

Representation and the Nation in the Portraiture of Elizabeth I

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This thesis examines the representative functions of Elizabeth I's visual portraits, challenging the popular account that the queen's image was developed systematically as an icon of abstract ideas beyond her Crown; most notably the English nation. The argument suggests individual images must be properly contextualised if their representative function is to be understood fully, in particular highlighting the importance of Dutch influences upon English national representation. The discussion shows that portraits' disparate political, religious, material, circumstantial, and iconographic contexts can render them representationally dissimilar despite any aesthetic parallels that may exist between them.

Where certain of Elizabeth's painted portraits have dominated 'iconic' and 'national' readings of her visual representation, chapter I shows that the queen's painted images exhibited little symbolic homogeneity beyond representing the monarch and Crown and were never a conduit for national expression. The rare instances of Elizabeth being rendered as a personification of England occur only in printed and medallic portraiture composed outside England (considered in chapters II and III, respectively). National representation would have required a far greater level of abstraction than normally seen in Elizabeth's image and was not a common feature of the queen's portraits in any media.

Throughout this thesis, portraits are analysed in relation to their unique context, rather than to one another. The discussion considers selected images in individual case studies to minimise the chances of applying potentially anachronistic interpretive models to and between them. Dividing these case studies into typological chapters in turn highlights how images' symbolic functions are affected by the media in which it is realised.

The discussion concludes that Elizabeth's portraits were composed individually to represent the queen in manners specific to each image's context. Whilst abstract ideas other than the Crown are sometimes represented in Elizabeth's portraits, those characterisations are by no means regular. The nation is one of these ideas.

This thesis considers the representative functions of Elizabeth I's iconographic portraits, questioning the idea that a common 'Elizabeth icon' developed between examples of her rhetorical visual image. Rather than a homogenous icon, the discussion argues that the queen's portraits exhibit a panoply of iconised 'Elizabeths', each serving specific representational functions, individually tempered by their discrete contexts. The study examines particularly whether and in what circumstances the queen's image was contrived to represent the English national community, responding directly to Sir Roy Strong's influential observation that, 'to all intents and purposes looking at an image of Elizabeth was looking at England'.¹

Equating Elizabeth I's visual image with the representation of the English nation has become something of a recurring trope in studies of the queen's portraits. In the thirty years since the initial publication of Strong's statement, it has been repeated almost without challenge or investigation; developing into a 'standard assumption' of modern scholarship.² By considering portraits' individual representative functions, this study highlights the idea's flaws; demonstrating its failure to account for how images' specific purposes and circumstantial contexts might affect the representative functions of their iconographies.

Arguments supporting Strong's statement (and others that suggest common meanings' development across Elizabeth's portraiture) are derived primarily from analyses of images iconographic compositions. This study suggests that, despite some iconographies being repeated across multiple portraits, their discrete meanings were affected by the specific contexts of their production, application, or appropriation. Rhetorical portraits were political tools; our understanding of them must consider the circumstances they were contrived to engage and the interests they served. Each image should be treated discretely,

¹ R. Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987), p. 99.

² S. Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in S. Doran & T. Freeman, eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth* (New York, NY, 2003), p. 192.

and their individual representational functions considered in light of their specific contextualised purposes. The thesis' structure and methodology reflect this argument.

Where extant studies of Elizabeth's portraiture generally consider pieces either chronologically or thematically, this thesis is structured in three typological chapters, each considering different media. The first examines painted portraits; the second, printed images; and the third, medallurgy. Considering each medium separately allows for the clearer appreciation of their inherent characteristics; highlighting any implicit effect of portraits' specific material medium on their representative function. These typological chapters are further divided into case studies where portraits are treated individually, or in discrete groups, allowing for targeted, contextualised analyses of each image, and mitigating any anachronistic, *post hoc* application of common meaning between them.

The first chapter considers nine painted portraits over seven case studies, including some of Elizabeth I's most familiar images. The paintings were selected as they demonstrate the importance of contextualisation to achieve a full and nuanced understanding of their meanings and show the dangers in applying general analyses across portraits, especially if they appear visually similar. The discussion shows the queen's painted portraits to have been largely the preserve of the English elite, with each portrait likely serving the various purposes of powerful interests at court. It also concludes these Elizabeths to have been unlikely to represent the English nation as most of the interests they served wished to emphasise the queen's authority over those subject to her Crown. Conflating the image of sovereign and subject bodies would blur that relationship and make the implications of her unique authority more difficult to imagine and sustain.

The second and third chapters consider printed and medallion material, respectively. These chapters demonstrate the wide variety of circumstances in which Elizabeth's portraits were produced and published in perhaps not-so-familiar media, and the inherent role of their contextual applications in defining their meaning. Images in these media could

be reproduced more easily and distributed more widely than their painted cousins, and whilst allegorical painted portraits were the provision of the court, printed images and medals could communicate symbolically complex images to a far wider demographic. It is in these media that the only contemporary images to show Elizabeth as an abstract symbol of England were realised.

The eight printed case studies include illustrations derived from state-sponsored books; a politico-philosophical commentary; commemorative broadsheets; a work of pseudo-historical, political theory; an atlas; and a Dutch satire. The breadth of these case studies' derivative contexts demonstrates the representational possibilities realised in allegorical print. Elizabeth's printed portraits were appropriated and developed by multiple, disconnected parties, serving their own purposes, and composing a plethora of 'Elizabeths' to suit their needs. The same can be observed in medallurgy.

Compared to print and paint, few medallic portraits of Elizabeth survive. Those that *are* preserved are so chronologically diverse and apparently iconographically simple that the relative effects of their specific contexts are perhaps more pronounced than in any other media. Elizabeth's medallic portraits demonstrate succinctly the thesis that the representative functions of Elizabeth's portraits were defined by context. To understand them as forming a homogenous 'Elizabeth icon' is anachronistic, whether defining that icon as regularly representative of the nation or anything else.

The thesis concludes that the contemporary representational functions of Elizabeth I's individual allegorical portraits relied as much upon their specific contextual circumstances as any common iconographic composition. Whilst Elizabeth's portraits were sometimes contrived to represent the English nation it was not a common theme, or an aspect seen at all in contemporary 'English' imagery. Instances of Elizabeth's portrait being used to represent the English nation derive from foreign contexts, specifically Dutch, and reflect both local political interests and representational conventions.

Acknowledgements	i
Textual Conventions	ii
<i>A note on quotations from early modern sources</i>	ii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	ii
<i>Standardised abbreviations & editions</i>	iii
List of Illustrations	iv
Introduction	1
<i>Historiography: The Elizabeth Icon</i>	4
<i>Defining the Elizabethan Nation</i>	10
<i>The Two Bodies Theory</i>	12
<i>Methodology</i>	13
<i>Chapter Structure</i>	15
I. Representation and the Nation in Elizabeth I's Painted Portraiture	17
i. <i>The Hampden Portrait (c.1563)</i>	23
ii. <i>The Phoenix and Pelican Portraits (c.1575)</i>	31
iii. <i>Two Sieve Portraits (1579 & c.1580-3)</i>	37
iv. <i>The Welbeck Portrait (c.1585)</i>	45
v. <i>The Woburn Armada Portrait (c.1588)</i>	51
vi. <i>The Ditchley Portrait (c.1592)</i>	56
vii. <i>The Rainbow Portrait (c.1600)</i>	60
<i>Conclusion</i>	67
II. Representation and the Nation in Elizabeth I's Printed Portraiture	70
i. <i>Actes and Monuments (1563)</i>	76
ii. <i>The Bishops' Bible (1568 & 1569)</i>	83
iii. <i>General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Art of Navigation (1577)</i>	89
iv. <i>Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales (1579)</i>	94
v. <i>De Waarheid en de Tijd Onthullen het Broedsel van de Paus (c.1585)</i>	99
vi. <i>Sphæra Civitatis (1588)</i>	107
vii. <i>The Eliza, Triumphans Pattern (1589 & after)</i>	113
viii. <i>Elizabeth I (1596)</i>	120
<i>Conclusion</i>	126
III. Representation and the Nation in Elizabeth I's Medalllic Portraiture	128
i. <i>The Accession Medal (1558)</i>	133
ii. <i>The van Hervijck Medal (1565)</i>	138
iii. <i>Three Dutch Medals Describing the Anglo-Dutch Alliance (1585-7)</i>	144
iv. <i>The Dangers Averted Medal (1589)</i>	153
v. <i>The Elizabeth-Minerva Medal (1602)</i>	157
<i>Conclusion</i>	163
Conclusion	167
Appendices	172
<i>Chapter I.</i>	172
<i>Chapter II.</i>	177
<i>Chapter III.</i>	182
<i>Conclusion</i>	186
Bibliography	189
<i>Manuscripts</i>	189
<i>Printed Sources</i>	189
<i>Literature</i>	191

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That leaves only my mother, Melanie; father, Mervyn, and sister, Megan. Without you, so little in my life would be possible. This thesis is but one example, and is dedicated to you.

Textual Conventions

A note on quotations from early modern sources

Quotations from early modern sources are reproduced as closely to the original material as possible. No attempt has been made to modify spelling and punctuation, or to adhere to a single common standard.

Abbreviations

- BL
British Library
- BM
British Museum
- BNF
Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- *Commentaries*
E. Plowden, *The Commentaries, or Reports of Edmund Plowden of the Middle-Temple of the Common Law: Containing Divers Cases Upon Matters of Law, Argued and Adjudged in the Several Reigns of King Edward VI., Queen Mary, King and Queen Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. To Which are Added, The Quarries of Mr. Plowden*, tr. Anonymous, 2 vols (London, 1816).
- *Engraving*
A. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1952-1964).
- *Gloriana*
R. Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987).
- *Medallic Illustrations*
E. Hawkin, A. Franks, & H. Gruebar, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the death of George II*, 2 vols (London, 1885).
- TNA
The National Archives
- NPG
National Portrait Gallery
- *OCD*
S. Hornblower, & A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, (3rd edn, Oxford, 2003).
- *ODNB*
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online Edition.
- *The Subject of Elizabeth*
L. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago, IL, 2006).
- *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*
K. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT, 2009).
- *TRHS*
Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
- *TRP*
P. Hughes, J. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols (London, 1964-1969).
- V&A
Victoria & Albert Museum

Front Matter

Standard abbreviations

All abbreviations for Shakespeare works and Biblical references are as found in A. Waddingham, ed., *New Hart's Rules: The Oxford Style Guide* (2nd edn, Oxford, 2014). All abbreviated references for classical works are as found in S. Hornblower, & A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, (3rd edn, Oxford, 2003).

Editions

Shakespeare

All Shakespeare citations refer to *The Complete Works*, eds. S. Wells & G. Taylor (Oxford, 1986, compact edn 1988).

The Bible

All Bible citations refer to the Authorised Version.

List of Illustrations

Divided by chapter or section

I.		<i>page</i>
Figure I.1	<i>The Hampden Elizabeth (c.1563)</i> Oil on canvas transferred from panel, artist unknown. Part of the Philip Mould Ltd. collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: MOU 328020. © Philip Mould Ltd, London & Bridgeman Images.	23
Figure I.2	<i>The Pelican Portrait (c.1575)</i> Oil on panel, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard. Part of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: WAG 2994. © Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.	31
Figure I.3	<i>The Phoenix Portrait (c.1575)</i> Oil on panel, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard. Part of the NPG collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: NPG 190. © National Portrait Gallery, London.	32
Figure I.4	<i>The Plimpton Sieve Portrait (1579)</i> Oil on panel, by George Gower. Part of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C collection. This image is in the public domain and available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plimpton_Sieve_Portrait_of_Queen_Elizabeth_I#/media/File:George_Gower_Elizabeth_Sieve_Portrait.jpg .	37
Figure I.5	<i>Sieve Portrait of Elizabeth I (c.1580-3)</i> Oil on panel, artist unknown. Part of the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena collection. The image is in the public domain and available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Metsys_Elizabeth_I_The_Sieve_Portrait_c1583.jpg .	38
Figure I.6	<i>The Welbeck Portrait (c.1585)</i> Oil on panel, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder. Part of the Portland Collection, Harley Gallery, Nottinghamshire. This image is in the public domain and available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_of_England_Marcus_Gheeraerts_the_Elder.jpg .	45
Figure I.7	<i>The Armada Portrait (c.1588)</i> Oil on panel, attributed to George Gower. Part of the Duke of Bedford's collection, held at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire. This image is in the public domain and available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_(Armada_Portrait).jpg .	51

Figure I.8	<i>The Ditchley Portrait</i> (c.1592) Oil on canvas, by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Part of the NPG Collection. Reproduced with permission. NPG 2561. © National Portrait Gallery, London.	56
Figure I.9	<i>The Rainbow Portrait</i> (c.1600) Oil on canvas, artist unknown. Part of the Marquess of Salisbury's collection, held at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. This image is in the public domain and available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_Rainbow_Portrait.jpg.	60
II.		
Figure II.1	<i>Queen Elizabeth as the Emperor Constantine</i> (1563) Woodcut, artist unknown. Part of Ohio State University's Knowledge Bank collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: Luborsky/Ingram No.: 11222. URL citation: http://hdl.handle.net/1811/25013 © Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Ohio State University.	76
Figure II.2	Frontispiece, <i>The Bishops' Bible</i> (1568) Intaglio by Frans Hogenberg. Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1868, 0328.666. © Trustees of the British Museum.	83
Figure II.3	Frontispiece, <i>The Bishops' Bible</i> (quarto edition, 1569) Woodcut, artist unknown. Part of the BL collection. Ref: Tract Supplement / Reel No. E1.3 [151a] URL citation: http://ezproxyprd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2175/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:226320000.	84
Figure II.4	Frontispiece, <i>General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation</i> (1577) Woodcut, artist unknown (after John Dee) Reproduction from the Henry E. Huntingdon Library & Art Gallery. Ref: STC / 378:07. URL citation: http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2175/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842389.	89
Figure II.5	Frontispiece, <i>Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales</i> (1579) Intaglio, attributed to Remigius Hogenberg. Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: Museum Number: 1888, 1221.9.1. © Trustees of the British Museum.	94
Figure II.6	<i>De Waarheid en de Tijd Onthullen het Broedsel van de Paus</i> (c.1584) Intaglio, attributed to Pieter van der Heyden. Part of the Rijksmuseum collection. Ref: RP-P-1885-A-9285. This image is in the public domain.	99

Figure II.7	Illustration, <i>Sphaera Civitatis</i> (1588) Woodcut, unknown artist. Part of the Fitzwilliam Museum collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: P.207-1937. © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.	107
Figure II.8	<i>Eliza, Triumphans</i> (1589) Intaglio by William Rogers. Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1901,0417.35. © Trustees of the British Museum.	113
Figure II.9	<i>Verum Decus Chritianae Reipub</i> (after 1589) Intaglio, artist unknown (after William Rogers). Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1936,1117.2. © Trustees of the British Museum.	114
Figure II.10	<i>Elizabeth I</i> (1596) Intaglio by Crispijn van de Passe. Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1937,0312.1. © Trustees of the British Museum.	120
III.		
Figure III.1	<i>The Accession Medal</i> (1558) Medal, bronze, English, medallist unknown. Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: M.6858. © Trustees of the British Museum.	133
Figure III.2	<i>The van Herwijck Medal</i> (c.1565) Medal, lead, Franco-Dutch, by Steven van Herwijck. Part of the NPG collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: NPG 4294. © National Portrait Gallery, London.	138
Figure III.3	Dutch copper token (1585) Jeton, copper, Dutch, medallist unknown. Part of the Rijksmuseum collection. Ref: NG-VG-3-651. This image is in the public domain.	144
Figure III.4	Dutch silver medal (1586) Medal, silver, Dutch, medallist unknown. Part of the Rijksmuseum collection. Ref: NG-VG-3-656. This image is in the public domain.	145

Figure III.5	Dutch silver medal (1587) Medal, silver, Dutch, attributed to Gerard van Bylaer. Part of the Rijksmuseum collection. Ref: NG-VG-1-462. This image is in the public domain.	146
Figure III.6	<i>The Dangers Averted Medal</i> (c.1589) Medal, cast and chased gold, English, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard. Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: M.6903. © Trustees of the British Museum.	153
Figure III.7	<i>Elizabeth-Minerva Medal</i> (c.1602) Medal, silver, artist unknown. Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1897, 0605. 1. © Trustees of the British Museum.	157
APPENDICES		
Figure A.1	<i>Princess Elizabeth</i> (c.1546) Oil on panel, attributed to William Scrots. Part of the Royal Collection, Windsor. Reproduced with permission. Ref: RCIN 404444. © HM Queen Elizabeth II.	172
Figure A.2	<i>Elizabeth I</i> (c.1572) Miniature watercolour on velum by Nicholas Hilliard. Part of the NPG collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: NPG 108. © National Portrait Gallery, London.	173
Figure A.3	<i>George Gower</i> (1579) Oil on panel, by George Gower (self-portrait). Held in a private collection. The image is in the public domain and available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Gower#/media/File:George_Gower_Self-portrait_1579.jpg.	174
Figure A.4	<i>The Darnley Elizabeth</i> (1575) Oil on Panel, by Federigo Zuccaro. Part of the NPG collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: NPG 2082. © National Portrait Gallery London.	175
Figure A.5	<i>Elizabeth I</i> (c.1592) Miniature watercolour on velum, by Isaac Oliver. Part of the V&A painted miniature collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: p8.-1940. © Victoria & Albert Museum.	176

Figure A.6	Frontispiece, <i>The Great Bible</i> (1539) Woodcut, artist unknown. The image is in the public domain and available at: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ea/GreatbibleI.jpg .	177
Figure A.7	<i>Vuile Bruid of de Bruiloft</i> (1570) Intaglio by Pieter van der Heyden. Part of the Rijksmuseum collection. Ref: RP-P-1897-A-19651. This image is in the public domain.	178
Figure A.8	<i>De Waarheid en de Tijd Onthullen het Broedsel van de Paus</i> (c.1585) Intaglio attributed to Pieter van der Heyden. Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1893,0530.1 © Trustees of the British Museum.	179
Figure A.9	Funeral effigy and corset of Elizabeth I (1603) Part of the Westminster Abbey Library collections. Reproduced with permission. © Dean & Chapter of Westminster Abbey.	180
Figure A.10	Medal celebrating the Cadiz expedition (1596) Medal, silver, Dutch, medallist unknown. Part of the National Maritime Museum's coins & medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: MEC0015. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.	181
Figure A.11	<i>The Supremacy Medal</i> (1545) Medal, gold, English, attributed to Henry Basse Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: M.6802. © Trustees of the British Museum.	182
Figure A.12	<i>The Coronation Medal</i> of Edward VI (1547) Medal, gold, English, attributed to Henry Basse. Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: G3.EM.1. © Trustees of the British Museum.	183
Figure A.13	A medallion portrait of Thomas Cromwell (1538) Medal, gold, likely the work of a continental craftsman, but artist unknown. Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: M.6792. © Trustees of the British Museum.	184
Figure A.14	Mary I's <i>State of England Medal</i> (1555) Medal, bronze, by Jacopo da Trezzo. Part of the BM's coins and medals collection. Reproduced with permission. Ref: 1927, 0622. 1. © Trustees of the British Museum.	185

- Figure A.15 *The Union of the Crowns* (1632-4) 186
Detail from ceiling canvas, Banqueting House, Whitehall, by Peter Paul Rubens.
Part of the Historic Royal Palaces collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: HRP20910.
© Historic Royal Palaces.
- Figure A.16 *Angliæ Respublica* (originally 1652) 187
This version is taken from the frontispiece of T. Violet, *Proposals Humbly
Presented to His Highness Oliver...*, (London, 1656).
Part of the BL collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: Violet, 1656: A.
© The British Library Board.
- Figure A.17 *The Breda Medal* (1662) 188
Medal, Gold, by John Roettier.
Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: G3,EM.4.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

REPRESENTATION AND THE NATION IN THE PORTRAITURE OF ELIZABETH I

INTRODUCTION

Elizabeth I's visual portraits are almost as varied as they are numerous.¹ Throughout her life, images of the queen were developed in paint, ink, and metal, and since the end of the nineteenth century have been the subject of regular study by historians and art historians alike. Each discipline and scholar have brought with them their own insights and prejudices, but perhaps none can claim more pervasive influence than can Sir Roy Strong; in particular, his thesis that during her reign Elizabeth's portrait changed from being the image of a natural person into being 'a symbol' of specific ideals.² As those following this reading have since reiterated, it necessitates the observer to maintain that, 'although the body of images representing Elizabeth varies somewhat in style and approach, its collective impact is one of homogeneity'.³ Building on this foundation, and the work of his mentor,

¹ The NPG collection includes some 132 Elizabeth portraits, 25 of which are contemporary. In 2003, Susan Doran numbered Elizabeth's surviving painted portraits at around 135. See S. Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in S. Doran & T. Freeman, eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth* (New York, NY, 2003), p. 192.

² *Gloriana*, p. 9.

³ N. Salomon, 'Positioning Women in Visual Convention: The Case of Elizabeth I', in B. Travitsky & A. Seeff, eds., *Attending Women in Early Modern England* (Newark, 1994), p. 65. See also J. Walker, *The Elizabeth Icon: 1603-2003* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 1, and *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 323, 357, 367-73, 382, 387-9, 480.

Francis Yates, Strong suggests that Elizabeth's portraits exhibited the English queen as a singular 'cult' figure, composed to inspire her people to dependable, devotional obedience.⁴ It was in a similar vein that he also noted: 'to all intents and purposes looking at an image of Elizabeth was looking at England'; in a single pithy clause, identifying the queen's collected image as 'a symbol' of the English nation.⁵

Where the 'iconic' claims describing Elizabeth's 'cultic' representative function have faced concerted criticism since the 1990s, her perceived national symbolism has passed all but unchecked.⁶ Extant studies either note Strong's assessment as an accepted interpretation, repeat his analysis, or build upon it without question. In 1998, Jodi Mikalachki repeated the analysis almost beat-for-beat.⁷ In 2003, at the quadricentennial of Elizabeth's death, Susan Doran remarked that the omission of Elizabeth's portrait from certain 'nationally' descriptive works, 'should lead us to question the standard assumption that the person of Elizabeth came to be equated with the English nation', but is yet to investigate the question herself.⁸ Since then, Louis Montrose has noted Elizabeth's national symbolism as just one of many iconographic functions at work in her image; Kevin Sharpe has described Elizabeth as the 'literal embodiment of the nation', and Anna Whitelock identified one of her portraits as amounting to a deliberate 'visual statement identifying Elizabeth as the embodiment of the nation'.⁹ When Helen Hackett wrote recently that 'Elizabeth I is often thought of as the most English of monarchs and the very

⁴ For Yates and Strong's 'cult' reading of Elizabeth's image see F. Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975); Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth; The English Icon* (London, 1969); *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits in the National Gallery*, 2 vols (London, 1969); Nicholas Hilliard (London, 1975); *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977); *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1620* (London, 1983); *Gloriana; The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, 3 vols (Woodbridge, 1995-9), ii.

⁵ *Gloriana*, p. 99. For the general repetition of Elizabeth's symbolic function see J. Walker, *The Elizabeth Icon: 1603-2003* (Basingstoke, 2004), p. 1, and *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 323, 357, 367-73, 382, 387-9, 480.

⁶ See S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992); H. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke, 1995).

⁷ J. Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England* (London, 1998), p. 24.

⁸ Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power', p. 192.

⁹ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 131; *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 323, 382; A. Whitelock, 'The Queen's Two Bodies: The Image and Reality of The Body of Elizabeth I', in S. McGlynn & E. Woodarce, eds., *Image and Perception of the Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 214.

personification of an isolationist Protestant nationalism', she demonstrated the idea's persistence, although without subscribing to the analysis herself.¹⁰

That the idea is so pervasive without having been closely examined suggests that there is something about it that makes instinctive sense. If Elizabeth I's image had been contrived as a national symbol, such a feminine English personification would not have lacked for European equivalents. France had been depicted in female form as early as 1480, and the abstract *Maiden of Holland* had symbolised the Province since the fourteenth century.¹¹ After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1579, similar female personifications were developed for the new United Provinces and became part of a shared Netherlandish iconography, demonstrative of the community's new collective condition.¹² Whilst the aesthetic influence of Dutch artists in Elizabethan England has been well accounted for, and Elizabeth's image is often interpreted as a national symbol, there has been no examination of the role of Dutch representative conventions in the perceived development of Elizabeth's portrait as an icon of England.¹³ This thesis seeks to remedy this omission, at least in part.

Primarily, the discussion that follows challenges the 'standard assumption' that Elizabeth's portrait developed as a national symbol, and argues that her image was not systematically developed to represent the nation. It reasons that discerning the representative function of Elizabeth's portraits relies upon contextualising individual images with respect to their specific contemporary circumstances. Instances of her portrait symbolising England are shown to have been rare and particular to their context. Far from being an English tool, used to shape insular identities or devotions, the most compelling examples of the queen's image being abstracted into a national figure were composed to

¹⁰ H. Hackett, 'Introduction', in H. Hackett, ed., *Early Modern Exchanges* (Farnham, 2015), p. 1.

¹¹ The earliest known image of France personified was an illustration for Alain Chartier's *Le Quadrilogue invective*. See BNF, Fr.19127, f.9v.

¹² See P. van Winter, 'De Hollandse tuin', *Nederlandse Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1957), pp. 29-121.

¹³ For Netherlandish artists in Elizabethan England see M. Curd, *Flemish and Dutch Artists in Early Modern England: Collaboration and Competition, 1460-1660* (Farnham, 2016).

serve the alien interests of parties outside Elizabeth's kingdom. Whilst those who consider Elizabeth's image as a national symbol might package their observations in terms of perceived homogeneity, that her portraits were used to serve diverse, heterogeneous interests suggests that a more nuanced, contextualised appreciation of specific 'Elizabeths' would yield a fuller appreciation of their individual meanings.

To achieve such discrete readings, the discussion that follows treats portraits either individually or in small groups; only combining images either when they share contextual origins or to highlight the allegorical distinctions that exist between aesthetically and iconographically similar works. So partitioned, portraits iconographic inferences are then considered in light of known provenance and their specific political contexts. This will enable portraits' individual representative functions to be clearly identified; show how contemporary circumstances might affect a seemingly common iconographic vocabulary, and allow us to consider more clearly whether any of Elizabeth's portraits might have been contrived to represent an English nation.¹⁴ In adopting this rigorously contextualising approach, the thesis is distinct from much of the existing literature concerning Elizabeth's image.

Historiography: The Elizabeth Icon

At the end of the nineteenth century, Freeman O'Donoghue's, *A Descriptive and Classified Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, set the 'descriptive' tone for modern scholarship's treatment of the queen's portraits, favouring purely iconographic interpretations.¹⁵ Some seven decades later, Strong cited O'Donoghue's study as still the fundamental work on the topic, characterising his own catalogue as an updated version of

¹⁴ This methodology is partially inspired by the contextualist approach of the Cambridge School of the history of political thought, initially developed by John Pocock and Quentin Skinner. The methodology is familiar to the study of literature and politico-philosophical discourse, but has had limited application when studying visual records, where a descriptive methodology predominates. See Q. Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1978); J. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment, Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 2003).

¹⁵ F. O'Donoghue, *A Descriptive and Classified Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1894).

the earlier work.¹⁶ Strong indicated in the introduction to his 1963 book, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, that he considered Elizabeth's portraits documents 'of interest not only to historians of the visual arts, but [also] to those of... political, religious, social, and literary history'.¹⁷ Despite this, his subsequent treatment of the portrait's historical contexts are vague; supporting general theories such as that 'the Queen's painters... were concerned with depicting her as an object of worship', and that 'the symbolism of her state portraits is that of the virtue, peace, and justice of an imperial golden age'.¹⁸ Despite listing numerous instances where portraits were distributed as diplomatic gifts, he offers no discussion as to how a portrait's composition might have been read in specific association with particular diplomatic instances.¹⁹

In his 1987 work, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, Strong reiterated his debt to O'Donoghue, and outlined his intention to document the gradual progress by which the 'fantastic iconography' of Elizabeth's portraiture 'slowly built'.²⁰ In setting out his intentions in those terms, Strong maintained his previous position that the extended catalogue of Elizabeth I's portraiture can be treated as a singular representative iconography. His works and this attitude, echoing Francis Yates' handling of Elizabeth's poetic portrait, have informed much of the scholarship that considers Elizabeth's visual portraits' meaning.²¹

From the mid 1940s, Yates developed a reading of Elizabeth's textual image, exploring the queen's literary guises and their representative purpose. Elizabeth could be Gloriana, Belpheobe, Diana, Astraea, Virgo, or the phoenix, and in each instance Yates

¹⁶ R. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 3-4; *Gloriana*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷ Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 33, 41.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 23-32.

