Recent Studies in the English Renaissance

ELR bibliographical essays are intended to combine a topical review of research with a reasonably complete bibliography. Scholarship is organized by authors or titles of anonymous works. Items included represent combined entries listed in the annual bibliographies published by PMLA, YWES, and MHRA from 1971 through, in the present instance, 2005 with additional items through 2006. The format used here is a modified version of that used in *Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. Terence P. Logan and Denzel S. Smith, 4 vols. (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1973–78).

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RECENT ECOCRITICAL STUDIES OF ENGLISH RENAISSANCE LITERATURE

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The definition of ecocriticism used in this essay generally follows that offered on the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment (ASLE) website (http://www.asle.umn.edu/archive/intro/intro.html): the study of the relationship between literary and cultural artifacts and the natural environment. As a recently constructed field of study, ecocriticism often retrospectively embraces critical work not originally or intentionally designed as such; books and essays that fall under this rubric have been included here when the author's attention to the *physical* natural world or its conceptual influence on literature and culture is a significant component of the argument. Works in which "nature" refers primarily or exclusively to human behavior or ontology have been excluded, as have works that deal primarily or exclusively with the aesthetic aspects of genres like pastoral or georgic. So too, works focusing on the sciences themselves, rather than natural philosophy's engagement with the natural world, are omitted.

Background Studies (selected)

Bilskey, Lester J., ed. *Historical Ecology: Essays on Environment and Social Change* (1980).
Crumley, Carole L., ed. *Historical Ecology: Cultural Knowledge and Changing Landscapes* (1994).
Edwards, Peter. *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (1988).
Evans, E. P. *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals: The Lost History of Europe's Animal Trials* (1906; rpt. 1988).
Grove, Richard H. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1800* (1995).
Harrison, Robert Pogue. *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (1992).
Hinde, Thomas. *Forests of Britain* (1985).
Hoeniger, F. David. "How Plants and Animals Were Studied in the Mid-Sixteenth Century," in *Science and the Arts in the Renaissance*, ed. John W. Shirley, F. David Hoeniger, and John Andrews (1985), pp. 130–48.
James, N. D. G. *A History of English Forestry* (1981).
Janson, H. W. *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1952; rpt. 1976).
Malcolmson, Robert and Stephanos Mastoris. *The English Pig: A History* (1998).
Overton, Mark. *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy 1500–1850* (1996).
Rackham, Oliver. *Ancient Woodland, its History, Vegetation and Uses in England* (1980).
Richards, John F. *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (2003).
Russell, Nicholas. *Like Engend'ring Like: Heredity and Animal Breeding in Early Modern England* (1986).
Smith, C. T. *An Historical Geography of Western Europe Before 1800* (1976).
Thirsk, Joan. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vols. IV, V (1985).
——. *Alternative Agriculture, A History: From the Black Death to the Present Day* (1997).
——. *Horses in Early Modern England: For Service, for Pleasure, for Power* (1978).
——. ed. *The English Rural Landscape* (2000).
Whyte, Ian D. *Landscape and History Since 1500* (2002).

I. General Studies

In *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (2006) Robert N. Watson analyzes the connection between early modern religious, scientific, and artistic epistemologies and ecological alienation in works by Shakespeare, Marvell, and Traherne, and in seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Celebrations of nature, pastoral nostalgia, the search for wilderness, and sensitivity to

non-human life in the late Renaissance all respond to this alienation and a corresponding despair over the possibility of recovering a fully natural "real" world. Raymond Williams explores the role of capitalism in constructing distinctions between rural and urban spaces and practices in *The Country and the City* (1973). Keith Thomas reconstructs early modern assumptions and beliefs about human relationships to animals, vegetation, and the land in *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (1983). In "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967) 1203–37; rpt. in *The Ecocriticism Reader* (1996), ed. Cheryl Glotfelty and Harold Fromm, pp. 3–14, Lynn White Jr. locates the origins of twentieth-century ecological conditions in the historical rise to dominance of Judeo-Christian values. Max Oelschlaeger focuses on the transition from medieval organicism to early modern economic and mechanistic views of wilderness in "The Alchemy of Modernism: The Transmission of Wilderness into Nature" in his *The Idea of Wilderness From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (1991), pp. 68–96. Diane Kelsey McColley, "The Commodious Ark: Nature's Voice in Early Modern Poetry," in *The Environmental Tradition in English Literature*, ed. John Parham (2002), pp.130–43, argues for an early modern ecological consciousness in Milton's and Marvell's poetic portraits of human responsiveness to the natural world.

II. Studies of Individual Topics

A. *Gender.* In *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (1980) Carolyn Merchant argues for the displacement during the early modern period of an organic view of the world by scientific and mechanistic models that "sanctioned the domination of both nature and women." Sylvia Bowerbank, *Speaking for Nature: Women and Ecologies of Early Modern England* (2004), argues that the early modern origins of ecofeminism can be found in women writers' responses to the association of the natural world with women—powerless, marginalized, despised, demonized; writers such as Margaret Cavendish and Mary Wroth consequently established a politicized defense of nature that constituted a form of self-defense and re-valuing of both nature and women. In the same vein, Bill Phillips contrasts Milton's and Donne's exploitative representations of nature with women writers' explorations of the paradoxes and problems involved in using the woman=nature equation to justify patriarchy and imperialism in "The Rape of Mother Earth in Seventeenth Century English Poetry: An Ecofeminist Interpretation," *AtlantisR* 26 (2004), 49–60. Donna Landry, "Green Language: Women Poets as Naturalists in 1653 and 1807," in *Forging Connections: Women's Poetry from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Anne K. Mellor, Felicity Nussbaum, and Jonathan F. S. Post (2002), pp. 39–61, turns the equation around to argue that women's different relationship to the natural world influences their relationship to poetry.

