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The Anglo-Catholic Perspective of George Gascoigne's 1572 *Masque of Montacutes*

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When considering Gascoigne's 1572 masque, scholars often point out the poet's ingenuity in connecting the surname of his patron with the Montagues and Capulets of the Romeo and Juliet story and in interweaving that fictional feud with two historical events which had recently taken place in the Mediterranean: the siege of Famagusta and the Battle of Lepanto. Building on this work, this essay revisits the sociopolitical premises of Gascoigne's text, emphasizing their transnational character and considering how the triangulation of Englishness, Catholicism, and the dehumanization of the Turks fit into the Elizabethan cultural context.

In 1572, while 'indebted to a greate number of personnes' (as an undated petition to the privy council states),[1] George Gascoigne was lucky enough to be commissioned to write what has been called his 'earliest *original* work in drama':[2] the text of an aristocratic entertainment which took place either at Montacute House in London or at Cowdray Park, Sussex, in September or October that year.[3] This entertainment celebrated the double wedding of Anthony Browne with Mary Dormer, and Elizabeth Browne with Robert Dormer. The Brownes were the children of Anthony, the first viscount Montacute/Montague and lord lieutenant of Sussex, while Robert Dormer would become first baron Dormer in 1615. The text of Gascoigne's entertainment appeared a few months after the wedding in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* with a long title which can be shortened to 'Gascoigne's Device of a Masque for the Right Honourable Viscount Montacute'.[4] The organizers of the masque had bought Venetian-style costumes and asked Gascoigne to fashion a story that justified this choice of clothing:[5] since eight gentlemen 'had alredy … caused their garments to be cut of the Venetian fashion -… they entreated Master Gascoigne to devise some verses to be uttered by an Actor wherein mighte be some discourse convenient to render a good cause of

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the Venetians presence' (0.10–17). Scholars often point out Gascoigne's ingenuity in connecting not only the Montacutes' surname with the Montagues (and Capulets) he and many of his contemporaries had read about in Arthur Brooke's *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet* (first published in 1562 and reprinted in 1567) and William Painter's translation of Pierre Boaistuau's novella (1567), but also in interweaving the feud of the Montagues and Capulets with two historical events which had quite recently taken place in the Mediterranean. The first was the siege of Famagusta (Cyprus), August 1570 to September 1571, the result of which was the Ottomans' seizing control over that Venetian possession. The second event was the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), which marked a defining, though much more symbolic than lasting, victory of the major Catholic powers of Southern Europe over the Turks.[6] The realization that Lepanto had not been an ultimate triumph 'did not dim enthusiasm for an idealization of this battle, which lingered in the Elizabethan imagination, although England had had no involvement in the battle whatsoever'.[7]

This essay explores the Anglo-Catholic perspective of Gascoigne's masque and highlights the transnational dimension offered in the text. Which and whose narratives are involved? And what is the purpose of the mixture of languages the masque uses? The essay argues that Gascoigne's reliance on the 'enslaved Christian boy trope' of Italian drama, the presence of a subtext concerning the crusades, and the use of multiple European languages contribute to the construction of an Englishness which is called upon to minimize the internal confessional divide between Catholics and Protestants and unite against a common enemy (the Ottomans).

The entertainment started with the entrance of a boy actor who identified himself as an English-born Montacute on his mother's side and started to explain, in a long monologue written in poulter's measure, 'why [he] go[es] outlandish-like, yet being english borne' (16). His father, a soldier, had fought and died at Famagusta, and the boy had been captured and enslaved by the Turks. Later, at the Battle of Lepanto, he had been freed by his relatives, the Venetian Montacutes. One of them had thus identified himself: he

> Confess[ed] that he was himselfe a *Mountacute*,
> And bare the selfe same armes that I did quarter in my scute:
> And for a further proofe, he shewed in his hat,
> This token whiche the *Mountacutes* do beare always, for that
> They covet to be knowne from *Capels* where they passe,
> For ancient grutch[8] which long ago tween those two houses was.(259–64)

The Montacute boy expresses his desire to be educated in Italy 'That so [he] might at laste reedifye the walles, / Which [his] good father had decayde by tossing fortunes balles' (287–8), but a sudden, preposterously strong tempest has cast them onto the 'Chalkie' shores of the 'lande hight *Albyon*' (293, 294). They have now come to ask hospitality among these noble lords and ladies. They are welcomed and the boy selects on their behalf Thomas, the Viscount's fifth son, as their ambassador. Thus, Gascoigne merges Brooke's narrative with the account of battles taking place in the Mediterranean and frames them from an English perspective.

