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Tudor Money: Understanding the Language of Coinage in the 16th Century Socio-political Life and Literature

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The paper is devoted to Tudor money (coins) as a culturally constructed conceptual category, which shapes historical narrative and can be studied through economic, religious, philosophical and literary discourse. The starting point in this inquiry is the Coin not as a stock economic tool, but as a semiotic sign of dual nature: an intermediary, which as a result of social codification transcends its purely economic nature to provide its perception as a part of a vast figurative system, which communicates through its symbolic iconography novel characterizations as well as profound political and ideological meanings. As a specific element of culture interwoven in the very fabric of the sixteenth century literary language, money establishes a cohesion between developing monetary culture and art and shapes a unique figural style, to a great extent lost on the modern reader. The methodology applied in the current study combines a close reading of representative literary texts with a multidisciplinary approach, which allows of leading a conceptual analysis in several gnoseological perspectives simultaneously, namely, numismatics, semiotics, economics, historicism, symbolic studies, and literary criticism

Keywords: *Tudor coins, conceit, iconography, semiotics, economics, symbolism.*

What thing is then so well belov'd as monie?
It is a speciall comfort to the mind;
More faire then women are, more sweet than honie
Golde is a God, and Siluer is a Saint.
(Barnfield 1605)

Introduction

The period with which this paper is concerned is the Tudor age (1485 – 1603), which is represented by five crowned monarchs and is marked by dramatic changes in all spheres of economic, political, religious, and cultural life. The 16th century (the beginning of the Modern period in the history of England) saw transition from feudalism to a new economic order with petty and large manufacturers, merchants, bankers and usurers, consolidation of absolutism, painful social changes, proliferation of knowledge and education, the Reformation movement inchoate by Martin Luther, and the English Renaissance with its 'iconic' personalities such as Thomas More (1478 –1535), William Shakespeare (1564 –1616), and Francis Bacon (1561-1626). All of this makes the epoch a unique and most impactful historical period for the development of modern thinking, language and literature. It seems feasible to single out this period as distinct and specific in the evolution of the British coinage, too. I seek to expose the role of coinage as media of communication in political, religious and social life and its role in generating specific 'monetary' discourse in

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drama and poetry, whose role in the figurative construction of literary discourse has been grossly underestimated.

The general goal of the research is to expose the influence of the Tudor coins on Renaissance literature and language. It aims to explore the following aspects: 1) the pictorial design of coins with special attention to how the visual performs the functions of indoctrination; 2) legends chosen by Tudor sovereigns as a reflection of their aspirations; 3) the role of economic factors in shaping the figural style of the 16th century literature; and finally, 4) the contribution of money culture to a new type of discursive practices and the mindset of people.

The material for literary analysis comprises diverse genres typical for the epoch: Shakespeare's history plays which link the literary and the historical; two plays whose plots are explicitly constructed around money – *The Merchant of Venice* by Shakespeare and *The Jew of Malta* by Marlowe; a domestic drama *Arden of Feversham* by Thomas Kyd(?); John Donne's poetry as a sample of metaphysical verse; the 16th century popular Ballads, a product of folk culture reflecting people's attitudes to historical personalities and events; epigrams by John Heywood, and finally, Richard Barnfield's *The Encomium of Lady Pecunia: Or, the Praise of Money* written in a specific genre of the paradoxical laudation.

The analytical methods employed in the current study combine textual analysis with the study of coinage iconography, special attention being paid to its inherent symbolic nature; literary discourses based on coin imagery are scrutinized within the framework of contemporary historical circumstances to see how economic events influence figures of speech based on coin names.

Theoretical Premises

Money is primarily an economic category with an established set of functions performed in the economy. Money has its value, which is determined by some monetary authority (be it King, parliament, the central bank, or – the market): it measures the exchange value of economic entities and communicates it. However, it has been clear throughout pecuniary history that money's signification goes far beyond its purely economic role and encompasses a wide range of cultural content acting as an indispensable vehicle of cognition because of its symbolic character. The developing money culture implied cognitive transfer of pecuniary evaluativity to a broad domain of human perceptions, feelings, and relations and framed "the way we make sense of the world" (Capeloa Gil and Gonçalves da Silva 2015).

The current study has been conducted within a multidisciplinary perspective which unifies numismatics, semiotics, economics, historicism, and literary criticism in one multifaceted network. The methodology enables a researcher to connect specific content of different exploratory fields for studying such a complex phenomenon as money, which cannot be fully apprehended within each field in isolation. As Albert Einstein put it, the methodology "presupposes conceptual analysis in several gnoseological perspectives simultaneously if and when the external conditions require it" (Einstein 1949).

The fruitfulness of this method has been proved by many inquiries into the ontology of money based on the interconnectedness of diverse spheres of its existence. Georg Simmel offers a wide-ranging analysis of the social, psychological and philosophical aspects of money in the economy (Simmel 2004). Deborah Valenze (2006) presents a remarkable discussion of the social role of money in the British history combining economic, social, theological, linguistic and literary evidence. Marc Shell explores how money brings together philosophical thought, aesthetics and language and offers new methods of analyzing literary texts drawing on economic theory, philosophical writings and language (Shell 1983); elsewhere, Shell investigates social and semiotic connections of art, money, and religion in Western history (Shell 1995). Isabel Capeloa Gil and Helen Gonçalves da Silva give an insightful analysis of the manifold ways in which money shapes social relations and affects discursive practices. All these studies are characterized by four salient features: transdisciplinarity, cognitiveness, historicity, and structurally complex meaning. They hypothesize "a stratified view of meaning," whereby a surface structure is superimposed upon a deep one. The 'surface meaning' is situationally and contextually bound, whereas the 'deep meaning' represents an ideation system comprising generative models for cognitive conceptualizations" (Grav 2012).

Historically informed methods of research were recently enriched by *The New Economic Criticism,* a project at the intersection of economics and literary criticism. Worked out in the 1990s, it establishes a close relationship between literature and economics and offers new perspectives for analyzing literary texts drawing on "economic paradigms" as well as on a new type of money tropes (Woodmansee and Osteen 1999; Woodbridge 2003). Fictional characters and their actions are analyzed in economic terms. Thus, such concepts as 'value' or 'nobleness' are treated as market commodities; social interaction and human relations are viewed as exchangeable market values; what used to be regarded as 'faith' or 'loyalty' are treated as barely contractual relations (Grav 2012). Though interesting, the attempt to treat age-old concepts as 'fundamentally economic ideas' and well-known literary characters as *homo economicus* seems pushed a bit too far. However, the knowledge of economic background can help us in understanding and interpreting the figural language of the Tudor age and cast light onto the prevalent 'shared mentality'.

