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The Semantics of Europe in English Texts of the Late 16th and Early 17th Centuries

Abstract

This paper examines the meaning behind the word *Europe* in English texts of the 16th and 17th centuries from an interdisciplinary point of view, combining linguistic research with perspectives from the field of literary and cultural studies. While in contemporary dictionaries and encyclopaedias of the respective period the term “Europe” is, in many instances, used in a geographical sense – often conceptualizing England as a part of this geographical entity –, travel reports, dramatic texts and philosophical essays add further dimensions to the idea of a space called *Europe*: These texts provide multi-faceted connotations and ambivalent images of the continent – either presenting England as part of the continent, or insisting on the latter’s “otherness”.

Sommaire

Cette contribution analyse le sens derrière le mot *Europe* dans des textes anglais du 16^e et du 17^e siècle dans une perspective interdisciplinaire. Elle combine la recherche linguistique avec les lettres et les études culturelles. Tandis que les dictionnaires contemporains et les encyclopédies de la période en question le terme “Europe” est beaucoup de fois utilisé dans un sens géographique – souvent présentant l’Angleterre en tant que part de cette entité géographique –, des récits de voyage, des textes dramatiques ainsi que des essais philosophiques ajoutent des dimensions supplémentaires à l’idée d’un espace appelé *Europe*. Ces derniers textes nous fournissent des connotations diversifiées et des images ambivalents – parfois présentant l’Angleterre comme part du continent, parfois insistant sur la différence de l’Angleterre.

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag untersucht die Bedeutungen hinter dem Wort *Europe* in englischen Texten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus einer interdisziplinären Sicht, die sprachwissenschaftliche Forschung mit Perspektiven von literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlicher Seite kombiniert. Während in zeitgenössischen Wörterbüchern und Enzyklopädien der betroffenen Epoche der Ausdruck “Europe” vielfach in einem geographischen Sinne verwendet wird – wobei England oft als Teil dieses geographischen Gebildes gesehen wird –, ergänzen Reiseberichte, dramatische Texte und philosophische Essays weitere Dimensionen zur Idee eines *Europe* genannten Raumes. Diese Texte liefern vielschichtige Konnotationen und uneindeutige Vorstellungen vom Kontinent – wobei England teilweise als Teil dieses Komplexes dargestellt wird, teilweise aber auch auf dessen Andersartigkeit beharrt wird.

1. Introduction

What is *Europe*¹? The 2015 “Brexit” debate is evidence of an increasing influence of anti-European notions in Britain. One example is the UKIP party with its Eurosceptic and even anti-European programme. The existence of UKIP exemplifies a crucial question with regard to British identity: Do England, Great Britain or the UK conceptualize their self-image as part of “Europe”, or later the “European Union”, or rather not? The fact that both sides have been provided with various labels in the preceding sentence already suggests that this question has been a matter of discussion for centuries, as a consequence of processes of changing perceptions of an English or British cultural self, and either its European elements or also its European “others”.²

¹ For a general overview of the definitory variation from a present-day point of view, see, for example, Grzega (2012).

² Cf. Condren (1999: 11) and Schmale (2001).

In his 1980 essay “Did Europe exist before 1700?” Peter Burke (1980: 21-29) claimed that such a thing as “Europe” in the sense of a transnational community did actually not become manifest before the 18th century. Nevertheless, aspects of something labelled “Europe” are traceable to textual documents of pre-18th-century periods. Medieval texts, such as the ones by Chaucer, already include references to “Europe / Europa” in the sense of the continent (cf. Pfister 2007: 26). However, especially from the period of the English Renaissance onwards, such references become more complex, i.e. they display a certain ambivalence with regard to “Europe”: On the one hand, English texts of the respective period insist on a community with the European continent. On the other hand, they seem to establish a contrast between the English pole and various forms of European “otherness”. As Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (2005: 8), for example, have argued, this development can be related to the collapse of “the old homogeneity of [Catholic] Christianitas”, resulting in the experience of “increasing cultural diversity” as well as “pluralization” (Höfele/Koppenfels2005: 7). Such an experience of disintegration was also supported by the competition between continental and English colonial enterprises. Another aspect, however, which should not be neglected is the English fascination with the continent, and especially with Italy, as the very place the Renaissance had originated from (cf. Höttemann 2011).

