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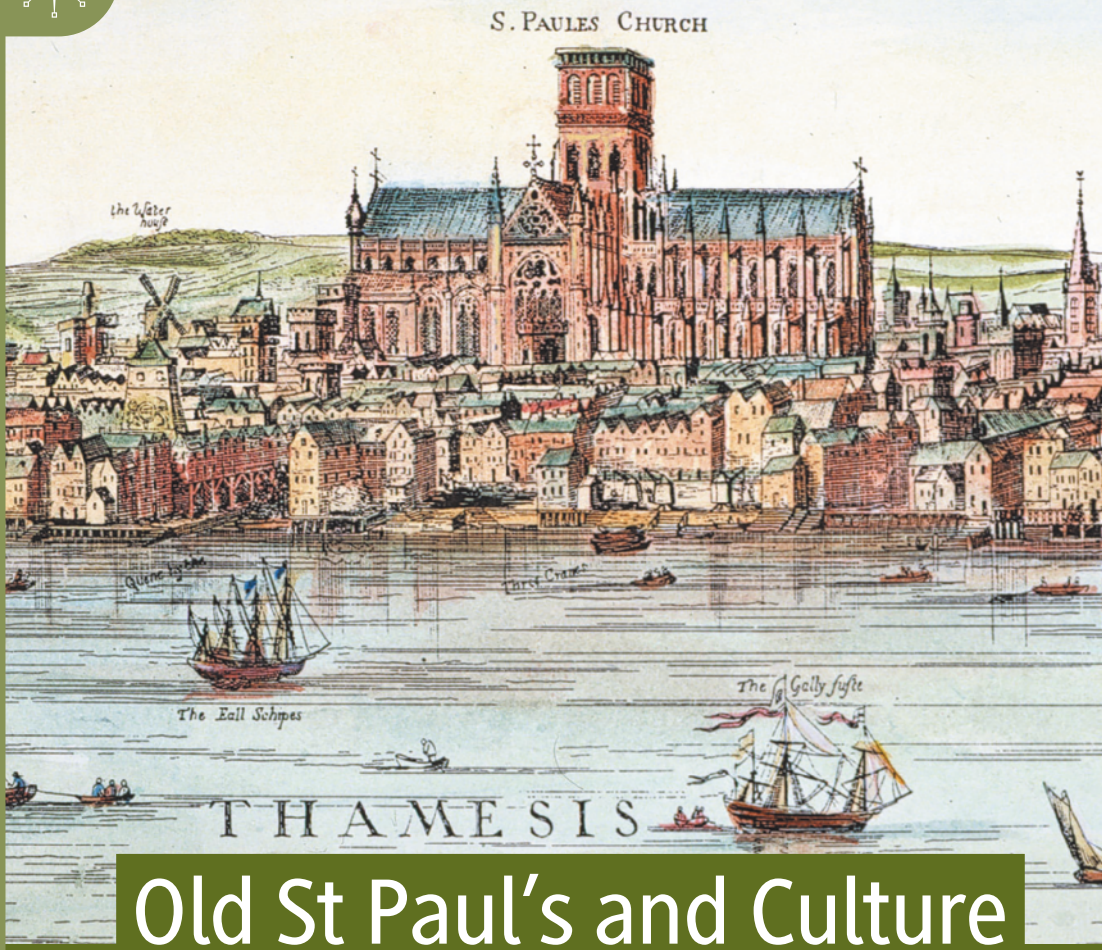

Old St Paul's and Culture

Edited by
Shanyn Altman
Jonathan Buckner

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Shanyn Altman · Jonathan Buckner
Editors

Old St Paul's and Culture

With special thanks to
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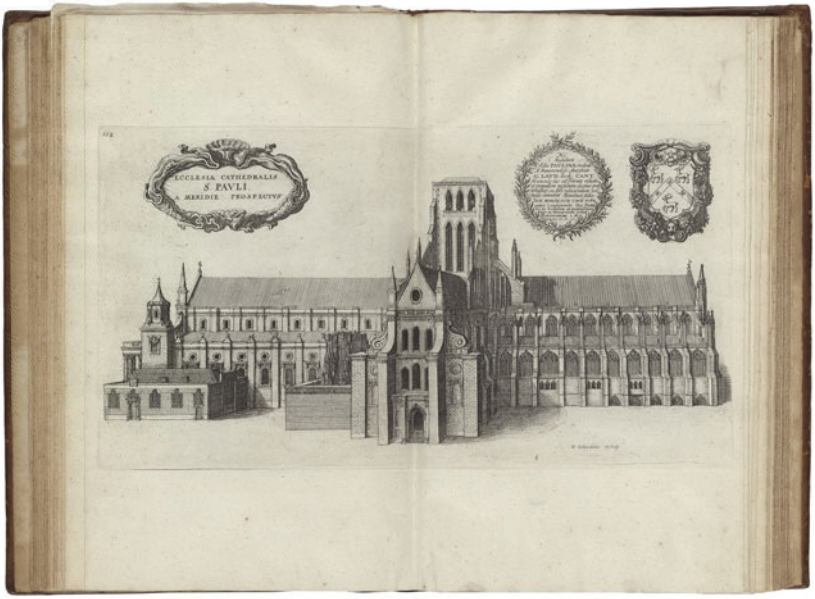