For some time, coins as such were considered the scope of numismatics. In this article, the Coin with its symbolic iconography is regarded as a meaning-saturated gestalt, on which converge politics, ideology, economics, and – imaginative literature. Coins are a familiar feature in sixteenth-century literary works. The importance of the artifact is validated in the language, where the word has acquired the meaning of 'money in general' as in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* "I have as much Coin as will buy the town" (Marlowe 1850) or in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* "[I paid] so far as my coin would stretch; and where it would not, I have used my credit" (Shakespeare 2006).

Tudor Coinage

It ought to be noted that the Tudor kings displayed different attitudes to money matters and the national coinage. Henry VII was the first king who confined his expenses to the limits of his income. His monetary policy had its aim to keep up the high quality of gold and silver coins, prevent counterfeiting and put an end to coins and bullion leaving the realm. Unlike his father, Henry VIII was a spendthrift. "In a few years he dissipated by the prodigal expenses of the youthful monarch, the immense wealth which his father's avarice had accumulated" (Ruding 1930). Henry VIII was the first to "recourse to the most disgraceful means to fill his coffers and stands recorded with infamy as the first of our English sovereigns who debased the sterling fineness of the coins"(ibid., p. 300). This period was called the *Great Debasement*. He left to his children a heavy burden of debt, coinage of inferior quality, and a monetary system in a state of chaos which was in need of serious remedy.

The only son of Henry VIII, Edward VI (1547 – 1553), whose personal contribution to the country's development, according to some historians, has been grossly underestimated, took care of the wretched state of the country's money. Coinage under Edward VI is recognized as one of the most complicated and interesting of the early modern period (Kelleher 2015). His efforts were carried on by Mary I (1553 – 1558), the first ruling Queen of England. In the proclamation of August 20th, 1553, she declared her determination to produce "coynes as well of gold as of silver of the perfect fineness" and of the "standard sterling" (Symonds 1912, p. 180). However, she had no time to complete the reforms; it was done by Elizabeth I (1558 – 1603), who brought the English coinage in the long run back to the pre-debasement standards.

The Tudor coinage is impressive in its plenitude and variety and informs much of drama discourse. In Shakespeare's *Henry IV* (part 1), there is a funny scene of bickering between Falstaff[1] and the Hostess of the tavern, in which they accuse each other of dishonesty. Falstaff accuses the lady of pick pocketing and stealing a precious "ring of his grandfather's worth forty mark", which after all turns out to be a cheap copper thing "some eightpenny matter;" the hostess blames Falstaff for never paying for shirts of "fine linen worth eight shillings an ell[2]" or repaying four and twenty pound she lent, to which he retorts, "Ill not pay a denier!" (Shakespeare 2006). The extract is illustrative of a mixture of native and foreign money names, hard coins and money of account, which made up England's currency in the 16th century.

Gold Coins

A semiotic approach requires that serious attention be paid to minute details of the coin design: "The essence of money resides not so much in its visible or material

[1]John Falstaff, the evil companion of Prince Hal, future King Henry V, appears in three plays by W. Shakespeare. He is fat, vain, boastful, and corrupt, but still a lovable personality, very popular with audiences that he conquered with his irresistible humor and lust for life.
[2]A unit of measurement (45 inches).

qualities as in numismatic engravings that are impressed into electrum ingots" (Shell 1995). The importance that was attached to symbolic elements of coins is illustrated by Shakespeare in his play *Henry VIII*, in the scene where Cardinal Wolsey[3] is accused of treason and multiple felonies, among which one of the gravest is "That, out of mere ambition, you have caused Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin" (Shakespeare 2006).

The Sovereign as a Symbol of absolute Royal Power

In 1489, under the pressure of historical circumstances – serious doubts over his legitimacy – HenryVII ordered "to make a new money of gold". It was to excel all the current gold coins at its grandeur. The new ostentatious coin had the purpose of glorifying the new dynasty both at home and abroad. Henry VII believed, as would his grandchildren, that the fineness of metal in the coins current in the realm would promote the prestige of his kingdom.

Figure 1. *Henry VII. Gold Sovereign*

Source: The Royal mint Museum. org.uk/journal/curators-corner/tudor-sovereign//

The new coin featured the King seated facing on the throne with scepter and orb (symbols of power) wearing a closed crown on the obverse and the Tudor rose on the reverse in the center of which there was a shield of the Royal Arms of England and France and a crown with crosses and fleur-de-lis above (Fig. 1). The pattern of an enthroned king with multiple symbols of royal power endured throughout the Tudor reign with variations depending on the immediate historical context. The legend engraved on the first sovereign read, "*But Jesus passing through their midst went His way*" refers to Luke's description of Jesus' return to his native town where he was rejected and nearly killed by the madding mob. His moral power and the strength of his faith awed the crowd, so Jesus quietly left Nazareth and went to Capernaum to preach and teach there. This sentence of Scripture resonates with Henry's own vision of his predestination: he had to fulfill the challenging task of appeasing England amidst baronial riots, abrasive relationships with Scotland and Ireland, plots and conspiracies inside and outside the country and transform it into the richest and most powerful country in Europe. Henry VII's successors left the design practically untouched adding some important symbols and reformulating legends. Thus, Henry VIII's replaced the closed crown with an imperial crown, a symbol of an empire England was becoming under the Tudors. Queen Mary chose for the legend a line from Psalm 118: "*This is the Lord's doing and it is marvelous*

[3]A poor boy from Ipswich, who became cardinal of the Catholic Church, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England.

in our eyes" (KJV 1611, Psalm 118: 23). The psalm is the *Te Deum* expressing gratitude to God for helping the righteous. A zealous Catholic, Mary considered her foreordination was to restore the True Faith and do away with Protestants by "*cutting them down*" and "*burning as thorns,*" which she actually did by the hundreds. However, in the works of the Elizabethan dramatists and poets there is no reference to this gold coin. Soon after minting the first gold sovereigns, Henry issued a skillfully executed new penny transferring on it the design of the sovereign, so that the new monetary unit received the name the "*sovereign penny*." The coin was short-lived because of the difficulties to reproduce the king's image.

