (1600) are caught at an intersection between modes of fictionality. No longer the mythological fairies of earlier depictions such as John Lyly's *Endymion*, but not yet the counterfeit fairies of Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*, these three plays struggle to define the position of the fairy figure amid competing social and historical ideas about the actuality of fairies. The plays articulate this concern through the interaction of the fairies with the landscapes they inhabit. These plays are specifically unique for their portrayal of fairies in composite landscapes created from binary depictions of performative and real, microscopic and universal, and natural and domestic spaces. This layering of landscapes demonstrates a crucial point in the development of the reality of the fairy figure. The plays continually question the reality of the fairies within their retrospective dramatic worlds and indicate a complex social and cultural change regarding the reality of the fairy figure on the early modern stage.

Chapter Four: Counterfeit Fairies and Indoor Landscapes

In the final scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* Falstaff picks himself up off the ground and looks at the fairies that have been pinching him and burning the tips of his fingers with candles. In a moment of recognition, he begins to question the reality that has wholly engrossed his imagination just a few moments before, saying:

> And these are not fairies? By the Lord, I was three or
> four times in the thought they were not fairies, and yet the
> guiltiness of my mind, the sudden surprise of my powers,
> drove the grossness of the foppery into a received belief—in
> despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason—that they were
> fairies. See now how wit may be made a Jack-a-Lent when 'tis
> upon ill employment![1]

His speech vacillates between denial of and justification for his reaction to the fairy characters he has just encountered. These few lines mark a distinct point in the text where Falstaff's perception changes; while he previously believed he was being haunted by real fairies for his lecherous advances toward the titular wives, he slowly begins to see the "fairies" for what they are: local townspeople dressed up as fairies, hobgoblins, and elves.

As we have seen in previous chapters, depictions of fairies in early modern English dramatic works before *The Merry Wives of Windsor* evoked real preternatural figures. In these depictions, the fairies were powerful entities who had a great deal of connection to and control over the outdoor rural landscapes they inhabited. Falstaff's "received belief" in fairies would have stemmed, probably like the beliefs of many members of his original audience, from a familiarity with the various depictions of these figures. While fairies could often be benevolent figures, such as Oberon, who rescues Guy from the enchanter in the anonymous *The Tragical History of Guy Earl of Warwick*, they could also exact physical violence (usually in the form of fairy 'pinches') as they do against the trespassing Corsites in John Lyly's *Endymion.* Regardless of the role they played in the plot, the dramatic works I examine in Chapter One through Chapter Three depict fairy figures as otherworldly entities, existing autonomously from the human realm, and occupying real landscapes within their respective dramatic universes. However, this chapter identifies the appearance of a new type of fairy figure in early modern English drama: the counterfeit fairy.[2] This fraudulent imitation of a fairy is revealed, at some point in the play, to be a human character assuming a fairy-like persona in order to deceive those susceptible to belief in the supernatural. I argue that the presence of counterfeit fairies in a number of early modern plays from 1597 to 1615 indicates a new mode of fictionality, one no longer resembling the mythological constructs that fairies first appear in, but one that depicts them as impossible even within their respective dramatic universes.

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[1] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 5.5.117-23.

This chapter examines the appearance of the counterfeit fairy in four roughly contemporary early modern English plays: William Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597), Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), Robert Armin's *The Valiant Welshman* (1612), and the anonymous *The Honest Lawyer* (1615).[3] Unlike the earlier dramatic works that depicted fairies as integrated with outdoor and rural landscapes, I argue that these four plays set counterfeit fairy figures in interior spaces, particularly those of the urban household. This chapter examines three metaphorical types of interior space that fairies inhabit and interact with within these plays: the domestic, the erotic, and the commercial. I argue that, embedded in these spaces, the counterfeit fairy is a ribald parody of the real mythological entities that I have discussed in previous chapters. I argue that as the fairies increasingly occupy interior spaces that resemble the indoor, urban, or domestic landscapes of early modern London and its surroundings, they become increasingly less real within the universes of their respective plays.

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[2] Briggs first uses the term counterfeit fairy to describe the fairies in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, suggesting that the play "deals with counterfeit fairies, but [is] full of references to what one would expect a contemporary of Shakespeare to believe about them." *The Anatomy of Puck*, 50.

[3] The 1616 publication of *The Honest Lawyer* attributes authorship to "S.S." Wiggins and Richardson observe, "'An Epilogue to *The Honest Lawyer'* not that of the Q text, was printed in the miscellany *Wit and Drollery* (1656), compiled by John Phillips; its core substance is the lines, 'He that wrote this play ne'er made play before, / And if this not like, ne'er will write play more'. Perhaps this was true: certainly the title-page initials stand firmly in the way of any definite ascription to a known dramatist." Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 6,

The distinction I make between depictions of fairies as "counterfeit" versus those that are "real" is complicated by the nature of the theater. Since all of the fairy figures I discuss are performed by live actors, each appearance of a fairy requires the willing suspension of disbelief on the part of the audience. However, simply because audience members were participatory in the dramatic construct, did not necessarily preclude them from holding the belief that fairies actually existed in the world outside of the theater. Questions of belief and reality are therefore complicated by the mimetic nature of theater rather than clarified. As Lida Krüger suggests, "due to theatre's unique paradox of being simultaneously 'real', or actual, and 'not real', or fictional […] any thematic allusions to fictionality are automatically complicated when staged."[4] Problematically, there is no existing vocabulary in our contemporary critical paradigm immediately available to examine the differences between the fictionally real fairy and the fictionally counterfeit fairy within the paradox of the theater. As I discussed in the Introduction, Pavel's analysis of fictional worlds, for example, treats dramatic works (he includes both ritual

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no. 1754. For more on the problematic composition date of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, see Chapter Four, note 16 (below).

[4] Krüger, "'Stop Putting Words in my Mouth!,'" 244.

and performance here) in the same manner as prose fiction. He distinguishes on the most basic level between the real world and the fictionally real world as presented by the text, arguing that "since the really real world enjoys a definite ontological priority over the world of make believe, we may distinguish between primary and secondary universes within dual structures."[5] I apply Pavel's concept of dual structures to theater to discuss the interaction between primary universes (the universe of the audience) and secondary universes (the dramatic universe). Using Pavel's primary and secondary universes allows a distinction between the fairies that are believed to exist in the primary universe (those that are actual as opposed to fictional) and those that are believed to exist in the secondary universe of the play (those that are real as opposed to those that are counterfeit).

The counterfeit fairy, unlike the real fairies I have discussed earlier, is embedded in interior spaces, removed from the outdoor rural landscapes that formulate much of fairy mythology. As Diane Purkiss suggests, "throughout most of Europe, fairies are linked to features of the known landscape, especially to dangerous, marginal, or conspicuous places."[6] The term landscape is most commonly associated, perhaps, with vast views of "inland natural scenery."[7] However, the so-called spatial turn of the twenty-first century has generated renewed interest in examining landscape, as "a construct; a portion of land or territory that is shaped and given order either physically (through cultivation or building) or imaginatively (through art or literature)."[8] In this way, the fairy figure is both a formative figure that assists in defining the landscape it interacts with and a product of the "traces of successive inscriptions from the complex experience of place."[9]

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[5] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 57.
[6] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 92.
[7] *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, n. "landscape."
[8] Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature*, 2.

Counterfeit fairies, however, are metaphorically and physically removed from the outdoor and rural landscapes with which they are frequently associated and embedded within interior spaces in a number of ways. In the primary universe, original audiences would have had the actual experience of physically moving into a theatrical venue in order to view the performance.[10] In the secondary universe, many of the plays are set indoors, inside urban middle class homes. For example, in both *The Honest Lawyer* and *The Alchemist,* the counterfeit fairy is able to manifest itself because con artists gain access to a home in London. The cozenages involving counterfeit fairies are successful in both cases precisely because of the swindler's ability to navigate and direct the interior workings of home from a place physically located within it. In another example, Armin's *The Valiant Welshman* relies on the binary opposition of the interior landscapes that compose the Scottish court and the world beyond. Caradoc has several encounters with real supernatural entities on his various quests outside the space of the court, but the counterfeit fairy appears as an actor in the wedding masque inside the aristocratic home, where Caradoc holds the nuptial celebration. In this way, the counterfeit fairy queen with whom Morion falls in love is physically present indoors and metaphorically embedded inside the spaces of the court and court entertainment. Moreover, the appearance of the fairy queen as the central focus of the masque-within-the-play, a subtype of the play-within-a play structure, situates this figure on the interior of the metadramatic apparatus which governs the world of the play. Several scholars have already noted that the counterfeit fairies that appear in the final scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* also metadramatically evoke elements of a court masque.[11] From the interior point of the theatrical landscape, the fairy trick engenders real change within the community, alleviating familial and martial tensions that arise in the plot. The play is, on both a physical and metaphorical level, about the interior spaces of Windsor and the communities' interactions with foreigners who have come to the feast of the Garter. The counterfeit fairy that appears in each of the four plays I examine in this chapter is intricately connected to spaces in which it is created.

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[9] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 182.

[10] As I discuss in Chapter Two, these plays were performed within a building, either in an aristocratic residence, an indoor private theater, or a public outdoor theater (which, while it has no roof, is still a building). The physical stage or stage-like space in which the plays were performed had to suffice to evoke any landscape implied within the plot.

There is something disingenuous for early modern writers and audiences about the fairy figure when it is integrated into the interior spaces that shape and are shaped by daily, familiar, and human interaction. While the counterfeit fairy figure is evoked by con artists in the secondary universe precisely because of its embeddedness in and access to interior spaces, it loses mythological verisimilitude in the primary universe of the audience. As Karen Armstrong suggests, "The most powerful myths are about extremity; they force us to go beyond our experience. There are moments when we all, in one way or another, have to go to a place that we have never seen, and do what we have never done before."[12] The counterfeit fairy's presence in the interior spaces of the plays demonstrates that the fairy figure is no longer considered a primarily mythological entity; instead, it is too embedded within the familiar domestic, erotic, and commercial spaces of everyday early modern life. I argue that there is a noticeable shift in many plays after 1597 away from depicting real fairy figures to those that are counterfeit demonstrates a process of demythologization of the fairy figure. As Pavel suggests, “fictionality is in most cases a historically viable property. Fictional realms… arise through the extinction of the belief in a mythology.”[13] In the secondary universe, the counterfeit fairy is designed specifically to appear as a real, mythological entity; con artists fashion their fairy personae to appeal to local folklore, cultural traditions, and the specific desires and weaknesses of their victims. The victims of the counterfeit fairies that I examine in this chapter each believe that, by participating in ritualistic processes, they can access something beyond the human realm. However, to the audience member in the primary world, this belief increasingly aligns the fairy figure with prostitution, seedy sexual fantasy, petty theft, and domestic indiscretions. These depictions demonstrate a movement away from the mythological mode of fictionality that the fairies occupied in the dramatic works I examine in previous chapters to a mode of fictionality “describing events that the reader believes to be impossible” or fantasy.[14]

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[11] Cf. Graham Holderness, "Cleaning House: the Courtly and the Popular in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*" *Critical Survey* 22, no. 1 (2010): 26-40; Elizabeth Zeman Kolkovich, "Pageantry, Queens, and Housewives in the Two Texts of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 328-54; Peter Erickson, "The Order of the Garter, the Cult of Elizabeth, and Class-Gender Tension in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*," in *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology*, ed. Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O'Connor (London: Methuen, 1987.

[12] Armstrong, *A Short History of Myth,* 3.

As the fairy figure loses its believability in the shift from occupying a mythological mode of fictionality to becoming a figure of fantasy, it increasingly becomes an amalgamation of various folkloric origins. The plays depict con artists who attempt to create believable fairy figures by grafting together highlights from as much source material as possible. While the fairy figures I examined in previous chapters mainly evoked the natural landscapes of medieval romance, the counterfeit fairies’ integration with interior spaces creates a figure that exudes and embodies the influence of locality. In *The Alchemist* alone, for example, Dol Common’s impersonation of the fairy queen combines elements of the romance tradition with references to changeling lore, rumors of fairy treasure, feigned skill in astrology, and a little "supernatural" knowledge about how to place bets on local "cups and horses." This confluence creates a counterfeit fairy character that is located outside of courtly constructs and embedded within the interior spaces of the dramatic universe. This figure's access to the domestic, erotic and commercial spaces of interiority that compose this dramatic universe allow it to fool those willing to participate in the immersive fantasy of the fairy figure.

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[13] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 57

[14] Gary K. Wolfe, *Critical Terms for Science Fiction and Fantasy: A Glossary and Guide to Scholarship* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 42. See also Mendlesohn and James, *A Short History of Fantasy*.

Domestic Spaces in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

The counterfeit fairy, as far as I have been able to determine, makes its first appearance in William Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* As Graham Holderness notes, "this play is completely unique in the whole of Shakespeare's dramatic repertory in being set in his contemporary England."[15] The exact date of composition is unknown, although critical debate is divided into two major camps: Some scholars advocate the idea that the play was written as an occasional piece for Elizabeth's feast of the Garter in April 1597 while others suggest a later composition date between 1599 and 1600.[16] Any accepted date means that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is more contemporaneous with *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* and *The Mayde's Metamorphosis*, which I examine in Chapter Three, than it is with the other plays featuring counterfeit fairies. A gap of approximately ten years separates this first appearance of the counterfeit fairy in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* from its subsequent appearance in the other three plays I examine in this chapter. While Haunce in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* references counterfeit fairies, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is the first play in which the counterfeit fairy makes an appearance as an embodied character. Therefore, I argue the play is an essential bridge in the loosely chronological progression of demythologization of the fairy characters. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* the motivation behind the counterfeiting is far more benevolent then in the subsequent plays featuring counterfeit fairies that I examine in this chapter; the fraud is conceived as a behavioral correction to a lecherous community member while in later plays, counterfeit fairies are nearly always a humiliating way to rob money from gullible victims.[17] Importantly, the final scene featuring counterfeit fairies is the only instance of these figures appearing outdoors. The landscapes of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are noticeably more rural than those in the London-based city comedies *The Alchemist* and *The Honest Lawyer.* Windsor Park shares many attributes with the forest landscapes I have examined in Chapter Two. At the same time, the park itself is still within the limits of the town proper and maintains a connection to the domestic spaces that govern the play's dramatic world. As an outlier in the sense of its orientation towards the types of landscapes and spaces that the counterfeit fairies appear in, I argue that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* anticipates the appearance of counterfeit fairies in the later plays I examine in this chapter in several important ways.

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[15] Holderness, "Cleaning House," 27.

[16] Leslie Hotson suggested that Lord Hunsdon commissioned it for performance at the 1597 Garter Ceremony. *Shakespeare Versus Shallow* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1897). Several scholars have pushed for a slightly later date. Barbara Freedman contends that the play "recycled rather than anticipated" the 1597 occasion. "Shakespearean Chronology, Ideological Complicity, and Floating Texts: Something Is Rotten in Windsor," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45 (1994), 207. Richard Dutton favors a similar date in "A Jacobean Merry Wives?," *The Ben Jonson Journal* 18, no. 1 (2011): 1–26.

The counterfeit fairies that appear in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are singularly good counterfeits in that they are "full of references to what one would expect a contemporary of Shakespeare to believe about them."[18] The townspeople who perform in Windsor Park around Herne's Oak are well-versed in local folklore and use the outdoor landscape as an essential prop in creating a believable performance. As Elizabeth Kolkovich observes, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* "alludes to aspects of late Elizabethan royal entertainment in its form and themes."[19] Despite the courtly resonances, the plot is embedded in the domestic spaces of the early modern middle class household. In the play, Anne Page attracts the attention of several suitors. While she is in love with Fenton, her parents do not approve. Her father favors Slender while her mother favors the foppish French Doctor Caius. Meanwhile, the broke Sir John Falstaff lecherously pursues the wives of two wealthy burghers, Ford and Page. Aware of and repulsed by his would-be seduction, the two wives contrive a series of humiliating tricks against him. In one instance, they convince him to climb into a buck basket and dump him in Dachet Mead with the washing, in another trick, they convince him to disguise himself as the witch of Brentford, which gets him beaten and thrown from the house by Ford. In the final trick, however, the wives recruit the help of the local townspeople; recalling the tale of Herne the hunter, they lure Falstaff to Windsor forest, where they disguise themselves as fairies and pinch Falstaff, convincing him he is haunted for his unchaste desires. During the fairy dance that follows, Anne and Fenton sneak away to be married.

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[17] Kolkovich suggests that the folio edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* suggests a much more integrated and healed community at the end of the text. "Pageantry, Queens, and Housewives," 337-9.

[18] Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck,* 50.

At its core, the appearance of the counterfeit fairy in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* stems from and is beholden to the interior spaces of Windsor and its community. The appearance of the counterfeit fairies is one of three tricks that the wives play on Falstaff, each made possible because of the wives' ability to navigate the domestic spaces of the play. In the first trick, for instance, Mistress Quickly brings messages to Falstaff, saying that both wives are fond of him. Mistress Ford suggests that her husband "will be absen[t] from his house between ten and eleven," while Mistress Page sends regrets that "her husband is seldom from home, but she hopes there will come a time."[20] Both of the wives have no genuine romantic interest in Falstaff, but their trick relies on their husbands really being away from home and demonstrates their ability to exercise control over domestic space. The second trick utilizes the space of the home as well, almost to the same formula: they pretend Ford has arrived early and sneak Falstaff out of the house disguised as the woman of Brentford. They so effectively utilize both the household space and items within it—a buck basket, dirty linens, women's clothing—that when Ford does indeed return to the house unexpectedly, Falstaff still passes by him as originally planned. Ford is not unfamiliar with the internal spaces of his household; Mistress Ford suggests her husband will look for Falstaff in the "press, coffer, chest, trunk, well, vault, but he hath an abstract for the remembrance of such places, and goes to them by his note."[21] However, it is the wives that possess the ability to manipulate and effectively utilize this space. The final fairy trick is constructed in the same manner as the first two. The wives' use of Windsor Park is continuous with their use of the domestic spaces depicted throughout the play. In many ways, Windsor Park in the primary universe of early modern England was, in fact, a domesticated space. Constituting a significant portion of the grounds of Windsor Castle, the park was located centrally in the town of Windsor and was surrounded on all sides by the residential homes of upper class Windsor residents. The park was managed and up kept as part of the grounds for Elizabeth's personal use and served as her primary summer residence. In the play, the wives effectively use the park as an extension of their household space, much as Elizabeth herself might have done. For their third trick, the wives project the domestic space outward into Windsor Park by evoking images of the interior spaces of the castle and its inhabitants. They describe the fairies movement through "every sacred room" of Windsor Castle, entering the bedchambers of sleeping maids and scouring the chairs of the order of the Garter. However, the wives also physically reconstruct the domestic space. Like in the previous two tricks, the wives effectively exert their control by imaginatively repurposing the material items of domestic space. They take material objects from inside the household, such as taper candles and white silk, to physically transform the outdoor landscape into something recognizable as a domestic space.[22]

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[19] Elizabeth Kolkovich refers specifically to the late country house entertainments performed between 1591-1602, but I would argue that many of these forms and themes located in both *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and the country house entertainments are inspired by the earlier entertainments such as those that I examine in Chapter One. "Pageantry, Queens, and Housewives," 329.