Gascoigne's text deliberately does not thematize differences between Protestants and Catholics: this choice is very important, since the Dormers and the Montacutes were 'prominent Catholic families'.[9] The text demonizes Turks as 'hellish f[i]ends' (107), bloodthirsty slave-masters prone to raping women and to pederasty — 'the fowle abuse of boyes in tender yeares' (109), like the narrator himself, who is compared to Ganymede (6). The text also refers to the Turks' opponents as 'Christians' (twelve occurrences of the word) and praises their military feats: '*all* honest christian eares' must 'abhor' (110, italics mine) and fight against the Turk, described as a satanic 'prince of pride' (28).[10] In his excellent 2023 essay, Stephen Hamrick has delved into the peculiar ideological substratum of Gascoigne's masque and convincingly argues that in 'Domesticating the victory over the Turk at Lepanto … Gascoigne's *Devise of a Maske* suggests that the viscount embrace an aggressively oppositional form of Catholicism'.[11] Anthony Browne, the first viscount Montague, was an unapologetic Catholic who, in several diplomatic employments, had tried to negotiate a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Habsburg Charles II, archduke of Austria (who ended up marrying his own niece, Maria Anna, in 1571), and managed to consistently occupy august political positions. William J. Sheils summarizes Browne's political stance thus:

> The career of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, can be taken as an example of the moderate tendency within English Catholicism … Browne never explicitly endorsed Catholic activism, was untouched by the Throckmorton and Babington conspiracies, in which some of his Sussex neighbours and relatives were embroiled, and he consistently supported those who argued for some conformity to the Established Church rather than out-right recusancy, remaining a 'church papist' himself throughout his life. Despite his acknowledged Catholicism, Montague continued to play a part in local government throughout the 1580s and even in national affairs, being enlisted as one of the opponents of his activist co-religionists as a commissioner at the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots.[12]

Hamrick writes insightfully about Gascoigne's choice of Thomas Browne, the viscount's fifth son, as the Venetians' 'tronchman' (355), ie their speaker and ambassador: Hamrick suggests that Thomas was involved in the 1569 Northern Rebellion and/or the 1570 Ridolfi plot (which saw the participation of the viscount's second son, George) and the masque could suggest that 'much as the son exchanges secret communications with victorious imperial Catholics, Montague should also engage in such conversations, as he had in the past'.[13] The viscount probably knew that Gascoigne's 'father, Sir John Gascoigne of Cardington, Bedfordshire, was a Catholic',[14] and the entertainment seems to 'offe[r] distinct support for an international activist Catholicism':[15]

> Repeatedly identified as Venetians or Italianated Englishmen in need of 'protection' and as 'Christian' victors over God's scourge the Turk, these masked Montacute / Montague householders boldly project a Catholic identity of active political and religious engagement that, in Protestant England, would require, and did receive, the protection of Viscount Montague. Until about 1572 and, to a lesser extent, until his death in October 1592, in fact, Montague remained an 'insider' serviceable to the Crown and, at the very least, remained able to protect an entourage of activist Catholic associates and family members hostile to the Crown.[16]

No small feat, considering that in the 1570s viscount Montague was operating 'in a post-Lepanto moment in Catholic culture … immediately after Pius V [had] issued the Papal Bull excommunicating Elizabeth I, *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570), amid subsequent further isolating of England within a largely Catholic Europe'.[17]