The Pound as Money and a measure of Weight

Since its introduction, the sovereign had been the pound coin and equaled 20 shillings until, in 1594, Elizabeth I issued a different coin for the pound though she still kept the sovereign as a bullion coin and raised its value to 30 shillings. To differentiate between the two coins, she preserved the traditional design for the sovereign, and for the gold pound she chose her own bust profile in a beautifully ornamented dress with a ruff (Fig. 2). The legend read "*Scutum. Fidei. Proteget. Eam.*" [TheShield of Faith. It will Protect Her].

Figure 2. *Elizabeth I. Gold pound*

Source: Museums Victoria

The noun 'pound' has two semantic centers: 'a denomination of money' and a 'fundamental unit of weight'. Though the hard coin for the pound was minted, all the instances of the word usage in the discourses analyzed refer to money of account. The frequently used phrase – a thousand pound – is a cliché denoting 'a very big sum'; linguistically, it is based on partial delexicalization of the word 'thousand,' which loses its exact numerical meaning. I am far from asserting that this phrase was introduced or popularized by More in *Utopia,* where he described a country whose king was bound by a solemn oath "never have in his treasure above a thousand pound of gold or silver," which will be enough to quell rebels and wage "wars against the invasions of his foreign enemies" (More 1930). But the coincidence is striking. In *Richard II*, the inability to obtain a thousand pound for a military campaign against the contender for the throne, determines the fate of the ruling king. It is a favorite expression of Shakespeare's controversial character Falstaff, Prince Hal's leisure companion in both *Henry IV* plays; he repeats it several times under different circumstances: first, as a huge price he never means to pay, "I would give a thousand pound I could run as fast as thou canst" (Shakespeare 2006); second, as an exaggerated sum of his latest pillage, "there be four of us here have

ta'en a thousand pound this day morning" (ibid.,p. 249); third, as a sum of subsidy he tries to wring out of Lord Chief Justice for a military expedition he is sent on.

Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*, does not hold the pound in high esteem, "in his age be loath to labour so,/ And for a pound to sweat himself to death" (Marlowe 1850). However, for a hundred thousand pound he agrees to set a trap and massacre the Turks, but gets into this trap himself and dies a terrible death. Pounds function importantly in ballads, for example, in the ballad *The Scottish Field* a bribe is offered by the King of France to the Scotts to invade England while Henry VIII is in France laying siege to the town of Terwyn. He sends a messenger to the "mightie king of Scottes,/ And proffered him a present, of poundes many thousand/ For to wynde to that warre" (Robson 1855).

Pound as a measure of weight eclipses the monetary semantics, especially the "pound-of-flesh story" in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. It is the security demanded on a loan by the moneylender Shylock. The story had been known before the play was staged from ballads and plays by other authors, but Shakespeare imbued the phrase with such intensity of emotions, conflicting values, and worldview clashes that the phrase remained in the language as an idiom with the meaning 'something one is strictly or legally entitled to, but which it is ruthless or inhuman to demand'.

The Noble as a Symbol of National Maritime Policy

The gold *noble* (one third of the sovereign), introduced in 1354 during the reign of Edward III and minted for the last time under Edward IV (1442 –1483), was reinstated by Henry VIII as the *George noble* because the reverse for the first time carried the mounted St. George slaying the dragon, one the most prominent military saints and the patron saint of England (Fig. 3). The revival of the noble falls in well with the new ideology of imperialism. Originally, the coin was designed to commemorate the naval victory of Edward III over the French at Sluys in 1340 and had always been a symbol of maritime valor.

Figure 3. *Henry VIII. George Noble*

Source: Sovereign Rarities.

It is a rare case that the coin was berhymed in a poem by an anonymous author called *The Libelle* [treatise] *of Englyshe Polycye*, one of the first political poems expounding military and commercial advantages of securing command of the sea. The poet described in minute detail the impress on the obverse:

> Within the shypp is shewyd there the sayl
> And oure kynge of royall apparaylle,
> Wyth swerde drawen, bryght, sharp and extente,
> For to chastis enemyes vyolente;

So shulde he be lorde of the see about
To kepe enmyes fro wythine and wythoute,
And to be holde thorowgh Cristianyte
Master and lord environ of the see.

(Warner1926)

[Within the ship is shown the sail/ And our king in royal apparel,/ With the sword drawn, bright, sharp and long/ To chastise violent enemies/ So that He should be the lord of the sea/ To keep away enemies within and without/ And to be held throughout the Christian world/ Master and lord environ of the sea].

For the legend, Henry VIII chose the last two lines of the stanza from a hymn by Prudentius, a Roman Christian poet of the 4th century, who wrote hymns for daily use, and even for every hour of the day: "*Crux pellit omne crimen/ fugiunt crucem tenebrae/ tali dicata signo/ mens fluctuare nescit*" [The Cross dispels all darkness,/ All sin before it flies,/ And by that sign protected/ The mind all fear defies.] (Prudentius 1905). Back in the 15th century, the *Rose Noble* had also been called the *Royal*. Mary I reintroduced this name and raised the value to half the sovereign. The semiotics of the coin is fraught with a multitude of political ideas: it symbolizes the power of England exerted on the sea; its preponderance over the once strong enemies; the necessity to maintain naval supremacy in the world; vindication of the new expansionist imperialistic policy etc.

Another property of the coin, which goes under two names, is its capacity of generating intricate puns based on polysemy. Both names denote a person's social rank and a coin, which generates semantic ambiguity that can be interpreted in two different ways. Being sensitive to language intricacies, Shakespeare makes ample use of this phenomenon. In his play *Henry VI* (part 1), a short exchange of utterances between Joan La Pucelle and her father, a shepherd, when she disavows him and insists on her noble descent is an example of conceit, a popular stylistic device of the 16th century, based on the congeries of meanings 'nobleman' and 'gold coin'.

Joan La Pucelle: Peasant, avaunt! [go away!] You have suborn'd [bribed] this man, Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.
Shepherd: ' Tis true, I gave a noble to the priest the morn that I was wedded to her mother.

(Shakespeare 2006).