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[20] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 2.2.77-8; 92-3. Mistress Page's comment is belied by Page's appearance alongside Ford when Ford actually does return home early.

[21] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 4.2.48-50.

The impetus of the conflicts that arise in the final scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is the meeting of middle class citizens and courtly visitors who have come to witness the Order of the Garter ceremony. Wendy Wall and Regina Buccola have suggested that the presence of fairy lore in the play operates in the nexus of these disparate communities. Wall points out how contemporary writers such as Reginald Scot in *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* paint the belief in fairies as a remnant of the interaction between children—particularly male children of the aristocracy—and the women and servants who conveyed stories of magic to them in their nursery days. Wall suggests, "interested in discrediting fairylore, Scot links it to lower-class domestic forms of knowledge and, most generally, to behavioral control—the moment when an earlier and vulnerable self was coerced into obedience through mystification."[23] Read this way, the wives' fairy trick against Falstaff is an infantilizing evocation and utilization of domestic space. Falstaff's participation in the immersive fantasy of fairies equalizes his aristocratic status with the lower class statuses of the women who control such tales.

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[22] For more on the material items of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and the way they relate to the world of stories, see Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt, "The Buck Basket, the Witch, and the Queen of Fairies: The Women's World of Shakespeare's Windsor," in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 162-82.

[23] Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?," 71.

As well as centralizing its action around the domestic spaces of the early modern middle class home, the play reflects on and reifies the local identity the community and country in the primary universe. The setting of the play reflects the actual world of early modern England as it would have been recognizable to its original audience; landmarks and locations present in the actual town of Windsor are mapped onto the space of the stage, offering a reflection of contemporary middle class life. However, As Graham Holderness suggests, "the language of the play compels the spectator to imagine and visualise place in a very specific and localised way, and that is the kind of theatrical space the play delineates as the scene of its action."[24] The domestic affairs of England, and of Windsor in particular, are translated onto the stage and woven into the background of Windsor landscape. The play is particularly concerned with domestic news reports and local gossip from the primary universe and how these are transmuted on the stage into the secondary world of the play. Phillip Collington has argued, for instance, that the happy marriage of Anne and George Page (and their unhappy foils of Alice and Frank Ford) finds dark contemporary analogues in actual accounts of wives murdering their husbands in the early 1590s. In particular, one court case featuring Eulalia Glandfield, who was accused of the murder of her husband, Page of Plymouth, stirred a deep seated cultural phobia. The name 'Page' was commonly recognized as the name of the cuckold who was murdered by his own wife. In the actual court case, it was revealed that Eulalia Page's lover, George Strangwidge convinced her to conspire with a hired assassin and her servant, Robert, to kill Page by strangling him with his kerchief. The murderers were almost able to successfully ascribe the death to natural causes by arranging the linens around Page to avoid suspicion. The dramatic universe of Windsor on stage is, in many ways, a parodic inversion of actual domestic adversity: the conflation of the names of murderer George Strangwidge and cuckolded victim Master Page into the overly trusting "George Page" of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* evokes the tone of domestic tragedy, which was an established type of late Elizabethan drama.[25] The play, however, subverts the expectations of the audience who would have been familiar with the macabre Page story. Instead, of conspiring with her lover and a servant named Robert to strangle her husband in the bed linen, Mistress Page and her servant (also named Robert) conceal her would-be seducer in linens, reversing the expected cuckold narrative, even as the jealous Ford ransacks the upstairs bedroom full of suspicion. Translated on stage, the latent reflection of domestic news in the dramatic universe presents a recognizable locality to representation of domestic Windsor spaces. It not only offers a view of the interior spaces of middle class Windsor homes, which was perhaps satisfyingly recognizable to early modern audience members, but also asserts the identity of domestic space in opposition to the foreign visitors who appear in the play.

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[24] Holderness, "Cleaning House," 27.

The counterfeit fairies in the final scene are embedded in this potentially macabre mimesis of domestic middle class life in early modern England. The fairy haunting that is contrived by the local townspeople is a reassertion of domestic order, particularly relevant with the influx of foreigners coming to witness and participate in the Garter ceremony around which the play takes place. News of the ceremony is inescapably present in both the dramatic world and in the actual world of early modern Windsor. Critics have suggested that the occasional nature of the play and the possibility that it was performed for Elizabeth meant that some of its appeal in later performances was its relationship to the ceremony, and indeed the title page of the 1602 text advertises the idea that the play has been performed "before her Majesty and elsewhere."[26] Leslie

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[25] Philip Collington, "'I Would Thy Husband Were Dead': *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as a Mock Domestic Tragedy," *English Literary Renaissance* 30, no. 2 (2000): 184-212.

[26] William Shakespeare, *A most pleasaunt and excellent conceited comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaffe, and the merrie wiues of Windsor*…, London: T[homas] C[reede], 1602.

Katz has observed, for instance that, "a public performance would have served as a metatheatrical realization of the relationship implied within the play.… the popular audience received the play itself as a thing produced for the court and, accordingly, went to the theater to see what the court *saw*."[27] However, the depiction of the Garter ceremony in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is inaccurate. In the year 1597, the Garter ceremony did not actually take place in Windsor castle as the play depicts; the ceremony was moved to Whitehall or Greenwich after 1572.[28] Even though the play was composed at a much later date, *The Merry Wives of Windsor's* set centralizes the Garter activities in the town of Windsor and offers a view of the interior spaces of Windsor Castle and the community that surrounds it. Katz argues that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* mythologizes and memorializes the Garter ceremony:

> On one level, then, *Merry Wives* portrays the construction of a piecemeal popular mythology, as such a mythology might be experienced by a playgoing public. On another level, the play draws a parallel between this activity and that in which the actors putting on *Merry Wives* are engaged, that is, participating in the construction of a national mythology that, in its own way, inserts contemporary personages into archaic backdrops, squeezes its official meanings into the symbology of a popular legend like the Garter story, and, in sum, pilfers as much from what lies at its periphery as, in turn, it is plucked and borrowed from.[29]

The counterfeit fairies make their debut into the world of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* at the height of the play's 'piecemeal construction' of mythology. While the play transports the Garter ceremony across the boundaries of mythology through the process of memorialization, I argue that the fairy figure is, conversely, demythologized by the same processes. Evocations of Elizabeth's Knights of the Garter and the Garter ceremony itself remain on the periphery of the dramatic world, referring outward to actual events and traditions. The fairies, however, are revealed to Falstaff to be part of the interior apparatus upon which Falstaff's fantasies are constructed.

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[27] Leslie Katz, "*The Merry Wives of Windsor*: Sharing the Queen's Holiday," *Representations* 51 (Summer, 1995): 90.
[28] Katz, "Sharing the Queen's Holiday," 80.
[29] Katz, 84.

The fairy scene in particular offers a fantasy depiction of the masque-like entertainments that would have been present in Garter ceremony festivities.[30] Although the presence of the counterfeit fairies originates in the outdoor landscapes of Windsor Park, the counterfeit fairies rhetorically move into the interior spaces of Windsor Castle as the scene progresses. At the height of Falstaff's fairy haunting, Mistress Quickly encourages the fairy counterfeits to move "About, about; / Search Windsor Castle, elves, within and out: / Strew good luck, ouphes, on every sacred room."[31] The relatively bare performance space is abruptly reimagined, suddenly shifting from an outdoor setting to the interior landscapes of Windsor Castle, directly before the fairies are revealed to be counterfeit. In this interior space, Mistress Quickly tells them to disperse around Winsor Castle. Her call to bless the spaces of the castle evokes a Garter ceremony into which the fairies are metaphorically indicted:

> And nightly, meadow-fairies, look you sing,
>
> Like to the Garter's compass, in a ring:
>
> . . . .

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[30] *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was not the only contemporary depiction of the town of Windsor that maintained its association with the Garter ceremony, even if the ceremony itself had been moved to Greenwich or Whitehall. In Marcus Gerard's 1578 *Proceeding of the Sovereign and Knight's Companions of the Order of the Garter at St. George's Feast* depicts the Queen Elizabeth and a garter knight with Windsor in the background. Depictions such as these suggest the palace was already intricately connected to the Garter festivities. See W.H. [William Henry St. John] Hope, *Windsor Castle: an Architectural History* (London: Offices of Country Life, 1913). Katz dates the same engraving as 1576. "Sharing the Queen's Holiday," 80.

[31] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 5.5.52-3.

And 'Honi soit qui mal y pense' write
In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue and white;
. . . .
Fairies use flowers for their charactery.[32]

Despite being a creation of two middle-class Windsor wives, the fairies are depicted as integrated into and steeped in the royal ceremony. They have their own motto, written in their own colors with their own floral “charactery.” The play recodifies the interior spaces, even those, or perhaps particularly those not generally given over to domestic concerns. The household, the royal park, and the castle are aligned with the domestic spaces of the wives and under the influence of the stories they are able to create therein. In these spaces that the wives have appropriated for their use, the fairies operate as the product of human invention and are no longer viable mythological entities.

Domestic Spaces in *The Alchemist*

Ben Jonson’s *The Alchemist* is almost completely set inside an aristocratic London household. In the play, Lovewit leaves his house in the city because of an outbreak of the plague, leaving it in the hands of his servant, Face. Face takes advantage of the empty house to run an occult consultancy with his two friends: a phony alchemist, Subtle, and a prostitute, Dol Common. Access to this particular middle class domestic space in London allows the three to create, (arguably) believable cons, most of which involves charging fees for various occult services. Dol Common’s appearance as the counterfeit fairy queen is distinct from the counterfeit fairies in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and from previous depictions of fictionally real fairies in earlier plays. While the community in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* attempts to emulate a mythological mode of fictionality that departs from daily human reality and has arguably lasting effects on the community, Dol Common's appearance as the counterfeit fairy queen is a parodic mimicry of reported fairy encounters that only serves to indulge the personal fantasy of her victim for material gain. This representation of the fairy figure as a mere fantasy—a counterfeit that is considered impossible to exist even within the dramatic universe of the text—is inextricably linked to the domestic spaces in which she appears. Access to the domestic spaces of middle class life allows Dol and her companions the opportunity to present a reputable business, and control the movement of other characters through the spaces of the dramatic universe.

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[32] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 5.5.62-70.

The plot features a series of cons contrived by Face, Subtle, and Dol as they pretend to set up an Alchemist's shop in Lovewit's unattended London home. Their first client is Dapper, who wants a familiar to help him win at gambling. The con artists convince Dapper that he is the nephew to the fairy queen and promise to introduce him to his aunt. They also assist Drugger, a tobacconist, who wants help designing his shop layout, and Sir Epicure Mammon, who wants the philosopher's stone. Drugger returns to his appointment accompanied by the wealthy widow Dame Pliant, who wants her fortune told, and thus the trio are barraged by a steady stream of visitors. Dapper arrives back at the house and is subjected to humiliating fairy rituals, but Mammon returns early. In an effort to prevent their clients from seeing one another, the con artists hastily bind and gag Dapper and lock him in the privy to hide him. Lovewit returns to check on the house after reports of strange visits. Face tries to deny the allegations, but Dapper, who is still locked in the privy, chews through his gag and cries out; Face confesses everything. Dapper is presented to the fairy queen (impersonated by Dol) and leaves the owner of an imaginary familiar fly that will assist his gambling luck for a week provided he does not look at it. Each of the characters return, but Lovewit clears out the house, Subtle and Dol narrowly escape over the back wall. Lovewit keeps the profits and marries Dame Pliant.

Although the play depicts several cons involving the preternatural, Dol's impersonation of the fairy queen is most explicitly embedded in the domestic spaces of the London household. On Dapper's first visit, Subtle convinces him that he was born under a "rare star" which allies him to his aunt, the "Queen of fairy," and sends him home to bathe and purify, reminding him on his departure to "bathe your finger's ends; and wash your eyes; / … And put on a clean shirt: You do not know / What her Grace may do to you in clean linen."[33] Ironically, the con artists tell Dapper to change into a clean shirt in this case because they plan to rob Dapper of his clothes, but the value placed on cleanliness also aligns with a folkloric tradition of fairies in domestic spaces. Reginald Scott's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* details the practice in rural communities of leaving bread or milk out for the fairies in return "for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight."[34] Wendy Wall traces this association between the fairies and household work, suggesting that in folklore fairies frequently "make nocturnal visits to households where they reward housemaids for jobs well done or pinch "sluts" for creating "ill ordered houses." [35] In *The Alchemist,* this expectation of the relationship between fairies and domestic sphere is inverted: Subtle's indication that the fairy queen may "do" something if Dapper wear clean linen is imbued with the suggestion of a, potentially erotic, reward. While Dapper is robbed instead of rewarded, Subtle's suggestion of ritual cleaning before visiting the house again is in line with Dapper's expectations of the fairies that frequent domestic spaces.

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[33] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 1.3.168-75.

[34] Scot, *The Discovery of Witchcraft,* 48.

[35] Wall postulates that "in its literary incarnations the folk fairy tradition underwent a change in late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England. Country fairylore blended into Classical mythology, with the result that demonic spirits were rehabilitated and became less sinister, elves and hobgoblins were assimilated into the fairy kingdom proper, and domestic nosiness spread to all classes of fairies as their chief identifying feature. Cultivated by a growing national consciousness, this transformation foregrounded precisely those figures, such as Robin Goodfellow, who were hailed as 'native English' stock, while downplaying spirits with links to German and Scandinavian folklore. Since it was specifically coarse spirits with an interest in domestic work who were specific to England, this synthesis of traditions had the effect of diffusing national sentiment into popular legend." "Why Does Puck Sweep?," 74. See also: Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck*," 12–24; Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies*.

Dapper's entire experience with the counterfeit fairy queen relies on movement through and interpretation of domestic space. On Dapper's second visit to the house, the con artists evoke a fairy ritual by circling him and pinching him, while speaking in a made-up fairy language. His encounter is interrupted when Mammon arrives unexpectedly. The scene sets up an explicit contrast between the interior and exterior spaces of the house that Dapper humorously misinterprets.[36] Pressed for time, Subtle tells Dapper that the fairy queen cannot meet him because "she, now, is set / at dinner, in her bed."[37] Dapper believes he has to wait for the fairy queen because she is lodged in the intimate interior spaces of the house and not ready to meet him in the front rooms, when in fact it is the even more exterior pressures of Mammon knocking at the front door that delay his fairy encounter. An original stage direction gives some suggestion as to how this scene may have been played in its original performances, indicating that, behind Dapper's back, Subtle "speaks through the keyhole, the other [Mammon] knocking."[38] Unable to get Dapper out of the house while Mammon is blocking the door, the con artists move him further into the interior spaces of the home, quickly contriving to store him in the privy until they can deal with him. Dapper again misinterprets the use of space as Subtle passes off his waiting as an extended time of purification. Subtle tells Dapper, he "now must show you Fortune's privy lodgings… Only the fumigation's somewhat strong"[39] Subtle's pun on "privy" and his explanation of odors allow Dapper to mistake one of the house's least desirable spaces for one of its most intimate. Dapper's misinterpretation of this space is rendered all the more humorous when Lovewit returns home. When Dapper chews through his gag, Face tries to explain Dapper's muffled cries from the privy: "I have been fain to say the house is haunted / with spirits, to keep the churl [Lovewit] back."[40] Lovewit does not believe in spirits in the house and Face has to come clean about the series of cons he has been committing. Where Lovewit sees through the con artist's appropriation of the domestic space, Dapper is seemingly certain that his long confinement within the house is a requisite for fairy magic and his vigilance will pay off. When he is free of the gag and rediscovered in the house by the con artists, he apologizes, saying "I hope my aunt of Fairy will forgive me."[41] Eventually, Dapper leaves the house convinced of the authenticity of his fairy encounter.

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[36] Elizabeth Cook's examination of the mechanisms of the plot in *The Alchemist* also notes that this interrupted fairy scene is the halfway point in the text and the height of the trio's improvisational abilities. Introduction to *The Alchemist* by Ben Jonson, New Mermaids 2nd ed. (London: A & C Black, 2004), 18.

[37] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 3.2.64-5.

[38] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 3.2.56; The quarto Edition of the play (1612) only contains two stage directions at 2.1.25 and 2.3.210, but several are added throughout the folio edition (1616).

[39] Jonson, *The Alchemist* , 4.1.78-80.

The Alchemist is unique in early modern drama in that the entirety of its action takes place in one unchanging room. The play requires at least two metaphorical places to exit the performance space: one indicating the exit into the city space and another into the interior of the house toward Subtle's alchemical laboratory[42] (ideally a third would represent the door to the privy). The play portrays the constant influx of clients into Lovewit's home, represented by the perpetual entrances and exits from the city into the house. The residence is supposed to be shut down, in the hopes of avoiding exposure to a plague outbreak in London. However, each entrance of a character into the performance space metaphorically represents an intrusion of the contaminated city into the domestic space of the home. These intrusions are constant throughout the play, but Dapper spends more time than any other character in an off-stage space that represents the interior of the house. He first appears in 1.3 requesting a familiar spirit and returns to perform the summoning ritual prescribed to him in 3.5. Face, Subtle, and Dol bind and gag Dapper, deposit him in the privy, and then promptly forget about him; Dapper only leaves the house in act 5 scene 4 after completing the fairy ritual. Dapper's entire experience with fairy lore is encapsulated in domestic space.

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[40] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 5.4.11-1.

[41] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 5.4.3.

[42] John Shanahan suggests that this would have been the door on the back wall of the stage. "Ben Jonson's 'Alchemist' and Early Modern Laboratory Space," *Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring/Summer2008), 38.