The idea of a happy ending for a Christian boy enslaved by the Turks may have come to Gascoigne not just as a common Western trope but, more directly, through Italian drama. Gascoigne, of course, knew the Dulippo story in Ariosto's *Suppositi*, which he had translated in 1566. This play states that when the Turks seized Otranto in 1480 ('at the losse of *Otranto*', 67),[18] Dulippo was a five year old boy who was captured and then sold as a servant for twenty-four ducats in Sicily, to be then brought to Ferrara. This plot motif can be found in many comedies of the Italian Renaissance: for example, in the first Italian comedy in prose, Bibbiena's *La Calandria* (1533), the identical twins Lidio and Santilla come from Modon (modern-day Methoni), a Venetian possession in the Peloponnese which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1500. A merchant, Perillo, finding Santilla (who had been disguised as a boy by her nurse) a slave in Constantinople, and then ransoming her, brings her to Rome where she will be reunited to her long-lost brother.[19] This play recontextualizes Plautus's *Menaechmi* in this respect,

since, in Plautus's comedy, one of the Syracusian twins is stolen at the Tarentum games by an Illyrian merchant of Epidamnus: in Plautus, all the characters belong to a common Greek-speaking world (refashioned from a Roman perspective).[20] The plot motif of the anagnorisis of a Christian boy enslaved by the Ottomans quickly became a staple of Italian comedy (frequently featuring elements taken from Plautus's *Captivi*, as in Giovanni Francesco Loredano's *La Malandrina*, 1587): the Florentine playwright Giovan Maria Cecchi (who made use of the motif in comedies such as *Il Medico*, aka *Il Diamante*, 1557) has a character in his farce *La Gruccia* even cry out: 'Ah Turcacci, e' son pure e' Turchi, Turchi!' (Ha, those wicked Turks, those Turks are actual Turks!), commenting on, and at the same time perpetuating, the ubiquity of the stereotype.[21]

Thus, Italian drama, along with actual historical events (a great number of Christian prisoners were freed after Lepanto), could have influenced Gascoigne in his thematic choice. Undeniably, he was familiar with some Italian plays, since he adapted Dolce's *Giocasta* (together with Kinwelmersh) and Ariosto's *I Suppositi*; besides, as C.T. Prouty puts it, 'To a young man aspiring for courtly grace, a knowledge of Italian literature was a necessity'.[22] Building on these Italian models, Gascoigne's masque provided 'the first dramatic representation of a (fictionalized) Englishman enslaved by Turks'[23]: for this matter alone, this text deserves to be known more widely.[24] The boy in the masque, like all of his Italian antecedents, more or less explicitly voices the need for a common Christian front against the Ottomans, and the fact that he is an English boy ready to take up Italian culture to 'reedifye the walles' (287) of his father's house, is quite powerful from a symbolic point of view.

Notably, moreover, Gascoigne put special emphasis on the fact that the boy is a Montacute on his mother's side and the son of a Monthermer knight. William Spates comments: 'Wisely, Gascoigne chooses an extinct family who were distantly related to the Montacutes to ameliorate Sir Mounthermer's threatening Anglo-Catholic militarism, as the long dead could not be presently treasonous'.[25] Arguably, however, Gascoigne must have studied the family tree of the Montacutes (whom he needed to ingratiate himself with) quite carefully and decided to give significance to a particular branch for a specific reason: he knew who the first Monthermers were, that is, a family which could easily evoke the theme of the crusades. Ralph de Monthermer (1270–1325) was a commoner who married the English princess, Joan Plantagenet of Acre, daughter of Edward I Longshanks and the Spanish Eleanor of Castile. Joan, as her title suggests, was born in Acre in modern-day Israel, because her parents at the time had been participating in what has often been called the last crusade. The fall of Acre of 1291 brought an end to