A more elaborate conceit used in *Henry IV* is based on the two words simultaneously and the change in the denomination of the Royal establishing a link between royalty and nobility and the value of the respective coins. King Henry IV's son causes him much trouble as he prefers to waste his time in taverns loafing, boozing and thieving. The king sends a nobleman to bring his son back to the palace.

Hostess: Marry, my lord, there is a nobleman of the court at door would speak with you: he says he comes from your father.
Prince Henry: Give him as much as will make him a royal man, and send him back again to my mother.

(Shakespeare 2006).

In other words, the prince tells the hostess to give the envoy a tip equaling the value of the Royal.

The Angel as a Sacramental Coin

"They have in England/ A coin that bears the figure of an angel/ Stamped in gold, but that's insculp'd upon" (Shakespeare 2006). This description is given by Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice* of the Angel coin. According to the semiotic theory, there are signs of great eminence, the so called sacramental signs, which are at once social and religious, whose sanctification is determined by social acceptance (Maritain 1937). The coin *Angel* meets all the requirements of a sacramental sign.

Figure 4. *Henry VIII. Gold Angel*

Source: coinupdate.com/history

In the Middle Ages, kings were believed to possess "miraculous powers of healing" a disease called 'scrofula' (a kind of tuberculosis, affecting glands of the neck) by simply touching the suffering person (Bloch 2015). In England, monarchs no longer touched a suffering person but instead gave some money; so a coin given to a sick person by the king became as good as the physical touch.

The Angel coin is used frequently in the plays and is the foundation for imagery based on the fusion of the concept of the coin and spiritual celestial beings. In Shakespeare's *King John*, the king is having problems with the Pope, who has excommunicated him for disobedience, so he sends the Bastard, the illegitimate son of Richard, *Coeur-de-lion* (Lionhearted), to England to plunder all the monasteries for gold but presents the expedition as setting free incarcerated angels.

> King John: And ere our coming, see thou shake the bags of hoarding abbots; set at liberty Imprison'd angels.
>
> (Shakespeare 2006)

In some cases the pun is more intricate and rather difficult to understand for the modern reader. Thus, in *Henry IV* (part 2), the Chief justice accuses Falstaff of corrupting Prince Hal and leading him astray. This instance of word play becomes clear if we understand the link between two meanings of the phrase 'ill angel': 1) 'evil spirit' and 2) 'bad coin'. The coinage was in dire state; many clipped, thinned, worn, and washed coins were circulating the economy, which resulted in their deficient weight, so coins were to be weighed if one side of the transaction doubted their authenticity. If a coin was too light, it meant that it was either counterfeit or spoilt in one of the ways mentioned above, so it could not be accepted as legal tender. Falstaff pretends that he takes the expression 'ill angel' in the monetary sense,

and with his corpulent physique he cannot be considered light, hence he cannot be considered a bad coin, meaning 'evil spirit'.

> Chief justice: You follow the young prince up and down like his ill angel [evil spirit].
> Falstaff: Not so .... Your ill angel [bad coin] is light, but I hope he that looks upon me will take me without weighing
>
> (Shakespeare 2006).

In the play *Richard II*, Shakespeare combines potential numismatic and metaphysical meanings, conflating the economic idea of payment and God's payment within the canonical theological understanding of reward. Richard has faith in the divinity of royal power as his protection. He, who is fighting a losing battle against Bolingbrook, still believes that God will be on his side because he is an anointed king.

> God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
> A glorious angel; then if angels fight,
> Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right.
>
> (Shakespeare 2006)

The most elaborate and perplexing imagery of the 'angelic' theme is presented in John Donne's Elegie *The Bracelet*. The speaker of the poem lost his mistress's gold bracelet, and the angry woman insists that he melt down gold *Angel* coins for a new piece of jewelry. The poet grieves over "the bitter cost" he has to pay for the lost bijou and develops a many layered metaphysical conceit in which several literary devices – extended metaphor, symbolism, and allusions – are at work.

He mourns "twelve righteous angels", a phrase fraught with double meaning: on the one hand, it is an allusion to celestial beings created by God, on the other, it is a reference to good old coins minted of high carat gold. Further lines may also refer to either plane: "Nor yet by any way have stray'd or gone/ From the first state of their creation" (Donne 1896). It may mean Angels before the Fall and expulsion from heaven and coins before the Great Debasement. This ambiguity continues in the next lines: "Angels, which heaven commanded to provide/ All things to me, and be my faithful guide" (ibid., p. 16), which allows of interpreting the created image as a Guardian Angel or as gold that provides all comforts of life.

The poet draws unexpected parallels between the two concepts. In the literal sense, coins are melted down in the 'furnace' by jewelers, but the prolific use of religious terminology and emotively charged lexical items such as 'sentence', 'sin', 'offences' imbues the context with transcendental symbolism of hell where the biblical fallen angels burn in the fires. The image of Gehenna and eternal punishment is developed further "When in that hell they're burnt and tied in chains" (ibid.,p. 16). The word 'chain' brings us back to a jeweler's workshop where gold is turned into elegant chains, which forms the framework for this passage characterized by the movement of perception back and forth between the metaphysical plane and reality.

The same image of hell and gold melting house combined is employed by Spenser in *The Faerie Queen*:

> Therein an hundred raunges weren pight,
> And hundred fornaces all burning bright;
> By euery fornace many feends did bide,
> Deformed creatures, horrible in sight,
> And euery feend his busie paines applide,
> To melt the golden metall, ready to be tride.
>
> (Spenser 1751)

> [Therein an hundred ranges were fixed, /And hundred furnaces all burning bright By every furnace many fiends did bide,/ Deformed creatures, horrible in sight, And every fiend his busy pains apply'd,/ To melt the golden metal, ready to be try'd.]

In contrast to Donne's exquisitely refined metaphors, Barnfield is more straightforward describing Angels as a Muse inspiring a poet and as hard money he has a perspective to earn for his verses. "Of thee I'le sing, and in thy Praise I'le write; You golden Angels helpe me to indite [write]"(Barnfield 1605). More touching lines are added in 1605 about the passing away of the Queen: she is with heavenly angels now but her image is stamped on gold coins: "But now more Angels then on Earth yet weare Her golden Impresse" (ibid., p. 14).