Anne E. McIhaney, " 'Whole Shoals of Men': Representations of Women Anglers in Seventeenth Century British Poetry," in *Reading the Earth: New Directions in the Study of Literature and the Environment*, ed. Michael P. Branch, Rochelle Johnson, Daniel Patterson, and Scott Slovic (1998), pp. 55–66, argues that the piscatory pastoral, a religious sub-genre that characterizes men as fishers of souls, was often adapted to models of erotic love depicting women as anglers using their beauty for bait.

B. *Animals.* Louis B. Wright, "Animal Actors on the English Stage Before 1642," *PMLA* 42 (1927), 656–69, offers a thorough overview of the presence of animals in stage plays, arguing that playwrights could rely on a pool of animal actors well-trained by their use in interludes and other informal entertainments. Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (2000), argues that animals' ideological function in policing the boundaries between human and non-human was complicated and even undermined by the logical implications of their representation in literature, natural philosophy, the law, and religion. In "Monstrous Acts: Bestiality in Early Modern England," *History Today* 50 (2000), 20–25, Fudge explains that the 1533 act declaring bestiality a capital offence marked a new fear about differentiating humans from animals, inspired by New World discovery, the Reformation, and empirical science. Manfred Pfister, " 'Man's Distinctive Mark': Paradoxical Distinctions between Man and His Bestial Other in Early Modern Texts," in *Telling Stories: Studies in Honour of Ulrich Broich on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, ed. Elmar Lehmann and Bernd Lenz (1992), pp. 17–33, argues that monstrosity, colonial encounters, and examples of bestiality all confuse human and non-human beings, thus potentially dismantling the neat hierarchies of the Great Chain of Being.

Erica Fudge prints eight essays on animals in her *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans and Other Wonderful Creatures* (2004). Kathryn Perry's "Unpicking the Seam: Talking Animals and Reader Pleasure in Early Modern Satire," pp. 19–36, argues that the use of talking animals in satire could pose a threat to ideals of order and decorum, or could arouse pleasure at the risks in seeing the human/animal boundary subverted. Brian Cummings, "Pliny's Literate Elephant and the Idea of Animal Language in Renaissance Thought," pp. 164–85, examines the epistemological crisis precipitated by animal speech. S. J. Wiseman, "Hairy on the Inside: Metamorphosis and Civility in English Werewolf Texts," pp. 50–69, argues that werewolves "articulate and resolve a crisis" in defining the human, while Peter Harrison, "Reading Vital Signs: Animals and the Experimental Philosophy," pp. 186–207, claims that animals' status with the new practitioners of natural philosophy as aesthetically perfect works of God paradoxically led to their increasingly inhumane treatment. James Knowles argues the special place of the ape in challenging ideas about the uniqueness of

humans in " 'Can Ye Not Tell a Man from a Marmoset?': Apes and Others on the Early Modern Stage," pp. 138–63. In "Saying Nothing Concerning the Same: On Dominion, Purity, and Meat in Early Modern England," pp. 70–86, Erica Fudge notes that Reformation theology could not fully account for the implications of meat-eating when it potentially threatened distinctions between animal and human. Elspeth Graham notes in "Reading, Writing, and Riding Horses in Early Modern England: James Shirley's *Hyde Park* (1632) and Gervase Markham's *Cavelarice* (1607)," pp. 116–37, that horses are "spectacularized" and objectified by both works. Alan Stewart connects James's apparently trivial canine epithets for Robert Cecil and his style of governance in "Government by Beagle: The Impersonal Rule of James VI and I," pp. 101–15.

Four essays in *The Culture of the Horse: Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World*, ed. Karen Raber and Treva J. Tucker (2005), address the special place of the horse in early modern England. Kevin de Ornellas links references to horse-care to political criticism of England's social and economic failures in " 'Faith, Say A Man Should Steal Ye—and Feed Ye Fatter': Equine Hunger and Theft in *Woodstock*," pp. 113–37. Karen Raber argues in "A Horse of a Different Color: Nation and Race in Early Modern Horsemanship Treatises," pp. 225–43, that through depictions of breeds, grooming, and ownership, writers could reconfigure issues of class, nation, and race in the later seventeenth century, while Richard Nash claims the creation and preferment of the thoroughbred horse was a principal site for the construction of national superiority in " 'Honest English Breed': The Thoroughbred as Cultural Metaphor," pp. 245–72. Donna Landry connects the invention of the forward riding seat, also called the hunt seat, with ideas of English liberty and freedom in "Learning to Ride in Early Modern Britain, or, The Making of the English Hunting Seat," pp. 329–49.

Karen L. Raber focuses on the creation of animal subjectivity in " 'Reasonable Creatures': William Cavendish and the Art of Dressage," in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (1999), pp. 42–66. Mary E. Fissell, "Imagining Vermin in Early Modern England," in *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Angela N. H. Creager and William Chester Jordan (2002), pp. 77–114, argues that the categorization of certain creatures as vermin is an indicator of which historical changes in human social order generated anxiety—for instance, the social and symbolic status of food, a typical target for verminous theft. Constance B. Hieatt argues that the lost language of falconry significantly influences interpretation of passages in Spenser, Shakespeare, Heywood, and others, in "Stooping at a Simile: Some Literary Uses of Falconry," *PLL* 19 (1983), 339–60. Timothy Raylor explores Samuel Hartlib's book on bee-keeping as a model for agricultural reform and communal politics in "Samuel Hartlib and the Commonwealth of Bees," in *Culture and Cultivation in Early Modern England: Writing and the Land*, ed.

Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (1992), pp. 91–129. Susan Wiseman traces the troubling overlap of ape and human in "Monstrous Perfectibility: Ape-Human Transformations in Hobbes, Bulwer, Tyson," in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, and Susan Wiseman (1999), pp. 215–38.

