Pressing Intent: Printed Pamphlets for James I's Royal Entry into London (1604)

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Abstract

The royal entry of King James I to London in 1604 was a monumental event hosted by the City of London to welcome the ruler ceremoniously to his new realm. The City was primarily responsible for the planning and execution of the event for which they hired some of the foremost dramatists, poets, and artists of the period. Adorned with pageantry and spectacle, the ceremony followed the conventions of the early modern royal entry tradition. Unlike previous English entries, however, the 1604 triumph was memorialized and publicized in three separate printed pamphlets: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by Thomas Dekker (London: Thomas Man the Younger, 1604); *B. Jon: His Part of King James, His Royall and Magnificent Entertainement* by Ben Jonson (London: Edward Blount, 1604); and *The Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (London: John Sudbury and George Humble, 1604). Through an analysis of the textual and paratextual aspects of the three pamphlets, this thesis examines how the printed records of James I's London entry communicated politicized messages that are reflective of each writer's relationship with the City, the Crown, and the Court. The thesis argues that the pamphlets played an instrumental role in the authors' self-fashioning and in the positioning of their works in the contemporary print market. Moreover, the three pamphlets together reveal the diversification of the pamphlet genre and the emergence and proliferation of new forms of print media at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

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Introduction

The emergence of print media in early modern England contributed significantly to the communication and dissemination of politicized information. As the printing press became increasingly popular throughout the sixteenth century, the commercial book trade, centralized in London, emerged and included such forms as books, pamphlets, leaflets, and broadsheets, among others (Raymond, *Cheap Print* 2). The spread of the printing press coincided with the rise of the postal service (both in England and throughout continental Europe), which functioned as a powerful distribution network for written and printed documents (Raymond, *Cheap Print* 2). These circumstances allowed for texts to be disseminated more quickly and easily than ever before and for historical information and news to be recorded at an unprecedented volume. According to Brendan Dooley, "[f]or the first time, printed information seemed to fix the unfixable, to render permanent the ephemeral, to put a hard finish on the ragged edge of early modern time" (129).

By the early seventeenth century, printed pamphlets and pamphleteering had developed as a popular form of mass communication and had become "construed, in the literary imagination, as a distinctive form of print publication" (Bayman 13). During this period, pamphlets were, primarily, short leaflet books that "typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto" (Raymond, *Pamphlets* 5). They were small, lightweight, and short in form. They had significantly fewer pages than manuscript books of the period, lacked heavy binding, and excluded thick, sturdy covers, backs, and spines. This transformable and transmutable type of printed text was easily accessible for the early modern literate public. Originally created as a result of

"publishers…experimenting with new types of books, far shorter and cheaper than the theological and scholarly texts that had [previously] dominated the market in manuscripts," these media "created the opportunity to turn an existing appetite for news into a mass market" (Pettegree 2). By the seventeenth century, pamphlets were associated with "topical commentary and with either trivial subject matter or a light-hearted, populist, or scurrilous approach to the material," and audiences recognized a pamphlet when they saw one (Bayman 7). For the first time, as Pettegree suggests, "news could become…a part of popular culture" (2). Furthermore, pamphlets were not just entertaining and informative—they were literary too. They had "a beginning, a middle, and an end" and "attempted an explanation of causes and consequences" in a detailed, nuanced manner (Pettegree 9). This helped maintain the reader's interest, thus motivating consumption.

The audience of the seventeenth-century pamphlet is difficult to define, yet the approximate group that was consuming the pamphlets can be deduced from surviving documents and statistics. Once pamphlets were printed, they were circulated in London bookshops owned by the publishers, or by individuals and businesses affiliated with them (Bayman 25). Throughout the sixteenth century in England—that is, during the pamphlet's formative years—there existed an understanding that the audience for "cheap print" "was large, and growing, and uncontrolled" (Bayman 25). In order to consume the pamphlet, a person would have to be able to read, as "[i]lliteracy…precluded direct access to…pamphlets" (Bayman 31). We must not overstate literacy levels, however. By the early seventeenth century, on average in Europe, "over 50% of town dwellers could read…though in rural areas, where most people lived, less than half were literate. The combined total European rate was perhaps in the range of 35% to 40% literate," and slightly lower in England (Kaestle 21). Evidence for literacy levels "indicate

clearly that illiteracy was closely related to social status and gender" and that London had the highest literacy rate in all of England (Bayman 31-32). Another way to engage with the pamphlets was to listen to them being read aloud. When they were read aloud, these types of texts—ones that had public appeal and were easily reproducible—"served to whet the appetite for sensation in an illiterate public…" (Dudek 16). The pamphlets of the period were consumed by a popular, socially diverse, literate public, whose membership "extended to those whose involvement in the workplace or religious community allowed them to hear texts they could not read themselves (and to those who could not afford to purchase books)" (Raymond, *Pamphlets* 91). The diversity of the pamphlet audience necessitated the production of a range of pamphlets from contrasting, or even competing, perspectives.

As pamphlets were an essential tool for event recording as well as a mode of political commentary for public distribution, they became the preferred form for documenting such important political events as royal entries. Traditionally, an entry was recorded through festival books, reports, private letters, chronicles, and heraldic accounts preserved in manuscript form that were intended for a limited, elite audience. The most popular and elaborate text, the festival book, was "recorded either by means of paintings or other unique visual records or in the form of manuscript accounts" to "provide posterity with a record of what went on" during Renaissance court festivals (Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Festival Books" 181). As early as the 1501 entry of Catherine of Aragon into London, printed pamphlets, usually in quarto form and less than a dozen pages in length, began to accompany English royal entries. Anne Boleyn's 1533 entry and her daughter's, Elizabeth I's, 1559 entry were recorded, respectively, in *The Noble Tryumphaunt Coronacyon of Quene Anne* and in *The Quenes maiesties passage through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion. Anno 1558*. Although no author's name was

included in the pamphlet published for Elizabeth's entry, extant documents indicate that it was written by Richard Mulcaster, a schoolmaster, writer, and member of Elizabeth's parliament (Warkentin 15-16). Elizabeth's pamphlet was published in collaboration with two notable printers, Richard Grafton and Richard Tottel. The entry pamphlets of the sixteenth century were still, however, heavily reliant on the chronicle tradition and heraldic manuscripts.

The 1604 entry of James I broke from tradition and, for the first time, a royal entry was commemorated in three separate pamphlets which were individually authored by prominent, popular writers and dramatists. The burgeoning, adaptable pamphlet form facilitated the publication of three pamphlets by individuals directly involved in the creation and execution of the entry: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by playwright and pamphleteer Thomas Dekker (c. 1572-1632) (London: Thomas Man the Yonger, 1604); *B. Jon: His Part of King James, His Royall and Magnificent Entertainement* by dramatist and poet Ben Jonson (1572-1637) (London: Edward Blount, 1604); and the illustrated *The Arches of Triumph* by joiner and architect Stephen Harrison (fl. 1604-1605) (London: John Sudbury and George Humble, 1604). The first editions of all three entry pamphlets were published within a month of the entry, and all vary in size: Dekker's quarto pamphlet is 72 pages in length, Harrison's folio 20 pages, and Jonson's quarto 48 pages (excluding the shorter works appended to his work, such as his commentary on James's speech at Parliament). Two subsequent editions of Dekker's text were published in 1604 with additions such as English translations of Latin speeches as well as revised readings (Smuts 499). This thesis examines only the original, first London edition of *The Magnificent Entertainment* (STC 6510).

Generally, studies of royal entries have interpreted pamphlets as historical documents in an attempt to recreate and describe accurately the happenings of ceremonies and pageants.

Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, a few foundational texts of early modern European ceremonies and rituals were published. In his seminal work on English royal entries, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (1997), Sydney Anglo outlines the development of the civic ceremony throughout the century preceding James I's 1604 entry through an examination of the primary documents associated with English royal entries. This historicized approach also addresses the notion of propaganda in relation to early modern civic rituals, connecting both new historicist and cultural studies' based perspectives. In the first edition, Anglo contends that early modern civic rituals are fundamentally propaganda in which printed pamphlets played an instrumental role, but in the second edition he notes that using such a term is "facile" and "anachronistic" (1997, xi). Similarly, David Bergeron follows Anglo's historical approach, but he focuses on English spectacle and pageantry from the reign of Queen Elizabeth I to King Charles I. In several works regarding the tradition of early modern English civic rituals, spectacles, and drama, notably *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642*; *Practicing Renaissance Scholarship: Plays and Pageants, Patrons and Politics*; and *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640*, Bergeron interprets pamphlets in terms of their historical value. Bergeron has also explored a variety of records, such as King James's parliamentary speech in March 1604 and the Venetian State Papers, in relation to royal entries (2002 and 1970) to help him reconstruct entries. Both Bergeron and Anglo regard entry pamphlets primarily as historical records, as does Anne Lancashire in *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558*. She surveys the development of civic drama in London from the first century, its continental influences, and various forms through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through an examination of documented accounts and official records.

Few studies exist, however, on James I's 1604 entry into London. In her study on "Dekker's Accession Pageant for James I," Lancashire focuses solely on Dekker and examines the pamphlet in relation to the earlier entry records of Elizabeth and Mary to determine Dekker's role in the planning and organization of the 1604 entry. In both studies, Bergeron examines primary documentation, seeking to separate literature from established facts. In his article "Harrison, Jonson and Dekker: The Magnificent Entertainment for King James (1604)", Bergeron considers the bodies of the pamphlets as a unified voice concerning the information they provide about the entry—that is, what happened during the event, physically and temporally. Furthermore, Richard Dutton, in his *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, examines London's entertainments as symbolic expressions of the City's identity, and elucidates the role of the 1604 pamphlets in relation to other early modern drama through an examination of the primary documents associated with the events. Dutton analyzes the printed texts of Jacobean spectacles as historical sources, not individual artifacts of early print media. Both Bergeron and Dutton conflate the accounts of Jonson, Dekker, and Harrison, creating supposedly authoritative versions of the event, and therefore losing sight of the pamphlet writers' individual agencies. In all these publications, the event is favoured over the text.

More recently, Heather Easterling's 2017 article "Reading the Royal Entry (1604) in/as Print" departs from using pamphlets primarily to reconstruct the events themselves, and instead examines them as records that reflect the development of print media during the seventeenth century. Specifically, Easterling regards the three entry pamphlets as well as Richard Dugdale's bystander account as print artifacts that necessitate a reconsideration of the entry tradition, print culture, and "the work of drama and theatrical events in print" (68-69). Easterling's approach highlights how the pamphlets address the politics of print: "Reading the royal entry in print

means reading Jonson's quarto as well as the other entry texts as not just their authors' intentions, but also as expressions of a print industry that was furiously commercializing and reacting to major changes in this period" (50). Although she recognizes the existence of "a range of paratextual apparatus" in Harrison's pamphlet, Easterling does not explore them in detail, nor does she consider their existence in the pamphlets of Dekker, Jonson, or Dugdale (63).

Following Easterling's lead, this thesis examines the three entry pamphlets as early forms of print media, yet it focuses on the pamphlets' nuanced bibliographical elements, specifically their paratexts. The term "paratext" was originally conceptualized by Gerard Genette in his seminal theoretical work *Seuils* (French, 1997), which was translated and published in English in 1997 as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Paratext consists of visual-textual "elements related to a document but not being the core of the text in itself, but still being an essential part of both the document per se and the reader's perception and use of it" (Astrom 1). The paratext of a document includes elements such as the cover, title page, dedications, footnotes, marginalia, decorative letters, engravings, stamps, etc. These may be supplied by several parties, including the writers, editors, engravers, printers, and publishers. Genette insists that paratexts "should be read as transactional" and not simply informational (Smith and Wilson 2). That is, while it is a layered form of communication, its purpose is "to guide the reader into the riches of the book, and to structure his or her approach to what s/he is about to read" (Smith and Wilson 2). Genette's understanding of paratext has been applied by several scholars to literary and artistic works, including printed texts of the early modern period. The way Genette considers consistency and structure of the paratext in relation to literary interpretation makes his theory pertinent to early printed material. Each pamphlet composed for the 1604 entry, when examined from the point of view of their paratextual elements, elucidates how the writers capitalized on the

newness and growth of the pamphlet medium to create unique, experimental printed accounts of the entry.

Throughout Dekker's, Harrison's, and Jonson's pamphlets, paratexts play a crucial role in the production of meaning. Jonson's title page focuses on his role as the text's creator, and the abundant marginalia throughout the pamphlet are fundamentally self-promotional. Dekker employs titles, subheadings, and running heads to organize his descriptive prose recalling heraldic manuscripts and the chronicle tradition. Harrison concentrates on elaborate, detailed engravings of his triumphal arches to supplement, or even subvert, the text that describes them. All three writers use many of the same paratextual elements, but the differences in the way they apply them reveal a significant diversion in their approaches.

In this thesis, the paratexts examined are title pages (including names and printers' devices), to the reader/dedicatory epistles, font, running head, illustration, and marginalia. The first paratext to be considered is the title page, which includes the printer's name, device, shop location, the city, and year of publication, and functions as an introduction and form of advertisement (Voss 737). As Paul Voss points out, "as many title pages were printed with blank versos, additional copies were often printed and nailed to posts around London and outside the bookseller's shop, creating an immediate advertising network" (737). Further, as Marcy North writes, "[t]itle pages were used as advertising leaflets, and what a book producer chose to include on the title page was more often than not determined by what might bring a purchaser to the bookshop" (65). Thus, title pages are intentionally informative in their texts and visual apparatus. According to Michael Saenger, "[t]he pages before the main work, which modern critics have long discarded or viewed simply for their evidentiary value, serve to advertise, frame, and explain the text in ways that have been largely unanalyzed" (3). In the 1604 printed entry

pamphlets, Dekker's and Jonson's title pages are text-focused, whereas Harrison's is primarily visual. The respective title pages introduce each writer's position and provide a preview of what the pamphlets will communicate.

One major element of the title page is the writer's name, which allows the writer to establish ownership over a text and to construct an authorial presence. During the early years of print development in Europe, it was much more common for the title of the work and the name of the printer to appear "in a more standardized form than the author's name" (North 65). During the early seventeenth century, authors' names did not follow a prescribed standard and were, instead, crafted on a case-by-case basis. In each of the 1604 entry pamphlets, the author's name is represented in a polarized manner: either it appears as a focal point in large, bold font, or as only a formality in small, unassuming font. The reason for these discrepancies among the pamphlets is based on the marketability of a name and the notion of self-fashioning. The value of the author's name on the title page alone would have been based on its ability to sell and promote a work, whether by inclusion or exclusion.

Similarly, the printer's device, an engraved emblem on the title page that represents a specific printer, demonstrates "[t]he adaptability of the printing press [which] allowed title pages and colophons to provide current information beneficial to both retailers and consumers" (Voss 737). No emblems appear in the 1604 printed entry pamphlets. Instead, an imprint is provided in each pamphlet, usually on the title page, detailing the name, location, date of print, and, oftentimes, where the text is to be sold.

While the title pages focused on the printer and were a means of presenting and advertising the pamphlet, the address to the reader developed, challenged, and complemented the title page by shifting the communication from the general public directly to the reader of the

pamphlet (Saenger 35). Sometimes referred to as a "dedicatory epistle/epistle dedicatory to the reader," the address to the reader is usually no longer than one page, and it usually includes the writer's signature, which, during the early seventeenth century, communicated "subservience and respect," and thus allowed the address to "[imitate] the layout of a handwritten letter" (Shrank 306). The address is used to engage the audience and praise social superiors, while also permitting the writer to situate himself or herself in relation to his or her position in society (Shrank 306). The address is a part of the greater narrative that is being told throughout a text as a whole. According to Genette, the address or the dedication is "always a matter of demonstration, ostentation, exhibition: it proclaims a relationship, whether intellectual or personal, actual or symbolic, and this proclamation is always at the service of the work" (qtd. in Shrank 304).

Although much less prominent than the title page, the running head (sometimes referred to as column heading) is another paratext frequently employed by printers to emphasize particular elements of a pamphlet. Matthew Day defines the running head as "a short title or headline placed at the top of the page, sometimes restricted to one which is continued throughout the whole of the book," which appears in Dekker's and Harrison's pamphlets, but not in Jonson's (qtd. in Smith and Wilson 35). The running head is often text-based, as it is in Dekker's pamphlet, yet it is sometimes ornamental, as in Harrison's pamphlet. The contrasting ways in which this paratext is employed demonstrate its adaptability to the writer's needs.

Uncharacteristically, the entry pamphlets of Dekker and Jonson break from the conventions of cheap print by including marginalia, which were traditionally part of the commentary tradition and existed in more exalted and learned texts, such as legal, theological, biblical, and medical treatises, and editions of classical writers. Serving in the two pamphlets as

explanations, marginalia were intended to make texts more accessible to readers and share additional information on the topics not already contained within the works themselves (Slights 19). Jonson includes extensive, and sometimes confusing, marginalia in his pamphlet due to his learnedness and classicism, while Dekker employs them sparingly and only when essential. These marginal notes and commentaries "perpetuated the practices associated with manuscript books" as "readers"—or authors—"continued to add to books just as their ancestors had done" (Jackson 46). Writers who included marginalia would have been educated in annotation and "conditioned by example" (Jackson 46). Despite its use as a form of explanation, marginalia does not always achieve its intended goal. As William Slights states, "[t]he difficulty is that in providing such aids to understanding, the makers of printed marginalia were creating new text with myriad problems of referentiality" (19). Instead of simplifying the body text, marginalia often complicates or destabilizes it (Slights 20).

Instead of employing marginalia in his text, Harrison exploits ornamentation as his most prominent paratext. Defined by *The Oxford Companion to the Book* as a "relief cut of wood or metal, used by printers for decorative purposes when printing letterpress texts," ornaments include tailpieces, headpieces, decorated initials, fleurons (or printers' flowers), coats of arms, and printers' devices, among others ("ornament" n.p.). The fleuron, which appears throughout the pamphlets, came to England from Venice in the 1560s and is defined as is "the [design] produced in printed books through the use of type-ornament…[that results] from the pressure on paper of individual pieces of inked type that bear decorative designs rather than letter symbols" (Fleming 48). In order to enhance and decorate the printed text, these elements can be used as visual forms of communication and symbolism, thus reinforcing the writer's position and increasing the work's aesthetic value. Throughout early English printed texts, neoclassicism

dominated aesthetic tastes; thus "the dominant source of ornament used in and on the Renaissance book, as on all other objects susceptible of decoration, springs from the inspiration...of classic Roman architecture" (Goldschmidt 72). This is evidenced in Harrison's pamphlet and its emphasis on architectural engravings. Neoclassical ornaments also appear in Dekker's pamphlet, and, to a lesser degree, in Jonson's. Juliet Fleming notes that the fleuron has a clear, pragmatic purpose that applies to all ornaments: "to keep pages clean during printing, since the presence of type-ornament prevented the paper from bowing down during pressing, to pick up ink that might have strayed onto the furniture outside the text block" (49). The ornaments of the three pamphlets are reflective of printing trends, and, as this thesis demonstrates, they are also shaped by each writer's position. The main paratextual elements of the pamphlets are malleable and allow Dekker, Harrison, and Jonson alike to communicate their ideas in an individualized manner.