Sir William Dugdale, 'The history of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, from its foundation untill these times' (1658), plate [2] after leaf 2N2 verso, p. 162. Call Number: D2482. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Praise for *Old St Paul's and Culture*

"This collection of lucid interdisciplinary essays on the vibrant space around St Paul's cathedral offers wonderful new insights on popular piety, ritual and ceremony, preaching, book selling, drama, and news networks, a very significant contribution to our understanding of the cultural life of the metropolis."

—Dr. Ian Archer, *Keble College, University of Oxford*

"This hugely welcome collection of essays transforms our understanding of the religious, political and commercial culture of the environs of old St Paul's from its earliest days until its destruction. With meticulous archival research, contributors offer a penetrating interdisciplinary study of one of the most fascinating and significantly changing sites of worship, ritual, pageantry, trade and governance in medieval and early modern England. This is cultural history at its very best, advancing an integrated series of microhistories of sacral and secular activities, practices and representations."

—Professor James Raven, *Fellow of Magdalene College, University of Cambridge, and Emeritus Professor, University of Essex*

"This lively collection, packed with interest and detail, takes us to the heart of Old St Paul's, and charts a path from the miracle stories of twelfth-century London to the theatrical transformations of the 1600s. In thirteen insightful chapters, a set of superb scholars trace the intertwining

political, religious, commercial and literary activities that met in Paul's. These methodologically wide-ranging essays delve into the overlapping worlds at the heart of London, taking in everything from the experience of service to modish display and the hunger for news, and from religious dispute to the publication of King Lear and the poetry and sermons of John Donne. The editors have brought together a compelling account of the competing interests who sought to shape the churchyard, the City and the nation over the course of five centuries."

—Professor Helen Smith, *University of York*

"This collection of essays on Old St Paul's will prove an indispensable resource for scholars of medieval and early modern English literature and drama. Chapters in the collection shed fresh light on a remarkable panoply of texts and practices rooted in the Cathedral and its environs – from the late medieval alliterative poem St Erkenwald to the sermons of John Donne, and from the early modern book trade to the popular performances of the Children of Paul's. But *Old St Paul's and Culture* is more than the sum of its parts. The volume is especially welcome and significant for the way it illustrates continuity and connections across the Reformation divide, demonstrating the Cathedral's enduring role as a vibrant centre of cultural life, experimentation, and self-reflection."

—Professor Philip Schwyzer, *University of Exeter*

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Notes on Contributors

Shanyn Altman joined Shakespeare's Globe as a Research Coordinator in 2013 and has acted as a Globe Education Lecturer since 2017. Her primary research interests lie in the political philosophy and religion of early modern England. She is the author of *Witnessing to the Faith: Absolutism and the Conscience in John Donne's England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming).

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of Vice, 1550–1650, with Amanda Bailey (Palgrave) and *Essays in Memory of Richard Helgerson*: *Laureations*, with Kathy Lavezzo (University of Delaware Press). Her second book, *St Paul's Cathedral Precinct in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Spatial Practices*, was published in 2020 from Oxford University Press. She is currently at work on a co-edited collection of essays on Higher Education Leadership and the Humanities.

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Crossways to Bunyan's Highways, edited by Lisa Hopkins and Bill Angus (Edinburgh University Press, 2019); '"The Hunt is Up": Death, Dismemberment, and Feasting in Shakespeare's Roman Tragedies' in *Actes des Congrès de la Société Française Shakespeare* (2020); and '"Wearing the Horn": Class and Community in the Shakespearean Hunt' in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Animals*, edited by Karen Raber and Holly Dugan (Routledge, 2020). She is particularly interested in how customary culture expresses the beliefs and relationships of the early modern community, as well as how it reflects interactions between humans, animals, and the landscape.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Shanyn Altman, Jonathan Buckner, and Roze Hentschell

The wooden church to the apostle Paul built under King Æthelberht of Kent in 604 was the first incarnation of the cathedral church known as St Paul's, and served as London's East Minster, while the church dedicated to St Peter served as the city's West Minster. While the first, this was not the last church erected on top of Ludgate Hill, with the structure being built and rebuilt on several occasions over subsequent centuries. The focus of this volume is on Old St Paul's, the common name for the fourth incarnation of the Cathedral which was rebuilt after the 1087 fire and extended in 1269–1314, and which stood until the Great Fire of London in 1666. Old St Paul's was an immensely significant site in medieval and early modern London and England more generally. Although it owed much of its status to its location in the burgeoning capital, the Cathedral was important in its own right as a monumental site that formed a

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terrain of overlapping and, for some contemporaries, seemingly incompatible religious and secular activities. Indeed, far from a solely devotional or liturgical space, Old St Paul's was a site of ritual, civic and political activities, as well as a bustling commercial centre with a thriving book trade, theatrical pedigree and much else besides.

