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HENRY STUART ‘THE RISING SUN OF ENGLAND’: THE CREATION OF A PRINCE OF WALES (JUNE 1610)

Our Rising Sun is set ere scarcely he had shone,
and with him all our glory lies buried.¹

On 6 November 1612 Henry Frederick Stuart, heir to the throne of England, was dying just eighteen years old in his Palace of St. James, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by his closest servants, after a long illness that had afflicted him since the previous summer.²

Henry Frederick was born on 19 February 1594, at Stirling Castle (Scotland); eldest son of King James VI of Scotland and his wife Anne of Denmark, he was nine years old when his father succeeded Elizabeth I as King of England, Ireland and Scotland, on 24 March 1603.³ The Stuarts, the royal couple and

1. TH. BIRCH, *The Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*, London, Millar, 1760, p. 210.

2. This essay is directly connected with the author's researches dealing with the cultural, political and spectacular relationship between the court of England and the Florentine court of the Medici family, in the persons, on a side, of James I, his wife Queen Anne of Denmark and Henry Frederick, their eldest son; on the other side, the Grand Duke Ferdinando I and, after his death, his son Cosimo II and all the officers involved in that which was a most fertile and prolific time of great dynamism, political contacts and cultural osmosis, in the years between 1603 and 1615. For more details see C. PAGNINI, *Costantino de' Servi, architetto-scenografo fiorentino alla corte d'Inghilterra (1611-1615)*, Firenze, Società editrice fiorentina, 2006.

3. The studies about Henry are not that wide, though recently the historiography tends to reconsider his role in the British culture and policy within the Stuart era. Following up this tendency, the recent and valuable exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, *The Lost Prince: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London, 18 October 2012-13 January 2013), has been a charming show of art and objects – including funeral relics and the devastating autopsy report – curated by Catharine MacLeod; a first ever exhibition about Prince Henry which included an interesting conference dealing with the various aspects of his life, ideology and patronage program. Regarding Henry's bibliography, we cite here the various Cornwallis' accounts (C. CORNWALLIS, *A Discourse of the Most Illustrious Prince, Henry, Late Prince of Wales. Written anno 1626*, London, John Benson, 1641; ID., *The Life and Death of Our Late Most Incomparable and Heroique Prince,*

three sons (Henry, Elizabeth and Charles), were warmly welcomed in England, a kingdom without a royal family for more than fifty years and which has never seen a heir to the throne after Edward VI Tudor. Thus it didn't take too long that the mythology of the new Royal House of Stuart spread amongst citizens, a cult which immediately focused on Henry, idealized as the warrior prince, founder of a new generation of ideals, ambitions and military policy.

Henry's first official appearance was his involvement as a dancer in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*, in 1606;⁴ soon after, in the summer of the same year, he brilliantly attracted attention during a tournament in honour of his uncle Christian IV of Denmark.⁵ On January 1610, during the solemnities of the Twelfth Night, he made his definitive appearance with a magnificent chivalric spectacle, *Prince Henry's Barrier*,⁶ written by Ben Jonson after the prince's own project. It was only in June that he could make his official debut at the ceremonies for his Creation of Prince of Wales. *Prince Henry's Barriers* was just the preliminary event for Henry's investiture festivities, which started the last day of May 1610

Henry Prince of Wales, London, John Dawson for Nathanael Butter, 1641; ID., *The Short Life and Much Lamented Death of that Most Magnanimous Prince Henry*, Leyden, W. Christian, 1644; ID., *An Account of the Baptism, Life, Death and Funeral, of the most Incomparable Prince Frederick Henry, Prince of Wales*, London, J. Freeman, 1751; ID., *A Discourse Concerning the Marriage Propounded to Prince Henry with a Daughter of Florence*, in *Collectanea curiosa, Or Miscellaneous Tracts, Relating to the History and Antiquities of England and Ireland*, edited by John Gutch, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1781, vol. 1); T. BIRCH, *The Court and Times of James the First*, London, Henry Colburn, 1848, 2 vols.; R. STRONG, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1986; PAGNINI, *Costantino de' Servi*, cit.; C. MURRAY, *The Pacific King and the Militant Prince? Representation and Collaboration in the Letters Patent of James I, Creating His Son Henry, Prince of Wales*, «British Library Journal», VIII, 2012, <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/2012articles/article8.html> (latest access: March 5th 2018).