Pamphlet paratexts reinforce the writer's position and set of influences, as detailed primarily in the bodies of texts, while functioning as innovative tools of communication. Through an analysis of the textual and paratextual aspects of the three pamphlets that accompanied James I's 1604 entry into London, this thesis examines how the pamphlets communicated politicized messages that are reflective of each writer's relationship with the City, the Crown, and the Court. It argues that the pamphlets played an instrumental role in the authors' self-fashioning and in the positioning of their works in the contemporary print market. Moreover, the three pamphlets together reveal the diversification of the pamphlet genre and the emergence and proliferation of new forms of print media at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Chapter 1, I situate the 1604 entry within the English royal entry tradition, and explore Dekker's, Harrison's, and Jonson's role in the entry and their connections with the City and the Crown. In

the following three case studies on the pamphlets of Dekker, Harrison, and Jonson in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, I seek to answer the following questions: what politicized ideas and messages did the pamphlets communicate in their texts and paratexts; how were these messages shaped by each author's unique set of influences and allegiances; how do these pamphlets function as experimental works of early mass media, and what does that tell us about the pamphlet genre; what do they suggest about the rise of the early modern author? Through the exploration of these questions, I further develop the idea established by Easterling: "the writing and publishing of the 1604 entry become in many ways more concerned with the politics and economics of authorship and print than the politics of pageantry" (69). Instead of interpreting the pamphlets as solely historical records to recreate James's 1604 entry, I examine their intricate bibliographical elements in order to trace their participation in the politics of communication and how they shaped the construction of authorship in early seventeenth-century England.

Chapter 1: The History and Development of Royal Entry Pamphlets

Following the death of Elizabeth I on March 24, 1603, the English Privy Council wrote to James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Queen of Scots, and offered him the crown (Wormald, "James" n.p.). James accepted this opportunity graciously, while "[thanking] the English councillors on Elizabeth's behalf for their loyal service" and "[asking] their thanks to God for the blessing about to come among them" (Wormald, "James" n.p.). In his letter of acceptance, James also noted "that he could not simply rush off from Edinburgh" and asked that the Privy Council "keep the kingdom ordered and peaceful until his arrival" (Wormald, "James" n.p.). It was not until May 7, 1603, that James would arrive in London—"over six weeks after he had been proclaimed king" (Lancashire, "Dekker's" 44). For some scholars, the seemingly "leisurely pace" that James took from Edinburgh to London is a topic of discord (Mardock 128). Echoing the contents of James's letter to the Privy Council, Diana Newtown remarks that James had to balance his Edinburgh and London responsibilities simultaneously: "[e]ven at the height of his preparations to leave Scotland, James continued to pay due attention to settling affairs already in progress" (21). Meanwhile, as Lancashire suggests, "James had not only been far from London at his accession but also had deliberately planned a slow progress from the north so as not to enter the city before Elizabeth's funeral (on 29 April)" ("Dekker's" 44). Lancashire's perspective may imply that either James did not wish to attend the funeral or, perhaps, he did not want to distract attention from the funeral itself. Furthermore, James Mardock notes that King James's slowness "was viewed with some concern in the south"—significant planning had been made for Elizabeth's funeral, "but until the arrival of her successor she could not be buried and continued

to lie in state at Whitehall for more than a month" (128). Mardock's remark highlights the tradition of awaiting the arrival of the new monarch before the burial of the predecessor. According to this custom, James should have arrived in London before the funeral of Elizabeth, but he did not. He even wrote to the Privy Council in London while travelling to the city, asking that she be buried without his presence (Mardock 129). Evidently, James was aware of this monarchical funeral tradition and dismissed it. Regardless of the reason for the delay, London was left in an uncertain, liminal state during this period.

The significant delays in James's arrival into London and the staging of his royal entry built anticipation and allowed for additional planning. Traditionally, in England, the City was the host of the royal entry for a newly crowned monarch immediately following the coronation as a formal act of salutation. However, on July 6, 1603, a royal proclamation by the King ordered the city to "deferre all shewe of State and Pompe accustomed by our Progenitors'" due to an outbreak of the plague in London, in which 30,000 individuals would die (Mardock 26). James's coronation ceremony occurred on July 25, 1603, at Westminster Abbey in London and was consequently a small ceremony that involved only thirty-nine selected aldermen as attendees (Mardock 26). The royal entry was thus postponed to March 15, 1604—the Ides of March—just before the opening of James's first Parliament on March 19.

Hosted by the City, the English royal entry was a civic ceremony developed during the late Middle Ages to welcome a ruler into his capital symbolically (Smuts 219). In any royal entry, "a legal contract between the ruler and the citizens is created at the moment when the ruler is formally greeted at the city gates and is presented with the keys, which he returns," resulting in the establishment of "a relationship of mutual obligation" (Watanabe-O'Kelly 5-6). This entrance and arrival "always consisted of a procession by the royal household and nobles

attending the monarch, before an audience consisting partly of civic dignitaries and partly of an undifferentiated public" (Smuts 219). In terms of its components, the entry included "[d]ramatic speeches and action, music, colourful costumes. . .triumphal arches, and professional actors [that] gave [the civic occasion] imaginative life" (Bergeron, *English* 1). Triumphal arches, speeches, and theatrical performances were the main forms of spectacle that were included along the path of the procession. While the pageantry of the ceremony abounded with symbolism that conveyed the expectations the City held for the new monarch, it simultaneously proclaimed the hopes the City had for itself and its citizens within this newly forged relationship between city and ruler. As Germaine Warkentin observes, "[e]ven the feeblest royal entry was thus a way of giving counsel" (21).

James's entry was a civic pageant that introduced the King to his city, and the citizens of London to their new ruler. Beginning at the Tower of London, the procession moved through the city streets and ended at Fleet Street. This route "was designed in the style of an ancient Roman triumph; the seven, imperial-style arches, which were positioned at symbolic landmarks along the route, formed the ultimate visual reminder of the classical inspiration behind the pageant's design" (Schofield 120). James appeared in the procession "with an entourage of English nobility, high-ranking politicians, ecclesiasts, judicial leaders, a select number of foreign ambassadors, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, as well as members of the royal family and their households" (Schofield 120). As James and his entourage progressed through the streets of London, they were watched by municipal authorities and City representatives who were stationed at every pageant and triumphal arch. They were also gazed upon by the citizens of London, lining the procession route to catch a fleeting glimpse of their new ruler.

When James's royal entry finally occurred, it adhered to the English royal entry tradition with respect to its route and structure, despite the passing of forty-five years since Elizabeth's entry. In Bergeron's view, the 1604 entry "deliberately recalls the 1559 one, given that it follows the same path, "beginning at the Tower [of London] and proceeding to Temple Bar," and that "both pageants," for example, "represent at Fenchurch something about the City of London" ("Representation" 326). In actuality, James's entry path simply followed the geographical route established by medieval and early modern English royal entry practices. Elizabeth's, too, mirrored those of her predecessors; the audience, as Warkentin writes, "got pretty much what they expected to see in the places where they expected to see it" (52):

> [t]he procession followed the familiar route, there were the usual painted tables in Latin and English, singing children, Latin orations, triumphal arches, and a frank expression of the hopes of the people… (52-53)

Despite structural similarities, James's entry departed from that of Elizabeth in the involvement of the monarch and the creators of the entry. Elizabeth's entry was a comprehensive spectacle welcoming the new monarch and situating her as the next great Tudor Queen. The entry represented in several ways the smooth integration of the new queen into London, the City which Elizabeth was connected to throughout her life and in which she was a royal figure before her own entry. Elizabeth had participated in royal entries before her own, including that of Mary Tudor in 1553 (Warkentin 28). The symbolism embedded in the entry paid particular attention to Elizabeth's position as the daughter of Henry VIII, her sovereignty, and the City's faith in her capability to rule. As Robert Stillman states, "[i]ts principal rhetorical moves are those of persuading [the public], celebrating, and advising [Elizabeth], and these diverse motives combine to present the appearance of a unified rhetorical display"—one that is joyous in nature (52).

Instead of directing his readers' attention to the monarch, the imagery of James's entry has a pronounced focus on the history of the City through the use of neoclassical motifs, from the creation of the *Londinium* arch and Latin speeches, to the poetic personification of the River Thames or *Tamesis*.

The differences in Elizabeth's and James's involvement in their respective entries are also reflective of a shift in the English royal entry tradition. During the entry itself, Elizabeth responded spontaneously to the speeches and spectacles, and acknowledged and engaged the crowds (Warkentin 53). At once, the new monarch, as Warkentin writes, was "both audience and protagonist of the show" (52). Meanwhile, James did not respond to the spectacles and showed minimal interaction with the public. In contrast to James's passivity, the City and the pamphlet writers were deeply involved in the creation of the event, thus allowing them to establish ownership over the entry as a civic event. Extant documents, particularly the three pamphlets, also reveal the audience's desire to read about and consume news of such an elaborate event, which was evidently the result of the year-long anticipation by the people of London.

While the City had always been the host of the royal entry, James's entry demonstrates a shift from the welcoming of the monarch to a focus on the prominence of the City, largely due to the control it had over the entry. By the time the entry occurred, the City and its hired artists, poets, and dramatists had had an entire year to plan James's royal entry. The City had invested thousands of pounds in the planning of the entry, and London's municipal government paid for the design and construction of the triumphal arches, the creation of the dramatic spectacles, the hiring of the actors, joiners, and labourers, as well as the actors' garments. Presumably, the City also paid for the water conduits that "ran Claret wine very plenteously," as Harrison notes in his pamphlet (Bergeron, "Harrison, Jonson" 447). For the day's festivities, the City spent

approximately £4,100. The arches and pageants constructed by the Dutch and the Italians were paid for by the continental representatives themselves. For the Dutch arch designed by Conrad Jansen, "[t]he Dutch community spent around £1,000, while the Italians, for their arch, spent "probably rather less" on, from Ian Archer's perspective, their "less impressive arch" (160). Such contributions, combined with the extra planning time, allowed the City to create a thoughtfully and strategically planned event.

Although the Crown was not responsible for the planning and execution of the royal entry, it did help finance it. Despite the fact that "Queen Elizabeth had died £60,000 in debt to the Corporation of London" and that the sum was not paid in total until 1608, even with the City's aldermen aggressively petitioning James for repayment, the Crown spent excessively in its part of the 1604 entry (Mardock 26, 128). According to Archer, the

> expenditure for which the Crown was responsible [included]…. the monarch's clothing, the chariot and canopy, the heraldic banners, the horses' trappings, and the vast quantities of scarlet and red cloth that were distributed to the entourage on procession through the City streets. (159-60)

In total, the Crown invested at least £9,492 "on the royal entry alone, much of it on the scarlet and red cloths used for liveries" given to at least 1125 persons for use during the procession (Archer 160, 167). As Archer writes, "[t]he royal entourage was visibly and colorfully present on the city streets" (167). While the Crown contributed more on the entry—quite excessively and pompously—the City's investment was simultaneously financial, temporal, and political. The City did not spend as much as the Crown, but it invested time—over a year—planning the event and took a risk by countering tradition and assuming a position of power in the entry.

The most important contribution to the entry was the City's hiring of dramatists like Dekker and Jonson as well as Thomas Middleton (bap. 1580, d. 1627), a celebrated playwright, whose speech appears transcribed in Dekker's pamphlet who all wrote and designed entertainments and speeches. Meanwhile, Harrison, a joiner and architect, was hired to oversee the construction of the entry's seven triumphal arches. As Archer quoting Dekker writes, in the *Magnificent Entertainment*, "twenty-four carvers worked under the supervision of Stephen Harrison, joiner; they were assisted by eighty joiners, eighty carpenters, six turners, twelve sawyers, and seventy-six laborers; and 'besides these, there were other artificers, as: plumbers, smiths, moulders'" (Archer 168). The City commissioned Edward Alleyn, one of the most popular Elizabethan actors and head of The Admiral's Men, the direct competitor of Shakespeare's Lord Chamberlain's Men, to play the role of Genius (Bayman 41). The commissioning of such prominent and popular figures by the City is suggestive of the municipal government's desire to display its own sense of greatness and prosperity to James, his court, and the public. The entry was, in many ways, meant to impress the King and his subjects. It is through the creations of the hired artists that the City's values shine in the entry. Because the municipal government provided the artists with the opportunity to participate in such a momentous occasion, the artists became indebted to the City.

Dekker had the strongest affiliations with the City, a position that was manifested throughout his life. London is frequently referenced throughout Dekker's works, and it is likely that Dekker was a permanent resident of the city (Twyning, "Dekker" n.p.). Despite a lack of evidence regarding his education, and "no reference that he attended university," Dekker's writing indicates "that he had a grammar school education," which is supported by his extensive Latin translations and his "working knowledge of the classics" (Twyning, "Dekker" n.p.). This

knowledge was applied first to Dekker's plays and then later to "non-dramatic pamphlets, mayoral pageants and public entertainments, satires, commendatory verse, and other poetry" (Twyning, "Dekker" n.p.). Dekker's first contribution to a civic entertainment was his planning and pamphlet for James's 1604 entry. Throughout his career, Dekker composed many London's civic entertainments and dramas, despite a lengthy intermission in his literary output during seven years of imprisonment from 1613 to 1620. By the late 1620s, during the reign of Charles I, Dekker would produce pageants for the City of London, particularly for the mayoral inaugurations of Sir John Swinerton (1612), Sir Hugh Hamersley (1627), Richard Deane (1628), and James Campbell (1629) (Bayman 41). In James's entry and the London mayoral inaugurations, there is one consistent theme: loyalty to and praise of the City of London. Throughout his printed works, Dekker, as Bayman suggests, does not address controversial topics (including religion) as "he…was too dependent on continual employment" by the City to do so (117). The relationship between Dekker and the City was mutually beneficial: Dekker maintained employment as a writer and the City could rely on him for consistency in designing and recording civic ceremonies.

As opposed to Dekker's career, very little is known about Harrison apart from his role in James's entry. As a joiner and architect, Harrison was fortunate to have been hired by the City to participate in the creation of the entry, as it provided him the opportunity to commemorate his work in print. In the Stationers Company Register, there are no extant listings for Harrison, or any variation thereof (e.g., S. Harrison, Stephen Harison, S. Harison, *et cetera*) after the printing of his 1604 pamphlet. Since so little is known about Harrison, his pamphlet remains a key source of information, particularly for his position and influences. For example, Harrison's descriptions suggest that he had a limited understanding of the classics. Also, Harrison's arches are provincial

and aesthetically inferior to those of the Dutch and Italians, which suggests that he did not spend much time outside of England. According to David Cressy's model of social structure, Harrison would have been situated among working "merchants, tradesmen, and craftsmen" in the community. He would have been known as an artificer, creating what Jonson refers to as "the Mechanick part," and he would have been perceived by the writers and dramatists of the entry possibly as a member of "the urban proletariat"—socially positioned above labourers, but not reaching the likes of poets and dramatists (Jonson fol. D3v; Cressy 41). Harrison's social standing is reflected in his indebtedness to the City, which is expressed graciously in a full-page dedication "To the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Bennet Knight, Lord Mayor of this Citie" on the first page of his pamphlet. Based on what is known about Harrison's life and his position in society, the reader can assume that Harrison, like Dekker, was indebted to the City for his involvement in the entry, and the unprecedented nature of his contributions lends itself to self-fashioning and maximizing the rare opportunity offered to him by the City.

While Dekker and Harrison express an indebtedness to the City, Jonson demonstrates an allegiance to the Crown and the King in an attempt to gain patronage and further his own career. Unlike Dekker and Harrison, Jonson maintains a formal, elevated style of writing heavily influenced by classical literature, his education, and his relationship with the Court and monarch. He studied under "the great antiquarian and humanist William Camden (1551-1623)" and benefitted "from the educational system set up by the Oxford reformer," especially with respect to classical literary works (Mulryan 164). The humanist style under which Jonson was trained resonates throughout his oeuvre as overt neoclassicism. Despite being the recipient of Camden's teachings, Jonson never formally attended university and, instead, "was apprenticed to his bricklayer stepfather" (McEvoy 4). By the late 1500s, Jonson became a playwright, and

throughout the early seventeenth century, he staged and published several works, culminating in the 1616 publication of his First Folio, which contained thirty original works including plays, poetry, masques, and entertainments—many of which had been previously published (McEvoy 4). However, given that Jonson remained a member of the bricklayers' guild, it is possible that he required at times "another source of income" apart from his vocation as a playwright (McEvoy 4). While Jonson's financial success wavered throughout his career, he consistently strove to obtain patronage among London guilds and leading citizens, especially from James I and his court, even if he did continue as a bricklayer to maintain his income. In June 1603, Jonson devised an entertainment for Queen Anne and Prince Henry at Althorp, and, by 1605, James would employ him as the chief creator of court masques. Through these commissions, Jonson had a special opportunity to display his own talents, while simultaneously praising the king—not unlike the behaviour that he manifests in his 1604 pamphlet. To obtain an elevated social status through his vocation as a dramatist was, evidently, one of Jonson's primary professional goals, and his pioneering authorial self-fashioning allowed him to build a career as one of the Jacobean era's foremost dramatists. Jonson also attempted to maintain an elite social status by maintaining comradery with other writers, courtiers, and gentlemen such as John Donne, and by writing most of his entertainments "explicitly...for court consumption" (Barton 6; Marcus 41). When Jonson died in 1637, he was buried at Westminster Abbey and his funeral was attended by members of the Court, the royal family, and other social elites, thus achieving royal patronage and heightened social status he desired and strove to obtain throughout his life.

The involvement of Dekker, Harrison, and Jonson in the entry begs the question: Was the royal entry a work of collaboration? The answer to this is curious. Collaboration, in the traditional artistic sense of collective effort, occurred in the planning and staging of the royal

entry event itself. Dekker, Jonson, and Middleton all worked on specific portions of the entry, and Harrison designed the English triumphal arches. The Italians and the Dutch devised and constructed their own pageants and arches. Ultimately, various individuals worked on different parts of the entry, which came together to comprise the *entire* royal entry. Given the involvement of multiple players, including entertainment writers, actors, labourers, speech-writers, and costume designers, among others, the entertainments and thus the royal entry itself comprised a collaborative event.