the permanent crusader presence in the holy land. Joan had planned to take part herself in a new crusade but military events in Scotland prevented her from going; she left 'enough money for five armed men to fight in the east "for the destruction of God's enemies"'.[26] After the death of her first husband, Gilbert de Clare, she married his squire, Ralph de Monthermer, and in 1343, John, first baron Montacute, married their descendant, Margaret de Monthermer: these were the ancestors of Gascoigne's patrons. Besides, it is not entirely true that 'the Mounthermer family line was, by the time of the masque's composition, long extinct';[27] the last baroness Monthermer was Margaret Pole (the mother of Reginald Pole, the last Catholic archbishop of Canterbury, and of Henry, first baron Montague), who was executed in 1541 and was considered a Catholic martyr. The Poles were related to the Brownes and, not coincidentally, the first person to welcome Reginald Pole back to England under Queen Mary (after twenty-two years) had been precisely Anthony Browne in November 1554.[28] On their part, the Montacutes themselves had profound connections with the crusades: for instance, Gawen de Montacute was a grand master of the Hospitallers who in 1223 accompanied John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, to England to solicit aid for the holy land,[29] while Simon Montacute, bishop of Worcester, was one of the most fervent English propagandists for a crusade in the early fourteenth century.[30] Quite possibly, Gascoigne used these links with the crusades to make his message strike home: Catholics and Protestants should unite as Christians against their common religious enemy. This aspect is interesting because it quite evidently goes against Queen Elizabeth's general policy of fostering an amicable relationship with the Ottomans (also considering that she had been excommunicated by Pope Pius V in February 1570).

However, according to Vassilili Markidou, the juncture of Mediterranean geo- and maritime politics and a wedding between two Anglo-Catholic aristocratic families made it possible for Gascoigne

> to record and interpret the internal 'Other' — the Turkish/Venetian — in order to reinforce as well as subvert English identity … the masque upholds yet also challenges the status of Christian Europeans as the defenders of their civilization against the military, religious and cultural threat of the 'barbaric' Turk, so as to respond to early modern England's own struggles with domestic, and in particular, sectarian divisions.[31]

In contrast with Markidou's argument, I would argue that the text does not in fact 'subvert' English identity: it shows that Englishness can contain multiple

facets and strive toward unity, although the process implies a reconsideration of one's values and ideological agendas. As I will show shortly, Gascoigne's point of not demonizing (Catholic) Spaniards served his patrons' political aspirations, but, besides that, he made sure to portray the Turks in the worst possible way, in contrast with the English heroes of the narrative. The fact that the boy and his father are shown to be quintessentially English and yet are related to a Venetian branch of the family does not seem to have the effect of questioning one's nationality, but paves the way to a consolidation of English power and prestige.

Gascoigne's text is intriguingly characterized by the use of multiple European languages, and I suggest that this feature may also reflect the aspirations of the Montacutes to foster a common, imperialistic, Anglo-Catholic front. For instance, the boy asks: 'wherefore maruaile you *mez Dames*' (2) and similarly mixes English and French when narrating that his father had rigged a bark called '*Leffort Brittayne*' (58)[32] to later come and 'pay *son Dieu son droit*' (248). The boy has learned a bit of Italian from his Venetian relatives; he addresses them thus: '*Siate di buona voglia*, My lords be wel apayde' (296) and '*Guardate Signori*' [Look, gentlemen] (347). The Venetian lords' ambassador refers to the '*Gentilezza*' [courtesy] that 'dwell[s]' in the 'ladies eyes' (362), and the boy finally salutes everyone with 'I your *Servidore*, *vibascio* [sic] *le mani*' [I, your servant, kiss your hands] (375), although admitting, 'These words I learnt amongst them yet, although I learnte not many' (376). Quite interestingly, the boy's father is said to have been a soldier of fortune for the Spanish: a '*Soldado* for his life, and in happie daies / *Soldado* like hath lost his life, to his immortal prayse' (25–6). This consideration should lead us to question Linda Bradley Salamon's view that 'In Gascoigne's representation, Turks and Spaniards — alike proud, cruel, tyrannical, vengeful, lascivious — have been sutured together in reciprocal violence', referring to 'Gascoigne's thought [being] structured by his long-standing suspicion of foreigners, especially Spaniards'.[33] It really must be stressed that, in the masque, the Spanish are not portrayed negatively in any way, quite in contrast with other writings of Gascoigne, where, according to Salamon, 'the Spaniards are the ultimate corrupting, demonic enemy'.[34] In the masque, the feats performed by the Venetians and Habsburgs alike make the boy 'feele the bloud … tickle in [his] brest' (217). His heart is 'pierst' by 'joy' (218) at seeing the works performed by the 'triumphant hand' (222) of Don John of Austria (the illegitimate half-brother of Philip II who led the holy league against the Ottomans), who is not connoted in any way but positively. The 'generall of *Spayne*' (211) is seen as a Christian hero. The corresponding passage in Gascoigne's source (*Letters Sent from Venice Anno 1571*) refers to Don John as 'the Catholyke Generall'.[35] Tellingly, Gascoigne omits the