Domestic Spaces in S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*

The counterfeit fairies that appear in the interior landscapes of *The Honest Lawyer,* attributed to S.S., further elucidate the correlation between these figures and domestic spaces. Similarly to *The Alchemist,* three con artists team up to rob local inhabitants, but in the penultimate trick of *The Honest Lawyer*, it is three men who each disguise themselves as fairies to access the home and vault of the wealthy usurer Gripe. These male fairy figures access, utilize, and interact with the interior landscapes of the dramatic universe in a way that very clearly codes these spaces as domestic. The fairy figures that appear in *The Honest Lawyer* forgo the mythological mode of fictionality that made the fairy such a potent figure in its earlier depictions. Instead, access to the domestic spaces of the play allows them to operate in a temporarily believable fantasy.

At its core, the plot revolves around systems of property ownership and the function of the domestic space within these larger social and political systems. In the play, Vaster's lands are mortgaged to the usurer Gripe. Vaster accuses his wife, Florence, of cuckolding him and sells her to the bawd Marmaid and then challenges Benjamin Gripe, the usurer's son, to a duel. Vaster is injured in the duel and uses the injury to fake his own death at Benjamin Gripe's hands. Valentine, a con artist recently in town, poses as a doctor and goes to heal Gripe of gout by driving a nail through his toe. While Gripe is distracted, Valentine then steals his purse and keys and then runs into the woods where he joins Vaster and another con artist named Curfew in a series of highway robberies. When the trio encounter Benjamin Gripe on the road, Vaster spares him of being robbed, and makes him swear to protect (the supposedly dead) Vaster's wife and two children. Ben locates Vaster's wife Florence, disguises her as the Mistress Sorrow, and moves her into Gripe's house. Ben grants Rob and Anne Vaster a three-month respite on their mortgage to his father, which gets him disinherited. Surprisingly, the nail Valentine drove into Gripe's toe has cured his gout and Gripe welcomes Valentine back into his house. That night, Valentine, Vaster, and Curfew disguise themselves as fairies and rob Gripe. Gripe accuses Florence of the robbery and tries to poison her, but Ben replaces the poisoned cup and she fakes her own death. In court for Florence's murder, Florence is revealed to be living, and the fairies are identified as Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew. Gripe, in being relieved of murder charges is cured of his usury. He restores the mortgages to Robert Vaster, reconciles husband and wife, and readmits Ben Gripe (the honest lawyer for whom the play is named) back into his inheritance.

The counterfeit fairies that appear in the play are the result of an elaborate plot contrived by Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew, that draws on the fairies' association with rewards for household work. Over the course of a few days, the con artists use the key that Valentine has previously stolen from Gripe to leave bits of silver around his house. Gripe recounts his plans of early retirement to the audience including the following description of fairy haunting as part of his assets, saying:

> These three or foure nights I ha'bene haunted with Fairies: they dance about my bed-side, poppe in a peece of gold betweene the sheetes, scatter here and there fragments of siluer, in euery corner. I keepe my chamber swept, cleane linnen, fire to warme them euery

> night. I was at first afraide, they had beene spirits; now I see, they are good harmelesse Fairies. If I can please them, I shall grow rich, rich.[43]

The con artists' access to this space allows them to bolster Gripe's fantasy. For Gripe, someone's or something's access to the domestic space is evidence of a preternatural ability. Gripe contrives further evidence within his household to which to attribute the fairy haunting: Gripe believes that the silver he finds scattered in his home is a reward for good housekeeping and right behavior, both of which he falsely attributes to himself. In reality, Gripe's character is unsavory at best, characterized by greed and heartless pursuit of wealth; in fact, his ill-gotten riches are the central motivation for much of the action of the play. He has recently made sexual advances toward Florence, and even his 'good housekeeping' can be attributed to Florence's recent employment, who has been living there disguised as the Widow Sorrow. However, the access the con artists have to this domestic space makes the fairies believable and allows Gripe to maintain the illusion that he has been punished by preternatural forces for his lust toward Florence.

The con artists' counterfeit evocation of fairies in domestic spaces comes from two origins: early modern fairy lore and from contemporary analogues. As discussed earlier, fairies frequently appeared in folklore to assist in household duties or to reward maids that kept tidy houses. References to fairy figures in early modern England occasionally included the male hobgoblin from English folklore, Robin Goodfellow, and it is to this figure that the characters of *The Honest Lawyer* turn as a model for the behavior of male "fairies."[44] As Wall suggests, "Robin's central preoccupation is with eroticism and domesticity. He disrupts lascivious male courtships, engages in adulterous affairs, and insistently patrols women’s work in the home.”[45] Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew attribute the original silver left within the house to Gripe’s good behavior in the domestic sphere, outdone by his covetous usury.[46] The con artists so successfully operate in this space that Gripe continues to believe he has been haunted, until someone points out that Florence “was loose …how could we haue got in, if she had not open'd the dore? …. As we were comming, wee met this woman verie supitiously stealing out.”[47] In court at the end of the play, Florence is eventually proved innocent both of being unfaithful and of being a fairy robber. Both crimes, however, and the accusation made against her of being “loose” from the house demonstrate a deep discomfort with supernatural retribution on men for failing to vigilantly monitor, as Robin Goodfellow does, the domestic spaces over which women preside.

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[43] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer*, F2v.

[44] In *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* "Puck" or Robin Goodfellow describes himself as a "spirit," but is associated in the play with Oberon's band of fairies. The 1628 pamphlet *Robin Good-Fellow, His Mad Prankes, and merry Iests* describes him as the result of the amorous encounter between Oberon and a country maid, thus ascribing him a fairy linage (London, 1628). STC 838:06. *Early English Books Online*. In William Haughton's play *Grim the Collier of Croyden* (*The Devil and His Dame)* (1600), Robin Goodfellow is a minor devil who plays tricks on local townspeople. Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642,* vol. 4, no. 1253.

The relationship between counterfeit fairies and domestic spaces in the con that Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew play on Gripe in *The Honest Lawyer* has parallels in the actual world Mary Ellen Lamb recounts two late-medieval instances, Thomas Cade’s rebellion in 1450 and William Cheeseman’s uprising in Kent, where men dressed up as fairies in order to conceal their identities. She suggests that, these cases “expressed a community's resistance to a system of property ownership. In these particular cases theft represented not so much a crime as compensation for an inequitable distribution of wealth within a society."[48] The identity taken on by the men who rob Gripe participates in a historical tradition of counterfeit fairies. The thieves justify their crime, telling Gripe before they leave, "To those that aske how came this euill, / Giue answer thus: The Fairies robd the Diuell." They recognize that their intrusion into the domestic space means restoring equilibrium in the community and redistributing wealth seen as not appropriately earned.

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[45] Wendy Wall, “Why Does Puck Sweep?”, 75.

[46] Vaster’s rhyme details the household tasks that early modern folklore dictated that fairies would generally reward:

> Whiles thy house was cleanly swept,
> And thy conscience chastly kept:
> Neat linnen, fire and water ready;
> And thy purpose good and steady:
> Whiles thou neuer sentst the poore
> Vnrewarded from thy doore.
> Whiles thou wakendst with the chimes,
> Because thou wentst to bed betimes,
> We brought thee wealth; but twas in vaine;
> For now we'll fetch it backe againe.

S.S. *The Honest Lawyer,* G2v-G3r.

[47] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer,* G3v.

Domestic Spaces in *The Valiant Welshman*

Unlike the plays I have examined previously in this chapter, *The Valiant Welshman* features a counterfeit fairy that exists in the same dramatic universe as real supernatural entities. The play features a witch, a magician, and a magical serpent monster, each of which are upheld to be very real threats within the dramatic universe. *The Valiant Welshman* demonstrates that even when, or perhaps especially when, the dramatic universe has the capacity to support real preternatural entities, these entities exist in the outdoor rural landscapes that are set apart from familiar domestic spaces. The counterfeit fairy that appears in the play, by contrast, is located in the interior spaces of the dramatic universe. Fairy figures, when embedded in the domestic spaces of the early modern home, are no longer believable entities in the dramatic world. The play demonstrates that as the fairies become more and more integrated with the domestic, commercial and erotic spaces of early modern England's interior landscapes, they lose their mythological verisimilitude.

The plot of *The Valiant Welshman* in many ways resembles the romance trajectories of several of the plays featuring real fairies such as *Guy Earl of Warwick* that I examine in Chapter

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[48] Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 291.

Two.[49] In *The Valiant Welshman,* King Octavian grants Caradoc, his ally in war against the usurper Monmouth, marriage to his daughter Guinevere and the succession to his throne. At the wedding feast, Caradoc's foolish cousin Morion falls in love with the fairy queen whom he has seen in the masque at Caradoc's wedding. Morion seeks out a magician to arrange a meeting with the fairy queen; the con artist who poses as a magician forces him to strip naked instead and steals his clothes and money, similar to the manner in which the three con artists rob Dapper in *The Alchemist.* Caradoc is called away suddenly to assist King Guiderius of Brittan in the war against the Romans. While he is away, Octavian's bastard son Codigune conspires with Gloucester and Cornwall to kill Octavian and imprison Guinevere. Caradoc returns from war and overthrows the traitors. Codigune retreats to Rome, and Gloucester flees into the forest to recruit the help of a witch and her son, Bluso. Bluso and his mother summon a serpent who haunts the town. As Caradoc journeys to seek out the serpent, he encounters an old man who gives him an herb that repeals the monster. Caradoc burns the witch on the fire and spares Bluso after he vows loyalty to Caradoc. Gloucester wanders the woods haunted by devils until he hangs himself. Eventually, Caradoc signs a truce with the Romans and rules peacefully.

In contrast with each of the other three plays I examine in this chapter, *The Valiant Welshman* is not set in contemporary England. It takes place in ancient Wales, and the majority of the play features the vast forest landscapes where one might expect to find fairies in early modern English drama. Depictions of witches, monsters, and magic all exist within these landscapes*;* however, scenes set in indoor spaces feature the counterfeit fairy, who parodies the real entities located in the landscapes beyond the court. While the guests sit at banquet in

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[49] The Induction in particular closely resembles *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*. Fortune descends onto the stage and summons the Bard from his tomb, closely resembling the interaction between Bohan and Oberon at the start of the play. Robert Armin, *The Valiant Welshman* (London, 1663), A4r-B1r.

Octavian’s palace, the fairy queen appears as an actor in the nuptials' scheduled entertainment. The original stage direction for the masque gives very little description of the fairy queen or Morion’s enticement to her, reading, “Enter the Maske of the Fayry Queene with foure Harpers; before they daunce, one of them singeth a Welsh song: they daunce, and then the foole, Earle Morgans sonne, falleth in loue with the Fayry Queene.”[50] In the domestic space of Octavian’s palace the fairy queen is, a story embedded in the fiction of the masque-within-the-play. While the masque relates a sort of magical entity that *could* be present in the dramatic universe, this figure remains safely embedded within the domestic space where such entities are merely stories.

The interior spaces of the play are put under perpetual pressure from outside threats.[51] Immediately after the masque of the fairy queen, for instance, a trumpet sounds and news from Brittan interrupts the moment of domestic bliss. Caradoc frequently leaves the palace, and the country, in order to battle both human and supernatural forces. In fact, the witch and her son summon a monster with the specific intention of terrorizing the countryside in order to “draw him [Caradoc] to these dismal woods.”[52] These various challenges serve, on a practical level, as the essential framework for plot progression: each challenge physically moves Caradoc into a new geographical space in order to demonstrate his psychological and moral development. More importantly, these threats draw Caradoc outside of the human and domestic spaces of the play and into the spaces of mythological potentiality. The real supernatural entities exist embedded in the landscapes outside of the human sphere, such as those we have examined in Chapter Two. The witch, for instance enters “from the cave” in a “still and silent wood” and in summoning hellish charms, sends Bluso to “Enter the Caue, and call a powerfull spirit by thy skill, / binde him vnto the shape Of a deuouring Serpent.”[53] These real and threatening supernatural entities derive from the outdoor, rural landscapes of the play's dramatic universe.

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[50] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman*, C2v.

[51] Caradoc frequently leaves the palace in order to deal with an external threat to the country, however doing so causes him to neglect threats to his home and family. His wife, Guinevere, for instance, is kidnapped three times throughout the play as Caradoc is away on a quest.

[52] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* F1r.

In a dramatic universe that supports the presence of mythological and supernatural entities, the humor of the counterfeit fairy derives from the fact that she is unmistakably a counterfeit. Octavius very clearly prompts the beginning of the masque-within-the-play and accounts for its origins in the secondary universe announcing that Sir Morgan Earle of Anglesey “promised vs some pleasant masking sight, / To crowne these Nuptials with their due delight.”[54] Morion enters immediately before the masquers. He has seen them before they take the stage, and describes them in their newly made costumes saying, “They smell of nothing in the world but Rozin and Coblers waxe; such a many lights in their heeles, & lungs in their hands.”[55] Regardless, of the fact that Morion has recently witnessed the actors getting into costume, he promptly falls in love, not with the actor, but with the character of the fairy queen. Morion begs his man Ratsbane to “helpe mee to speake with the Fayry Queen.”[56] Morion’s desire to meet the fairy queen is a desire to access the interior landscapes of the dramatic apparatus that governs the world of the play. This sense of interiority allows Morion to be a part of that immersive fantasy that is a reflection of the world outside of the court where magic is a powerful and threatening force.

The supernatural figures in *The Valiant Welshman*, both counterfeit and real, are malevolent female characters who operate by drawing their victims out of the domestic space in order to harm them. When the fairy queen appears to Morion having been “summoned” by the con artist pretending to be a magician, Morion immediately takes off his clothes so as not to "offend her nose" with earthly smells. She speaks only a few words to Morion telling him to "Follow me this way," leading him into a ditch.[57] Ashamed, and finally realizing that the fairy queen is a counterfeit, he returns "home worse fooles then we came."[58] Morion's pattern of departure to meet a supernatural entity and return, is a mimicry of the Caradoc's various trials throughout the play. As the fairy queen's invitation to "follow" suggests, women who operate outside of the domestic spaces of the play are deeply problematic both because of their associations with magic and because they draw attention away from domestic threats and create vulnerabilities. Morion's encounter with the fairy queen is only personally degrading; his return home naked is a humiliating experience and a financial loss, but is a small reflection on the more serious threats that women in the universe of the play, especially those who have preternatural abilities, can pose to domestic tranquility.

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[53] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* F1r.
[54] Armin, C2v.
[55] Armin, C2v.
[56] Armin, D4v.

According to the plan of his enemies, Caradoc's sudden departure to face the serpent leaves his wife and sister-in-law alone at the palace and they are immediately kidnapped by Roman forces. The witch's son Bluso admits that the witch has purposefully drawn Caradoc away from the palace as he describes the space that the witch is residing as the source of her preternatural abilities:

> for in this horrid Caue
> There liues my aged mother, deepe in skill
> Of Magicke Exorcismes, as the art it selfe
> Exceeds the boundlesse depth of humane wit.
> With her the Earle conspirde, to draw you hither

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[57] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4v.
[58] Armin, D4v.

By this inuention.[59]

In response, Caradoc pulls the witch out of the cave "by the heels" and mercilessly throws her onto a fire. Bluso, however, is spared after Caradoc makes him swear to use magic for virtuous causes and assist Caradoc's friends and allies in future. The lengthy descriptions of the witch's dwelling as a horrific perversion of the domestic space of the palace, points to her magic as particularly malicious. In previous dramatic works I examine throughout this thesis, fairies (or other characters with preternatural abilities) similarly create domestic spaces out of outdoor landscapes. The Hermit, in the entertainments at Woodstock, for instance, has a house made from an oak tree, and Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* retreats to a bower filled with flowers. The witches' residence in "the horrid cave" on the other hand, demonstrates that her magic corrupts natural landscapes rather than integrates within them.

Commercial Spaces in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

The presence of counterfeit fairies across the four plays I examine in this chapter, and the ample number of people who fall victim to these counterfeits, indicates a desire for humans (both on stage and, as we shall see, in actual early modern England) to participate in a mythological experience beyond that of the everyday experience. As discussed in the previous chapters, the ability to access the mythological realms was a special privilege rarely extended to mortals, but those favored by fairies frequently received supernatural remuneration. In *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, the fairies grant Nano preferment with the queen and a place at court; in *Guy Earl of Warwick*, Oberon saves Guy's life; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* Puck and Oberon eventually help Helena to win Demetrius' love. In folkloric tradition as well, fairies often offered gifts to mortals they favored; requests from the fairies for specific items of food (commonly bread, milk, or cheese) were frequently rewarded with supernatural gifts.[60] Fairies often left money in the shoes of servants or housewives in return for assistance with everyday tasks and household labor.[61] Fairies, because of their supernatural powers, could discern the internal qualities of human consciousness that perhaps would go unrewarded or undetected. In these tales, fairies could reward patience, chastity, persistence, and good husbandry even when, or perhaps particularly when, these virtues are not or cannot be recognized within the human community. And, because fairies operate outside of the human realm, they do not adhere to traditional strictures regarding class and gender, making them allies to noble knights and merry wives alike.

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[59] Robert Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* G1v.

The characters in the four plays I examine in this chapter, however, interpret these stories with the pecuniary consciousness of a newly emerging "middling sort." As Diane Purkiss suggests "for the practical English, fairies had a very particular use, a sunny upside that made any danger worth braving. They were the possessors of solid cash."[62] In each of the four plays I examine in this chapter, the fairies that operate within the internal spaces of early modern England are not valued for their ability to access mythological realms. Instead, they are representative of a common fantasy: to have a supernatural ability to access and negotiate spaces of commercial exchange. "Fairy money" in its several manifestations across both drama and fairy lore, is suggestive of money that is "neither earned nor stolen."[63] While it is not unlawfully gained, it relies on forms of internal exchange, usually of proprietary or social favors. The counterfeit fairies that appear in the internal spaces of *The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Alchemist, The Valiant Welshman,* and *The Honest Lawyer* become a medium through which con artists manufacture commercial space within the dramatic universe.

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[60] Housewives traditionally left milk and bread out for the fairies in exchange for assistance with menial household tasks. See Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?". Folklore frequently aligns fairies with dairies and dairy-maids cf. Katharine Briggs' account of "The Four Leafed Clover" in *Anatomy of Puck,* 213.

[61] Mary Ellen Lamb suggests that fairy narratives indicate a form of discursive community, rather than constitute or describe any system of actual belief. She suggests that the practice of fairy money found in the shoes of women and serving people function as "an informal system of bribery" used by both upper and lower classes to describe consensual sexual acts or as a way of articulating cases of sexual misconduct in order to protect victims who would otherwise suffer shame. "Taken by the Fairies," 285.

[62] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things,* 116.