The use of church buildings such as cathedrals for secular activities can be traced back to the patristic period and through the medieval period when the multifunctionality of such sites became even more widespread.[1] As the 'major public buildings of a city', they facilitated 'business meetings of the city guilds, hosted neighbourhood feasts, held markets in the nave and even allowed boisterous and subversive festivities such as the Feast of Fools, where people's conventional social status was turned upside down'.[2] This points to the way that the site could belie a neat distinction between the secular and the divine and how the activities of those using cathedral spaces could negotiate religious, political and social subjectivities. In medieval London, Old St Paul's drew visitors from both the kingdom and abroad who entered 'for a myriad of pious, professional, entertainment and educational purposes'.[3] It was a place of music, commerce and prayer. Its shrines attracted pilgrims, its vibrant economy provided trade and business opportunities, and, being unique among the secular cathedrals in having an almonry, its almoners distributed alms to and provided burials for those without financial means.[4] The centrality of the space in London's community also made it a convenient spot for organised criminals such as thieves,[5] and for those who were considered to be criminals such as vagrants, sex workers and prostituted persons.[6] That the Cathedral space brought together socially disparate crowds and hosted a range of activities led different groups to see St Paul's as an unruly cacophony, and certainly, to some, efforts needed to be made to discipline the site into greater coherence as exclusively sacred. The Cathedral retained its prominence as an important and diverse site into the seventeenth century, albeit, as some of the essays in this volume show, with adaptations and changes being made in response to the Reformation.

Old St Paul's and Culture is an interdisciplinary collection of essays that looks predominantly at the culture of Old St Paul's and its wider precinct in the early modern period, while also providing important insights into the Cathedral's medieval institution. Like Old St Paul's itself, the volume therefore traverses the boundaries of standard periodisation, with essays spanning from the twelfth century to the mid-seventeenth century. The chapters examine the symbolic role of the site in England's

Christian history, the London book trade based in and around St Paul's, the place of St Paul's commercial indoor playhouse within the performance culture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London, and the intersection of religion and politics through events such as civic ceremonies and occasional sermons. Through the organising theme of culture, the authors demonstrate how the site, as well as the people and trades occupying the precinct, can be positioned within wider fields of representations, practices and social networks. A focus on St Paul's is therefore about more than just the specific site on Ludgate Hill: it is about those practices and representations connected to it, which either extended beyond or originated in places other than the Cathedral environs. This points to the range of localised, regional, national and transnational relationships in which the precinct and its people were situated and to which they contributed. Within the volume, these connections range from the place of the Cathedral itself in the bookscape and performative culture of London, to its place in regional economic markets or national and transnational religious debates and conflicts.[7]

A study of Old St Paul's is made timely by a steady rise in cathedral scholarship over the past several decades, including work on St Paul's Cathedral.[8] The most wide-ranging study to have emerged on St Paul's since William Dugdale's 1658 *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, is the substantial volume published by Yale University Press in 2004 to coincide with the anniversary of St Paul's founding in 604.[9] As the volume's preface explains, the Dean and Chapter sought to mark this occasion with a new history, the results of which were described in the foreword by the then-Bishop of London, Richard Chartres, as being a 'survey of the fourteen-hundred-year-long story of St Paul's'.[10] When such a volume exists, the question as to why a new collection on the topic is necessary cannot be avoided. The answer to this question is twofold. First, the aims and scopes of the volumes are different. Rather than providing a scholarly survey history of the Cathedral from its foundation to the twenty-first century, the current collection offers in-depth localised and empirically rich studies on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Cathedral's medieval heritage, which are organised by the concept of culture and come into dialogue with each other over the course of the volume. Second, there have been important developments in medieval and early modern scholarship on St Paul's and related areas over the last two decades, which can be used, in some instances, to deepen, and, in other instances, to challenge, received wisdoms.

One of these recent areas of study pertains to the spiritual and political role of the Cathedral, which has been enriched by new insights into civic ceremony, churches and other sacred spaces in medieval and early modern London.[11] This includes greater historiographical attention on cathedrals as dynamic spaces which has emerged in relation to the intersection of the sacred and the secular, with sermons and the commercial book trade enjoying a close relationship, and areas traditionally considered to be 'secular', like fashion and gossip, informing the subjects of religious discourses, like sermons.[12] Another area of enquiry in recent early modern studies includes the sophistication and diversity of indoor theatre and its place in the development of early modern commercialism. Despite this topic becoming a prominent area of focus, however, the work of literary and theatre scholars has not always been well integrated into the historiography of St Paul's, leading to the playing space being seen as somewhat discrete or removed from the precinct despite its physical proximity to the other businesses operating around the Cathedral and the fact that the actors were also choristers in the Cathedral choir.