Though the Angel coin is in essence a sacramental sign, as hard coins they sometimes serve an unworthy cause. Green, a tenant displaced from his land, is hiring two cutthroats to kill Arden of Feversham[4], the landlord, in the play by that title. The villains willingly agree: "How? twenty angels? ... And if thou'lt have thy own father slain, that thou may'st inherit his land, we'll kill him... Ay, thy mother, thy sister, thy brother, or all thy kin" (Kyd 1897).

The Crown as a Symbol of Kingly Power and National Sovereignty

The Crown as a royal headdress is a symbolic reification of the abstract idea of monarchial power, which makes it the most cherished and craved for object of kings, their heirs, and all kinds of pretenders to the throne. In the thematic content of Shakespearean history plays, the crown becomes a literary stock motif. In *Richard II*, the climax of the play is the dramatic scene when Richard is forced to resign his crown. He says, "My crown I am," and tells Henry to hold to the crown, too: "Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize the crown;/ Here cousin:/ On this side my hand, and on that side yours" (Shakespeare 2006).

Thus the symbolic concept of the 'crown' with deep rooted meanings of royal power, sovereignty, burden etc. had been formed by the time Henry VIII took up the reins of power. Because of the scarcity of gold bullion, some foreign coins were permitted to circulate in England[5]. One such coin was the French *écu au soliel* (crown of the Sun). In 1526, it was decided to issue an English coin of the same value.

[4]In the sixteenth-century domestic tragedy *Arden of Feversham*, Thomas Arden, one of the richest inhabitants of a town, was murdered by a group of conspirators headed by his wife, Alice, and her lover, a tailor named Thomas Mosby. Arden's murder is finally revealed and the guilty parties are sentenced to death.

[5]For a more detailed analysis see Richard Kelleher's "Gold is the strength, the sinnewes of the world" in *British Numismatic Journal* 77.

The name 'Crown' prompted the design for Henry VIII's first English coins. Both obverse and reverse featured the Crown: the former had the Tudor rose topped by a large crown, the latter had a shield surmounted by a crown (Fig. 5).

Figure 5. *Henry VIII. Gold crown*

Source: Wikipedia

The legend read, "*Henry the Eighth a dazzling rose without a thorn*". This is a celebrated cliché from fourteenth-century Church Latin used in poetry versifying English military victories and glorifying English valor and maritime supremacy over the French. "Anglia regna, mundi rosa, flos sine spina./ Mel sine sentina, vicisti bella marina." [Kingdom of England, rose of the world, flower without a thorn,/ honey without sediment, you have won the war at sea] (Carlson 2012).

Literary texts of the time feature both the French crown, or *ecu,* and the English crown in various settings. In *Henry IV* (part 1), Edward Poins, a loyal friend of Prince Hal, a prankster with a heart of gold, when the prince was leading a disorderly life and was no stranger to adventure, abets the Prince in robbing pilgrims going to Canterbury with rich offerings. "We may do it as secure as sleep. If you will go, I will stuff your purses full of crowns; if you will not, tarry at home and be hanged" (Shakespeare 2006). In *Henry IV* (part 2), another friend of Prince Hal, Falstaff, joins the army and becomes a recruiter. Since all his life he has been living on stolen or borrowed money, he sees his chance to make quick money by taking bribes from recruits, who wish to avoid enlisting. Peter Bullcalf, a potential recruit, offers Falstaff a bribe of "Harry [debased shillings] ten shillings in French crowns" (ibid., p. 273).

Warfare constitutes the narrative arc of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The play gives a full picture of war, illuminates motifs of English and French kings and nobility, different attitudes to war of royal military men and ordinary soldiers, showcases war as an opportunity to make money, but above all, extols the role of Henry V in inspiriting his "war-warn ruin'd band" to victory. It seems that the language of war and the language of money are poles apart, all the more we are impressed at the virtuosity with which Shakespeare weaves coin names into the texture of bellicose language. In his inspirational speech, King Henry mocks the gilded epaulettes of French commanders and compares them to clipped coins[6]. As the word 'crown' also means 'the top of one's head,' it may also signify the loss of heads in battle.

[6]Coin clipping refers to the act of cutting off small amounts of precious metal from the edges of coins. Individuals could accumulate enough precious metal to melt down and sell, thus gaining wealth at the expense of the coin's value. The economic impact of coin clipping was disastrous. It led to inflation, as the value of money decreased, and mistrust in the currency system.

King Henry: Indeed, the French may lay twenty French crowns to one they will beat us, for they bear them on their shoulders. But it is no English treason[7] to cut French crowns, and tomorrow the King himself will be a clipper.

(Shakespeare 2006).

The imagery based on the multi-level word play (coin – royal regalia – head) had been successfully used by Shakespeare a year earlier in the play *Henry IV* (part 1), but had a more ominous edge in the mouth of Hotspur, a rebel and a bloodthirsty warrior, who is so obsessed with honor and the idea of armed conflicts that he would not stop at any possibility of violence. The famous lines "We must have bloody noses and crack'd crowns, And pass them current too" (Shakespeare 2006) may be given a purely economic reading that debased coins and silver coins cracked on the edges because produced with a screw press were to be accepted as legal tender. However, since we know the context – a rebellion and civil war – the reading becomes quite different and relates to wounds and smashed heads: the injured, the maimed, and the killed are the commonplace currency of war. This interpretation is supported by other contexts where soldiers are treated as coins: "not a soldier of this season's stamp should go so general current" (ibid., p. 256).

There are battlefield scenes when Pistol, one of Falstaff's old companions, a great braggart, but actually a coward, who hopes to make money from looting, threatens to mangle French captives unless they pay "crowns, brave [beautiful – N.D.] crowns." Ransom for life became a usual practice. What makes such scenes funny is how the characters struggle with the language barrier trying to communicate with each other.

French Soldier: Gardez ma vie, et je vous donnerai deux cent ecus. [Save my life, and I'll give you two hundred ecu].

Boy: He is a gentleman of a good house and for his ransom he will give you two hundred crowns.

Pistol: Tell him fury shall abate, and I the crowns will take.

(Shakespeare 2006)

The motif of villainy expressed in coin language is recurrent in many literary pieces. Black Will in *Arden of Feversham*, a former soldier, who is free of any scruples to kill a man is characterized by his old pal as a type who "bears so bad a mind/ That for a crown he'll murder any man" (Kyd 1897).