²⁰ *Gloriana*, p. 10.

²¹ For Yates and Strong's 'cult' reading of Elizabeth's image see F. Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975); Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth; The English Icon* (London, 1969); *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits in the National Gallery*, 2 vols (London, 1969); Nicholas Hilliard (London, 1975); *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977); *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1620* (London, 1983); *Gloriana; The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, 3 vols (Woodbridge, 1995-9), ii.

would argue Elizabeth's character developed to symbolise an imagined 'golden age' of English piety, plenty, and accomplishment.²² She saw the deliberate creation of a sacred figure; the basis of a pseudo-divine 'cult' to inspire English devotion to the Elizabethan Supremacy, primarily at court.²³ Applying that 'cult' reading to Elizabeth's visual image, Strong argued the queen's visual portrait disseminated a devotional Elizabeth figure beyond the court, and with it a Protestant commitment to the Crown's Supremacy. For Strong, Elizabeth's portraits were 'top down' tools for government, rather than playing pieces in what Sydney Anglo neatly, if sceptically, described as a 'courtly game'.²⁴

Anglo argued that the panegyric of Elizabeth's image was 'aimed upward to please the monarch' and secure patronage; 'not downward' from Crown to court, let alone beyond. Criticising those who see propagandist symbolism in every aspect of Tudor Royal display, Anglo reasoned that the term 'cult' is too laden with ideas of 'worship, devotion and sincerity' to be applied to the obsequious race for royal patronage that inspired many of Elizabeth's portraits.²⁵ He reasoned that, although courtiers may have flattered the queen with symbolically complicated representations, only the most basic emblems of Tudor heraldry would have enjoyed the necessary dissemination to exert influence beyond the court, and even then, little would have been communicated other than claims of Tudor possession. Anglo dismantled Strong's reading of Elizabeth's image, dismissing the 'cult' interpretation as a deliberate device for social control from the centre. In its place, he favoured a more cynical interpretation, whereby sycophantic courtiers sought royal favour

²² Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 29-38.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-120.

²⁴ Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 127-9. For the politico-allegorical character of Elizabeth's portrait see J. King, 'The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38 (1985), pp. 41-84; *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton, NJ, 1989); E. Pomeroy, *Reading the Portraits of Elizabeth I* (Hamden, CN., 1989); A.

Belsey & C. Belsey, 'Icons of Divinity: Portraits of Elizabeth I', in L. Gent & N. Llewellyn, eds., *Renaissance Bodies. The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660* (London, 1990), pp. 11-35; J. King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), pp. 30-74.

²⁵ Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 3, 127-9.

with transparent flattery.²⁶ Helen Hackett's *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* (1999), continued the deconstruction of the 'cult' interpretation of Elizabeth's poetic representative function.

For Hackett, the suggestion that Elizabeth's image was deliberately constructed as a cultic substitute for the suppressed Virgin Mary was built on a narrow appreciation of the relevant imagery. Yates and Strong claimed that the appropriation of pseudo-divine, Marian characteristics developed Elizabeth's image as a devotional figure. Hackett countered by observing that such imagery, far from being peculiar to Elizabeth's iconography, was a well-established element of representing early modern, English queenship.²⁷ Reading Elizabeth as a cult figure necessitates the combing of her representation for relevant details whilst ignoring the rest. Hackett demonstrated that by contextualising Elizabeth's literary representation, applying individual occurrences to specific moments in Elizabeth's reign, one is able to achieve a more nuanced, sensitive account of the queen's expressed character than is possible otherwise.

Whilst not all traces of Yates and Strong's analysis disappeared with Anglo and Hackett's critiques, no study since has pursued a single, universal understanding of a homogenous Elizabeth image quite so vociferously. Although flirting with Strong's sentiment by suggesting the queen's visual portrait seemed 'designed' to encourage subjects' 'unquestioning assent to their own subjection', Louis Montrose argued that Elizabeth's portraits were used in different circumstances, by different parties to achieve different objectives.²⁸ The embodiment of the nation in Elizabeth's portrait is not of paramount concern to Montrose's work, being only one of many symbolic functions performed by her image and, even then, being by no means the most compelling. Where Strong saw personification, Montrose saw ownership and dominion.²⁹ Instead of a singular

²⁶ Hackett, *Virgin Mother*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-37.

²⁸ L. Montrose, 'Elizabeth Through the Looking Glass: Picturing the Queen's Two Bodies', in R. Schulte, ed., *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courty World, 1500-2000* (New York, NY, 2006), pp. 62, 73.

²⁹ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 131.

‘cult’ figure, Montrose notes that the queen’s image was variously employed to ‘[legitimise] and [resist] the authority of her regime; [pursue] foreign policy...; [seek] to influence royal sympathies in matters [of policy]; and [pursue] personal advancement through courtly flattery’.³⁰ His broad thesis reflects the symbolic variety within Elizabeth’s visual representations.³¹ In his 2009 work, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, despite a detailed account of the typological diversity within examples of Elizabeth’s visual images, Kevin Sharpe showed little such nuance when considering portraits’ representative functions.

Sharpe echoed Strong’s thesis that Elizabeth’s image was systematically developed across media to make her ‘the centre of... subjects’ imagining and the object of their love’.³² For Sharpe, however, this was a cold tool of government. Presenting Elizabeth as an ‘English icon’, he argued that the ‘personification’ and ‘literal embodiment of the nation’ was part of a programme of image cultivation.³³ As with Strong before him, Sharpe’s conclusion that Elizabeth’s image was systematically developed to represent the nation was based upon analysing images’ iconography, and pays little attention to their temporal and political contexts.³⁴ As Strong’s analysis was set into a preconceived circumstance whereby Elizabeth’s image was developed to cultivate devotion, Sharpe targeted his analysis to demonstrate the application of Elizabeth’s portrait as a tool for government. Where Sharpe’s treatment of Elizabeth’s portrait differed markedly from Strong’s, however, was in his considering how diverse types of media might act differently to one another.

In 1963, Strong had noted various media types’ potential to engage audiences in different circumstances, but he failed to explore the idea.³⁵ His analysis of print, numismatics, and medallurgy served merely to punctuate discussions based in Elizabeth’s

³⁰ Montrose, ‘Elizabeth Through the Looking Glass’, pp. 61-2.

³¹ See *The Subject of Elizabeth*.

³² *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 480-1.

³³ *Ibid*, pp. 337, 352, 356-7, 376, 382.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 480-1.

³⁵ Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 29-32. For the seditious representation of Elizabeth’s image, see J. Walker, ed., *Dissolving Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana* (London, 1998), and *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 165-209.

painted portraits. Sharpe gave them simultaneous and equal account, considering material composed across almost every contemporary medium, and by persons and parties both outside England and within. By dint of this, he touched upon the overseas and subversive uses of Elizabeth's image, noting that foreign or seditious portraits would serve different political interests to Crown-ordained images.³⁶ He did not, however, pursue the idea, or explore the queen's foreign representations with respect to their native purpose; instead relating foreign images to an Anglo-centric thesis that Elizabeth's image was a tool to project her regime's authority. The majority of the foreign representations Sharpe considered derive from Dutch contexts and he is by no means alone in recognising the importance of Dutch influence on English imagery.

When introducing his editorial, *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (1997), Bart Westerweel observed that during the mid to late sixteenth century, the relationship between England and the Low Countries evolved from that of coast-to-coast trading partners to include 'virtually all reaches of life: trade, religion, politics, warfare,' and, not least of all, 'art'.³⁷ As close as the communities might have become, English and Dutch interests nevertheless remained distinct, including when iconising Elizabeth's portrait.³⁸ Where to an English Protestant Elizabeth might embody legitimate and supreme sovereignty, to a Dutchman, or even an English Catholic, the same image might represent something quite different. Whilst private identities and interpretations undoubtedly informed individual reactions to Elizabeth's portraits, an attempt to account for those

³⁶ *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 407-8.

³⁷ B. Westerweel, 'Introduction', in B. Westerweel, ed., *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden, 1997), p. ix; K. Haley, *The British and the Dutch: Political and Cultural Relations Through the Ages* (London, 1988). See also L. Jardine, *Going Dutch, How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London, 2008); M. Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London, 1994), pp. 25-46. One such example of the difficulty in determining a 'definitive' origin for a source being Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems*, published in Leiden (1586). Whitney's English text was accompanied by Dutch plates created for the Plantin Press at Leiden, and commonly used by numerous authors who originated England, the Low Countries, and Germany. See P. Daly, 'The Place of the English Emblem Book in the Context of Continental Emblem Book Production to the Year 1700. A Chronological List of Editions of English Emblematic Works Published to 1700' in B. Westerweel, ed., *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden, 1997), p. 2.

³⁸ For the ties between England and the Netherlands, see Jardine, *Going Dutch*.

factors would be a fool's errand.³⁹ The nuances of personal identity, of how individuals related to their particular circumstances and experiences, are lost to us. In place of these identities, we generalise, delineating macro characteristics that are easier to substantiate. Although this thesis does not account for images' specific reception, whether by individuals or communities, the idea of shared identity is nonetheless central to any discussion of a nation's identity and its representation. Without describing the nation, a discussion of its embodiment is moot.

Defining the Elizabethan Nation

Identifying what is meant by the 'English nation' has been something of a preoccupation for England's historians. Specialists of every conceivable era have claimed the nation's inception as their own, and fitted its perceived prototype characteristics to their period's idiosyncrasies.⁴⁰ Elizabeth's reign is no exception. Elizabethan historians place literature 'at the forefront of establishing... English national identity', whilst the visual development of ideas of nationhood is reduced to brief considerations of how frontispieces and cartography complement developments exhibited in literature.⁴¹ In her *The Making of Englishmen* (2014), Hilary Larkin observed that across literary genres, early

³⁹ M. Flannery, 'Studies in Iconography', *The American Biology Teacher*, 55.4 (1993), p. 250.

⁴⁰ For prior to the Norman Conquest, see S. Foot, 'The Making of Angelcynn: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 6 (1996), pp. 25-49. For the twelfth century, see J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000) pp. 113-44. For the fourteenth century, see A. Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 51. For the early sixteenth century see L. Greenfeld, *Nationalism, Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), p. 42. For the seventeenth century, see H. Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton, NJ, 1965); *The Ideas of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2005), p. 166. For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see G. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (Basingstoke, 1997), and K. Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, (Cambridge, 2003).

⁴¹ A. Hadfield, 'The Nation in the Renaissance', in E. Sauer & J. Wright, eds., *Reading the Nation in English Literature: A Critical Reader* (New York, NY, 2009), pp. 135-43. See also R. Foster Jones, *The Triumph of English* (Stanford, CA, 1953); R. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago, IL, 1992); A. Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994); C. McEachem, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge, 1996); C. Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (Oxford, 2004); 'Formation of Nationhood', in A. Kinney, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2012).

modern authors narrated what it was to be 'English', at once defining broad aspects of the national character and positioning them within the context of European communities.⁴²

Larkin's work built on that of Richard Helgerson, who in the early 1990s argued writers had embarked upon 'a concerted generational project' to articulate the English national character through literature.⁴³ As Andrew Hadfield noted, however, the ideas these authors developed might have been based upon little besides their imaginations. For Hadfield, authors both 'represented the real truth of the nation and inspired the reader to help shape its future', with writers both '[fashioning] and [authorising] their own utterances...; [imagining] the national community they addressed'. During the Elizabethan period, the 'nation' 'was always in the process of being redefined'.⁴⁴

Hadfield's observation has profound implications for our understanding of what 'England' was, or rather the limits of what it could be. Just as an individual's sensibilities would affect their interpretation of an image, there could be as many 'Englands' as there were authors to write them. Elizabeth Sauer and Julia Wright loosely defined the nation as 'a people with a shared history, culture and language who have an emotional attachment to a particular territory', but the exact details of an imagined nation would vary depending upon who composed it.⁴⁵ Considering 'what [contemporary] writers meant when they evoked Englishness', Larkin designated the shared national identity of Englishmen as centring upon being 'free, plain, and Protestant', but acknowledged that the description was 'not without internal contestations'.⁴⁶ One obvious problem with her definition is that such

⁴² H. Larkin, *The Making of Englishmen. Debates on National Identity, 1550-1650* (Leiden, 2014), p. 3.

⁴³ Helgerson, *Nationhood*, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁴ Hadfield, *National Identity*, p. 1; 'The Nation in the Renaissance', p. 140.

⁴⁵ E. Sauer & J. Wright, 'Introduction', in, E. Sauer & J. Wright, eds., *Reading the Nation in English Literature: A Critical Reader* (New York, NY, 2009), pp. 1-2.

⁴⁶ Larkin, *Englishmen*, p. 3.

an overtly protestant description immediately neglects any concurrent English Catholic identity.⁴⁷

To add some order to the potential milieu of disparate Englands, we might follow Helgerson's suggestion and suppose that, despite any other discrepancies that might exist between them, early modern presentations of English nationhood can be divided into two broad groups. The first, perpetuated by the court, consisted of the authoritarian creations of the monarchic state; emphasising the idea of prosperity through Protestant freedoms, the nature and preservation of a recognisable English territory, and loyalty to a Supreme, imperial monarchy.⁴⁸ Alongside those deliberate stereotypes were more populist ideas, characterised by alienation from the court and the state-encouraged perception of England's national community.⁴⁹ This is not a dissimilar division to that seen in Elizabeth's portraiture, where pieces influenced by the English court might share certain sycophantic characteristics, and those composed outside court circles might present the queen in entirely different ways. Ideas of nation must therefore be considered a changeable thing, but for our purposes, it is enough to say that common identity could be derived from territorial connection, political loyalty, religious agreement, and shared ambition.

The Two Bodies Theory

Whatever their origins or nature, once the concept of the nation was established, 'Renaissance people were obsessed with metaphors of self,' and objects that could stand 'for people, collectively and individually'.⁵⁰ The theoretical model by which the queen might have become such an 'object' of collected identity would have been much the same as that

⁴⁷ For the Catholic English identity, see L. McClain, 'Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33.2 (2002), pp. 381-99; C. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2008); J. Kelly & S. Royal, eds., *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory, and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden, 2017).

⁴⁸ Larkin, *Englishmen*, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁹ Helgerson, *Nationhood*.

⁵⁰ C. Hulse, 'Reading Painting: Holbein, Cromwell, Wyatt' in P. Erickson & C. Hulse, eds., *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000), p. 158.

describing the imagined relationship between her 'body natural' and 'body politic'.⁵¹ This dual nature provides a legal-theoretical basis for the idea that, at her accession, Elizabeth's mortal 'human body' absorbed and exhibited 'more-than-human' elements, and so could embody the authority of the immortal, artificial 'person' of the Crown.⁵² No matter the fragilities of the natural body, the artificial body was separate; immune to 'natural Defects and Imbecilities'.⁵³ In Elizabeth's own words, she was 'one body naturally [and] a body politic to govern'.⁵⁴

Because the 'king's two bodies theory' created the monarch's natural body as indistinguishable from the artificial Crown, to represent that natural body was to simultaneously represent the 'body politic'.⁵⁵ Whilst the first studies to consider this theory's artistic influence examined drama, around the turn of the last century Louis Montrose applied it to Elizabeth's visual portraits. He identified that in creating a visual portrait of Elizabeth's physical royal body one necessarily represented her incorporated natural and artificial states.⁵⁶ Following her accession, images of Elizabeth Tudor inherently represented the abstract Crown. The suggestion that she also represented the abstract nation is therefore, theoretically at least, entirely reasonable.⁵⁷

Methodology

This thesis examines whether that theory was realised in practical reality; asking two key questions: was Elizabeth I's portrait composed to represent the nation, and if so, was

⁵¹ F. Maitland, *State, Trust, and Corporation* (Cambridge, 2003); E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, NJ, 1957) pp. 7-23.

⁵² Walker, *The Elizabeth Icon*, p. 1.

⁵³ *Commentaries*, i, p. 212a.

⁵⁴ 'Elizabeth's first Speech', Hatfield, 20 Nov. 1558, TNA, SP 12/1 fol.12.

⁵⁵ M. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London, 1977); L. Montrose, 'Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I', *Representations*, 68 (1999), pp. 108-61; 'Elizabeth Through the Looking Glass'. See also A. Whitelock, 'The Queen's Two Bodies: The Image and Reality of The Body of Elizabeth I', pp. 207-25.

⁵⁶ Montrose, 'Idols of the Queen', pp. 108-61; Montrose, 'Elizabeth Through the Looking Glass', pp. 61, 73-4.

⁵⁷ '[The Crown's] Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government' (*Commentaries*, i, pp. 212a-13).

that function part of a deliberate and centralised iconisation? The discussion develops the argument that any instances whereby the queen's image symbolised the nation did so in the context of their specific circumstances; not as part of a concerted project to build Elizabeth's portrait as a national icon. This is achieved by considering examples of the queen's allegorical portraiture drawn from across multiple visual media in a series of isolated case studies. There are two reasons for this approach. The first is to highlight portraits' symbolism in specific context to mitigate any anachronistic, *post hoc* application of common meaning between them. The second is to ensure that no media type is arbitrarily preferred over another.

Where monumental painted portraiture has often received disproportionate attention, this study takes a balanced approach to each subject image, no matter its media type. Although necessarily considering the paintings that form the core of Elizabeth's portraits' historiography, the discussion also includes substantial analyses of printed and medallion images. The result is a study that challenges the interpretation of regular meaning and 'national' symbolism across familiar images. Some portraits are included because they have been cited as developing Elizabeth as a national symbol; others, because of their close contextual associations with material or circumstances that developed elements of England's common character: Protestantism, loyalty to the Crown's authority, or a sense of inalienable territorial integrity. The rest highlight the importance of specific context for understanding Elizabeth's portraits. They may have been interpreted previously as exhibiting elements of a common 'Elizabeth icon', or bear close aesthetic similarity to other images, but when viewed in specific context, each is shown to have its own distinct representative function.

The reason for each images' inclusion will be indicated in each case study. The portrait will be described in detail, and its known provenance outlined. Whilst it may be possible to place the piece into a specific context from provenance alone, if that is not

feasible, images' visual contents, combined with such information as *is* available, will ordinarily be sufficient to provide satisfactory context. Once a reasoned context for a portrait is established, the interpretation of its iconographic details can be informed by concurrent events. Each case study will conclude by outlining how a portrait's particular context might affect our understanding of it; demonstrating, individually, the importance of doing so in order to appreciate images' meaning fully, and, collectively, showing the heterogeneity of Elizabeth's portraiture's rhetorical function. The case studies will be arranged typologically, dividing the thesis into three chapters, each devoted to a discrete media type.

Considering media separately will allow for the clearer appreciation of their inherent characteristics, and highlight any implicit effect of portraits' material medium on their representative function. By presenting printed and medallic materials separately to painted pieces, this structure also allows for a more holistic appreciation of Elizabeth's portraiture than modern scholarship's anachronistic promotion of painting allows.⁵⁸ A chronological structure within the chapters highlights the representative dissimilarities between successive portraits and stimulates a pointed examination of Strong's assessment that homogenous iconographies 'built up' around Elizabeth over time.⁵⁹

Chapter Structure

The first chapter will consider nine painted images over seven case studies, showing that each painted portrait performed a distinct representational function. It argues that given the introspective court context and application of Elizabeth's monumental painted portraits, the idea that they might ever have been contrived to conflate queen and nation – homogeneously or otherwise – seems unlikely.

⁵⁸ R. Smuts, 'Art and the material culture of majesty of early Stuart England', in R. Smuts, ed., *The Stuart Court and Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 86-112.

⁵⁹ *Gloriana*, p. 10.

The second and third chapters consider printed and medallic material, respectively. These chapters demonstrate the true variety in the circumstances in which Elizabeth's portraits were produced and published, and the inherent role of circumstance in defining their meaning. These images could be reproduced more easily and distributed far more widely than their painted cousins. Whilst allegorical painted portraits were the provision of the court, printed images and medals could communicate equally allegorically complex portraits of the queen to a wider demographic. It is in these media that the most compelling images of Elizabeth as an abstract symbol of England were realised.

The eight printed case studies include illustrations derived from state-sponsored books; a politico-philosophical commentary; commemorative broadsheets; a work of pseudo-historical, political theory; an atlas; and a Dutch satire. The breadth of these case studies' derivative contexts demonstrates the representational possibilities realised in allegorical print. Elizabeth's printed portraits were appropriated by multiple, disconnected parties, serving their own purposes, and composing 'Elizabeths' to suit their needs. The same can be observed in medallurgy.

When compared to print and paint, relatively few medallic portraits of Elizabeth survive today. Those that do, however, are so chronologically diverse and apparently iconographically simple that the relative effect of an image's specific context is perhaps more pronounced between them than it is in any other media. Given the commemorative nature of medallurgy, each image's individual meaning is tied inextricably to a specific context. They exhibit little homogeneity, and must be treated individually to achieve an effective analysis. Elizabeth's medallic portraits provide a succinct demonstration of the thesis that the representative functions of Elizabeth's visual portraits were contextually defined. To understand them as a homogenous, regularly repeated 'Elizabeth icon' is anachronistic, whether defining them as representative of the nation or anything else.

I.

REPRESENTATION AND THE NATION IN ELIZABETH I'S PAINTED PORTRAITURE

Between 1356 and 1363, Edward III commissioned a dynastic mural for the east end of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.¹ The king's portrait, alongside those of his wife and children, marked the genesis of the English monarchy's use of politically representative painted portraiture in England, and set broad precedents for the function of royal portraits for generations to come. The artist made little effort to accurately depict the physical idiosyncrasies of his subjects, representing them as ideal objects rather than 'individuals'. The 'warrior King' is all but indistinguishable from the 'warrior Prince' of Wales and his brothers; kneeling at prayer in full battle dress alongside the similarly clad St George, dutiful in their martial piety. At a time when the English Crown was bellicose in the extreme, the commission shows the king's ambition and military achievements as merely

¹ E. Tristram, *English Wall-Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955); J. Alexander, 'Painting and Manuscript Illuminations for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages', in V. Scattergood & J. Sherborne, eds., *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp. 143-4; D. Bentley-Cranch, *The Renaissance Portrait in France and England. A Comparative Study* (Paris, 2004), p. 53.

the humble fulfilment of his God-given rights.² With the Plantagenet mural, the English royal portrait had its first monumental expression as an abstract, politicised symbol.

Renaissance developments later introduced the idea of the ‘individual’ into otherwise figurative portraiture, with apparently accurate representations of subjects’ appearances blurring the line between their genuine qualities and abstract symbolism.³ With the sixteenth-century introduction of portrait masters to the English Court, the monarch’s painted image began to echo the continental style that emphasised the individuality of the subject’s face.⁴ Considering the effect of combining impersonal political expression and purported ‘individual’ character has become a pronounced element of modern studies of Tudor painted portraiture; for no subject more so than Elizabeth I, whose painted image has preoccupied scholars since the nineteenth century.⁵

Freeman O’Donoghue’s *A Descriptive and Classified Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth* (1894) remains grandfather to all significant studies of Elizabeth’s portrait.⁶ It was the basis for Roy Strong’s 1963 catalogue; a central resource for Yates’ *Astraea*, and large parts of Waterhouse and Mercer’s studies of early modern English art.⁷ The work continued to be used throughout the twentieth century, and, whether directly or through its secondary effects, O’Donoghue’s ‘descriptive’ methodology is still influential today.⁸

Describing and analysing portraits’ iconographic details forms an integral part of Elizabeth’s painted images’ modern treatment. Frances Yates and Roy Strong used a

² Bentley-Cranch, *The Renaissance Portrait*, pp. 53-5.

³ See J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ, 1966), pp. 3-63. For the perceived realism in Tudor portraiture, see A. Richl, *The Face of Queenship, Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I* (New York, NY, 2010), pp. 123-7.

⁴ Bentley-Cranch, *The Renaissance Portrait*, pp. 169-70; L. Syson, ‘Introduction’, in N. Mann & L. Syson, eds., *The Image of the Individual* (London, 1998), p. 9.

⁵ E. Auerbach, ‘Portraits of Elizabeth I’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 95. 603 (1953), pp. 196-205; D. Piper, *The English Face* (London, 1957), pp. 65-71; Strong, *The English Icon; Gloriana*; Bentley-Cranch, *The Renaissance Portrait*, pp. 141-53; Richl, *The Face of Queenship*, pp. 123-72.

⁶ See O’Donoghue, *Catalogue*.

⁷ Strong, *Portraits*; Yates, *Astraea*; E.K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790* (London, 1953); E. Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625* (Oxford, 1962); Auerbach, ‘Portraits of Elizabeth I’, pp. 196-205; Piper, *The English Face*, pp. 65-71; Pomeroy, *Reading*; Richl, *The Face of Queenship*.

⁸ See Pomeroy, *Reading*; Hackett, *Virgin Mother*.

‘descriptive’ methodology to develop their shared thesis that Elizabeth’s portrait was systematically fashioned as a figure of adulation and worship; part of an ‘Elizabeth cult’.⁹

Yates posited that:

The bejewelled painted images of the Virgin Mary had been cast out of the churches and monasteries, but another bejewelled and painted image was set up at court.¹⁰

Whilst the cultic, Marian reading of Elizabeth’s image has been vehemently debunked, most comprehensively by Helen Hackett, one element of Yates’s observation is worth saving from the fire.¹¹ As she rightly points out, Elizabeth’s painted portraits were products of her court, and it is in a courtly context that they must be understood.

Elizabeth’s painted portraits were commissioned by courtiers, and courtiers were their audience. Whilst Louis Montrose maintained some sympathy for the ‘cultic’ reading of Elizabeth’s portraits, he suggests that those ‘subjects who commissioned and paid for portraits of the Queen, either for their own use or as gifts to her or to others, were likely to have been motivated not only by devotional impulses, but by self-interested strategies’.¹² Anna Riehl has since gone on to say that the viewer would also influence an image’s meaning, with audiences bringing to Elizabeth’s portraits their own relative ‘status, professional as well as cultural’.¹³ The contexts of commission, composition, and consumption are becoming recognised as essential elements to the comprehensive analysis of Elizabeth’s portraiture. Whilst each portrait considered here will be described fully and their iconographies analysed, each image’s political and cultural context will be equally important.

This chapter will develop the thesis that Elizabeth I’s painted portraits exhibited heterogeneous representative functions, serving the distinct purposes of their authors in discrete circumstances. The discussion focusses on nine painted portraits in seven case

⁹ Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 29-120, 215-9; Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth; Gloriana*.

¹⁰ Yates, *Astraea*, p. 79.

¹¹ Hackett, *Virgin Mother*.

¹² *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 106.

¹³ Riehl, *The Face of Queenship*, p. 170.

studies, interpreting each image in its specific context and showing that iconographic or aesthetic consistency does not indicate a regular symbolic function. These nine portraits have been chosen as they form the traditional core of readings that describe the queen's imagined function as a consistent icon or national symbol. This chapter challenges those readings. Some images have already enjoyed limited contextualised analysis. Rarely, however, have these efforts extended beyond describing images' provenance or situating them within the emblematic traditions from which their iconography derives.¹⁴ Attention to how portraits' iconographies reference the 'moment' that prompted their commission has been scarce.

The *Hampden Portrait* (c.1563), is the subject of our first case study, and the earliest of Elizabeth's painted portraits to have expressed an overtly rhetorical iconography. Its treatment here builds on the existing analysis of portrait's iconography and themes. Here it is argued that applying the portrait's recognised iconographic reference to specific political circumstances heightens our understanding of its representative function. It is not, however, always possible to associate an image with its 'moment'.

The second case study considers the *Pelican* and the *Phoenix* portraits that, although difficult to place in contemporary context, are prime examples in Strong's iconic thesis.¹⁵ In his assessment, the two portraits are 'the earliest to indicate any kind of personal iconography at all'.¹⁶ The case study examines the conviction that from these 'paired icons' was initiated 'a matrix for much of the work of the Elizabethan political imaginary' in the latter-half of her reign, most immediately in George Gower's *Plimpton Sieve Portrait* (1579).¹⁷

Gower's portrait has been read as developing the *Phoenix* and *Pelican* portraits' symbolisms, iconising the sanctity of Elizabeth's monarchy. It was the first in a line of

¹⁴ D. Barrett-Graves, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 37.1 (2011), pp. 9-29.

¹⁵ *Gloriana*, p. 82.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 81.

¹⁷ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 53.

'sieve' portraits to appear over the course of the following decade, ostensibly representative of Elizabeth's chastity, virginity, and imperial aspirations. The last of these qualities is often cited as a key element of England's burgeoning Elizabethan nationhood, with Gower's piece held as its first painted expression. Here Gower's work is compared to a second 'sieve' portrait (c.1580-3), demonstrating that the rhetorical themes of similar portraits derived from dissimilar external contexts might bear no relation to one another.