Despite the entry's being a collaborative event, the pamphlet writers did not collaborate with one another in the creation of their printed texts; each writer had a distinct position and relationship with the City, thus making him an independent contributor. The lack of collaborative relationships among the writers is confirmed by pre-existing tensions, especially between Dekker and Jonson. It is well known that Jonson and Dekker had a longstanding competitive relationship: the two "simply did not get on with one another" (Dutton 20). They "established themselves as rivals" during their involvement in the "War of the Theatres" at the turn of the century, "satirizing each other in plays," such as *Satiromastix* (1601) by Dekker and *Poetaster* (1601) by Jonson (Mardock 28; Dutton 20). This competition manifests itself in the royal entry, too. Jonson published his contributions to the entry in his pamphlet, making sure not to include the efforts of anyone else—especially Dekker's. While Dekker's account claims to be the whole, entire account of the entry as it should have occurred, he intentionally chooses not to "[quote] Jonson's verse" directly or to "acknowledge him by name"; rather, he references the work and not the writer (Dutton 25). The conflict between Jonson and Dekker was potentially increased by the City's decision to hire Jonson in the winter of 1603/1604 to contribute to the entry that Dekker had already been planning and designing. This addition resulted in Jonson opening the

entry with his pageant at Fenchurch, although Dekker was supposed to design this first pageant. Furthermore, the competition between the two resulted in issues over copyright. Jonson seemingly rushed to publish his pamphlet immediately following James's first Parliament, while Dekker's was published in April 1604. In May of the same year, "Jonson's publisher, Edward Blount, was forced by the Stationers' Company to surrender all the remaining copies of his stock to Dekker's publisher, Thomas Mann Jr" (Dutton 25). As Dutton suggests, the legal basis for this was possibly that "Dekker was able to argue that his commission from the City authorities to publish an account of the day's proceedings precluded Jonson's right to publish his own contributions" (25). The rivalry between Dekker and Jonson before and after the 1604 entry suggests that they were not involved in the creation of each other's work, despite that both were working for the City. There is no evidence to suggest that Harrison established a relationship with Dekker or Jonson.

Although the writers did not have harmonious relationships with one another, the pamphlets themselves are works of collaboration in a different way: each was created by the author in conjunction with a printer, and the pamphlets occasionally include the works of other artists, such as speech-writers or engravers. However, the pamphlets are not positioned or remembered as collaborative due to the fact that each writer uses his pamphlet as an independent form of authorial self-fashioning. Throughout the three pamphlets, the physical and bibliographical attributes reinforce Dekker's, Harrison's, and Jonson's standing, while showcasing the independent nature of their texts. In his pamphlet, Dekker includes the speech of Middleton in attempt to capture the entire event, which assists him in creating an all-encompassing account of the entry for the City and fulfilling the traditional role of the recorder. Similarly, in Harrison's visually based pamphlet, the engravings of Harrison's arches were

created by William Kip, a Dutch engraver, whom Harrison names on the title page. Harrison's pamphlet expresses his indebtedness to the City and details the City's contributions to the entry, and his reference to Kip elevates the writer's position among the other pamphlet writers, given Kip's continental origin and influence. Meanwhile, Jonson included only his own contributions in his pamphlet in an attempt to make it as independent as possible, highlighting his self-proclaimed supremacy as a writer. Jonson appeals to the Crown in an attempt to gain patronage and advancement in London society, as manifested in his formal, classical writing style. Nevertheless, despite their dependence on royal and civic patronage, Dekker's, Harrison's, and Jonson's pamphlets indicate an increasing level of independence from the City or Crown.

Chapter 2: Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604)

Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* is the longest of the three pamphlets, and it functions as a comprehensive documentation of the event, thus positioning Dekker as a civic recorder who follows the heraldic, chronicle tradition. It comprises descriptions of all of the pageants, songs, and speeches of the English artists involved in the production of the entry, including Harrison, Jonson, Middleton, and Dekker himself, as well as those of "Strangers"—that is, the Italian and the Dutch contributors. Dekker writes in extensive detail and attempts to recreate the events of the day—as they should have appeared—to his greatest ability. As Easterling notes, "Dekker becomes not just a recorder but a bold truth teller when he admits that much of his quarto's content was not performed on the day. With this statement, he shares a fact but also neatly performs a self-authorizing role as supplier of what was unavailable" (60). In his description of each entertainment and triumphal arch, Dekker analyzes the symbolism of the performances, lists the characters and contributors, transcribes speeches and engravings, describes the audiences' reactions, details the measurements of the arches, and offers contextual information. He mentions the contributions of Harrison and Jonson, and even names other contributors to the pageant, including Middleton, who composed the speech at the Fleet Street arch, and Alleyn. Despite the lengthiness of the pamphlet, Dekker's prose is clear and easy to read. Moreover, the style of Dekker's writing follows that of a traditional recorder who would typically be employed by the City, and his pamphlet is as close to an "official account" as possible.

While Dekker, like Jonson and Harrison, was commissioned by the City to devise various aspects of the royal entry pageant, he was, according to Dutton, "originally employed...to compose the pageants which King James was to confront on his ceremonial progress...and to publish an account of it" (*Ben Jonson* 221). According to Robert Bucholz and Joseph Ward, poets commissioned by the City for "royal entries and mayoral pageants" were encouraged to "[celebrate] the metropolis" (144). In following this tradition, Dekker refers to the pageants as "Offring[s] of the Citties Loue" (*Magnificent* B2r) and, with respect to the staging of the entry, notes that "the Citie was the onely Workhouse wherin sundry Nations were made" (*Magnificent* B4r). Dekker's pamphlet, in Parry's view, "reads like the final element in an auspicious civic commission" (qtd. in Hopkins 128). Dekker's traditional approach to the pamphlet also elevates the role of the City: by commissioning Dekker to write a detailed, authoritative account of the event planned and prepared by the municipal government, the City is positioned as a powerful figure with well-established, enduring traditions.

The City and the Crown play equally important roles in Dekker's version of the entry as he strives to highlight the momentous relationship between the two. In the introductory pages, Dekker notes that the arrival of James was highly anticipated by the City, the Court, and the people of London, thus referencing all key figures of the royal entry:

> All mens eyes were presently turnd to the North, standing euen stone stil in their Circles, like the poynts of so many Geometricall needles, through a fixed & Adamantine desire to behold this 45 yeares wonder now brought forth by *Tyme*: their tongues neglecting all language else, saue that which spake zealous prayers, and vnceasable wishes, for his most speedy and longd-for arriuall. (*Magnificent* A3r)

Throughout the pamphlet, Dekker reinforces the idea that the City and the King are entering into a mutually beneficial relationship in an arena where the City precedes James, regardless of his position as king. Regarding a chorus in the Device at Soper-lane end, Dekker writes,

> Nor let the scrue of any wresting comment vpon these words,
>
> *Troynouant is now no more a Citie.*
>
> Enforce the Authors intention away fro his own cleare strength and harmlesse meaning: all the scope of this fiction stretching onely to this point, that *London* (to doo honour to this day, where springs vp all her happines) beeing rauished with vnutterable ioyes, makes no account (for the present) of her ancient title, to be called a Citie, (because aluring these tryumphes, shee puts off her formall habite of Trade and Commerce, treading euen Thrift it selfe vnder foote, but now become a Reueller and a Courtier. So that, albeit in the end of the first Stanza tis said,
>
> *Yet for all this, is't not pittie,*
>
> *Troynouant is now no more a Cittie.* (Dekker F3v)

Furthermore, Gail Paster states, "[f]requent references to London's ancient title of *camera regis* seem intended not only to remind the city that its centrality derived ultimately from the king but to remind the king of the power and protection which only London could offer" (52-53). This is suggestive of a bias towards the City, despite Dekker's striving to provide an all-encompassing account of the day. Given that the City organized and hosted the entry, Dekker's writing implicitly accentuates the magnitude of the contributions of the City, thus elevating the municipality for the reader. As well, since *The Magnificent Entertainment* was Dekker's first

commissioned work, it is possible that his favouring of the City was fuelled by the desire to fulfill the duties of the position for which he was hired.

Generally, Dekker's pamphlet is traditional and heraldic in that it builds on the royal entry pamphlets and festival books, and in that Dekker's "euphuistic" writing style, which includes "long and complex sentence structure" and "enthusiastic use of punctuation," is akin to that of an official heraldic recorder (Bayman 58-59). It is similar to Mulcaster's pamphlet for Elizabeth's entry in 1559, where the author functions as an analyst and chronicler of the tradition for the City. In accordance with tradition, Dekker does not position himself at the forefront of the pamphlet as Jonson does. Rather, Dekker's role as author is subordinate to his description of the entry. As Dutton notes, "Dekker...is quite relaxed, comfortable with traditional pageantry and the relative anonymity of its authorship" (*Jacobean* 23). His role as a conventional writer for the entry is also manifested in his style of writing: as Dutton states, "Dekker was also somewhat old-fashioned in the subject-matter of his pageants, his imagery largely tied to medieval conceptions of the commonwealth," which are revealed explicitly in his paratextual inclusions (*Jacobean* 23-24). Nevertheless, Dekker expresses a sense of awareness regarding the importance of tradition and history. In the body of the pamphlet, he "refers repeatedly to the dead Queen": for example, in the speech of Zeal during the pageant at Fleet Street, Zeal states, "The populous Globe of this our English Ile, / Seemde to mooue backward, at the funerall pile, / Of her dead female Maiestie" (Dutton, *Jacobean* 23-24; Dekker H4r). In his references to Elizabeth, Dekker recognizes not only the importance of the past, but also how James's entry relates to it and thus fits within the royal entry tradition (Dutton, *Jacobean* 23-24).

In keeping with convention, Dekker employs standard roman type in the body of the pamphlet and in the text-based paratexts, including the title page, the "to the reader," running

head, etc. Italic type is used throughout the body of the text to identify proper nouns, such as "*James*," "*London*," and "*Genius*" and also for items that are seemingly important. For example, in the Italians' Pageant, Dekker describes the figure of Apollo: "The middle great Square that was aduanced over the *Freeze* of the Gate, held *Apollo*, with all his Ensignes and properties belonging vnto him, as a *Sphere, Bookes*, a *Caducaeus*, *an Octoedron*, with other *Geometricall* Bodies, and a Harpe in his left hande…" Similarly, Dekker employs italic font for transcriptions of various speeches; in such cases, proper nouns or important figures are identified with regular roman font, thus setting them apart from the surrounding text. Italic font is also employed in the transcription of Latin and Italian verses throughout the pamphlet to draw attention to specific portions of text. Additionally, the size of font that Dekker uses throughout the pamphlet follows some order, but it is not always consistent. Large blocks of text are in a medium-sized (perhaps 12-point) font, while headings and subheadings vary from the same size to much larger—even tripled in height. Dekker also occasionally employs uppercase words throughout the pamphlet: on the title page as "THE MAGNIFICENT Entertainment" and on the first page of the pamphlet as "A DEVICE…that should haue serued at his Majesties first accesse to the Cittie" (see Fig. 1). It also appeared as "FINIS" on the last page of the pamphlet. Reminiscent of Jonson's pamphlet, the use of uppercase highlights what Dekker believes to be important words and to differentiate what actually appeared in the entry from the words of his own descriptions. Although the meaning embedded in the use of various fonts is not always clear, the modifications themselves accentuate Dekker's knowledge of the entry.

Dekker's title page is similar to Jonson's in its layout, but it is overall more clearly designed. In terms of its text, Dekker's conventional title page also contains diminuendo, offering key information in descending importance. At the top of the page, "The

MAGNIFICENT Entertainment" appears in large font. Beneath this, with adequate white space in between, are the lines "Given to King James, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince, upon the day of his Majesties Triumphant Passage (from… "Next occur the lines "…the Tower) through his Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London being the 15. of March. 1603." Then, above a printer's device is "Tho. Dekker" in the smallest font on the page (see Fig. 1). The ordering and sizing of these phrases suggests that the entertainment is the most important aspect, followed by the names of its addressees, then the route taken along the procession, and, lastly, Dekker himself. Importantly, Dekker ensures that the primary participants of the entry, and the space they occupy, is specifically detailed. The ordering is symbolically suggestive of how the entry should be interpreted. In Dekker's case, it is primarily the magnificence of the event that is emphasized, followed by the King, Queen, Prince, and the City (and Chamber) as hosts. The title page highlights the magnitude of the City's efforts and showcases Dekker's position as a contemporary pamphleteer emulating the heraldic tradition. Interesting, both Jonson and Dekker quote Martial on the title pages of their pamphlets.

In Dekker's pamphlet, the writer's name appears on the title page in small font, positioned beneath inscriptions describing the text and above the griffin ornament. His name is written as "Tho. Dekker," an abbreviation (see Fig. 1). All previous entry accounts were anonymous and Dekker's is the first that was published with its author's name, hence the tentativeness. It also creates intrigue for the potential buyer who is not aware of the writer's identity. Simultaneously, the abbreviating of Dekker's name is a way to suggest that the event and its main participants (that is, the City, the King, and the Court) remain the focus of the work's title page and are thus positioned as its main selling feature. Despite the various ways in which one could interpret the abbreviation and position of Dekker's name, the abbreviation has

the potential to increase the value of the pamphlet itself, while also aligning with Dekker's interpretation of his own role in the entry as an authoritative recorder.

Appearing also on the title page, Dekker's imprint is emblazoned near the bottom of the page in a bold, medium-sized font. It reads: "Imprinted at London by T.C. for Tho. Man the yonger. 1604" (see Fig. 1). Evidently, "Tho Man the yonger" is Thomas Man the Younger, the son of Thomas Man the Elder, who was then the Master of the Company of Stationers (Daalder and Moore 253). Whether chosen by Dekker or the City with whom he was strongly affiliated, to have the son of the Master of the Company of Stationers print Dekker's pamphlet gives the writer additional credibility and creates a strong connection with the municipal government and corresponding authorities. Moreover, it is likely that "T.C." refers to Thomas Creede, who, according to Cyndia Susan Clegg, "served as the primary printer" for the 1604 edition of *The Magnificent Entertainment*. Clegg also notes that "Creede shared the printing of two editions of *The Magnificent Entertainment* with Edward Allde, Humphrey Lownes, George Eld, and Valentine Simmes, and he shared *The honest whore* with Simmes" among others (252). Simmes was the principal printer, under Edward Blount, of Jonson's pamphlet. T.C. might also refer to Tobie Cooke, an apprentice, who, according to Early English Books Online, frequently printed for and with Thomas Man between 1579 and 1596. Interestingly, Cooke also collaborated with John Windet, the printer of Harrison's pamphlet. In this colophon, the location of the printer, other than "at London," is not specified. However, knowing that Thomas Man, under the supervision of Thomas Man Senior, printed Dekker's pamphlet, the reader would realize immediately that the pamphlet would be available for purchase at St. Paul's Churchyard. Thus, established printers who worked at the centre of the London book trade published Dekker's work.

Located on the last page of the pamphlet, and in the work's final section, Dekker's "To the reader" is a short address that functions to reflect upon the entry as closing remarks. Dekker begins by stating that because James "should not be wearied with teadious speeches: A great part of those which are in this Booke set downe, were left vnspoken: So that thou doest here receiue them as they should have bene delivered, not as they were" (Dekker I4r). Here, Dekker identifies his role within the heraldic tradition as a contemporary recorder of the event, preserving an account of the City's original plans. As Mardock attests, in these lines, "Dekker seems quite willing to take such royal weariness in stride, perhaps understandably so, since he could be confident that his lines, if lost to the king would not be lost to posterity" (42). Further, Dekker notes that there are errors that have been created by the printer throughout the text. Dekker appends a brief list of errata describing how the text appears and how it should appear: for example, "As in F. 2. For, *From his owne cleare strength*, Read, cleare, straight, &c." (Dekker I4r). Dekker also states that the lines he has corrected in this section are "the grosest" errors and asks the reader to pardon any other inaccuracies. By indicating which lines are erroneous and then correcting them, Dekker places the responsibility for error on other individuals, highlighting his own understanding and control of the intricacies of the event. Dekker's knowledge stems from having been one of the first dramatists hired in the creation of the entry; he is a writer whose historical knowledge enhances his understanding of the event. Overall, Dekker's address is reflective of the writer's heightened awareness of the work and his authority over the text and the event.

Throughout Dekker's unpaginated pamphlet, a running head "The Kings Entertainment through the Cittie of London" is printed in an italic font. Throughout the pamphlet, the first half of the phrase, "The Kings Entertainment," appears at the top of the verso leaves, and the second

half, "through the Cittie of London," is placed at the top of the recto leaves (see Fig. 2). Practically, the running head is separated across two pages, as the pamphlet is intended to be read with both pages open at once, not folded vertically. It is also a constant reminder to the reader of what is being read, giving the length of the pamphlet and the importance of the subject matter. The running head also represents the main purpose and the key figures of the entry—as an entertainment for the king, and as a civic ceremony hosted by the City of London. Upon the close of the entry, temporally, and the close of the pamphlet, physically, these symbolic elements unite as *the* singular magnificent entertainment. Both interpretations of the running head are equally valid. While abiding with the heraldic tradition, Dekker, as a creative writer, subtly plays with meaning in the mode of print communication. The value of the running head, ultimately, is that it allows Dekker to reinforce that the establishment of a relationship between the City and the Crown is the focal point of the entry and the pamphlet, and that Dekker's role is to unite them in print as they were united in the civic event.

Unlike Jonson, who elevates his work by providing an extensive commentary, Dekker's marginalia is minimal in his own 1604 pamphlet. Dekker does not use marginalia to highlight his own knowledge; instead, he sporadically inserts brief notes to elaborate on potentially unclear phrases. For example, he explains the difference between Saint George and Saint Andrew, perhaps with the intention to provide cues for the Knights at Arms to speak during the ceremony. The spoken line "For Scotlands honour I" lacks commentary, but the line "For Englands I" is annotated with the cue "S. George" (Dekker B1v). Dekker thus tries to ensure that his account is clearly understood by any reader. Additionally, one line states, "The street, upon whose breast, this Italian jewel was never worthy of that name which it carries, til this hour…" Here, the Italian jewel is a metaphor for the Italians' pageant, and the accompanying marginalia

indicates that the street is “Gracious Street,” which is now Gracechurch Street. Another example occurs a few pages later. In the body of the text, Dekker describes the physical measurements and details of a gate, only to specify its location on the following page. Dekker thus affixes the phrase “Soper Lane” at the beginning of the description to clarify its place in the entry. These examples of Dekker’s marginalia provide specific geographical information regarding the entry and therefore capture with greater accuracy the ephemeral event in print. Ultimately, Dekker’s use of marginalia is minimal and aimed at assisting the reader’s comprehension of the work and drawing him or her into the world of the entry. It also contributes to Dekker’s fulfilling the role of an accurate recorder.

There is a small amount of ornamentation in Dekker’s pamphlet, yet each engraving has symbolic value. The griffin that appears on the title page is a traditional symbol of English heraldry commonly used as an ornament (see Fig. 3). At first the reader might assume that the engraving is a printer’s device, but, in this case, it is not. The fact that the printer, Thomas Man the Younger, does not use a specific printer’s device in any of his works, suggests that the ornament is, instead, a symbol which may have been consciously added to the title page by Dekker himself. The griffin is a “[m]ythical monster, the supposed guardian of hidden treasure, with the body, tail, and hind legs of a lion, and the head, forelegs, and wings of an eagle” (“griffin” n.p.). In general, the griffin, which symbolizes strength and vigilance, has been used in English heraldry since the twelfth century (Vinycomb 150, 148). These creatures are associated with the City and frequently appear in heraldry: in the City of London’s armorial crest, two griffins guard the Thames (“griffin” n.p.). The use of the symbol is suggestive of Dekker’s relationship with the City; it reinforces the presence and pre-eminence of the City in both the pamphlet and entry as a whole.