These recent studies on various aspects of the vibrancy and influential place of St Paul's reject an earlier tradition of scholarship which largely viewed the continuance of the cathedrals in post-Reformation England as 'One of the great puzzles of the English Reformation' based on the perception that, unless aesthetically transformed by proponents of iconoclasm, cathedrals were functionless and could only survive as 'fossils'.[13] These evaluations posited St Paul's Cathedral as a redundant and neglected building that merely survived the Reformation. What has become clear in recent studies, however, is that the Cathedral, which was a powerful symbol of England's Christian roots in the pre-Reformation era, retained its potency throughout the Reformation as an ideologically charged site where overlapping political, religious and secular significations could be negotiated and contested. For instance, Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood's edited collection places Paul's Cross at the epicentre of events which radically transformed England's political and religious identities from 1520 to the early 1640s: it was 'the pulpit of pulpits, indeed the "public pulpit" of England itself'.[14]

The chapters that follow demonstrate the diverse ways in which medieval and early modern subjects took an active role in attempting to shape the meanings associated with, and the place of, the Cathedral, its precinct, and those who worked in or frequented the space. What also

emerges across the chapters, however, is a sense of the limits and boundaries of diversity at St Paul's and the efforts made by authorities or by prominent figures to prescribe the field of acceptable conduct and belief for subjects. Indeed, for all of its diverse and contested uses and significations, St Paul's was also a space of interventionist government, whether of Corporation, Crown or Church, and of active efforts at moderation—that is, efforts to restrain, control or to delimit the scope of speech and action.[15] Although the site had been 'one of the favoured settings for popular protest' since the medieval period and became a focal point 'of a series of revolutionary events where matters of religious identity were concerned' in the sixteenth century, it had also always been 'a privileged venue for the announcement of royal proclamations and papal bulls to citizens of the capital'.[16] Additionally, it was occasionally used as an execution site, while heretical texts were burnt in the precinct in public displays that, through accompanying sermons and the spectacular sight of burning books, were intended to sharply define the limits of tolerable conduct and belief.[17] Mary Morrissey has observed of Paul's Cross, for instance, that the preaching of sermons was a 'custom' that was maintained as long as it was useful to Crown, Corporation and Church; it 'was a platform that *might* be available to the wide spectrum of opinion that was contained, albeit uneasily, within the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church'.[18] Thus, while a range of views could be expressed, these were simultaneously bounded and limited and were underpinned by demands and expectations of religious and political conformity.

The diversity and plurality of views expressed and the material and symbolic uses of the Cathedral and precinct did not stand in opposition to determining limits or, indeed, to coercive power; the scope of the former could oftentimes be regulated by the latter. However, the cultural and ideological life of Old St Paul's was not only structured or influenced by explicitly coercive resources and practices—the deployment of soldiers, the force of judicial or governmental intervention and so on—but in less visibly coercive or violent ways. While St Paul's could be a sphere of influence or persuasion, those who frequented the space can also be perceived as active participants in cultural and ideological production and reproduction, rather than just passive recipients. The printed and spoken discourses that were disseminated in the precinct also provide an insight into the ways that the culture of St Paul's came to denote fashion, the arts and other aspects of intellectual life that were burgeoning alongside

and in relation with—rather than simply as appendages to—explicitly religious and political dimensions. Indeed, those social actors who came to flaunt themselves, pose or engage in profane activities, routinely provided fodder for the literature of the day, which points to the ways that the sacred functions and expectations of the space could be rivalled, subverted or transgressed. While this indicates the range of views about and practices at Old St Paul's, it does not imply an unregulated or unmoderated individuality and limitless scope for action; rather, it underscores other ways in which the cultural and ideological life of Old St Paul's was structured. For instance, stereotypes of the figures of gallants and newsmongers, often referred to as 'Paul's walkers', were ways of categorising and organising the plurality of social and cultural life and innumerable individual subjects into forms that could be comprehended and objectified, providing a particularly popular figure that was featured in different textual forms of satire. The representation in print of the walkers could also provide social typologies, the role of which subjects could seek to embody and perform and put into practice. In this way, there were also boundaries to acceptable and comprehensible forms of transgression or profanity.