The counterfeit fairies that appear in the last scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are particularly appropriate characters to haunt and humiliate Falstaff. Falstaff's major indiscretions follow from his attempts to move, both physically and metaphorically, into the interior spaces of Windsor—he physically sneaks into Ford's house twice throughout the play, and is trying to procure himself a lover from within the community. However, Falstaff's main motivation in entering the interior spaces of Windsor is monetary. Falstaff tells his men Pistol and Nim of his plans to "make love to Ford's wife" because "she has rule of her husband's purse." He describes his advances toward both wives in language of economic exchange, saying, "I will be cheaters to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me. They shall be my East and West Indies and I will trade to them both."[64] As an outsider, Falstaff views Ford's and Page's houses as sites of potential revenue. He depicts the interior landscapes of Windsor as an untouched market where he can act as a colonizer to create trade agreements that are advantageous to his depleted fortunes—mainly the exchange of sex for money. The crimes for which he is humiliated are motivated as much by lust as by financial necessity.

The dramatic world of Windsor centralizes on a series of monetary exchanges that are negotiated within the internal spaces of the dramatic universe and resolved through the appearance of the counterfeit fairies. The play opens, for instance, with Slender, Evans, and Shallow arriving at Page's house for dinner. Directly before they arrive, Shallow and Evans reveal their motivation for visiting the Pages to Slender. They impart to Slender that Anne Page has been left a dowry of seven hundred pound, making her a desirable partner in marriage. Slender acknowledges that "She has good gifts," to which Evans replies, "Seven hundred pounds and possibilities is goot gifts."[65] The humorous and halting attempts that Slender makes at courting Anne over dinner are poor disguises for the intention behind the courtship. Even Fenton, who Anne eventually marries, confesses later in the play that:

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[63] Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 284.

[64] The Norton edition of the play glosses, Escheaters as "officers of the Exchequer responsible for estates that fell forfeit and so came to the crown." Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 1.3.60-2.

> thy father's wealth
> Was the first motive that I woo'd thee, Anne:
> Yet, wooing thee, I found thee of more value
> Than stamps in gold or sums in sealed bags;
> And 'tis the very riches of thyself
> That now I aim at.[66]

Anne's "value" whether intrinsic or monetary, is at the center of the Pages' household disputes. The Pages' house becomes the location of commercial exchange as various suitors pass through the house seeking Anne's hand in marriage. For the women whose lives are most influenced by these conversations, and who otherwise have limited power to transact desired outcomes, the counterfeit fairies depicted at the end of the play are a means of renegotiating the terms of exchange. Anne marries Fenton, the wives correct Falstaff's advances, and Mistress Ford remedies her husband's jealous behavior.

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[65] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1.1.49-52.
[66] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor, 3.4.13-8.*

Commercial spaces in *The Alchemist*

The counterfeit fairies that appear throughout the four plays I examine in this chapter present a certain extra-dramatic logic that their respective victims accept: fairies possess supernatural abilities, abilities to grant humans access to the things that they do not have and may not fully understand. In the face of changing economics and class consciousness, rapid upward mobility generated reward, sometimes indiscriminately, for an emerging middle-class population, which certainly manifested similarly to the gifts from fairies. Fairies, as the tales indicate, had no particular reason to favor certain people except for their implicit virtue and potentially hard work. Those who spoke about the origins of their fairy gifts, like those who revealed trade secrets or business knowledge, were bound to lose everything. The victims of counterfeit fairies desire to participate in a mythological mode of fictionality, a story or performance that will transport them outside of the spaces of daily reality. Their desire represents an emerging capitalist fantasy: to be able to make money, without having to earn it and without ethical quandaries. However, throughout the plays I examine in this chapter, the only people who in practice profit from the fairies are the con artists, who are able to cash in on fairy mythology by recognizing it as a fantasy that can be negotiated to gain access to the interior spaces of commercial exchange.

In *The Alchemist* Subtle, Face, and Dol turn Lovewit's house into an alchemical consultancy in order to con money out of unsuspecting patrons. Dol's impersonation of the fairy queen is one of many tricks played on the clients that visit Lovewit's home in his absence, and aligns the fairy figure with all manner of occult practices common in the seventeenth century, including divination, astronomy, and alchemy. Like "gifts" from the fairies, alchemy, the practice of turning base metals into gold, represented a common desire for mythological rewards generated out of ordinary human items and experiences. In the actual world of early modern England, alchemy was a widespread practice and belief. Elizabeth I herself was a patron to several occultists, perhaps most famously John Dee.[67] In the dramatic universe of the play, on the other hand, occult practices from alchemy to fairy familiars are each presented as counterfeit practices, and the play makes no mention of real supernatural events in the wider dramatic universe. Although they are con artists, Subtle especially demonstrates considerable knowledge in alchemical processes. As Elizabeth Cook suggests, "The pretence of alchemy at the centre of the play's plot acts most powerfully as a metaphor and example of several kinds of transformation—social, linguistic and economic."[68] The con artists' greatest alchemical acts of transformation are metaphorical, particularly their ability to transform an otherwise dormant space such as Lovewit's closed London house, into a flourishing commercial hub to their own monetary benefit.

To the audience members and the con artists themselves, the apparatus behind the various schemes is apparent because they can clearly see into the interior spaces of the play. On the other hand, to those characters entering the interior spaces of the alchemical consultancy from the outside, the trio's consistent ability to generate revenue from seemingly nothing appears supernatural. For example, Kastrill comes to Face and Subtle for a lesson in quarreling and asks if Subtle teaches "living by the wits, too?"[69] Face's response elucidates the manner of Subtle's success. Face says that Subtle "made me a Captain. I was a stark pimp / Just o' your standing,

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[67] For more on John Dee and other practicing alchemists, see: Jennifer Rampling, "John Dee and the Alchemists: Practising and Promoting English Alchemy in the Holy Roman Empire," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 43, no. 3 (September 2012): 498-508; Lauren Kassell, "Secrets Revealed: Alchemical Books in Early-Modern England," *History of Science* 49, no. 1 (March 2011): 61-87; D.E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[68] Cook, Introduction to *The Alchemist*, 7.

[69] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 3.4.41.

‘fore I met with him: / It I’ not two months since.”[70] Of course, Face is not a Captain in the way Kastrill believes; Subtle has made Face a ‘captain’ by disguise, but Kastrill takes this counterfeit social elevation literally. Face goes on then to describe the manner in which Subtle will teach “living by the wits” which includes posing as “a cast commander, (but can get credit with a glover, or a spurrier” in order to dress oneself, and the so called “commodity swindle” which “was the practice by which a money-lender would take advantage of a client in order to force him to accept part of the loan in unwanted commodities.”[71] The acts Face describes are cozenages, but the ‘wit’ in them derives from the performance. The play constantly blurs the line between what constitutes a counterfeit and what constitutes reality, especially when counterfeiters seem to be making real money.

The play from the beginning demonstrates the importance of the internal landscape to the believability of these counterfeit practices and fairies. The fight between Subtle and Face at the beginning of the play suggests that the house is an essential ingredient in their successful commercial enterprise. Face angrily suggests that he has provided more valuable resources to their joint enterprise when accuses Subtle saying,

> When all your alchemy, and your algebra
> Your Mineralls, Vegetalls, and Animalls,
> Your conjuring, cozening, and your dozen of trades
> Could not relieve your corps, with so much linen
> Would you make you tinder, but to see a fire;
> I ga’ you countenance, credit for your coals,
> . . . .

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[70] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 3.4.45-8.
[71] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 4.75-7; Elizabeth Cook, Introduction to *The Alchemist,* 8.

Advanced all your black arts; lent you beside,
A house to practice in.[72]

The house in which they work lends credibility to their project, and Face's accusations indicate that Subtle was ineffective before he had interior access to the house and their makeshift laboratory. Throughout the play, Subtle demonstrates a considerable amount of knowledge on everything from fairy lore to alchemical practice. Face even suggests that he will report Subtle "within the statute of sorcery."[73] This statue, passed under Henry VIII, forbade "invocations to find gold or silver and divinations to discover lost or stolen goods."[74] Dol points out in later lines that Face's own reputation as a criminal will prevent anyone from believing his accusations against Subtle. However, the text never suggests that Subtle is *not* guilty of such crimes; Subtle indeed pretends to use such invocations throughout the play, and hopes they will be construed as real. It is Subtle's access to the interior spaces of the play that allows him to be or to act as an effective practitioner in his invocations, both feigned and real.

The manner in which the con artists manufacture commercial spaces from the interior landscapes of London in *The Alchemist* has several analogues in the actual world of early modern England. Con artists Alice and John West, for instance, tricked a great deal of money out of Thomas Moore of Hammersmith by claiming familiarity with the king and queen of fairies. According to the Wests, the king and queen of fairies wanted to bestow their wealth onto Moore. Moore and his wife gave the Wests money to "performe the due rites of sacrifice to his great patron the King of Fayries."[75] When the Moores finally got impatient, the Wests created a suitable illusion and brought the Moores to a vault to show them “two attired like the king and Queene of Fayries” surrounded by bags of money.[76] The Wests benefited greatly from their claimed acquaintance with the fairies and played this trick on multiple occasions. These cons are extremely similar to the trick that Subtle, Face, and Dol play on Dapper. Although *The Alchemist* was first performed in 1610 and the pamphlet was not published until 1614, Katharine Briggs suggests that “the resemblances seem almost too close to be accidental, however. It is possible that the Wests' doings were common report before they were brought to trial.”[77] This pamphlet was one of several circulating that featured the exploits of con artists posing as fairies, highlighting the ways that criminals gained access to middle-class houses and money through the invocation of fairy lore.

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[72] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 1.1.38-47.
[73] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 1.1.112.
[74] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, see note to 1.1.112.
[75] *The severall notorious and lewd Cousonages of John West, and Alice West, falsely called the King and Queene of Fayries…*(London, 1613), B1r. STC 2052:11. *Early English Books Online.*

In this way, the characters in *The Alchemist* are embedded not only in the commercial spaces of London in the secondary universe, but reflect the actual ways these systems of exchange were functioning in the primary universe. In the later part of the sixteenth century, pamphlets and broadside ballads featuring famous con artists and their notorious tricks circulated widely and were popularized by Robert Greene’s “coney-catching” pamphlets. These capitalized on unique crimes, which had practical motivations for the con artists, and were popular among the consumers of the print materials.[78] As Thomas Willard suggests:

> Cozenage was technically a type of fraud, and deliberate fraud at that, but the perpetrators often escaped with relatively light punishments compared to those given to people found guilty of simple theft. Unlike many other crimes of fraud, where the unsuspecting victim

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[76] *The severall notorious and lewd Cousonages,* B1v.

[77] Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck,* 109

[78] Robert Greene, *A notable discouery of coosenage* (London, 1592). STC 385:10. *Early English Books Online.* For more on the writing of Robert Greene see Kirk Melnikoff and Edward Gieskes, eds. *Writing Robert Greene: Essays on England's First Notorious Professional Writer* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

> did nothing to deserve the loss, cozenage of people who believed in fairies often shows greed all around: greed on the part of people hoping to earn the fairies' favor as well as those who preyed on them.[79]

Con artists such as the Wests recycled their tricks on multiple occasions, but were constantly devising more source material. As the beginning of the anonymous pamphlet that describes Alice and John Wests' doings suggests, "because they knew common cousanages had for the most part common discovery, […] they therefore deuised a new forme, in which for the strangeness and varietie they could hardly be traced."[80] Inventiveness was key to getting away with cozenages and escaping with lighter punishments if caught.

Throughout *The Alchemist,* the inventiveness of the characters not only allows them to avoid being caught, but also drives the momentum of the performance through their constant readjustments and changing roles. The play itself recognizes its place in the dissemination of texts that capitalize on and only lightly admonish criminal activity. As Willard suggests, the pamphlets featuring acts of cozenage "were written and published to make money, and thus involved a certain amount of cozenage themselves. Like the swindlers they exposed, they depended on novelty: new terms, new tricks, new stories."[81] The introduction to the 1612 original quarto printing of the text posits itself in a similar context, warning the reader "beware at what hands thou receives thou recievest thy commodity; for thou wert never more fair in the way to be cozened (than in this age) in poetry; especially in plays."[82] Framed in this way, the dramatic universe of the play itself is represented as both a material commodity and a possible counterfeit. Dapper's meeting with the fairy queen is participatory in these larger descriptions of commercial exchange and the places in which their content is manufactured. The fascination with and circulation of descriptions of counterfeit fairy cons indicates the dissemination of a new sort of folklore. The mythological fairies from previous depictions take on a new role as urban legends of fairy counterfeits.

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[79] Thomas Willard, "Pimping for the Fairy Queen: Some Cozeners in Shakespeare's England," in *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Mental-Historical Investigations of Basic Human Problems and Social Responses*, Albrecht Classen and Connie Scarborough (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 492.
[80] *The severall notorious and lewd Cousonages,* A4v.
[81] Willard, "Pimping for the Fairy Queen," 493.
[82] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* To the Reader 2-4.

The setting itself continues to perpetuate the reading of the performance as one of the cozenages it features. The entirety of the play takes place in a house owned by Lovewit, and as his name suggests, is a consumer of the sorts of witticisms that Face's cozenages entail. Lovewit argues in the end that "That master […] / would be very ungrateful if he would not be / A little indulgent to that servant's wit"[83] In the end, Face has "clean got off" with his cozenages and Lovewit is delighted in Face's antics; Lovewit returns to his home in London at a profit both in material wealth and in his marriage to the rich widow.

Commercial Spaces in *The Honest Lawyer*

The Honest Lawyer is a play that centers on the ownership of property and its convoluted relationship to systems of financial exchange, mainly the mortgage of Vaster's lands to the usurer Gripe. Financially destitute, and believing his wife has cuckolded him, Vaster sells his wife into prostitution and takes up with a band of con artists outside of town. Similarly to the con artists in *The Alchemist*, impersonating fairies is one of the many tricks Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew use to unlawfully gain money. However, unlike the alchemical consultancy that Dol, Subtle and Face set up, the con artists of *The Honest Lawyer* commit the majority of their crimes out of doors. As we have already seen, by operating within the interior spaces of the dramatic universe, characters in *The Alchemist* use fairy mythology to delicately manipulate and manufacture spaces of commercial exchange. Physically and metaphorically outside of these spaces, the con artists in *The Honest Lawyer* engage in various crimes, often with intended violence toward their victims. Using the guise of fairies allows these con artists to gain access to the interior spaces of the play and redirect and control the processes of commercial exchange that govern the dramatic universe. The counterfeit fairies that appear in *The Honest Lawyer* are a means of combating the perceived immorality of usury practices and the financial inequity within the Bedford community.[84]

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[83] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 5.5.146-52.

In *The Honest Lawyer,* outdoor landscapes are particularly inculcated in the explicitly illegal thefts that the three con artists commit as opposed to the legal, but dubiously moral types of commercial exchange that arise from the interior spaces of the dramatic universe, such as Gripe's usury. Vaster turns to a life of crime, and this dishonest form of living is far more profitable than living off of his lands, particularly since Vaster proves his poor husbandry in various points throughout the play. He acknowledges that "I could not liue on hundreds, that came in / By annuall rents; now I begin to thriue / On the small fragments."[85] For Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew, the outdoor landscapes with the Abby, bawd's house, and the "Theeuish rode" offer a space in which to commit robberies, while Gripe's access both to the interior spaces of the middle class home and the social circles that surround it allows him to function as a different kind of thief. The robberies that Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew commit are the most explicit form of immoral profiteering from the landscape within the world of the play. Unaware that Vaster is the robber, Florence continuously meets his victims and sets them free; Florence points out the relationship of the robberies to the landscapes that surround her, saying, "More robberies yet? tis strange, how villains swarme! / ….Three ranke corruptions make their neere abode. / An Abby, Bawd' house, and a Theeuish rode."[86] The various settings portrayed throughout the play provide means of profiting. However, the play depicts characters that commercialize these spaces in various immoral fashions.

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[84] Wiggins and Richardson suggest, "The unusual choice of Bedford as a setting may be significant: Perhaps S.S., whoever he was, was a Bedford man." *British Drama 1533–1642,* vol. 6, no. 1754.

[85] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* C3v.

Gripe's desire to possess Vaster's lands by virtue of the mortgage he has provides the central conflict around which the play revolves. Usury was an illegal practice at the time the play was composed, and although complicated by the play's nebulous temporal setting, would have been considered a form of theft at various points throughout the history of early modern England.[87] Lending at a rate of ten percent "was allowed during the reign of Henry VIII, but the law was repealed in 1552, when under Edward VI all interest-bearing lending again became illegal."[88] The practice of usury was technically illegal until 1625. However, lending was still practiced throughout England through informal channels and interest-bearing loans of ten percent were socially conceived of as a limit to acceptable rates, although many dismissed the practice as immoral altogether. As Judith Spicksley suggests:

> The difficulty in accepting the premise of interest-bearing lending arose as a result of two main concerns. Firstly, drawing heavily on the ideas of Aristotle, money was understood to be a facilitator of exchange rather than a commodity in itself. Because it was fungible – consumed in use – ownership of it could not be transferred, nor – like land or livestock – could it reproduce itself; money therefore was sterile. Paying back more than the

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[86] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*, D2v.

[87] Wiggins and Richardson also suggest that the play is also set before the Reformation, since there is a king on the throne. No further reference is made throughout the play to indicate when the play is meant to take place. *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, no. 1754.

[88] Judith M. Spicksley, "Women, 'Usury' and Credit in Early Modern England: The Case of the Maiden Investor," *Gender & History* 27, no. 2 (August 2015): 268.

> original sum could be interpreted as payment for time, which, since it belonged to God, constituted the sin of theft. Moreover, those who extended capital for profit offended against a further Christian precept because it required no input of labour – all men, as sons of Adam, were required to work for their livelihood. Taking money for nothing from a borrower constituted an additional form of theft."[89]

The play is concerned with tenuously moral forms of profiting from the landscapes of the dramatic universe. Gripe's mortgage over Vaster's lands, for instance, is not held to be explicitly illegal in the play. However, Gripe is universally hated for his ability to profit through no labor of his own, at the expense of those husbanding the land. This idea, subtly presented throughout the play was held more vehemently by others at the time. Thomas Wilson, in 1572 writes, "there is no difference betwixt usury, fraud and violent robbinge, as who should saye, he that is a usurer is a deceitful false man, an errant theefe, and an extreame extorcioner."[90] Throughout the play, various honest characters attempt to utilize the landscape to make an honest living. Ben Gripe, the titular honest lawyer, offers Rob and Anne Vaster "3. moneths profite of the lands"[91] in order to assist them in recovering their mortgage. When the Vaster children are unable to turn a profit in the limited amount of time, they turn to a family friend, Bromley, who rebukes them telling them to "fall to worke, / And earne supply to wants with diligent labour."[92] Bromley's denial is hypocritical, of course, because as Rob points out, "Thou from our father gott'st thy whole estate."[93] While each of the characters acknowledge that moral livelihoods derive from honest husbandry practices, the dramatic world is populated by characters whose livelihoods are earned through dubious extensions of credit. Lands and spaces that would normally allow honest labor are reconstructed throughout the dramatic world as immoral sites of commercial exchange. The play demonstrates a range of commercial practices that utilize the landscapes of the secondary universe. From Vaster's violent robberies on the roadways, to Gripe's legal but problematic claim over Vaster's estates, the play questions the morality of various means of profiting and the spaces that these profits derive from.