Various ornaments are used in the first section of the pamphlet, "A Device...that should have served at his Maiesties first accesse to the city," including two ornamental initials appearing as the first letter of the first paragraph (A3r and as the first letter of a paragraph in the middle of this section (B3v). Moreover, horizontal fleurons are located on leaves 1, 2, and 5, positioned either at the top or close to the bottom of the page. A similar fleuron appears on page 12, which is the final page of the section devoted to the first entertainment. The fleurons fill the white space and visually embellish the text-heavy pamphlet. The placement of fleurons in the first section of the pamphlet is likely to increase the work's aesthetic and market value. An engraving placed at the end of the section "Device at Soper-lane end" functions as a tailpiece (see Fig. 4). This woodblock engraving is rectangular in shape, spanning the width of the margins of the page, and approximately two to three times taller than the fleurons in the rest of the pamphlet. In the centre of this image appears a flower, a rose that represents the House of Tudor, that of Elizabeth I, in whose shadow he must rule. A plethora of ornamental floral design, and two bushels of flowers and shrubs appear at the sides of the rose. On top of the rose, a crown is delicately placed. The inclusion of the rose connects the pamphlet to the Court visually. The Tudor rose and griffin together recall the heraldic tradition, while the fleurons and ornamental initials at the beginning of the pamphlet aid in selling the text.

Significantly, Mulcaster's "*Oratio habita*," a Latin oration presented to the King, is followed by a tailpiece comprising a face/mask bearing an elaborate, decorative crown from which snakes protrude and on which three rings dangle (see Fig. 5). Given the placement of the tailpiece and Mulcaster's previous relationship with Elizabeth and her court, the serpents echo those used in the paintings of Elizabeth, such as *The Rainbow Portrait* (c.1600) and *The "Hardwick Hall" Portrait* (1599) and serve as reminders of Elizabeth's rule as well as symbols

of original sin. However indirectly, this tailpiece would have thus functioned as a way to remind the reader of Elizabeth's reign, and of the importance of following the guidance and recommendations for rule established by the City in the entry.

The paratextual elements of Dekker's pamphlet reinforce the importance of the relationship between the City and the Crown, yet the supremacy of the City is maintained throughout the pamphlet. On the one hand, Dekker acts as a chronicler who captures significant detail regarding the event and its history, thereby demonstrating his knowledge of the royal entry tradition. On the other hand, he uses James's 1604 entry as an opportunity for the City to construct and communicate its supremacy. By excluding superfluous details and offering clear, nuanced, City-focused symbolism in the pamphlet's paratexts, Dekker exhibits his understanding of the pamphlet audience and his role as a communicator of the entry. The thoroughness of Dekker's use of text and paratexts is a testament to his effectiveness as a recorder. Because the 1604 entry was Dekker's first civic commission, his devotion to the City, as expressed in his pamphlet, was likely a way to prove himself as a popular dramatist and writer. Given his continued professional relationship with the City throughout his career, it is evident that Dekker's contributions were rewarded. Thus, Dekker expresses his authorial presence not by writing about himself, or by highlighting his own role in the entry, but by elevating the City, his ultimate and long-lasting patron.

Chapter 3: Stephen Harrison's *Arches of Triumph* (1604)

The content of Harrison's pamphlet is similar to Dekker's in that Harrison details the event from beginning to end. However, while Dekker includes a plethora of details, Harrison's text comprises succinct statements about what happened and what was included in the entry; he does not incorporate lengthy prose descriptions to communicate the event to his readers. Harrison reviews the entry in chronological order, and in the case of each device he employs the same descriptive pattern: an introduction regarding the device (including its dimensions and who made it), who was represented in the scene and where they were positioned, and what kind of speeches were made. Unlike Dekker and Jonson, Harrison does not insert his own interpretation of the symbolic elements of the entertainment. For example, describing the pageant at Gracious Street, Harrison writes,

> The second *Triumphall Arch* was erected by the Italians: the cost theirs: the Inuention their owne: It tooke vp the whole breadth of *Gracious*-streete (on which it stood) being—foote: the height of it was—foote. The lower parte of this *Building*, was a large square, garnished with foure great *Corinthia Columnes*: In the midst of which square, was cut out a faire and a Spacious hie gate, Arched, being—foote in the *Perpendicular-line*, and—in the *Ground-line*: directly ouer the gate were aduaunced the Armes of the *Kingdome*, the Supporters whereof were fairely cut out to the life. (D1r)

Although these descriptions seem simple, they highlight Harrison's appreciation of and expertise in the architectural details of the entertainment and the skill exhibited by the builder or joiner.

Harrison's approach to writing demonstrates his relationships and circumstances, and it is not unexpected. The City hired Harrison as the primary joiner and architect, and whom Dekker,

in fact, describes as "the sole Inuentor of the Architecture, and from whom all directions, for so much as belonged to Caruing, Ioyning, Molding, and all other worke in those fiue Pageants of the Citie (Paynting excepted) were set downe" (I4r). As a result, the body of Harrison's pamphlet constitutes specific, informed details—rather than a general overview of the entry—which express his indebtedness to the City for providing him the opportunity to contribute to such a monumental event, while simultaneously advertising his own achievement. Because his descriptions are brief and to the point, it is likely that Harrison was not well versed in prose composition as a result of his vocation as a joiner and architect. Regardless, the briefness of the body of the pamphlet allows Harrison to showcase and "sell" his architectural skill. He thus prioritizes his architecture in his writing through its textual placement and the size of the printed engravings. In fact, the body of the pamphlet is subordinate to the grand engravings. The juxtaposition of the striking, detailed engravings on plain paper (with little embellishment surrounding them) and a dense page of text creates stark visual contrast, and the reader's eyes are immediately drawn to the images, thus giving them precedence. Ultimately, the body of the pamphlet promotes Harrison's work and gratuitously recognizes the City for facilitating the promotion of his art.

Recognition of the City as well as self-advertisement are manifested in Harrison's paratexts equally, beginning with the title page, which is dominated by visual elements like the rest of his pamphlet. Rather than simply using text, Harrison's highly decorative title page employs a neoclassical-style ornamental frame that borders a small portion of text in an italic font that introduces the entry (see Fig. 6). Within the visual frame itself, Harrison places the symbols for joiner and architect, which are located in the bottom right- and left-hand corners. These symbols reflect Harrison's practice and vocation, and at the same time elevate such

"crafts" to the level of formal art by means of the engraving. The architectural frame previews the primary content of the pamphlet—that is, Harrison's triumphal arches—thus increasing the pamphlet's market value or, rather, its ability to sell his art to a potential reader. Furthermore, at the bottom of the page an inscription reads as "*Monimentum Aere Perennius*," a phrase borrowed from a Horatian ode, which translates to "a monument more permanent than bronze." The inclusion of such a phrase suggests that Harrison utilizes the printed pamphlet to memorialize his ephemeral arches. The phrase may also be suggestive of the reproducibility of the printed pamphlet, despite the temporary nature of the event and the arches themselves. Overall, the title page is informative and compelling to learned, classically oriented audiences, given the dominance of neoclassical motifs also seen, for example, in Jonson's First Folio of 1616. On the title page, Jonson similarly emphasizes the visual through an ornamental, neoclassical engraving that includes minimal text except for the phrase "The Workes of Benjamin Jonson." Here Jonson raises a popular literary genre through the dense symbolic representation of dramatic art. Harrison similarly elevates his artistic genre of architecture through the title page.

In Harrison's pamphlet, the writer's name appears on the title page in the line "Invented and published by Stephen Harrison, Joyner and Architect: and graven by William Kyp" (see Fig. 6). It is, however, dwarfed by the surrounding ornamental frame. The reader's eyes are not drawn to it, and it is not the focal point, despite its placement in the middle of the page. Instead, the focal point is the phrase "Arches of Triumph." With Harrison as a joiner and architect, and not as a writer like Jonson or Dekker, it is likely that his name would not have contributed greatly to the selling of the pamphlet. Instead, his name is suppressed, located in small font at the bottom of the title page's text, and the decorative elements and the architectural features of the title page—not the writer—promote the pamphlet. Nevertheless, Harrison's full name appears in

a large font at the bottom of the third page—the same page on which the dedication to the City appears—as a form of signature (see Fig. 7). This inclusion indicates that Harrison, as the writer, is highlighting his role in the entry. Furthermore, at the bottom of each engraving, Harrison's name appears as his signature or as initials. These marks of the architect give ownership to the temporal arches and solidify the sketches of the architect in print. The reader is able to deduce easily that each arch was designed by Harrison, despite being engraved by William Kip.

Unlike Jonson's and Dekker's imprint, Harrison's does not appear on the title page of the work. Instead, it is positioned at the bottom of the final page of the pamphlet, immediately below the letter to the reader. On the first line of the colophon appears the line "Imprinted at London by John Windet." Beneath this line in a smaller font, "Printer to the Honourable Citie of London, and are to be sold at the Authors house in Lime-street, at the signe of the Snayle, 1604." Windet was known in London for printing sophisticated sheet music and "[h]e owned one of the most successful general printing businesses in London" during the early-seventeenth century (Miller, n.p.) According to Miriam Miller, "Windet worked with type, and his printing was always of a high standard, distinguished by spacious layout and a clean, sharp impression" (Miller, n.p.). As the City's official printer, who was deeply involved in the Company of Stationers, Windet was able to print Kip's engravings of Harrison's designs with precision and accuracy. Furthermore, by distributing the pamphlets through his own house house, Harrison controlled distribution and profit. The position of the colophon on the last page of the pamphlet is neither strategic nor advantageous. The information included in the colophon is beneficial in that it positions Harrison as well connected and provides him with the opportunity for financial gain, yet it has a subordinate position in the pamphlet as a whole, perhaps because Harrison is, indeed, not a writer but a joiner and architect. Harrison's attention, in terms of the selling features on the title

page, is directed to his motto, which monumentalizes his achievements, thus allowing the ephemeral arches representing the various stages of the entry to prosper in print.

Harrison further departs from the styles of Dekker's and Jonson's pamphlets by including a dedication and an epilogue: one to the Lord Mayor of London on the first page and one to the reader on the last page. Comprising a full page, the dedication to the City lists and celebrates all those involved in the planning of the entry, including "The Right Honorable Sir Thomas Bennet Knight, Lord Maior of this Citie, The Right Worshipfull the Aldermen his Brethren, and to those Worshipfull Commoners, elected Committies, for the Managing of this Businesse" (Harrison B1r). Harrison notes that he is "bound to this honourable Citie" and that "the hand of Arte"—that is, the pamphlet—gives the arches "a second more perfect beeing, aduaunceth them higher then they were before, and warrants them that they shall doe honour to this Citie, so long as the Citie shall beare a name" (B1r). The dedication is also accompanied by a large signature in the bottom, right-hand corner of the page that states the writer's full name, thus creating a visual balance with the font of the title of the dedication. As a result, the City and the writer are given equal importance.

The "*Lectori Candido*" (Harrison K1r), an epilogue addressed to the reader, provides clarification regarding the entry and the text to the general reader. In this section, Harrison begins by acknowledging the importance of print in solidifying his architecture as "perpetuall monuments, not to be shaken in speece, or to be broken downe, by the malice of that envious destroyer of all things, *Time*" (see Fig. 8). Through print, Harrison counters the erosion of the physical monuments, thus immortalizing himself and his work. Harrison also recognizes that, without the assistance of the City, such would not have been possible. He accentuates his indebtedness to the City and his appreciation of the opportunity to participate in the entry:

> thou art…to pay many thankes to this honourable Citie, whose bounty towards me, not onely in making choise of me, to give directions for the entire work manship of the five *Triumphall Arches* builded by the same, but also (in publishing these *Peeces*,) I do here gladly acknowledge to have been exceedingly liberall. (Harrison K1r)

Next, he notes that some of the information contained within the pamphlet is not an accurate representation of how the event actually occurred. Harrison lists the discrepancies—most of which concern the placement of individuals and their movement throughout the pageant—and appends additional information regarding the City's role. For example, he describes the celebratory nature of the event and its citizens and details the customary elements of royal entries that were provided that day by the City: claret wine ran through several conduits and "excellent music" abounding through the streets caused it to move "faster and more merrily downe into some bodies bellies" (Harrison K1r). A "touching…Oration" was delivered by Sir Henry Mountague, Recorder of the City, and gifts aplenty were given to King James, Queen Anne, and Prince Henry—all of which, Harrison noted, are detailed in his print (Harrison K1r). The last two paragraphs of this section of the pamphlet are devoted to reinforcing the notion that all contributors to the entry, save for the Italians and the Dutchmen, were "but only the meere Citizens being all free-men; heretofore the charge being borne by fifteenes and the *Chamber of London*...but now it was leavied amongst the Companies" (Harrison K1r). They all were hired and compensated for their work by the City and its Companies. The City also employed four aldermen and twelve commoners to oversee the preparation of the entry (as noted in Harrison's dedication to the Mayor of London). Overall, in this address, Harrison pointedly acknowledges the City's efforts throughout the preparation of the entry and its role in the creation of his

pamphlet. The placement of the dedication to the City at the beginning of the pamphlet and the dedication to the reader at the end of the pamphlet is to remind the reader that the visual, self-advertising pamphlet was facilitated by the City. Yet, because both inscriptions are written by Harrison, his name remains ever-present throughout the pamphlet.

Although Harrison's headpiece flanked by two other ornaments is primarily visual, it functions the same way as Dekker's: it is a constant reminder of the establishment of a relationship between the City and the King. It consists of a classicized decorative engraving that connects two symbols—the coat of arms of King James I and that of the City of London (see Fig. 8). Unlike Dekker's, Harrison's headpiece relies on the visual iconography, instead of text, thus reinforcing the artistic nature of his pamphlet. Harrison uses the same headpiece throughout his pamphlet except for on the first three pages (the title page, the dedication page, and the "odes" page), and on the pages on which the engravings of the arches appear. In doing so, he ensures that there are no visual distractions from his engravings or his communication with the Lord Mayor, which complies with Harrison's visual advertisement and recognition of the City.

Yet, the pamphlet's most striking aspect is the visual representation of Harrison's triumphal arches. The English arches that appear in the entry were designed and constructed by Harrison, and their corresponding illustrations were executed by Kip (see Figs. 9-11). Kip's background in metal engraving and elaborate print works, such as maps and sheet music, would have made him an ideal candidate to fulfill the duties of the engraver. Indeed, these monumental engravings were "the earliest English set of plates to show the lavish temporary architecture erected for ceremonial events" (Worms n.p.). For the first time, ceremonial architecture was visually represented in an easily reproducible, unlike earlier paintings that would have attempted to capture the structures. What is particularly interesting is that the engravings of Harrison's

architecture are examples of linear perspective, popular during the Renaissance and defined as "[i]n two-dimensional visual representation, the geometrically based rendering of an illusion of spatial depth in relation to a distant vanishing point at which parallel lines converge" (Chandler and Munday, "linear perspective" n.p.). This "vanishing point" is not illustrated in the engravings, but, rather, implied, given the way in which the depth of the architecture is presented—the inner walls of the external pillars are visible, and shadows appear consistently (perpendicular to the pillars, and oriented in the same direction, which is suggestive of having the same light source). Furthermore, the use of perspective in these engravings is one reason why the pamphlets for James's entry are so different, for example, from the publications affiliated with Elizabeth's and Anne Boleyn's entries. These earlier entry pamphlets do not contain images associated with the pageantry. In addition, each architectural engraving that appears in Harrison's pamphlet inserted a "scale" underneath or close to the main arch. This appears as a black and white striped bar; four of the seven arches are accompanied by sectors, which are tools of measurement ("Galileo's compass" in Masonic symbolism) above these scales. The inclusion of sectors is essential for the audience to understand the size and perspective of the arches, especially since Harrison excludes precise measurements from his descriptions of them. For example, for the arch named *New Arabia*, Harrison's description is as follows:

> This was beautiful with a large gate in the midst: On each side was cut out a *Posterne*, either of which was—foot wide, and—foot high: before which *Posternes* two *Portals* were built from the same, hauing their sides open foure seuerall wayes, and seruing as *Pedestals* (of *Rusticke*) to support two great *Pyramids* whose bases were held vp with foure great *Bals*, and foure Lyons. (F1f)

This passage focuses on the construction of the arch, not its minute measurements, and the dashes may have been temporary placeholders as the printer waited for precise measurements. The amount of detail and depth that is included in the engravings of Harrison's arches is unprecedented for the print medium, especially for English entry pamphlets. Employing Kip to engrave the arches was evidently a strategic choice on Harrison's part. By using an established engraver to reproduce his craftsmanship in print, Harrison and his printer evidently understood the role of accurate engravings as powerful means of advertisement. Through these engravings, Harrison also highlights the magnificence and grandeur of the City.

Harrison offers a narrative of the 1604 entry that demonstrates his understanding of his position as a joiner and architect. The pamphlet achieves visual balance in that the text and paratexts work together harmoniously, neither one outweighing the other. Harrison's profession is manifested in his pamphlet through mechanical, formulaic textual descriptions and precisely placed paratexts, both of which consider the value of visual presentation as the ultimate form of communication. His texts and paratexts are unobstructed by excessive white space or marginalia, and well balanced in the pamphlet. Regardless of Harrison's aesthetic achievements, the arches are memorialized as civic monuments that represent the supremacy of the City in seventeenth-century London and remind audiences of the long-standing relationship between City and Court.

Chapter 4: Ben Jonson's *B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment…*

Jonson's pamphlet is significantly different from Dekker's and Harrison's accounts: rather than offering a comprehensive overview of the event or providing a comprehensive visual account of the entry, Jonson focuses on his own poetic contributions to the event, at the same time redirecting the reader's attention from the City to the King. He begins by describing and interpreting the pageant at Fenchurch Street, the pageant at Temple Bar, and "a short address delivered in the Strand," all of which were devised by Jonson himself (Chalfant 18). In the first print publication of the quarto pamphlet, he also appended a panegyric, "offering...certain tips about kingly conduct he had taken diplomatically from James's own treatise on regal governance written for Prince Henry, *Basilikon Doron*" and an additional entertainment, *The Entertainment at Althorp* (Donaldson 196). According to Ian Donaldson, Jonson's collecting *The King's Entertainment, A Panegyre* and *The Entertainment at Althorp* in one pamphlet suggests that he was aware of Dekker's pending publication of the royal entry and attempted to "[strengthen] his claims for royal favour" over his competitors (164). Donaldson's argument is supported by the fact that Jonson's entry pamphlet only considers his own contributions. Furthermore, by excluding the works of the other planners and creators of the entry, Jonson implies that only his verses are worth setting in print. In his poetic descriptions of the pageant, Jonson attempts to depict the relationship among London's citizens, municipal authorities, and the King positively. He continuously praises James I by highlighting his divine wisdom and the way the crowds—including the personified River Thames—rejoice over the arrival of the King. He also notes that the love and affection of the citizens will protect James I with their devotion: "no watch or guard could be so safe to the estate or, person of a Prince, as the loue and naturall affection of his Subjects" (Jonson B1r-v). When describing the figure Onothymia, Jonson notes that even the

smallest instances of adoration are noteworthy: "Imitating that euen the smallest and weakest aydes, by consent, are made strong: herselfe personating the vnanimity, or consent of Soule, in all inhabitants of the Citty to his seruice" (B2r). In doing so, Jonson suggests that James's arrival was well received and that the affection of the people of London endorsed James's rule. Jonson's interpretation of the London citizens' approval puts James in favourable light.