Ian MacInnes argues that animal character attaches to and clarifies human identity in "Mastiffs and Spaniels" Gender and Nation in the English Dog," *TexP* 17 (2003), 21–40: the English were, according to MacInnes, caught in the contrast between a sense of themselves as rude, rough, savage fighters, versus their depiction as civil but fawning sycophants. In "Clever Dogs and Nimble Spaniels: On the Iconography of Logic, Invention and Imagination," *EIRC* 24 (1998), 1–36, Karl Josef Höltgen claims the special flexibility of the dog in metaphorically conveying aspects of human reason and imagination. Building on Höltgen's work, James S. Baumlin and Barbara Watson, " 'Rational' Dogs and Spiritual Fools: The Renaissance Iconography of 'Natural' Reason vs. Divine Guidance in German Artwork and English Poetry," *EIRC* 30 (2004), 197–230, include dogs engaged in spiritual, as well as rational quests, as they appear in alchemical texts, the tarot, and the poetry of George Herbert. Matthew Bliss, in "Property or Performer: Animals on the Elizabethan Stage," *TheatreS* 39 (1994), 45–59, argues that animals were in some plays probably able to take commands and perform, in others reduced to objects, resulting in the constant redrawing of the boundary between animal and actor. Mark S. R. Jenner, "The Great Dog Massacre," in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (1997), pp. 44–61, dismisses the idea that dogs and cats were routinely killed to prevent plague and other diseases, and argues instead that because such animals resembled masterless men, they became targets for fears about the erosion of social order.

In "Reading the Passions: The Fall, the Passion and Dominion Over Nature," in *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Stephen Gaukroger (1998), pp. 49–78, Peter Harrison claims that animals were used to represent symbolically fallen human nature, especially the passions over which human control often failed. David Cressy uses a case of monstrous animal birth to argue for an historiographical practice attentive to "discord and dissension" in "Agnes Bowker's Cat: Childbirth, Seduction, Bestiality, and Lies," in his *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (2000), pp. 9–28. Bruce Boehrer focuses on the parrot in literature, arguing that it was gradually associated with intellectual inferiority in " 'Men, Monkeys, Lap-Dogs, Parrots, Perish All!': Psittacine Articulacy in Early Modern Writing," *MLQ* 59 (1998), 171–93. In "The Passions and Animal Language, 1540–1700," *JHI* 62 (2001), 427–44, R. W. Serjeantson demonstrates that by the sixteenth century, a consensus had emerged among philosophers that animal speech expressed animal passion, and so presented a challenge to the supposed unique status of humans.

Robert B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1484–1640* (1993), claims although hunting was legally and socially important in enforcing social distinction, in practice it was a far more socially diverse a pursuit. In "Hunting, Hawking, and the Early Tudor Gentleman," *History Today* 53 (2003), 21–27, James Williams concludes that hunting's popularity stemmed in part from its function in creating and affirming class values and social networks among the gentry. Matt Cartmill focuses on the rise of anti-hunting sentiment in More and Shakespeare in ch. 5 of *A View to A Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature Through History* (1995). Dan Beaver analyzes the role of hunting's ideological uses in criticizing injustice, the failure of noble behavior, and local abuses of law and custom in "The Great Deer Massacre: Animals, Honor, and Communication in Early Modern England," *JBS* 38 (1999), 187–216. In "The Forest, the Wild, and the Sacred: A Study of *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forest* by John Manwood," in his *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World*, trans. Janet Lloyd (1981), Richard Marienstras examines hunting laws for the social and political ideologies they convey.

C. *Gardens, Landscapes, Geography.* In *Green Desire: Imagining Early Modern English Gardens* (2003), Rebecca Bushnell argues that garden and husbandry manuals are a template to changing expectations among early moderns about the material and imaginative conditions of life, constructing readers and writers as well as the gardens they purported to help create. Terry Comito's *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (1978) surveys the function of the representation of gardens as an imaginative interconnection between self and world—gardens as sacred spaces, as places of philosophy, of love. John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600–1750* (1986; rpt. 1996) notes that the English garden's theatricality, gardeners' interest in antiquity, and the association of political authority with the garden were initially derived from Italian sources; later in the seventeenth century, choosing to follow this Italian, rather than the new French, style could itself have political implications. Roy Strong connects the history of garden design with the institution and propaganda of the monarchy in *The Renaissance Garden in England* (1979; rpt. 1998). Jennifer Nevile compares the static designs of gardens with courtly dance patterns in "Dance and the Garden: Moving and Static Choreography in Renaissance Europe," *RenQ* 52 (1999), 805–36.

Kenneth Robert Olwig finds that landscape as a social and political concept evolves to articulate changing ideas about nation, community, and state in *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World* (2002). Chris Fitter historicizes the aesthetics of landscape description in early modern literature in *Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory* (1995). In *From Landscape to Literature: The River and the Myth of Geography* (1986),

William H. Herendeen analyzes the emergence of the river poem in early modern literature, situating it in the context of historical fascination with rivers as the markers of national identity, distinction, and unity of a people. In *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630–1660* (1979), James G. Turner analyzes the ideological uses of landscape and topography, arguing that moral analogies between landscapes and their owners, between the physical body of humans and the natural organization of the land, and between peaceful kingdoms and country estates, all of which naturalize social hierarchy, and were complicated and destabilized by Caroline politics. H. M. Richmond argues that English Renaissance poets' ecological sensibilities can be traced to the importance of nature in their European and classical antecedents in *Renaissance Landscapes: English Lyrics in a European Tradition* (1973).

In "The Plot Thickens: Surveying Manuals, Drama, and the Materiality of Narrative Form in Early Modern England," *ELH* 69 (2002), 617–48, Martin Brückner and Kristen Poole mount a material-historical analysis of the idea of "plotting," with its origins in geographical and legal terminology, focusing on how the theater appropriated a "geodetic vocabulary" to describe its practices.