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[89] Spicksley, "Women, 'Usury' and Credit," 267.

[90] Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse upon Usury* (London, 1572). STC 403:02. *Early English Books Online.*

[91] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer,* C1v.

[92] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer,* E2r.

[93] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer,* E2r.

Fairy money, and its associations with moral ambiguity, serves as a fitting analogy for the preoccupations about dishonest profits featured within the play. Purkiss suggests that, "for the English, in particular, fairies were part of the growing enterprise culture of Elizabethan England."[94] While Gripe's profit from Vaster's lands does not have preternatural origins, Gripe sees fairy money as one of many means of future investment. He expresses to the audience that when "a man growes vp to to sixe or seuen score, it is high time to thinke of mortalitie, and to take some ease," and expresses the hope that the fairy hauntings will continue to fund his retirement.[95] Of course, Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew, have devised the counterfeit fairy con with precisely the same intention, as a means of easy profit. Mary Ellen Lamb has traced the manner in which fairy lore offers a form social collaboration to "provide remedies outside established institutions" particularly for those of lower economic status. She suggests that throughout early modern depictions, fairy gold is often "understood as a form of white lie …a form of community assent for explanations that implied merely a discreet acceptance of the tellers' refusal to divulge a presumably illegal source."[96] In enacting the fairies' propensity toward rewarding the virtuous through financial compensation and punishing those that are unworthy of the reward, the thieves literalize the tacit implications of fairy folklore. The thieves take back Vaster's mortgage saying "Now we will rip the lining of thy trunkes. / Better the Fairies haue it then thy punkes."[97] In doing so, their robbery becomes an act of reclaiming agency over the wealth taken from them initially through immoral means.

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[94] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 124.
[95] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*, F2v.
[96] Lamb, "Taken by the Fairies," 279; 290.

Unlike the violent series of highway robberies that Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew commit, Gripe's immoral actions are each perpetuated from within the space of his own home. From this interior vantage point, Gripe perpetually sends his servants and friends "out" to take possession of Vaster's lands. The domestic space of Gripe's house is described as physically indistinguishable from the Gripe's "trunks" or other spaces of commercial exchange. Throughout his house, Gripe finds "a peece of gold betweene the sheetes," and "fragments of siluer, in euery corner."[98] However, Gripe's location embedded in the interior spaces close to his hoards of money poses a particular conundrum: in order to fully take possession of Vaster's lands, Gripe must be physically present. However, usury has caused him to physically deteriorate and a series of illnesses prevent Gripe, at various points throughout the play, from physically being able to leave his house. Gripe's greed, the same greed that makes him desirous of encounters with fairies, causes his various ailments. As Celeste Turner Wright suggests, the usurer figure is frequently portrayed as an older, ill, and ugly man; "Dropsy and gout are his characteristic diseases."[99] Gout, such as Gripe suffers, was practically synonymous in early modern England with usury, covetousness and ravenous appetites in early modern England. Thus Gripe's immorality physically confines him to a particular space, which impends on his ability to possess the landscape that Vaster owns and further engage in his immoral commerce.

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[97] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* G3v.
[98] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* F2v.
[99] Celeste Turner Wright, "Some Conventions regarding the Usurer in Elizabethan Literature," *Studies in Philology* 31, no. 2 (April 1934), 179.

Gripe's various complaints offer Valentine a means of accessing the house to offer phony cures. Although Valentine is not a real doctor, his remedies are surprisingly effective, presumably in part because Valentine relieves Gripe of some of his ill-begotten wealth. Gripe's greed renders him particularly susceptible to illness, but his covetousness also leaves him vulnerable to irrational beliefs. At the beginning of the play, Gripe "Lies sicke of the Goute," and Valentine drives a ten-penny nail through his toe. Upon finding his father nailed to the floor, Ben Gripe questions Gripe asking "could you be so credulous, to thinke this a receyte good for the Gout?"[100] Later, Gripe is burdened by a kidney stone and is "unable to pisse." Valentine purposefully contrives a remedy that "must be violent," and uses gunpowder. Valentine's fairy plot is contrived in the same grotesque terms of the bodily disease and violent cures saying, "I haue often heard the gripulous Dotard talke of Fairies: and how rich the house proues that they haunt. I haue ripened the blister of his imagination to the full. Shall we launce it?"[101] Fairy belief, like Gripe's credulousness in phony cures, is a result of his covetousness. This con, however, is a part of a larger set of phony and violent remedies hat Valentine administers: a nail in the toe to cure gout, gunpowder for the inability to urinate, and fairies for extreme usury. At the end of the play, Gripe's usury is "converted" and Gripe describes his experience as though he has "drunke powerfull physicke."[102] The fairies function as one means by which the social and commercial inequities of the play are restored and usurious behavior can be "cured."

The dramatic universe of *The Honest Lawyer* reflects the association between the counterfeit fairies and covetous behavior present in actual early modern England. A pamphlet titled *The Bridling, Saddling, and Riding of a Rich Churl in Hampshire* published on the 10th of

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[100] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*, B4r.
[101] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*, C4r.
[102] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*, K2v.

January 1595/6 features an account of two cons involving fairies contrived by Judith Phillips throughout her career as a con artist. The first, for which the pamphlet is named, involves a Rich churl "that was somewhat fantasticall and given to beleeve every tale he heard." Judith Phillips found out that this "myzer and his wife" were in a lawsuit over a piece of land, and set out to hide a gold angel under a tree on his property. Passing by the house the next day, she pretended to be in a trance and convinced the wife that there was fairy money hidden around the property. As proof, she directed the couple to dig under the tree and promised an additional fortune with explicit instructions: the couple is to pay fourteen pounds, hang the house with the best white linen, place a gold angel under every candlestick, and acquire a saddle and bridle. This done, Judith returned to saddle the churl and ride him around the property. She then instructed him to lay outside under the tree on his belly while she "meete the Queene of Fairies." Judith's theft also evokes a counterfeit fairy sighting with a performative flair:

> she in the meane time tooke downe all the fine linnen clothes from the wals of the chamber and wrapt them up close in a bundle, and all the gold from under the candelsticks, and put them into her purse, then putting her selfe into a faire white smock, somewhat disguised, with a thing on her head all white, and a stick in her hand, she appeared unto him and his wife, using some dalliance, as old wives say, spirits with night spelles do, she vanished away.[103]

The account of the Judith Phillips con parallels Gripe's fairy haunting in a number of ways. The pamphlet draws into sharp relief the correlation between greed and a susceptibility to belief in the supernatural. It opens with a condemnation of covetousness, which the story of Judith Phillips is supposed to exemplify. The anonymous author suggests, that "of all the seven deadly sinnes, there is none so common in this flourishing Realme of England, as is the greevous sin of Covetousnesse." Usurery is particularly highlighted: "what is it," the pamphlet asks "but the desire of gold, and hurding up of wealth?"[104] Judith's placement of gold on the property functions similarly to Valentine's idea to plant silver throughout the usurer's house. Both function to stir up the covetous behavior that the con artists already know to be present and can thus use fairy lore to take advantage of.

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[103] *The Bridling, Saddling, and Riding of a Rich Churl in Hampshire…* (London, 1595), A4v. Women Writers Online. https://wwo-wwp-northeastern-edu.elib.tcd.ie/WWO/search?browse-all=yes#!/view/unknown.brideling.xml.

More importantly, however, the pamphlet and *The Honest Lawyer* both exhibit another similarity in the evocation of counterfeit fairies. The covetousness of the fairies' victim is demonstrated particularly by their involvement in profiting from systems of property ownership. In this way the fairies are evoked when disputes over or perceived misuse of the landscape arises. Although seemingly divorced from the rest of the con, the pamphlet makes explicit that Judith's con relies on gathering information about "what state the manner of his living lay, likewise she understood, that this Churle was in sute of lawe about a péece of ground, with one sir William Kingsman, a worshipfull knight in Hamshire."[105] The pamphlet offers no other insight to the Churl's suit, but presented directly after the indictment of covetousness, it seems unlikely that the anonymous author of the pamphlet saw the land as rightfully belonging to the "myzer" and not the "worshipfull knight." The counterfeit fairies in both the actual case of Judith Phillips and in the dramatic depiction of Valentine's con, appear precisely at the moment when their victim is in a dispute about property in the English countryside. The dubious mortality of these exchanges that seems to necessitate the appearance of the counterfeit fairy, in both the play and in actual early modern England, stems from the transfer of land from family property (either Vaster's family land or the Knight's) to the hands of someone whose riches derive from commercial sources of revenue. Fairies, including counterfeit fairies, are evoked when landscape is redefined as a commodity in or platform of commercial enterprise.

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[104] *The Bridling, Saddling, and Riding,* A2r.

[105] *The Bridling, Saddling, and Riding,* A3v.

Commercial spaces in *The Valiant Welshman*

In Armin's *The Valiant Welshman*, Morion first sees the fairy queen as a character in Caradoc's wedding masque and, engrossed in this performance, pursues the fantasy of an encounter with her in the real world of the play. In each of the plays I have discussed earlier in this chapter, the victims of the counterfeit fairies share a covetous desire to derive wealth through dubious means. This greed makes them particularly susceptible to the belief that supernatural sources may offer easy money, and each is enthusiastic when presented with the suggestion that they may receive fairy gifts. This covetousness drives some of the humor of the productions: the victims of counterfeit fairies are getting their just desert, and fairies function, even in counterfeit forms, as enforcers of morality outside of normally sanctioned social controls. Morion, however, is a different sort of gull. Unlike each of the encounters with counterfeit fairies that I have discussed previously in this chapter, Morion is not hoping to gain wealth from his encounter with the fairies, and is motivated by "the intolerable paine that I suffer for the loue of the Fayry Queene!"[106] Foolish enough to misapprehend the world of the masque-within the play as reality, Morion actively seeks out an encounter with the fairy queen (rather than being presented the opportunity as with other characters), making him an easy target for the opportunistic "juggler" who poses as a magician. While Morion does not seek a supernatural encounter as a means to access wealth, *The Valiant Welshman* reasserts the connection between encounters with fairies and commercial spaces. By presenting meetings with fairies as occurring within spaces of commercial exchange, Morion’s irrational fantasy reinforces the place of the fairy figure outside of a mythological mode of fictionality.

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[106] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman*, D3v.

Particularly striking about the fairy queen in *The Valiant Welshman* is that she is not initially presented as a real figure within the dramatic world. Morion first sees the actors getting ready to perform for the wedding masque and then watches the masque, but Morion’s initial expression of interest in the fairy queen is purposefully vague about his distinction between actor and character. When he falls in love he describes her saying, “By my troth, my stomacke rumbleth at the very conceit of this. I am all loue, euen from the sole of my head, to the crowne of the foote. Surely, I will haue more acquaintance of that Gentlewoman; me thinks she daunceth like a Hobby-horse.” In this first expression of desire, Morion elides the world of the masque with the real dramatic world surrounding him. Morion’s interpretation of the division between performance and reality, however, is clearly ridiculed throughout the play, eventually resulting in his humiliating robbery. In this way Morion’s interpretation of the performance provides a metadramatic suggestion about the mode of fictionality that the fairy figure should occupy in the mind of the audience. While certain magical entities occupy a mythological mode of fictionality, the play suggests it is entirely foolish to view the fairy figure as more than mere fantasy.

The kind of derision directed at Morion is not present in the characters who encounter fairies in the dramatic works I examine in previous chapters. Engaging with fairy mythology, even in performance, could frequently produce actual benefits in the primary universe. In the entertainments in particular, as we have seen in Chapter One, the fairy figure gave both actors and writers the ability to represent themselves in desired roles of power at court by projecting themselves as part of this distant mythological realm. Sir Henry Lee, for example, successfully transposed the realities of the secondary universe into actuality; within his various pageant performances, he named himself the queen's champion and maintained the title throughout his long career at court.[107] In performances such as these, encounters with fairies frequently engendered an elaborate form of gift exchange between Elizabeth and her courtiers, allowing them to offer fealty, petition the crown for assistance, or seek royal favor. [108] Even within the construct of performance, engaging with a fairy could allow access to actual pecuniary benefits. Morion's conflation between the real world of the play and any tertiary world of the masque-within-the-play, was unproblematic in several of the previous dramatic works that I have discussed in this thesis. *The Valiant Welshman* resituates Morion's desire to engage with the fairy figure on a mythological level as foolish and concretizes the fairy figure as an impossible entity within the world of the play.

While Morion does not express a desire to gain wealth from his encounter with the fairy queen, his infatuation with this figure is aligned with various other forms of greed. Similar to the characters in the other three plays I examine in this chapter who are susceptible to belief in fairies, Morion is perpetually hungry.[109] His desire for the fairy queen is articulated in the same terms as his ravenous appetite. Morion tells his man Ratsbane, "me thinkes I could eate vp a whole Brokers shoppe at a meale, to be eased of this loue."[110] Like the usurer Gripe in *The Honest Lawyer* "Whose belly has just cause to sue an action / Of trespasse, gainst thy couetous lusts exaction: / For detinie of many hundred meales,"[111] or Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* who is described as a "gross watery pumpion,"[112] Morion's credulity is linked to an insatiable bodily appetite. He depicts his desire for the fairy queen in a series of blazon-like lines, which compares her with various items for consumption and the food sellers that offer such commodities:

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[107] This title was never officially given to Lee so it is unclear when he started or what financial benefits he was awarded in this position. Gabriel Heaton, goes on to observe that Lee "was so successful in constructing this role that when he retired from the tiltyard in 1590 he was even able, through an elaborate ceremonial he himself invented, to bestow his role on a successor: George, Earl of Comberland." "The Queen and the Hermit," 89.

[108] Kolkovich has recently suggested that certain performance types allowed communication between even the lowest classes and the monarch. She suggests of country house performances that "this interactive genre often allowed those on the margins access to social and political power. Lower-ranking members of the community sometimes had the opportunity to promote their interests through performance." "Pageantry, Queens, and Housewives," 328.

[109] For instance, Gripe the usurer in *The Honest Lawyer* has gout because of his tendency to overeat. Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is consistently described as fat.

[110] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4r.

> But Ratsbane , thou toldst mee of a rare fellow, that can tell misfortunes, and can conjure: prethee bring me to him. Ile giue him somewhat, to helpe mee to speake with the Fayry Queene.
>
> Whose face like to a Butchers doublet lookes,
>
> Varnisht with tallow of some beautious Oxe;
>
> Or like the aprons of some Pie-corner Cookes.[113]

Morion intends to purchase an encounter with the fairy queen from the magician in the same way that the stalls and selling items and services to satisfy bodily appetites and cravings. In this way, Morion depicts an encounter with a supernatural entity as something available for sale, and, like meats or pies, is desirable for its ability to physically satiate the appetite. Removed from its mythological mode of fictionality, the fairy queen in *The Valiant Welshman* is reduced to the fantasy of a hungry and foolish knight.

The Juggler specifically poses as a magician to "gull the Coxecombe" having heard that Morion claims himself to be in love with the fairy queen. The Juggler, of course, intends to rob Morion, but in order to do so, he directly refutes Morion's commodification of the fairy queen.

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[111] S.S. *The Honest Lawyer*, D3r.
[112] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 3.3.33-4.
[113] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4r.

He pretends to divine that Morion has "come to see your Loue, the Fayry Queen. / And talke with her here in this silent place."[114] The presumably bare stage on which the original performance took place, filled just a few lines earlier with the busy food stalls evoked in Morion's imagination, is re-imagined as a sacred space of supernatural occurrences. In order to make the fairy queen believable, the false magician pretends that Morion is moving away from the spaces of commercial exchange toward a mythological realm by requiring Morion to divest himself of mortal goods. The Magician insists that Morion needs to approach her "without any mortall thing / That may annoy her most immortall sense" because it may "offend her nose."[115] Similarly to Dapper's "fumigation" in *The Alchemist,* Morion complies and strips himself of his clothes and money. Thus devoid of his earthly possessions in a way that he believes to be "pure," Morion is made the prime candidate to be robbed. Offering only a brief glimpse of the transcendent experience that Morion desires, the play reasserts the fairy figure as a means of negotiating the spaces of commercial exchange through dubious methods.

Erotic spaces in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

In the four plays I examine in this chapter, those who impersonate fairies extract elements of fairy mythology to offer their victims a glimpse of the fantasies they desire, however incomprehensible or inaccessible in the real world of the play. As discussed in the Introduction, in mythological precedents, fairies could offer the mortals they favored supernatural access to privileged spaces, not the least of which was access to places of commercial exchange. Fairies were therefore inculcated in fantasies of wealth and property ownership. However, the fairies' ability to navigate interior spaces was consequently perceived as access to spaces of the private and erotic that were otherwise inaccessible within the sanctions (both formal and informal) governing sexual behavior. In several of the dramatic works that I discussed previously, fairy characters hinted toward a similarly erotic associations. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* fairies administer love potions to the mortals they encounter. In another example, one of the fairies' names in *The Mayde's Metamorphosis,* is "Little, little Pricke," who is known for peeping underneath girls' skirts. However, in contrast with the subtle erotic undertone of the fairies in earlier dramatic works, these four plays portray the fairies as increasingly associated with prostitution and seedy sexual fantasy.

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[114] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4r.

[115] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4v.