The *Welbeck Portrait* (c.1585) – our fourth case study – has been cited as combining Elizabeth's image with the abstract *Pax*, absorbing the classical figure's qualities into her general iconography. Its creation coincided with the formalising of the Anglo-Dutch alliance, and the beginnings of the Anglo-Spanish war. The discussion examines the image in light of these developments, and argues that, rather than a general appropriation of *Pax* symbolism, the portrait has targeted expediency.

Where the *Welbeck Portrait* marks the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish war, our fifth case study, Gower's *Armada Portrait* (c.1588), commemorated the conflict's symbolic 'high point' for the English. Of all Elizabeth's painted portraits, this is perhaps the most readily associated with a specific incident, and as in Gower's earlier work, it is held as an example of English proto-imperialist symbolism. The case study examines Elizabeth's role in the scene, and how familiar iconographic tropes can be seen appropriated for entirely different purposes in light of contemporary circumstance.

The final two case studies are the most abstracted of all Elizabeth's painted portraits and held as the premier examples of Elizabeth's iconisation. The *Ditchley Portrait* (c.1592), perhaps more so than any other painting, related the queen directly to the land she ruled and in doing so, according to Roy Strong and those who follow similar reasoning, created an equivalency between England and its queen.¹⁸ The discussion examines this

¹⁸ *Gloriana*, p. 99. See also A. Whitelock, 'The Queen's Two Bodies' (Cambridge, 2014), p. 214.

claim in light of the painting's provenance and contemporary purpose; suggesting that rather than national representation, this Elizabeth exhibits sovereign domination.

The seventh case study concerns Hatfield's *Rainbow Portrait* (c.1600). So rich is this portrait's iconography that most discussions stop at examining its emblematic symbolism.¹⁹ Our discussion uses the portrait's probable provenance and known situational context to suggest the images representative utility rather than merely what its iconography represents.

This chapter's intention is to demonstrate the importance of contextual awareness when discerning portraits' meanings, and show that there was no systematic development of a homogenous 'Elizabeth icon' in the queen's painted image. Each painting was contrived to represent their courtly patron's specific purposes. Their commissions reflect the court's introspective interests and rarely consider the community or nation beyond. When they did so, it was to demonstrate the domination of the 'centre' over that community. Rather than integrating the abstract nation into its sovereign's image, these painted Elizabeths actively highlight the division between them.

¹⁹ D. Fischlin, 'Political Allegory, Absolute ideology, and the 'Rainbow Portrait' of Queen Elizabeth I', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50 (1997), pp. 175-7.

i. *The Hampden Portrait* (c.1563)



Figure I.1

The Hampden Portrait (c.1563)

Oil on canvas transferred from panel, artist unknown.

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1563 was a significant year for Elizabeth's visual portrait. In December, William Cecil would draft a proclamation acknowledging obliquely its potential as a political tool and indicating a will to control it.²⁰ Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was published, and with it perhaps the most reproduced of all the queen's rhetorical portraits.²¹ It is also likely to have been the year that the queen's first iconographically significant painted portrait was completed.

It is overwhelmingly likely that the portrait in question, the *Hampden Portrait* (c.1563, Figure I.1), formed part of an 'elaborate network of courtly display', although its exact provenance is unknown.²² The royal arms may indicate 'official' sanction, but that is far from certain. Despite this uncertainty, the piece can be dated with some confidence. Judging by the style, the piece can only be from the 1560s, and the period when artists capable of producing the work operated at the English court is limited to the early years of that decade.²³ The work is traditionally attributed to the Fleming, Steven van der Muelen, but not without contestation.²⁴ It is the finest painted Elizabeth to survive from her early reign, and the earliest full-length of her as queen. For our purposes, it is enough that the portrait can be confidently attributed to the Anglo-Dutch School; the style combining meticulous attention to detail with the application of abstract emblems to create meaning.

For Northern Renaissance artists, virtually every object 'could carry iconographic (or symbolic) implications'.²⁵ This portrait was the first to integrate complex allegorical iconography into Elizabeth's painted portraiture, and demonstrates that the queen's iconographically laden images had a targeted political expediency from the first. It has been

²⁰ 'Proclamation Prohibiting Portraits of the Queen', Westminster, Dec. 1563, SP 12/31/25, 46. See *TRP*, ii, pp. 240-1.

²¹ See Chapter II.i.

²² Barrett-Graves, 'Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', p. 12.

²³ B. Grosvenor, 'The Identity of "the famous paynter Steven": not Steven van der Meulen but Steven van Herwijck', *British Art Journal*, 9.3, pp. 12-7.

²⁴ For a full treatment of who was responsible for the work see Grosvenor, 'The Identity of "the famous paynter Steven"', pp. 12-7. The only near contemporary record names the artist as 'the famous paynter Steven', leading some to suggest that the artist may have been Steven van Herwijck, another Flemish Artist known to have worked in England during the 1560s. This confusion has also affected the analysis of a medal, struck at around the same time. See Chapter III.ii.

²⁵ See J. Benton & R. DiYanni, *Arts and Culture: An Introduction to the Humanities* (Harlow, 2013) p. 64.

argued that '[r]eading the symbols of the *Hampden Portrait*... in light of the verbal and visual iconography of contemporary emblem books 'can recapture meanings' all but lost to modern observers.²⁶ Whilst emblematic display is central to the image's composition and representative function, examining the iconography without considering its external context mitigates much of the image's meaning.

The portrait is visually impressive. Dressed in vivid red velvet and draped in conspicuous wealth, this Elizabeth fills most of the thirty square-foot panel, with the hem of her skirt touching its limits.²⁷ Given near contemporary reports of the queen's stature, it seems likely that the figure is approximately life-sized and a reasonably accurate depiction of her 'natural' appearance.²⁸ She wears a necklace, heavy with gemstones, and the string of pearls that hangs from her waist ends with an enormous diamond and an armillary sphere. A large carnation decorates her left shoulder, with a second in her right hand. Her skin is white, in sharp contrast to both her costume and the decorated golden panel that spans all but the extreme right of the background, where it gives way to a twisted melee of foliage, flowers, and fruit. It has been convincingly argued that the portrait's visual display 'served to reinforce Elizabeth's iconic status as a monarch with legitimate dynastic and religious credentials'; representing simultaneously her marriageability, regency, and Supremacy.²⁹

Her readiness to marry is represented both by the carnation in her right hand, and the lush flora to the scene's extreme right.³⁰ A pomegranate is ripe with its seeds exposed, the peas ready to harvest, and the flowers are in bloom; all symbolic of the queen's fertility and fecundity.³¹ The pomegranate also carries specific classical associations, and symbolises

²⁶ Barrett-Graves, 'Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', p. 9.

²⁷ The portrait measures 6' 5" x 4' 7" (1.96 x 1.4m).

²⁸ Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian ambassador to Queen Mary's court, gave an account of Elizabeth's appearance in May 1557, describing her as 'tall and well formed'. See R. Brown, *et al.* eds., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6, 1555-1558* (London, 1877), pp. 1041-95.

²⁹ Barrett-Graves, 'Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', p. 10.

³⁰ J. Hall, *Hall's Illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art* (London, 1994), p. 143.

³¹ Barrett-Graves, 'Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', pp. 15-6.

the ‘transformation from virgin to wife’.³² By placing an Iris – ‘the flower of the Virgin’ – next to the fruit, the artist emphasises the queen’s continued chastity despite her willingness to marry.³³ Her Christian purity and humility are further symbolised by the pearls arranged in cruciform patterns on her sleeves.³⁴

Costume is central to the demonstration of Elizabeth’s regency and the nature of her authority. Whilst her diamonds symbolised fortitude, the gemstone bore specific association with Elizabeth’s individual qualities.³⁵ In the first edition of *Actes and Monuments* John Foxe recorded that, whilst imprisoned by Mary, the then Princess Elizabeth used a diamond to inscribe her window with the verse:

Much suspected by mee,
Nothing proued can be.³⁶

Foxe’s work was likely published shortly before the *Hampden Portrait* was completed. His anecdote forms part of his account of Elizabeth’s suffering for her faith; a diamond literally describing her resolve in the face of adversity. That the lower-most and largest of the *Hampden* Elizabeth’s diamonds is capped with an armillary sphere connects her personal steadfastness to the harmony of her government.

The armillary sphere’s exact meaning was not standardised. Despite it being used regularly in sixteenth century iconography, it is seldom referenced directly in contemporary emblem books.³⁷ Its alternative name is the ‘celestial sphere’; a symbol of the universe and a general expression of divine order.³⁸ By pursuing a religious settlement, agreeing a peace with France, and indicating her will to marry, Elizabeth can be said to have acted to

³² In Greek mythology, Hades gave Persephone six pomegranate seeds in the underworld, binding her to him and his domain. See Barrett-Graves, ‘Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait’, p. 16.

³³ Hall, *Symbols*, p. 148.

³⁴ W. Jones, *History and Mystery of Precious Stones* (London, 1880), p. 94.

³⁵ *The Emblems of Thomas Palmer: Two Hundred Poesees*, ed. J. Manning (New York, NY, 1988).

³⁶ J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1563), p. 1714.

³⁷ Barrett-Graves, ‘Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait’, p. 22.

³⁸ Hall, *Symbols*, p. 85.

harmonise her kingdom.³⁹ It has been argued similarly that the sphere symbolises ‘heavenly prudence and wisdom’, and demonstrated the queen’s spiritual and temporal government’s accordance with God’s will.⁴⁰ Whilst in captivity, Mary, Queen of Scots, embroidered armillae with the motto, *LAS PENNAS PASSAN Y QUEDA LA SPERANZA*, meaning ‘sorrows pass but hope survives’.⁴¹ As a practical navigational tool as well as an enigmatic icon, Mary perhaps intended the sphere to symbolise her guidance to salvation. She was disappointed. Unlike her doomed cousin, Elizabeth survived her imprisonment to take the English throne, the kingdom’s legitimate *gubenartor*, and heir to the Tudor dynasty.

The portrait’s colour palate also emphasised the queen’s legitimate lineage, whilst simultaneously highlighting her spiritual authority. Her costume’s red and white colouring echoes those of the Tudor rose. More generally, the scene’s three key colours, red, green, and white, are shown proud against gold, symbolic of her Christian virtue and responsibility under God. Red stood for charity; green, hope; and white, the ‘Purity of the Trinity’ and faith.⁴² The background gold has been read to reflect the light of heaven, illuminating the queen’s triumverate virtues for a heavenly purpose, demonstrative of divine sanction.⁴³ In this image, Elizabeth’s qualities are given by God and ordained to enact His will on Earth.

The queen’s direct authority under God is also apparent in the carnations that decorate her figure. Whilst being symbolic of betrothal, as referenced above, their primary association is with the Virgin Mary, the ‘handmaid of the Lord’.⁴⁴ Although irises came to represent the Blesséd Virgin in Flemish painting, her association with carnations was

³⁹ For an overview of the Elizabethan settlement, see S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion* (New York, NY, 1994), pp. 14-22. For the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, and peace with France, see R. Wernham, *Before the Armada, the Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588* (London, 1966), pp. 245-6.

⁴⁰ S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford, 2015), p. 131.

⁴¹ See V&A collection, object number, T.33-1955.

⁴² C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (London, 1709), pp. 12, 25, 72.

⁴³ Barrett-Graves, ‘Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait’, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Luke 1:38.

altogether more ancient.⁴⁵ By tradition, the flower first bloomed where Mary's tears struck the ground on Calvary. Rather than the queen's Marian virginity, here the carnation symbolises her obligation to divine will. Relatively soon after the Elizabethan settlement inaugurated a new Church of England, this iconography underlines Elizabeth's Supremacy under God. Purely iconographically, this Elizabeth can be read to represent the queen's willingness to marry, fertility, chastity, Christian virtue, the harmony of her government, and her direct ordination as God's handmaid on earth. Placing the image into contemporary context, however, can lend still further depth to the image's meaning.

Elizabeth's earlier painted portraits were representationally plain; the *Hampden Portrait* having been the first to have 'actively' participated in 'the elaborate network of courtly display'.⁴⁶ It inaugurated the queen's painted portrait as a rhetorical device at a time of political pressure; the portrait likely dating concurrent to the succession crisis of 1562-3, itself coming whilst the Elizabethan regime still sought to stabilise her legitimate regency.

It had been commonly assumed that Elizabeth would marry during the early years of her reign in order to secure her realm and dynasty.⁴⁷ Although Mary I had secured queens' right to rule by their own authority, when that right was reiterated at her funeral, it was justified by her close relationships with several kings.⁴⁸ At around the same time, as Elizabeth took the throne, John Knox published his *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monsterous Regiment of Women* (1558).⁴⁹ He cited what he perceived as women's inherent 'imbecility' as providing an intraversable obstacle to their fitness for government.⁵⁰ Even

⁴⁵ Hall, *Symbols*, p. 143.

⁴⁶ Barrett-Graves, 'Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', p. 12. See also Grosvenor, 'The Identity of "the famous paynter Steven"', p. 16. Not since the 1540s when the then Princess Elizabeth's likeness was captured by the King's painter, William Scrots, had she been the subject of a work nearly so accomplished. See Appendix I.1.

⁴⁷ Whitelock, 'The Queen's Two Bodies', pp. 207-8.

⁴⁸ 'She was a king's daughter; was a king's sister; was a king's wife. She was a queen, and by that same title a king also', John White, Bishop of Winchester, speaking at Mary's funeral service, as quoted in A. Whitlock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London, 2009), p. 305.

⁴⁹ John Knox. *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, 1558*, ed. E. Arber (London, 1878).

⁵⁰ See M. Somerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early Modern Society* (London, 1995).

those who supported her right to rule did so through the justification of providence; their reasoning being if women were empowered by God, who were men to argue? John Aylmer, in ‘support’ of the queen’s regime, mitigated the perceived threat of female rule by stating: ‘it is not she that ruleth but the laws, the executors whereof be her judges, appointed by her, her justices of the peace and such other officers’.⁵¹ The prevailing wisdom dictated that even a legitimate queen needed male agents around her. Marriage would not only provide a male consort, but also, so it was hoped, a male heir to secure the succession in the event of the queen’s demise.

On 10th October 1562, Elizabeth, still unmarried and childless, became feverish. The bout of smallpox that followed seemed certain to take her life, all whilst the succession was undecided. The queen recovered, but the succession had risen to be of paramount and immediate importance. The question of marriage had first been raised formally on 2nd February 1559 when a select committee to the Commons presented the queen with a formal request that she wed. Elizabeth’s answer then had been that she would not answer.⁵² When Parliament sat in January 1563, after the queen’s illness, both houses urged her to marry. Despite her experience, Elizabeth remained resolute, saying that on her marriage, ‘a silent thought may serve’. She would consider taking a husband – not to do so would be ‘hereise’ – but to make a hurried decision would be to risk ‘both body and soul’.⁵³ As Kantorowicz demonstrated, her body was not only symbolic of her natural person, susceptible to illness and infirmity as it was, but also her body politic: The Crown, and all its spiritual and temporal authorities.⁵⁴ Marriage was a question of state security, as the *Hampden* Elizabeth reflects.

⁵¹ J. Aylmer, *An harborovve for faithfull and trewe subiectes...* (London, 1559).

⁵² P. Collinson, ‘Elizabeth I (1533–1603)’, *ODNB*.

⁵³ ‘And though I am determined in this so great and weighty a matter to defer mine answer till some other time because I will not in so deep a matter wade with so shallow a wit’. See SP 12/27 f.143r-144v; *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, eds. L. Marcus, J. Mueller, and M. Rose (Chicago, IL, 2000), pp. 70-2.

⁵⁴ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, pp. 7-23.

The portrait can be seen as a response to any remaining challenge to Elizabeth's 'regiment', and as a balm to sooth her parliament's anxieties.⁵⁵ The figure's scale and striking colours would have had the effect of projecting its subject from the panel, lest the viewer forget that she was still present, alive, and able to fulfil her obligations as sovereign and Governor of the English Church. The iconography describes her virtues and political priorities effectively, but only when viewing those elements in specific context however does their collected function become clear: here is a vessel that will sustain England's government, both temporal and spiritual; both present and future.

It is significant that the moment Elizabeth's painted portrait first became a repository for complex iconography was a moment of crisis. That Cecil, later in 1563, drafted a proclamation that would have placed tight, centralised controls upon the queen's visual image suggests Elizabeth's regime was sensitive to the threat defamatory portraits could pose to her monarchy. The *Hampden Portrait* simultaneously demonstrates an equal awareness of portraiture's potential to strengthen her position and offer targeted response to specific, potentially dangerous circumstances.

⁵⁵ Whitelock, 'The Queen's Two Bodies', p. 208.

ii. *The Pelican & Phoenix Portraits* (c.1575)



Figure I.2 *The Pelican Portrait* (c.1575)
Oil on panel, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard.
Part of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: WAG 2994.
© Walker Art Gallery.



Figure I.3 *The Phoenix Portrait* (c.1575)
Oil on panel, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard.
Part of the NPG collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: NPG 190.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

Roughly a decade after the *Hampden Portrait*, anyone looking into the marbleised faces of the *Pelican* and *Phoenix* portraits (Figures I.2 and I.3) would have been forgiven for thinking that no time had passed. With the queen at around forty years old, the veil of what Roy Strong termed the ‘mask of youth’, had begun to slip over the queen’s painted faces.⁵⁶ Although there are slight differences, at first glance the portraits appear to be mirrors of one another, and have been cited as the initiation for the development of a common ‘Elizabeth icon’.⁵⁷ The following analysis contests that reading, demonstrating that the slightest distinction can render two similar portraits functionally discrete.

The two images are indisputably similar. The *Pelican* portrait shows an Elizabeth turned slightly to the left, with an imperially crowned Tudor Rose over her right shoulder, and Fleur-de-lis over her left. She wears a pearl headdress amid tight auburn curls; her white face over-bright atop a high ruff, and her body encased in a red and white dress. More pearls hang around her neck and decorate her clothes, and, as with the *Hampden* Elizabeth before her, she wears carnations at her left shoulder. The separated roses of her Yorkist and Lancastrian lineage are embroidered above her groin with a pearl between them. Most striking of all, however, is the detail from which this portrait takes its name: the pelican pendant that hangs around the neck. It is a similar motif that nominates the second portrait, only there, the bird is a phoenix.

Where the *Pelican* Elizabeth casts a shadow, the *Phoenix* stands in front of a plain background, apparently illuminating the scene. Although her mirrored orientation and darker colour palette lend subtle but distinct contrast to the *Pelican*’s composition, her black velvet costume is no less bejewelled than her sister’s red. Roses are again prominent. The *Phoenix* holds a red rose in her right hand, and a jewelled iteration of the Tudor rose hangs

⁵⁶ *Gloriana*, p. 147. See also W. Gaunt, *Court Painting in England from Tudor to Victorian Times* (London, 1980), p. 37.

⁵⁷ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 53.

above her eponymous pendant. Both images show the queen holding an ostrich feather fan in their lower hand, and the styling of their head and hair are all but identical.

These compositions are so similar that it has long been assumed that they are the product of the same studio, if not artist. Both derive a facial pattern from a 1572 miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, and he is who most have cited as author.⁵⁸ Side-by-side analysis conducted by the National Portrait Gallery all but confirms this supposition. The oak they are painted on is from the same trees, and the same research found that their facial patterns were at first exact mirrors of one another before the *Phoenix*'s features were raised to their current position.⁵⁹ After cleaning and restoration, uncanny similarities in the artists' techniques became apparent, lending greater weight to the popular belief that the paintings should be associated with a single hand. In the close detailing of the hair, lace, and embroidery the techniques and brush strokes exhibited by the two pieces were shown to match Hilliard's earlier miniature, recommending him as the author of all three.⁶⁰ None of this takes us any closer to a precise date for these images' composition, making their exterior context difficult to outline with any certainty. In these portraits, however, we have two figures effectively identical but for their costume. By comparing images so closely related, we might reasonably identify whether the central figure exhibits any inherent representative function, or whether she derives her meaning entirely from associated iconography.

The two portraits exhibit different symbolisms. The Tudor Rose, whilst being present in both, is considerably more conspicuous in the *Pelican*. As with the *Hampden Portrait*'s use of costume to emphasise Elizabeth's dynastic legitimacy, the *Pelican* is dressed in red and white. The crowned Tudor Rose hovering above her right shoulder and its

⁵⁸ See Appendix I.2.

⁵⁹ The *pentimenti* are visible beneath the eyes' present setting.

⁶⁰ The findings of the NPG project have been extensive and are yet to be formally published. The initial findings of their research are, however, publicly accessible via the Gallery's website (<http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/case-studies/>).

‘disassembled’ iteration towards the bottom of the frame only heightens the association. The carnation at her shoulder fulfils the same function as in the *Hampden Portrait*, symbolising God’s favour and her role as his earthly ‘handmaid’. The pelican itself demonstrates her duties further; representing Christian self-sacrifice, charity, and motherhood, and reflecting Elizabeth’s imagined relationship with her subjects.⁶¹ Elizabeth’s subjects are her children and she is their dutiful, nourishing parent.⁶² As she had stated to Parliament a decade before:

I assure yow all that though after my death yow may have many stepdames, yet shall yow never have any more naturall mother then I meane to be unto you all.⁶³

The *Pelican* Elizabeth’s motherhood is quite different to the *Hampden* Elizabeth’s fertile potential, or the ‘naturall’ condition she described to Parliament. Rather than a potential biological mother, this Elizabeth is elevated to a ‘supernatural’ parenthood; the queen having been born her people’s maternal protector. The *Phoenix* Elizabeth, however, exhibits quite different iconography, and with it, its own distinct meaning.

Where the facial simplicity of these portraits has been read as symbolising the queen’s ageless stability, without the benefit of hindsight and the knowledge that similar patterns would persist, such a reading is difficult to substantiate as a contemporary intention. The phoenix was an established symbol of perpetual vitality, and one that’s association with Elizabeth extends back to her coronation.⁶⁴ As then, the phoenix echoes the Crown’s self-renewing, ‘indefectible’ condition.⁶⁵ With the passing of time however, the same icon may here be interpreted more broadly; the *Phoenix* Elizabeth illustrating the

⁶¹ According to Christian tradition, pelican mothers feed their children with blood from self-inflicted wounds. See Hall, *Dictionary of Symbols*, p. 38.

⁶² *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 53-4.

⁶³ *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, pp. 70-2.

⁶⁴ Hall, *Symbols*, p. 38. See Chapter III.i.

⁶⁵ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies* (1957), pp. 385-401, 413-5.

queen's individual constancy, and the embodiment of her *semper eadem* motto.⁶⁶ Even identical emblems, therefore, are dependent on context for their meaning.

By the changing of a pendant and the colour scheme of her costume, these Elizabeths, despite all their similarities, are rendered representationally distinct. The 'wooden', 'stylised', and 'awkward' facial pattern is the unaffected foundation stone upon which different Elizabeths are built. As distinct as these Elizabeths may be, together they demonstrate that the queen's portrait, by the application of different external symbols, could be recast at will. The face, so important to the development of the 'individual' aspect that set renaissance portraiture apart from the medieval, is reduced to a recognisable but symbolically mute patterning. These portraits are of Elizabeth, certainly, and yet their faces exhibit no character beyond the inevitable conflation of monarch and Crown. Here the queen's natural body is effectively reduced to a manikin, with the symbolic value of the paintings composed entirely within the specificities of her costume. Together, these portraits highlight the effect of fluid emblematic appropriation upon the representational function of apparently similar images; showing that broad aesthetic consistency does not necessarily reflect shared symbolic function.

⁶⁶ *Gloriana*, pp. 82-3.

iii. *Two Sieve Portraits* (1579 & c.1580-3)



Figure I.4 *The Plimpton Sieve Portrait* (1579)
Oil on panel, by George Gower.
Part of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C collection.
The image in the public domain and available at:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plimpton_Sieve_Portrait_of_Queen_Elizabeth_I#/media/File:George_Gower_Elizabeth_Sieve_Portrait.jpg.



Figure I.5

Sieve Portrait of Elizabeth I (c.1580-3)

Oil on panel, artist unknown.

Part of the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena collection.

The image is in the public domain and available at:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Metsys_Elizabeth_I_The_Sieve_Portrait_c1583.jpg.

In 1579, George Gower painted the *Plimpton Sieve Portrait* (Figure I.4).⁶⁷ Along with two roughly contemporary works, Gower's was amongst the first of several 'sieve' portraits produced between the late 1570s and mid 1580s, setting a compositional pattern that others would later adapt.⁶⁸ All show the queen three quarter length, with a sieve in her left hand and a globe behind. For Roy Strong, the queen's proximity to globes in these portraits is enough to read them as a conflation of her body with territory; 'two aspects of the same thing: England'.⁶⁹ Considering different 'sieve' portraits in their specific contexts, however, it soon becomes apparent that despite their compositional similarities they were composed to serve a variety of purposes and exhibit a range of meanings. A single basic composition gave rise to an aesthetically similar but representationally diverse pantheon of Elizabeths. Comparing Gower's 'sieve' portrait with another, dated c.1580-3 (Figure I.5), exemplifies the figurative variation within this group of related portraits, and shows that a broadly consistent iconography is no indication of a consistent icon.

Although all 'sieve' portraits share numerous traits, Gower's Elizabeth is visually distinct from later iterations.⁷⁰ Where most are shown in dark costume, his wears vivid red and white, with the royal arms prominent over her left shoulder. Although Gower's patron is unknown, two years after its indicated date of completion he would be made Elizabeth's Serjeant Paynter, and the inclusion of her arms possibly indicates an early Crown commission.⁷¹ Behind his Elizabeth, a globe looms from the shadows with the words, *TUTTO VEDO & MOLTO MANCHA*, written above.⁷² The eponymous sieve is attached to the

⁶⁷ The piece is attributed to Gower due to aesthetic and technical similarities with works known to be his. See Appendix I.3.

⁶⁸ Three similar portraits are thought to have existed, all dating from 1579. One is lost; another has slipped into obscurity, and the third, seen here, has recently been made public by the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. Seven 'sieve' portraits of Elizabeth I are known. See Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 66; *Gloriana*, p. 101 n. 1.

⁶⁹ *Gloriana*, p. 99.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-9. The facial pattern is attributed to Federico Zuccaro, and first seen in the *Darnley Portrait*, 1575. See Appendix I.4.

⁷¹ J. Goodison, 'George Gower, Serjeant Painter to Queen Elizabeth', *Burlington Magazine*, 90 (1948), pp. 261-5.

⁷² 'I see everything and much is lacking'.

queen by a chord, and bears the legend, *ATERA...MAL DIMORAINSELAL*.⁷³ Although the later artist chose to alter and embellish many details, these inscriptions are consistent between his and Gower's work.

The later portrait displays significant additions. Other than the shadowed globe and queen's arms, Gower filled his background black, focusing all but entirely on the queen. The subsequent version expands the scene to include a jewelled pillar set with a series of allegorical motifs, and a thriving arcade populated with 'gentlemen pensioners'.⁷⁴ The globe is similarly elaborated, with ships now sailing across its oceans. The queen, however, is muted; her arms gone, and the sieve is no longer lashed to her. Whilst the same broad elements are present, emblems' relative iconographic prominences are altered significantly between renditions, reflecting the differences in the portraits' specific functions.

These differences in function reflect the commissioners' diverging purposes. Contemporarily to Gower's portrait, the suit of François, Duc d'Anjou, brought Elizabeth as close to marriage as she would come.⁷⁵ Parliament looked near to getting what they had asked for in the first months of Elizabeth's reign, but, at the end of the 1570s, the prospect of the queen's impending nuptial was far from universally popular.

Some rhetorical responses to the potential French match were damning; the way in which some opponents framed their grievances arguably equating Elizabeth's body to England far more effectively than any contemporary visual image. In his 1579 pamphlet, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf vvhreinto England is Like to be Swallowed By an other French Mariage*, John Stubbs suggested that through the seduction of England's 'Eve', her subjects might 'lose [their] Englishe paradise'.⁷⁶ He equated Elizabeth's seduction with England's invasion; a conquest by invitation. With a French match, Stubbs argued Elizabeth would be placing her natural body's base impulses above the maintenance of the 'body politique or

⁷³ 'To earth the good, bad remains in the saddle'.

⁷⁴ *Gloriana*, p. 101.

⁷⁵ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 121-2.