D. *Georgic.* Andrew McRae focuses on depictions of the land, the plough, and the laborer who tills as cultural images that negotiate the social dislocations of agricultural improvement in *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660* (1996). McRae likewise claims the plough is the central term in legitimizing constructions of georgic labor merged with pastoral ideals of ease in "Husbandry Manuals and the Language of Agrarian Improvement," in Leslie and Raylor (II, B), pp. 35–62. Anthony Low's *The Georgic Revolution* (1985) argues that the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century was preceded and made possible by a "georgic revolution" in seventeenth-century literature and science, which transformed ways of thinking about rural life, land and labor. In "New Science and the Georgic Revolution in Seventeenth Century English Literature," *ELR* 13 (1983), 231–59, Low shows that advances in the new science helped dispel "anti-georgic" prejudices, paving the way for the georgic revolution. In "Agricultural Reform and the Love Poems of Thomas Carew; with an Instance from Lovelace," in Leslie and Raylor (II, B), pp. 63–80, Low contrasts Carew's poetry, which reflects the positive connotations beginning to accrue to the idea of a market economy, with that of Lovelace, which directly appropriates images on land enclosure to affirm libertinism and the latitudes of a free market.

III. Studies of Individual Writers

A. *Edmund Spenser (1552–1599).* Sean Kane, "Spenserian Ecology," *ELH* 50 (1983), 461–83, argues for using the principles of ecology to analyze cyclical and

random patterns in the structure of *The Faerie Queene*. In "Shepherds, Wolves, Foxes and Others in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," *Reinardus* 7 (1994), 113–26, Elizabeth Porges Watson shows that Spenser's use of animal folklore and beast fables as sources for his allegorical animals allows him gently to admonish the English Church to greater vigilance over its own excesses. In "Spenser's Ark of Animals: Animal Imagery in the *Faery Queen*," *SEL* 3 (1963), 85–107, Madeleine Pelner Cosman concludes that Spenser's pervasive use of animals actually contributes to the humanizing of characters, showing their emotions, differentiating character types, and creating lively action. Thomas Herron explores Spenser's pro-Irish "georgic spirit" in "'Goodly Woods': Irish Forests, Georgic Trees in Books 1 and 4 of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *JRMMRA* 19 (1998), 97–122.

B. *William Shakespeare (1564–1616).* In *Green Shakespeare: From Ecopolitics to Ecocriticism* (2006), Gabriel Egan analyzes Shakespeare's plays alongside patterns of recent ecological crises, advances in genetics, geology, and nuclear fission, as well as in the context of Shakespeare's own world's understanding of humoral theory, dietary regime, and astrology, to argue that the plays stage competing ideas about organicism and mechanism. Egan also argues that the "much-reviled" *Elizabethan World Picture* of E. M. W. Tillyard bears a striking resemblance to ecocriticism's "Gaia hypothesis" (the proposition that the earth is a single, unified organism) in "Shakespeare and Ecocriticism: The Unexpected Return of the Elizabethan World Picture," *LiteratureC* 1 (2003–2004). Jeanne Addison Roberts argues that forest settings embody confusion, wandering, and error in an artificial, not realistic version of landscape in "Shakespeare's Forests and Trees," *SHR* 11 (1977), 108–25, and offers a feminist, psychoanalytic reading in *The Shakespearean Wild: Geography, Genus, and Gender* (1991), proposing that Shakespeare's plays establish the "seductive and terrifying" wild, whether figured through landscapes or animals, as that which is outside patriarchal control, but which is never fully walled off by the apparent triumphs of (male-dominated) civilization. Linda Woodbridge, "Green Shakespeare," in her *The Scythe of Saturn: Shakespeare and Magical Thinking* (1994), argues that the consequence of analogizing the state as a body and vice versa was a profound responsiveness in Shakespeare's plays to organic nature, and a resistance to deforestation, urbanization, enclosure, and other threats to the natural world.

Allen Debus, "The Study of Nature in a Changing World," in his *Man and Nature in the Renaissance* (1978), situates natural philosophy in the context of medical and scientific advances, proposing that a period of "textual criticism" displaces old methods in favor of observation. In *Shakespeare's "King Lear" with "The Tempest": The Discovery of Nature and the Recovery of Classical Natural Right* (2004), Mark A. McDonald claims that even as nature comes to seem detached from its older moral implications, natural philosophy becomes increasingly

important to Shakespeare's concept of natural causes for human justice. L. T. Fitz [Linda Woodbridge], "The Vocabulary of the Environment in *The Tempest*," *SQ* 26 (1975), 42–47, argues that while the play's masque emphasizes cultivation, order, and fruitfulness, the "reality" of the island is that it is represented as hostile, wild, and barren. Iffat Ara suggests that women catalyze a return to the external, natural world in "Art and Nature in *Love's Labours Lost*," *AJES 14* (1989), 131–41.

Simon C. Estok coins the term "ecophobia" in "Conceptualizing the Other in Hostile Early Modern Geographies: Situating Ecocriticism and Difference," *ELLS* 45 (1999), 877–98, to describe the patterns of social and racial oppression in works like *The Tempest, Henry V*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, as well as Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, that are integrally connected to the process of environmental domination and commodification. In "Teaching the Environment of *The Winter's Tale*: Ecocritical Pedagogy for Shakespeare," in *Shakespeare Matters: History, Teaching, Performance*, ed. Lloyd Davis (2003), pp. 177–90, Estok offers a materialist reading of nature in the play in order to argue that it fails to challenge the ecophobic perspective of Shakespeare's world, and in "Pushing the Limits of Ecocriticism: Environment and Social Resistance in *2 Henry VI* and *2 Henry IV*," *ShakesRev* 40 (2004), 631–58, he argues that ecocritical methods applied to Shakespeare's two plays are especially useful in highlighting a necessary connection between social rebellion and attitudes toward nature.