By focusing on culture, the authors in this volume thus pay attention to the production, reproduction and contestation of meanings, practices and activities at Old St Paul's, as well as to the ways in which subjects, social roles and representations could be regulated. The essays are divided into four parts, each exploring different aspects of the culture of Old St Paul's. Parts I and II focus predominantly on religion and politics and, in the medieval period, the use of the Cathedral as a setting to stage miracle stories with evident social, religious and political intentions. Those chapters with a focus on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Old St Paul's draw attention to ritualistic or civic ceremonies, royal processions, sermons, cathedral personnel and the relationship between the Cathedral and Corporation of London. The religious and political facets of culture can be understood through the etymological development of the term and its association with husbandry and land cultivation. In its earliest usage, *culture* was a 'noun of process: the tending of something, basically crops or animals', which developed through the classical Latin c*ultus*, the equivalent of English *cult*, meaning 'worship, act of worship, form of worship, religious observance'.[19] In understanding culture as a noun of process and continuous and deliberate intervention with hierarchical implications—seen, for example, in the notion of humans as

active subjects shaping perceived objects such as crops and animals—the essays in Parts I and II point to the efforts of various authorities to shape their social, religious and political environments. While the primary focus is intention and intervention, the modern association of culture with contestation and the place of opposition to these efforts is also acknowledged.[20]

Parts III and IV of the volume explore the commercial culture at St Paul's, with a particular focus on the Paul's playhouse and the book trade within and around the precinct, and explores the important role of consumers of theatrical experiences, books and news. The authors demonstrate that St Paul's was a particularly performative space, both in terms of theatrical accomplishment and where consumers could play the role of being 'cultured' or 'cultivated'. The emphasis on performance and on the at-times scripted and ritualised nature of interactions and public procession speaks to the place of civic identity and the civic-cultural meanings located within the intertwined economic, religious and literary life of Old St Paul's. In this sense, culture can be understood in line with the German root *Kultur* where, in its main use, culture was a 'synonym for *civilization*: first in the abstract sense of a general process of becoming "civilized" or "cultivated"; second, […] as a description of the secular process of human development'.[21]

The contributors therefore collectively demonstrate that Old St Paul's offers a useful vantage point from which to—among much else—examine efforts to (re)produce authority and construct consensus; identify points of social, religious and political conflict; engage with questions of continuity and change; analyse early modern selfhood and theatrical practices within the bustling commercial spaces of the Churchyard; and observe how different groups and interests sought to define and delimit the acceptable use of the space of the Cathedral and precinct.

Exploring these facets of Old St Paul's cultures involves what historians have been doing for scores of years: not simply recording, but also representing another time and place. In a distinction between 'history-as-recorded' and 'history-as-lived' or 'the past', Elizabeth Tonkin indicates that a more precise term for the former is 'representation of pastness'.[22] If culture is connected to meaning production, reproduction and contestation, then it will always be impossible to fully and faithfully reconstruct the entirety of the diversity, depth and mediations of 'signs, codes and meaning[s]' by which any single historical subject might have experienced, understood and participated in the world.[23] This, however, is not

an invalidation of history; rather it shows the distinction between the past and history, and that the latter involves the art of constructing narratives and using extant sources as evidence 'to demonstrate points in a manner that will be convincing to the relevant [disciplinary] community of belief'.[24] In this way, storytelling and the writing of history is, as Hayden White puts it, 'ideological in its very nature.' But this ideological quality, while precluding the equation of history with 'truth' and opening historical production to diverse stories and interpretations, is also one governed and regulated by certain contingent but structured and shared disciplinary criteria, whereby not just any story can pass for history.[25] History may be fictive in that it involves construction and, sometimes, what White terms 'emplotment', or the 'endowment of real events with the kind of coherence that we associate with plots or plot-structures'[26]; but this is not to say that history is fictional. As Dan Stone puts it, 'there is no "past itself" against which to check an interpretation, we can only talk about the past insofar as it has come down to us through evidence, which might include texts, material artefacts, and eyewitness testimony, as well as memory'.[27] Historical texts are not therefore constructed 'out of nothing', but by critical engagement with 'the historical record—i.e. the traces of the past that remain in the present'.[28]

Necessarily, the labour of careful study coupled with imagination and creativity is involved in such construction efforts, and the inherent limitations to knowledge creation about a non-extant place such as Old St Paul's that has limited empirical, visual and archaeological records can be tempered by serious attention to the diversity of the sources that are encountered, no matter how marginal, fleeting or unauthorised. In order to reconstruct various aspects of the culture of Old St Paul's, the contributors to this volume therefore utilise an array of sources to demonstrate that St Paul's was a multifaceted and diverse space in which major issues pertaining to religion, politics and society could be debated or reinforced through various mediums, including printed and spoken sermons, gossip, books, polemics, playtexts and performance. The inclusion of literary texts in many of the chapters, shows the importance of explicitly imaginative sources and genres in understanding the culture and commerce of St Paul's: poetry describes the miracles of St Erkenwald; dramatic works were produced for and performed by the Children of Paul's and the products of scores of booksellers in the Churchyard ranged from sermons and chronicles to plays and literature. Archival records such as wills, parish or court records and registers also prove crucial in offering

new and original ways to think about St Paul's and broader questions such as the relationship between the Cathedral and Corporation of London and the workings of, for example, the Cathedral's Deanery and Chapter, and the place of lay personnel within it. As many of the chapters show, the quotidian details and glimpses of the networks and social relationships that can be gleaned from attentive and critical reading of archival sources are extremely valuable in offering localised case studies that can also speak to larger questions about medieval and early modern society, politics, religion and culture.