⁷⁶ J. Stubbs, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf...* (London, 1579), p. A2.

common vveale body vvwhich was her body of Maiestie'; suggesting that the monarch's politic body should supersede the natural.⁷⁷ Although Stubbs was likely serving an anti-French faction in Elizabeth's council, possibly Leicester or Walsingham, the author nonetheless paid the price for his penmanship.⁷⁸ Maintaining or spreading the *Disouerie* was banned by royal proclamation, and those involved in its publication, printing, or distribution were mutilated and imprisoned.⁷⁹ Upon considering the censorial proclamation, it seems the offence that provoked this reaction was not Stubbs' indiscrete reference to the queen's sexuality, but rather his having the audacity to express an opinion on policy.⁸⁰ The proclamation's tone communicates a revulsion at the idea of her subjects' perceiving their own 'authority to argue and determine... the affairs of public estate'.⁸¹

If understood as an 'official' image, Gower's *Sieve Portrait* can be read as a visual response to a perceived encroachment on the Crown's sovereignty. Answering accusations that Elizabeth was giving in to her base impulses, and in doing so jeopardising the kingdom's security, the iconised sieve simultaneously symbolised both Elizabeth's virginal purity and her good judgement in government.⁸² When accused of breaking her vow of celibacy, Tuccia, a Vestal Virgin, used a sieve to carry water from the Tiber to Vesta's temple without spilling a drop, a feat only deemed possible if she were untouched.⁸³ In Gower's portrait, Elizabeth not only holds a sieve, but it is bound to her crotch; integral to her imagined sexuality. As Tuccia's purity was questioned and vindicated, so Elizabeth's virtue is beyond question. The second meaning is derived from the emblematic tradition, and centres upon the sieve's quality of sorting the 'seeds, / From the chaffe, and duste, and

⁷⁷ Stubbs, *Gaping Gulf* (1579).

⁷⁸ N. Mears, 'Stubbe [Stubbs], John (c.1541–1590)', ODNB.

⁷⁹ TRP, ii, pp. 445–9.

⁸⁰ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 122.

⁸¹ TRP, ii, pp. 445–9. See *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 121–2.

⁸² Hall, *Symbols*, p. 84.

⁸³ *Gloriana*, p. 96; W. Pressly, *A Catalogue of Paintings in the Folger Shakespeare Library: 'As Imagination Bodies Forth'* (New Haven, CT, 1993), p. 331; *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 125.

all the other weeds', translating in political symbolism to hail Elizabeth's good judgement.⁸⁴ The legend around the sieve's rim does the same, albeit not especially clearly, translating directly as, 'to earth the good, bad remains in the saddle'. The sieve would allow the good to fall to earth, separating it from the bad. The portrait restated the queen's qualities in light of specific criticism.

Other elements of the image are not nearly so well developed. Gower's apparently proto-imperial globe is perfunctory. Its relegation to an afterthought offers a pleasing symmetry with the state of Elizabethan England's overseas expansion in the mid sixteenth century.⁸⁵ The first English circumnavigation of the globe was underway, but Drake was far from home. John Dee had published his *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* two years earlier, but its fanciful claims to almost unlimited English imperium were laughable.⁸⁶ England's first attempt to establish an American colony had failed to even cross the Atlantic.⁸⁷ The globe, with its, 'I see everything and much is lacking' motto, might have been simply an affectation, hinting at a colonial desire that was not a political priority for Elizabeth's government. Despite this inauspicious reality, in the later version of the 'sieve' composition, its expansionist, imperial symbolism is elevated to premier iconographic status.

Whilst it is arguable Gower's portrait served the Crown's purpose, it seems equally likely that the later image demonstrated another's interests. By looking closely at the 'gentlemen' in the background arcade, one might notice that the third male figure from the left has a white hind on his outer sleeve. The white hind was the personal emblem of the queen's favourite, Christopher Hatton.⁸⁸ His image being integrated into the piece's

⁸⁴ Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*: a fac-simile reprint, ed. H. Green, (London, 1866), p. 68.

⁸⁵ D. Armitage, 'The Elizabethan Idea of Empire', *TRHS*, 14 (2004), p. 273; *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 123.

⁸⁶ J. Dee, *General and Rare memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (London, 1577).

⁸⁷ K. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 188-9.

⁸⁸ See W. MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c.1540-1591)', *ODNB*.

background perhaps suggests the portrait as his commission.⁸⁹ It is reasonable to conclude that Hatton had significant interest in the demonstration and pursuit of England's imperial ambition. The first concerted description of England's rights to a colonial empire, John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials* (1577) was dedicated to him.⁹⁰ He invested in overseas adventure, and twice in the early 1580s his New Year's Day gifts to the queen included imperial reference.⁹¹ Whilst England was some years from affecting overseas colonies, this portrait fits quite easily with Hatton's expressed interest in imperial authority and expansion.

In the later portrait, the globe is far more detailed than before. Ships can be seen crossing the Atlantic on its clear and bright surface, with England foremost towards the viewer. More symbolically resonant, however, is the pillar to the scene's left, reminiscent of the Spanish king's *Pillars of Hercules*. It is through these *Pillars*, the symbolic representation of the promontories of Gibraltar and Jebel Musa at the mouth of the Mediterranean, that the Spanish Crown vowed to go *Plus Ultra* to found and grow their empire. The medallions set into the pillar's surface recall the story of Aeneas, Rome's refugee founder, suggesting the English queen's similarly imperial destiny after escaping persecution. With the nation's imperial aspirations in mind, it should be noted that any such purpose expressed in this portrait is dependent upon Elizabeth's personal narrative. She is Aeneas; the imperium is *her* destiny. Whilst the pursuit of colonial expansion may not have been the 'imperial' priority for Elizabeth's regime, this did not stop powerful, private individuals cultivating and, in this case, imagining their expansionist dreams.

Whilst these portraits are undoubtedly compositionally and iconographically similar it is clear that they serve two different masters and exhibit dissimilar priorities. Where Gower's portrait arguably represents the regime's targeted response to specific criticism, it

⁸⁹ *Gloriana*, pp. 101-3.

⁹⁰ Dee, *General and Rare Memorials*, p. 1.

⁹¹ *Gloriana*, p. 103.

seems likely that the second represents the expansionist interests of the courtier who commissioned it. Again, the queen's bodily pattern is given meaning by the iconographic accessories surrounding her, and in turn, those symbolic elements gain significance from external context. Whilst the two images share a structure, their meanings are distinct; demonstrating that even two portraits so similar resist the application of an overarching, contextually unresponsive iconographic structure. With regard to national representation, whilst Strong was correct that 'legally the Queen's body and the body politic of her realm were inseparable', and correct to see these Elizabeths as demonstrative of her body politic, he is wrong, to equate the demonstration of the body politic with the demonstration of the abstract idea of England.⁹² Despite the appearance of the globe, the subject of these images is Elizabeth's authority: in Gower's study, to govern her dominion unexamined by her subjects; in the other, to expand it with her favourite's encouragement.

⁹² *Gloriana*, pp. 98-9.

iv. *The Welbeck Portrait* (c.1585)



Figure I.6

The Welbeck Portrait (c.1585)

Oil on panel, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder.

Part of the Portland Collection, Harley Gallery, Nottinghamshire.

This image is in the public domain and available at:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_of_England_Marcus_Gheeraerts_the_Elder.jpg

Whilst Hatton toyed with fantastic notions of overseas empire, those responsible for the *Welbeck Portrait* (Figure I.6, c.1585) engaged their Elizabeth in foreign adventures closer to home. In 1585, foreign policy took on unprecedented significance for the Elizabethan regime. The queen received a Dutch embassy to negotiate the terms of a treaty that would lead England into a protracted war with Spain. ‘The Treaty of Nonsuch’ signalled a marked deviation from the queen’s previous policy of decisive inaction concerning the Dutch Revolt.⁹³ The portrait considered here seems to show an imagined Elizabeth at around the time of the Treaty, and was likely composed to serve the proactive, pro-war faction in Elizabeth’s Privy Council.

Its meaning is potentially affected significantly after considering the interests of likely patrons. Like the *Hampden Portrait*, the *Welbeck Portrait* shows Elizabeth full-length, but where the earlier work was approximately life-sized, the later image is considerably smaller, the panel only measuring 45.7 by 38.1 cm, perhaps suggesting a more private installation. The painting shows Elizabeth holding an olive branch, with a sheathed sword at her feet and a small dog at her side. Her cloak is patterned with red roses, and behind and to the left we see her royal arms in shadow. Behind the central figure and to the right, we see three courtiers in conference, and further into the background, still more bystanders gather in the shadow of a distant arcade.

It is signed ‘M.g.F’, most likely standing for ‘*Marcus Gheeraerts fecit*’.⁹⁴ As clear as this signature seems to be, the debate goes on as to whom this signature refers, with some favouring Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, and others his namesake son, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Auerbach and Waterhouse both believed the portrait to be the work of ‘the

⁹³ See Chapter II.v, and Chapter. III.iii.

⁹⁴ ‘Marcus Gheeraerts did this’. See E. Hodnett, *Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder of Bruges, London, and Antwerp* (Utrecht, 1971), pp. 23-4.

Younger', where Piper and Strong have both argued for the Elder.⁹⁵ Mercer muddied the waters further by arguing that the painting was most likely completed by someone with little previous exposure to Elizabethan portraiture, casting doubt on either Gheeraerts being responsible as both men spent considerable time in England from the late 1560s onwards.⁹⁶ Looking at the piece's style, however, it is consistent with Gheeraerts the Elder's work. Considering its imagery and most logical context, a date of around 1585 seems likely, further fuelling the case that this is the work of the elder Gheeraerts.⁹⁷

Both father and son had been forced to leave the Low Countries in the face of the duke of Alba's repression of Calvinists and dissidents in 1567. As a member of Bruges' Calvinist council, Gheeraerts the Elder, had been especially vulnerable, and had apparently already left for England when called to trial, taking his son with him. On 1st December 1568, he was officially exiled from his homeland and his property confiscated.⁹⁸ The artist, it seems, would have had a vested interest in encouraging England's support for the United Provinces. No matter who patronised the work, therefore, Dutch influence is integral to its provenance, and it should be seen in the context of Anglo-Dutch relations.⁹⁹ The identity of M.g.F.'s patron is nevertheless significant. Reasoning the sensibilities of an interested sponsor might add some clarity to the potential inference of the image's otherwise ambiguous iconography.

Uncovering who that patron may have been must be teased out from the image itself. Beside the sword, an eager dog sits obediently, symbolic of loyalty, faith, compassionate security, and duty.¹⁰⁰ The dog may describe those responsible for the

⁹⁵ E. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954), pp. 106, 124; Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain*, p. 27; D. Piper, 'Some Portraits by Marcus Gheeraerts II and John de Critz Reconsidered', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* (1960), xx, 2, p. 217; Strong, *The English Icon*, p. 21.

⁹⁶ Mercer, *English Art*, p. 176; K. Hearn, 'Gheeraerts, Marcus, the elder (b. c.1520/21, d. in or after 1586)', ODNB.

⁹⁷ There are no confirmed paintings by Gheeraerts the Younger until the 1590s. See *Gloriana*, p. 135.

⁹⁸ Hearn, 'Gheeraerts, Marcus, the elder'.

⁹⁹ 'Some portraits of the Queen were painted by accomplished artists abroad and imported back into England' (C. Bolland & T. Cooper, *The Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered* (London, 2014), pp. 149-51).

¹⁰⁰ Hall, *Symbols*, pp. 18-9.

portrait's commission, referencing the will and loyalty of Elizabeth's counsellors. Perhaps more specifically still, it may represent Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the queen having described him as being 'like [her] little dog', in correspondence.¹⁰¹ The background detailing has been cited as reminiscent of Wanstead Hall, Leicester's Essex residence, and it has been suggested that the male figure to the extreme right is the Earl, perhaps having commissioned Gheeraerts whilst in Antwerp.¹⁰² With Leicester's potential patronage in mind, we can work his known pro-war interest into the image's context and interpret the portrait more satisfactorily than if considered by dint of iconography alone.¹⁰³

In light of a pro-war perspective, the *Welbeck* Elizabeth is a proactive protestant force; perhaps more so than the corporeal queen would have been comfortable with.¹⁰⁴ She may still stand for the peace she strived to preserve for so long (shown here by the olive branch in her hand) but it is a counter-intuitive kind of peace; achieved by wielding the sword at her feet. Whilst unavoidably a tool of violence, the weapon's symbolic connotations, especially when sheathed, are as much indicative of truth, faith, and justice as they are of bloodshed.¹⁰⁵ Reading the image in this way, the dog reminds Elizabeth of her duty to seek justice for the fellow faithful, and use her strength to win for them the peace and security that they cannot achieve alone.

When she agreed to the Treaty of Nonsuch, that is exactly what Elizabeth committed to.¹⁰⁶ The Treaty oblige the English to provide some 6,400 infantry, 1,000

¹⁰¹ E. Jenkins, *Elizabeth and Leicester* (London, 2002), p. 129.

¹⁰² D. Lysons, *Environs of London* (London, 1795); Bolland & Cooper, *The Real Tudors*, pp. 149-51.

¹⁰³ D. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden, 2009), p. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Chapter II.i, iii, v, viii.

¹⁰⁵ Hall, *Symbols*, pp. 87-8. See Ps. 149: 'Let the merciful exult in glory, let them sing upon their beds let the high praises of God be in their throat, and a two-edged sword in their hand'. The sword has been an element of *Justice's* panoply since Archaic Greece, where the goddess *Dike* was the personification of the virtue. See H. Shapiro, 'Personification of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art and Literature to the End of the Fifth Century BC', PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 1976; N. Richardson, 'Dike', in *OCD*, p. 469.

¹⁰⁶ Wernham, *Before*, p. 371.

cavalry, and an annual stipend of 600,000 florins to support the Dutch Protestants.¹⁰⁷ Once agreed, the scale of the commitment was justified as preventing ‘danger to ourselves, our countries and people’; the intention of pre-emptive military action being to avoid the occupation that had befallen other states.¹⁰⁸ The action may have been contrary to the queen’s instincts, her having avoided overseas military action after a disastrous French campaign in the 1560s, but by the mid 1580s, political pressure had built to the point that direct intervention was prudent.¹⁰⁹

There is no evidence that Elizabeth ever saw this portrait but, if commissioned by a pro-war counsellor, it seems likely to have been contrived to show the queen a vision of herself: either demonstrating what to its patron’s mind was the correct course of action, or reconciling the queen with an action reluctantly taken.¹¹⁰ In either case, whether composed prior to or following the agreement of the Anglo-Dutch alliance, this is an Elizabeth who, after a quarter of a century abstaining from continental war, is steeling herself to fulfil her religious obligation. Whether that obligation was to a formal ally or to her faith is not so clear, but the question is not *if* this Elizabeth will pick up the sword, but when. The context of it being a ‘pro-war’ image is not clear from the portrait itself, with Strong’s assessment being that this is simply Elizabeth as *Pax*, with no contextual association to suggest the application of her ‘peaceful’ cause.¹¹¹ If we consider Leicester the piece’s likely patron, then in light of that context, the tableau becomes clear and Elizabeth a dutiful Protestant prince who will bring about peace through war. Whilst that war might have been vital to the preservation of the English nation’s integrity – its ‘countries and people’ – there is no

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* This number equated to around three-quarters of England’s trained soldiers. See also Doran, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 51-2.

¹⁰⁸ Anon., *The Declaration of the Causes Moving the Queen of England to Give Aid to the Defence of the People Afflicted and Oppressed in the Low Countries* (1585), as quoted by A. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 241.

¹⁰⁹ J. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (Chicago, IL, 1992), pp. 117-9, 125.

¹¹⁰ There has been some suggestion that the portrait might have been commissioned to commemorate Elizabeth’s visit to Wanstead in 1578, but there is no evidence to support this. See E. Goldring, ‘Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progresses: Robert Dudley, Early of Leicester, and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575’, in J. Archer & S. Knight, eds., *The Progresses Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2007), p. 184.

¹¹¹ *Gloriana*, pp. 113-4.

suggestion that the collected nation is represented in this image. The subject is Elizabeth, and the application of her guided, but nonetheless singular, powers.

v. *The Woburn Armada Portrait* (c.1588)



Figure I.7 *The Armada Portrait* (c.1588)
Oil on panel, attributed to George Gower.
Part of the Duke of Bedford's collection, held at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire.
The image is in the public domain and available at:
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_\(Armada_Portrait\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_(Armada_Portrait).jpg).

Our fifth painted case study discusses George Gower's *Armada Portrait* (1588, Figure I.7), one of the most recognisable images to derive from the Anglo-Spanish war. In overtly commemorating a specific event, Gower's work is peculiar for a painted Elizabeth. Although the image clearly relates to the Spanish Armada's defeat, this case study considers exactly what it is that the portrait commemorates: England's deliverance, power, and future, or the condition of the English Crown.

Three 'Armada' portraits survive, with two attributed to Gower, and one by an unknown artist that was substantially overpainted during the latter half of the seventeenth century.¹¹² The example discussed here hangs today at Woburn Abbey, the centrepiece of the Duke of Bedford's public collection. It is large, measuring 1.1 by 1.3m, and, unusually for a single subject portrait, is orientated as a landscape. That compositional choice not only allows the queen's image to have all the room it requires, but also provides ample space for associated symbolisms to either side. The *Armada Portrait* held by the National Portrait Gallery, also attributed to Gower, seems to have been physically cropped post production into a more conventional portrait aspect, leaving the imagined Queen (minus her elbows) alone in the scene.¹¹³ Despite the queen's image being all but indistinguishable between the two 'Gower' works, without the flanking iconography the National Portrait Gallery's carries none of the Woburn's symbolic resonance.

Both versions show Elizabeth life-sized, dressed in a rich black and silver velvet dress, detailed with pearls and bows, and with her wrists and neck encased in lace. Her face is impassive, white and a little sunken; her curled hair again adorned with pearls. She holds an ostrich feather fan in her left hand, and in the full image, we see her right, resting on a small globe, completely obscuring North America. Directly above the globe is an imperial

¹¹² This 'overpainted' version has, until very recently been in the possession of the decedents of Francis Drake. It was purchased on behalf of the nation in 2016 for £10.3 million. See H. Furness, 'Elizabeth I Armada Portrait saved for the nation', *The Telegraph*, 29th July 2016 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/28/elizabeth-i-armada-portrait-saved-for-the-nation/>, accessed 10 Nov. 2017.

¹¹³ It seems the Woburn Abbey version is unique in having maintained its original condition.

crown, and above that, through an open window flanked by two columns, we see a sunlit sea and a fleet pushing out across calm water. Opposite, through a second column-framed window to the queen's right, we see a contrasting scene; the sea dark and raging, and ships smashed and broken against the rocks. Below this window are two carvings, one of an egg-shaped object, the other of a mermaid. Although there is no signature, the portrait's 'forceful style' has led to its universal attribution to Gower, and in February 1589, the Crown granted Gower substantial property, suggesting the positive reception of a major work.¹¹⁴ With Gower all but confirmed as the artist, the *Armada Portrait's* context becomes clear.

The portrait was likely a Crown commission. Gower was Elizabeth's Serjeant Paynter between 1581 and his death in 1596. Although Serjeant Paynters traditionally conducted work more akin to an interior designer and conservator than a portraitist, it is evident that Gower's talent for portraiture was contemporarily recognised.¹¹⁵ The Woburn *Armada Portrait* presents a simplified vision of England's seemingly miraculous preservation during the summer of 1588, when Phillip of Spain, whom Elizabeth would one day name her 'greatest enemy', looked set to launch an invasion.¹¹⁶ If successful, his design would have destroyed Europe's most powerful Protestant state and the Dutch Republic's life line at a stroke. His Armada was to sail up the Channel, meet with the Duke of Parma's army, and ferry them to England. The effort failed, and the English, together with all Protestant

¹¹⁴ *Gloriana*, p. 131; K. Hearn, 'Gower, George (d. 1596)', ODNB.

¹¹⁵ For the Serjeant Paynter's duties, see J. Goodison, 'George Gower, Serjeant Painter to Queen Elizabeth', *Burlington Magazine*, 90 (1948), pp. 261-5. Looking at his self-portrait (1579), and there can be little doubt that Gower was capable of producing work akin to the Woburn *Armada Portrait* (again see Appendix, I.3), and an unrelised patent, drafted in 1584, would have granted him a monopoly on the production of large royal painted portraits, whilst allowing Hilliard similar rights over her miniatures. See K. Hearn, 'Gower'.

¹¹⁶ *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, pp. 328-33.

Europe, were handed a symbolic victory such as they could never have hoped for.¹¹⁷ The images that commemorated those weeks can be read as part of a ‘propaganda’ effort to entrench the victory in the Protestant community’s shared memory, with Louis Montrose suggesting it to be at the heart of ‘the English national myth’.¹¹⁸

Reading the image in this way characterises the whole scene as one of national imperial intent and triumph.¹¹⁹ The English imperial crown hangs over the globe as the English monarch rests her hand upon it. Although she only touches North America, reminiscent of England’s meagre contemporary attempts at empire, her fingers reach for the Spanish territories in the South; the real target of her gesture and symbolised ambition.¹²⁰ Whether a target for emulation, plunder, or conquest is unclear, but the inference is one of England’s rise at Spain’s expense. The appropriation of the Spanish *Pillars of Hercules* similarly describes an English usurpation of Iberian pre-eminence. Lifted straight from the heraldry of the Spanish monarchy, in their original context the *Pillars* described the Hapsburg will to go *Plus Ultra*, further beyond the limits of the geographical ‘pillars’ at the most southerly point of their peninsula. Here they are shrouded; Hapsburg imperial ambition is cowled, and, between the *pillars* that flank the scene’s right-hand window we see the moment of their defeat.¹²¹ Although the fleet was ‘Spanish’, the usurped authority was personal to Phillip II. Gower communicates his defeat as similarly personal to Elizabeth, despite any ‘community’ connotations.

¹¹⁷ For an account of the build-up to the Armada campaign, see Wernham, *Before*, pp. 390-405. C. Martin & G. Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (New York, NY, 1999), pp. 139-231. For the campaign itself, see Martin & Parker, *The Spanish Armada*, pp. 139-231. For an account of Armada propaganda’s development, see F. Fernández-Armesto, ‘Armada Myths: The Formative Phase’, in P. Gallagher & D. Cruickshank, eds., *God’s Obvious Design. Papers for the Spanish Armada Symposium, Sligo, 1988: With an Edition and Translation of the Account of Francisco de Cellar* (London, 1990), pp. 19-39.

¹¹⁸ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 145.

¹¹⁹ *Gloriana*, p. 132.

¹²⁰ P. Barber, ‘England II: Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps, 1550-1625’, in D. Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, IL, 1992), p. 96 n. 180.

¹²¹ See Chapter II.vii for the advancement of this iconography.

There is little evidence to support a broader ‘national’ reading. Whilst the image’s appropriation of ‘Spanish’ iconography hints at ‘English’ authority’s usurpation of their erstwhile pre-eminence, that authority is not vested in the community; rather the Crown. Alongside Elizabeth’s purity and constancy, shown by the abundance of pearls, her marbleised face, and the bow tied over her genitals, this image captures in paint an idea that would be repeated in George Peele’s *Accession Day* poem in 1590. In what is likely a Crown commissioned representation of the Armada victory, Gower created Elizabeth as something incredible. She is no longer merely England’s queen, but she is ‘Elizabeth great Empresse of the world’.¹²² It is not England’s authority that usurps Spain’s, but Elizabeth who eclipses Phillip. *Semper Eadem* she may be, but with the Armada defeated, the horizon of her specific authority has expanded, or so the ‘propaganda’ would have us believe. This painting creates an Elizabeth that not only symbolises the victory achieved under her authority, but looks ahead to what the Crown could become. Tempting as it may be to read this portrait as engaging in national myth building, it is an image that speaks of the development of England’s Crown, not community, identity.

¹²² D. Horne, ed., *The Life and Minor Works of George Peele* (New Haven, CT, 1952), p. 232, as quoted in *Gloriana*, p. 133.

vi. *The Ditchley Portrait* (c.1592)



Figure I.8 *The Ditchley Portrait* (c.1592)
Oil on canvas by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger.
Part of the NPG Collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: NPG 2561.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

Four years after the first Armada sailed and Gower imagined Elizabeth reaching for the New World, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger produced a work that, perhaps more so than any other painted portrait, related the queen's bodily image to her Kingdom. *The Ditchley Portrait*, as the image has become known (1592, Figure I.8), is Elizabeth's largest surviving contemporary portrait. It is also the painting Strong cites as demonstrating his thesis that looking at 'Elizabeth was looking at England', and Sharpe would describe as showing the queen's literal embodiment of the nation.¹²³ When considering the composition in context, however, these readings are difficult to substantiate.

The portrait is certainly impressive. Even in reality, the *Ditchley* Elizabeth is more than life sized, and, figuratively, her scale is absurd.¹²⁴ She towers over her kingdom, standing upon the Oxfordshire village of Ditchley, with all the land north of the Thames subsumed under her voluminous white skirts. England 'has become the courtier's cape', stretched out across a globe for its queen to stand on.¹²⁵ Her costume is rich with precious metals and stones, with pearls draped around her neck and scattered throughout her hair, and the whole spectacle topped with a large ruby. Once again, there is a carnation at her left shoulder, and in her hands a pair of gloves and a folded fan. As storms rage behind her, the colossal queen turns to the west, to where a bright sun lights calm skies.

The portrait was first recorded in 1718, when Thomas Hearne reported seeing it in the Long Gallery of the erstwhile home of Sir Henry Lee, the queen's Champion during the 1580s.¹²⁶ Hearne also noted that the house had been visited during Elizabeth I's 1592 progress, and it seems likely the portrait was painted for that occasion.¹²⁷ Lee patronised

¹²³ *Gloriana*, p. 99; *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, p. 382.

¹²⁴ From her toe to the tip of her headdress, this Elizabeth is 1.88m, far larger than the natural queen but, no doubt coincidentally, exactly her father's height.

¹²⁵ D. Williams, 'Elizabeth I: Size Matters', in A. Connolly & Lisa Hopkins, eds., *Goddesses and Queens, The Iconography of Elizabeth I* (Manchester, 2013), p. 72.

¹²⁶ *Gloriana*, p. 135; E. Fernie, 'Lee, Sir Henry (1533–1611)', *ODNB*.

¹²⁷ E. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee* (Oxford, 1936), p. 57. For an overview of the Elizabethan royal progresses, see M. Hill Cole, 'Monarchy in Motion', in J. Archer & S. Knight, eds., *The Progresses Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2007) pp. 27–46.

Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger often, his collection including eleven other portraits by the Dutchman's hand. As Elizabeth's Champion, Lee had spent a substantial portion of his career designing and directing the pageantry of royal tilts; when he welcomed her to his home, *The Ditchley Portrait* would have made for a stunning centrepiece for the expected entertainments.¹²⁸ It had been Lee's final tilt that included George Peele's poem, hailing Elizabeth as 'the Empresse of the world'. Now, two years later, we see the 'Empresse', as impressive as one would imagine, visiting her Champion in his retirement, gigantic over his, and every other Englishman's, estate.

Despite the corporeal Elizabeth having been around sixty years old in 1592, Elizabeth's face, as ever, appealed to both her body politic, unaffected by age, and her ego, which very much was. The pearls that hang around her neck, ubiquitously symbolise her virtue, and her unworn gloves, the favour she bestows upon her kingdom.¹²⁹ She is the physical connection between the land and the heavens, and wears an armillary sphere on one ear, as we have seen, generically symbolic of divine harmony and ordained authority. The role she played as Governor of the English Church, champion of England's faithful, builds to a crescendo, as all England is brought beneath her skirts, just as Mary, the Mother of Mercy, cast her shawl over the faithful who came to her for protection.¹³⁰ She is the virgin mother to her subjects, all whilst wielding total authority over them.

Her position over the land not only allows her to be its imagined protector and nurturer, but to dominate it utterly. Unlike some other instances of Elizabeth's portrait being combined with cartography, there is no ambiguity as to which land she stands over.¹³¹ Gheeraerts' representation of the kingdom is derived directly from Saxton's 1579 work, *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales*, leaving the audience in no doubt as to what comes

¹²⁸ J. Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 119-42.

¹²⁹ A. Jones & P. Stallybrass, 'Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe', in *Critical Inquiry*, 28.1 (2001) pp. 123-4.

¹³⁰ E. Duffy, *Stripping the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven, CT, 1992), p. 264.

¹³¹ See Chapter II.vii, viii.

under the jurisdiction of Elizabeth's Supremacy.¹³² To underline the image's authoritative aspect, England is divided into its constituent administrative counties, with Elizabeth as chief magistrate.