Robert N. Watson, "As You Liken It: Simile in the Wilderness," *ShakeS* 56 (2003), 79–92, later incorporated into his *Back to Nature* (I), proposes Shakespeare "herald[s] a great inversion in his culture's quest for truth"; *As You Like It* in particular repeatedly represents a desire for simple unification with nature that is belied by the workings of language, which interjects self-consciousness between the speaker and the world. In *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature: A Study of "King Lear"* (1969), John Danby claims that the play contrasts two visions of nature—as benign, rational, orderly, and benevolent toward humans, or amoral and malignant, infected with the new scientific, bureaucratic regimented, Hobbesian aspects of seventeenth-century culture. Xiaoyang Zhang follows Danby's divison of nature in his overview, "Shakespeare and the Idea of Nature in the Renaissance," in *Shakespeare and the Triple Play: From Study to Stage to Classroom*, ed. Sidney Homan (1988), pp. 82–88.

Simon C. Estok introduces a special cluster on Shakespeare and ecocriticism for *ISLE* 12:2 (2005), 109–17, focusing on obstacles to and advantages of bringing ecological criticism to bear on early literatures. Breyan Strickler's essay for the volume, "Sex in the City: An Ecocritical Perspective on the Place of Gender and Race in *Othello*," 119–37, connects images of ecological contamination in the play with its themes of purity and pollution. Frederick O. Waage focuses on dirt, earth, and mud in advancing Estok's analysis of what ecocriticism can contribute to a reading of Shakespeare in "Shakespeare

Unearth'd," 139–64. Sharon O'Dair analyzes Mazursky's film adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* for its concretizing extension of the play's pastoralism in "*The Tempest* as *Tempest*: Does Paul Mazursky 'Green' William Shakespeare?" 165–78.

In " 'Tongues in Trees': The Book of Nature in *As You Like It*," *MLS* 18 (1988), 65–74, Paul J. Willis focuses on the ways that characters in the play "read" Arden differently, concluding that Shakespeare questions the notion that nature easily translates into a book in which God's design can be discerned. In "The Green Underworld of Early Shakespearean Tragedy," *ShakeS* 17 (1985), 25–47, Charles R. Forker claims that the green world of nature and creation is still present, albeit as a lost potentiality, in tragedies like *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Titus Andronicus*.

In *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (1994), John Gillies argues that Shakespeare was exposed to both the new geography and the old cosmography of his time, relying on both to represent cultural distinctions between Europe and its Others. Garrett A. Sullivan Jr. explores Shakespeare's use of the old and new geographies in structuring ideals of hospitality, paternity, and flight in the comedies and romances in "Shakespeare's Comic Geographies," *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Comedies*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (2003), III, 182–99. Caroline Patey argues that the theater and the garden share "an aesthetics, a philosophy of life and even . . . the same technological universe" in "Shakespeare's Italian Nature, or From Garden to Stage," in *The Renaissance Theatre: Texts, Performance, Design*, ed. Christopher Cairns (1999), I, 107–16.

Edward I. Berry, in *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (2001), analyzes the historical, social and literary attitudes for and against hunting, claiming that it was a vital locus of social conflict over definitions of monarchy and structures of social distinction and gender. Chris Fitter, "The Slain Deer and Political Imperium: *As You Like It* and Marvell's 'Nymph Complaining for the Death of Her Fawn,' " *JEGP* 98 (1999), 193–218, argues that from political resistance to absolutism early modern writers derived new sensitivities about tyranny toward "inferior creatures" in the royal pastime of the hunt, conveyed through the literary topos of the sobbing deer. In "The Idea of Hunting in *As You Like It*," *ShS* 21 (1993), 72–95, A. Stuart Daley explains the technical aspects of hunting that would have been familiar to Shakespeare's audience.

In *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England* (2002), Bruce Boehrer describes the ways that animal metaphors, bestiality, interest in exotic species, and the species/race intersection in early modern drama could function as positive opportunities in the construction of biological and social identities. Anthony Dent establishes the wider historical and social contexts for Shakespeare's references to horses in *Horses*

in Shakespeare's England (1987). Joseph W. Meeker, "Hamlet and the Animals," in his *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* (1972), pp. 60–78, argues that if we take evolutionary biology seriously as a source for human psychology we can read a play like *Hamlet* as a drama of animal behavior, including interspecies aggression, predatory behavior, inhibition, and instinct. In " 'Why Should a Dog, a Horse, a Rat, Have Life and Thou No Breath At All': Shakespeare's Animations," in Fudge (II, B), pp. 87–100, Erica Sheen proposes the connections between Shakespeare's representation of animals and the institutional status of theatrical property. Jeanne Addison Roberts, "Animals as Agents of Revelation: The Horizontalizing of the Great Chain of Being in Shakespeare's Comedies," *NYLF* 5–6 (1980), 79–96, claims that Shakespeare's metamorphic language about animals creates a chain of being in which animals and man share an unequal relationship to God.

Bruce Boehrer, "Shakespeare and the Social Devaluation of the Horse," in Raber and Tucker (II, B), pp. 91–111, argues that the horse's ability to signify high status diminished, until in Shakespeare's plays it is associated with defunct—and often ridiculous—ideologies of chivalry. Bert O. States claims in "The Horses of *Macbeth*," *KR* 7 (1985), 52–66, that Shakespeare's language of spurring, jumping, and riding emblematizes Macbeth's psychological drive, while at the same time symbolizing the play's descent toward chaos and apocalypse. In "Horsemanship in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy," *ELR* 13 (1983), 274–300, Robert N. Watson examines the trajectory of the analogy between good horsemanship and good kingship, finding that its emphasis shifts to the internal self-mastery of the ruler. Joan Hartwig, "Horses and Women in *The Taming of the Shrew*," *HLQ* 45 (1982), 285–94, traces analogies between horses and women, concluding that Kate is subjected to the "exactitude and repetition" of equine training methods. In contrast, Jeanne Addison Roberts, in "Horses and Hermaphrodites: Metamorphoses in *The Taming of the Shrew*," in *The Taming of the Shrew: Critical Essays*, ed. Dana E. Aspinall (2002), pp. 58–70, argues that while the play uses Ovidian metamorphoses from the romance tradition, these tend rather to show characters as static, not developing or learning, concluding that the analogy of horse and rider to women and men in marriage is not a "suitable emblem for harmonious marriage." Peter F. Heaney, "Petruchio's Horse: Equine and Household Management in the *Taming of the Shrew*," *EMLS* 4 (1998), 1–12, proposes that an audience steeped in household and equine management theory would immediately have recognized Petruchio as a failure in his training methods.