This paper focuses on the meaning of the word “Europe” in English texts of the late 16th and 17th centuries. The aim is to show that, although perhaps not yet explicitly conceptualized, a space called “Europe” already existed as a pole against or with which English identity could be defined. The discussed texts do not only describe real places, they also create imagined spaces, and writers can thus be considered poetic cartographers (cf. Hadfield 2005) who are actively involved in cultural processes of “mapping” that help to discuss English identity within the realm of art. Against this background, the documents to be dealt with here will be considered both a medium and constituent of imagined geographies and topographies, representing, discussing and creating spatial and identity-establishing issues as will be shown in the following (cf. Bachmann-Medick 2006: 309f.).

2. The Semantics of Europe in English Texts of the Late 16th and 17th Centuries

2.1. The Definition of Europe in Dictionaries and Encyclopedic Works

In English dictionaries and encyclopedias of the 16th and 17th centuries, the entry *Europa* or *Europe* is defined as more than a geographical unit in very few instances. In most dictionaries or encyclopedias, however, *Europe* is defined geographically, and it generally includes England. In *The Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot*, “Europe” relates to “that parte of the worlde, whyche we do inhabyte” (Elyot 1538: s.v. *Europa*). For Bullokar (1616: s.v. *Europa*), it is “One of the three parts of the world lying toward the West. In it are contained England, Spain, France, Germany, Italie, all Greece, Crete, or Candy, beside many other kingdoms, great countries and Ilands.” This seems to have been adapted by Blount (1656: s.v. *Europa*): “Europe (Europa) one of the four parts of the world, lying towards the West, containing England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, all Greece, Crete or Candy, with many other Kingdoms, great Countries and Islands.” Similarly, Cockeram (1623: s.v. *Europe*) defines it as “This part of the world, contayning England, France, Spaine, &c.”, and Thorius (1599: s.v. *Europa*) describes Europe as “The third part of the world, separated from Asia by the riuer Tanais (now called Don) and from Affrike by the Mediteranean sea”. Some of these documents do not explicitly *include* England, but they also do not explicitly *exclude* it, which someone would likely have done if at the same time the world is divided into parts.³

³ Here, it should be noted that works published until 1616 speak of three instead of four parts of the world. Though already in the know, a real consciousness of America as a separate part was not given yet.

However, for Bartas (1605: s.v. *Europe*), “Europe” carries the meaning of “**Christendome** [our emphasis!], or this Westerne Part of the world”. Bohun (1693) uses a combination of cultural and geographical definitions even more explicitly: “Europe, Europa, is the least, but most celebrated of the four general parts of the World, as to Arts, Commerce, Religion, Government and War.” He then continues with a cultural-historical explanation that also discriminates Europeans and Asians, underlining Europe’s assumed superiority:

“It was the Prediction of Noah, (the second Founder of Mankind) that Japhet (the Father of the Europeans) should dwell in the Tents of Shem. And although the first Church, and the two first General Monarchies fell to the share of Shem’s Posterity; yet the two last and the best and noblest state of the Church, fell to the Japhets; by which that ancient Oracle was fulfilled. At this day whilst the Posterity of Shem, (the Asiaticks) lie buried in Ignorance, Slavery and Superstition; the Posterity of Japhet is innobled: the chiefest and the best Empires, the best Religion, Learning and Arts adorn the Tents or dwelling of Japhet: whilst the Ships of Chittim afflict Eber and Asher, not only to Trade, but to Ride Sovereigns in their Seas; and afflict them more by the Envy of their Wealth and Riches, than by their Power and Martial Valor, though they have felt that too.”

It has to be noted that nothing is said on Africa and America at this point. Finally, Bohun adds geographical aspects: “Europe, [sic!] is bounded on the East by Asia, on the North by the Frozen Sea, on the West by the Atlantick, and on the South by the Mediterranean.” He also shows a profound awareness for a delimitation of Europe in the east:

“The only difficulty is in stating the Eastern Bounds: beginning therefore at the South, where the Bounds are plainer, it is agreed that the Archipelago, the Black Sea or Euxine, the Palus Moeotis, or Eastern Bay of Crim Tartary, (called by the French, la Mer de Zabacche,) the Tanais, now the Don, the Wolga, the Rooswa, the Tofda, and the vast River of Obb, are the truest Bounds on the Eastern side. In those vast Countries of Tartary and Russia, scarce at all known to the Ancients, though the Tanais, the Wolga, (as far as its Course is North and South) and the Obb, are the best and most visible Bounds; yet there is a great distance between the Tanais and the Wolga; and a much greater between the Wolga and the Obb; but between the Rooswa and the Tofda, very little: but in this every Man must be left at liberty.”