The disdainful attitude to French crowns is manifest in *Henry V*, when it concerns venality and treason. After the Southampton plot is exposed, the King accuses the three conspirators that they were paid by France with "treacherous crowns," an example of synecdochical transfer: people are treacherous → people take crowns → crowns are treacherous. Addressing Lord Cambridge, one of the conspirators, the weight factor is used again to deride the poor quality of French coins and condemn the base motifs of the traitors: "this man/ Hath, for a few light crowns, lightly conspired, to kill us here in Hampton" (Shakespeare 2006). The deep

[7]According to the law *Lèse-majesté* (to do wrong to majesty) it was considered treason to clip or counterfeit English crowns as they bore the monarch's image; French crowns did not come within the purview of the law.

meaning underlying lightness in reference to coins is that they do not contain enough precious metal, by transference to a person it is implied that he is not of fine mettle.

John Donne's scorn for *French crowns* is still more pronounced as he compares debased French coins to the "French disease":

> Were they but Crownes of France, I cared not,
> For, most of these, their naturall Countreys rot
> I think possesseth, they come here to us,
> So pale, so lame, so leane, so ruinous;
>
> (Donne 1896)

Silver Coins

The Shilling as Materialization of Ghost Money

At the end of Henry VII's life, a new hard silver coin was introduced for the unit of account known since the Anglo-Saxon times – the *Shilling.* The coin was named the *Testoon,* (from Italian *testone* 'head') better known among the English as the *Tester*. The coin is remarkable because for the first time a profile portrait of the King bore resemblance to the monarch. The obverse depicted a crowned profile portrait of King Henry VII looking right within inner circle. The reverse carried a square topped shield of arms over a long cross with fleury ends, the legend read, "*I have made God my helper*" (Fig. 6). The *Testoon* was struck in quantity under the reign of Henry VIII. It should be noted that silver coinage struck during the reign of Henry VIII was characterized by its increasing deterioration in intrinsic value, especially during the Great Debasement.

Figure 6. *Henry VII. Testoon*

Source: *Numista* coins

A baser kind of metal was used in minting the coin. For two years the new testoons were minted secretly and stored in the Palace of Westminster because they were shamefully debased. However, in May 1544, the debasement was officially approved by Parliament and the coins found their way into public circulation. There is a funny story related to it. Base metals such as copper were added to the alloy and the thin layer of silver on coins quickly wore off revealing the copper, so the tip of the King's nose on the portrait took on a reddish hue, due to which the nickname of Henry VIII '*Old Coppernose'* sprang up (Fig. 7). It caused much jesting among people and indignation on the part of devoted subjects. William Camden, the author of the history of the British Isles, describes how "Sir John Rainsford meeting Parson Brooke, the principal deviser of the copper coin, threatened him to break his head,

for that he had made his sovereign lord (the most beautiful prince King Henry) with a red and copper nose" (Camden1870).

Figure 7. *Henry VIII. The Testoon*

Source: AMRcoins.

Too much copper in the alloy, which colored the coins in a distinctive reddish hue, was ridiculed in many epigrams: comparison was drawn with shamefulness – debased coins were ashamed of themselves.

> Of Testons
> These testoons look red; how like you the same?
> Tis a token of grace; they blush for shame.
>
> (Heywood 1906).

The same image is applied to counterfeit coins:

> Which with Quick-silver, being flourisht over,
> Seemes to be perfect Silver, to the showe.
> If on a woollen Cloth, thou rub the same,
> Then will it straight beginne to blush, for shame"
>
> (Barnfield 1605).

The practice of adding copper in the alloy inspired the stinging lines in the play *Arden of Feversham*, addressed by Mosby to his mistress accusing her of insincerity: "... till now I knew thee not; And now the rain hath beaten off thy gilt,/Thy worthless copper shows thee counterfeit" (Kyd 1897).

In the reign of Edward VI, the testoons for the first time were called by their native name – shillings! Mary I's marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554 brought about a change in the iconography adding *vis-a-vis* portraits called "doble face" (Fig. 8), which were presented humorously in a jingle: "Still amorous, fond and billing[8]/ Like Philip and Mary upon a shilling" (Hawkins 1841).

Figure 8. *Philip & Mary. Shilling*

Source: Coins of England

[8]Caressing each other like doves with their beaks (bills).

Shakespeare uses both words (shilling and tester) in his plays. When Falstaff dares Hal to rob rich travelers, he taunts him by saying "There's neither honesty, manhood, nor good fellowship in thee, nor thou camest not of the blood royal, if thou darest not stand for ten shillings" (Shakespeare 2006) implicating the value of the *royal* coin and Henry's worthiness as a future King. When he teaches a recruit to manage a caliver,[9] to perk him up he offers a debased shilling, "Hold, there's a tester for thee" (ibid., p. 273).

The Mark as the only Unit of Account

Old calculation habits die hard. With the *pound* and the *shilling* receiving their respective hard coins, there remained only one unit of account – the *Mark*. Bacon mentions it in his description of a loan Henry VII borrowed from the City of London: "... he took a fit occasion to send the lord Treasurer to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest [obsolete 'a loan of money' – N.D.] of six thousand marks: but after many parleys, he could obtain but two thousand pounds" (Bacon1885).

The word 'mark' is recurrent in many plays. In *Henry IV* (part 1), Gadshill, a highway robber, hears that a rich gentleman is carrying a big sum of money and plans to rob him: "there's a franklin in the wild of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold: I heard him tell it to one of his company last night at supper"(Shakespeare 2006). King Henry VIII gives the old lady an hundred marks for the glad news about the birth of his daughter Elizabeth. But she is displeased with the sum because she thinks she is worth more. "An hundred marks! By this light, I'll ha' more. An ordinary groom is for such payment" (ibid., p. 685).

Silver Coins as Facilitators of Trade

The Groat

As trade was expanding and prices due to debasement were rising, the country was in need of new denominations to facilitate exchanges. In *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas, counting his gold, mocks at "The needy groom, that never finger'd groat" (Marlowe1850). When the blackmailers want to deprive Barabas of his riches, his slave threatens "not to leave him worth a grey groat" (ibid., p. 320).