As with Woburn's *Armada* Elizabeth, the *Ditchley* Elizabeth can be read as representing the queen's own ambition and authority, rather than any community or national condition. She looks out to the south-west to where the skies are an inviting blue, whilst storms rage to the east, contrasting a potential sunlit future with the trials of the past. The slight upward gesture of the queen's right hand points out an imagined target of her Crown's extended authority: The New World.

There is no hint that this is a reflection of the queen's genuine ambition. Lee had forged a career from ostentatious displays of flattery, and this is but one more example. In Lee's commission, Elizabeth is not England, and the two are certainly not interchangeable as has been suggested.¹³³ On the contrary, the relationship is clearly defined as that of subject and sovereign, with all England supplicant to the queen's authority.¹³⁴ Where in reality that authority was experienced through county magistrates, or if the queen happened to take her progress past your home, in this portrait Elizabeth's magistracy visits all England simultaneously. As Lee's home had been during her 1592 progress, so the kingdom was hers to command. The sustenance, protection, and faithful deliverance that the realm enjoys under her authority go hand in hand with the kingdom's shared and absolute subjection to that authority. The queen is both 'natural mother' and Supreme prince. Under her skirts, this England is protected, loved, and brought closer to God.¹³⁵ All England has to do in return is submit.

¹³² Helgerson, *Nationhood*, pp. 112-5; *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 130. See Chapter II.iv.

¹³³ *Gloriana*, p. 99.

¹³⁴ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, p. 131.

¹³⁵ The legend to the right of the image reads, 'She gives and does not expect'.

vii. *The Rainbow Portrait* (c.1600)



Figure I.9

The Rainbow Portrait (c.1600)

Oil on canvas, artist unknown.

Part of the Marquess of Salisbury's collection, held at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

This image is in the public domain and available at:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portraiture_of_Elizabeth_I_of_England#/media/File:Elizabeth_I_Rainbow_Portrait.jpg.

After the *Ditchley* Elizabeth, the *Rainbow Portrait's* three-quarter length figure (c.1600, Figure I.9) is perhaps a little underwhelming. Life-sized, Elizabeth stands in front of a shadowy archway. She wears a flowered dress, wrapped in a mantle decorated with open eyes and ears. Her left hand touches at the mantle's hem, and her right holds a rainbow beneath the words *Non Sine Sole Iris*.¹³⁶ A high lace collar rises at her neck, decorated with a jewelled gauntlet; alongside a transparent veil and theatrical headdress, underlining the performative ostentation of the queen's costume.¹³⁷ She wears pearl necklaces and bracelets, whilst still more pearls decorate her cloak, veil, headdress, earrings, and the body of the serpent embroidered onto her left sleeve. In the snake's mouth are shown an armillary sphere and ruby heart. Finally, underneath the costume and accessories, the queen's imagined body is youthful, untouched by the passing of time.¹³⁸ The portrait is this chapter's final case study, included here to demonstrate that even into the final years of her reign Elizabeth's painted portrait was being adapted anew as circumstances demanded. It also demonstrates how a portrait's physical situation might have a marked impact on its interpretation, even if its original provenance was uncertain.

Although hanging consistently in the Lords, Earls, and Marquesses of Salisburys' private collection for the past four centuries, the portrait's origins are far from clear. It seems likely the product of one of the 'Anglo-Dutch' studios, but when searching for an exact artist, Strong suggests Isaac Oliver or Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, whilst Auberbach and Adams quite reasonably propose others.¹³⁹ For its date of production, any

¹³⁶ 'No rainbow without the sun.'

¹³⁷ E. Auberbach & C. Adams, *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House* (London, 1971), p. 59.

¹³⁸ Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 85-6. When he visited the English Court in 1600, roughly contemporary to the *Rainbow Portrait's* production, the Baron Waldstein remarked that the queen in her costume '[glittered] with the glory of majesty; neither her appearance nor her authority diminished by age (M. Hayward, *Dress to Impress*', in A. Hunt & A. Whitelock, eds., *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York, NY, 2010), p. 92).

¹³⁹ *Gloriana*, p. 161; Auberbach & Adams, *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield*, pp. 60-1.

between 1600 and early 1603 seems possible, with a posthumous completion not beyond reason.¹⁴⁰

The last years of Elizabeth's reign saw very little of what one could describe as 'innovation' in her portrait. Strong ascribes this emblematic stagnation to the queen's close encounter with 'searching realism' at the hands of an impertinent new generation of artists.¹⁴¹ Isaac Oliver's *ad vivem* miniature from the early 1590s, for example, leaves one in little doubt as to its subject's aged decline.¹⁴² Whilst it is impossible to say with certainty that Strong's 'egocentric' interpretation is accurate, it would perhaps be more fruitful to consider the exterior circumstances that may have led to a lack of innovation in Elizabeth's later portraits; circumstances that ultimately gave rise to the *Rainbow* Elizabeth's unprecedented iconographic display.

Prior to the *Rainbow Portrait's* completion, a Privy Council order formally restricted the production of Elizabeth's portrait for the first time. The order was:

A warrant for her Majesty's Serjeant Painter and to all publicke officers to yelde him their assistance touching the abuse committed by divers unskillfull artizans in unseemly and improperly paintings, gravinge and printing of her Majesty's person and vysage, to her Majesty's great offence and disgrace of that beutyfull and magnanimous Majesty wher with God hathe blessed her, requiring them to cause all suche to be defaced and none to be allowed but suche as her Majesty's Serjant Paynter shall first have sight of.¹⁴³

Concluding that this censorship resulted from the offence caused to 'her majesty's' fragile ego by unflattering portraits is tempting, but perhaps short-sighted. Considering Elizabeth's mortal person is, as ever when discussing the monarch, only half the story. That the order refers only to the queen's 'Majesty' suggests that preserving her image against

¹⁴⁰ For fuller discussions of the portrait's possible origins, see J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (London, 1988), p. 82; M. Erler, 'Sir John Davies and the *Rainbow Portrait* of Queen Elizabeth', *Modern Philology*, 84 (1987), p. 370, and R. Strong, 'Elizabeth I: The Rainbow Portrait', in G. Jackson-Stops, ed., *The Treasures Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (New Haven, CT, 1985), p. 122.

¹⁴¹ *Gloriana*, p. 147.

¹⁴² See Appendix I.5.

¹⁴³ J. Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, A.D. 1596-7*, 46 vols (London, 1890-1964) xxvi, p. 69.

‘unseemly and [improper]’ representation was a matter of political expediency rather than ego.

As the 1590s progressed, court faction, bad harvests, and the continued expense of active warfare threatened the stability of the Elizabethan regime; all whilst the queen’s inevitable physical decline and refusal to allow arrangements to be made for the succession rendered the post-Elizabethan future an increasingly ominous unknown.¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth’s image was endemic, produced in ‘paintings, gravinge and printing’, and, as we have seen, often carried with it representative implications for her government and authority. Rather than protecting the queen’s aging ego, imposing censorship to mitigate insurrection through ever-developing visual media makes sound political sense. A damaging portrait of Elizabeth could be seen as attacking not only the queen’s natural person, but also the Elizabethan regime and Supremacy.

Even after recognising the image’s broader political potential, the exact nature of its inference and the relative importance of its iconographic elements are still the subjects of debate. Daniel Fischlin argued that the portrait should be seen as ‘primarily a political allegory’.¹⁴⁵ He identifies the queen’s mantle as the most striking element of the portrait, richly embroidered with eyes and ears; reminiscent of the ‘petticoat’ of Cesare Ripa’s ‘Reason of State’ allegory.¹⁴⁶ For René Graziani, however, the portrait is primarily a religious statement; identifying the gauntlet on her ruff as symbolic of her title, *Fidei Defensor*, and role as ‘official champion of the Christian religion’, whilst her hair, composed as if a ‘Thessalonian bride’, evidences the work’s overriding ‘*sponsa dei* theme’.¹⁴⁷ Roy Strong treads a middle way, suggesting the *Rainbow* is ‘above all a composite portrait which has... to be read as a series of separate emblems as well as collectively’, with a broad field of

¹⁴⁴ See I. Archer, ‘The 1590s, Apotheosis or Nemesis of the Elizabethan Regime?’, in A. Briggs & D. Snowman, eds., *Fins de Siècle, How Centuries End 1400-2000* (New Haven, CT, 1996) pp. 65-97.

¹⁴⁵ Fischlin, 1997, pp. 175-7.

¹⁴⁶ Fischlin, 1997, p. 181. See Ripa, *Iconologia* (London, 1709), p. 64.

¹⁴⁷ R. Graziani, ‘The ‘Rainbow Portrait’ of Queen Elizabeth I and Its Religious Symbolism’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), pp. 255-9.

reference. Strong used this interpretive model to press his broader thesis that state portraiture does ‘not portray an individual’, but rather gives form to the varied ‘abstract principles’ of an individual’s rule.¹⁴⁸ For Strong that meant the queen’s presentation as a sacred figure who ‘embodied the glory and riches of [her] kingdom’.¹⁴⁹ This approach, if not its conclusions, seem entirely valid.

The image is a milieu of religious, literary, and political iconography; composed of allegorical symbols derived from multiple sources. Some elements are strikingly similar to those used by John Davies in his *Hymns to Astraea* (1599), as we have seen, are drawn directly from Ripa’s *Iconologia*.¹⁵⁰ Even the portrait’s finest details, such as the crescent moon atop her hair, reference established allegorical tropes, in this case association with the virginal Roman goddess, Diana.¹⁵¹ She is ‘the sun’ that makes the rainbow, symbolic of God’s love and pleasure in England’s condition under her government.¹⁵² In *The Ditchley Portrait*, we saw the queen turning her back on past storms, with her people secure under her authority. Here we see the result of the light of her ‘sun’-like state coming through those storms: a peaceful rainbow and the timeless assurance of God’s love.¹⁵³ The composite effect is to render Elizabeth as a virtuous patron of peace and an expert practitioner of the ‘civil arts’ of spiritual and temporal government, all despite the difficulties of her later years.¹⁵⁴ So much can be interpreted by ‘iconographic context’ alone, but in the extended context of Cecilian ownership, that iconography takes on more focused political expediency.

Even without absolute certainty regarding who commissioned the portrait, we can say with some confidence that it quickly became part of Robert Cecil’s collection. In terms

¹⁴⁸ *Gloriana*, pp. 36, 158.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 217-8; *Gloriana*, pp. 157-9. See R. Krueger & R. Nemser, eds., *The Poems of Sir John Davies* (Oxford, 1975) for the twenty-six *Hymns* in full.

¹⁵¹ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 92-4.

¹⁵² *Non sine sole iris* (‘No rainbow without the sun’).

¹⁵³ Gen. 9:13.

¹⁵⁴ *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, p. 384.

of our interpreting the work in a Cecilian context, whether he commissioned it or not is effectively moot; his ownership and display of the image is enough to guide our contextual analysis. As the sixteenth century gave way to the seventeenth, Cecil was one of the primary combatants in a factional struggle at Elizabeth's court. Opposing him was Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, and their prize was the right to play king-maker upon Elizabeth's death.¹⁵⁵ The *Rainbow* Elizabeth can be seen as a Cecilian foot soldier in this courtly battle, bearing iconographic arms on behalf of her master.

Even into the final years of Elizabeth's reign, no formal declaration was made regarding the succession. Essex, who had lived in courtly exile since his ignoble return from Ireland in 1599, tried to undermine his rival, denouncing Cecil's council as despotic, and as tyrannising the queen's government.¹⁵⁶ Even before then, he had tried to combat what to him seemed a vicelike Cecilian grip on the rudder of the English state. Where Cecil pursued peace with Spain, Essex condemned him as a 'peacemonger'; accusing him of soliciting a Spanish succession.¹⁵⁷ Hanging at Hatfield, the *Rainbow* Elizabeth can be read as a targeted illustration of Cecil's riposte.

The queen was shown youthful and healthy, and whilst she remained so talk of the succession was needless, whomever the heir would be. The allegorical reference to the 'Reason of State' combated any charge of Cecil's Machiavellian, self-serving politicking, and emphasised the role of good council in Elizabeth's government (the multiple eyes and ears being arguably those of her councillors). Finally, the rainbow emblem itself referenced the peace that Cecil courted, not to cultivate favourable terms for a Spanish succession, but to secure positive relations with the King of Spain for the benefit of Elizabeth's kingdom. In context of Cecil's ownership the *Rainbow* Elizabeth becomes a pointed reply to Essexian attempts to wrest control of the English court and succession from the Cecilian faction.

¹⁵⁵ A. Gajda, 'Essex and the "popish plot"', in S. Doran & P. Kewes, eds., *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 116-8.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 115-8.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 120-1.

Iconographically, the *Rainbow Portrait* is at once a religious image *and* a political one; a amalgam of individual Christian and emblematic symbols that come together to form an almost inexhaustibly interpretable whole. When placed into situational context, the iconographic tumult can be seen focused for a particular purpose: the visual demonstration of Robert Cecil's position as the queen's loyal council; her eyes and ears, and the solicitor of her kingdom's peaceful preservation. The image resolutely ignores the difficulties of the 1590s and the problems of the queen's protracted reign, presenting instead a vision of an Elizabethan authority stabilised and maintained by Cecilian council. At the end of her life, this painting highlights the symbolic pliability of Elizabeth's portraits' representative functions; endlessly adaptable to serve the purposes of myriad parties no matter the circumstance, and no matter the corporeal condition of the natural queen.

Conclusion

From the first instance of Elizabeth's painted portrait bearing politically rhetorical iconography, the representational elasticity of both subject and medium were apparent. As much as the Elizabethan regime was sensitive to the potential dangers of seditious portraiture, they were also aware of the tool at their disposal.

The *Hampden* Elizabeth (i) was the first to demonstrate the representational potential of the queen's painted image. At a point of crisis when the queen's reforms, government, and dynasty all seemed threatened, this painted Elizabeth can be seen as part of an 'official' response to the perils of her situation, describing the queen's qualities, and her determination to overcome her critics' concerns. It is a rhetorical pattern repeated in later portraits likely to have resulted from Crown commissions. Gower's *Plimpton Sieve Portrait* (iii) can be seen as a similar reaction to the criticism Elizabeth faced at the end of the 1570s, with the *Armada Portrait* (v), the regime's projection of the queen's 'post-Armada' state. These 'official' portraits present the queen as ideally equipped to overcome particular trials, or to succeed in particular circumstances.

The other, 'unofficial' portraits can be seen not as ideal actors, but as tailored symbols of their likely patrons' interests. The later *Sieve Portrait* (iii) can be read to represent Christopher Hatton's expansionist predilections; the *Welbeck Portrait* (iv), Leicester's desire for war, and the *Ditchley Portrait* (vi), Sir Henry Lee's talent for obsequious display and flattery. The *Rainbow Portrait* (vii), whilst undoubtedly projecting a complex melee of symbolic and emblematic references, was nonetheless a tool to demonstrate the desired perception of the Cecilian faction's contemporary circumstance.

Without considering these images' external contexts, it is possible to divine apparently comprehensive understandings of each of these images' emblematic, Christian, and classical symbolism. The *Pelican* and *Phoenix* Elizabeth's (ii) show as much. Due to uncertainties over many images' exact provenance, the assuredness of such readings,

characterising iconographies as the consistent application of catalogued emblems, is tempting. We have emblem books, fables, and mythologies from which to draw demonstrable readings. It is considering images in this way that has resulted in identifying consistent iconisations across Elizabeth's portraiture, and the development analyses that posit painted Elizabeths as having built upon each other's complexities. What we have observed here is something quite different.

Here we see each Elizabeth composed to perform her own purpose; composed of known emblems, but with each affected by external circumstance into being representationally unique. Each image is a mirror for their patron's purposes and not merely an arbitrary display of general and replicable states and qualities. Reading the *Ditchley Portrait*, for example, in the specific context of a royal progress, where would be Lee's purpose in representing his queen as the nation? The progress was the queen's opportunity to make herself and her government visible to her people beyond the court. Lee's portrait is a metaphorical projection of that authority over the land. Despite popular accounts, this painting, nor any other, equated Elizabeth's image with the abstract representation of a homogenous idea of England. The individual or factional interests of the courtiers who commissioned her painted portraits would not have been served by such an icon. Monumental, iconographic, painted portraiture served specific purposes for the benefit of members of the court network. Representing the community beyond was seldom of concern, and when it was, as in the *Ditchley Portrait*, it was to reinforce its subjection to the regime, and not to render the people and their sovereign as equivalent.

Other art forms were not so monopolised by a single group, and for images that abstract the queen from her natural self and her Crown into representing England's national community, it is to those media that we must turn. The following two chapters consider printed images and medallurgy. Whilst certainly engaged by members of the court to serve their interests, these two media were also used by a far more diverse demographic.

Where painted portraits reflected a specific political and social circumstance whereby representing Elizabeth's monarchy and authority was paramount, those using these other media sometimes had a vested interest in representing all aspects of England in a single recognisable figure.

II.

REPRESENTATION AND THE NATION IN ELIZABETH I'S PRINTED PORTRAITURE

Printed portraits took Elizabeth's image out of the court and into the wider world. Although print media undoubtedly played its part in 'courtly display', others performed roles beyond the concerns of the nobility, with some being conceived far outside the jurisdiction of the English queen.¹ Sixteenth-century printed imagery was functionally and technically diverse.² Elizabeth's portraits were reproduced in woodcuts and intaglio; in bibliological images with specific textual reference, and broadsheet prints that stood alone.³ Whilst the following discussion is not an exhaustive survey of Elizabeth's printed portraiture, the selected case studies reflect the representative versatility and contemporary development of printed media throughout her reign.

¹ Barrett-Graves, 'Elizabeth I and the Hampden Portrait', p. 12.

² M. Hunter, 'Introduction', in M. Hunter, ed., *Printed Image in Early Modern Britain, Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, 2010), p. 1.

³ Elizabeth's image illustrated around 25 contemporary books. See E. Ingram & R. Luborsky, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603*, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ, 1998), i, p. 144; Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power', p. 192.

Each of the following case studies treats specific images in isolated context, demonstrating their individual representative function. In response to persistent claims that Elizabeth's portrait was developed to represent the nation, the studies pay particular attention to instances in which the queen's image was reproduced in circumstances of 'national' significance; referencing the community's shared spiritual or temporal condition, ambitions, or actions. Together, these case studies develop the thesis that Elizabeth's portraits were representationally heterogeneous, and, despite the 'standard assumption' that Elizabeth became imagined as the embodiment of England, examples of her portraits representing the nation were rare. There was little homogeneity in Elizabeth's image, with each iconographically significant portrait contrived to serve particular interests in specific circumstances.

Until the advent of digital archives and the *Arts and Humanities Research Council's* (AHRC) *British Printed Images to 1700* project, no comprehensive survey of English prints had been attempted. The project has provided an unprecedented (and still expanding) catalogue of printed images of all types produced in England during the early modern period, from the earliest days of English printing to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Prior to the AHRC's project, academic interest was largely subject to typological distinction, separating stand-alone pieces from illustrations, and intaglio from woodcuts. Arthur Hind's catalogue of early modern English intaglio demonstrates this pattern, and so widely influential has his work been that his typological discrimination likely bolstered the divisions within print's scholarly treatment.⁴ Where the intaglio that fascinated Hind has been studied largely as a discreet art form, woodcuts have been studied mostly as an ancillary aspect of the media from which they derived: pamphlets, playing cards, ballads, and works of literature.⁵

⁴ *Engraving*.

⁵ The equivalency between the engraver and the painter was solidified by the twenty-one volumes of Adam Bartsch's, *Le Peintre Graveur* (1803-1821). See Hunter, 2010, pp. 3-4.

Woodcut illustrations have arguably enjoyed most fruitful treatment when considered as elements of polemical, religious literature. Although images formed a subordinate element of the discussion, the first notable work to touch upon woodcuts' role in the distribution of English religious ideology was Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (1991).⁶ In 1999, Alexandra Walsham and Sheila O'Connell provided more focused treatments of woodcut images in early modern English print culture.⁷ Whilst Walsham followed Watt's lead and considered woodcuts' role in contemporary religious texts, O'Connell highlighted woodcuts' nature as a tradable commodity produced for a growing and commercially reactive market. The religious and commercial elements come together in studies concerning John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

Foxe's martyrology has perhaps commanded more scholarly attention than any other illustrated Tudor text, with its woodcut images being a particular interest for many. Between 1997 and 2006, Margaret Aston, Elizabeth Ingram, Ruth Luborsky, Thomas Betteridge, and John King all produced works highlighting the unprecedented ambition and impact of Foxe's illustrations.⁸ Since then, no works concerning the development of English print and the place of Foxe's work within the print trade have been more influential than those of Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman. The pair have used Foxe's work as a lens through which to examine the intricacies of the print trade, and the expanded dissemination of printed materials in Elizabethan England.⁹ Besides those who use Foxe as their fulcrum, Elizabeth Ingram and Ruth Luborsky's *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603* (1998), and James Knapp's *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern*

⁶ T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁷ A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999) pp. 8-65; S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London, 1999).

⁸ M. Aston & E. Ingram, 'The Iconography of the *Actes and Monuments*', in D. Loades, ed., *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 66-142; R. Luborsky, 'The Illustration and Plan', in D. Loades, ed., *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 67-84; T. Betteridge, 'Truth and History in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*', in C. Highley & J. King, eds., *John Foxe and His World* (Aldershot, 2002); J. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2006).

⁹ In particular, see E. Evenden & T. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxes Book of Martyrs* (Cambridge, 2011), and E. Evenden, *Patents, Pictures, and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008).

England (2003), provide broader surveys.¹⁰ Despite this interest in early modern printed images, few have studied printed portraiture discretely; their most substantial treatments coming as subsidiary elements in the study of painted works.

To date, no-large scale project has taken Elizabeth I's printed portraits as its primary concern. Kevin Sharpe and Roy Strong integrated extended analyses of printed portraits into more general studies of Elizabeth's visual image, but neither offered a discrete discussion.¹¹ Both used analyses of printed portraits to further homogenous readings of Elizabeth's portraiture across media, with Strong arguing that her image was systematically manipulated into a devotional icon and Sharpe a tool to communicate policy and project her authority. This chapter considers the individual rhetorical functions of a selection of Elizabeth's painted portraiture; examining them in their own right, rather than in association with portraits in other visual media.

Each individual case study is addressed in light of images' specific qualities and known contexts, with woodcut images and intaglio are considered alongside one another. As each case study is addressed individually for their particular iconographic function, material homogeneity between images is not so significant here as it may have been for others. The cases considered here, whatever their origin, were produced by pressing an inked pattern to paper, reproducing a near identical image time and time again.¹² For our purposes, that is enough similarity to consider them a single medium.

By considering materially diverse images, derived from a wide array of provenances, the intention is to demonstrate the representational pliability of Elizabeth's printed portraits. The individual cases have been selected because they connect the queen's image to ideas argued as central to the Elizabethan English national community, be it

¹⁰ Ingram & Luborsky, *Illustrated Books*, i; J. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Aldershot, 2003).

¹¹ *Gloriana; Selling the Tudor Monarchy*.

¹² Although there is no way of knowing the numbers in which Elizabeth's printed portraits were reproduced, hundreds of examples survive. Regarding single-sheet images alone, the BM hold 130 contemporary examples; the NPG, around twenty; with the Rijksmuseum holding a further fifteen; and the V&A twelve.

Protestantism, territorial definition, imperial ambition, foreign relations, or any combination of the above. Considering the precise representational function of the Elizabeth figure in each instance will demonstrate the importance of context in defining that function, and the compositional circumstances that might illicit Elizabeth's representation as 'England'.

The first case study considers the woodcut Elizabeth featured at the start of all Elizabethan editions of John Foxe's Anglo-Protestant martyrology, *Actes and Monuments*; demonstrating neatly the importance of the accompanying text when understanding book illustrations. The second case study derives from another English Protestant work: the *Bishops' Bible*. The *Bible* is associated with two distinct frontispiece designs, both featuring the queen at their centre. The case study considers Elizabeth's role in describing the English Church visually, and shows that even when associated with the same work, similar images might exhibit rhetorical differences. The third case study examines the frontispiece of John Dee's proto-imperial work, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577), which shows Elizabeth as helmsman to the ship of state. The fourth is the frontispiece of Christopher Saxton's *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1579), where Elizabeth's image was placed at the head of what was the most comprehensive contemporary cartographic description of her kingdom. Where each of these initial images derive from printed books, drawing much of their symbolic significance from works of which they are only one part, the fifth is a 'broadsheet' image, produced in a single leaf to be sold as an individual artefact.

Whilst textual context might be central to a book illustration's representative function, a single-sheet image derives similar circumstantial meaning from the events or circumstances that inspired it. Dating from c.1585 and produced in the Low Countries, our first broadsheet shows an Elizabeth in a satirical setting amidst abstract personifications of the Dutch Provinces, taking Protestant mutuality as its central theme. The sixth image,

taken from John Case's 1588 *Sphæra Civitatis* sees a temporary return to bibliographic illustrations, and Elizabeth's description in association with an idealised English state. Case study seven considers William Rogers' 1589 broadsheet, *Eliza Triumphans* alongside a later derivative, reproduced with subtle differences to serve quite separate purposes. Where Rogers' original image apparently formed part of the post-Armada celebrations, the other is far more obscure, and shows the English queen as the 'ornament of the Christian commonwealth'. The final case study in this chapter considers Crispijn van de Passe's 1596 work showing Elizabeth stood in front of an ambiguous landmass in an image commemorating the Cádiz expedition and England's victory over a foreign rival.

In pulling apart the iconographic composition of each source whilst remaining sympathetic to its specific context, this chapter examines the range and limitations of Elizabeth I's printed portraiture's representative functions. Together these pieces demonstrate the typological diversity of print media. In print, as in paint, we find Elizabeth's portrait as something of an allegorical chameleon; with images' rhetorical symbolism changing as rapidly as the circumstances that surrounded them. Regarding the representation of the nation, by analysing portraits that imagined the queen in relation to shared 'community' concerns, the chapter considers the circumstances that might have inspired the development of Elizabeth's portrait as a national icon.

i. *Actes and Monuments* (1563)

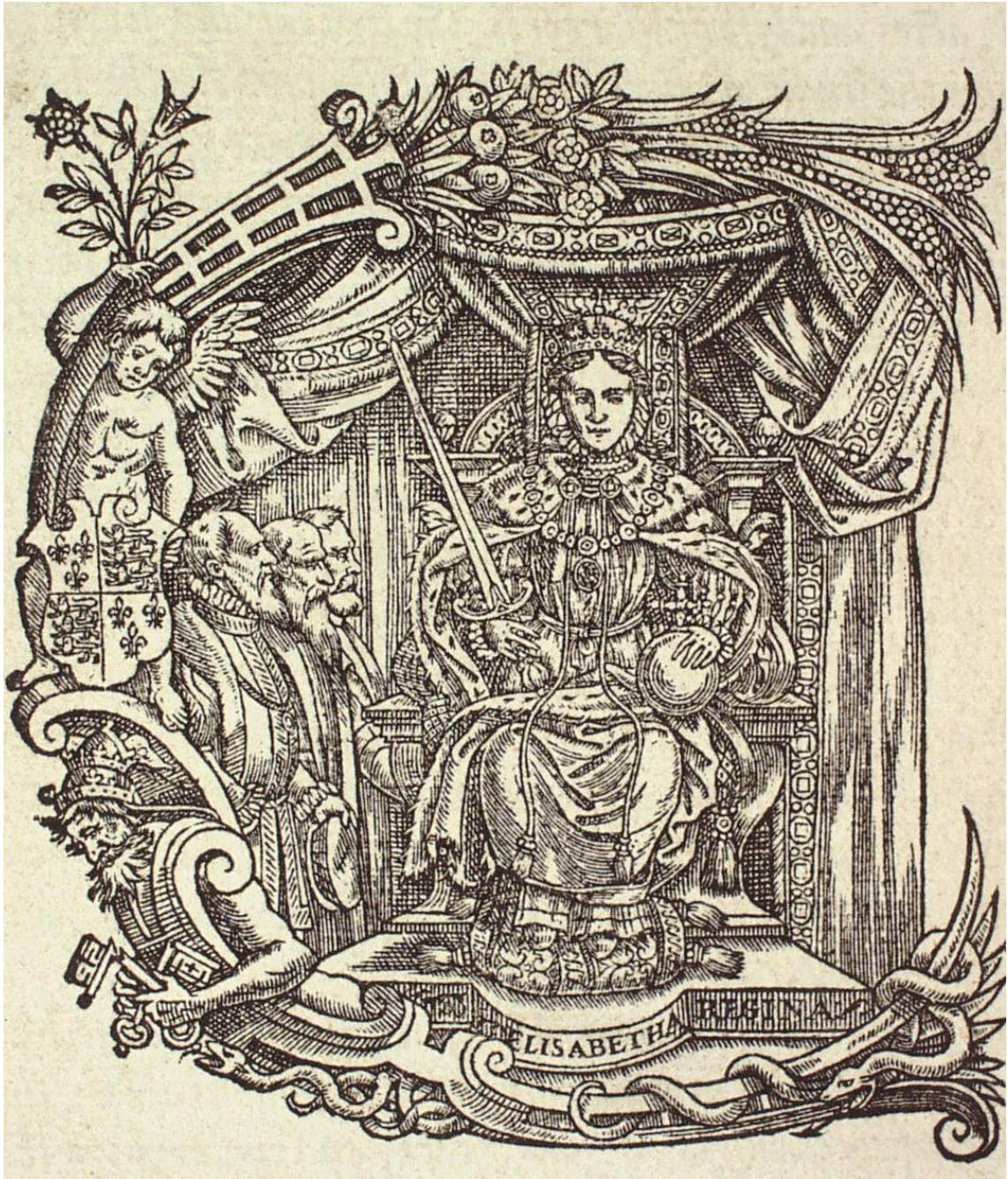


Figure II.1 *Queen Elizabeth as Emperor Constantine* (1563)
Woodcut, ink on paper, artist unknown.
Part of Ohio State University's Knowledge Bank collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: Luborsky/Ingram No.: 11222.
© Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Ohio State University.