4. See J. NICHOLS, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James I*, New York, AMS Press, 1977, vol. II, p. 33.

5. The festivities to honour the visit of the Danish royal guest are entirely described by Sir Dudley Carleton in one of his most interesting letters to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated 20 August 1606 (see *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain [1603-1624]. Jacobean Letters*, edited with an introduction by M. LEE, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1972, pp. 85-93) and by Sir John Harington in a letter of the same period to Mr. Secretary Barlow (see J. HARINGTON, *Nugae Antiquae*, London, Vernor & Hood, 1804, vol. I, p. 34). For the analysis of the spectacular between English tradition and the Italian one, but especially Florentine, see PAGNINI, *Costantino de' Servi*, cit., pp. 19-53 and pp. 168-198.

6. For the text and the spectacular analysis of the *Barrier* see S. ORGEL, *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1969, pp. 142-158. On the same festival see NICHOLS, *The Progresses*, cit., pp. 360-361; N. COUNCIL, *Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones and the Transformation of Tudor Chivalry*, «Journal of English Literary History», XLVII, 1980, pp. 259-275; J. BARROLL-J. PITCHER, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984, p. 158; STRONG, *Henry Prince of Wales*, cit., pp. 141-151.

with the prince's solemn entry on the river Thames, in London, from Richmond to Whitehall Palace. A few days before, Henry had been greatly celebrated in the city of Chester during St. George's Feast (April 23rd) for the occasion of his investiture of Earl of Chester previous to the designation of Prince of Wales.

In the middle of May, the noble John Chamberlain refers to the programme on these solemn occasions of the Creation: «The solemnitie of creating the Prince of Wales is appointed the 4th of the next moneth, when there shalbe 24 new Knights of the Bath made [...]. The Quene is preparing and practising a new maske against that time».⁷ The schedule of the ceremonies was the following:

May 30th: Henry's journey from St. James' Palace to Richmond

May 31st, Thursday: Henry's solemn entry in London

June 3rd, Sunday: the creation of twenty-five Knights of the Bath

June 4th, Monday: the Creation of Prince of Wales in the Parliament House, and then a state banquet in the evening

June 5th, Tuesday: performance of the masque *Tethys Festival* at Whitehall

June 6th, Wednesday: Creation-Tilt, See-fight and Fireworks

The magnificent cycle was greatly attended by the kingdom and its political importance was clearly evident to every court and royal dynasty all around Europe. Above them, the Medici of Florence were carefully considering the young heir, with the blessing of James I and Queen Anna, for a marriage with Princess Caterina, the Grand Duke's sister.⁸

From James' accession to the throne of England a wide correspondence between Florence and London started, thanks to the Medici secretaries who were sent in England to serve the negotiations. The most industrious of them was certainly Ottaviano Lotti; in one of his many letters to the Florentine secretary he describes his conversation with the treasures Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, about the negotiations for the marriage:

Il granduca ha molte sorelle e bisogna che voi ci diate la più bella perché ella ha da esser regina et avrà per sposo non un bel giovane, non un gran principe solamente ma un

7. John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, London, 24th May 1610, transcribed in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, edited by N.E. McCLURE, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1939, vol. I, p. 300. On the Creation festivals see also: J.P.V. AKRIGG, *Jacobean Pageant or The Court of King James I*, New York, Athenaeum, 1974, pp. 125-128; STRONG, *Henry Prince of Wales*, cit., pp. 151-160; PAGNINI, *Costantino de' Servi*, cit., pp. 64-74.