In a similar vein, the study of Old St Paul's benefits from combining an array of sources with a diversity of methodological approaches and thematic focuses. The authors in this collection take approaches that include: philological source studies; historically situated and theoretically informed close readings of literary, religious, and political texts; archive-based and contextualised biographies of cathedral personnel; a focus on the interaction between architecture, space and performance; and analyses of the relationship between historical representation, political debate and commercial enterprise. Training this wide array of sources and methodologies on the broad cultural milieu at and beyond St Paul's, the collection helps to reveal hitherto more obscured stories, stories in the interstices of those that appear in 'mainstream' scholarship and stories that point beyond the texts to the social context. The methodological pluralism across the volume and the essays' careful and critical consideration of sources thus offers fresh interpretations of the social, cultural, political and religious milieus in which texts about Old St Paul's were produced.

Overview of Chapters

In underpinning a city's or a cathedral's status as a cult site in medieval England, efforts were often made to connect the contemporary church to more ancient origins in order to demonstrate an unbroken link to the historic Christian community in London and the kingdom as a whole. For many in medieval London, Old St Paul's Cathedral was configured as a sacred space in contrast to the Pagan past and stood as a symbol of the successful Christianisation of England. Inherent in this symbolism lay efforts to strategically deploy particular readings of the past; a tradition through which medieval cathedrals can be understood as 'repositories for the cumulative memory and constantly renewed aspirations of the urban

community'.[29] For instance, as Philip Sheldrake notes, a city's or a cathedral's claim to holiness often entailed basing 'their sacred quality on some special religious foundation' such as a burial site of a saint.[30] Indeed, the consecrated grounds of medieval cathedrals were often burial grounds for holy persons, and, as cult sites, could become popular destinations for pilgrims or be used as meaningful settings in Christian literature—a famous example being Canterbury Cathedral where a shrine to Thomas à Becket stood from 1220–1538, and which inspired Geoffrey Chaucer's late fourteenth-century work, *The Canterbury Tales*.

In the case of Old St Paul's, clerics attempted to secure the Cathedral's ancient Christian heritage by reasserting its connection to the seventh-century Bishop of London, Saint Erkenwald (675–693). The Cathedral was the burial site of St Erkenwald, and was also taken to be the site of a miracle when, in 1087, the Saint's relics were engulfed by fire but his bones survived 'unscathed'.[31] The perceived miracle, as Eamon Duffy puts it, 'almost certainly helped secure continuing Norman interest in this Saxon saint'.[32] One of the earliest surviving pieces of evidence of the promotion of the cult 'by the canons of the Norman cathedral' is the *Miraculi Sancti Erkenwaldi* (*MSE*), a collection of nineteen narratives recording some of the miracles that its likely author, Arcoid, a canon at St Paul's Cathedral, attributed to the Saint, and which was composed in the 1140s 'alongside the construction of a magnificent new silver shrine for the saint'.[33] By 1326, an 'elaborate gothic shrine for Erkenwald in stone and alabaster' had been erected, with the surviving relics translated to their new setting, and the Cult of Erkenwald had become 'a focus of considerable lay interest'.[34] It should be noted, however, that a substantial amount of effort was made by the clerics at St Paul's to establish the authority of the Cult, whose 'pressing need' to promote a saint may have been prompted by a rival 'campaign to secure the canonization of Edward the Confessor then being orchestrated upriver at Westminster Abbey'.[35]

The chapters in Part I on 'RELIGION AND POLITICS: Medieval St Paul's and the Cult of Erkenwald' examine two of the surviving literary works tied to St Erkenwald's Cult at St Paul's: whether to promote it, or because the established position of the Cult amongst the laity by the fourteenth century meant that the specific figures of the Saint and the Cathedral provided potent symbolic resources to demonstrate an unbroken link to the Christian past.[36] Simon Yarrow examines the miracle stories accompanying the translation of St Erkenwald's remains in 1140, with a particular focus on the twelfth-century manuscript of the

MSE. With reference to the miracles of the Cult of St Erkenwald, the chapter explores the life of St Paul's in relation to the burgeoning urban environment of London, with its dramatic mix of wealth and poverty, its educational and social needs, and the organisation of its labour relations. Yarrow's chapter indicates how the Cult and the wider series of institutional reforms at twelfth-century St Paul's involved significant interventions in social classifications, and therefore places the Cathedral and its varied activities within the broader social and economic landscape of medieval England.