P. J. Gabriner focuses on hunting imagery for its contributions to the ideal of "naturally" harmonious marriage in "Hierarchy, Harmony, and Happiness: Another Look at the Hunting Dogs in the 'Induction' to *The Taming of the Shrew*," in *Reclamations of Shakespeare*, ed. A. J. Hoenselaars (1994), pp. 201–10. In "Shakespeare's Mastiff Comedy," *SQ* 42 (1991), 255–75, Stephen Dickey

traces the material, imaginative and ideological connections between bearbaiting and theater, with special attention to images of baiting in *Twelfth Night*.

Marjorie Garber, "Shakespeare's Dogs," in *Shakespeare and the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jonathan Abate, Jill Levenson, and Dieter Mehl (1998), pp. 294–313, explores the relationships between dog breeding and bibliographical writing on Shakespeare, concluding that both AKC breed standards and Shakespeare's canon function as ideal origins, guarantors of "fast-vanishing" humanistic values. Bruce Boehrer, "Shylock and the Rise of the Household Pet: Thinking Social Exclusion in *The Merchant of Venice*," *SQ* 50 (1999), 152–70, asserts that the bestialization of Shylock conspicuously avoids articulation with contemporary ideas about animal companionship, emphasizing instead the Jew's economic parasitism; although Shylock resists this unproductive definition of himself, the failure to be economically productive paradoxically allows the assimilation of another Jew, Jessica, into the Christian community, much as pets like lapdogs established their value through their very uselessness.

Dympna Callaghan, "(Un)natural Loving: Swine, Pets, and Flowers in *Venus and Adonis*," in *Textures of Renaissance Knowledge*, ed. Philippa Berry and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton (2003), pp. 58–78, focuses on bestiality as a touchstone for dangerous or "queer" transformation and confusion. In "Animal Rites: A Reading of *Venus and Adonis*," *CrSurv* 17 (2005), 1–14, Loraine Fletcher argues that animals in the poem that show an ability to communicate without speaking serve as a foil to Venus and Adonis, who speak but do not communicate, using language (the sole marker of difference between animals and humans in the poem) to lie, cheat, or mislead one another. Gail Kern Paster's "Melancholy Cats, Lugged Bears, and Early Modern Cosmology: Reading Shakespeare's Psychological Materialism Across the Species Border," in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (2004), pp. 113–29, argues that comparisons of Falstaff and Macbeth to cats and bears is best understood in the context of how humoral theory undergirds early modern ideas about animals' physical attributes. Bruce Boehrer, "Bestial Buggery in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," in *The Production of English Renaissance Culture*, ed. David Lee Miller, Sharon O'Dair, and Harold Weber (1994), pp. 123–50, argues that marriage, the social institution at the heart of the play, cannot escape connotations of bestiality, since it is itself based in the fear that humans only provisionally escape their more bestial selves through eternal and vigilant policing.

In "Falstaff and the Culture of the Hunt," *UTQ* 74 (2005), 729–39, J. Drew Stephen argues that the hunt imagery in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* suggests means to punish a poacher like Falstaff. Jeffrey S. Theis, in "The 'Ill Kill'd' Deer: Poaching and Social Order in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*," *TSLL* 43 (2001), 46–73, suggests that everyday practices like poaching can redefine social custom, allowing Falstaff's poaching to function as another aspect of escape from social control.

C. *John Donne (1572–1631).* In "Donne's Anatomy of the World and the Legend of the Oldest Animals," *RES* 32 (1981), 302–08, Michael Bath argues that Donne deploys folk legends of animals and trees with extraordinary longevity to negotiate the confrontation between received ancient knowledge and the new empirical science. Anthony Low advocates a reappraisal of Donne's only pastoral poem in "The Compleat Angler's 'Baite'; or, The Subverter Subverted," *JDJ* 4 (1985), 1–12, claiming that "The Baite" mocks traditions of pastoral transplanted from pastures to streams, a strategy that in turn makes him vulnerable to Isaak Walton's later marginalization of Donne in *The Compleat Angler*. T. Ananda Rao, "Nature in John Donne," *LitE* 2 (1980), 61–67, argues that although not typically discussed as a "nature poet," Donne is a detailed, scientific observer of nature.

D. *Ben Jonson (1572–1637).* Don Wayne, *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* (1984), analyzes the ideological content of Jonson's representations of "home," nature, and labor. In "Sacramental Dwelling With Nature: Jonson's 'To Penshurst' and Heidegger's 'Building Dwelling Thinking,' " *Postscript* 14 (1997), 43–55, William E. Rogers argues that Jonson predicts Heidegger's deep ecological position with the last lines of "To Penshurst" that contrast mere building with morally superior dwelling. In "Ben Jonson's Green World: Structure and Imaginative Unity in *The Forrest*," *SP* 78 (1981), 170–93, Jonathan Z. Kamholtz argues that Jonson's forest is related to, if not identical with, Arcadian and Shakespearean pastoral, a place that provides an alternative to the commercial world where the virtues of "dwelling" and community are realized. Julie Sanders claims that Jonson chose to use the Robin Hood tale for its relevance to specific local political and social issues of forest living (analogized to aristocratic order and values) in "Jonson, *The Sad Shepherd*, and the North Midlands," *BJJ* 6 (1999), 49–68.