8. All the negotiations for the wedding between Henry and the several possible brides from the various courts in Europe, including the Florentine court, are wholly reported, politically and culturally analysed in C. PAGNINI, *Ottaviano Lotti residente medico a Londra (1603-1614)*, «Medioevo e Rinascimento», XVII/n.s. XIV (2003), pp. 323-340 and ID., *Costantino de' Servi*, cit., pp. 103-152.

angelo di paradiso; basta, voi lo conoscete meglio di me. Et il segretario disse che era tutto vero et disse qualche cosa anche delle doti della principessa di Toscana, alle quali il conte acconsentì, rispondendo di esserne molto bene informato [...]. Parlò il conte come di bocca del re et che poi come di sua propria soggiunse, Per contento del principe vorremmo modo di poter veder il ritratto della seconda principessa di Toscana.⁹

In such a delicate occasion, Henry's Creation and his official entrance into the policy of his kingdom was particularly expected by the Medici court; the Florentine resident was perfectly aware of the importance of his diplomatic role, and he sent to his patrons an accurate account of the upcoming ceremonies:

Si preparano tuttavia i cavalieri e le dame per onorare le feste diverse per la creazione del Serenissimo Henrico del Principato di Wallia, che doverà seguire la prossima Pentecoste a questo stile; e la Mestà della Regina farà un bellissimo Balletto nel quale hora è la Maestà Sua tutta occupata.¹⁰

Domani che è giovedì fa il Serenissimo Principe la sua entrata in Londra, ma per acqua, e si parte da Ricciamonti; venerdì e sabato si avranno 24 Cavalieri del Bagno, domenica si fa una giostra, lunedì è la creazione di Sua Altezza. Martedì la Regina fa un bellissimo Balletto, e molti altri giorni starà la corte con grandi feste.¹¹

Henry, who was an admirable rider and excelled in every kind of sport activity, had requested his father to be allowed entry to London by horse, with a long overland procession throughout the city, but the King could not comply with this ambitious project, too expensive for the real cash; moreover, he could not get any financial help from Parliament for these ceremonies: «Sua Maestà [...] negò che Sua Altezza la cavalcasse pubblicamente ma che un corto viaggio che le conviene fare lo facesse per acqua contro il desiderio di Sua Altezza».¹²

Henry's journey towards London began across the river Thames at the first light of the day; setting sail from Richmond, the royal fleet first stopped at Chelsea, where the Major of London and the City Council were waiting, all placed on wide richly decorated barges to welcome the Prince and his retinue with loud sumptuous music. The authorities of the city honoured the prince

9. *Sunto di qualche Ottaviano Lotto segretario del serenissimo granduca di Toscana residente appresso la maestà del re della Gran Bretagna ha scritto con più soluzione dell'altezza serenissima, ottobre 1611*, ms., Firenze, Archivio di stato (hereafter ASF), *Mediceo del principato*, f. 6357, cc. nn. For the peculiar figure of the Florentine resident Ottaviano Lotti see PAGNINI, *Ottaviano Lotti*, cit., and ID., *Costantino de' Servi*, cit., pp. 103-154.

10. Ottaviano Lotti to Andrea Cioli, London, 12 May 1610, ASF, *Mediceo del principato*, f. 4189, cc. nn.

11. Ottaviano Lotti to Andrea Cioli, London, 9 June 1610, *ibid.*

12. Ottaviano Lotti to Andrea Cioli, London, 2 June 1610, *ibid.*

with a magnificent water-entertainment written by Anthony Munday, the official poet of the *Major's Pageants*: the show consisted in two sea-monsters, one in fashion of a whale, the other like a dolphin: the first one carried Corinea, a beautiful nymph representing the spirit of the ancient Queen of Cornwall and played by John Rice, a boy actor of the King's Men company;¹³ the other showed Amphion, the spirit of Harmony and Music. Riding the whale, Corinea welcomed the Prince as Duke of Cornwall on behalf of the whole city of London, and gathered to honour him:

Gracious Prince, and great Duke of Cornwall, I, the good Angell or Genius of Corinea [...] in honor of this general rejoycing day and to expresse the endeared affections of London's Lord Major ... and all these worthie Cittizens, Merchants [...] in or very best and richest commodities, doe thus usher them the way, to applaude in this Triumphe, and to let you know their willing readiness by all meanes possible to love and honour you.¹⁴