The subject of our first printed case study is the woodcut portrait featured in the preface to all Elizabethan editions of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (Figure II.1). Foxe's martyrology was a landmark work in the development and articulation of English Protestant identity; across all editions, painting a portrait of faith that the English took for a mirror, and instructing them in an imagined Protestant heritage composed in contradistinction to a Catholic 'other'.¹³ This study considers how the preface's imagined Elizabeth fitted into those visions, and how her relationship with the text came to alter her meaning without any change to the image. The text is central to this Elizabeth's symbolic function, and in defining her relationship to the English Protestant community.

Foxe's Elizabeth is shown enthroned within a decorative letter 'C', resplendent in Crown regalia (although holding a sword rather than a sceptre). She crushes both a naked Pontiff and satanic serpents beneath her feet; the Papal keys are broken, and the prosperity of Elizabeth's Protestant reign is evidenced by the bulging cornucopia arching above. To the left of the image, we see three male supplicants, possibly those responsible for *Actes and Monuments'* development and distribution: John Foxe, John Day, and William Cecil.¹⁴ To the extreme left, at the 'C's' apex, are the royal arms. Despite *Actes and Monuments* undergoing radical revisions between editions, not least to the prefacing text that accompanied this portrait, this Elizabeth's pattern remained unaltered in all four Elizabethan editions. From the earliest of these (1563), *Actes and Monuments* was one of the 'most ambitiously illustrated English works of its time'.¹⁵

¹³ J. Hurstfield, *The Elizabethan Nation* (London, 1964); W. Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963), pp. 13-4; Helgerson, *Nationhood*, pp. 283-96; C. Perry, 'The Citizen Politics of Nostalgia: Queen Elizabeth in Early Jacobean London', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23 (1993), p. 97; D. Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997); T. Freeman, 'Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'', in S. Doran & T. Freeman, eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 27-9.

¹⁴ Evenden & Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England*, pp. 103-4.

¹⁵ M. Aston, 'The Illustrations: Books 10-12', *John Foxe's Actes and Monuments Online*, <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay21>, accessed 15 Sep. 2017.

The Elizabeth reproduced here was one of the first edition's fifty-seven woodcuts, and although it is difficult to measure the impact these images may have had, that has not prevented some from arguing that their influence was pivotal in boring *Actes and Monuments* into the collective English consciousness.¹⁶ Frustratingly little is known about these images' provenance, but *Actes and Monuments* was not the first Foxe work to be illustrated, suggesting that the martyrologist was aware of images' narrative potential.¹⁷ Some of *Actes and Monuments*' illustrations can be found in Foxe's earlier, Latin works, whilst still more seem drafted from others already distributed by his English printer, John Day. The choice of *Actes and Monuments*' illustrations was likely a shared effort between the two men.¹⁸

The Foxean Elizabeth seems to derive from one or other of two miniatures by Levina Teerlinc.¹⁹ Despite not being the finest examples of Elizabeth's portrait, almost all the queen's early printed renderings adhere to Teerlinc's model. The pattern appeared on some 200 documents during the first two decades of her reign, perhaps indicating that it received some form of 'official' sanction.²⁰ Other than the use of Teerlinc's pattern, the provenance of the *Actes and Monuments* Elizabeth is something of a mystery. What is certain is that, together with Foxe's prose and the other illustrations, it constituted a work unlike anything published before it.

Despite any ambiguity regarding provenance, it is overwhelmingly likely that Foxe and Day enjoyed some form of 'state' sponsorship, and his work was composed not merely to reflect his own beliefs, but to promote an 'official' narrative history for England's new religion.²¹ The work can be read as a conflation of its author's personal sensibilities and

¹⁶ J. Roberts, 'Bibliographical Aspects', in D. Loades, ed., *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 41.

¹⁷ See T. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17-1587) martyrologist', *ODNB*. For trends in the use of iconography to illustrate in Protestant literature in the sixteenth century, see A. Pettegree, 'Illustrating the Book: A Protestant Dilemma', in C. Highley & J. King, eds., *John Foxe and His World* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 134-44.

¹⁸ See Aston & Ingram, 'The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*'.

¹⁹ R. Strong, 'Teerlinc, Levina (d. 1576)', *ODNB*.

²⁰ These included John Dee's frontispiece to his *General and Rare Memorials* considered later in this chapter. Teerlinc's pattern was also likely used for Elizabeth's first *Great Seal*, 1559. See *Gloriana*, pp. 55-7.

²¹ Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book*, pp. 118-24.

practical political expedience, dictated by those who encouraged his labours: most likely members of Elizabeth's Privy Council.²² Foxe's book was a polemical history and, despite its expense, seemingly intended to be a widely accessed, multimedia experience to cultivate a shared understanding of England's Protestant heritage.²³ Placing Elizabeth's portrait at the opening of such a project emphasised the queen's Supremacy over the Church of England, and the expectation that she would act as a godly magistrate for reform.

In 1563, Foxe imagined Elizabeth as England's Godly Prince and Protestantism's universal champion; the Supreme Governor and figurehead of the Church and its deliverer from heresy. In that first instance, the 'C' that surrounded Elizabeth's image was the initial letter of the name 'Constantine', the first Christian Roman emperor. Evoking Constantine's precedent characterised Elizabeth as an agent of God, sustained by Him in her earthly mission to reform the Church, and implying divine ordination for England's religious reform.²⁴ The story of the Roman Emperor's conversion to Christianity, and Rome's subsequent transformation into a Christian Empire was, and is, a famous one. According to Lactantius, 'Constantine was directed in a dream to have the heavenly sign delineated on the shields of his soldiers' before engaging the much larger armies of the usurper, Maxentius, at *Ponte Milvio* (312).²⁵ Constantine did as he was bid, instructing the *Chi-Rho* monogram (☩) be painted onto his soldier's shields. With providentially divined victory duly won, Constantine converted to Christianity, and monotheism began to replace paganism as the *de facto* religion of the Roman Empire.²⁶ Just as Constantine led Rome from

²² For details of the first edition's practical composition, see Evenden & Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England*, pp. 102-34.

²³ J. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London, 1940), p. 136. The cost of printing the second edition was potentially prohibitive, yet Foxe reassured Day he would see a profit. See E. Evenden & T. Freeman, 'Print, Profit and Propaganda: The Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'', *The English Historical Review*, 199.484 (2004), p. 1295.

²⁴ King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, pp. 105-6, 153-4, 234-5; Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power', pp. 173-4 (repeated by Doran in a History Faculty seminar, 'Elizabeth I and the Forging of an English Identity', *Europaeum: Brexit in Historical Perspective*, given at Oxford University, 30th May 2017). See also Freeman, 'Providence and Prescription', pp. 27-47.

²⁵ Lactant., *De Mort. Pers.* 44.

²⁶ R. MacMullen, *Constantine* (New York, NY, 1987), p. 72.

pagan heterodoxy, so Foxe imagined Elizabeth, with the sword of justice in her hand, as Christendom's deliverer from Catholic heresies. In the first edition, Elizabeth is presented as a second Constantine, with England as a new Rome; together, the agent and crucible for the realisation of the 'true' Church.²⁷

By 1570, however, the evangelical reforms Foxe had imagined for Elizabeth's Supremacy had failed to manifest. Rather than repudiating every trace of popery, the developing Church of England retained aspects of the old ways, stifling the unilateral reforms that Foxe, and his godly readers, thought necessary.²⁸ Although the visual pattern of Foxe's Elizabeth remained unaltered, by the second edition substantial revisions to the accompanying text had entirely changed her characterisation. The surrounding initial 'C' was transformed into that of Christ rather than Constantine, and in a dedication addressed directly '*to the Queenes Maiestie*', Foxe essentially reprimanded his monarch, reminding her of her obligation to God and her people, and the crusade that she had neglected.

CHRIST the Prince of all Princes who hath placed you in your throne of Maiesty, vnder him to gouerne the Church and Realme of England, geue your royall highnes lōg to sit, and many yeares to raigne ouer vs, in all florishyng felicitie, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting ioy of all your subiectes. Amen.²⁹

He laid out the duties with which Elizabeth had been entrusted, writing:

I shall desire both you and them, to consider in it the necessitie of the ignorant flocke of Christ committed to your gouernement in this Realme of Englād... I considered they were the flocke of Christ, and your subiectes, belōging to your accōmpt and charge... And though they be but simple and vnlearned, yet not vnapt to be taught if they were applied... And therfore hearyng of the vertuous inclination of your Maiesty, what a prouident care, and zeale full of solicitude you haue, mindyng (speedely I trust) to furnish all quarters and countreyes of this your Realme with the voyce of Christes Gospell, and faithfull preachyng of his word, I thought also not vnprofitable to adioyne vnto this your godly proceedings, and to the office of the ministry, the knowlege also of Ecclesiasticall history, which in my mind ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and preceptes of doctrine: so by the other they may haue examples of Gods mighty working in his church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of Christiā life.³⁰

²⁷ Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1563), B, ij; Evenden & Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England*, p. 103.

²⁸ See P. Kaufman, 'The Protestant Opposition to Elizabethan Religious Reform', in N. Jones & R. Tittler, eds., *A Companion to Tudor Britain* (Malden, MA, 2004), Blackwell Reference Online.

²⁹ J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, (London, 1570), *.i.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, *.ij-.

She had been tasked by God with raising the faithful from ignorance, and that Foxe felt compelled to remind her of this is an indictment of how he perceived her achievements. Such criticism suggests that although the project likely enjoyed ‘official’ support from the Elizabethan regime, that support did not grant Foxe’s patron absolute editorial control. The reality of Elizabeth’s Supremacy had failed to fulfil Foxe’s expectations, so he changed his representation to reflect the disappointment of England’s godly.³¹

Patrick Collinson’s observation that *Actes and Monuments* constituted ‘a living text’, ever developing between editions and taking on new significances, is entirely apt.³² It is as applicable to Foxe’s characterisation of Elizabeth and her Supremacy as to any other aspect of the work. Foxe’s diverging characterisations demonstrate the importance of specific context for understanding an image’s representative function, no matter its visual composition. Between 1563 and 1570, we see the representative function of Foxe’s visualised Elizabeth change entirely due to alterations to the literary work from which it was derived. In 1563, when Foxe anticipated the absolute reforms that her new Supremacy would bring, the woodcut portrait was a depiction of the Elizabeth Foxe hoped she would become; the Supreme Governor of a strict, evangelical Protestant Church.³³ By 1570, after more than a decade of her rule and with the reforms Foxe had envisioned no closer to realisation, the martyrologist saw fit to amend his vision into being not an image of what Elizabeth would become, but what she should have been if she had carried out her duties to God and her people. For Foxe, Elizabeth I’s image was an icon of her Supremacy, and of its initial potential and subsequent failings.

In 1563, 1570, and beyond, Foxe’s figure represented the Crown’s Supremacy over the English Church, no matter the changes to the text. In neither case, however, did her

³¹ See Chapter II.ii.

³² P. Collinson, ‘Truth, Lies and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century Protestant Historiography,’ in D. Kelley & D. Sacks, eds., *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 64. See also Kaufman, ‘The Protestant Opposition’, pp. 271-88.

³³ Doran, ‘Virginity, Divinity and Power’, p. 172-4.

representational function go beyond that. Elizabeth's authority is divinely ordained and Protestant, but in neither case does she represent England's broader Protestant community. What Foxe's work demonstrates clearly, however, is the significance of textual context when interpreting book illustrations. A marked change to a text between editions can render even the most consistent illustrations representationally distinct.

ii. *The Bishops' Bible* (1568 & 1569)



Figure II.2 Frontispiece, *Bishops' Bible* (1568).
Intaglio by Frans Hogenberg.
Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: 1868, 0328.666.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

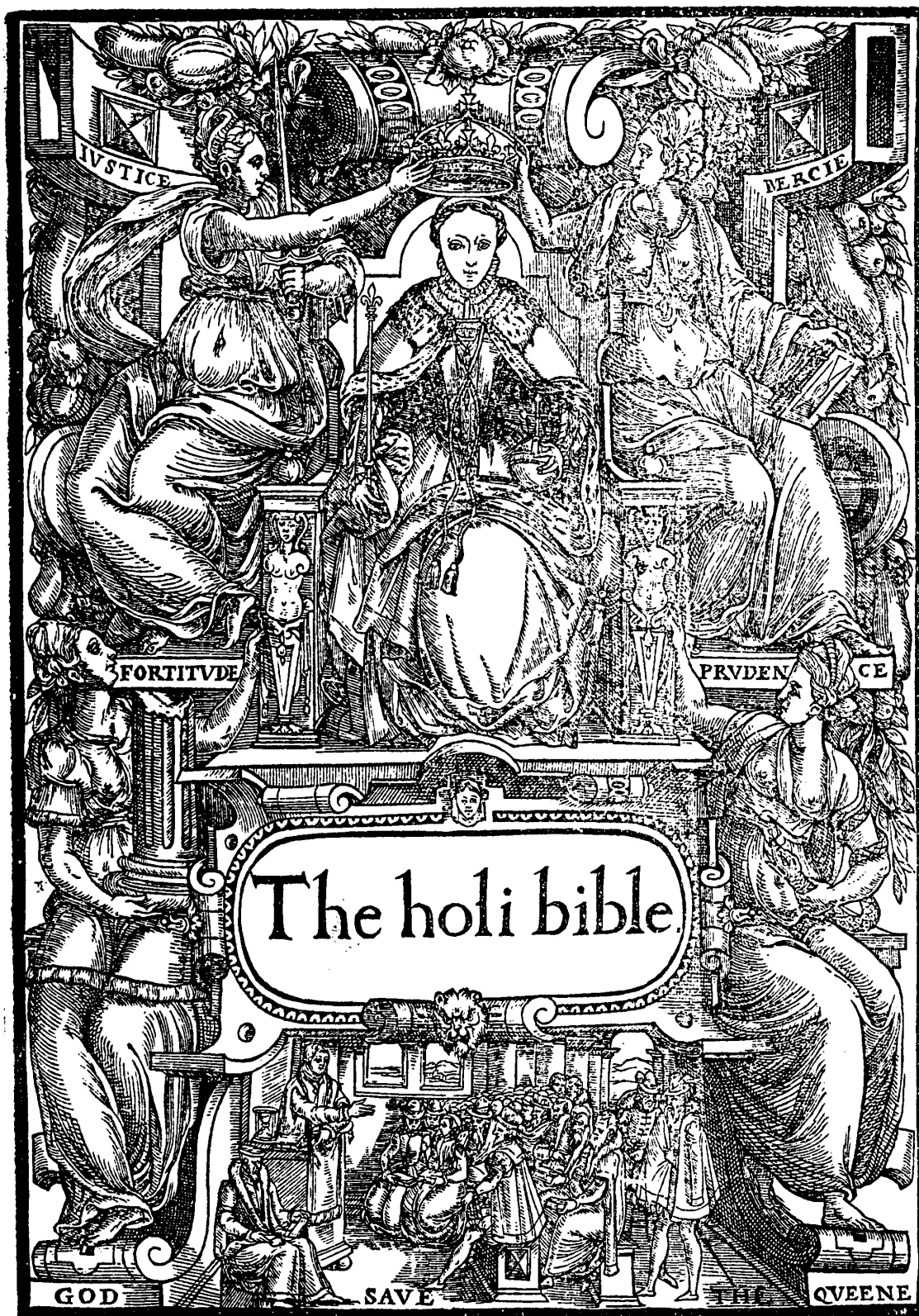


Figure II.3 Frontispiece, *Bishops' Bible* (quarto edition, 1569)
Woodcut, artist unknown.
Part of the BL collection.
Ref: Tract Supplement / Reel No. E1.3 [151a].
Electronic citation: http://ezproxyprd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2175/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:226320000

Our second printed case study concerns the two variants of the *Bishops' Bible* frontispiece: one an intaglio (1568, Figure II.2), and the other a woodcut, taken from the later quarto edition (1569, Figure II.3). As with *Actes and Monuments*, the *Bishops' Bible* placed Elizabeth's image prominently at the head of a major work of English Protestant literature, visualising Royal Supremacy through the queen's portrait and closely associating Elizabeth's image with England's Protestant community. Although the two editions carry different Elizabeths, their symbolic functions in this regard are broadly similar.

Proposed in 1562, work on the *Bishops' Bible* really began in 1565, when Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, began parcelling out books to the fifteen men selected for the task.³⁴ The process of compiling the work continued for almost three years before a completed copy was bound, ready for presentation to the queen on 5th October 1568.³⁵ Although the *Bishops' Bible's* typography and illustration were far superior to that seen in earlier versions, the frontispiece images drew heavily on the composition and structure of that developed for the Henrician, *Great Bible* (1539).³⁶

Henry VIII's portrait was as central to the *Great Bible's* frontispiece as the king was to the newly configured English Church. Both in terms of representation and Supremacy, he provided an example his daughter would later follow, albeit it with adaptation. On the *Great Bible's* frontispiece, Henry is enthroned directly under God as the Supreme Head of the Church in England; the image carefully crafted to glorify the king's new role. Even more so than in life, he is overlarge compared to his company. He receives the 'Word' from God before disseminating it to his people (both verbally and by scripture) in a role that, despite his claim to be restoring his historical rights, no English monarch had

³⁴ In 1562, the Bishop of Ely wrote to Cecil, recommending a scripturally revised English Bible be commissioned. See M. Aston, 'The *Bishops' Bible* Illustrations', in D. Wood, ed., *The Church and The Arts, Papers read at the 1990 Summer Meeting and the 1991 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1992), p. 267.

³⁵ King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, pp. 107-8.

³⁶ A. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible* (London, 1968), p. 70. For the *Great Bible* frontispiece, see Appendix II.1.

undertaken before him.³⁷ Below, the people hail him, exclaiming ‘*vivat Rex*’. There is little doubt as to the image’s primary subject: despite the presence of parishioners, clergy, and ministers, Henry and his Supremacy dominate the scene. Despite the titular distinction between father, the Supreme *Head* of England’s Church, and daughter, its Supreme *Governor*, their biblical portraits infer their roles’ similarity.

The first edition of the *Bishops’ Bible* featured an intaglio frontispiece believed to be the work of Flemish engraver, Franciscus Hogenberg.³⁸ It depicted the queen half-length, in full regalia and in legend with her royal style. The crowds that had filled much of the *Great Bible*’s frontispiece are gone; the queen’s portrait is alone but for the iconography of her family and state – the Tudor beasts, royal arms, and Crown – and the virtuous figures of *Charity* and *Faith*.³⁹ A cartouche below proclaims ‘Let me not be ashamed to be an evangelist of Christ. For the strength of God is security for all believers.’⁴⁰ The 1569 quarto edition features a woodcut, less fine than the intaglio and the work of an unknown artist.

In the later edition, Elizabeth enjoys slightly more company, with *Faith* and *Charity* replaced by *Iustice*, *Mercie*, *Prudence*, and *Fortitude*. The biblical verse is also substituted, the lexical reference to evangelism giving way to its visualisation in the form of a congregation receiving a sermon. The Crown is held above the tableau by *Iustice* and *Mercie*, and the queen sits, enthroned, again with the orb and sceptre of her queenship in hand. In both the woodcut and intaglio, as with the Foxean image, prosperity is emphasised by the presence of cornucopia.

As the *Great Bible*’s frontispiece had done thirty years earlier, the Elizabethan images emphasised the Crown’s jurisdiction over the English Church. In showing the

³⁷ ‘Act of Appeals’, 24 Hen 8 c 12

³⁸ Franciscus Hogenberg came to England at Archbishop Parker’s invitation. Our attribution of the work to Hogenberg stems from its stylistic similarity to works known to be by him – including the maps in Ortelius’ atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), and the historical subject and plans in Guicciardini’s *Descrittione di Tutti I Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1581) – and the apt timing of his employment in London. *Engraving*, i, pp. 64-7.

³⁹ Identified symbolically: *Charity*, by her nursing children, and *Faith*, by her bearing the Holy Cross.

⁴⁰ Rom. 1:6.

queen alongside the Cardinal and Theological virtues, the tableaux emphasise the shared nature of Crown and Church. When compared to both the Henrician bible and Foxe's earlier image of Elizabethan Supremacy, however, the *Bishops' Bible's* frontispieces are all together more 'personal', seemingly combining the queen's human virtues with the Supremacy and Crown, exhibiting her as the ideal godly Church magistrate.

From top to bottom, the 1568 image can be read as displaying the Crown's legitimate authority. At the head of the page, the royal arms are expanded, showing the Irish *cláirseach*, the conflated heraldry of England and France, and the four lions of Wales; representing the Crown's claimed dominions. Elizabeth's portrait and style dominate the middle third, whilst below, a lion and dragon – the Crown and Tudor beasts – support a biblical verse proclaiming a first-person commitment to evangelism. The presence of *Faith* and *Charity* can be seen to demonstrate the queen's virtues, and the nature of her Supremacy. She is presented as faithful and charitable, and under her authority the English Church will be victorious (symbolised by the laurel to the extremes of the frontispiece's upper portion) and prosperous (shown by the cornucopia that punctuate the lower portion of the image). This projection of the queen as a benevolent Governor came at a time when Elizabeth's godly subjects might have seen some of her actions as less than charitable.

During the *Bishops' Bible's* composition, the Elizabethan 'Vestments Controversy' reached its discordant crescendo. The Convocation of 1563 proposed several amendments to the *Book of Common Prayer* and elicited a petition from prominent members of the English clergy to eradicate the use of vestments, and all traces of the 'popish' priesthood in the English Church. Archbishop Parker and the queen, however, favoured the uniformity outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and over the following years, Crown and Church sought to eradicate nonconformity. In 1566, thirty-seven of London's clergy were deprived for their nonconformist convictions; an action that led one of the deprived, Robert Crowley, vicar of St Giles-without-Cripplegate, to commence a literary campaign '*Against*

the Outwarde Apparel of the Popishe Church'.⁴¹ The initial *Bishops' Bible* frontispiece can be seen as a riposte to the criticisms from discordant sections of the clergy and godly laity, emphasising the pious virtues of Elizabeth's rule over the English Church.

Since Edward VI's coronation, the Supremacy had been imagined in the same theoretical structure as the Crown, unaffected by the corporeal person of the monarch and insulated from their individual qualities.⁴² This image's incorporation of the 'queen's' virtues into the model of the Elizabethan Supremacy renders the office as not only a collection of powers granted by Act of Parliament, but as something inherent within Elizabeth's person. The quarto edition may carry a different image, but it proclaims similarly the virtues of the Supremacy and the Church's felicity under royal authority. The absence of the royal arms only underlines the inherent representation of the Crown and Supremacy within the queen's imagined body. Below the portrait (symbolically under the Supremacy), a congregation receive a sermon from a preacher; illustrating the evangelical reforms affected by the Elizabethan Church. Elizabeth is here a symbol of the immortal Crown and its Supreme, virtuous governance over the Church. Through her *Iustice*, *Mervie*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*, and under Royal Supremacy, the English Church will prosper.⁴³

Between them, the *Bishops' Bible* frontispieces exemplify Elizabeth's portrait as a tool for demonstrating the nature of her temporal and spiritual authority during a period of potential instability. Elizabeth's portrait works in combination with the biblical text to demonstrate the foundations of English faith: scripture and Supremacy. Again, however, these images show no indication that the queen was imagined to represent more than her authority. The English Protestant community remains separate; the queen's image defined by dominion over the godly commonwealth, and not conflated with it.

⁴¹ See P. Collinson, 'English Reformations', in M. Hattaway, ed., *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2003), Blackwell Reference Online.

⁴² C. Skidmore, *Edward VI: The Lost King of England* (London, 2007), p. 61. See also D. MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (Berkeley, 2002).

⁴³ Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power', p. 174; *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 393-5.

iii. *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Art of Navigation* (1577)



Figure II.4 Frontispiece, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Arte of Navigation* (1577)

Woodcut, artist unknown.

Reproduction from the Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery.

Ref: STC / 378:07.

Electronic citation: http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2175/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99842389

Our third case study considers the Elizabeth seen on the frontispiece of John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577, Figure II.4). Intended as the first part of a much larger work, *General and Rare Memorials* describes the pseudo-traditional foundations for an imagined, imperially pre-eminent 'British' kingdom.⁴⁴ Entitled *The British Monarchy*, Dee's project would have placed the English monarchy at the centre of a 'British Empire': an Anglo-centric, Protestant realm based in monarchic imperium and vindicated by 'tradition'. Although that projection bears little resemblance to the England Dee would have known, or the realised 'imperial' monarchy he was subject to, when visualising his ideas, he nonetheless placed Elizabeth at their centre. Here, we consider her role in visualising Dee's fantastical version of an England.

Other than in his own works, Dee's expansionist imperial model was alien to contemporary English political discourse.⁴⁵ His vision resembled more closely Iberian-style territorial hegemony than it did existing English ideas.⁴⁶ Prior to Dee, early-Elizabethan notions of empire were 'belated and unelaborated'; to speak of an English empire was to describe the Crown's supreme domestic authority to the exclusion of papal jurisdiction, and not overseas territorial dominion.⁴⁷ In 1570, Dee delivered his first 'imperial' treatise, *Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis*; laying the foundations upon which his later expansionist ideas would be built.⁴⁸ Discussing 'trade, ethics, and national strength', Dee described an imperial England that could be a 'flourishing, triumphant, famous, and Blessed' power.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Dee outlines his original intentions in *General and Rare Memorials*' opening *Advertisement*.

⁴⁵ Armitage, 'Elizabethan Idea of Empire', pp. 269-77. During the late 1570s, Dee presented six works rationalising English imperialism to members of the Elizabethan court. They outlined the English monarch's right "to many forayn countries, Kingdomes, and Provinces", all envisioned to be part of a traditionally substantive "Imperium Brytanicum". See K. MacMillan, 'John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64.1/2 (2001), p. 151.

⁴⁶ See G. Parry, 'John Dee and the Elizabethan British Empire in its European Context', *The Historical Journal*, 49.3 (2006), pp. 643-75.

⁴⁷ Armitage, 'Elizabethan Idea of Empire', p. 273.

⁴⁸ See W. Sherman, 'John Dee's *Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis*: A Reader's Guide to the Elizabethan Commonwealth', *Journal of Medieval & Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), pp. 293-315.

⁴⁹ Armitage, 'Elizabethan Idea of Empire', p. 274; W. Sherman, 'Anatomizing the commonwealth: Language, politics and the Elizabethan social order' in, E. Flower & R. Greene, eds., *The Project of Prose in Early Modern Europe and the New World*, (Cambridge, 1997), p. 110; L. Shenk, *Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry*, (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 110-4.

Although using similar vocabulary to that already used to articulate ‘British’ imperial thought, his ideas were quite separate from the ‘British empire’ described earlier in Scotland, or Henry VIII’s declaration that Tudor ‘England [was] an Empire’.⁵⁰ Where those models referred only to authority within a kingdom’s established borders, Dee’s vision stretched far beyond the territories subject to Elizabeth.⁵¹ This is what we see described visually on *General and Rare Memorials*’ frontispiece.