adjective. There is no internal textual reason why we should believe that 'Gascoigne not only displays an overwhelming anti-Turk attitude, he also depicts a dark European facet by presenting occasions of cruel behavior on their part'.[36] In the text of the masque, such European behaviour is not seen as problematic at all and is conceived to fit congruously in the context of a wedding feast. That we today find the image of a Ganymede 'relishing [such a] gruesome sight'[37] very disturbing is a different matter.[38]

I argue that the polyglot expressions interspersed in Gascoigne's *Device of a Masque* evoke a world in which communication among different European countries can take place under the banner of a common cause and religion. Quite differently, in *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* (1576) Gascoigne would use 'the term "Catholique" … sarcastically to denigrate Spanish soldiers' and, in the same year, in *The Steele Glas*, 'he humanises the Turks by asserting that they "live in better wise / Than we"'.[39]

How do we account for this difference in representation? Put simply, as Laurie Shannon reminds us, Gascoigne 'was a mercenary',[40] just like the boy's father in the masque, who, 'like a venturer (besides him seemely selfe) / Determined for to venture [his son] and all his worldly pelfe' (59–60). Gascoigne was absent at the Mountacute-Dormer wedding and never saw the performance of the masque because he had already crossed the channel and joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to prevent the French from holding Vlissingen/Flushing in Zeeland. He was also present at the Relief of Goes (October 1572), a city of the Spanish Netherlands besieged by the Dutch forces with the support of English troops. So much for creating a common Catholic front! Perhaps precisely while, whether in London or Sussex, Anglo-Catholic aristocrats were hearing Gascoigne's words praising the Hapsburg-led victory over the Turks, he was fighting against the Hapsburgs themselves. It is important to take into account that, when one contextualizes the plight of Elizabethan authors in search of patronage, one often meets with opportunism, but, as Gillian Austen usefully points out, 'Although [Gascoigne's] quest for preferment meant that every work had its pragmatic agenda, opportunism does not preclude serious literary ambition or experimentation. Indeed, Gascoigne often exploits the particular conditions of an opportunity to shape his poetic invention'.[41]

In the case of this masque, Gascoigne found it expedient to further the Anglo-Catholic imperialistic aspirations of at least some of the members of the community which were the intended receivers of the text, and skilfully wove together different narrative strands (anti-Turk propaganda, Italian comedies, the Romeo and Juliet story) and historical events in order to show that Englishness could (and

should) embrace Catholicism. In other, later texts, he operated much differently. 'Gascoigne refines his portrait according to the needs of his patrons … and his death in 1577 prevents us from assessing whether he would have pursued Catholic patronage again'.[42] We do know that, through his masque, Gascoigne gained the favour of the Montacutes: he was elected burgess to parliament from Midhurst in Sussex, a seat controlled by the family, although there were some problems with the election and he did not accept it, busy, as he was, in escaping from creditors and fighting in the Netherlands, in his ever-constant pursuit of patronage.

Notes

1 Quoted in G.W. Pigman III, 'Gascoigne, George (1534/5?–1577), author and soldier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10421.