He even points out terminological differences: “This Country [meaning ‘region’ in this context, which is common use at the time] is called by the Europeans, Europe; by the Turks, Rumeli, and Al-Franck; and by the Georgians, Franckistan.” And for him, too, Britain is part of Europe: “Europe is now divided into the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, or the Low Countries, Hungary, Italy, Moscovy or Russia, Poland, Portugal, Savoy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tartary, the Turkish Empire, the State of Venice, and some few considerable Islands depending upon these.”

A look at contemporary collections of maps of Europe confirms this inclusive tendency – at least in terms of geography –, as becomes clear, for instance, in *A Book and Map of All Europe With the Names of all the Towns of Note in that Known Quarter of the World* (1650). Here London is listed as one of the cities of Europe (Anonymous 1650: 13).

2.2. “Europe” in Other Texts of the 16th and 17th Centuries: (Feigned) Travel Reports, Drama, and Philosophical Essays

Many other English texts of the respective period display a European scope by dealing with numerous parts of “Europe”, with European history and with European literatures. Nevertheless, the question whether England does solidarize with the continent or not is not quite clear. In accordance with Manfred Pfister, one might come up with the thesis that it does whenever a non-Christian and assumedly “pagan” enemy (“Turks, Tartars and North Africans” [Hadfield 2005: 20]) threatening “the ‘West’, the ‘Occident’, the ‘christliche Abendland’ or Latin Christianity” (Pfister 2007: 26)

appears, but that it does not when it comes to enmities concerning religious matters inside the Christian churches. Thus, the representation of the world during the English Renaissance and the 17th century seems to be relatively clear (cf. Hadfield [2005: 7] and Laroque [2005: 196]) as long as the dichotomy between Christian and “heathen” is in the focus, but it is by no means unambiguous whenever “Europe” is concerned (cf. Hadfield 2005: 3). This ambivalence is detectable in many texts of that period, some of which will be briefly elaborated on in the following.

2.2.1. Aspects of a Space Called “Europe” in Renaissance Drama: The Example of Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587/88)

One author who frequently mentions an entity called “Europe” in his dramatic works is Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593). In the historical tragedy *Tamburlaine the Great* the protagonist, Tamburlaine, makes his way from a shepherd and bandit to the ruler of the Persian Empire.⁴

In his text, Marlowe has Cosroe, the brother of the Persian Emperor Mycetes, mention Europe as a continent in connection with Persia when he has Cosroe utter: “Unhappy Persia, – that in former age / hast been the seat of mighty conquerors, / That, in their prowess and their policies, / Have triumph’d over Afric, and the bounds / Of Europe [...]” (Marlowe 2008: s.p.). This is also taken up in utterances by Menaphon and Bazajeth who talk about Europe as a continent, “quak[ing] [...] for fear” (Marlowe 2008: s.p.) because of the “Turkish arms” (Marlowe 2008: s.p.) – thus referring to the fear of an Ottoman threat which was familiar to a Renaissance audience. Furthermore, the second part of the play links the mythological “Europa” with Christianity by having the King Orcanes of Natolia, or Anatolia, talk about “the slaughtered bodies of these Christians” (Marlowe 2008: s.p.) which will make “fair Europe, mounted on her bull” (Marlowe 2008: s.p.) mourn.

Although the play is primarily placed in an “exotic” environment, some references to “Europe” can be found in the text, which speaks of it as a geographical entity united by Christianity. This is contrasted by the counter-space of the assumedly violent and cruel “East” – inhabited by non-Christian enemies – that is depicted as entirely different from Christian Europe.