In a pattern of his own design, Elizabeth features prominently as *gubernator* of the ‘Ship of State’; the queen and her vessel forming part of a broader tableau describing England’s imagined imperial nature.⁵² The frontispiece is divided into two sections: the upper dominated by a title cartouche, and the lower showing a fantastical coastal scene.⁵³ Both sections are in legend; the title surrounded by a Latin text reading *PLURA·LATENT·QUAM·PATENT* (‘more things concealed than revealed’), whilst the lower scene is bordered by Greek: *IEPOΓAΦIKON·BPYTANIKON* (‘the Hieroglyph of Britain’).⁵⁴ Whilst the Latin simply states Dee’s conviction that England’s ‘true’ imperial nature was ‘concealed’, the Greek text characterises the lower image as that hidden nature’s pictographic revelation.

The ‘pictogram’ shows the English monarchy, embodied by Elizabeth, piloting the ship *EYPΩIIH* (symbolic of all Christendom).⁵⁵ Atop the vessel’s masts we find the ☩, echoing Foxe’s suggestion of Elizabeth’s Constantinian, reforming destiny. Above and behind the vessel, in the direction from which it has come, is the tetragrammaton that

⁵⁰ R. Mason, ‘This Realm of Scotland Is an Empire? Imperial Ideas and Iconography in Early Renaissance Scotland’, in B. Crawford, ed., *Church Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 77-95.

⁵¹ James III of Scotland had proclaimed his ‘ful Jurisdictione and fre Impire’ within his realm in 1549. See T. Thomson & C. Innes, eds., *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-75), i, p. 95.

⁵² See M. Corbett & R. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece. The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660* (London, 1979), pp. 49-56.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ The characters encircled in the corners of the lower legend represent the year, 1576. See W. Herbert (begun by J. Ames), *Typographical Antiquities, or, an historical account of the origin and progress of printing in Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (London, 1785), i, p. 66 ff.

⁵⁵ An idea reinforced by the ship’s rudder bearing the English royal arms.

together with the sun illuminates the scene. Above and ahead, we find the Archangel Michael (named in Hebrew) with his shield showing the cross of St George and his sword drawn. He pushes the light ahead of him, forcing back the darkness that covers the continent to the left of the scene, most likely representative of the New World. On the shore, a female figure holds out her arms, beseeching; unrolling a scroll begging the queen's 'fully equipped taskforce' to deliver the land from the misfortunes that have befallen it (represented by the down-turned corn and the skull by her side). The lands are already populated by soldiers wearing Spanish-style armour; some holding torches emphasising the contrast between the darkness that shrouds the continent and the light that accompanies Elizabeth's progress.

Dee's image is as dense as any considered in this thesis, and it is well that he provides us with an explanation of its meaning:⁵⁶

Why should not we hope, that, *RES-PVBL. BRYTANICA*, on her knees, very Humbly, and earnestly Soliciting... of our Elizabeth, (Sitting at the *HELM* of this Imperiall Monarchy: or rather at the helm of the *IMPERIAL SHIP*, of the most parte of Christendome...) shall obteyn... that, which is the Pyth, or Intent of *RES-PVBL. BRYTANICA*, Her Supplication? Which is, That, ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΖΩΠΙΑΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ may helpe vs, not onely, to ΦΡΟΥΠΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΖΦΛΛΕΙΑΣ But make vs also, Partakers of Publik Commodities Innumerable, and (as yet) Incredible. Vnto which, the *HEAVENLY KING*... hath by *MANIFEST OCCASION*... made, *EVEN NOW*, the way and Means, most euident, esasic, and Compendious: In-as-much as, (besides all our own sufficient Furniture, Hability, Industry, Skill, and Courage) our Freends are become strong: and our Enemies, sufficiently weake, and nothing Royally furnished, or of Hability, for Open violence Vsing: Though their accustomed Confidence, in Treason, Trechery, and Disloyall Dealings, be very great. Wherin, we besече our *HEAVENLY PROTECTOR*, with his *GOOD ANGELL* to Garde vs, with *SHIELD AND SWORD* now, and ever.⁵⁷

This description turns out to be necessary for our complete comprehension of the image, and Elizabeth's representation within it.

In Dee's vision, Elizabeth's figure symbolises England's Protestant imperial Crown and expansionist, reformed authority. She does not represent the English Protestant community embodied. Instead, the commonwealth, named here as the *RES-PVBL. BRYTANICA*, petitions her to be the active agent in forging Dee's imagined imperial state. This Elizabeth champions Protestantism's territorial expansion in much the same way as

⁵⁶ Corbett, & Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece*, p. 53; *Gloriana*, p. 91.

⁵⁷ Dee, *General and Rare Memorials*, p. 53.

Actes and Monuments’ championed an evangelically reformed Christendom.⁵⁸ Dee’s vision placed the queen at the heart of a Protestant *Brytish impire*; the *gubernator* (pointedly, the root of the English ‘governor’) and ruler from whose rights and state the expansionist imperium stemmed. His conception of English ‘imperialism’ centred upon a development of familiar Crown *imperium* into something more expansive than had ever been realised. As the visual representation of his literarily described imperial paradigm, Dee’s Elizabeth is symbolic of the English Crown, petitioned by the commonwealth to pursue a project of imperial, Protestant expansion.

⁵⁸ P. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London, 1984), pp. 184-5.

iv. *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1579)



Figure II.5 Frontispiece, *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1579)

Intaglio, attributed to Remigius Hogenberg.

Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection.

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Ref: 1888, 1221.9.1.

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Our fourth printed case study considers yet another illustration: the intaglio frontispiece of Christopher Saxton's *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1579, Figure II.5). Thought to be the work of Remigus Hogenberg, brother to Frans Hogenberg, the artist to whom the *Bishops' Bible's* intaglio frontispiece is attributed (Figure II.2), the image is exceptionally well executed. Elizabeth is shown enthroned in full regalia beneath a colonnaded arch, and accompanied by male personifications of *Geography* and *Astronomy* stood on pedestals stamped with Tudor roses. The arch over the queen is decorated with a medallion showing *Peace* and *Justice* in a close embrace, whilst a third figure holds justice's scales behind them.⁵⁹ The lower part of the image is dominated by two cartouches bearing Latin inscriptions, accompanied by cornucopia, musical instruments, and two figures in the act of map making. It is the opening image of a work that, when it was completed in 1579, constituted the most detailed cartographic survey of the Kingdom of England in existence.⁶⁰ This Elizabeth, then, heads a collection of individual county maps that describe the territory under the English Crown's authority. Roy Strong read this proximity as equating the queen with that which she governed; it being in response to this image that he declared, 'to all intents and purposes looking at an image of Elizabeth was looking at England'.⁶¹ Strong, however, pays no attention to the *Atlas's* contemporary purpose when making his observation.

In form, Saxton's work echoed Abraham Ortelius', *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570): a world atlas comprising maps of individual territories and conjoining them to form an image of the known world.⁶² Saxton's *Atlas* treated Elizabeth's kingdom in the same manner, composing maps of each of England and Wales' constituent counties in unprecedented detail, before combining them to form a whole. So thorough was the

⁵⁹ Ps. 85: 'justice and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth and justice shall look down from heaven'.

⁶⁰ J. Huddy & S. Tyacke, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London, 1980), p. 6.

⁶¹ *Gloriana*, p. 99.

⁶² A. Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, (1570); Helgerson, *Nationhood*, p. 112.

survey, and such was its success, that it formed the basis for nearly every significant map of England until the inauguration of the Ordinance Survey in 1794.⁶³ The project imagined England as its own world, creating a focused rendering of the kingdom on a scale as had only previously been seen regarding the whole globe.⁶⁴

Christopher Saxton was likely both the draftsman and the surveyor responsible for the *Atlas*' composition.⁶⁵ Although we know very little about him other than his profession, since he received payment from the English Crown on 11th March 1574 for 'expenses... sustained in the survey of divers parts of England', it is all but certain that his work was conducted as a royal commission, likely arranged through his master Thomas Seckford.⁶⁶ Prior to Saxton's payment by the Crown, Seckford appears to have borne the survey's cost.⁶⁷ His support for the enterprise seems to have been widely known, and it was presumably his role as initial patron that led Raphael Holinshed to attribute the 'notable enterprise' of compiling the new cartography to him, rather than his servant.⁶⁸ Despite this, and although each of the *Atlas*' plates would bear both Saxton's name and Seckford's arms, both men's 'marks' pale alongside the royal insignia.

There can be little doubt that the *Atlas* was a state undertaking, and likely initiated by William Cecil, the then Lord High Treasurer.⁶⁹ As Saxton's survey progressed, Cecil received the proofs of each county-map, collating them into the *Atlas*' earliest iteration.⁷⁰ His interest in maps was not restricted to Saxton's work, and by his treatment of his personal cartographic collection, it is clear that he recognised their potential as a tool for

⁶³ Helgerson, *Nationhood*, p. 107; E. Ferrington, *Infinite Variation: Exploring the Folger Shakespeare Library* (Washington, D.C., 2002), p. 107.

⁶⁴ Helgerson, *Nationhood*, p. 112.

⁶⁵ I. Evans & H. Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan Map-Maker* (London, 1979), p. 9.

⁶⁶ Quotation taken from Huddy & Tyacke, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London, 1980), p. 6.

⁶⁷ Helgerson, *Nationhood*, pp. 108-109.

⁶⁸ R. Skelton, *Saxton's Survey of England and Wales: With a Facsimile of Saxton's Wall-Map* (Amsterdam, 1974), p. 16.

⁶⁹ Helgerson, *Nationhood*, p. 109.

⁷⁰ I. Evans & H. Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan Map-Maker* (London, 1979), p. 9.

administering the state.⁷¹ Several small maps survive in his own hand, but far more interesting are the annotations with which he punctuated others' more extensive surveys. On maps of all scales, he variously designated points of defensive importance, lines of communication, and the relative local influence of prominent gentry.⁷² It seems overwhelmingly likely that improving state administration motivated the Elizabethan regime to commission Saxton's *Atlas*, and Burghley's copies were by no means unique in being richly annotated. The maps seem to have been used at every level of government and on an unprecedented scale. By the end of the sixteenth century, cartography had become an important tool for administering the English monarchy, and Saxton's maps were entrenched in the infrastructure of government.⁷³

Even at a glance, it is clear Saxton's work imagined the Crown at the heart of the administrative machinery of state. Although the same was not true of their initial compositions, when the *Atlas*' constituent maps were first compiled into a single volume, each was embellished with the royal arms. At their head was a frontispiece without title, dominated by a similar symbol of the Crown: Elizabeth's portrait.⁷⁴ As the queen's image again seemingly symbolised the queen's authoritative omnipresence, it is unsurprising that Strong is not alone in citing the work as demonstrative of an Elizabeth-centric nationalism.

A little over two decades after Strong's work, Kevin Sharpe, although stopping short of describing this Elizabeth as the embodiment of the nation, highlighted her image's position at the head of yet another 'of the important texts of a developing [English] nationalism'.⁷⁵ As with Strong's argument, Sharpe's relies upon simple proximity, and the unconvincing equation of state administration and nationhood. In 1998, chronologically

⁷¹ Huddy & Tyacke, *Saxton and Tudor Map-Making*, p. 27.

⁷² P. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London, 1993), pp. 47-8, 56, fig. 36.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁷⁴ Helgerson, *Nationhood*, p. 110.

⁷⁵ *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, p. 395.

bisecting Strong and Sharpe, Jodi Mikalachki developed a more discrete, ‘nationalist’ interpretation derived from a close reading of the frontispiece’s fine details.⁷⁶

Having stated her thesis that this Elizabeth is ‘the embodiment of the nation’, Mikalachki turns to the uppermost of the two Latin epigraphs. The cartouche’s content reads *Clemens et Regni moderatrix iusta Britāni hac forma insigni conspicienda nitet*, which Mikalachki translates as, ‘The merciful and just ruler of the Kingdom of Britain/Shines in this notable image, worthy of being seen’.⁷⁷ Whilst being reticent to commit fully to the reading, her interpretation of how Elizabeth could be understood to stand for the nation centres upon the translation of *Hac forma*. It could reasonably be construed as ‘This figure’, ‘This shape, or ‘This image’. Whilst conceding that this most likely refers to the ‘image’ of the frontispiece’s portrait itself, Mikalachki intimates an alternative reading that would cast the entire *Atlas* as ‘the image’; conflating this Elizabeth with Saxton’s representation of England and rendering them one in the same.

Mikalachki’s hesitance is understandable. Alongside a description of a symbiotic ‘interplay of the queen’s body and the land’, she briefly outlines, but does not develop, a reading that reflects the apparent purpose of Saxton’s project far more effectively: that, alongside Saxton’s cartography, this portrait represents ‘the imposition of royal authority on the otherwise neutral or subversive map’.⁷⁸ Whilst the frontispiece’s second epigraph describes the lands portrayed in Saxton’s *Atlas* as peaceful and pious due to the merciful and just government of its queen, there is no suggestion that the two are ‘to all intents and purposes’ the same. Elizabeth’s kingdom may rely upon her authority and example for its happy state, but reliance is not the same as conflation. In light of the maps’ most apparent practical use, as a tool for administration, it seems far more convincing that this Elizabeth represents the Crown’s authority over the lands described in the collection she heads.

⁷⁶ Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea*, p. 24.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

v. *De Waarheid en de Tijd onthullen het Broedsel van de Paus* (c.1585)



Figure II.6 *De Waarheid en de Tijd Onthullen het Broedsel van de Paus* (c.1585)
Intaglio attributed to Pieter van der Heyden.
Part of the Rijksmuseum collection.
Ref: RP-P-1885-A-9285.
This image is in the public domain.

Arguably the richest of Elizabeth's rhetorical portraits in any media was an intaglio produced in the Low Countries during the middle years of the 1580s. Only three examples exist, and no other image in print, paint, or medallurgy represents Elizabeth in a similar way. The composition is extraordinary in the truest sense of the word, and the only contemporary image to iconise Elizabeth into being an abstract personification of England.

Unlike the prints considered above, *De Waarheid en de Tijd onthullen het broedsel van de Paus* (c.1585, Figure II.6) is not derived from a broader work of literature; neither is it at all 'English'.⁷⁹ It is an example of the burgeoning, commercially intended broadsheet innovation in print media. Disconnected from any other work, it is a complete piece in and of itself. It shows an unfamiliar looking Elizabeth, nude and identified solely by the combination of her crown and royal arms, in condemnation of a Pope whose sins are exposed by *Truth* and *Time*. The English queen is supported in her efforts by the abstract personifications of four of the United Provinces – Holland, Guelders, Zeeland, and Frisia – with each Province shown and identified in a similar manner to the English queen. The print is a satire of Titian's masterpiece, *Diana and Callisto*, and is most likely a visualisation of the Anglo-Dutch alliance of the later-sixteenth century. It is almost universally attributed to the Flemish engraver Pieter van der Heyden (although not without issue), and is a politicised retelling of a Roman moral myth that centres upon the moon goddess, Diana, and one of her entourage of nymphs, Callisto.

Alongside Minerva and Vesta, Diana was one of the three maiden goddesses of Roman mythology; emulating her chastity was one of the conditions of joining her company and enjoying her patronage. According to mythology, as one of Diana's attending nymphs, Callisto swore to remain a virgin, but fell pregnant after being tricked and seduced by Jupiter. After hiding her pregnancy for as long as she could, the nymph's condition was discovered and her mistress condemned her, transforming her into a she-bear as

⁷⁹ 'Truth and Time reveal the Hatch of the Pope'.

punishment. Titian's painting captures the moment that the unwitting nymph's sins are discovered. The print satirises the same instant with politically relevant characters from its time: Elizabeth rather than Diana, the Pope instead of Callisto, and the Dutch Provinces in place of Diana's attending nymphs. The English and Dutch figures combine in condemnation of the Pope, and together dispense cool and righteous justice upon the corrupted cleric.

The image is incredibly dense. The satirical element not only concerns the mythology but also the provenance of Titian's specific representation of it.⁸⁰ The apparent political context and inference are complicated, as is the iconography. Together, these elements combine to render a portrait of Elizabeth unlike anything produced before it, and certainly unlike any 'English' image. Before we can unpack the image fully, however, we must first consider the piece's provenance, and its potential implications for the print's broader interpretation.

The general attribution to van der Heyden is questionable. Although the piece is signed with his distinct *PAME* monogram, other than this print, van der Heyden is not associated with any works or contemporarily mentioned after 1573, with existing biographic accounts dating his death to around that time.⁸¹ The style of intaglio also differs markedly from that seen in works attributed more concretely to the Fleming; the crosshatching is broader, and the detailing less fine. The overall impression is that the later piece is the work of a less practiced hand.⁸² This is not to say that this is not a genuine example of van der Heyden's work, only that the attribution (despite all current scholarship

⁸⁰ There are two versions of the painting that inspired this print; produced for two bellicose Catholic princes. The original, 1559, was for Phillip II's of Spain. The second, as one of Maximilian II's series of seven mythological Titians, acquired in 1568 (H. Brigstocke, *Italian and Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 183-5).

⁸¹ The monogram is a contraction of van der Heyden's Latinised name, 'Petrus A Merica'. The engraver's last known works were for the 'Polyglot Bible', completed in 1573. See K. Bowen & D. Imhof, 'Reputation and wage: the case of engravers who worked for the Plantin-Moretus Press', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30 (2003), pp. 161-95.

⁸² For an example of an earlier van der Heyden work see Appendix II.2.

and the surviving copies' listings in the Rijksmuseum and British Museum) should be treated with some caution.

Whoever the artist, we can nonetheless date the piece with reasonable certainty. There is a cartouche in the lower right-hand corner of all three surviving copies. One, kept by the British Museum, carries the following English translation:

*Oich Nobel Prince and most famose flouer
Cossen of god nyth your medes very ferre
By alwese sercomspecte that yjou com not tho deuouer
That venomse brjdyge showes himself out of the shell feare
The eges of Antjcrjst and belsebobs tower
[...] and ferre taken in ther mothers hart of fier.
O god myght the youngonies brecke ther moutbers cronne and flouer
So remened thes landes to gether from deuouer
The thrj Cronned best dothe ple mane venomose partes
As bj the morderof parjs vojje haue Sinne him Shinne
And mordered so mane a Cristen bloud as bestes or Snjine
Ther fore think uppon the Prince of Orjnges deth in tjm*⁸³

The Prince of Orange has been murdered by 'The thrj Cronned best'. If we assume that the cartouche is original, and not a later addendum to an existing image, that places the images composition no earlier than July 1584. That all the existing iterations carry their epitaph in Flemish recommends this piece as a Dutch commemoration, initially intended for a Dutch audience. That one received the addition of an English translation suggests that, sometime after its composition, there was cause for an English audience to 'think uppon the Prince of Orjnges deth'.

In January 1576, Holland and Zeeland had offered the English queen election as the Countess of Holland in exchange for military aid. She refused. Eleven months after William of Orange's assassination, and some nine years after the first petition, the now United Provinces approached the queen again with a similar offer; this time receiving the commitment they had hoped for, and without needing to surrender their sovereignty.⁸⁴ It seems this image should be associated with the forging of the Anglo-Dutch Alliance; the period between William of Orange's death in the summer of 1584, and the Treaty of

⁸³ See Appendix II.3.

⁸⁴ R. Strong & J. van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* (Leiden, 1964), p. 20; S. Adams, 'Elizabeth I and the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, 1576-1585', *TRHS*, 14 (2004), pp. 313-4.

Nonsuch in August 1585.⁸⁵ The print is a positive, martial representation of an alliance against a common Catholic enemy, apparently received by both English and Dutch audiences. The English figure is shown alongside her Dutch allies, representing her Protestant community in the same abstract manner.

The Dutch tradition of emblematising their Provinces was far more advanced than any equivalent English imagery. Whilst the abstract *Maiden of Holland* had symbolised the Province's condition since the fourteenth century, no English parallel existed.⁸⁶ Alongside the cow, ships, and lion, by the middle years of the sixteenth century the *Maid of Holland* had become a regular fixture of rhetorical Netherlandish iconography, demonstrative of the fate and condition of the whole community. In January 1579, the Union of Utrecht bound Frisia, Gronigen and Ommelanden, Guelders, Holland, Overijssel, Utrecht, and Zeeland into one *Republiek*.⁸⁷ Where England had been a cohesive entity since the tenth century, it is perhaps unsurprising that the fledgling Dutch union cultivated shared symbols that showed their communities in a uniform way.⁸⁸ The common abstract form of the *Maiden* represented their united condition, as we see here in the four interchangeable figures by Elizabeth's side.⁸⁹

Although Elizabeth's image could never be abstracted to the same extent as the *Dutch Maiden* or other Provincial icons, when satirising the relationship between the imagined communities of England and the United Provinces, it is by Elizabeth's bodily image that the artist responsible for this print visualised shared English interests. By following this abstract mode, they extricated their Elizabeth from more familiar compositional patterns; in doing so, neglecting any attempt to reflect the queen's natural body. The effects of this subtle shift are representationally profound. Elizabeth's portraits

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 319.

⁸⁶ See van Winter, 'De Hollandse tuin', pp. 29-121.

⁸⁷ J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 184-96.

⁸⁸ See S. Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven, CT, 2011).

⁸⁹ A. Sawyer, 'Medium and Message. Political Prints in the Dutch Republic, 1568-1632.' in, J. Pollmann & A. Spicer, *Public opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 163-87.

were almost universally bound by authors' efforts to reflect the queen's natural self, or at least to adhere to established patterns. This print does not do this.

Similarly detailed portraits of the queen were first and foremost pictorial representations of an imagined natural person, no matter their exterior context. In almost every example of Elizabeth's portrait, the queen's bodily appearance remains broadly consistent, whilst other aspects of her person (faith, piety, power, authority *etc.*) were demonstrated through symbolic accessories or settings. This print is so far removed from any familiar Elizabeth pattern that it is more an 'icon' of the queen than it is a true 'portrait'. Although wearing her crown and holding her arms, this Elizabeth bears little resemblance to the ostensibly idiosyncratic facial qualities of the queen's other portraits. Her voluptuous frame is a far cry from the slight build that we know Elizabeth maintained throughout her life.⁹⁰ By stepping away from the queen's 'realistic' image, this Elizabeth is made more iconographically pliable; allowing the portrait greater representative range. That is not to say, however, that this image neglects description of Elizabeth's imagined 'personal' nature.

Whilst a poetic relationship between the queen and external allegorical figures was established during the late 1570s, with Diana having served as a comparative foil for the queen in court entertainments prior even to that, this piece is the earliest to conflate Elizabeth and the virginal goddess visually.⁹¹ Due to the ever-growing popularity and circulation of emblem books across Europe, the symbolisms associated with such classical

⁹⁰ Elizabeth's funeral effigy survives in Westminster Abbey's collection, preserving what we can assume to be a reasonably accurate representation of her body (it having been designed to fit her clothing). See Appendix II.4.

⁹¹ For Elizabeth's representation as Diana in drama and poetry see Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, and Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, pp. 115, 174-7, 191-2, 195-6. In visual iconography, Roy Strong identifies a miniature portrait by Hilliard (c.1587) as 'the earliest reference in the portraits to the cult of Elizabeth as the moon goddess'. If dating to around 1585 is correct, this print predates Strong's example by around two years. See Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 121; *Gloriana*, p. 125.

figures would have been widely interpretable.⁹² Using classical allegory's established 'iconographic vocabulary' allowed artists and authors to innovate within established structures, maintaining audience comprehension whilst demonstrating original symbolisms and associations. Whilst projecting the queen's chastity was by no means an original trope, this development saw her virginity created in a new abstract guise.⁹³

The artist fuses Elizabeth's qualities as a virginal woman, Protestant authority, and English monarch, with Diana's own purity and divine judgement. The composite figure's virtues and power are then shared with England, and she represents an imagined English community at the head of a Protestant alliance. The print abstracts Elizabeth's image far enough from her recognisable self for the portrait to be convincingly symbolic of something 'other' than either her corporeal body or her incorporeal Crown. Here, that 'other' is England. This image was not, however, a watershed in the English representation of themselves or their queen. It is Dutch, and should be understood in that context.

She is part of a Dutch iconographic tradition and there is no evidence that it influenced contemporary English representations. Whilst not mitigating its extraordinary symbolism, this print should not be taken as signalling the introduction of a pervasive new characterisation that we can blithely apply to all of Elizabeth's subsequent portraits. This Elizabeth was conceived abroad in a tradition disassociated from the Anglo-centric contexts that affected most of her portraits. It is anomalous, and should be treated as such.

As we have seen time and time again, Elizabeth's portraits' representational functions depended upon her appropriation's specific context. This is made all the clearer when a piece is entirely removed from 'English' circumstances. From a Dutch perspective, Elizabeth's imagined body fulfilled a role similar to that of the entirely abstract

⁹² Although the English emblem book would not appear until Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* in 1586, the genre was popular in England prior to this. See H. Diehl, *An Index of Icons in English Emblem Books* (London, 1986), p. 3; P. Daly, 'England and the Emblem: The Cultural Context of English Emblem Books' in, P. Daly, ed., *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York, NY, 1988), p. 1, and J. Manning, 'Continental Emblem Books in Sixteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Sloane MS 3794,' in, *Emblematica*, I, (1986), pp. 1-11.

⁹³ See Chapter III.ii.

personifications of their Provinces, fusing a 'community aspect' and her familiar embodiment of England's Crown into one figure. Building on their existing visual traditions, Dutch artists created an Elizabeth on their own terms. In an image of England's queen that would have seemed so familiar to them, and so alien to the English, they visualised their new ally's commitment to international Protestantism, and, in a manner never repeated, created Elizabeth as an abstract personification of England's Protestant nation.

vi. *Sphæra Civitatis* (1588)



Figure II.7 Illustration, *Sphæra Civitatis* (1588)
 Woodcut, unknown artist.
 Part of the Fitzwilliam Museum collection.
 Reproduced with permission.
 Ref: P.207-1937.
 © Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

The sixth case study in this chapter centres upon the portrait found in John Case's *Sphæra Civitatis*, a commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*, published in Oxford, 1588 (Figure II.7).⁹⁴ The woodcut shows the English queen as a *regina universi*, looming over a Ptolemaic model of the *civitas*. Each orbit beneath her represents one of the virtues associated with the *civitas* best condition.⁹⁵ The following discussion considers how Case's Elizabeth relates to his conception of the ideal commonwealth, and whether that relationship carried with it associations with the contemporary English nation.

There is some evidence that Case was a conforming Catholic. If this were true, his ambition for *Sphæra Civitatis* may have been to intellectualise Catholic thought into a civil theatre, securing it, if not in England's faith, then within its intellectual fabric.⁹⁶ Evidence for such readings, however, is scant, and so cannot be applied reasonably to our understanding of Case's image. Our only concrete source for interpreting this image is *Sphæra Civitatis* itself. Similarly to case studies i-iv in this chapter, this portrait is an illustration, designed to supplement a text.

In its subject matter, *Sphæra Civitatis* differs significantly from those literary works already considered. Where the *Bishops' Bible* and *Actes and Monuments* defined and enabled English faith, Dee's treatise articulated the imagined imperium of a fantastical England, and Saxton described England's physical territory, Case's work is not specifically referent to 'English matters'. It describes instead a generic, ideal commonwealth, and offers an anti-Machiavellian model for good government. Although Case sometimes uses the godliness and happiness of Elizabeth's government as a foil for Machiavellian atheism, or to vindicate his conceit of provenance, Case's is a general discussion and not ostensibly

⁹⁴ See C. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston, Ont., 1983).

⁹⁵ The *civitas* being the ideal 'political space... constructed as a space in which to live a distinctively human life' (A. Brett, *Changes of State: Nature and the Limits of the City in Early Modern Natural Law* (Princeton, NJ, 2011), p. 1).

⁹⁶ See J. McConica, 'The Catholic Experience in Tudor Oxford', in T. McCoog, ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 39-66.

Anglo-centric.⁹⁷ Given that the image references Star Chamber (the English Privy Council acting as a legal court) and shows the English monarch looming over the *Civitas*, however, it is easy to read the woodcut as illustrating an imagined England despite the text's indifference.

Indications of the image's meaning can be found in the preliminary matter, with the key evidence coming in the opening and closing remarks. In the final poetic entry of the *praeliminaria*, the Muse Urania, who created the sphere of the commonwealth, offers herself the prosopopoeic advice:

... protect yourself with the shield of Hercules; Muse of Oxford, seek the aid of a son of Oxford. An Oxonian Atlas will bear the sphere of Oxford on his unshaken neck, an English Atlas will bear the sphere of England. Illustrious Hatton will preside in the star-studded sphere, a more illustrious Hatton will sustain the civic sphere.⁹⁸

At the time of writing, Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom Case's treatise is dedicated, was the Chancellor of both England and Oxford University.⁹⁹ By equating his administrative roles to that of 'Atlas', holding up the sky, the verse creates Hatton as the supporting figure for both the University and England's civil administrations, highlighting his role in the good condition of the English commonwealth. Turning to the woodcut image, we see the 'star-studded sphere' the verse references, labelled *Camera Stellata* and symbolic of England's 'Star Chamber', where 'Hatton will preside' as Chancellor, and from where he could 'sustain the civic sphere'.