2 Arthur F. Kinney, 'Introduction', in *Selected Essays on George Gascoigne*, ed. Gillian Austen (London and New York, 2023), 1–9, 5, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003112082-1.

3 Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue,* vol. 2: 1567–89 (Oxford, 2012), s.v. '526. Wedding Masque of Venetians', https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780199265725.book.1.

4 Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Gascoigne's text refer to G.W. Pigman III, ed., *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (Oxford, 2000), https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198117797.book.1; line numbers are indicated parenthetically. I have also made sure to consult the 1573 edition as well.

5 See Marion Trousdale, 'Shakespeare's Oral Text', *Renaissance Drama* 12 (1981), 95–115, 96.

6 Gascoigne documented himself on these events mainly through William Malin's *The True Report of all the Successe of Famagosta*, a freshly printed English translation of Count Nestore Martinengo's eye-witness account which had been published in 1571 in several Italian cities as *L'Assedio et presa di Famagosta*, as well as the anonymous pamphlet *Letters Sent from Venice*. On the former, see Robert R. Cawley, 'George Gascoigne and the Siege of Famagusta', *Modern Language Notes* 43.5 (1928), 296–300, https://doi.org/10.2307/2914136. On the latter, see Katherine Muskett, 'A New Source for Gascoigne's "A Devise of a Maske"', *Notes and Queries* 71.1 (2024), 31–2, https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjad129.

7 David M. Bergeron, '"Are we turned Turks?": English Pageants and the Stuart Court', *Comparative Drama* 44.3 (2010), 255–75, 257, https://doi.org/10.1353/cdr.2010.0001. Indeed, it seems almost ironical that one of the sources of the masque, the *Letters Sent from Venice*, ends with the striking device of a woman holding two horses with the motto 'Armipotenti Angliae' [to England, the powerful in arms] (originally the printer's device of Nicholas England which then was used by Henry Bynneman).

8 Compare William Painter's 'auncient grudge' (*The Second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure*, London, 1567; USTC: 506703), 247, probably the source of Shakespeare's use of the phrase, whereas Arthur Brooke had more generally 'And then, of grudging enuyes roote, / blacke hate and rancor grewe … So of a kyndled sparke of grudge, / in flames flashe out theyr yre' (*The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, London, 1562; USTC: 505943), A2r.

9 Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne* (Cambridge, 2008), 63, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781846156434.

10 William Malin, in the dedicatory epistle of his 1572 *True Report* to Robert Dudley, first earl of Leicester, whom he calls 'not onely a great fauourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protector' of 'preachers and ministers of true Religion' (A3r), made a point of stating that the Turks are 'auncient professed enemies to *all* Christian Religion' (A4v, italics mine). Malin, *The True Report of all the Successe of Famagosta* (London, 1572; USTC: 507503).

11 Stephen Hamrick, '"Certain Decayed Men". Gascoigne's Catholic Maske', in *Selected Essays on George Gascoigne*, ed. Gillian Austen (London and New York, 2023), 79–104, 80, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003112082.

12 William J. Sheils, 'The Catholic Community', in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London and New York, 2011), 254–70, 262, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315736044. For an in-depth analysis of the stakes facing the viscount, see Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion* (Cambridge, 2006), 68–177, https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511496004.

13 Hamrick, '"Certain Decayed Men"', 93.

14 Vassiliki Markidou, '"I goe outlandishe lyke, yet being Englishe borne": Catholic England, the Ottoman Empire, Venice, and Fragile Identities in George Gascoigne's *A Devise of a Maske for the Right Honorable Viscount Montacute*', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 37.2 (2011), 79–95, 80, https://doi.org/10.1163/23526963-90000414.