Throughout the body of the pamphlet, Jonson's elevated writing style is reflective of his classical influences, as exemplified in his allusions to classical literature and figures such as "Genius" and "Tamesis." Neoclassicism also permeates Jonson's other works, including his plays, poems, and court masques. Jonson's tone is formal and his diction is poetic and highly descriptive, which would have been appropriate to target a learned audience with an appreciation for such writing. Furthermore, he includes lengthy Latin verses and his lexicon abounds with additional classical literary allusions and symbolism. For example, on the first page of the body of the pamphlet, Jonson references Tacitus's *Annals*, detailing how it shapes the entry's first entertainment, which had been created by Jonson. He also makes several references to the works of other ancient poets, including those of Ovid and Virgil—particularly the latter's *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*. References to classical literature are meant to accentuate Jonson's learnedness and simultaneously assist his pursuit of patronage. For example,

> By proclaiming James a new "Avgvstvs," Jonson's arches reflect an image that flatters the new king while also calling attention to the role that poetry plays in confirming his power. A new Augustus, of course, implies a new Virgil or a new Horace, a parallel that makes Jonson heir to the Roman poets, confirming their posterity even as it projects his own works toward a comparable one. Poetry grounded in civic virtue, he insists, will endure. As is often the case with Jonson,

> even at his most panegyric, he seeks to instruct as he praises: the arches make clear the relationship that Jonson believes *should* exist between a monarch and the poets of his realm. (Chalk, 388)

Through classical allusions and an elevated writing style, Jonson solidifies his position regarding the relationship of mutual benefit and praise that, in his view, should exist between James and, above all other poets, Jonson himself. Encomia of monarchs are not uncommon in printed accounts of royal entries. European festival books, according to Neil Murphy, "were typically produced with the intent of glorifying the king and authors changed or omitted information to suit this end and endear themselves to the monarch" (13). Jonson thus borrows from the continental tradition in his attempt to gain patronage from James and his court.

By writing a pamphlet that specifically focuses on his own contributions to the entry, Jonson engages in an exercise of self-promotion that attempts to establish authority and reinforce his own role in James's entry. Jonson positions himself as the expert regarding the entertainments he devised, shaping them as rich and plentiful. According to Bergeron, it is through the act of writing that Jonson "sought to secure his status as a major writer, a professional who could aspire to such recognition [as] England's unofficial poet laureate" (*Textual* 129). Indeed, situating himself in the centre of the pamphlet is a common characteristic of Jonson's works. As Mardock notes, "[i]nstead of disappearing behind his works as Shakespeare does, he constantly points to himself as their creator and origin" (7). In fact, Jonson is among the first English writers, along with Edmund Spenser and William Shakespeare, who consciously cultivated his authorship by using the possibilities afforded by the ever expanding printing press. During the early seventeenth century emerged "the cultural figure of the professional writer who laboured with his or her pen" and whose name became an important

selling point of his or her literary works (O'Callaghan 169). Moreover, according to Michelle O'Callaghan, the rise of the role of author "ha[d] a particular affinity with…'cheap print', especially pamphlet literature" (169). The reproducibility of the medium, its low cost, and thus its market value considerably increased its potential to distribute an author's work to a wider reading public. Interestingly, in his First Folio, *The Workes of Ben Jonson* (1616), Jonson refers to his collection as "works," which James Riddell refers to as "an act of audaciousness," as "[n]o one before had thought, perhaps dared to think, that such a grand word...could be used to describe a collection that included mere plays" (152). The First Folio, published years after the entry pamphlet, is indicative of "a new and distinctively modern idea of the author," a result of Jonson's self-consciousness as a writer and, particularly, his "elevation of the poet from playhouse employee to autonomous creator" (Butler 1993). In fact, Jonson exemplifies the early modern literary trend towards authorial self-fashioning. Furthermore, as Mardock points out, Jonson "was promulgating a new role and function for the poet, a new configuration of the relationship between author and audience or author and society" (7).

The focal point of Jonson's text-heavy title page is Jonson himself, thus establishing a thematic precedent for the remainder of the pamphlet. At the top of the page, the first lines state: "B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainement through his Honourable Cittie of London, Thursday the 15. of March. 1603." The author's name and role (B. Jon: His Part Of…) appear in the largest font, all capitalized (see Fig. 12). King James I and the spectacle are secondary to Jonson's name, and printed in the same size font but not in capitals. The City of London appears next in an even smaller font, and the date is, in fact, miniscule. This typographical diminuendo suggests a descending order of importance: Jonson the author, Jonson's work, Jonson's relationship with James, and, finally, James's relationship with the City.

Next, Jonson lists the contents of his pamphlet: the two pageants he wrote and designed; the speech he composed which was delivered to the public at the Strand; and a panegyric of James's first parliament on March 19, 1604. Framing the work primarily as Jonson's own interpretation of the royal entry, and subsequently listing only the parts to which he contributed, Jonson's title page fundamentally promotes the work as a Jonsonian creation, not an account of James's entry. As a form of advertisement, the work "sells" Jonson. Given his desire to gain patronage, Jonson's self-promotion and aggrandizing thus communicates that his contributions to the entry are the only elements worth recording.

Abbreviated as "B. JON.," Jonson's name appears as the first line of his pamphlet's title page in uppercase, italic font, and in the second largest font size on the page (see Fig. 12). The largest font size on the page is reserved for the proceeding line "HIS PART OF," which emphasizes his compositions for "King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment…" According to North, "[t]he author's name appeared [on the title page] when his or her name could help sell the book" (65). By the time of the 1604 entry, Jonson had established himself on the London stage. It is likely that Jonson's increasingly elevated position as a dramatist made his name a selling feature of the pamphlet and that he would have eagerly placed his name at the forefront of his text. Furthermore, the placement of Jonson's name is also reflective of the writer's neoclassical style and emulation of classical poets: as North states, "[t]he title pages of classical works…sported attributions because the authors' names were highly marketable aspects of the work" (65). However, by emulating classical writers, Jonson raises the literary status of his work.

On the title page, the inclusion of Jonson's name was beneficial to the bookseller and author alike, and so too was the printer's imprint: "Printed at London by V.S. for Edward Blount, 1604," wherein V.S. likely represents Valentine Simmes, an apprentice of Blount (Straznicky

286; see Fig. 12). Although this colophon does not detail the specific location of the printer, it remains sufficient, given, as Sonia Massai writes, Blount's position as "the leading London stationer"; as a stationer and printer, he was "well educated and well read" (133). His career and reputation were established in London by publishing for Jonson and other notable writers, such as Christopher Marlowe, John Lyly, George Chapman, John Blorio, Cervantes, Montaigne, and Shakespeare (Massai 133). Blount has also "been apprenticed to the highly successful and reputable William Ponsonby," who published Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, a prime example of authorial self-fashioning, and Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (Duncan-Jones 156). Blount's vocation as a publisher of esteemed literature would have made him the ideal printer for Jonson, given the affiliations and patronage he was attempting to gain. With regards to the location of his shop, according to András Kiséry, Blount "did not seem to have a shop of his own" at the time this pamphlet was published and "rarely indicates his address in his imprint" (367). Nevertheless, in 1603, Blount was located "in Paules Churchyard," but by 1609, he relocated to the Black Bear in the Churchyard, "the center of the English book trade" (Kiséry 367, 361). Furthermore, Blount's publications were, as Massai states, known for "the lavish use of ornaments to highlight individual sections of their paratext and the prominence accorded to dedications" (133). Jonson's pamphlet is not adorned with lavish ornamentation, but the illustrations that are included highlight specific sections of the text, functioning as paratexts themselves. It is likely that Jonson's influence over the pamphlet commanded Blount's printing. While Jonson chose a prominent printer advantageously, he evidently maintained control and authority over the production of his work.

As a way of focusing the pamphlet on the writer, Jonson did not incorporate a section devoted exclusively to the address to the reader; rather, he embedded it in the body of the text.

Immediately following the section that describes the pageant at Temple Bar, Jonson addresses the "both Court-Towne- and Countrey-Reader," or, rather, a variety of potential audiences, including citizens of London, and those to whom the pamphlets would be distributed throughout England (D4v). Jonson imagines who is reading his pamphlet and visualizes his work's potential reach in the pamphlet medium. Subsequently, Jonson states: "our portion of the deuice for the Cittie; neither are we ashamed to professe it, being assured well of the difference betweene it and Pageantry" (D4v). In these lines, as Mardock notes, "[t]he reader is assured that his or her textual version of 'our portion of the deuice for the Cittie' is superior to the pageantry," what Jonson refers to as "the *Mechanick* part yet standing," which is evidently the triumphal arches and other crafted aspects of the entry (38). Moreover, Jonson implies that those who read the pamphlet are elevated above those who "only saw the pageants but have not read the book," yet the latter group "is pardoned, 'for their owne ambitious ignorance doth punish them inough'" (Mardock 38; Jonson D4v). He then welcomes the reader into an exclusive domain with the lines, "From hence we will turne ouer a new leafe with you, and lead you to the *Pegme* in the Strand, a worke thought on, begun, and perfected in twelue days," as if he is showing the reader precious, tangible art that has been transferred from the ephemeral stage of the pageant to the printed page, accessible only to those Jonson invites (Jonson D4v). By this division, Jonson either compliments or insults the readers, depending on whether or not they have read the pamphlet. Given Jonson's own social ambitions, the ongoing theme of exclusivity and the limitations of literacy suggest Jonson's "privileging of readerly practices" (Mardock 38). This is explicitly articulated in Jonson's discussion of the nature of the symbolism embedded in the pageants:

> Thus farre the complementall parte of the first; wherein was not only labored the expression of State and Magnificence (as proper to a triumphall Arch) but the

> very Site, Fabricke, Strength, Policie, Dignitie and Affection of the Cittie were all laide downe to life: The nature, and propertie of these Deuises being, to present alwaies some one entire body, or figure, consisting of distinct members and eache of those expressing it selfe, in the owne actiue spheare, yet all, with that generall harmony so connexed, and disposed, as no one little parte can be missing to the illustration of the whole: where also is to be noted, that the *Symboles* vsed, are not, neither ought to be simply *Hierogliphickes, Emblemes,* or *Imprese*, but a mixed Character, pertaking somwhat of all, and peculierly apted to these more magnificent Inuentions: wherein the Garments, and Ensignes deliuer the nature of the person, and the Word the present office. Neither was it becomming, or could it stand with the dignity of these shewes (after the most miserable & desperate shift of the Puppits) to require a Truch-man, or (with the ignorant Painter) one to write. *This is a Dog;* or, *This is a Hare:* but so to be presented, as vpon the view they might without cloude, or obscurity declare themselves to the sharpe and learned: And for the multitude, no doubt but their grounded iudgements gazed, said it was fine, and were satisfied. (B2r-v)

For Jonson, the audience should not have to be told what the pageants symbolize; they should be familiar with classical allusions and ready to understand the learned material. By positioning the readership of his pamphlet as superior to attendees of the entry, Jonson is building a community of elite readers around his work, thus advancing his own role as author.

Jonson demonstrates his learnedness through his most prominent paratext: his marginalia, which, unlike Dekker's shoulder notes, are not short explanatory notes on the body of the text in order to clarify its meaning. Instead, it is comprised of lengthy commentary that often occupies

more of the printed page than the body of the text itself. They function as a space in which Jonson can exhibit his learnedness to impress audiences with his ability to impart knowledge. Frequently, Jonson includes elaborate classical references. For example, when the character Genius flatters James and says, "With like devotions, do I stoop to embrace / This springing glory of thy Godlike race," Jonson writes that this is "[a]n attribute given to great persons, fitly about other Humanity and in frequent use with all the Greek poets, especially Homer" (B4r). Jonson thus creates explicit, intentional parallels between the classical poet and himself through the use of similar phrases and ideas. Furthermore, a significant portion of Jonson's marginalia is written in Latin. Although the majority of the body of the pamphlet is written in English, the purpose of his marginalia language choice is two-fold: employing English and Latin highlights neoclassicism, aiming the pamphlet at classically trained readers. Similar to his address to the reader, Jonson's marginalia segregates potential audiences and stratifies his English and Latin readers alike. The marginalia are ultimately directed towards individuals with knowledge of Latin, flattering Jonson's potential patrons: James, his Court, and other educated members of society.

As Jonson's first work with marginalia, the 1604 entry pamphlet was experimental. In Adam Smyth's view, these comments "do nothing, really, to clarify the text for the reader, to open up possibilities for varying judgments" but, instead, "function to frame the text in a learned, almost impenetrable, classical past" (65). As with his pronounced classicism, by supplying a commentary on his own work, Jonson places his poems within an authorial tradition. As Smyth asserts, Jonson's "printed notes formed part of his sustained attempt to use the press to order and contain readings of his work—to ensure his readers 'reade it well: that is, to understand'" (65). But, Jonson's ideal audience would have had a learned background and would have understood

the nature of the lengthy commentary, commonly associated with more prestigious literary works and still sparingly applied to vernacular literature; thus, at least for them, the pamphlet was not necessarily impenetrable or unclarified. For example, when introducing the figure Anna Perenna as an allusion to James's wife, Queen Anne, Jonson provides a lengthy marginal comment to encase her in the classical tradition:

> Who this *Anna* should be (with the Romanes themselves) hath beene no trifling controversie. Some have thought her fabulously the sister of *Dido*, some a Nimphe of *Numicius*; some *Io*; some Themis. Others an olde woman of *Bouilla*, that fed the seditious multitude, in Monte Sacro, with Wafers, and fine Cakes, in time of their penurie: To whom, afterward (in memory of the benefit) their peace being made with the Nobles, they ordaind this feast. Yet, they that have thought nearest, have mist all these, and directly imagined her the Moone. And that she was called *Anna, Quia mensibus impleat annum*, Ovid. ib. To which, the vow that they used in her Rites, somwhat confirmingly alludes; which was, *ut Annare, & Perennare commode liceret. Macr. Sat. lib. i, cap. 12* (Jonson D2 verso).

To support his interpretation, Jonson extensively cites from classical authorities in the manner of humanistic academic and school commentaries popular in the period. On the following page, Jonson provides an alternative commentary and inserts several short notes on a brief passage wherein the character Janus discusses the arrival of James and Anne:

> Loe, there is hee, Who brings with him a (i) greater Anne then shee: Whose strong and potent vertues (k) have defac'd Sterne Mars his Statues, and vpon them plac'd His, (l) and the worlds blest bleßings… (Jonson D2r; see Fig. 13)

In this brief excerpt, Jonson includes three further marginal comments with additional details:

> (i) The Queene.to answered which in our inscription wee pace to the King MARTE MA IORI
>
> (k) The Temple of *Ianus* we apprehend to be both the house of War, & Peace; of War, when it is open; of Peace when it is shut: And that there, each ouer the other is interchangeably placd to the vicissitude of Times.
>
> (l) Which are Peace, Rest, Liberty, Safetie, &c, and were his actiuely, but the worlds passively. (D2r; see Fig 13)

These explanatory notes, typical of the commentary tradition, enhance the reader's understanding of Jonson's work and highlight the symbolism and meaning of the pageant he created. They dominate the page and usurp the body of the text, while obscuring the boundaries between body text and marginalia. Yet, because Jonson never previously used marginalia in his works, the layout of the text is still somewhat unrefined.

That fact that Jonson's pamphlet is dominated by text attests to perhaps his lack of understanding or conscious refusal of the visual nature of the print medium and the effectiveness of ornaments. For example, visually based ornamentation appear only thrice: as a headpiece and printers device the title page; as a fleuron to the left of the page titled "The Pegme at Fen-church;" and as a border at the top of the page titled "The Other at Temple Barre" (see Figs. 14 and 15). Each ornament is employed to introduce the work as a whole as well as the two pageants that Jonson devised himself and to distinguish the beginning and end of sections of the text. Jonson also applies a textually based ornament, the decorated initial, which appears four times in the pamphlet; first as the first letter immediately below the ornaments on the pages "The Pegme at Fen-church" and "The Other at Temple Barre," which suggests that it also functions as an introductory decoration, thus compelling the reader to continue to read the text (see Figs. 14

and 15). Elsewhere, the decorated initial, consisting of an iconic woodblock design, appears in the first line of the apparent address to the reader and in Jonson's subsequent brief description of "two Magnificent Pyramids of 70 foote in height" on the following page (Jonson D4r). Like the other ornaments, two of the initials are largely comprised of delicate, neoclassical filigree, which is in keeping with the theme of Jonson's writing. The remaining two initials are of a resting deer and a sleeping bear, representing respectively peace and serenity, and courage and strength. It is also possible that the bear is an allusion to The Black Bear, the printing facility with which Jonson's printer, Blount, was associated at the time. Together, the few ornaments used create distinctions in sections of the pamphlet, ensuring with a humanist's prejudice that no superfluous ornaments distract the reader from the text itself.

Jonson's focus on text allows him to add, unintentionally, an interesting visual component to his text: a monumental inscription of an engraving included at the entertainment at Temple Bar. The inscription comprises almost an entire page of Jonson's pamphlet and it consists of square roman capitals surrounded by a rectangular border, thus mimicking the appearance of the monumental script also found in Dekker's pamphlet (see Fig. 16). The image is fundamentally roman in look, which showcases Jonson's neoclassicism and positions him as a writer with imperial leanings and heir to the imperial parts and poets, while Dekker's short inscriptions are also typeset in Roman square capitals, just as in the case of Jonson, to capture and transfer to the printed text the inscriptions used in the pageantry. Ultimately, Jonson situates the written word above the visual arts by using purely textual elements, as opposed to an engraving, to incorporate the original physical tablet into his printed pamphlet.

The scarcity of ornamentation in Jonson's pamphlet is surprising. It is possible that this stylistic choice is the result of the writer understanding the practicality of illustrations, while

concurrently detaching himself from visual arts—a topic on which Jonson maintains a strong stance and expresses in his collaboration and fierce debates with the architect Inigo Jones, who designed Jonson's masques. Jonson's position is well illustrated in his publications of court masques, specifically through the textual decoration exhibited in *Oberon* (1616). As Mary Livingston points out, "[b]oth picture and poetry are, as Jonson observes, 'busie about imitation'" (Livingston 381). According to Michael Fronda, the concept of *imitatio*, which "[refers] to how written and visual arts mimicked or imitated the world" or often the "conscious use of features and characteristics of earlier works to acknowledge indebtedness to past writers" (Fronda 1). Nevertheless, poetry (or *poesy*) for Jonson "is held to be superior because it uses language" (Livingston 381).

Jonson's pamphlet is fundamentally text-based, resulting in a lack of significant experimentation in his paratexts. One would traditionally find that many paratexts in early modern pamphlets, such as addresses and illustrations, are muted and prose descriptions are the favoured method of communication. Because Jonson's pamphlet is so text-based, visual communication is minimal and the audience is limited to literate, educated individuals. This is likely intentional, as it allows Jonson to restrict his audience to those from whom he can garner support and who can help him gain patronage from James, the Court, and the urban elite. With respect to early modern authorship, Jonson is bold in his self-fashioning: he does not express indebtedness to the City as Dekker and Harrison do, and his pamphlet functions as an arena in which he can construct an idealized image of himself. Although Jonson's relationship with James was merely beginning in 1604, the pamphlet allows Jonson to elevate both James and himself through his work in order to depict himself as already worthy of the King's attention and praise.