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* the counterfeit fairies appear to Falstaff just as he believes his sexual pursuit of the titular wives will be fulfilled. From the beginning of the play, Falstaff lecherously pursues Mistress Ford and Mistress Page, engaging in a fantasy that his sexual conquest will result in the replenishment of his financial fortunes because each of the wives "hath the rule of her husband's purse."[116] After having been cozened by the wives twice, Falstaff again agrees to meet Mistress Ford by Herne's Oak, disguised as Herne the Hunter. The rendezvous is designed a sexualized reenactment of the Herne the Hunter Legend. Falstaff dons a pair of antlers to meet Mistress Ford by Herne's oak, recalling the legend of Actaeon. A huntsman who came across Diana when she was bathing with her nymphs, Actaeon was turned into a stag as punishment for his voyeurism and consequently torn apart by his own hounds.[117] He is typically represented in Renaissance iconography as a human from the waist down and stag from the waist up.[118] In local Berkshire legend, Herne was Richard II's favorite huntsman, who hung himself from the oak tree and haunts the woods surrounding it. In Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1351), another variation that J. Drew Stephen suggests the original audiences of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* may have been familiar with, Herne killed himself because of his love's cruelty. The woman he is pursuing died shortly after him and they are doomed to re-live a perpetual hunt; Herne chases his love down, kills her, and disembowels her, only to have her spring to her feet so the hunt can begin again.[119] Charged with the echoes of these various grotesque mythological encounters between lovers, Falstaff fantasizes a sexual encounter which will culminate in his being divided "like a bribed buck" between two women.[120] To fully participate in the racy fantasy, Falstaff dons a pair of horns provided by the wives which "simultaneously associate[s] him with the virility and potency of the Horned God [Herne] and its opposite, the cuckolded husband, whose horns signify his lack of masculine prowess."[121] Because Falstaff is so deeply immersed in the possibilities of this erotic space, the presence of the fairies strikes him as a very real possibility.

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[116] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 1.3.45.

[117] J. Drew Stephen, "Falstaff and the Culture of the Hunt," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 733.

[118] Cf. Antonio Tempesta, *Dianoe aspectu Actaeon in ceruum*, 17th century,

In order to punish Falstaff, the counterfeit fairies appear in the play at the height of this immersive sexual fantasy by interacting with the amalgamation of mythologies evoked within the play. On the one hand, as Falstaff fears, the fairy "Queen hates sluts and sluttery," both in the form of poor housekeeping and deviance from sexual norms.[122] However, their privileged access to the interior spaces of Windsor Castle and into the beds and minds of serving maids has voyeuristic underpinnings:

10.5 x 11.7 cm, Fine Arts Museum of San Fransico. https://art.famsf.org/antonio-tempesta/dianoe-aspectu-actaeon-ceruum-acteon-changed-stag-pl-25-series-ovid's-metamorphoses; Stephen, "Falstaff and the Culture of the Hunt," 734.

[119] Stephen, "Falstaff and the Culture of the Hunt," 735.

[120] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 3.3.33.

[121] Colleen Marie Knowlton-Davis, "Horned Gods, Horny Men, Witches, and Fairies: Pagan Remnants in Shakespeare's The Merry Wives of Windsor," *Journal of the Wooden O Symposium* 12, no. 29 (2012), 29.

[122] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 5.5.43.

Where's Bede? Go you, and where you find a maid
That, ere she sleep, has thrice her prayers said,
Raise up the organs of her fantasy;
Sleep she as sound as careless infancy:
But those as sleep and think not on their sins,
Pinch them, arms, legs, backs, shoulders, sides and shins.[123]

The fairy, Bede, is charged with policing the dreams of Windsor's sleeping maids. As Wendy Wall has suggested, the fairies simultaneously are "protecting honor" and "provoking desire." She suggests, for instance that "while a serving maid's excellence in housewifery marks moral innocence, her reward for self-discipline seems to smack of sexual pleasure, the erection of her 'organs' of 'fantasy.'"[124] Evoking the fairy figures assists in the creation of an erotic space, where Falstaff's desires can be publically enacted. Ultimately, this space is created as a means to display Falstaff's sexual indiscretions and humiliate him for his credulity and, like his desire to play the role of the mythological hunter, the fantasy is not upheld as real within the world of the play.

The fantasy that Falstaff accepts, however momentarily, is alluring precisely because it offers a way of accessing the private and erotic spaces around which the Windsor world centers, but never fully reveals itself to its spectators. Reports and rumors, about the interior state of various marriages, including self-reporting, are rife within the play. Falstaff, for instance, has heard that "the report goes she [Mistress Ford] has all the rule of her / husband's purse: he hath a legion of angels." He is worries later that news that he has been cozened will "come to / the ear of the court," which would cause his humiliation. Mistress Quickly constantly brings reports of the two wives' marriages. She reports of Mistress Page, that "never a wife in / Windsor leads a better life than she does" with her husband. She later reports that Mistress Ford "is beaten black and blue, that you cannot see a /white spot about her," although this is presumably denied by the fact that Ford and his wife have already made amends at this point in the play. Jealous of his wife to the point of suspecting himself a cuckold, even Ford is desirous of reports of his own marriage. Disguised as Brook, Ford tests Falstaff with a false rumor about his wife saying, "Some say / that though she appear honest to me, yet in other places she / enlargeth her mirth so far that there is shrewd / construction made of her."[125] None of the couples are on stage alone together, rendering the audience equally unable to access the truth about the internal states of each marriage. In fact, Ford accusingly suggests of the only two characters whose relationship is transparent, Mistress Ford and Mistress Page that "I think, if your husbands were dead, you two would / marry."[126] Like Falstaff, the audience is presented with competing information about the relationships within the play, but cannot physically or metaphorically see into these private spaces. The abilities of the fairies are desirable precisely for their access to the interior landscapes of Windsor and the preternatural knowledge of what lies behind household facades that would otherwise go undetected—who has cut corners on household work, which serving maids are having elicit dreams, and who has control over Ford's purse.[127]

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[123] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 5.5.46-51.
[124] Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?", 94.

Erotic spaces in *The Alchemist*

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[125] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* 2.2.196-9.

[126] Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor, 3.2.11-2.*

[127] Purkiss, in recounting several stories told in the Scottish Witchcraft court documents, suggests similarly that the fairies are linked to occult forms of knowledge, particularly sexual knowledge. The testimony of Elspeth Reoch highlights Elspeth's encounter with two fairy men, who afterwards give her the gift of fairy sight and tell her the illicit origins of her kinswoman's pregnancy, before the pregnancy has been announced. Purkiss suggests, "Elspeth's correct divination of her kins-woman's pregnancy and the baby's father shows that she knows about the interior of the female body, about secrets, about the family's secrets, sexual secrets." *Troublesome Things,* 92.

The alchemical laboratory that the con artists in *The Alchemist* set up offers a space wherein Face, Subtle, and Dol are able to create profit by indulging the erotic fantasies of some of their clients. The alchemical laboratory offers an intimate space from which the con artists can plan and create their elaborate schemes. Seen from the outside, the laboratory is a space imbued with erotic potential: a place where desire is fulfilled through supernatural and occult practices. Unlike previous depictions of fairy queens, such as the chaste and pure Cynthia "queen of stars" from John Lyly's *Endymion,* or even the ever distant and unreachable Gloriana of Spenser's epic *The Faerie Queene,* Dol Common represents an embodied and sexually available fairy queen. In depicting the fairy figure as present in the eroticized interior spaces of the alchemical laboratory, the fairy figure is reduced from its mythological capacity, and is depicted entirely as the figure of a depraved sexual fantasy.

What the con artists mainly offer their clients is an implicitly sexualized occult knowledge of interior spaces: insider knowledge of the city and its infrastructure, interior knowledge of social and familial secrets, and intimate knowledge of the body and its processes. Sir Epicure Mammon, for instance, sees the creation of the philosopher's stone not only a means of getting rich easily, but as a means of accessing, almost supernatural, social circles of wealth and status, which he articulates in erotic terms. In acquiring the stone, Mammon wants "to have a list of wives, and concubines, / Equal with Solomon."[128] The promised summoning of the fairy queen to Dapper offers a different kind of interior knowledge: the knowledge of a distant familial relation. His aunt the queen of fairy "kissed him, in the cradle" but has otherwise not been known to Dapper and now can prefer him with wealth and status.[129] The laboratory itself is filled with the suggestion of erotic secrets. Face describes the nearly ready concoction that will become the philosopher's stone as blushing red "like a wench with child… / That were but now discovered to her master."[130] The alchemical process is depicted by the con artists as a means, not only of knowing the interior properties of metals, but the inherently erotic internal properties of spaces, bodies, and people.

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[128] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 2.2.35.

[129] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 1.2.150. For more in the presence of fairies at Christenings, see Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck*, 8-42; G.M. "Fairies and Christening," *Notes & Queries* 180, no. 5 (February 1941): 85-6; L. M. C. "Fairies and Christening," *Notes & Queries* 180, no. 9 (March 1941): 159.

The manner in which the play is implied to use stage space clearly demonstrates the association between eroticized spaces and the evocation of the supernatural. The con artists use the interior space of Lovewit's house to encourage the erotic energy of their conjurations. As John Shanahan suggests, "Subtle, Face, and Dol are by far the most adept projectors of self and environment, true masters at producing social space by filling otherwise mundane rooms with dexterity and desire."[131] The majority of the play takes place in a single room of Lovewit's house, which takes up the entirety of the stage. The interior rooms of the house, along with Subtle's laboratory, are imagined as occupying the off-stage space that constitutes the rest of the house. Very few characters are afforded the privileged access to the laboratory or the other spaces in the intimate interior of the house. Sir Epicure Mammon is offered entrance to the alchemical laboratory as a means to quickly shuffle clients; when Mammon accidentally catches a glimpse of Dol, Face and Subtle explain her presence by saying she is a gentlewoman prone to fits of hysteria. Mammon attempts to woo Dol as a gentlewoman, and Face ushers Dol and Mammon into "the laboratory. Some fitter place. / The garden, or the great chamber above."[132] In an aside, Face underscores the erotic nature of an encounter in the laboratory, as he encourages Dol by saying, "to him, Dol, Suckle him."[133] Their exchange offers a potential erotic realization of Mammon's alchemical fantasies; Mammon retreats to the laboratory to woo her in the terms of alchemical metals and "talk to her in all gold."[134] Later, Dol feigns a fit of hysteria and, although Mammon originally tries to proclaim his innocence, a loud explosion comes from the laboratory. The explosion at the culmination of all the increasingly noisy alchemical invocations is the pinnacle of Mammon's fantasies from within the laboratory space, indicating the failure of the alchemical process due to the success of Mammon and Dol's erotic encounter.[135]

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[130] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 2.2.9-10.
[131] Shanahan, "Ben Jonson's 'Alchemist,'" 44.
[132] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 4.2.170-1.
[133] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 4.1.32.

For Dapper as well, the interior spaces of the play are coded as erotic spaces, partially because of their associations with the feminine and familial. Subtle and Face depict the fairy queen as "Your aunt of Fairy" whom Dapper has not seen since "She kissed him in the cradle."[136] The term aunt indicates a familial relation or "A woman who is regarded with respect or affection similar to that often accorded to an aunt despite not being linked by this specific kinship; *esp.* a close family friend." However the title of aunt could frequently also refer to a prostitute, and its usage is left purposefully ambiguous.[137] What the con artists do make clear is her liminal marital status, suggesting that "Her Grace is a lone woman, / And very rich […] / 'Slid, she may hap to leave you all she has!"[138] The relationship therefore, takes on a multitude of meanings framed within the dynamic of a sexually liberated older woman and her younger ward. The evocation of this relationship stems from a variety of folkloric sources, where fairy women are portrayed, as Diane Purkiss suggests, "as dead ancestors to guide the living," the fairy godmother who guides a living offspring to richer futures.[139] Dapper's inability to renounce belief in fairies not only marks him as uneducated, but also prone to believe in the stories increasingly associated with childhood throughout the seventeenth century. Wall discusses how, in *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Reginald Scot suggests that women and servants used fairy belief as a means of frightening young children in order to enforce good behavior.[140] Under this guise as a fairy, Dol is able to reposition herself as a woman of status, using Dapper's suspension of disbelief to humiliate and infantilize him. This depiction of the counterfeit fairy then embedded in domestic space, paints her as a particularly problematic fantasy, emblematic of a domestic and feminine sphere that men have to reject in order to maintain social order.

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[134] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 4.1.25.
[135] Although Mammon originally claims he has not made an advance toward Dol, their copulation is confirmed after the explosion and Mammon is forced to confess that "it was my sin" that undid the experiment. Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 4.5.78.
[136] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 1.2.149-50.
[137] *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* n. "aunt."
[138] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 155-8.

However, part of the humor of the production stems from the characters' inability to distinguish between erotic fantasy and authentic mythological experience. The process of alchemical projection, along with interactions with supernatural entities such as the fairy queen, were supposed to require a lack of covetousness in all forms. As Elizabeth Cook suggests, "successful alchemical projection was believed to require not only an absolute meticulous attention to the material requirements but also a rare spiritual purity of the practitioner."[141] Of course, part of the humor in *The Alchemist* derives from the fact that none of the con artists' clients are moral exemplars. Their very desire for the kinds of occult assistance offered by Subtle marks them as physically and financially motivated, while they themselves are unaware of their own spiritual paucity. Sir Epicure Mammon, for instance, speaks of his own ambitions in acquiring the philosopher's stone, seeing it as a means of procuring pure admirers saying, "Where I spy / A wealthy citizen, or rich lawyer, / Have a sublimed pure wife, unto that fellow /

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[139] See Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, passim.
[140] Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?", 69.
[141] Cook, Introduction to *The Alchemist,* 5

I’ll send a thousand pound to be my cuckold.”[142] Mammon misses the point entirely, thinking that the stone, “by its virtue, / can confer honour, love, respect, [and] long life,” rather than necessitating pure intentions.[143] The fairy queen that Dapper encounters requires the same spiritual cleanliness, and upon meeting her, Dapper is required to “throw away all worldly pelf” and “keep nothing that is transitory about you.”[144] In Dapper’s fantasy, he is undergoing a preternatural purifying process. However, in the world of the play, Dapper is being made to cast off clothing, stay silently bound in the privy to be “fumigated,” and crawl on his belly toward the fairy queen. Engaging what he believes to be acts of ritual purity in the name of the fairy queen in his fantasy, in the real world of the play Dapper’s experiences resemble humiliating sex acts at the hands of a prostitute.

Embodied into these erotic spaces through Dol’s performance, the fairy queen figure loses her mythological veracity. While the fairy figure is reduced from the mythological figure depicted in earlier dramatic works, to an object of erotic fantasy, the con artists in *The Alchemist* seem to take no less joy the demythologized, embodied, and sexualized figure. “Why this is yet / a kind of modern happiness,” says Face laughing, “to have / Dol Common for a great lady.” The various roles that Face has performed really do, in fact, transmute Lovewit’s house into a place where the fantasies of several characters come to fruition: Face goes unchecked for his abuse of Lovewit’s house, Lovewit arrives home to find his house filled with riches and a rich widow whom he marries and secures his future prospects, and Dapper leaves the house with increased confidence in his gambling ability. In the end, successful performance generates its own theatrical alchemy.

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[142] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 2.2.53-6.
[143] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 2.1.49-50.
[144] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 3.5.17; 30.

Erotic spaces in The Valiant Welshman

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Alchemist,* and *The Honest Lawyer,* the con artists create counterfeits of potent mythological figures; they impersonate figures that are supposed to be the preternatural and otherworldly, using the suggestion that fairies operate on the extremity of human understanding to bolster the veracity of their counterfeits. The characters that openly accept or seek out such encounters, typically desire an encounter with such a mythological fairy figure, albeit often for the wrong reasons. In *The Valiant Welshman,* by contrast, Morion fantasizes about an explicitly erotic and embodied meeting. Morion's two meetings with the counterfeit fairy queen of *The Valiant Welshman* both take place close to the interior spaces of the court: the first encounter takes place inside the palace, while the second takes place in an unnamed location somewhere in the town nearby. Morion's fantasies conjure erotic spaces out of the everyday activities of court and town in his desirous want of the fairy queen.

Morion's love for the fairy queen figure is described as a sudden erotic and physical sensation. When he first sees the fairy queen his stomach rumbles "euen from the sole of my head, to the crowne of the foote."[145] He continues to describe his infatuation with this figure as an erotic and embodied desire. As Morion seeks out the magician, for instance, he impatiently awaits the opportunity to meet his love saying, "my heeles are all kybde in the very heate of my affection, that runnes down into my legs."[146] For Morion, the encounter is so physicalized that he doesn't allude to any of the preternatural characteristics of the fairy queen; she exists in the same interior spaces of normal, daily, and human interaction. The "juggler," who poses as a magician, gives some indication that perhaps Morion is indeed somewhat interested in the supernatural powers that fairies were known to possess. The Juggler reports that Morion proclaims himself to be the love of the fairy queen "And that by her he shall subdue the Turke, / And plucke great Otoman from off his throne."[147] The magician relies on the reports that supposedly circulate in the wider off stage spaces of the dramatic universe, but on stage Morion simply anticipates the erotic nature of his potential encounter. The Juggler tells him "You must goe, humbly creeping on your hands, / Without your Doublet, Rapier, Cloke or Hose, / Or anything that may offend her nose."[148] Ratsbane is hasty to comply, immediately taking off his clothes and running after the fairy queen. Morion falls into a ditch and the juggler steals his clothes. Morion then is forced to "go home worse fooles then we came" returning home naked and humiliated.[149]

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[145] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* C2v.

[146] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D3v.

The fairy queen in *The Valiant Welshman* derives some of her erotic charge from her failure to subscribe to gender binaries. The fairy queen, like all female roles in early modern drama, would probably have been played by a male actor. Regardless, Morion describes the fairy queen figure consistently in feminine pronouns, with competing masculine descriptions. Morion describes the fairy queen as a "gentlewoman" who "daunceth like a Hobby-horse."[150] Later he refers to the fairy queen as "beauteous" with a face like a "Butchers doublet." To Morion, this atypical and perhaps androgynous physicality fuels Morion's erotic imagination.

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[147] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4r.

[148] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4v.

[149] Armin, *The Valiant Welshman,* D4v.

[150] The description of the Hobby horse dancer, in particular, evokes a number of cultural references and their overlapping and multifaceted meanings. According to the OED, "in the morris-dance, and on the stage (in burlesques, pantomimes, etc.), a figure of a horse, made of wickerwork, or other light material, furnished with a deep housing, and fastened about the waist of one of the performers, who executed various antics in imitation of the movements of a skittish or spirited horse." The various associations with mumming brought the term into colloquial use, taking on meanings varying from "a lustful person; a loose woman, prostitute" to "a person who plays ridiculous antics; a frivolous or foolish fellow, jester, buffoon." *The Oxford English Dictionary Online,* n. "hobby horse." For more on the various meanings and cultural resonances behind hobby horses and hobby-horse dances see Natália Pikli, "The Prince and the Hobby-Horse: Shakespeare and the Ambivalence of Early Modern Popular Culture," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 2, no. 0 (2013): 119-40.