The numismatic language of small coins is used by Shakespeare to describe his characters. In *King John*, Robert Faulconbridge (the Bastard) mockingly compares his half-brother's lean face to the profile on the coin. He is embittered that his brother is a rightful heir to their father's estate: "With half that face would he have all my land/ A half-faced groat five hundred pound a year!" (Shakespeare 2006). 'Half-face' also means 'a miserable look and unpromising countenance'. The coin became easy prey for counterfeiters. By 1548, mass counterfeiting had become a threat to the realm, it was decided to discontinue the coin.

[9]A type of light musket introduced in the 16th century.

The Penny and the Denier/doi

The inconveniences in the economy arising from the lack of small monies began to be severely felt. Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth tried to rectify the situation and gave orders to mint a large variety of small-denomination coins to ease exchanges and promote local economies.

There is no denying the fact that both native and foreign money names enriched the lexis and expressive means of the English language. The importance of the penny for the enrichment of the literary language is hard to overestimate. The small English coin acquired the meaning 'a small and insignificant quantity, a trifle,' which, in its turn, served as the basis for conceptualizing it as an intensifier with the meaning 'very little, next to nothing.' The penny-intensifier is used in *Henry VI* (part 2) by the Duke of Gloucester when he is accused of having taken bribes from French kings: "I never robb'd the soldiers of their pay,/ Nor ever had one penny bribe from France (Shakespeare 2006). In the play *Henry VIII*, Shakespeare masterfully uses the Biblical 'last penny'[10] as an intensifying expression. Fallen into disgrace, Cardinal Wolsey, who has amassed a vast fortune, when it is confiscated by the King, insists, "There take an inventory of all I have,/ To the last penny" (ibid., p. 681). The *Denier*, the oldest French coin often referred to as a 'silver penny,' struck by Richard the Lionhearted (1189-1199) for his French possessions, naturalized in England and enriched the English semiotic system with an abbreviation that still exists today – 'd' denoting a penny. Like their English counterpart, small coins – the denier and the doi – developed the function of intensifiers. Though rarely, these names are used in the language of drama adding foreign flavor to the text. In *The Merchant of Venice*, when concocting his diabolical plan, Shylock agrees to charge Antonio no interest on the loan. He promises to supply his "present wants, and take no doit / Of usance for my moneys" (Shakespeare 2006). In *Henry VI*, Gloucester, the King's uncle and Lord Protector of the realm, who is accused of venality, misappropriation of the Crown's money, and treason, challenges his opponents to furnish evidence against him: "That doit that e'er I wrested from the king,/Or any groat I hoarded to my use,/ Be brought against me at my trial-day!" (ibid., p. 24).

Edward VI was the first monarch to mint the *sixpence* and the *three pence coin*, the first coins that had their denomination in Roman numerals imprinted on the face. Other small silver coins produced in some quantity comprised *halfgroat* (two pence), *three-halfpence, three-farthings, and farthing.*

The obverse of the three-farthings shows a left-facing head of the queen, her hair flowing down her back and a rose behind to distinguish the coin from the penny (Fig. 9). The design of the coin and the then habit of wearing a rose behind the ear prompted Shakespeare a vivid description of a very thin person, "my face so thin/ That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose /Lest men should say 'Look, where three-farthings goes!'" (Shakespeare 2006).

[10]"Truly I tell you, you will not get out until you have paid the last penny" (NIV 1984, Matthew 5:26; Luke 12: 59). In KJV, it was "the uttermost farthing".

Figure 9. *Elizabeth I. Three Farthings*

Source: Wikipedia

The trouble with small coins was that they were not easily distinguishable from each other, which was used by counterfeiters to disguise the lesser coin for a more valuable one: they "washed out the roses/ In three-farthings, to make them pence" (Ruding1840). Another trick was the opposite – to attempt a rose on a groat (four pence), in order to pass it for a sixpence (Hawkins 1841). Falstaff mentions "gilt twopences" – another gimmick of counterfeiters to gild twopences in order to pass them off for half-crowns. Falstaff avails of this practice to turn it to a trope referring to lackluster people who try to look more distinguished or significant than they actually are:

> "...if you do not all show like gilt twopences to me, and I in the clear sky of fame o'ershine you, ... believe not the word of the noble" (Shakespeare 2006).

Other Names for Small Coins

Money stamped with a cross received the popular name 'crosses'. During the debasement, when silver was adulterated, there was a warning to receive them with caution: "But let not Mysers trust to Siluer Crosses,/ Least in the end, their gaines be turnd to losses" (Barnfield 1605). In *Henry IV,* Shakespeare draws parallelism with the well known Sentence of Scripture "And whoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple" (YLT 1862, Luke 14: 27). In *King Henry IV* (part 2), when Lord Chief Justice refuses to give Falstaff money for an expedition, he says: "Not a penny, not a penny; you' re too impatient bear crosses" (ibid., p. 265). The surface meaning of the phrase is that Falstaff parts with money very quickly and easily, but the deeper meaning is that he cannot tolerate a burden or suffering and cannot be entrusted with any responsibility. The same parallelism between the Holy Cross and coins is used by Barnfield to describe young people who forget about God in pursuit of riches and think that money can purchase absolution for sins.

> Who many times, hath not a Crosse to blesse him:
> But how can hee incurre the Heavens Curse,
> That hath so many Crosses in his Purse?
>
> (Barnfield 1605)

Occasionally, penny coins are mentioned by their medieval name of *sterling* implicating its material composition as in *Henry IV*, Lord Chief Justice admonishes Falstaff for not paying his debts: "Pay her the debt you owe her,... with sterling money" (Shakespeare 2006). The high quality of sterling coins produced the

meaning 'of full value, true, not counterfeit' which Shakespeare uses in *Richard II* in the epiphanal scene of abdication: "And if my word be sterling yet in England,/ Let it command a mirror hither straight" (ibid.,p. 223). Here, the king's word is equated to the coin (the ancient Greek pattern when one lexeme (sēmē) meant both 'word' and 'coin') of the highest finesse.

Among the discourses involving small silver coins there is an interesting case of using the name *Silverling*. Marlowe employs this diminutive name to express the Jew's contempt of non-gold coins: "Here have I purs'd their paltry silverlings/ Fie, what a trouble 'tis to count this trash!" (Marlowe 1850). But the name is charged with a more complicated deep meaning. The word occurred in Scripture where the sum of thirty silverlings has become proverbial and emblematic of the most odious betrayal in the history of mankind. "'What are ye willing to give me, and I will deliver him up to you?' and they weighed out to him thirty silverlings" (YLT 1862, Matthew 27:15). Another rare coin name used by Marlowe is '*plate*' derived from 'any flat piece of metal'. "Lodowick: Rat'st thou this Moor but at two hundred plates?" (Marlowe 1850).