2.2.2. The Ambivalent Mapping of Italy as One Nation of Continental “Europe” in Thomas Coryate’s *Crudities* (1611)

Due to the spread of humanism in the 15th and 16th centuries, the newly inspired interest in classical antiquity brought about “a true passion for Italy” as a representative part of the continent due to its position as the “cradle of ancient studies” (Höttemann 2011: 35). In the early 16th century, “educational travel” (Brennan 2005: 54) to Italy and to other parts of the European continent was popular and was commented on in various travel reports. However, due to the tensions with Catholic Italy during the Tudor reign and the inter-confessional troubles extending beyond it, the image of Italy was somewhat ambivalent on the English side. However, by 1611, the year when Thomas Coryate published his travel report, Anglo-Italian relationships had slightly improved under the reign of James I. And Venice was among the compulsory cities to visit on the young English upper-class man’s grand tour to get to know Europe (cf. Redford 1996, Chaney 2000, Eglin 2001).

Benedikt Höttemann (2011: 53-55) underlines the “twofold Elizabethan image of Italy” as one of

⁴ Cf. Proser (1995: 71 ff.) and Rutter (2012: 25 ff.), who relates Marlowe’s drama to political developments of the Elizabethan era and talks about Tamburlaine’s rise to power as a violation of the idea of the invincible monarch. Here, it is important to note that Tamburlaine is somewhat an outsider – “[...] his outsider status makes his success all the more extraordinary, and its significance derives partly from the Elizabethan state’s fear of the vagrant and the socially marginal” (Rutter 2012: 32).

the countries that were eminent parts of English visions of the continent in the Renaissance period; he differentiates between “Italophilia”, the “English fascination to Italian culture and fashion [...] [with Italy being] believed to be the most advanced civilization during the Renaissance period” due to its achievements in “fine arts”, “architecture”, “trade and commerce”, its being a “leader in science, medicine and technology as well as in literature, music and law”, and the opposite concept of “Italophobia”, in which Italy is constructed as a complex of “foreign adventure, scheming intrigues, scandals, bloody murders and wicked crime” with “murders, rapes, imprisonments and revenges”. With Italy being the very country on “the continent” where the Renaissance movement had originated, this place was looked to as a positive example due to its cultural achievements, but also as a negatively connoted place, partly because of its powerful position as a Catholic country. Something similar can be observed with regard to France and Spain. Julia Briggs provides the following definition of the relationship between England and “Europe” in the Renaissance period:

“The Italian Renaissance took the best part of two centuries to reach England, a little offshore island outside the mainstream of European culture; its founding poets were Petrarch and Boccaccio, the Italian contemporaries of the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer. [...] But English poets continued to treat their European models with a degree of suspicion, even while they borrowed from them, [...]” (Briggs 1997: 2-3)⁵

This ambivalent attitude towards influences from “Europe” on the artistic level can be assumed to be partly rooted in the fact that “the continent” was, at least with regard to specific countries, such as Italy, France and Spain, associated with Catholicism, which turned it into something assumedly strange and even threatening:

“English writers had grown up within the Reformed Church, under an emergent nationalism that was both political and religious, that regarded Catholic Europe with distrust and Italy with something approaching paranoia. A sense of identity as a newly forged Protestant nation fostered a desire to equal or surpass the acknowledged masterpieces of pagan Rome or of modern Catholic nations.” (Briggs 1997: 2-3)⁶

The quotation again emphasizes one of the crucial aspects of English, if not European identity construction during the Renaissance period, namely the issue of religion.

Thomas Coryate, the author of *Coryate's Crudities hastily gobbled up in Five Months Travels in France, Italy, &c* (1611) and the father of the grand tour (cf. Chaney 2000), de facto travelled parts of Europe and Asia and recounted these journeys in the form of a travelogue (cf. Wiedemann 1999 and Strachan 1962). In this text, especially the depiction of Italy is given a lot of room, which might be due to Italy's representative position as the country that was regarded as the cradle of humanism and that was admired for its economic successes and its politics. The text comments on various places, but puts special emphasis on Venice. This “most glorious, peerelesse, and mayden Citie [...] [which] I call it mayden, because it was never conquered” (Coryate 1905: 301) is praised in many respects, above all with regard to architecture and works of art (cf. Coryate 1905: 304ff.). In spite of Venetian cultural achievements and its singular position, the text also lists some less positive aspects and thus creates an ambivalent picture of this famous continental city by elaborating on “seducing and tempting Gondoleers” that are labeled “impious miscreants” who are likely to lead the traveler astray, respectively to some “irreligious place” with their “diabolical perswasions” (Coryate 1905: 312). This picture is completed by the mentioning of the high frequency of street fights as a “very barbarous and unchristian thing” (Coryate 1905:413), which draws both an exotic and a violent picture of this city.