E. *John Milton (1608–1674).* Karen Edwards locates Milton's depictions of plants in the context of seventeenth-century scientific methods and discoveries in *Milton and the Natural World: Science and Poetry in Paradise Lost* (1999). Ken Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology* (2003), offers a study indebted to "deep ecology," or the belief that only a humanity grounded in a harmonious relationship with nature can find a healthy present and future in its evolution. Hiltner notes that ecological disaster was already a familiar experience in the seventeenth century, and argues that Milton's Satan, who defines the mind as place, represents an ecological error, remedied only by deconstructing the dualism of Christian thought and evolving a new earth-conscious version of religious belief. Jeffrey S. Theis, in "The Environmental Ethics of *Paradise Lost*: Milton's Exegesis of Genesis 1. 3," *MiltonS* 34 (1997), 61–81, focuses on Milton's adaptation of the Genesis story to argue that there was indeed such a thing as responsible concern for the uses of nature in the English Renaissance. Julie Sanders, "Ecocritical

Readings and the Seventeenth-Century Woodland: Milton's *Comus* and the Forest of Dean," *English* 50 (2001), 1–18, advocates a material-historical reading of the poem, in which disruptions to political authority occur in forest settings, associated with carnival riot, enclosure policy, and community responses to royal interventions in local affairs. John R. Knott, "Milton's Wild Garden," *SP* 102 (2005), 66–82, challenges the view that Milton's depiction of wildness and wilderness in *Paradise Lost* is always a negative challenge to order.

In *Milton's Eve* (1983), Diane Kelsey McColley argues that Eve has a distinct, but crucial responsibility for nurturing the garden, an argument that she carries to a more extensive conclusion in her "Beneficent Hierarchies: Reading Milton Greenly" in *Spokesperson Milton*, ed. Charles W. Durham and Kristin Pruitt McColgan (1994), pp. 231–48, asserting that Eve shares dominion over nature and the earth with Adam. McColley expands her analysis of an ecologically aware Milton in " 'All in All': The Individuality of Creatures in *Paradise Lost*," in *"All in All": Unity, Diversity and the Miltonic Perspective*, ed. Charles W. Durham and Kristin A. Pruitt (1999), pp. 231–38, establishing that Milton's theology allowed for an ecologically positive diversity of creation. Likewise, Nick Pici, in "Milton's 'Eco-Eden': Place and Notions of the 'Green' in *Paradise Lost*," *CollL* 28 (2001), 33–50, argues that variety is necessary to Milton's view of nature, and that Milton's poem often seems to subvert or contradict contemporary ideals of dominion over nature in favor of ideals of moderation and stewardship.

In "The Wounded Earth in *Paradise Lost*," *SP* 93 (1996), 93–115, Richard J. DuRocher proposes that Milton's personification of earth and nature in Book IX derives from Stoic accounts of the earth as a living being, and that Milton deploys the personification to suggest that the fall reverses the birth imagery of creation. Stella P. Revard, "Vergil's Georgics and *Paradise Lost*: Nature and Human Nature in a Landscape," in *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*, ed. John D. Bernard (1986), pp. 259–80, finds Milton's use of the Vergilian georgic, especially its "just farmer," influential in shaping Milton's depiction of Adam. In "Milton, *Paradise Regained*, and Georgic," *PMLA* 98 (1983), 152–69, Anthony Low argues that the poem is not epic, but Vergilian georgic, embracing georgic ideas about labor resulting in regeneration, and private work achieving public ends. Alan Rudrum, "For Then the Earth Shall Be All Paradise: Milton, Vaughan, and the Neo-Calvinists on the Ecology of the Hereafter," *Scintilla* 4 (2000), 39–52, claims that despite their apparent differences, Milton and Vaughan share anti-Calvinist positions on the delights of nature and its survival in an afterlife. In "Human Mastership of Nature: Aquinas and Milton's *Paradise Lost*," *MiltonQ* 26 (1992), 9–15, Ellen Goodman explores Milton's view of human interdependence with nature in Eden, which departs from Aquinas' Aristotelianism. Susan Snyder argues that Milton reconciles the cyclical time of pastoral with the linear time of history in "Nature, History, and the Waters of *Lycidas*," *HLQ* 50 (1987), 323–35.

Karen Edwards focuses on Milton's use of the animal kingdom in "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary," *MiltonQ* 39 (2005), 121–31, which investigates how Milton and his contemporaries would have viewed the animal kingdom, noting that the resulting images of animals do various kinds of cultural work for authors who invoke them. Edwards' annotated listing of beasts and their cultural connotations is produced in full in *MiltonQ* 39 (2005), 183–292. Bruce Boehrer compares Milton's use of Plutarch's story of Odysseus' conflict with Circe in *Comus* to Bathsua Makin's use of the same source text in "Milton and the Reasoning of Animals: Variations on a Theme by Plutarch," *MiltonS* 39 (2000), 50–73. In "Animal Love in Milton: The Case of the 'Epitaphium Damonis,' " *ELH* 70 (2003), 787–811, Boehrer connects the poem to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, arguing that in animal companionship Milton finds both a paradigm for non-carnal heterosexual love and a divinely sanctioned model of homoerotic desire. Diane Kelsey McColley, "Milton's Environmental Epic: Creature Kinship and the Language of *Paradise Lost*," in *Beyond Nature Writings: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism*, ed. Karla Armbruster and Kathleen R. Wallace (2001), pp. 57–74, analyzes Milton's linguistic claims of kinship between Adam and Eve and animal creation, which leads to an emphasis on restrained governance and genuine curiosity about the natural world. Charles Ross, in "Raphael's Animals," *MiltonQ* 15 (1981), 120–22, claims that Raphael's apparently random list of animals illustrating the sixth day of creation arises from Milton's willingness to accept the supposed historical location of Paradise in Armenia, not any great love for wildlife in general.