Stylistic Devices based on Coin Names: Commodification and Animation

Being a material medium of the abstract concept of value, money extends its measuring capacity to all objects including people and turns them into commodities, evaluating their merits and demerits, social position, and their lives with a price-tag as in the expression a 'Turk of tenpence' frequently used by early writers. Money tropes give birth to a new world of images. The word 'price' in More's writings means 'esteem', e.g. "virtue is had in price and estimation" (More 1930). The earliest case of commodification is known from the Bible where Christ's blood and life are appraised and priced. "Then was fulfilled that spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'And I took the thirty silverlings, the price of him who hath been priced, whom they of the sons of Israel did price'" (YLT 1862, Matthew 27:9).

In Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the King's deplorable condition of being imprisoned, "unkinged", and alone in the "all-hating world" is described in money terms. A groom comes to look at the dethroned king and addresses him by the appropriate title. Richard raises the status of the groom by calling him 'noble' and acknowledges that his own position now is not worth the royal, but is ten groats cheaper (the then difference in the value of the two coins).

Groom: Hail, royal prince!
King Richard II Thanks, noble peer; The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.
(Shakespeare 2006)

Even the Church is not averse to the language of money. Blaming greed and acquisitiveness, the Preacher says:

> "Euerye couetouse manne is an Idolater, settinge that mynd and loue upon ryches, whiche oughte to be geuen vnto God onely. Evreye covetouse man is proude, thynkynge himselfe more worthy a *pound*, than an other man a *penye*" (Lever 1871).

This excerpt from a sermon is an illustration of how proud people think high of themselves and treat disparagingly other people comparing themselves to the *pound sterling* and the rest to the small coin – the *penny.* Money intrudes on the domain of morality; in his essay *Of Goodness,* Bacon admonished against measuring people in money terms: Men should be judged by their "Minds, and not their Trash[11]" (Bacon 1885). In the tragedy *Richard III*, Gloucester, is exasperated that "the nobility is held in contempt" and high positions are granted to people of low origin and doubtful merits: "... many fair promotions/ Are daily given to ennoble those/ That scarce, some two days since, were worth a noble" (Shakespeare 2006).

The opposite is the process of animation (personification), which means conversion from the inanimate to animate category, an attempt to create affinity between money and living beings. Personification takes different forms. For example, Donne represents money as living Nature: "As streames, like veines, run through th'earth's every part, Visit all Countries" (Donne 1896). Elsewhere, he equates coins to martyrs and endows them with human soul: "Unto the fire these Martyrs I betray./ Good soules, (for you give life to everything), / Good Angels, (for good messages you bring)" (ibid., p, 17). In his lamentations, Shylock mentions intermittingly the ducats and his daughter, as if both were his own flesh and blood: "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!" (Shakespeare2006, p. 233). The same device is used by Marlowe: "Barabas: O my girl, My gold, my fortune, my felicity ... O girl! O gold! " (Marlowe 1850).

The names Pennyboy, Sir Penny, Lady Money, Lady Pecunia, Mammon (riches) are an attempt to portray money as personalities and endow them wirh human qualities. Lady Pecunia is a beautiful, capricious, ever-changing Queen of hearts:

> The famous Queene of rich America.
> Goddesse of Gold, great Empresse of the Earth,
> O thou that canst doo all Thinges vnder Heauen:
> That doost conuert the saddest mind to Mirth.
>
> (Barnfield 1605)

Mammon is an ugly, horrendous "God of the world and worldlings" (Spenser 1751), lord of gold and riches. In *Utopia,*More describes Pride of having money as a hell hound, who "crepeth in to mens hartes, and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of liffe" (More 1930). The same concerns are expressed by Shakespeare's Bastard in *King John.* In his famous soliloquy, he denounces a world in which "Commodity [profit, advantage – N.D.] is the bias of the world."

> The world, who of itself is peised well,
> Made to run even upon even ground,
> Till this advantage, this vile-drawing bias,
> This sway of motion, this Commodity,
> Makes it take head from all indifferency,
> From all direction, purpose, course, intent
>
> (Shakeapeare 2006).

[11]Used contemptuously of money.

Conclusion

The Tudor period is historically unique, so is its monetary system in relation to material and nonmaterial culture. Like anything else, the Tudor coinage was undergoing dramatic transformations. Being a semiotic sign communicating via its iconography and legends important ideological and political messages, coins became a vehicle of propaganda for the monarchs regnant, the more so as representational portraits were replaced by recognizable, lifelike images of the sovereigns. Mercantile thinking, economic ideas and money language were reaching into every aspect of cultural, political, religious, and ethical spheres. The liaison of the economic and the spiritual opened up novel venues in the sixteenth century worldview.

Symbolism is present importantly in coins' iconography: it includes royal insignia (orb, throne, crown) and dynastic badges (Tudor rose), which bear profound political meaning of sovereignty and absolutism perpetuated in coin names *sovereign, royal, crown.* Another important symbol is the *Ship*, which promulgated a doctrine of England's naval supremacy. Religious symbols and legends from Scripture intended to bolster the divinity of regal power (the Holy cross, images of saints). In sum, coins embodied national ethos and disseminated ideologemes of the ruling sovereigns.

Coin idiomaticity penetrated the drama and poetry of contemporary English writers producing exuberance of tropes based on novel associations and mercantile thinking. The cognitive basis of a new figural style is economic changes and problems with the coinage (debasement, counterfeiting, clipping, etc.). The deep affinity established between money and human beings entails new modes of characterization, in which monetary measurement replaces moral and religious appraisals and adds nuances to the evaluative dimension of ethics, and aesthetics. Cutting through all cultural domains, money language became instrumental in shaping a new mindset.

A small piece of metal – the Coin – encapsulates the material, the social, and the literary. Echoing Vissarion Belinsky[12], who wrote that Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* was an "encyclopedia of Russian life" we can say that the Tudor coinage is an "encyclopedia of life" of 16th century England.

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