Rory McTurk and Laura Varnam examine the later anonymous poem of *St Erkenwald*, in which the uncorrupted body of a Pagan judge is found buried beneath St Paul's and is miraculously baptized by the tears of St Erkenwald. In taking a philological approach to trace the genealogy of the poem, McTurk situates the poem within a wider national and transnational framework, with particular emphasis on Irish analogues, and presents evidence that provides new ways of thinking about the poem's composition, dating and the likely associations of the author with the monarchy. McTurk's chapter therefore places St Paul's within wider flows and movements of people, languages and motifs, and demonstrates the relationship of cultural production at or about St Paul's to these wider patterns.[37] When read alongside the other essays in Part I, it becomes apparent that St Erkenwald and St Paul's Cathedral were likely to be viable resources for those crafting literary-cum-ideological works both because of the specific popularity and renown of the Saint and Cathedral and because these symbolic figures were so readily available for appropriation within a series of motifs that circulated and informed literary works across Britain, Ireland and parts of Europe.

Through a close reading of *St Erkenwald*, Laura Varnam further explores how St Paul's was configured as a sacred space in relation to the Pagan past. Engaging with contemporary scholarship on space, memory architecture and cultural geography, Varnam demonstrates the way in which the poem was rooted spatially in the locale of St Paul's, and forms a temporal bridge between the 'now' of its composition, and the 'then' of the past. Like Yarrow, Varnam engages with questions of power and authority and the relationship of *St Erkenwald* to the social, religious and political unrest around the time of its composition, including the 1381 Peasants' Rising and the increase in Lollard activity, which saw the ecclesiastical hierarchy at St Paul's aiming to reassert its authority.[38] Indeed, both *St Erkenwald* and the *MSE* acknowledge a degree of popular

disquiet around the role and power of the clergy and seek to present a model of a divine, organic community with natural relations of authority and subordination, in which the clergy has a powerful mediating role in shaping communal memory and models of interpretation. However, that these relations needed to be (re)asserted is itself evidence that these relations were not natural and organic, timeless and static. They were instead relations that had to be enforced or natural*ised*: an ongoing and potentially uneven process that required the sort of ideological work highlighted in the institutional reforms at twelfth-century St Paul's and the claims to social and religious authority on behalf of the clergy that can be seen in the *MSE* and *St Erkenwald*.

Building a bridge between the Cathedral's Pagan pre-history and the Reformation within the context of Marian civic and royal pageantry, Jennifer Reid further demonstrates the complexities and ambiguities inherent in relationships between and representations of the past and the present. The chapter examines the Keepers' procession at St Paul's which used the dismembered body of a deer to signal a collaboration between State and Church in the restoration of Catholicism and the encouraging of (re)conversion, and locates this procession within the upheavals of the mid-sixteenth century and socio-political and urban conflicts. By bringing attention to analogous customs elsewhere in England, Reid shows the specificities of the procession at St Paul's; while in demonstrating how ritual and spectacle are set against a backdrop of government-sanctioned violence, Reid explores the ways in which the non-violent and seemingly convivial stand in a relationship to violence—and that community cohesion is linked to violent exclusion: of the deer and the nonhuman, and of the heretical Protestant.

The essays by Mary Morrissey and Victor Houliston respectively investigate the relationship between the city and Cathedral and the changing emphases of John Donne's anti-Jesuitism as his work moved from sharp polemic being sold in the Cathedral's precinct in the early seventeenth century to his sermon-preaching as part of the Cathedral Chapter in the 1620s. Both chapters also contribute towards interpretations that complexify the relationship between Protestantism and Catholicism in post-Reformation England.[39] Mary Morrissey argues that, despite an earlier tradition of scholarship that saw Old St Paul's as an institution in decline after the Reformation, the clergy of early modern St Paul's found a way to make the Cathedral work for a Protestant city, and that the Corporation and citizens of London valued it as the 'mother church'

of the city. The chapter demonstrates the ways in which they reorganised ceremonial events involving religious services at the Cathedral in order to maintain their relationship with the building, and that this commitment to St Paul's did not end with the Civil War. In revealing the efforts of the aldermen of the Corporation to support St Paul's, ranging from funding for repairs to adapting civic and liturgical rituals in order to retain a place for the Cathedral, Morrissey offers an alternative perspective to long-standing assumptions about the indifference to and neglect of the cathedral fabric in the seventeenth century.

Houliston also raises significant questions about the governance of St Paul's and its place within a network of competing religio-political influences. The chapter addresses the question of specific rhetorical deployments of language by both John Donne, Dean of St Paul's from 1621 to 1631, and the English Jesuits in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. Through a comparison of two occasional sermons preached by Donne in the early 1620s with his earlier polemic *Ignatius His Conclave*, Houliston argues that Donne could remain distinctly anti-Jesuit while using the Cathedral's pulpit to preach into being a Catholic but reformed English church with apostolic roots. The chapter touches on the relationship between spectacle and state brutality in the discussion of the execution/martyrdom of Henry Garnet which took place in the Churchyard of St Paul's in 1606; a spot near which Donne would be preaching and ridiculing Jesuits and their practices almost two decades later.