In folkloric depictions, as well as in dramatic works featuring fairy characters, fairies are frequently associated with liminal spaces and identities. Because fairies are not human, they do not adhere to human-imposed binary identifications: neither male nor female, dead nor alive, benign or malignant. Their beauty and erotic appeal stem precisely from this preternatural characteristic. As we have seen in the cases of Lyly's plays written for the Children of St Paul's, peripubescent actors were a fitting metaphor to embody the preternatural epicene beauty of fairies, at a time when gender was less easily discernable. *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,* as discussed features the role of the fairy named "Little, little Pricke" who "bites the maids" underneath their skirts as they sleep. In *The Valiant Welshman,* divorced from its preternatural qualities, the masquer's desireable androgyny in theatrical space spurs Morion's salacious desires.

Erotic spaces in *The Honest Lawyer*

The Honest Lawyer portrays three cross-dressing counterfeit fairies who, like the fairies of *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* are concerned with policing household work and erotic behaviors. In the play, cross-dressing serves a practical purpose as well as evokes an erotic space outside of the restrictions of binary gender distinctions. For the three robbers Vaster, Valentine, and Curfew, disguising themselves as fairies effectively conceals their identity; Florence, for instance, is easily mistaken for her husband Vaster and is accused at the end of the play, for instance, of being the third robber. Even in their counterfeit forms, however, the con artists establish the ability of the fairy figure to create and evoke erotic space.

The con artists enter Gripe's house with the intention of robbing him, immediately after Gripe has made advances on Vaster's wife Florence. When Florence maintains her honesty, Gripe contrives a vicious plan to seduce her. He hands her the key to his closet, and details the plan to the audience, saying “Las poore wench: now shee's got into my Closset, she hugges her hopes, as a Polititian his ayery plotte, and cryes a prize, a prize. She shall be double cony-catch'd.”[151] At this point in the play, Gripe believes that Florence is the Widow Sorrow, and doesn’t yet recognize her as Vaster’s wife. In handing the Widow Sorrow the key, Gripe believes the Widow Sorrow will attempt to rob him. In thus exposing her dishonesty, he will be able to convince her to sleep with him. Florence does, indeed, intend to steal back Vaster’s mortgage from Gripe, although her motives are far more honest than Gripe can anticipate.

Gripe’s plan conflates eroticism with access to interior spaces. Florence is first put at risk of Gripe’s advances because Benjamin Gripe rescues her from the brothel and places her in his father’s house in disguise. Florence insists that she will be Gripe’s wife after he marries her, and proclaims, when Gripe tries to persuade her, that “Your house Sir, is too publike.”[152] In response, Gripe offers her a key that will allow her to convey herself through the interior spaces of the house with ease. In the brothel, Florence maintains her innocence, to the point Marmaid is “content to be rid of her” because Florence’s virtue “will vndoe my trade.”[153] However, this access to Gripe’s closet offers a true threat to her honesty. The play conflates property ownership, money, and sexual licentiousness. At the beginning of the play, for instance, Vaster has lost his lands to Gripe and is convinced that Florence has cuckolded him and physically removes her from his house by selling her to a bawd. The interior spaces of Gripe’s home are already coded as intimate and erotic, and Florence’s willingness to enter those spaces is a threat to her chastity, even though her intentions are chaste.

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[151] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* G2v.
[152] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* G2v.
[153] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* E1v.

The fairies enter Gripe's house as though cued by Gripe's salacious plotting. The con artists immediately take on the role of fairies by policing erotic behavior and household work. On entering the house, they accuse Gripe of licentious behavior, saying "Confesse thy sinnes. Th'hast some wench in a corner."[154] Gripe immediately confesses, "I haue, I haue---oh---but Ile not meddle with her."[155] The con artists evoke the fairies' ability to monitor and create erotic spaces. In this case, Gripe believes (at least for a short time in the play) that he has been robbed because of his sexual indiscretions.

Conclusion

The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Alchemist, The Valiant Welshman, and *The Honest Lawyer* demonstrate a significant change occurring in the depictions of fairy figures in early modern English drama from 1597 onward. Beginning with *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* some plays begin to depict counterfeit fairies, human characters assuming a fairy-like persona in order to deceive those who are susceptible to belief in the supernatural. Unlike the earlier dramatic works that depicted fairies as integrated with outdoor rural landscapes, counterfeit fairies arise in the interior spaces of urban landscapes. The domestic, the erotic, and the commercial spaces that the counterfeit fairies occupy are ultimately familiar and human spaces. Adapting to the spaces most familiar and accessible to the audiences of early modern England, the fairy figure ultimately loses its veracity as a mythological entity. Unlike previous depictions of the fairy figure that occupied a mythological mode of fictionality, the appearance of the counterfeit fairy indicates the demythologization of this figure, wherein fairies are ultimately conceived of and commonly written as entities of fiction.

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[154] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* G3r.
[155] S.S., *The Honest Lawyer,* G3r.

Epilogue: The Afterlife of Fairies

Ben Jonson: The Masque of Oberon the Fairy Prince

In the summer of 1603, Prince Henry Fredrick, son of James I and Anne of Denmark, accompanied his mother on her progress from Edinburgh to London. In route, the young Prince was entertained at Althrop in the house of Sir Robert Spenser, with a series of performances written by Ben Jonson for the occasion. These entertainments featured fairy characters, most notably the fairy queen Mab, and satyrs that welcomed the new queen to Althrop, singing:

> This is shee,
> . . . .
> That receiue her, happy be,
> For with no lesse,
> Then a kingdomes happinesse,
> . . . .
> Long liue Oriana
> To exceed (whom shee succeeds) our late Diana.[1]

The fairies' greeting seeks to embed Anne (and consequently Prince Henry, identified as the "kingdoms happiness") into a complex network of fairy symbolism. Evoking Elizabeth's regard for fairy lore alongside depictions of fairy characters from a variety of folkloric and theatrical sources, Jonson's entertainment anticipates Anne's future rule by offering her a role in the fictional world of the entertainment. By positioning Anne as "Oriana," the successor to "Diana," Jonson foregrounds Henry's role not only as heir to the throne in the actual world of early modern England, but also the heir to a mythological realm. At Althrop, Jonson established himself as an intermediary through whom Elizabeth's fairy mythology could be handed down to and reinterpreted by the next generation of monarchs.

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[1] Jonson, *Entertainment at Althrop,* 96-108.

This relationship between prince and poet established at Althrop led to the commission of the masque of *Oberon, The Fairy Prince,* for the New Year's Day festivities at Whitehall in 1611. Although it was part of a series of masques by Ben Jonson dedicated to Henry across the first decade of the1600s, this masque was particularly important for Henry's newly established identity as Prince of Wales, beginning in June of 1610. As Mary Ellen Lamb suggests, "beyond an evening's entertainment, this masque functioned as a vehicle through which Prince Henry presented himself as heir apparent to the court."[2] In choosing to feature the fairy king Oberon—the titular role which Henry himself was to portray—as the centerpiece of the masque, it appeared as though fairy characters might enjoy a renaissance in Prince Henry's reign.

While the masque's extravagance elicited praise from the audience, I argue that Jonson's revival of fairy characters in this performance at the Jacobean court demonstrates the significant changes to these characters since their initial appearance in the Elizabethan entertainments that I examined in Chapter One. *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* physically took place indoors at Whitehall Banqueting House. The fictional settings of the masque were indicated by the physical presence of elaborate mechanized stage sets placed at one end of the hall, designed by Inigo Jones specifically for the performance. The fairies that appear in Jonson's masque are completely encapsulated within interior spaces, both of the indoor performance venue in the actual universe and the indoor space of Oberon's court in the dramatic universe. Most importantly, I argue that the fairies that appear in *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* no longer occupy the mythological mode of fictionality that characterizes the dramatic works in which fairy characters initially appear. Instead, I argue that the fairy figure's embeddedness in the interior spaces of the Jacobean court, like the appearances of counterfeit fairies in the stage plays, represents another way in which the changing the systems of belief surrounding these figures in the actual world of early modern England are manifesting in the dramatic universes of their performances.

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[2] Mary Ellen Lamb, "*Oberon, The Fairy Prince* (1611) and the Great Fairy Caper," in *The Popular Culture of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Jonson* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 200.

The brief plot of the masque revolves around the anticipated the arrival of King Oberon. The masque begins in a darkened outdoor landscape, described by an original stage direction: "*The first face of the scene appeared all obscure, and nothing perceived but a dark rock, with trees beyond it, and all wildness that could be presented.*"[3] Setting the opening scene of the masque in a darkened outdoor landscape evokes a familiar association with the preternatural. As I discussed in the introduction, unfamiliar landscapes located at the margins of human habitation frequently operated in fairy lore as a metaphor for the dangerous and marginal qualities of preternatural entities. The first characters to appear in this rural landscape are the crude-mouthed satyrs, including their praefect Silenus, who gather on this rocky cliff in the moonlight to the sounding of cornets, frisking about and hoping for the appearance of "nymphs to woo." There is no antimasque specifically designated by the text, but there is a vestige of it in the low class, darker, and disorderly elements evoked by the satyrs' dances. Silenus reminds the satyrs to use "chaster language" and the satyrs instead begin to discuss the gifts they hope to receive from the young king. As the time draws near to greet Oberon, the cliff on which the satyrs have been standing physically "opens" to reveal the façade "*of a bright and glorious palace, whose gates and walls were transparent*."[4] This opening of stage sets signals their movement toward

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[3] Jonson, *Oberon, The Fairy Prince,* 1-3. Italics indicated by the text and indicate an original stage direction.
[4] Jonson, *Oberon,* 104-5; John Peacock has examined the architectural design of the palace, arguing that suggesting the Inigo Jones' "in a romantic, hybrid style, partly medieval and partly Italianate Classical, which expresses the dual character of Oberon as a figure of native Arthurian legend who is also a Classical hero." "The French Element

Oberon’s palace as the time draws near for the fairy kingdom to appear. Instead of finding the fairies, however, the satyrs approach the palace to discover two sleeping sylvans, who are supposed to be keeping guard. Waking the sylvans, the satyrs begin a song about the chastity of the moon and perform an “antick” dance. When the cock crows, Silenus interrupts the music and dancing to call attention to the opening gates of the palace.

Like Dapper’s experience meeting the counterfeit fairy queen in Jonson’s *The Alchemist,* the satyrs progressively move into the interior spaces of the set as a means of seeking out an encounter with the fairies. As the satyrs, and the spectators look on, an original stage direction indicates the scene change as “*the whole palace opened, and the nation of Faies were discovered.*” From this innermost space of the dramatic apparatus, fairies and knights come dancing forth, presaging the appearance of Oberon himself. Prince Henry as Oberon is the last character to emerge from the fairy palace, moving forward into the audience in a chariot drawn by two white bears.[5] Oberon and his fairies proceed toward King James, who is seated in “Arthurs chaire” and pay him homage. Then the masquers dance with members of the court to three songs. Just as the masque began with the opening of the stage sets, the end of the masque is similarly indicated as each of the masquers begins to move back into Oberon’s palace: “*after this, they danced their last dance into the work; And with a full song the star vanished, and the whole machine closed.*”[6] The masque ends as the fairies and satyrs retreat into the closing stage sets, vanishing behind the cliff face that was visible at the beginning of the performance.

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in Inigo Jones’s Masque Designs,” In *The Court Masque,* ed. David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 150.

[5] A lot of scholarly attention has been paid to the question of whether or not real bears were used in the performance of *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*. Teresa Grant traces the presence of white bears throughout dramatic works of the time and constructs an interesting argument for the use of actual polar bears captured in their infancy. “White Bears in *Mucedorus*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*,” *Notes and Queries* 246, no. 3 (September 2001): 311-3.

[6] Jonson, *Oberon,* 371-2.

Comparing the fairies in *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* to the initial appearance of fairy characters in the Elizabethan entertainments reveals the extent to which the mode of fictionality surrounding the fairy figure has changed between 1575 and 1611. Unlike the fairies that appear in the entertainments for Elizabeth at Woodstock, for instance, the fairies in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* are confined within the interior spaces of the court. In the Woodstock entertainments Elizabeth was initially seated in an outdoor bower from where she could view the performance. The performance then required Elizabeth to leave the bower and follow the character of Hemetes the hermit into the forest landscape, which Elizabeth did on foot. By moving through the outdoor landscapes, Elizabeth experienced the fairy characters as integrated with the physical landscapes of the actual world of early modern England. The manner in which Jonson's masque constructs the dramatic universe of *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* stands in direct contrast to the entertainments. Whereas Elizabeth and other members of the audience physically moved through the actual landscapes of the English countryside where preternatural entities could seemingly appear at any point, Henry and his courtiers impersonate fairies who only appear after the opening of stage sets that artificially represent such landscapes. In the masque, the fictional world of the fairies is revealed to spectators, rather than gradually discovered. As Cooper suggests, "it seems as if the removal of landscape to within the banqueting-hall neutralized much sense of its literal possibilities….The close integration of countryside and sovereign, the sense of the queen as a creator and good genius of her own realm, is gone."[7] This neutralization of fairies as "literal possibilities" that Cooper suggests is consistent with the demythologization of the fairy figure that I have identified throughout this thesis. As I discussed in Chapter Three, the demythologization of the fairy figure refers to the process that occurs when "the weight of the basic story proportionally diminishes” and it moves from being “ontologically self-sufficient, containing a privileged space and a cyclical time” to a part of “the profane reality, characterized by ontological paucity and precariousness.”[8]

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[7] Cooper, "Location and Meaning," 144-5.

This shift in the representations of fairy characters in early modern English drama had already begun to appear by the beginning of James’ reign in 1603. As I discussed in Chapter Three, fairies that appeared in dramatic works across the 1590s increasingly began to occupy indoor spaces and, alongside the appearance of the counterfeit fairies in a number of dramatic works that I discuss in Chapter Four, represent crucial changes to the manner in which fairies were conceived as credible entities. James’ “reluctance to participate” in performances at the same level as Elizabeth contributed, at least partly, to the shift in the mode of fictionality that fairies occupied. As Helen Cooper observes, James “never took over the drama, as Elizabeth did – he never extended the symbolism outwards to insist on his own personal role in it.”[9] However, Henry’s participation in the masque as a means of conceptualizing and self-fashioning his identity as heir apparent, integrates the world of the masque with the actual world of James’ court. The masque is set in a series of imaginative landscapes, each evoked in the indoor space of Whitehall Banqueting House through the use of elaborate stage sets. In this construction, the various landscapes of the secondary universe are embedded in and contingent upon the stage sets of the actual universe. As Cooper suggests,

> There is a basic paradox in this contrast of masque and play settings. In the theatre, there is little or nothing apart from the raised stage itself to distinguish acting area from audience, but the stage represents something unequivocally different from the audience

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[8] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 77.

[9] Helen Cooper, "Location and Meaning in Masque, Morality and Royal Entertainment," in *The Court Masque*, ed. David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 144-5.

> locality. In the masque, enormous effort goes into transforming one end of the hall into somewhere as different as possible. The literal indoor setting is disguised as landscape, and cut off from the rest of the hall by the proscenium arch; and yet it is crucial to the masque that there should be no sharp imaginative division between the audience and acting area. The masquers come down to dance with member of the audience, and they can do so partly because they belong in the same social world as the spectators.[10]

In this context, the masque derives its meaning from its lack of distinction between worlds. To borrow Thomas Pavel's phrase, the world of the masque is not "ontologically self-sufficient."[11] Where fairies are portrayed in the mythological mode, as they are in earlier productions, there is always the sense that the dramatic universes of these performances continue to exist, in some form or another, long after the curtain is drawn or the last audience member leaves. Instead, the world of the masque presented in *Oberon* need not function on a real level or have any bearing on the actual world. Instead, the fairies function as highly symbolic representations of an idealized aristocratic existence. As Lamb suggests, "the courtiers then, did not so much act out the role of the fairies; they used the role of the fairies to make a claim for a superior and especially ethereal version of themselves."[12] Instead of being concerned primarily with evoking a mythological world beyond the space of the court, the masque's performance allowed courtiers to gather and interact in one place in order to participate in a communal fantasy.

In this way, the fairies of Jonson's masque share more in common with the counterfeit fairies that I discussed in Chapter Four than they do with the mythological fairies of the Elizabethan entertainments. In each of the plays featuring counterfeit fairies, con artists are successfully able to successfully exploit their victims by offering them a preternatural means to fulfill fantasies of financial gain, erotic desire, and social mobility. For the members of the middle and lower classes who seek out fairies as a means to transpose themselves above the financial and social realities of their station, their encounters fall humorously short of a preternatural encounter. In *The Alchemist,* for example, the few gold angels that Dapper pays to meet the fairy queen only afford him an encounter with a prostitute dressed like the queen of the fairies and a fairy familiar in the form of a fly (that will disappear if he looks at it). For the members of James' court, however, the masque functions as a re-articulation of these fairy encounters from an aristocratic perspective, one that has the means to evoke a fully realized version of the fantasy that lower and middle classes do not have the funds to secure. Encounters with the fairies "provided an ideal pretext for consumption…the fabulous and inexplicable wealth of the fairies naturalized the ostentatious display of the courtiers' jewels and silks as unrelated to market forces."[13] The masque of *Oberon, the Fairy Prince,* indiscriminately appropriates the elements of fairy lore that lend themselves to the creation of this fantasy and is not concerned, therefore, with creating a cohesive secondary world or engaging in a mythological mode of fictionality. Like Sir Epicure Mammon in *The Alchemist*, who desires to be so fantastically rich that he can acquire the preternatural ability to "walk through incubbae and succubae" without harm,[14] the fairies in *Oberon* represent an aristocratic prerogative to have their fantasies realized, not because of a desire to access a mythological meaning beyond the realm of the human, but because they want to recreate a fantastic realm through ostentatious display.

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[10] Cooper, "Location and Meaning," 136.
[11] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 80.
[12] Lamb, "The Great Fairy Caper," 207.

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[13] Lamb, "The Great Fairy Caper," 203.

[14] Jonson, *The Alchemist,* 2.2.48.