This early work allows Jonson to construct an image of himself primarily through his extensive marginalia that he would develop throughout his career along with his use of paratexts.

By the time of the publication of his First Folio in 1616, Jonson would have learned how to employ a wider range of paratexts, such as engravings, ornaments, dedications, and even a portrait of the writer, to enhance his “Workes” and his own image as England’s Horace.

Conclusion

The three printed pamphlets that accompanied James I's 1604 entry into London demonstrate that by the early seventeenth-century pamphlets acquired diverse forms and were transformed into a flexible medium of communication. Dekker, Harrison, and Jonson extended the conventional framework of news pamphlets and altered, to various degrees, their primary function as an effective form of political commentary. By offering different versions of the same event, they also turned their individual pamphlet into a medium of authorial self-representation. The paratexts of the three pamphlets, in particular, were instrumental in the process of diversification of the pamphlet medium as well as in the emergence of the concept of early modern authorship. While the bodies of Dekker's, Harrison's, and Jonson's pamphlets relay each writer's intention in a direct manner, their paratexts, employed in contrasting ways, are meant to reinforce, enhance, or even challenge the messages communicated in the bodies of the texts. At James's 1604 entry, the politics of communication, governed by authorial intent, modified and pervaded the description of the entry, thus resulting in a multilayered representation of the event itself. No longer were entry pamphlets anonymous means of delivering political messages related to the City, the Court, or the Crown. Instead, they became print records with dedicated and established authors who freely communicate their own intentions, consciously utilizing and, in some cases, even exploiting the textual and bibliographical features offered by the pamphlet medium.

Although the 1604 entry pamphlets promote politicized ideas either in favour of the City or the Crown, these ideas are not directly indicative of the authors' connections. Dekker's pamphlet represents the royal entry pamphlet genre most clearly by abiding by the practices of heraldic recording. Yet, he also deviates from it by incorporating several paratexts to reinforce

the role of the City in the organization of the entry in order to strengthen his own relationship with this powerful governing body and to assure future employment. Throughout his account of the event, Dekker consistently prioritizes the City over the Crown. Although, similar to Dekker, in his public celebration of the relationship between London and James, Harrison documents the details of the entry both textually and visually in order to express his gratitude to the City; nevertheless, his pamphlet serves primarily as a visual advertisement for his own architectural creations. Harrison promotes his art through extensive illustrations of the arches designed for the pageants, which appeared for the first time in English entry pamphlets. Like Harrison, Jonson capitalizes on the opportunity for self-promotion afforded by the pamphlet medium, yet at the same time he publicizes his allegiance to the King. Although Jonson uses the royal entry pamphlet as a medium through which he flatters and promotes James in order to gain patronage and improve his own social position, he radically alters its format to adjust it to his own needs, thus ignoring the conventions of the genre entirely. He records only a few stages of the pageantry, and instead he highlights his own poetical training and portrays himself as a learned author through a display of neoclassical themes and an array of paratexts, conventionally not associated with the pamphlet genre, such as marginalia and commentary.

After the 1604 entry, both Jonson and Dekker had successful careers as writers and dramatists in London, and their later works exhibit a growing confidence in the use of paratexts as effective tools to promote their writing. Dekker's future works, especially his pamphlets and plays, show a greater understanding of the value of title pages as forms of advertisement. Works such as *The Roaring Girle* (1611, co-authored with Middleton), and *Dekker his Dreame* (1620) include large, striking illustrations on their title pages to accentuate the author's name. Likewise, in his First Folio, Jonson employs paratexts in an unprecedented manner, relying heavily on the

complex messages conveyed by elaborate ornaments, illustrations, dedications, marginalia, commentary, and running heads. In the folio edition of his collected works, Jonson's method of self-representation through paratexts, however, diverges significantly from his 1604 entry pamphlet, mainly due to the pressures of the lasting conventions associated with literary authorship (Butler 388). As Martin Butler remarks "[e]ven though the Folio seems a testimony to the power of print, the emergent market place and the bourgeoisification of the author, it was still very much bound up in the old economies and politics of patronage" (388).

Not only were the 1604 pamphlets fundamental to their authors' positioning themselves in the literary marketplace, but they also offered an important precedent and an effective model for subsequent entry pamphlets in England throughout the seventeenth century. According to the testimony of extant fragmentary documentation, it was Jonson and Middleton who were commissioned with the script of the next royal entry designed for Charles I's coronation and triumph in 1625. The entry, however, was first postponed and then altogether cancelled so no pamphlet associated with this occasion survives (Wiggins 67, 75). The influence of the 1604 entry pamphlets is manifest in the elaborate festival book published for Charles II's entry in 1661 by John Ogilby: *The relation of His Majestie's entertainment passing through the city of London, to his coronation: with a description of the triumphal arches, and solemnity*. This festival book, the first of its kind in England, combines the 1604 entry pamphlets, borrowing paratextual elements from all three. It is constitutes a comprehensive civic record of the event, employing an elevated, poetic style, but it also takes advantage of paratexts, such as title pages, sophisticated engravings, ornaments, marginalia, and commentary. It represents the culmination of the genre of royal entry pamphlets which evolved, throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth

centuries, from simple news leaflets into a multifaceted print medium chiefly through the authorial agency of Dekker, Harrison, and Jonson.

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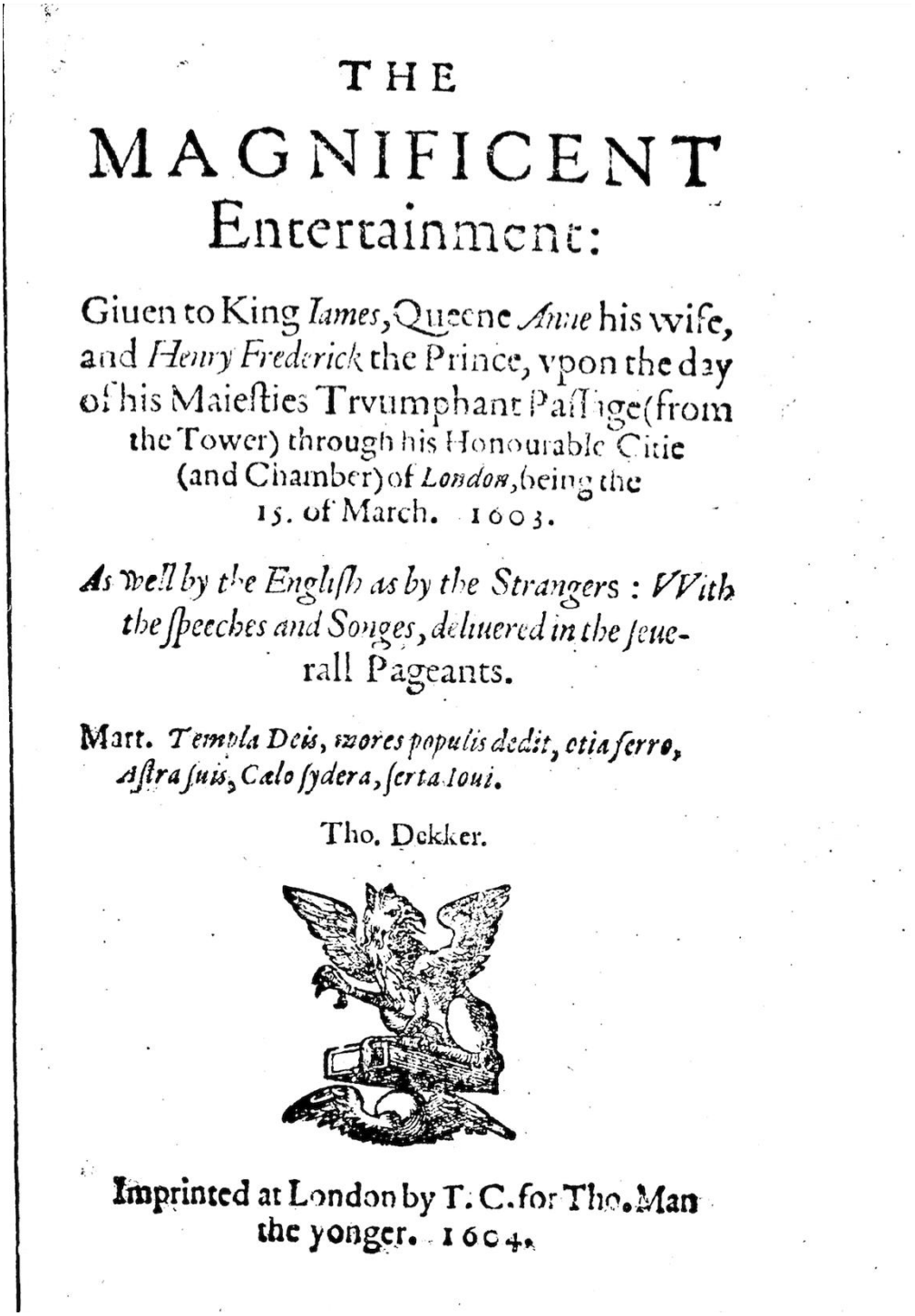
Illustrations



THE
MAGNIFICENT
Entertainment:

Giuen to King *Iames*, Queene *Anne* his wife, and *Henry Frederick* the Prince, vpon the day of his Maiesties Trvumphant Passage (from the Tower) through his Honourable Citie (and Chamber) of *London*, being the 15. of March. 1603.

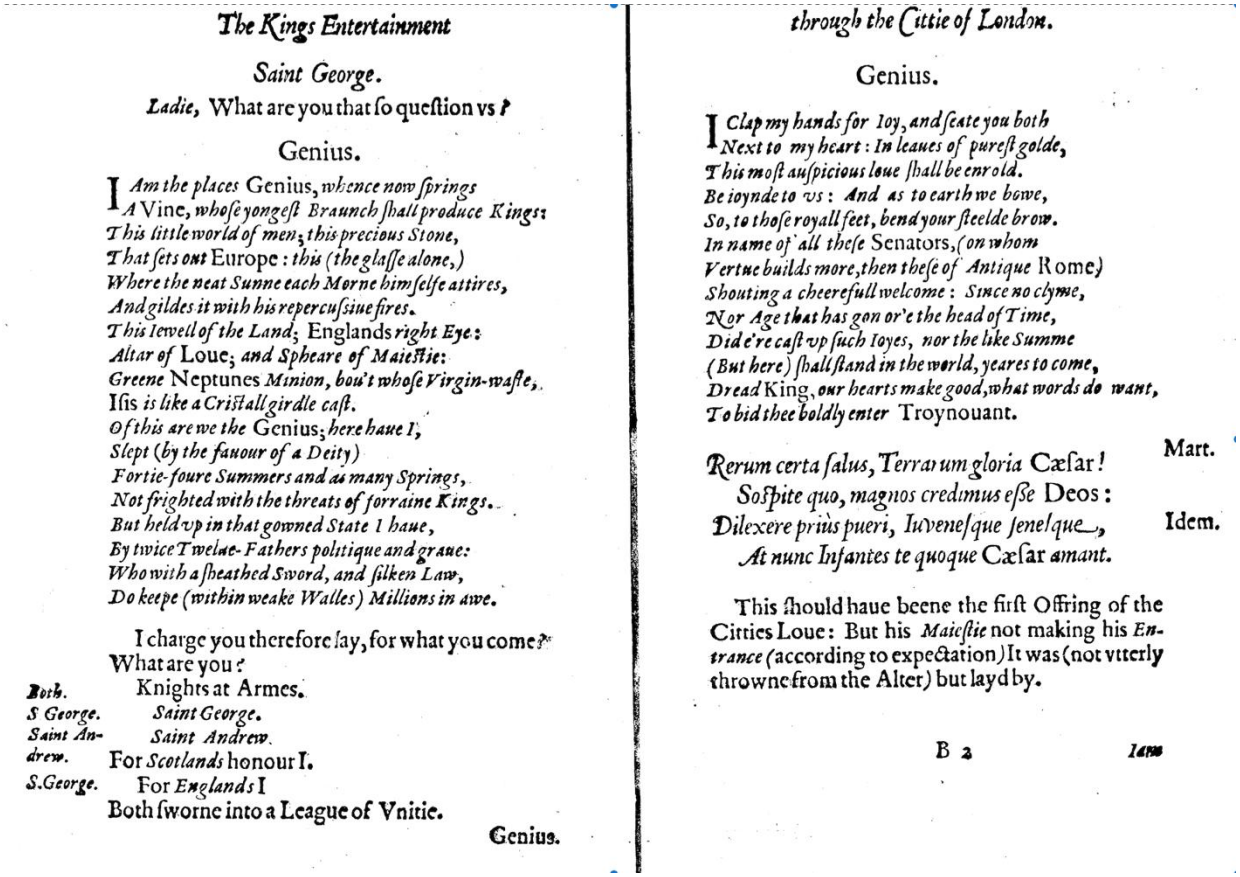
As well by the English as by the Strangers: VVith the speeches and Songes, deliuered in the seuerall Pageants.

Mart. *Templa Deis, mores populis dedit, otia ferro,*
Astra suis, Cælo sydera, serta Ioui.

Tho. Dekker.

Imprinted at London by T. C. for Tho. Man the yonger. 1604.

Fig. 1 Title page of Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment.* STC 6510: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by Thomas Dekker (T.C. for Tho. Man the Younger, 1604). A2r.



The Kings Entertainment

Saint George.

Ladie, What are you that ſo queſtion vs?

Genius.

I *Am the places* Genius, *whence now ſprings*
A Vine, *whoſe yongeſt Braunch ſhall produce Kings:*
This little world of men; this precious Stone,
That ſets out Europe: *this (the glaſſe alone,)*
Where the neat Sunne each Morne himſelfe attires,
And gildes it with his repercuſsiue fires.
This Iewell of the Land; Englands *right Eye:*
Altar of Loue; *and Spheare of Maieſtie:*
Greene Neptunes *Minion, bou't whoſe Virgin-waſte,*
Iſis *is like a Criſtall girdle caſt.*
Of this are we the Genius; *here haue I,*
Slept (by the fauour of a Deity)
Fortie-foure Summers and as many Springs,
Not frighted with the threats of forraine Kings.
But held vp in that gowned State I haue,
By twice Twelue-Fathers politique and graue:
Who with a ſheathed Sword, and ſilken Law,
Do keepe (within weake Walles) Millions in awe.

I charge you therefore ſay, for what you come?
What are you?

Both. Knights at Armes.
S George. *Saint George.*
Saint Andrew. *Saint Andrew.*
For *Scotlands* honour I.
S.George. For *Englands* I
Both ſworne into a League of Vnitie.

Genius.

through the Cittie of London.

Genius.

I *Clap my hands for Ioy, and ſeate you both*
Next to my heart: In leaues of pureſt golde,
This moſt auſpicious loue ſhall be enrold.
Be ioynde to vs: And as to earth we bowe,
So, to thoſe royall feet, bend your ſteelde brow.
In name of all theſe Senators, *(on whom*
Vertue builds more, then theſe of Antique Rome*)*
Shouting a cheerefull welcome: Since no clyme,
Nor Age that has gon or'e the head of Time,
Did e're caſt vp ſuch Ioyes, nor the like Summe
(But here) ſhall ſtand in the world, yeares to come,
Dread King, *our hearts make good, what words do want,*
To bid thee boldly enter Troynouant.

Mart. *Rerum certa ſalus, Terrarum gloria* Cæſar!
Soſpite quo, magnos credimus eſſe Deos:
Idem. *Dilexere priùs pueri, Iuveneſque ſenesque,*
At nunc Infantes te quoque Cæſar *amant.*

This ſhould haue beene the firſt Offring of the Cities Loue: But his *Maieſtie* not making his *Entrance* (according to expectation) It was (not vtterly throwne from the Alter) but layd by.

Fig. 2 Excerpt from Dekker's pamphlet demonstrating use of running head and marginalia. STC 6510: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by Thomas Dekker (T.C. for Tho. Man the Younger, 1604). B2v-r.

Fig. 3 Engraving of a griffin. STC 6510: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by Thomas Dekker (T.C. for Tho. Man the Younger, 1604). A2r.

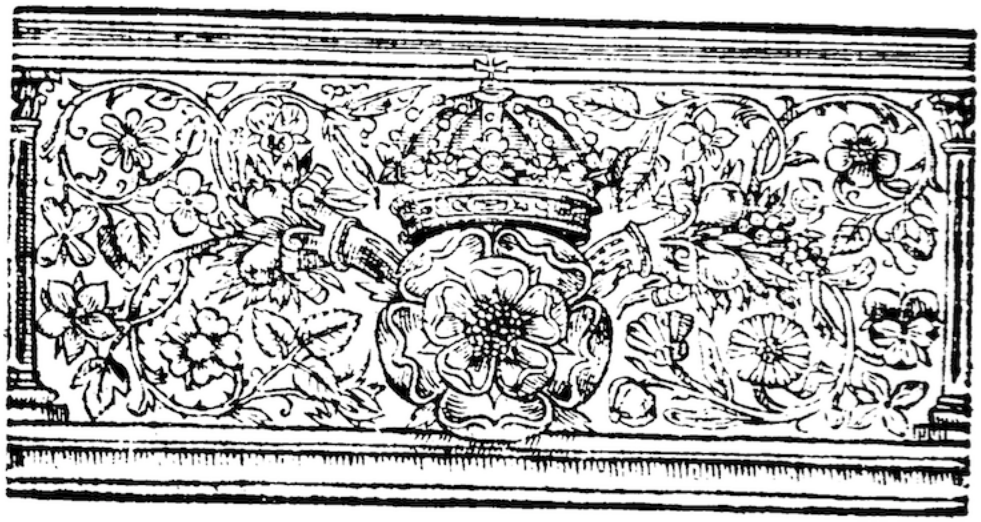


Fig. 4 Tailpiece located at the end of the "Device at Soper-lane End." STC 831-01: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by Thomas Dekker (T.C. for Tho. Man the Younger, 1604). H1r.

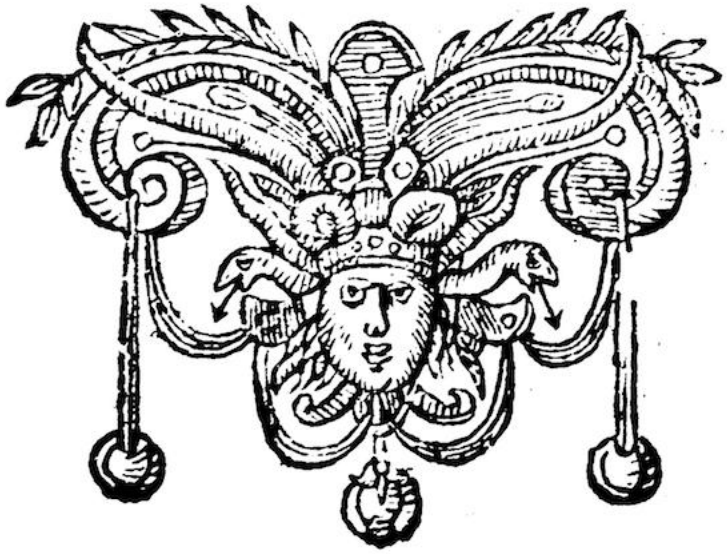


Fig. 5 Tailpiece located at the end of "*Oratio Habita.*" STC 831-01: *The Magnificent Entertainment* by Thomas Dekker (T.C. for Tho. Man the Younger, 1604). H3v.