After Corinea's speech, Henry went further by water toward Whitehall Palace, followed by the two marine monsters and the barges with the main personalities of the city. As soon as they arrived in front of the Court Bridge, the barges divided into two parallel fronts to create a sufficient space for the passage of the royal boat; with Henry ready to land, Amphion (the genius of Wales and the father of Harmony and Music), played by Richard Burbage, raised up from his dolphin and welcomed the prince with his speech:

Royall Prince of Wales, in this figure of musicall Amphion upon this dolphin, we personate the caracter of Wales your Principallitie [...]. We are all now forced to an unwilling departure [...]. Home again then, fayre Fleet, you have brought a Royall freight to landing [...]; and since we must needs parte, in our lowdest voice of drommes, trumpets and ordenaunce, be this our last accent: Long live our Prince of Wales, the Royall Henrie.¹⁵

13. John Rice left the company in 1611 to join the *Lady Elizabeth's Men*, but was back in the King's company in 1619 and his name appears at the end of the First Folio list. He is not mentioned in any acting list after 1625, since he gave up the stage to become a church official. See A. PALMER-V. PALMER, *Who's Who in Shakespeare's England*, London, MacMillan, 1999, pp. 202-203.

14. NICHOLS, *The progresses*, cit., p. 320. The official report of the festivities for Henry's progress from Richmond to Whitehall Palace, *London's Love to the Royal Prince Henrie, Meeting Him on the River Thames, at His Return from Richmonde, with a Worthe Fleete of Her Cittizens, on Thursday the Last of May 1610, with a Briefe Reporte of the Wather Fight and Fire Workes* (London, Edward Allde for Nathaniell Fosbrooke, 1610), is entirely transcribed *ivi*, pp. 315-323.

15. *Ivi*, pp. 321-322.

When the journey on the Thames ended, Henry was stately received at Whitehall-stairs, several gunshots were fired off from Lambeth shore on the opposite side of the Royal Palace; then the Lord Chamberlain accompanied the prince into the Privy Chamber, where the whole royal family was waiting for him to receive the official welcome of the king: «Honour must not, unaccompanied, invest him only, but signs of nobleness, like stars, shall shine on all deserves».¹⁶

On the third of June, the day of Henry's investiture, James decided to create twenty-five new Knights of the Bath.¹⁷ This ceremony was not well received by Henry; he had always disapproved his father's policy of the selling of royal or military offices, so he didn't want to be connected with this practice the same day of his creation as Prince of Wales:

Sua Maestà [...] vista una lista di molti gentilhuomini da crearsi in quella medesima solennità Cavaliere di Bagno, parendoli che fusse a sua modo, perché forse gli era in apparenza che alcuni procurassero honore per forza di Denari, la stracciò et comandò che vi fussero porti tutti i Figlioli o Fratelli de Baroni.¹⁸

The next day the lords and the peers of the realm were all assembled in the Parliament House, waiting for Henry to be created Prince of Wales. The king and the prince boarded in the morning from the Privy Stairs of Whitehall to reach Westminster Bridge and then arrived to the Parliament House, where the official ceremony of the Creation took place.¹⁹

A solemn procession preceded Henry's entry: first the heralds and officers of Arms, then the newly formed Knights of the Bath in their robes, followed by the Garter King of Arms and several of the most important nobles of the court. At last the prince arrived, in his long purple velvet coat, coming for-

16. AKRIGG, *Jacobean Pageant*, cit., p. 126.

17. For the ceremony of the knights' creation see the detailed account in NICHOLS, *The Progresses*, cit., pp. 336-345; see also AKRIGG, *Jacobean Pageant*, cit., pp. 125-128.