⁵ Cf. Nowak (2010: 27 f.).

⁶ Cf. Nowak (2010: 27 f.).

One more element of the mapping of Venice is the “courtesan” as “so lascivious a matter” (Coryate 1905: 402). In contrast to the then common idea of Venice as a “virgin” city, the traveler explains that there were about 20,000 courtesans in and around Venice then. Coryate claims that he cannot but warn his readers against them:

“furnish thy selfe with a double armour, the one for thine eyes, the other for thine eares. As for thine eyes, shut them and turne them aside from these venereous Venetian objects. For they are the double windowes that conveigh them to thy heart. Also thou must fortifie thine eares against the attractive inchauntments of their plausible speeches.”⁷

He even states that some of them “are esteemed so loose, that they are said to open their quivers to every arrow”, thus applying a highly sexualized imaginery in their description, and linking the images of the “virgin” city with the idea of immorality that is metonymically epitomized in the prostitutes (cf. Coryate [1905: 403f.] and Strachan [1962: 49f.]).

Coryate’s report thus presents a gendered “mapping” of one part of the continent: Italy, as one of the most representative and popular countries of the European continent in that period, is represented in the form of Venice, which is rhetorically styled as a “virgin” only to contradict this image by adding metonymical descriptions of assumedly immoral inhabitants.⁸ Although contemporary dictionaries and encyclopedias seem to suggest an inclusive, uniting view on “Europe” as a geographical unit, this text emphasizes differences between England and Italy as a Catholic continental nation, thus voicing separating tendencies.

For a Renaissance audience, Venice represented a negative counterspace, but it was, at the same time, considered a mirror image of England for several reasons: Venice was admired and praised for its cultural achievements, its successes in trade and commerce, its powerful military position as a “gateway to the wider world” (Hadfield 2005: 3), for its assumed invincibility and its well-working jurisdiction (cf. Brown 2004: 148). In these respects and especially with regard to its metaphorical equation to a virgin (as it had not been conquered before) but also due to its geographical definition as an island, it was often compared to England with its former “virgin queen” and its island position (Höttemann 2011). As such a potential mirror image of England, Venice was envisioned as a positive place to be admired and imitated. Thus, a uniting aspect seems to intersect with the otherwise separating notions, probably under the influence of the renewal of trade and diplomatic relations in the 17th century (cf. Brown 2004: 145).

2.3. Aspects of Europe in Philosophical Treatises:

Francis Bacon’s *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), *Novum Organum* (1620) and *The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral* (1625)

Yet another genre in which the idea of Europe is somewhat present is that of the philosophical text. In the works of Francis Bacon (1561-1626), “Europe” is frequently talked about and is provided with specific characteristics (cf. Klein [1987: 20] and Quinton [1980]). In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bacon (2005: Book II, § 8, s.p.), for instance, discusses the academic focus of “many great foundations of colleges in Europe”⁹, i.e. the continent, and even goes as far as to propagate more cooperation between universities all over Europe in § 13 (Bacon 2005: II, §13, s.p.):

⁷ Coryate (1905: 406). Nevertheless, the confrontation might also serve the aim of education by resistance against such evils, as the speaker notes.

⁸ However, the image of this part of Italy as one representative nation of the continent is not as negative as, for instance, in the works of Roger Ascham and Thomas Nashe, which may partly be due to the changes in the relationship with Rome under James I. and his successors.

⁹ Cf. also Quinton (1980: 70 f.).

“For as the proficiencie of learning consisteth much in the orders and institutions of universities in the same states and kingdoms, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the universities of Europe than now there is. [...] And surely as nature createth brotherhood in families, and arts mechanical contract brotherhoods in communalities, and the anointment of God superinduceth a brotherhood in kings and bishops, so in like manner there cannot but be a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the Father of illuminations or lights.”