Fig. 6 Title page of Harrison's *Arches of Triumph*. STC 1025-16: *Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (John Windet, 1604). A1r.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR THOMAS BENNET KNIGHT, LORD MAIOR OF THIS CITIE, THE RIGHT WORSIPfull the Aldermen his Brethren, and to thoſe VVorſhipfull *Commoners, elected Committies, for the Managing of this Buſineſſe.*

THE loue which I beare to your *Honour* and VVorſhips: and the duty wherewith I am bound to this honourable Citie, makes me appeare in this boldneſſe to you; To whome I humbly Conſecrate theſe fruites of my inuention, which *Time* hath nowe at length brought foorth, and ripened to this perfection. That Magnificent *Royalty*, and glorious Entertainement, which you your ſelues for your part, out of a free, a cleare, and verie bounteous diſpoſition, and ſo many thouſands of woorthie Citizens, out of a ſincere affection and loyalty of his Maieſtie, did with the ſparing of no coſt, beſtowe but vpon one day, is here newe wrought vp againe, and ſhall endure for euer. For albeit thoſe Monuments of your *Loues* were erected vp to the Cloudes, and were built neuer ſo ſtrongly, yet now their laſtningnes ſhould liue but in the tongues and memories of men: But that the hand of Arte giues them here a ſecond more perfect beeing, aduaunceth them higher then they were before, and warrants them that they ſhall doe honour to this Citie, ſo long as the Citie ſhall beare a name. Sory I am that they come into the world no ſooner: but let the hardneſſe of the labour; and the ſmall number of handes, that were buſied about them, make the faulte (if it bee a faulte) excuſable. I would not care if theſe vnpainted *Pictures* were more Coſtly to me, ſo that they might appeare curious enough to your Lordſhip and VVorſhips; yet in regard, that this preſent Age can lay before you no Preſident that euer any in this land performed the like, I preſume theſe my endeuours ſhall receiue the more worthie liking of you. And thus Dedicating my Labours and Loue to your honourable and kinde Acceptations, I moſt humbly take my leaue, this 16 of *Iune* 1604.

Moſt affectionately deuoted to your Lordſhip and Worſhips,

Stephen Harriſon.

Fig. 7 Address to the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Bennet Knight, Lord Mayor. STC 1025-16: *Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (John Windet, 1604). B1r.

Lectori Candido.

READER, The limmes of theſe great *Triumphall* bodies (lately diſioynted and taken in ſunder) I haue thou ſeeſt (for thy ſake) ſet in their apt and right places againe: ſo that now they are to ſtand as perpetuall monuments, not to be ſhaken in peeces, or to be broken downe, by the malice of that enuious deſtroyer of all things, *Time*. VVhich labours of mine, if they yeeld thee either profit or pleaſure, thou art (in requitall thereof) to pay many thankes to this honourable Citie, whoſe bounty towards me, not onely in making choiſe of me, to giue directions for the intire workmanſhip of the fiue *Triumphall Arch's* builded by the ſame, but alſo (in publiſhing theſe *Peeces*,) I do here gladly acknowledge to haue bene exceeding liberall.

Nor ſhall it be amiſſe in this place to giue thee intelligence of ſome matters (by way of notes) which were not fully obſerude, nor freely inough ſet downe in the Printed Booke of theſe *Triumphes*: amongſt which theſe that follow are chiefeſt.

His Maieſtie departed from the *Tower* betweene the houres of 11. and 12 andbefore 5. had made his royall paſſage through the Citie, hauing a *Canopie* borne ouer him by 8. Knights.

The firſt *Obiect* that his Maieſties eye encountred (after his entrance into *London*) was part of the children of *Chriſts Church Hoſpitall*, to the number of 300. who were placed on a Scaffold, erected for that purpoſe in *Barking Church-yard* by the *Tower*.

The way from the *Tower* to *Temple-Barre* was not onely ſufficiently gratelled, but all the ſtreetes (lying betweene thoſe two places) were on both ſides (where the breadth would permit) raild in at the charges of the Citie, *Paules Church-yard* excepted.

The *Liueries* of the *Companies* (hauing their Streamers, Enſignes, and Banerets ſpred on the tops of their railes before them) reached from the middle of *Marke Lane*, to the *Pegme* at *Temple Barre*.

Two *Marſhals* were choſen for the day, to cleere the paſſage both of them being well mounted, and attended on by ſixe men (ſuteably attirde) to each *Marſhall*.

The Conduits of *Cornehill*, of *Cheape*, and of *Fleeteſtreete*, that day ran Claret wine very plenteouſly: which (by reaſon of ſo much excellent Muſicke, that ſounded foorth not onely from each ſeuerall *Pegme*, but alſo from diuerſe other places) ran the faſter and more merrily downe into ſome bodies bellies.

As touching the Oration vttered by Sir *Henry Mountague* (Recorder of the City) with the gifts beſtowed on the King, the Queene, and the Prince (being three Cups of gold) as alſo, all ſuch ſongs, as were that day ſung in the ſeuerall *Arch's*, I referre you to the Booke in print, where they are ſet downe at large.

And thus much you ſhall vnderſtand, that no manner of perſon whatſoeuer, did diſburſe any part towards the charge of theſe fiue *Triumphes*, but onely the meere Citizens being all free-men; heretofore the charge being borne by fifteenes and the *Chamber of London* (as may appeare by auncient preſidents) but now it was leauied amongſt the Companies. The other two *Arch's* erected by Merchant-Strangers (*viz.* the *Italians* and *Dutchmen*) were only their owne particular charge.

The Citty elected 16. Committies to whom the managing of the whole buſineſſe was abſolutely referred: of which number 4. were Aldermen, the other 12. Commoners, *viz.* one out of each of the 12. Companies. Other Committies were alſo appointed as ouer-ſeers and ſurueyors of the worke. *Farewell.*

Imprinted at London by Iohn VVindet,
Printer to the Honourable Citie of London, and are to be ſold at the
Authors houſe in Lime-ſtreet, at the ſigne of the Snayle. 1604.

K.

Fig. 8 The last page of Harrison's pamphlet that includes "*Lectori Candido*," colophon, and headpiece. STC 1025-16: *Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (John Windet, 1604). K1r.

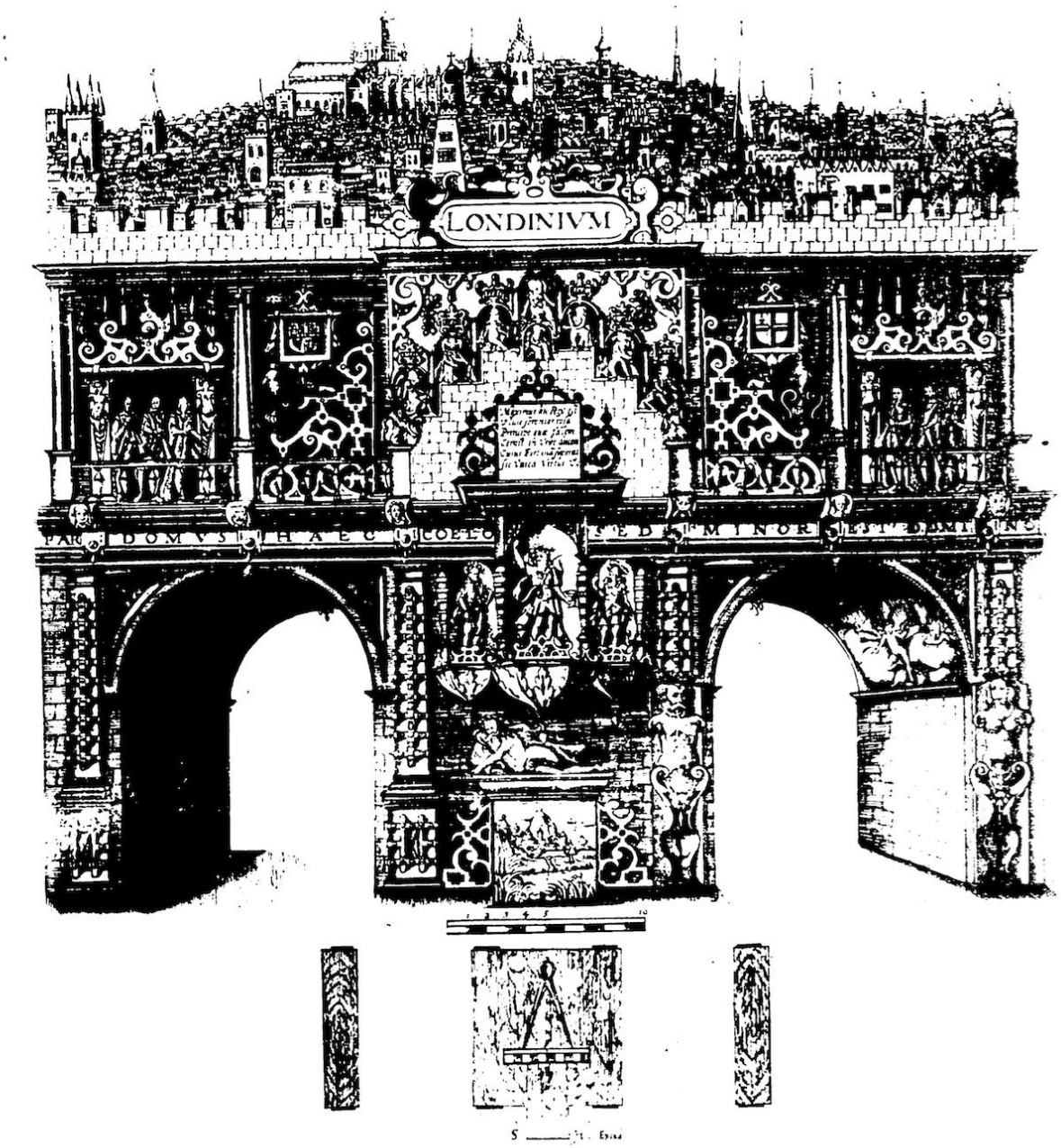


Fig. 9 The first triumphal arch at "The Device called Londinium." STC 1025-16: *Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (John Windet, 1604). C2r.

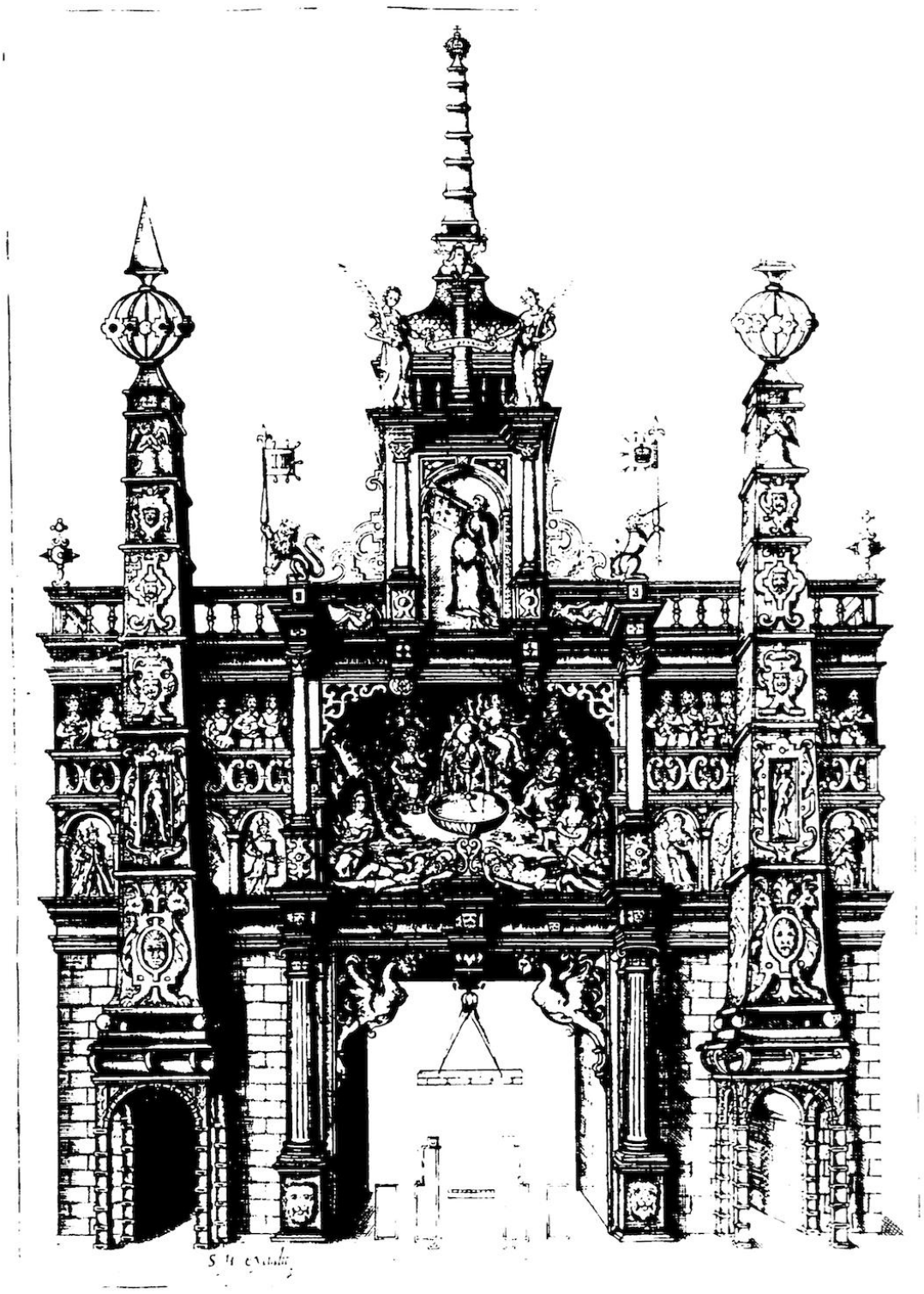


Fig. 10 The fourth triumphal arch at "The Device Called Nova Feolix Arabia." STC 1025-16: *Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (John Windet, 1604). F2r.

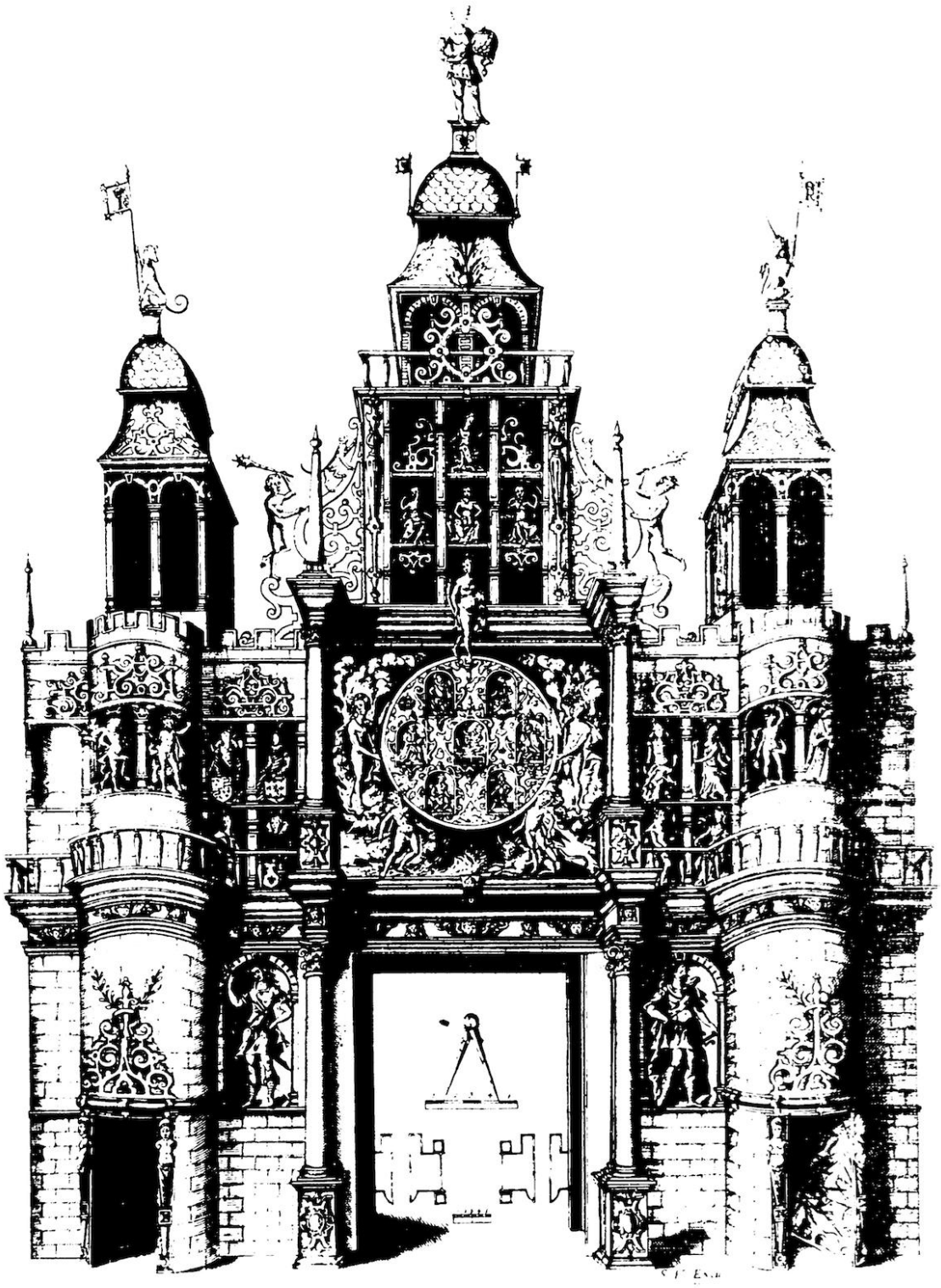
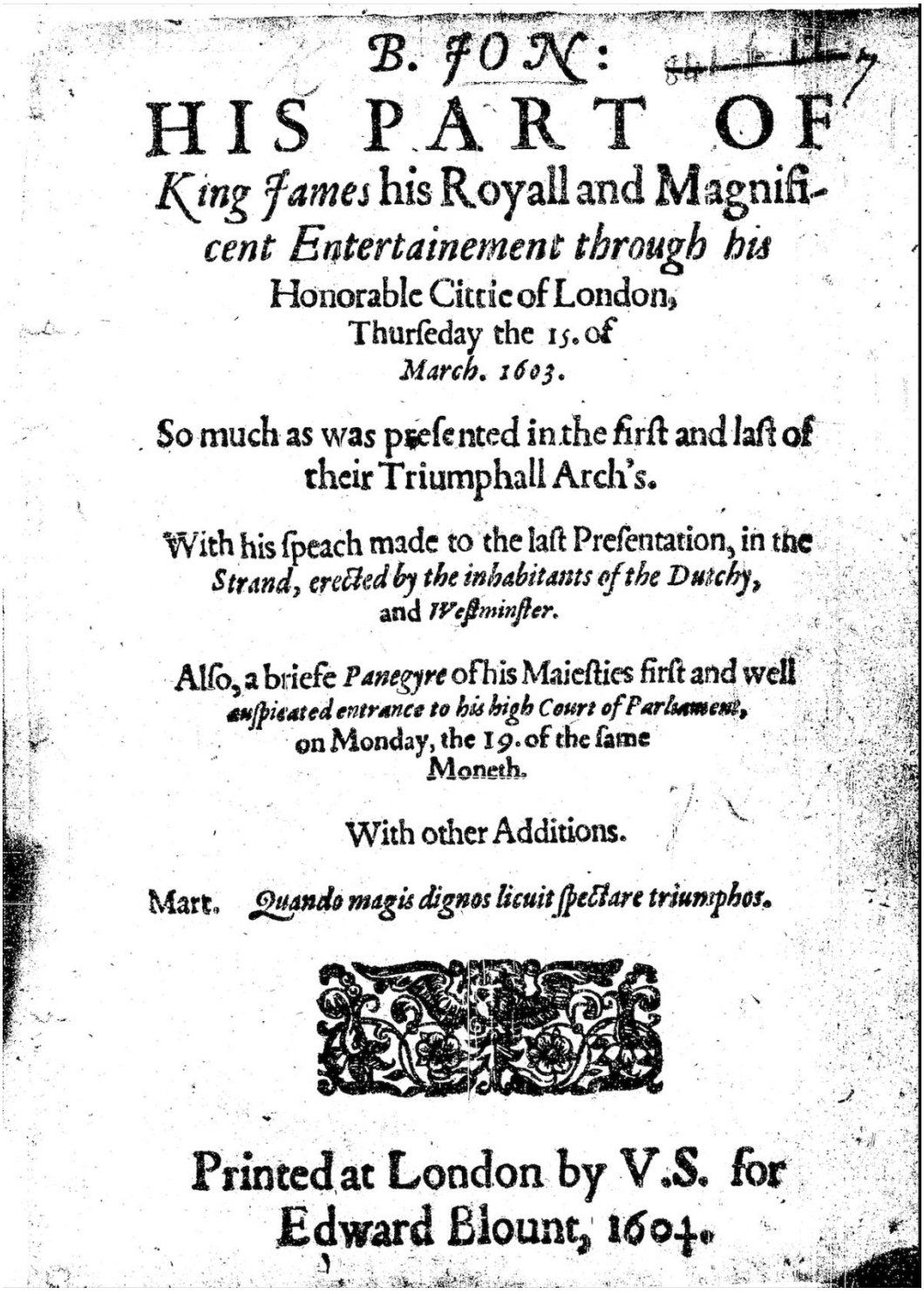