J. Martin Evans reads *Paradise Lost* in the contexts of travel and discovery literature of its day in *Milton's Imperial Epic: "Paradise Lost" and the Discourse of Colonialism* (1996); if the garden of Eden can be characterized as a colonial outpost of Heaven, Evans argues, then there is a materialist, historical explanation for Eden's overabundance, which replicates the potentially chaotic, wild excesses of New World landscapes and resources. Diane Kelsey McColley, "Ecology and Empire" in *Milton and the Imperial Vision*, ed. Balachandra Rajan and Elizabeth Sauer (1999), pp. 112–29, notes that Milton opposes "tyrannical" versions of dominion over nature, challenging the "Nimrods and Mammons of colonization and commodification." In the same collection, Bruce McLeod, "The 'Lordly eye': Milton and the Strategic Geography of Empire," pp. 48–66, contrasts Milton's "cartographic imagination" of Satanic, expansionist Orientalism with the religiously valorized need for regulation of space and travel.

F. *Andrew Marvell (1621–1678).* For Robert Markley, Marvell's country house poem registers and attempts to influence fears about environmental degradation: " 'Gulfes, Deserts, Precipices, Stone': Marvell's 'Upon Appleton House'

and the Contradictions of 'Nature,'" in *The Country and the City Revisited*, ed. Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry, and Joseph P. Ward (1999), pp. 89–105, suggests the need for an "eco-economic" criticism that reveals the constructedness of land and nature in seventeenth-century literature. Jonathan Crewe mounts a deconstructive reading of Marvell's uses of pastoral in his garden poems and "Upon Appleton House" in "The Garden State: Marvell's Poetics of Enclosure," in *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer (1994), pp. 270–89; Crewe finds the perverse sexuality implicated in pastoral form destabilizing to the genre's intended function of containing violence, while the country house poem reclaims pastoral only by embracing sexualized violent transgression. Cristina Malcolmson, "The Garden Enclosed/The Woman Enclosed: Marvell and the Cavalier Poets," pp. 251–69 from the same volume, explores interconnections among sexuality, women's bodies, enclosure policy, and political sects in Marvell's garden and country house poems.

In "Marvell's Nymph and Man's Uses of Nature," *EIRC* 10 (1984), 80–91, Richard C. Burke argues that Marvell's Nymph belongs to a category of nature poems in which Marvell's speakers are characterized by their post-lapsarian disconnection and alienation from nature. Linda Anderson, "The Nature of Marvell's Mower," *SEL* 31 (1991), 131–46, proposes that Marvell distinguishes his poetic voice from his Mower's childish solipsism in order to question the limits of an idealized, pastoral version of nature. Marilyn Carlson Aronson claims in "Marvell and Milton: The Garden Experience," *Proceedings of the Eightieth Annual Northern Plains Conference on Earlier British Literature*, ed. Robert J. De Smith, (2001), pp. 55–62, that while Marvell's "The Garden" and Milton's *Paradise Lost* both posit compensations for man's alienation from nature in the mind's contemplative capacity, Milton's construction is contingent on God and grace, where Marvell's derives from an elevation of nature itself. Gilles Sambras, "Marvell et l'Amour des Jardins: Sympathie Naturelle et Sympathie Politique," *BSÉAA* 56 (2003), 89–104, argues that Marvell's construction of the love of nature through various forms of sympathy is connected to his view that the end of monarchy represents a rupture with the medieval, magical cosmos. John Dixon Hunt, " 'Loose Nature' and the 'Garden Square': The Gardenist Background for Marvell's Poetry," in *Approaches to Marvell: The New York Tercententary Lectures*, ed. C. A. Patrides (1978), pp. 331–51, situates Marvell as a garden-poet through an account of his reflection of seventeenth-century Italianate garden theory and technology.

IV. State of Criticism

After nearly two decades of prominence for nineteenth- and twentieth-century critical studies, ecocritical treatments of texts from earlier periods are beginning

to accumulate, generating a new and provocative direction for early modern studies generally, and adding historical nuance to ecocritical theory and argument for the twenty-first century. Renaissance literature has always provided rich material for scholars interested in natural phenomena and human cultivation of natural materials, but in the last two decades these earlier historical and literary treatments of ecologically-oriented topics have been complemented by the more careful theorizing of ecostudies and environmentalism. Early modern scholarship and ecocriticism, however, continue to pose challenges to one another: the recovery of texts is a first step toward recreating Renaissance ideas about nature, but some dimension of the material environment is always resistant to reconstruction; the languages with which early modern readers approach the natural world and its inhabitants do not always translate well; and our own green politics can tend either to erase inconvenient aspects of past ecological thought or to view the past with an overly critical and dismissive eye. In this respect, ecocriticism shares a great deal with early feminism in its encounters with the literary and cultural past.

Works by Robert N. Watson (I), Simon C. Estok (III, B), and Gabriel Egan (III, B) suggests that a positive synergy can emerge from encounters between the historical past and current theory, in which each productively interrogates the other. In well-traveled areas like animal studies, a general consensus has evolved about the fluidity of the boundary between human and animal; yet a degree of debate and diversity flourishes, allowing Erica Fudge (II, B) and Bruce Boehrer (III, B) to occupy relatively contestatory positions. The value of early modern literary culture to politically activist environmentalists is evident in work by Ken Hiltner and Jeffrey Theis (III, E).

Understandably, a new field of criticism first turns to familiar figures like Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and Marvell, and the potential of these authors is by no means exhausted. However, the conspicuously relevant work of many other writers has not yet been addressed at all: there is consequently a real need for ecocritical readings, for instance, of Philip Sidney and Thomas More, and of dramatic authors beyond Shakespeare. Travel and discovery narratives are as yet an untapped resource, while the impact of ecofeminism in the field is still relatively limited, leaving room for more discussion of writers such as Aemelia Lanyer, Mary Wroth, and Margaret Cavendish, among others. Genres like pastoral, so far overshadowed by ecocritical attention to the georgic, are worthy of reappraisal. Finally, some of the most promising and critically challenging work comes from efforts to reconsider in an ecocritical light historical contexts for land use, farming and husbandry practices, and rural pastimes. Treatises, farming manuals, surveys, and other quotidian cultural production will therefore provide a basis for new perspectives on how early moderns of all classes and regions engaged with their diverse physical environments.

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