This fantasy was increasingly threatened the changing politics and economics of the Jacobean court. In particular, an increasingly affluent middle classes and the rise in the numbers of purchased titles made claims to social superiority through lineage more difficult to legitimize. As Lamb observes, "no longer immune to a commercial economic system, the titled nobility, like the middling sorts, felt the pressure to demonstrate its social prestige through competitive consumption."[15] Lamb argues that the distinction between aristocratic and popular forms of consumption is built into the masque itself as the aesthetic tastes displayed by the grandeur of the fairies are directly opposed to the base materiality of the satyrs. In this way, the masque represents some of the realities of the court's dynamics. The cheap trinkets that are so eagerly coveted by the satyrs suggest some of the rewards that may be within the grasp of the lower or middle class professional actors who portray them. These items are directly opposed with the desires of the fairy masquers, played by the courtiers, who want—or presumably already have—Oberon/James' favor. This construction of the world of the masque is directly opposed with the mythological mode of fictionality in the entertainments, where gifts are given to Elizabeth in the hopes that her favor within the context of the dramatic performance with transpose the boundaries of fiction and result in actual promotion. The masque, by contrast, represents a fantasy world wherein class construction is static and stable; the fairies of the court already have everything in excess, while the satyrs are appeased with gifts of better wine, Morris bells, and ribbons.[16]

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[15] Lamb, "The Great Fairy Caper," 203.

[16] The Morris dance was a traditional English folk dance originating sometime in the fifteenth century. For more on Morris dancing, see Jameson Wooders, "'With Snail Shells instead of Bells': Music, Morris Dancing, and the 'Middling Sort' of People in Eighteenth-Century Berkshire," *Folk Music Journal* 10, no. 5 (2015): 550-74. While Wooders is mainly concerned with disproving the longstanding idea Morris dancing was not found south of the Thames, the article provides useful descriptions of the motivations behind, and the communities involved in, Morris dances. In particular, Wooders discusses the centrality of bells within these communities.

The dramatic world evoked in the masque of *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* is strikingly unique in its reliance on the stage sets to evoke the fictional world of the fairies. Perhaps best described by Jonson's own use of the word "machine" in the final stage direction of the production, the entire appearance of the fairy court is contingent on the dramatic apparatus of the set. Because Inigo Jones' drawings detailing the specifications for set designs and costumes are still in existence, there is reasonably reliable evidence for what the performances would have looked like, which is not available for the other any of the other dramatic works I examine across this thesis. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong describe the stage set for the first scene of the masque as "a shutter of rocks which opened to reveal the palace."[17] In this opening scene, one end of the hall where the masque was performed would have been entirely transformed to resemble a mountain. The masque physically evokes a complete outdoor landscape in the limited space of the performance hall. This rocky cliff face remains partly visible throughout the entire masque. Jones' sketches for "scene 2: Oberon's Palace" depict an intricate and detailed palace façade, with the cliffs from the beginning scene still visible surrounding the palace. The drawing gives the impression that Oberon's palace is nestled into the surrounding mountains.[18] The palace façade that is revealed is described as transparent, "possibly affording a partial vision of Oberon and his court in *tableau* behind."[19] The entire masque anticipates the revelation of this interior space, which only happens, according to the text one night a year when the fairies "come of right to pay / Their annual vows" in "a night of homage to the British court."[20] When this interior space is finally revealed, the fairy kingdom parades outward into the space of James' actual court, offering an idealized reflection of Henry's reign to come. Like previous depictions of fairy characters, these fairies similarly derive their meaning from a close association with the landscapes they inhabit. In this instance, however, the landscape itself is a construction that is inseparable from and reflective of the early modern English court. The entirety of the fairy kingdom is generated from the machine of the dramatic apparatus, and is neatly contained within it. In this construction, the dramatic world of the fairies does not exist outside of the context of its performance, and unlike previous depictions of fairy characters, does not point outward toward fairies as an actual possibility.

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[17] Inigo Jones, *The Theatre of the Stuart Court,* ed. Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 216 n63.
[18] Jones, *The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 216.
[19] Jones, *The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 216 n63.
[20] Jonson, *Oberon,* 258-9; 253.

Embedding the fairy characters in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* within the innermost spaces of the masque evokes elements of intimate domestic space, even within its courtly context. The masque's timing is significant. Performed only a few months after Prince Henry had established his own household as Prince of Wales, the masque's symbolic opening of the fairy palace offers a metaphorical interior view of the prince's future court. On the one hand, projecting this interior space as a fairy court established the young prince's independence from the household and politics of his father. In aligning the interior spaces of his metaphorical household with the fairy traditions of the Elizabethan reign, Henry "announced his foreign policy….his fairy iconography encoded a militant Protestant posture hostile to Catholic countries, in direct opposition to his father's more pacific approach to international relations."[21] On the other hand, this view of a fairy-filled interior space aligned the young prince with the domestic spaces of childhood. As Wendy Wall suggests, "early modern writers projected an individual chronological evolution for elite children, who had to renounce folktales as part of their initiation into upper-class adulthood."[22] Fairies that are located within interior spaces, as I discussed in Chapter Four, frequently evoke an imaginative association with potentially infantilizing feminine and domestic spaces. As Lamb suggests, "alluding to the domain of women, in this case both Queen Anne and Queen Elizabeth, the intimate space of the fairy world reveals their continued but not unmediated influence over a 16-year-old Prince Henry whose maturations into adult manhood was not yet complete."[23] The closing of the palace at the end of the masque is similarly symbolic. Oberon's "night of homage to the British court" completed, the fairy masquers return to the interior spaces of the stage sets from which they emerged. Phosphorous the day star announces the deferral of Henry's pretend fairy court saying "I give way, / As Night hath done, and so must you, to Day." Ultimately, Oberon's "pretty toys," and aristocratic fantasy realm, need to be put away for the evening and defer to the actual English court.

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[21] Lamb, "The Great Fairy Caper," 202.

[22] Wall, "Why Does Puck Sweep?,"69.

It is entirely possible that, had Prince Henry lived long enough to ascend to the throne, *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* would have been the originating point for a series of dramatic works featuring fairy characters along with the prince. Henry's early appreciation of Elizabethan fairy lore and the vibrancy surrounding the production of *Oberon*, suggests that his future productions might have attempted to revitalize a mythological mode of fictionality or formulate a unique response to the demythologization of this figure. However, after Henry's death in 1612 at the age of eighteen there was a marked decline in the number of fairies appearing in contemporary drama. The excitement and promise of Prince Henry's reign anticipated by the grandeur of the fairy court in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* vanished, and similarly the promise of a theatrical fairy renaissance did not materialize.

Future generations of writers inherited this deteriorated fairy tradition. As Pavel points out, "in the history of weakening mythologies, often there is a period of systematic ambiguity" when "the mythology *as a whole* starts gradually to lose its credibility."[24] Colored by this process of demythologization, the fairy figure arguably does not completely regain the mythological gravity that characterized its appearance in the dramatic performances of Elizabeth's reign. Lamb argues that, instead, "as fanciful solutions to the cultural dilemmas of aristocrats, the continued appeal of these fairy fantasies appears in the tiny fairy palaces depicted in such poems as Michael Drayton's "Nymphidia" (1627) and Robert Herrick's "Oberon's Feast" (1648)."[25] Katharine Briggs similarly accuses these poets of "writing fantasies on littleness."[26] At a lecture given at the University of Saint Andrews in 1939, J. R. R. Tolkien claimed that the fairies of the seventeenth century were a product of "'rationalization,' which transformed the glamour of Elfland into mere finesse, and invisibility into a fragility …. In any case it was largely a literary business in which William Shakespeare and Michael Drayton played a part."[27] While I agree with these arguments, I want to suggest that the earlier emergence of the counterfeit fairy already anticipated the finality of the fairy figure's separation from a mythological mode of fictionality. The fairies that appear in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince* thus represent a final stage of the demythologization process, which began at the turn seventeenth century with the depiction of fairy characters moving between indoor and outdoor landscapes in the stage plays that I discussed in Chapter Three.

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[23] Lamb, "The Great Fairy Caper," 202.

Dramatic Works after 1615

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[24] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds*, 40.
[25] Lamb, "The Great Fairy Caper," 214.
[26] Briggs, *Anatomy of Puck*, 47; 56.
[27] J. R. R. Tolkien, *Tolkien "On Fairy Stories,"* ed. Verlyn Flieger and Douglas Anderson (London: Harper Collins, 2014), 29.

Both real and counterfeit fairy characters make few notable appearances in dramatic works after the first decade and a half of the seventeenth century. Only four dramatic works composed between 1615 and 1642 feature fairy characters: Beaumont and Fletcher's stage play *The Humorous Lieutenant* (1619), William Davenant and Inigo Jones' masque *Luminalia, or The Festivall of Light* (1638), John Day's allegorical drama *The Parliament of Bees* (1626), and Thomas Randolph's stage play *Amyntas* (1630).[28] I suggest that the fairy characters that appear in each of these dramatic works evoke depictions of fairies similar to those I have already examined in previous chapters. These limited appearances of fairies harken back to fairy encounters in earlier texts, rather than generating new ways of dramatizing fairy figures.

The Humorous Lieutenant, for instance, evokes elements of fairy lore that were most prominent in earlier dramatic works such as *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Endymion,* and *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*.[29] Like the plays composed at the turn of the seventeenth century, which I examine in Chapter Three, the plot of *The Humorous Lieutenant*'s features fairy characters that are real within the dramatic universe and make a brief appearance in outdoor English landscapes. In the play, King Antigonus hopes to expand his territory by martial force and sends Prince Demetrius, his son, and Demetrius' friend Leonitus to lead the ensuing conquest. In the midst of the first battle, one of the lieutenants becomes apprehensive at the thought of fighting and complains of various ailments. Attempts to return the lieutenant to the battlefield fail, but wine momentarily cures him, and he proves a formidable asset to his army. While Demetrius is at war, Antigonus learns that his son has been carrying on an affair with a young woman named Celia, who is Antigonus' prisoner of war. He immediately is attracted to her but his attempts at seducing her fail. Antigonus lies to Demetrius and says Celia has been executed for crimes of witchcraft and then hires a magician to concoct a love potion that will make Celia fall in love with himself. The magician creates a love potion with the help of fairies that he conjures. The ingredients the fairies list for the love potion recall earlier depictions of fairy dealings.

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[28] Wiggins and Richardson have classified the genre of *The Parliament of Bees* as "dialogues." *British Drama 1533–1642*, vol. 7, no. 2187. In addition to these four plays, Sir Henry Herbert was licensed for a play by John Ford and Thomas Dekker titled *The Fairy Knight* in 1624. This play is no longer extant. Wiggins and Richardson, vol. 7, no. 2119.

[29] Wiggins and Richardson propose a date of 1619, although the play might have been composed as late at 1623. vol. 7, no. 1898.

> Here's a little little Flower,
> . . . .
> Here's the powder of the Moone
> With which she caught Endymion,
> . . . .
> These I stir thus, round, round, round,
> Whilst our light feet beat the ground.[30]

While Beaumont and Fletcher would have certainly been familiar with Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and likely also with John Lyly's *Endymion,* it is less certain whether their audiences would have picked up on the references to plays that had been long out of the theater companies' repertoires by this time. However, the "powder of the moon" certainly has resonances of Endymion's love for the moon goddess Cynthia in Lyly's play. The love potion made from a "little little Flower," recalls the "little western flower" that causes the confusion between lovers in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, especially since Demetrius features as a character in both plays.[31] Most notably, the effects of the love potion cause a *Midsummer-Night's-Dream*–like mix up in the dramatic universe of *The Humorous Lieutenant:* after the magician exits, the cup containing the love potion is left unattended. Meanwhile, the lieutenant faints at the sight of battle, and, mistaking the love potion for liquor, his friends attempt to revive him. On waking, the lieutenant falls in love with the king. Eventually all is set right when Celia is revealed to be the daughter of one of Antigonus' rivals, her marriage to Demetrius results in peace between nations, and the effects of the love potion wear off of the lieutenant.

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[30] Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Humorous Lieutenant,* 4.3.28-43.
[31] *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* 2.1.151.

In addition to these gestures toward Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Lyly's *Endymion,* the brief appearance of the fairies in *The Humorous Lieutenant* also recalls the fairies of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll.* In specifying the flower used in the love potion as a "little little flower," *The Humorous Lieutenant* recalls the fairy named "Little, little Pricke." Various plot elements also echo *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll.* Both plays feature fairies conjured by magicians, a misplaced cup, and the misapplied love potions.

Fairies also appear in one of the last masques staged in the Stuart court, *Luminalia, or The Festivall of Light* written by William Davenant and designed by Inigo Jones in 1638. Written for Queen Henrietta Maria's celebration of Shrove Tuesday (February 6, 1638), the antimasque is dedicated to darkness, and this first portion of the performance features many of the preternatural figures associated with fairy lore. In the section specifically titled "antimasque by the attendants of night," the fairies appear led by "Pierocall a principall Captaine under King Auberon."[32] After the fairies exit, the fourth song of the performance calls for the entrance of an "Ignis Fatuus," witches, the "devil in the shape of a Goat," and Robin Goodfellow.[33] These various entities subsequently disappear in the second half of the masque, which is dedicated to daytime and light. It is interesting, however, that the fairies in this masque are associated with dark elements, which, while consistent with their depiction across much of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, stands in contrast with their elevated role in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince.*

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[32] William Davenant, *Luminalia, or The Festival of Light* (London, 1638), B1r. STC 847:02. *Early English Books Online.*

[33] Davenant, *Luminalia,* B2r.

John Day's allegorical drama *The Parliament of Bees* uses fairies as part of his "allegoricall description of the actions of good and bad men in these our daies."[34] Published posthumously in 1641, it has become one of the works for which John Day is better known but may not have been performed during his lifetime. The drama features twelve characters, including Oberon who is on a royal progress with his fairy train to Hybla.[35] Oberon and the fairies arrive shortly before the end of the production. Oberon receives gifts from his loyal subjects and banishes miscreants from the beehive that is the allegorical setting of the drama. Unique for its explicit inclusion of fairies within the kingdom of insects, the drama also nostalgically harkens back to the association of fairies with the English monarchy evident in the Elizabethan entertainments, in *Oberon, the Fairy Prince,* and in several of the stage plays.

Thomas Randalph's *Amyntas* resurrects the counterfeit fairy. In the play, Dorylas and his friends dress as elves in order to rob apples from the orchard of the fairy-obsessed Jocastus. When he is caught, Dorylas claims to be Oberon the fairy king, and 'knights' Jocastus. When Jocastus' brother Mopsus, lacks the money to marry Thestylis, Dorylas comes up with a second plan. He once again disguises himself as Oberon in order to woo Jocastus (who himself is disguised as Maid Marian for a Morris dance). Dorylas convinces Jocastus that, if he takes a sex change herb, Oberon will marry him and Jocastus will supplant his wife, Queen Mab, as queen of fairyland. The ruse works, and Jocastus is persuaded to give half of his land to Dorylas and half to Mopsus in anticipation of his new fairy estate. The manner in which Dorylas evokes fairy lore in order to fool Jocastus closely resembles the several appearances of counterfeit fairies that

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[34] Davenant, *Luminalia.*
[35] Oberon is spelled Oborn throughout the masque.

I discussed in Chapter Four, although the counterfeit Oberon is original. Dorylas is even able to convince Jocastus that his “elves” “Cannot speake this language.”[36] Instead the elves use the “fairy language” “Ti-ti-ta-ti-Tititatie” very much like the tongue that Subtle and Face invent in Ben Jonson’s *The Alchemist* to represent the language of the fairies.[37]

These few generically diverse “stragglers” featuring fairy characters after 1615 testify to the lasting influence of the fairy characters and plotlines from Elizabethan and Jacobean drama as well as a more general resilience of the fairy figure overall. However, many of these works feature fairies characters in a limited capacity. Of these dramatic works, only *Amyntas* features fairy characters that appear in more than one section of the text, and in most cases, the appearance of the fairies is not centrally integrated into the plots. The relatively limited presence of fairy characters, along with the fact that a general trend cannot be readily identified across these later texts, points to the uniqueness of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic works because of their focused and creatively productive engagement with fairy lore.

Conclusion

Over the forty-year period between 1575 and 1615, fairy characters in early modern English drama underwent a significant change. While in their earliest dramatic manifestations in the entertainments fairies were integrated with the outdoor landscapes of the rural English countryside, stage plays increasingly began to feature fairies appearing in the indoor urban locations of London and its environs. Beginning with *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1597, the counterfeit fairy emerged as a way for playwrights to negotiate the increasingly tenuous place of fairy lore in these new settings farther removed from nature. I suggest that this evolution from fictionally real fairies to fictionally counterfeit fairies within the dramatic universes of the respective texts represents a process of demythologization of the fairy figure.

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[36] Thomas Randalf, *Amyntas*, in *The Poems and* Amyntas *of Thomas Randolph,* ed. John Jay Perry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), 3.4.72.

[37] Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 5.4.

Both in the dramatic works themselves, and early modern English culture more broadly, the ability to understand the place of fairies as fictional entities became a way of denoting intellectual elitism. As Purkiss suggests, "the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were beginning to treat 'popular' beliefs as amusing curiosities….only the really urban sophisticate could take an obsessive interest in the hilarious fancies of his forebearers."[38] The dramatic works I examine in Chapter Four illustrate how those members of the lower classes who recognized and understood fairies as fictional could draw on fairy lore as a means of socially or financially elevating themselves, occasionally at the expense of higher class characters who were unable to make such distinctions. While skepticism regarding the credibility of fairies circulated in England well before fairies first appeared in theatrical performances, the emergence of the counterfeit fairy as a character type embodied the fundamentally problematic nature of this figure. Ultimately, the evolution of the fairy figure in Elizabethan and then Jacobean drama both reflected and propagated a conception of this figure as demythologized, a conception that proved to be influential to its later manifestations.

I suggest that exploring the evolution of the fairy characters and their dramatic universes is productive because it indicates a shift in the way that early modern authors and audiences perceived of and actively molded the boundary between mythology and fiction. As Pavel observes, "The strict delimination of boundaries between fictional and nonfictional territories is not a universal phenomenon. Fictional domains have undergone a long process of structuring, ossification, and delimination."[39] The boundaries separating the realm of fiction from the realm of the actual, or indeed, the mythological from the fictional, are frequently as unstable and permeable as the invisible wall between the acting space and the space of the audience is in theater. However, while these boundaries, and the fairies themselves are frequently invisible to humans, they always leave some trace of having been there—a coin in a shoe, a clean house, or a ring in the forest. I suggest then, that by reading the traces that the fairies leave behind in the form of the successive inscriptions that fairy lore has carved into both actual and fictional landscapes, allows an imperfect picture of the ways that fairies function in drama. Problematically, trying to definitively locate the place of the fairy figure within these realms at any precise historical moment proves difficult because the fairies are, by definition, capricious creatures. Any attempt to reify fairy belief always contends with the fact that we may, in the words of the naked and penniless Morion from *The Valiant Welshman*, "return home worse fools than we came."

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[38] Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 198.

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[39] Pavel, *Fictional Worlds,* 76.

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