Fig. 11 The sixth triumphal arch at "The Device called Cozmoz Neoz, New World." STC 1025-16: *Arches of Triumph* by Stephen Harrison (John Windet, 1604). H2r.



B. ION:

HIS PART OF
King James his Royall and Magnifi-
cent Entertainement through his
Honorable Cittie of London,
Thurſeday the 15. of
March. 1603.

So much as was preſented in the firſt and laſt of
their Triumphall Arch's.

With his ſpeach made to the laſt Preſentation, in the
Strand, erected by the inhabitants of the Dutchy,
and *Weſtminſter.*

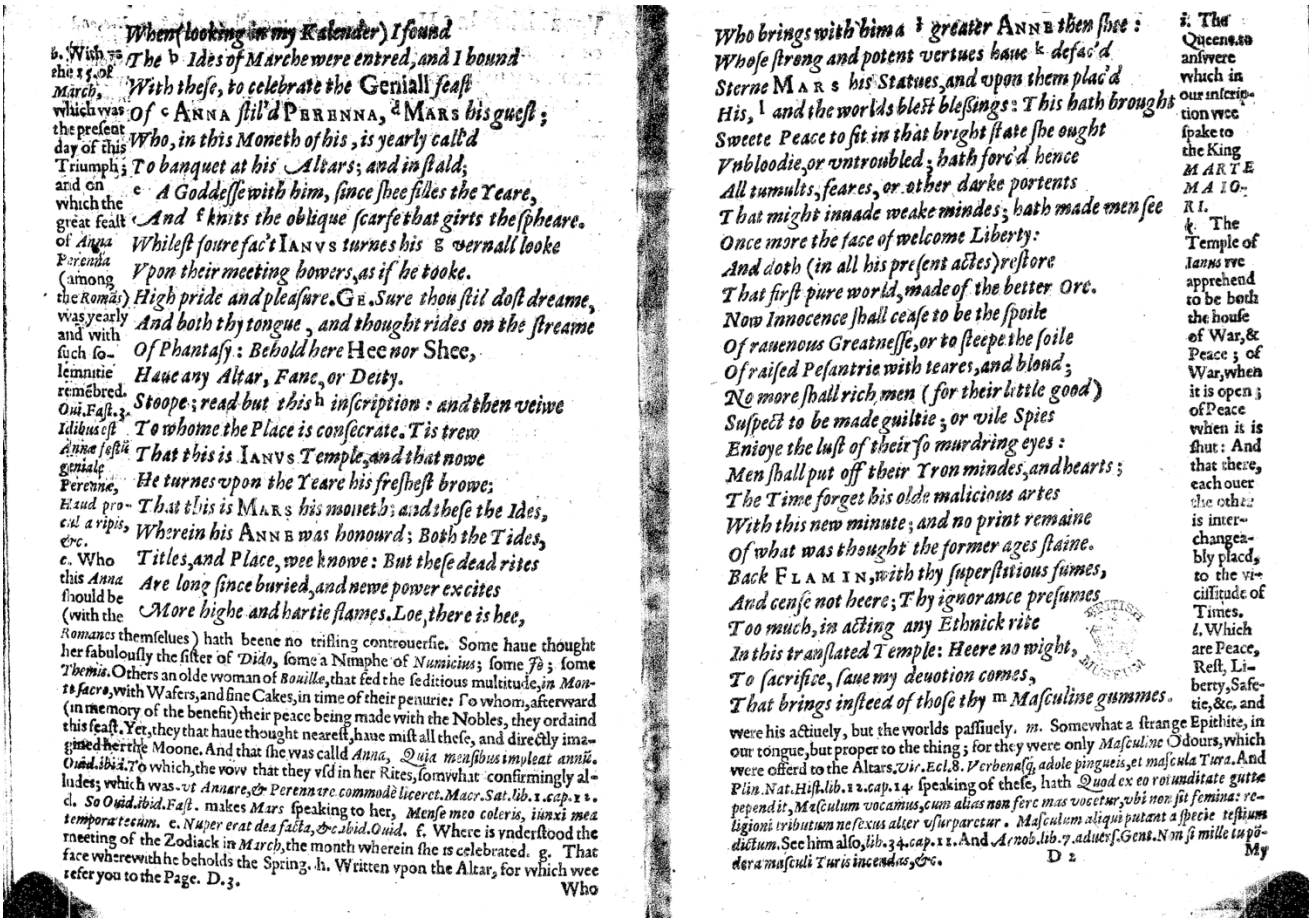
Alſo, a briefe *Panegyre* of his Maieſties firſt and well
auſpicated entrance to his high Court of Parliament,
on Monday, the 19. of the ſame
Moneth.

With other Additions.

Mart. *Quando magis dignos licuit ſpectare triumphos.*

Printed at London by V.S. for
Edward Blount, 1604.

Fig. 12 Title page of Jonson's *B. Jon: His Part*… STC 757-02. *B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment*… by Ben Jonson (Edward Blount, 1604). A1r.



When (looking in my Kalender) I found
b. With the 15. of March, The b Ides of Marche were entred, and I bound
With these, to celebrate the Geniall feast
which was the present day of this Triumph; Of c ANNA stil'd PERENNA, d MARS his guest;
Who, in this Moneth of his, is yearly call'd
and on To banquet at his Altars; and in stald;
which the e A Goddesse with him, since shee fills the Yeare,
great feast And f knits the oblique scarfe that girts the Spheare.
of Anna Perenna (among the Romans) was yearly and with such solemnitie remembred. Ouid. Fast. 3. Idibus est Annæ festis geniale Perennæ, Haud procul a ripis, &c.
While'st foure fac't IANVS turnes his g vernall looke
Vpon their meeting bowers, as if he tooke.
High pride and pleasure. GE. Sure thou stil dost dreame,
And both thy tongue, and thought rides on the streame
Of Phantasy: Behold here Hee nor Shee,
Haue any Altar, Fane, or Deity.
Stoope; read but this h inscription: and then veiwe
To whome the Place is consecrate. 'Tis trew
That this is IANVS Temple, and that nowe
He turnes vpon the Yeare his freshest browe:
That this is MARS his moneth; and these the Ides,
Wherein his ANNE was honourd; Both the Tides,
Titles, and Place, wee knowe: But these dead rites
Are long since buried, and newe power excites
More highe and hartie flames. Loe, there is hee,

e. Who this Anna should be (with the Romanes themselues) hath beene no trifling controuersie. Some haue thought her fabulously the sister of Dido, some a Nimphe of Numicius; some Io; some Themis. Others an olde woman of Bouille, that fed the seditious multitude, in Monte sacro, with Wafers, and fine Cakes, in time of their penurie: To whom, afterward (in memory of the benefit) their peace being made with the Nobles, they ordaind this feast. Yet, they that haue thought nearest, haue mist all these, and directly imagined her the Moone. And that she was calld Anna, Quia mensibus impleat annũ. Ouid. ibid. To which, the vow that they vsd in her Rites, somwhat confirmingly alludes; which was - vt Annare, & Perennare commodè liceret. Macr. Sat. lib. 1. cap. 12. cl. So Ouid. ibid. Fast. makes Mars speaking to her, Mense meo coleris, iunxi mea tempora tecum. e. Nuper erat dea facta, &c. ibid. Ouid. f. Where is vnderstood the meeting of the Zodiack in March, the month wherein she is celebrated. g. That face wherewith he beholds the Spring. h. Written vpon the Altar, for which wee refer you to the Page. D. 3.

Who brings with him a i greater ANNE then shee:
Whose strong and potent vertues haue k defac'd
Sterne MARS his Statues, and vpon them plac'd
His, l and the worlds blest blessings: This hath brought
Sweete Peace to sit in that bright state she ought
Vnbloodie, or vntroubled; hath forc'd hence
All tumults, feares, or other darke portents
That might invade weake mindes; hath made men see
Once more the face of welcome Liberty:
And doth (in all his present actes) restore
That first pure world, made of the better Ore.
Now Innocence shall cease to be the spoile
Of rauenous Greatnesse, or to steepe the soile
Of raised Pesantrie with teares, and bloud;
No more shall rich men (for their little good)
Suspect to be made guiltie; or vile Spies
Enioye the lust of their so murdring eyes:
Men shall put off their Tron mindes, and hearts;
The Time forget his olde malicious artes
With this new minute; and no print remaine
Of what was thought the former ages staine.
Back FLAMIN, with thy superstitious fumes,
And cense not heere; Thy ignorance presumes
Too much, in acting any Ethnick rite
In this translated Temple: Heere no wight,
To sacrifice, saue my deuotion comes,
That brings insteed of those thy m Masculine gummes.

i. The Queene, to answere which in our inscription wee spake to the King MARTE MAIORI.
k. The Temple of Ianus we apprehend to be both the house of War, & Peace; of War, when it is open; of Peace when it is shut: And that there, each ouer the other is interchangeably placd, to the vicissitude of Times.
l. Which are Peace, Rest, Liberty, Safetie, &c. and were his actiuely, but the worlds passiuely. m. Somewhat a strange Epithite, in our tongue, but proper to the thing; for they were only Masculine Odours, which were offerd to the Altars. Vir. Ecl. 8. Verbenasq; adole pingueis, et masculà Tura. And Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 14. speaking of these, hath Quod ex eo rotunditate gutte pendit, Masculum vocamus, cum alias non fere mas vocetur, vbi non sit femina: religioni tributum ne sexus alter vsurparetur. Masculum aliqui putant a specie testium dictum. See him also, lib. 34. cap. 12. And Arnob. lib. 7. aduers. Gent. Non si mille tu pöderà masculi Turis incendis, &c.

My

Fig. 13 An example of Jonson's marginalia from the Pageant at Temple Bar. STC 757-02.

***B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment…* by Ben Jonson (Edward Blount, 1604). D2v-r.**

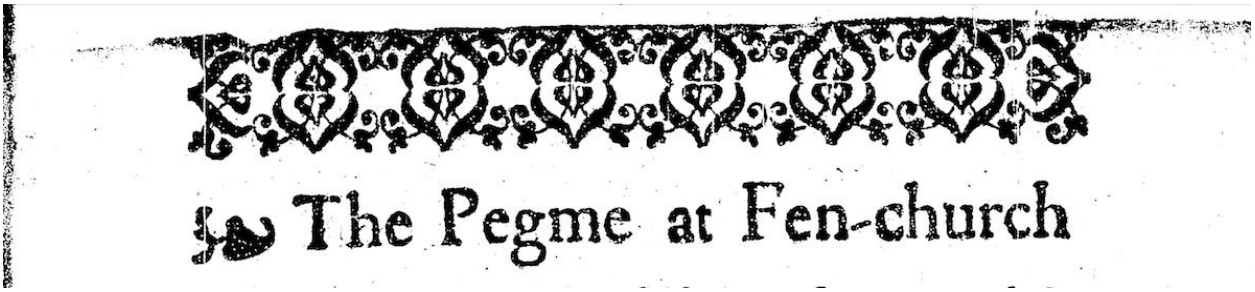
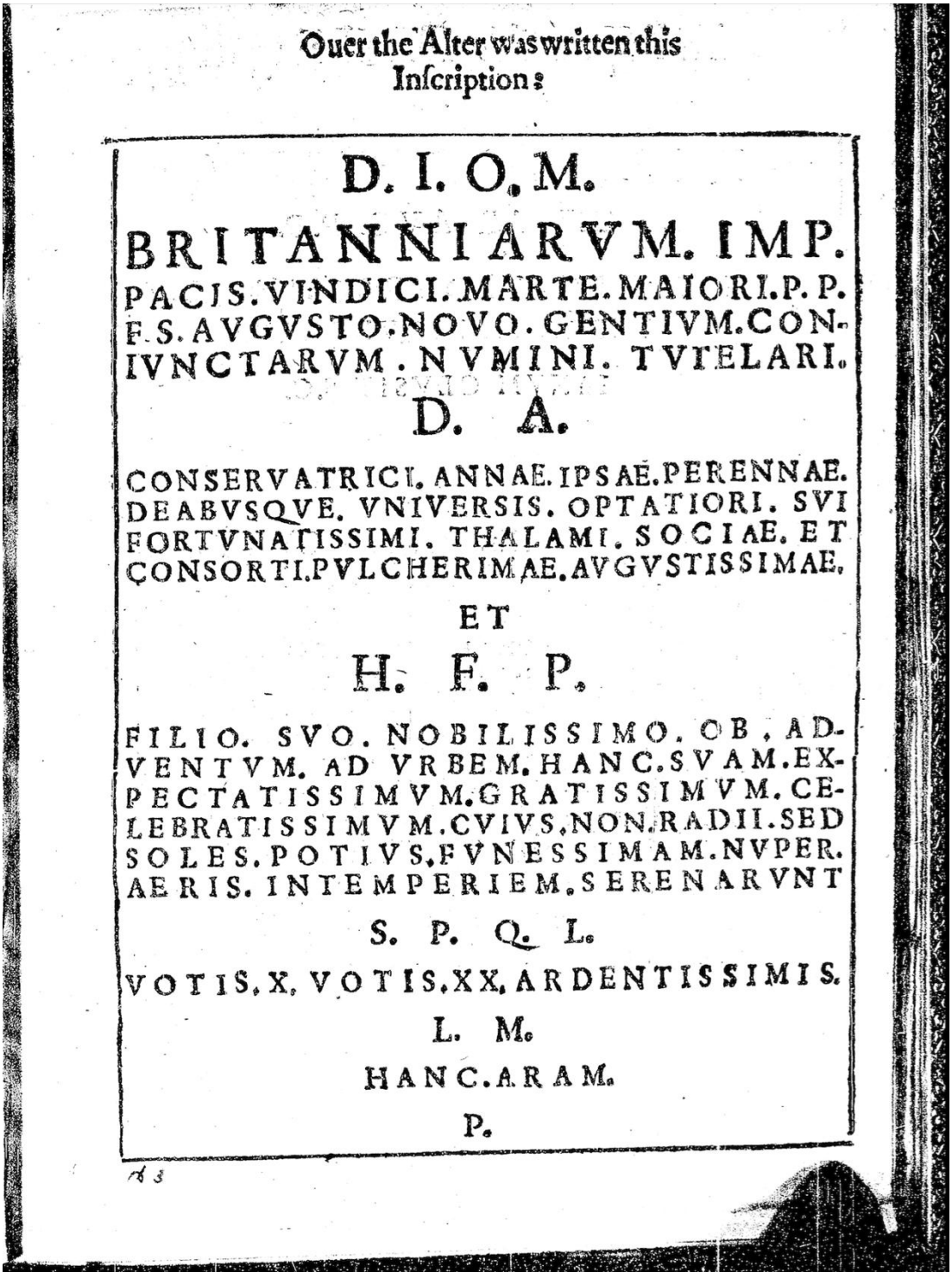


Fig. 14 An ornament/headpiece introducing "The Pegme at Fen-church." STC 757-02. *B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment*… by Ben Jonson (Edward Blount, 1604). A2r.

Fig. 15 An ornament/headpiece introducing the "The Other at Temple Barre." STC 757-02. *B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment*… by Ben Jonson (Edward Blount, 1604). C1r.



Ouer the Alter was written this
Inſcription:

D. I. O. M.

BRITANNI ARVM. IMP.
PACIS. VINDICI. MARTE. MAIORI. P. P.
F. S. AVGVSTO. NOVO. GENTIVM. CON-
IVNCTARVM. NVMINI. TVTELARI.

D. A.

CONSERVATRICI. ANNAE. IPSAE. PERENNAE.
DEABVSQVE. VNIVERSIS. OPTATIORI. SVI
FORTVNATISSIMI. THALAMI. SOCIAE. ET
CONSORTI. PVLCHERIMAE. AVGVSTISSIMAE.

ET

H. F. P.

FILIO. SVO. NOBILISSIMO. OB. AD-
VENTVM. AD VRBEM. HANC. SVAM. EX-
PECTATISSIMVM. GRATISSIMVM. CE-
LEBRATISSIMVM. CVIVS. NON. RADII. SED
SOLES. POTIVS. FVNESSIMAM. NVPER.
AERIS. INTEMPERIEM. SERENARVNT

S. P. Q. L.

VOTIS. X. VOTIS. XX. ARDENTISSIMIS.

L. M.

HANC. ARAM.

P.

A 3

Fig. 16 Jonson's monumental inscription from the "Entertainment at Temple Bar." STC 757-02. *B. Jon: His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment…* by Ben Jonson (Edward Blount, 1604). D3r.