As a print genre, sermons became significant in Elizabeth's reign, and the link between preaching and publishing is explored by Mary Ann Lund in her discussion of the lay personnel at St Paul's. Lund uncovers archival records to highlight the probable place of two men in service to John Donne and shows that cathedral lay personnel could be deeply involved in economic activities in and around the Churchyard. Donne's servants were likely to have been involved in processes such as transcribing sermons to make them ready for publication, while the placement of the servants in the Cathedral Library can be assumed to have aided his sermon-writing. Lund's chapter points to the frequent silences that are found in the sources, with relatively little recorded about the personal and professional lives of the Cathedral laity. However, by extrapolating what is known about Donne and what records do survive, some specific and critical suggestions can be ventured. At least in the case of Donne's tenure as Dean of St Paul's, this suggests the possibility of a more expanded understanding of sermon-production and performance and of the subsequent

preparations of his sermons for commercial sale. Whereas the chapters by Reid, Morrissey and Houliston address public events, ideology and politics on a large scale, Lund, by contrast, offers an insight into the running and operations of an important part of the Cathedral at a very local level by focusing on the everyday and quotidian, the jobs of the servants and lay personnel and their relationships and duties, from the early to mid-seventeenth century.

Lund's localised focus is a crucial hinge bringing the larger scale of Parts I and II together with the more quotidian aspects of culture, power and ideology in Parts III and IV, which address the commercial aspects of the precinct. The chapters in Part III on 'COMMERCIAL CULTURE: Playing at Paul's and the Rise of Commercial Theatre' offer an account of the dynamic history of the playing space of the Children of Paul's as a commercial site among the network of other such spaces in early modern London, and of the relationship of the playhouse to the other commercial and entertainment activities within and beyond the precinct. Such a focus leads to new details about this little-known space, and also demonstrates how St Paul's was part of a wider commercial theatre environment that includes other indoor spaces such as the Blackfriars, as well as more frequently researched, outdoor performance locations in early modern London, such as the Globe and Theatre. The authors collectively challenge a critical tendency to treat Burbage's Theatre as what Callan Davies terms 'theatrical ground zero'; to elide the commercial aspect of the theatrical venture at St Paul's; and to assume that the St Paul's playing space catered predominantly for an elite audience.

Offering a revised analysis of the playing space, José A. Pérez Díez argues that the stage may have been as large as that of the Blackfriars, and would have afforded the Children of Paul's every means to rival their competitors in theatrical accomplishment. Díez's investigation into the specificities of metatextual elements in dramatic texts—the number of characters, references to stage properties, stage directions and so on—shows this material to be a rich source of insight and information about a particular theatrical location. The argument for the Paul's playhouse's ability to rival other commercial playhouses in early modern London is further reinforced by Davies who, through extensive archival research, places St Paul's among the network of commercial playing spaces in the 1560s and 70s, engaging with an emergent interest in sixteenth-century theatrical culture before the establishment of institutions (such as the Theatre) associated with Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Drawing

comparisons with the Blackfriars, Merchant Taylors' School, Trinity Hall and the Dutton brothers, Davies examines the profitable side of children's performance, counterbalancing court-orientated discussion of the early boy companies in scholarship and explores how the wider social and economic culture of early commercial children's performance reshaped London's entertainment scene and its regulation and reception.

While Davies's essay examines the Paul's playhouse's first burst of commercial success which ended around 1590, Will Tosh examines the playhouse's second burst of commercial popularity after 1599. Tosh's assessment of the performative complexities of the induction to John Marston's *What You Will* offers a cogent reconceptualisation of artistic and stage effects and provides an insight into the space's theatrical sophistication. In analysing Marston as a mannerist dramaturg, Tosh demonstrates how the playwright draws attention to the bodies of the boy players, making them vulnerable to objectification and eroticisation and pointing to the playhouse at Paul's as a part of the Cathedral precinct's erotic economy, where sexual soliciting may have been practiced throughout the grounds. As such, the chapter argues that Marston capitalised on the erotic appeal adolescents and pre-adolescents held for early modern men and women to create a memorable opening scene that exploited the boys' apparent status as ostensibly passive instruments of adult creative will.

The work undertaken in the chapters by Díez, Davies and Tosh demonstrates that the absence of great quantities of explicit documentary evidence stating the dimensions and details of a space need not preclude scholarship. The value of such creative and at times speculative approaches in the absence of substantial surviving archaeological evidence has already been demonstrated with the twenty-first century opening of the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse (SWP) at Shakespeare's (reconstructed) Globe in London, which constitutes 'a self-styled "archetype" of the indoor playhouses of Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline London' and was constructed according to 'collective knowledge about seventeenth-century indoor theatres'.[40] The SWP is, as Will Tosh has noted elsewhere, 'itself an arts and humanities research project'[41] and provides an invaluable space for performance-based research and for re-situating early modern playtexts. In this volume, citing a 2017 workshop performance of John Marston's *What You Will* at the SWP, Tosh shows how a similar metatextual engagement with a play combined with a performance of the work itself allows for hypotheses to be forwarded as to the