18. Ottaviano Lotti to Andrea Cioli, London, 2 June 1610, ASF, *Mediceo del principato*, f. 4189, c. n.n.

19. The official report of the Henry's Creation, *The Order and Solemmitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henry, Eldest Sonne to Our Sovereigne, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, &c., as It Was Celebrated in the Parliament House, on Munday the Fourthe of June Last Past* (London, John Budge, 1610), is entirely transcribed in NICHOLS, *The Progresses*, cit., pp. 324-331, to which we refer for the following account in the text. See also P. CROFT, *The Parliamentary Instructions of Henry Prince of Wales*, «Historical Research», CLVII, 1992, pp. 177-193, and C. MURRAY, *The Pacific King and the Militant Prince? Representation and Collaboration in the Letters Patent of James I, Creating his son Henry, Prince of Wales*, «British Library Journal», VIII, 2012, <http://www.bl.uk/ebj/2012articles/article8.html> (latest access: February 13th 2018).

ward to meet the king sat on his throne, and the whole State of Realm; he declared his obedience three times, then kneeled down on a pillar to listen to the words of the investiture, read by the Earl of Salisbury. Meanwhile, the King put robes upon him and, drew out his sword, invested him with the rod and the ring, sat the cap and coronet on his head. The investiture completed, Henry sits in his place of Parliament, as Prince of Wales, to his father's left, and receives his ceremonial kiss on the hand and the head. In the evening while Henry had his state banquet in the Hall of the royal palace in London, with several lords and nobles of his circle and the Knights of the Bath, the King had previously retired in his private rooms to reserve his son the glory of his new title and the whole homage of the nobles.

The next evening at court there was the allegorical fulfilment of the investiture: the representation of *Tethys' Festival or The Queen's Wake*,²⁰ a sumptuous masque created and organized for his son by Queen Anna, who decided to entrust the composition of the libretto to Samuel Daniel instead of the 'usual' Ben Jonson. Daniel had been the author of the Queen's first masque of the Jacobean era, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), represented on the eighth of January at Hampton Court and which established a model of this kind of royal entertainment for a long time.²¹

Tethys' Festival was one of the most expansive spectacles ever organized at the Jacobean court, with rich costumes and three scenes designed and created by Inigo Jones; the characters were acted by gentlemen and ladies of the court («There were none of inferior sort, mixed amongst these great personages of state and honour [...] but all was performed by themselves with a due reser-

20. See John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, London, 24 May 1610, in CHAMBERLAIN, *The Letters*, cit., p. 300. The masque was presented on June 5th in the Banqueting House, with staging and perspectives by Inigo Jones. Though the contemporary official sources describe the masque as a sumptuous spectacle, it seems the concrete result was much far from this, since *Tethys's* didn't improve any relevant technical innovation compared to the two years preceding *Masque of Queens*. On *Tethys' Festival* see E.K. CHAMBERS, *The Elizabethan Stage*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923, vol. III, pp. 281-283. For the staging, choreographic and musical structure of the Jacobean masque see A. NICOLL, *Stuart Masques and Renaissance Stage*, London, Harrap, 1937; S. ORGEL-R. STRONG, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre at the Stuart Court*, London-Berkeley, Sotheby Parke Bernet-University of California Press, 1973; S. ORGEL, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, London, Andrew J. Sabol, 1977; J. PEACOCK, *The Stuart Court Masque*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», LVI, 1993, pp. 183-208; ID., *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

21. «The Quene is preparing and practising a new maske against that time» (John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, London, May 24th 1610, in CHAMBERLAIN, *The Letters*, cit., p. 300). See also PAGNINI, *Costantino de' Servi*, cit., pp. 168-198. The representation of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* had brought such honour to his author that he was appointed 'Special Licenser of the Queen's Revels' and groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber.

vation of their dignity)»,²² while the speaking roles, such as the two Tritons, were supposed to be the actors of the contemporary public theatres, as Daniels claims: «And for those two which did personated the tritons, they were gentlemen known of good worth and respect».²³ Queen Anne had commissioned the masque the previous February not only to honour her son but also to accentuate her own relationship to him now that he was going to create his private court. According to Daniel's script, she played the role of Tethys, Queen of the Ocean and wife of Neptune; Prince Charles acted the west wind Zephyrus and princess Elizabeth, for the first time on stage, performed on the river Thames, accompanied by other twelve Nymphs (the ladies of the court) in the allegory of the British rivers.