This attempt at suggesting intellectual exchange between scholars from different parts of Europe does not seem to exclude England from the desired European intellectual community but rather suggests a transnational idea of a “universal republic of letters”, as pointed out by Höfele and Koppenfels (2005: 8).

Something similar can be observed in *Novum Organum* (1620), in which Bacon seems to further his inclusive argument when, in § LXXVIII, he reflects on the question which centuries have to be considered fruitful with regard to their cultural achievements in the following way: “For there are deserts and wastes in times as in countries, and we can only reckon up three revolutions and epochs of philosophy. 1. The Greek. 2. The Roman. 3. Our own, that is the philosophy of the western nations of Europe: [...]” (Bacon 2014: § LXXVIII, s.p.) – thus including English thought and culture into the traditions of the “western nations of Europe” in contrast to “the Arabs” (Bacon (2014: § LXXVIII, s.p.), whose achievements are somewhat devaluated, which seems to support the thesis that “Europe” becomes a unifying factor whenever a contrast to potentially non-Christian groups is discussed. *The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral* (1625) propose something similar when speaking of a “Christian Europe” (Bacon 2009: s.p.) and then focussing on the importance of a fleet as a means of securing a powerful position in world politics: “Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe, are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; [...]” (Bacon 2009: s.p.) – thus again listing England as a part of Europe while also hinting at the competition existent between England and different kingdoms of the continent so that both inclusive and nationalist mechanisms can be detected here.

3. Conclusion

The rough sketch of images of Europe in English texts of the 16th and 17th centuries shows an increasing interest in the European continent on the English side, which becomes clear, for example, in the choice and depiction of various European settings and characters. Both inclusive, i.e. uniting, and exclusive, or separating, patterns can be detected in artistic mappings of the continent. What seems to be missing, though, is the discussion of what might actually constitute something like a common European identity. This is also underlined by Manfred Pfister, who puts it as follows (2007: 26):

“There is a paradox at work here [...]: the increased economic, political, cultural and intellectual traffic between the European nations, which was a hallmark of the Renaissance, was not accompanied or underpinned by a programmatic emphasis upon a pointedly ‘European’ cultural identity.”

Both Tudor and Stuart authors obviously deal with the continent, but it is not yet clear whether a “sense of a shared European identity” (Kewes 2005: 151)¹⁰ emerges from their texts. Still, one might detect traces of a conceptualization of “Europe” even as early as this: Besides its being understood as a continent, and thus being equipped with a geographical meaning, “Europe” is a space against and with which English identity seems to develop. As Paulina Kewes argues, it seems

¹⁰ Cf. also Hoenselaars (2008: 15).

as if England regarded itself as a part of “Europe” but, at the same time, as “a distinct world”, and consequently texts of that period “sometimes emphasized common European identity and sometimes embodied insular notions of Englishness.” (Kewes 2005: 150). Ton Hoenselaars (1994: 227), in addition to that, underlines the importance of “Europe” as a continental heterotopia displaying English affairs and providing an English audience with a mirror.

As the preceding analyses have shown, inclusive mechanisms seem to be triggered by the confrontation with specific cultural communities, such as the “Ottoman Turks”, which bring up a certain degree of solidarity among Christian groups; this seems to suggest Christendom as the very factor uniting England and “the continent” (cf. Condren 1999: 15). It also relates to colonial expansion in the context of the voyages of discovery, as Kewes (2005: 162f.) points out:

“Not accidentally, the adjective ‘European’ entered the English language in the late sixteenth century when England’s naval power increased and when her adventurers, pirates and merchants belatedly joined the scramble for the benefits of overseas expansion and trade.”¹¹

Intercultural contacts with other ethnic and religious groups thus seem to foster a feeling of community among different Christian denominations like those in Europe during Tudor and Stuart reign. Whenever inter-confessional conflicts were concerned, however, nationalist mechanisms seem to dominate the discourse on Anglo-European-relations (cf. Kewes 2005: 163) and show specific countries of “Europe” as negative-counterspaces (cf. Kewes 2005: 164) so that multiple shades of “otherness” can be detected here; this, after all, exemplifies the contested nature of Anglo-European relations.

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¹¹ Cf. OED (2015: s.v. *European*) and, furthermore, Bartels (1999: 160).

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