15 Hamrick, '"Certain Decayed Men"', 96.

16 Ibid, 87.

17 Markidou, '"I goe outlandishe lyke"', 82.
18 George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (London, 1573; USTC: 507655).
19 See also, for instance, Giovanni Battista della Porta's *La Turca* (1606), set on the island of Lesina (modern-day Hvar, Croatia), which, in a final anagnorisis, identifies Dergut Rais as the Venetian governor's son who had been kidnapped by the Ottoman admiral 'Ucchialì' (Uluç Ali, d. 1587), and who, once circumcised and enslaved, had a successful military career.
20 See Timothy J. Moore, *The Theater of Plautus: Playing to the Audience* (Austin, 1998), 50–66, https://doi.org/10.7560/752085.
21 Giovanni Maria Cecchi, *Drammi spirituali inediti*, ed. Raffaello Rocchi, vol. 1 (Firenze, 1895), 309.
22 C.T. Prouty, *George Gascoigne. Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier, and Poet* (New York, 1966), 227.
23 William Spates, 'Gascoigne's *Device of a Masque*: an Anglicized "True Report" of the Siege of Famagusta', in *City of Empires: Ottoman and British Famagusta*, ed. Michael J.K. Walsh (Cambridge, 2015), 13–21, 14. See also Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563–1760* (Leiden and Boston, 2014), 72, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004264502.
24 It was also one of the first times that Venice was portrayed in an English work of fiction: see Anne Geoffroy, 'L'invention de Venise: *A Devise of a Maske for the Right Honourable Viscount Montacute* (1572) de George Gascoigne', *Actes des congrès de la Société française Shakespeare* 28 (2011), 107–19, https://doi.org/10.4000/shakespeare.1617.
25 Spates, 'Gascoigne's *Device of a Masque*', 18.
26 Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), 141, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781782040866.
27 Katherine S. Muskett, *Visions of Cyprus on the Early Modern English Stage, 1570–1630* (PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 2023), 64, https://research-information.bris.ac.uk/en/studentTheses/visions-of-cyprus-on-the-early-modern-english-stage-1570-1630).
28 A.J. Richardson, 'Cardinal Pole's Visitation in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, 1556', *Records of Huntingdonshire*, 3.6 (1998), 23–35, 23. See also Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, 70: 'The choice of the Montague title in 1554 was a reference, therefore, to a recent Henrician political martyr. It may conceivably have been a self-association with the imminent return to England of Reginald Pole, the great enemy of Henry's massive ecclesiastical pretension'.
29 Matthew Paris, *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum, sive, ut Vulgo Dicitur, Historia Minor*, ed. Frederic Madden, vol. 2 (London 1866), 259.

30 Timothy Guard, 'Pulpit and Cross: Preaching the Crusade in Fourteenth-Century England', *The English Historical Review* 129.541 (2014), 1319–45, https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ceu274.
31 Markidou, '"I goe outlandishe lyke"', 79. See also Lisa Hopkins, *Greeks and Trojans on the Early Modern English Stage* (Boston and Berlin, 2020), 196–7, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501514623.
32 The name 'attests to the father's fusion of imperialistic aspirations with entrepeneurialism': Markidou, '"I goe outlandishe lyke"', 89.
33 Linda Bradley Salamon, 'Gascoigne's Globe: *The Spoyle of Antwerp* and the Black Legend of Spain', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 14.1/Special Issue 18 (May 2008), https://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/14-1/article6.htm.
34 Ibid.
35 Anonymous, *Letters Sent from Venice. Anno 1571* (London, 1571?; USTC: 507369), A3r. These letters were translated from the French; one of them is a letter sent by Charles IX, king of France, to the bishop of Paris, commanding him to organize public celebrations and masses to thank God for the victory.
36 Markidou, '"I goe outlandishe lyke"', 85.
37 Ibid.
38 Gascoigne's 'The Fruits of War (*Dolce Bellum Inexpertis*)' is only superficially an anti-militaristic poem: see Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450–1600* (Woodbridge, 2004), 98–100, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781846152382.
39 Hamrick, '"Certain Decayed Men"', 90.
40 Laurie Shannon, 'Poetic Companies. Musters of Agency in George Gascoigne's "Friendly Verse"', *GLQ* 10.3 (2004), 453–83, 453.
41 Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 216.
42 Hamrick, '"Certain Decayed Men"', 98.