As for the plot, *Tethys' Festival* follows the aquatic and dynastic metaphor of Henry's civic procession two days before, it was focused on a more political perspective, and directly referred to the metaphors cited by James I in his first speech to Parliament: the action of small streams merging into larger ones achieving greatness in unity, representing the union of the British Isles.²⁴ The Queen/Tethys, wife of Neptune, arrives with thirteen nymphs to pay tribute to Prince Henry (Meliades) and King James (the Ocean King). Tethys advice, expressed by the words of the Tritons speaking on behalf of the Queen and Prince Charles, is a clear suggestion against imperialism: Henry is honoured with a scarf representing the British Isles and Tethys urges him to enjoy the richness within the pillars of Hercules,²⁵ in line with James' pacific policies rather than with the Protestant wars favoured by the young prince and his supporters. Thus the spectacle not only glorified the new heir to the throne but also celebrated Anna as Queen of England, creator of the royal lineage: she presents his eldest son to the reign as the chief auditor of the masque at his father's side, and at the same time she shows on stage for the first time her other two children, Elizabeth and Charles.²⁶

Though the masque was sumptuously staged, it didn't show anything innovative compared to the magnificence of *The Masque of Queens* the year before (1609), with the House of Fame, the principal 'machine', and the triumphal procession of the chariots of the twelve queens created by Inigo Jones; not to mention the strong impact of the 'hellish' antimasque, with witches on stage

22. *Court Masques, Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments (1605-1640)*, edited with an Introduction by D. LINDLEY, New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 64.

23. Ibid.

24. See R. KING, *Cymbeline: Constructions of Britain*, London, Ashgate, 2005, p. 54.

25. *Court Masques*, cit., pp. 37-38.

26. See L. BARROLL, *Anne of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 123.

dancing, singing and acting in a very staggering way for the English courtly audience of the time. *Tethys' Festival* Jones' three scenes merely consisted in stereotyped maritime settings, with no view-changes except that one of the «three circles of lights»²⁷ coming down from the upper stage for the second scene, which was rather a visual expedient to cover the changing of the wings with the help of loud music than an effective shift of the perspectives on stage. Daniels regrets that he could not put on stage the usual torches by means of the torch bearers, because of the hot and stuffy room inside; the lack of this staging artifice certainly determined a less spectacular impact on stage: «The introducing of Pages with torches might have added more splendour, but yet they would have pestered the roome, which the season would not permit».²⁸

The splendour of the masque was mainly due to the richness of the costumes and to the large number of dances and choreographies, which always involved the Queen and her ladies; the court performers, following a peculiar choice for the Jacobean masque, returned on stage in their noble habits in the third and final scene, reaching the king with a solemn march, thus bringing the royal entertainment to an end.

The third and last day of the celebrations was dedicated to a tilt, *The Creation Tilt*, in which a «divers Earls and Barons [...] being in rich and glorious armoure, and having costly caparisons, wondrous couriously imbroydered with pearls, gould and silver, the like rich habiliments for horses were never seene before» presented their devices and trophies before the king and prince, then ran at the tilt, admired by «a world of people».²⁹

In the evening there was a spectacular water-fight on the Thames in front of Whitehall,³⁰ representing the battle of the Turkish pirates, supported by a castle «builded upon the water», against some merchants' ships; in the end, after a long and brave resistance, the merchants managed to overthrow their enemies and destroy the castle, whose glorious defeat was underlined by «verie strange and variable fier-workes in the castle and in all the shippes and gallies, without any manner to hurt to any person, the Thamis being in a manner close covered with boates and barges full of people, beside the shoar on both sides».³¹

27. *Court Masques*, cit., p. 60.

28. NICHOLS, *The Progresses*, cit., p. 358.

29. Ivi, p. 361.

30. «And the night there were other naval triumphes and pastimes upon the water, over against the Court, with shippes of warre and gallies fighting one against another, and against a great castle builded upon the water» (ibid.).

31. Ivi, pp. 361-362.