The preliminary matter's opening verse, a poem composed by Richard Latewar, similarly describes the woodcut as a reflection of England's good civic administration. Although not mentioning England by name, Latewar nominates the Aristotelian civic virtues that occupy the diagram's inner orbits as 'the chief lanterns that enlighten our shores'; 'our shores' clearly referencing England's island territory. He then self-consciously adds two more 'spheres' to Aristotle's model, both of which are inherently English and

⁹⁷ See J. Case, *Sphaera Civitatis*, (Oxford, 1588), I.5, II.5, III.7.

⁹⁸ Case, *Sphaera Civitatis*, *Praeliminaria*.

⁹⁹ Schmitt, *Case and Aristotelianism*, p. 88; W. MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c.1540-1591)', *ODNB*. The dedication is dated, 11th May 1588.

manifest on the woodcut image. As we saw previously, the eighth is Star Chamber, where ‘pious counsels [and] noble Peers... manage the arduous offices of the realm’. The ninth and last sphere ‘is called the Prime Mover, and contains [all the other spheres] in its embrace’. In the woodcut, the *civitatis* ninth orbit of is completely given over to Elizabeth’s name and regnal style: the *civitatis* ‘Prime Mover’. Latewar goes further:

You, virgin, puissant Queen, you are our Prime Mover, Elizabeth, you sweep along with yourself the strivings of our people. Hence you disarm contentious minds and rebellious thoughts, and attract the greatest things with your diurnal motion. This is the scheme: thus the conditions of sphere and commonwealth harmonise. But in this single way the one differs from the other, that the one cannot be confirmed forever, as is the other. So long may our spheres be borne by our supreme Mover, long let our supreme Mover govern our spheres.¹⁰⁰

By referencing England’s queen and civic administration so pointedly, the preliminary woodcut is clearly an illustration of an imagined English commonwealth, despite the later universality of Case’s discussion. More than just a passing reference, however, this passage contains an exact description of this Elizabeth’s intricate relationship with the commonwealth, and a guide to her specific function.

Latewar describes her role as being that of a virtuous example and civil influence. She is the *civitatis* ‘Prime Mover’ (according to Case’s view of divine judgment, as any divinely anointed monarch should be). Rather than presenting her as a generic Aristotelian king, however, Latewar emphasises Elizabeth’s specific virtues alongside those of the Crown, and the influence of her ‘personal’ example in helping the English commonwealth achieve an ideal, Aristotelian condition. In the line, ‘thus the conditions of sphere and commonwealth harmonise’, Elizabeth is the ‘sphere’. She embodies the virtues that the commonwealths should exhibit, and through matching itself to her, England too is virtuous. The following lines are also intriguing:

... thus the conditions of sphere and commonwealth harmonise. But in this single way the one differs from the other, that the one cannot be confirmed forever, as is the other. So long may our spheres be borne by our supreme Mover, long let our supreme Mover govern our spheres.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Case, *Sphæra Civitatis*, ¶ 2.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

According to Latewar, in virtue, England and Elizabeth are identical, perhaps even indistinguishable. Where they differ is that, where Elizabeth's virtue is independent, without her example, England would have no virtuous-architype to follow and may fall from grace; hence Latewar's final line, 'So long may our spheres be borne by our supreme Mover, long let our supreme Mover govern our spheres'. This general sentiment is echoed and developed in other of the *praeliminaria* poetry, although no other verse so closely references the woodcut.¹⁰² Purely from Latewar's verse, it would be easy to visualise the commonwealth as symbolically sharing a form with its virtuous queen; the Ptolemaic spheres that display their conjoined virtue incorporated into her body. But that is not what we see. In fact, we see the opposite.

Elizabeth's relationship with the English commonwealth is represented most clearly by the outermost 'sphere', indistinguishable in basic form from those that represent the civil administration she authorises and the virtues she shares with the republic. When those spheres come together in Ptolemaic orbits, the queen's bodily portrait is all but obscured by them, and not in such a way as her body has become the commonwealth. Instead, this Elizabeth *supports* the commonwealth, just as much an 'English Atlas' as Hatton is described to be in the final lines of *praeliminaria*.

Committing his work to 'the University, the nation, and to [Hatton]', Case describes the queen as *Elizabetha republicae dea*, 'the goddess of our republic'.¹⁰³ She is their goddess; the commonwealth's Prime Mover; its support, and the example upon which its virtue is modelled. Even in these unfamiliar, Aristotelian terms, she embodies England's supreme authority; its virtuous monarch, and Crown. By reading the image in the context

¹⁰² Whilst inferring a similar role for his Elizabeth to that described by Latewar and the woodcut, Francis Willis likened the queen to Astraea: an association absent from the visual image. He wrote: 'Who will deny the true prophecy of this wonderful year? Now the golden child returns after iron centuries. The inhabitants of heaven have left the sky and are established on earth. The humblest stars harmonize with the highest constellations. A single little sphere discloses gods and heroes. A virgin holds the throne, a famed virgin holds the centre, and both hold all virtue in their embrace. As the one is Astraea, thus the other will be borne to the stars' (Case, *Sphara Civitatis, Praeliminaria*).

¹⁰³ 'Nation', being a translation of *patriae* (Case, *Sphara Civitatis, Epistola Dedicatoria*).

of Latewar's verse, we can see plainly that this Elizabeth is not symbolic of the commonwealth, but she is integral to the harmony it enjoys, and the maintenance of its constituent parts.

vii. *The Eliza, Triumphans Pattern* (1589 & after)



Figure II.8 *Eliza, Triumphans* (1589)
Intaglio by William Rogers.
Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: 1901,0417.35.
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Figure II.9 *Verum Decus Chritianae Reipub* (after 1589)
Intaglio, artist unknown (after William Rogers).
Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: 1936,1117.2.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

Our seventh case study considers the earliest broadsheet intaglio portrait by a known Englishman. Other than being by one William Rogers, and dating from 1589, little concrete can be said about *Eliza, Triumphant*' (Figure II.8) provenance.¹⁰⁴ As with the print considered in case study II.v., it is a single sheet image, not attached to a broader literary work, and carries a rhetorical meaning all its own. Although similar in composition and structure to painted portraiture, printed broadsheets were inherently easier and cheaper to replicate than their painted cousins. They were not so 'monumental', and were often produced to celebrate specific events. Despite making no direct reference to the Armada campaign, its hailing of 'victory' and 'triumph' and that it dates from 1589, have led to the image being read as marking England's unexpected 1588 success.¹⁰⁵ This case study will reconsider Rogers' *Eliza*'s representative function, before comparing it to a later, derivative portrait and considering how a single print pattern might be appropriated to serve separate interests.

Rogers' image is not complicated. Crowned and with an orb in her left hand, the triumphant *Eliza* holds peace's olive branch in her right. Her figure fills the space between two obelisks, the left marked with England's St George's cross, and the right, Ireland's *cláirseach*. Atop these monuments, personifications of *Victory* (left) and *Plenty* (right) offer the queen garlands; below the figures, epitaphic banners mimic imperial Spanish heraldry.¹⁰⁶ Where the Spanish *Pillars of Hercules* are decorated with the words, *Plus Ultra*, 'further beyond', Rogers' obelisks read *Corono* ('I garland') and *Exhilaro* ('I bring joy'). In victory, Elizabeth achieves peace, and through peace comes her realms' joyful prosperity. The queen dominates the print, with the land and sea that benefit from her 'Elizabethan peace'

¹⁰⁴ Other than Rogers' attribution, the piece's background is unclear. Due to 'William Rogers' being a common name in the print trade, it is difficult to disentangle their biographies and have certainty regarding the provenance of works attributed to anyone of them (L. Worms, 'Rogers, William (fl. 1584–1604)', ODNB. See *Gloriana*, p. 113. See also *Engraving*, i, p. 263.

¹⁰⁵ See *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 397–8.

¹⁰⁶ See E. Rosenthal 'Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 34 (1971), pp. 204–28, and M. Turner, *The Last Descendent of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of The Emperor* (New Haven, CT, 1993), p. 155.

obscured behind her. The image seems a straightforward celebration in light of recent victory, demonstrating a realm prosperous and secure under the good government of its supreme queen. This idyll, however, was far from a reflection of reality.

In 1588, a Spanish armada failed to join with the Duke of Parma's army in the Low Countries; preventing what seemed an inevitable attempt to invade England, oust Elizabeth from power, and restore England to the Holy See. For the English and their Protestant allies, it was an indecisive military victory but a significant propaganda coup.¹⁰⁷ Despite conspicuous celebrations, England's circumstances following the Armada's defeat were anything but heartening. The Spanish war was proving financially ruinous; executing the terms of the Treaty of Nonsuch was forecast to cost the English an annuity of £126,000. The Armada campaign alone cost the Exchequer £161,000, with total outlay rising from £149,000 in 1583, to some £420,000 in 1588.¹⁰⁸ By July 1589, the total spent by the treasurer-at-war was £86,285 17s 2d, with Michaelmas (the end of the financial year) still months away.¹⁰⁹ The retaliatory English Armada in 1589 was a disaster, and failed in what should have been its principle task: destroying what remained of the Spanish fleet at sea.¹¹⁰ Spain remained a threat, regathering enough strength to secure their shipping against English harassment by 1591.¹¹¹ By the time Rogers' composed his *Eliza* in 1589, the English had already missed their opportunity to press any advantage they might have gained. English ships were engaged in the Azores, whilst their troops continued to fight and die in support of Dutch and French Protestants on land. Far from 'victory', 'peace', and 'plenty', England was faced with continued war at increasing expense. Rather than a

¹⁰⁷ See Fernández-Armesto, 'Armada Myths', pp. 19-39.

¹⁰⁸ Wernham, *Before*, p. 59. Wernham uses figures taken from F. Dietz, *The Exchequer Under Elizabeth* (Northampton, MA., 1923), pp. 100-3.

¹⁰⁹ R. Wernham, ed., *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I, Preserved in the Public Records Office*, 2 vols (London, 1964, 1969), i, p. 214; ii, p. 170.

¹¹⁰ R. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan Europe and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 126-31.

¹¹¹ R. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (London, 1980), pp. 68-70.

celebration, then, this image might be read as an instructive example; an indication of what could be achieved by pursuing peace.

After military failure and incredible expenditure, peace could be construed as a victory in and of itself. If this is foreign policy propaganda, it is unclear to whom it is addressed and what it means; whether ‘top down’, describing a victory far from attained, or ‘bottom up’, and exhibiting a beneficial circumstance that could be. Whomever was responsible for this piece and whatever circumstances they imagined this Elizabeth to represent, their vision was fantasy.

Heather Campbell has argued that this Elizabeth symbolises the ‘triumph of Chastity’, associating the queen with Laura, Petrarch’s chaste muse. Although acknowledging direct evidence for this reading to be tenuous, Campbell mitigates criticism by saying that ‘the link with Petrarch’s Laura [was] so firmly established [elsewhere by the time of Rogers’ work,] allusions to it [could] be far less explicit’ and still maintain effective inference. After a poetic and iconographical association stretching back perhaps as far as the 1560s, the use of the word ‘triumph’ and the classical symbols of victory might have been enough to create this Elizabeth as ‘Laura the triumphator’; in doing so proclaiming her ‘a victor, a ruler, and a monument to virtue, constancy and divinely ordained authority’.¹¹²

Even if this specific interpretation is difficult to substantiate, the general inference of Campbell’s ‘Petrarchan’ reading of this Elizabeth seems valid. Whether fantasy or not, Elizabeth is shown a victor and, by her regalia, a divinely ordained Christian ruler. There is nothing in this image to deflect from the most obvious interpretation of this Elizabeth’s representative function: Rogers’ *Eliza* enjoys the happy prosperity of a triumph, and given its chronology, likely that ‘won’ in summer 1588. Ultimately, however, it is difficult to argue

¹¹² H. Campbell, “‘And in Their Midst a Sun’ Petrarch’s Triumphs and the Elizabeth Icon”, in A. Connolly & L. Hopkins, eds., *Goddesses and Queens, The Iconography of Elizabeth I* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 89, 93, 96-7. For early iconographic representations of Elizabeth as Laura, see Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 102.

that this figure embodies anything beyond her qualities as a Protestant ruler and imagined achievements. Turning to a later portrait derived from Rogers' *Eliz̃a* (Figure, II.9), we see that this symbolic inference, such as it is, is not inherent in this Elizabeth's imagined figure.

As we saw in Foxe's woodcut, alterations to images' surrounding media have significant repercussions for their meaning. Where in *Actes and Monuments* the contextual change came in the surrounding text, here, in a second iteration of Rogers' print (evidently after his pattern) the meaning of the central, virtually homeostatic figure is entirely changed by altering her setting and costume. Frustratingly, we know next to nothing about this later work, other than it having been adapted from Rogers' original by an unknown artist and acquired by the British Museum from a French Protestant church.¹¹³

What we can say confidently is that whilst this is a near facsimile of Rogers' work it performs an entirely different representative function. It is basically the same portrait, but a different Elizabeth. Rather than a triumphant figure of peace, by slight alterations in apparel and environment, Rogers' Elizabeth is stripped of her earlier meaning and transformed into an explicit symbol of England's *Faith*. The olive branch is now a sceptre; the hailing of triumph has gone. By representing six of the Heavenly Virtues on the obelisks beside her, Elizabeth fills the vacant place of *Faith* as a virtuous *Verum Decus Christianae Reipub*, an 'ornament of the Christian commonwealth'. We can see from the cross of St George and the *cláirseach* beside the cartouche that that 'commonwealth' is her realm of England and Ireland. As much as Rogers' image represented *Eliz̃a*'s qualities and achievements, with only the slightest of changes, and virtually none to the portrait element, this second imagines her as the anointed symbol of the commonwealth's faithful virtue; a vision of power over faith.

¹¹³ *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 397-8, n. 162. There is little evidence for the provenance of this adapted copy of Rogers' work. The border outline suggests that it may have been completed as a page in an album, rather than as a single sheet (as the original had been). If it had been part of an album of printed images, such books were not commonly produced in England before the seventeenth century, and the image may represent another instance of the appropriation of Elizabeth's image as a Protestant figure outside England.

Where the first image depicts *Eliza* as a figure of Protestant triumph, the second combines the queen standing in place of faith with the investment of her full regalia to create an image of the Crown's authority over the English Church; a symbol of the Supremacy. Neither as an 'ornament' of England's faithful commonwealth, nor as an image of shared triumph are these Elizabeths representative of the common English community. In each case, these prints describe Elizabeth as an element of an entity that exists under her influence. Between them, they exemplify the thesis that reading Elizabeth's portraits as homogenously symbolic is problematic. Even if ostensibly they are of the 'same woman', and are all but aesthetically identical, portraits might carry quite different meanings and describe quite different Elizabeths.

viii. *Elizabeth I* (1596)



ELIZABETA D. G. ANGLIÆ. FRANCIÆ. HIBERNIÆ. ET VERGINIÆ
REGINA CHRISTIANÆ FIDEI VNICVM PROPVGNACVLVM

*Immortalis honos Regum, cui non tulit ætas
Vlla prior, veniens nec feret vlla parem,
Sospite quo nunquam terras habitare Britanni
Desinet alma Quies, Ius Titia atque Fides,*

*Quis ipsa tantum superant reliqua omnia regna,
Quantum tu maior Regibus es reliquis,
Vive precor felix tanti in moderamine regni,
Dum tibi Rex, Regum cathia regna pareat,*

Figure II.10 *Elizabeth I* (1596)

Intaglio by Crispijn van de Passe.

Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection.

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This chapter's final case study is another broadsheet portrait produced concurrently with a moment of crescendo in the Anglo-Spanish conflict: the 1596 Cádiz Expedition.¹¹⁴ As with Rogers' earlier image, Crispijn van de Passe's intaglio *Elizabeth I* (1596, Figure II.10) dominates the scene, standing in front of a land, all but barring it from view. She stands full-length between two monuments, more obviously reminiscent of the *Pillars of Hercules* than Rogers' obelisks, and similarly suggestive of her pre-eminence over her Spanish rivals. Once we recognise the land behind Elizabeth as the Iberian Peninsula (and not an idealised England as in Rogers' print), that message becomes all the clearer. This Elizabeth, rather than merely preserving the English state, has taken the offensive. Much like we saw on the frontispiece of Dee's *General and Rare Memorials*, and as Foxe had hoped in his earliest characterisation, this Elizabeth takes the fight to the Catholics, enforcing her Protestant authority overseas.¹¹⁵ Van de Passe's image, however, did not symbolise some fantasy. The Cádiz Expedition was a tangible strike at the Spanish mainland. The question here is whether van de Passe, a Dutchman, displays in Elizabeth a personal victory, a national one, or, as would perhaps be most historically accurate, the complicated success of an expanded Protestant community.

As we saw in the previous case study, the early stages of the Anglo-Spanish War were waged at hideous expense. At the same time, the Ulster Rebellion was approaching its third year, with costs rising there too.¹¹⁶ When, in 1595, the tide of war seemed to be turning in favour of the anti-Spanish factions, it is hard to imagine that the opportunity to reduce England's continental commitments would have been unwelcome.¹¹⁷ As the last of Elizabeth's soldiers withdrew from France in February 1595, land offensives against the Spanish seemed to be on the decline. As far as the Exchequer was concerned, this was not

¹¹⁴ See R. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War Against Spain 1595-1603* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 93-113.

¹¹⁵ Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power', p. 179.

¹¹⁶ Wernham, *Foreign Policy*, p. 89; *After*, pp. 552-4.

¹¹⁷ Wernham, *Return*, p. 93.

before time.¹¹⁸ Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and erstwhile commander of English forces in France, however, was not so pleased.¹¹⁹ In a melodramatic letter sent to Robert Cecil, written apparently as the last English troops left France, he described how, as England's involvement in the continental theatre reduced, he had 'drawn all [his] thoughts within the cliffs of [the] English coast', where he 'would with [Elizabeth's] favour retire from all business'.¹²⁰ Neither Essex nor English military forces, however, would be disengaged for long.

The following year, when England, France, and the United Provinces committed to mutual military alliance against the Spanish, Essex would be at the centre of England's contribution. Rather than committing armies to further campaigns in France, Elizabeth ordered a substantial amphibious force to strike at Spain itself. Their target was Cádiz, Spain's major embarkation point for the New World and where a large part of an annual treasure fleet worth up to £3,000,000 made port.¹²¹ It was to be the only successful English incursion on the Spanish mainland during almost twenty years of war. Over the last days of June, the city fell, and on the 30th, Sir George Carew was confident enough to send a letter to Cecil 'from Her Majesty's city of Cádiz'.¹²²

From an Anglo-centric perspective, and in light of the Cádiz expedition's success, certain aspects of van de Passe's portrait take on clearer significance, and generally in an aspect which references the queen's 'personal' nature. Standing his Elizabeth in front of Spain and between the heraldic *Pillars of Hercules*, he places her in a position roughly approximate to both the geographical *Pillars* and Cádiz. As her agents took their city, so she did, and now she takes their emblems. Through the actions of her agents, this Elizabeth has gone 'further beyond' where any Protestant prince had gone before, and all, as we read

¹¹⁸ Wernham, *After*, pp. 499, 544; *Return*, p. 23.

¹¹⁹ Wernham, *After*, pp. 307-81, 533-5; *Return*, p. 26.

¹²⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Salisbury MSS*, v. 127-8, in Wernham, *Return*, pp. 26-7.

¹²¹ Wernham, *Return*, pp. 15.

¹²² *Ibid.* pp. 77-8, 82-90, 99-108.

on the open book beside her, with God's assistance.¹²³ Again dressed in Crown regalia, her situation represents the reach of her divinely ordained Protestant authority. Symbolic of the Crown, Elizabeth's image is projected to where her sovereignty and authority reach, but where the natural Elizabeth would never go.

Other elements of the image refer directly to the queen's personal iconography. Atop one pillar, a phoenix bursts into flames, whilst on the other, we see a pelican nursing her young, with the royal arms crowned beneath. Van de Passe's use of the phoenix symbolises Elizabeth's continued personal renewal and her enduring vitality even into her seventh decade.¹²⁴ The pelican carries similarly discrete, Elizabethan inference, showing Elizabeth as the embodiment of Christian self-sacrifice, charity, and motherhood.¹²⁵ These representative elements had been part of Elizabeth's emblemologies since the earliest days of her reign. There is little overt innovation in this Elizabeth's image and yet she represents something nonetheless original. By maintaining the queen's recognisable pattern and iconographies whilst placing her into a contemporarily pertinent setting, van der Passe creates an image that is both 'of the moment', and so necessarily innovative, but also clear: a very marketable combination.

This was, however, an image with undoubted international appeal. Van der Passe was an Anabaptist, displaced by the wars in the Low Countries, who established complimentary engraving and publishing dynasties of continent-wide renown. He and his children made their fortune producing portraits of the nobility, as well as religious, mythological, and allegorical images that fuelled a growing demand for broadsheet images and larger, collected print books. Van de Passe is known to have produced materials for

¹²³ *POSUI DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM*, written on the open pages of the book beside the queen.

¹²⁴ *Gloriana*, pp. 82-3.

¹²⁵ *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp. 53-4.

the English market, working across The Channel with the London-based, Flemish bookseller, Hans Woutneel. This portrait likely resulted from that partnership.¹²⁶

Her origins as the work of a displaced Dutch Protestant cannot be discounted when considering this Elizabeth's meaning; neither can the fact that the Cádiz Expedition was undertaken by an international, anti-Spanish alliance, and not just the English. This may be one of the images Strong referred to directly when observing that 'looking at an image of Elizabeth was looking at England', him seeing her realm 'spread out behind her', but his thesis does not align with what we know of the portrait's context, or its composition.¹²⁷ Likely received across Europe, it is an image of Protestant authority over traditionally Catholic territories.¹²⁸

Elizabeth was the English monarch, yes, but above that she was a Protestant *propugnaculum*, a 'bulwark' of their cause, and one of the major actors in an alliance to curb Spanish hegemony both in Western Europe and across the globe. Other Dutch commemorations of the Cádiz expedition make it clear that from a continental perspective, the incursion into Spain was an *allied* victory.¹²⁹ The product of two Dutch Protestants and likely traded across international borders, it seems reasonable to suggest this Elizabeth represents a 'shared', rather than a solely Anglo-centric, Protestant view of Cádiz's capture, and the projection of Reformist power over a key Catholic location. Although her authority and symbolic value was grounded in her being England's queen, she is physically removed from her traditional dominion, and enforcing her providentially divined Protestant authority over the shared enemy of half of Europe.

¹²⁶ I. Veldman, 'Passe, Simon de (1595-1647)', ODNB. See *Engraving*, i, pp. 284-5; R. Gerard, 'Woutneel, de Passe and the Anglo-Netherlandish print trade', *Print Quarterly*, XIII, 1996, pp. 363-76. See also K. Boon, 'De Passe's Prent van Koningin Elizabeth I' *Bullein van het Rijksmuseum*, 6.1 (1958), p. 7. For a general consideration of the expanding English book trade during this period, see J. Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850* (New Haven, CT, 2007).

¹²⁷ *Gloriana*, p. 99.

¹²⁸ The unusual addition of Virginia to Elizabeth's regnal style pointedly extends her authority to the New World.

¹²⁹ See Appendix II.5.

Rather than a domestic symbol of England, bound inextricably to her kingdom and nation as Strong suggests, van de Passe and Woutneel created their Elizabeth as the arch Protestant martial authority projected out across the sea, and representative of the success of the anti-Catholic alliance. This Elizabeth again demonstrates the queen's potential symbolic appeal beyond England, representative of an engaged power fulfilling Protestant Europe's shared interests.

Conclusion

Looking over these cases, several things become apparent quite quickly. To understand these Elizabeths' symbolic meanings requires an understanding of their political and religious contexts, as well as their material, artistic, iconographic, and intellectual compositions. Each print is closely associated with something tangible besides itself that affects their meaning; from first to last, the portraits considered represent specific events or circumstances, or illustrate greater works. Foremost were two diverse editions of Foxe's martyrological Protestant history; then a vernacular bible; the conception of England's imperial potential; its territorial character; the brokering and imagined paradigm of the Anglo-Dutch alliance; the discussion of the ideal commonwealth; the ongoing conflicts of the late 1580s; and the capture of Cádiz. Each image's context and provenance are central to understanding its contemporary meaning fully.

Whether Protestantism, territorial definition, imperial ambition, foreign relations, or any combination of the above, each image considered here imagined an Elizabeth in a context associated with a potential aspect of nationhood. Whilst these examples do not support reading Elizabeth's portrait as a *pervasive* icon of England, when appropriated by a Dutch artist to service a Dutch cause, it is a role that a printed Elizabeth fulfils more compellingly than any other. In the Netherlands, Elizabeth's printed portrait could exhibit meanings quite alien to those observed in 'English' images. In case study II.v., her image fulfilled a representational function similar to that of the personified Provinces, incorporating the conglomerate aspects of an imagined English national community into a single body.

Besides her kingdom or the English nation, and undoubtedly of greater significance to the Dutch Protestant community from which the image stems, she also represented the active achievement of common Protestant interests. Foxe and Dee had suggested similar roles, and Crispijn van de Passe showed her fulfilling just such a proactive function when

commemorating the Protestant victory at Cádiz (case studies II.i, II.iii, and II.viii, respectively). Although Elizabeth may have wanted to avoid such handles, there can be little doubt that, in an iconographic tradition over which she had no control, she could symbolise compellingly the strength of a shared Protestant commitment, representative of communities beyond that which she governed.

The English Crown's combined temporal and spiritual Supremacy is at the representative heart of many of the images considered in this chapter. Where, in Saxton's frontispiece and van de Passe's prints, Strong specifically identified Elizabeth as England, effectively standing for the land and all the abstract and corporeal things extant upon it, that image is more reasonably interpreted as an exhibition of the Crown's pervasive jurisdiction and authoritative reach. Similar descriptions are common to almost all the images considered above, and in a notable deviation from the queen's painted imagery, these printed Elizabeths are often shown in full regalia, emphasising her authority and the jurisdiction of her state.

Broad interpretive patterns can be applied between the images considered here, but upon close inspection each performs a symbolic function all its own, relating to individual and often temporally fleeting circumstances. The ease with which printed images' meanings could be altered, simply by adjusting an aspect of their composition or the character of associated media, leaves one with a lasting impression of iconographic flexibility. Far from consistent representative function, printed rhetorical portraiture is all but defined by its malleability. As in paint, Elizabeth's printed portrait's representative function depended not upon any inherent iconographies, but upon the priorities of those appropriating her image. Where the media diverge is the relative breadth of their application; where painted portraiture was a courtly preserve, print was appropriated far beyond Elizabeth's jurisdiction. In this regard, and in the direct association with specific events, print has more in common with the media considered in our final chapter: medallurgy.

III.

REPRESENTATION AND THE NATION IN ELIZABETH I'S MEDALLIC PORTRAITURE

Despite medals becoming an increasingly prevalent mode of visually describing and commemorating political developments during the sixteenth century, medallurgy is perhaps the least studied aspect of Elizabethan portraiture.¹ This chapter considers the representative functions of a selection of Elizabeth I's medallic portraits, each rhetorically pertinent to England's common community. As in the previous chapters, the discussion examines images in light of their individual political and religious contexts; demonstrating portraits' contemporary circumstances to have been an essential element of their allegorical functions, and that national representation was a rare trope for Elizabeth's iconised portrait.

To date, there has been no specific study of Elizabethan medallurgy, and Hawkins, Franks, and Gruebar's late-nineteenth-century work, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*, remains the most comprehensive catalogue of

¹ C. Eimer, *An Introduction to Commemorative Medals* (London, 1989), p. 4.

early modern British medals.² In two volumes, they contrived to list almost all known examples of medals, adapted coins, and commemorative jetons produced in Britain, or referencing prominent British historical events and persons up to the year 1760. Although not quite exhaustive, no work before or since comes close to matching their catalogue's breadth.³ Rather than merely bringing together examples of native British and Irish medallurgy, the study represents an effort to account for all the medals that illustrated the archipelago's history during their chosen period.⁴ Indeed, had their interest been restricted solely to medals produced in the British Isles or by native artists, their project may have struggled to justify a single modest volume, let alone two of more than 700 pages each.

English engagement with medallurgy lagged far behind that seen elsewhere in Europe, and, as outlined in Hawkins' terse prose, 'the history of English medallists is in a great degree the history of the medallists of other countries'.⁵ The 'modern medal' emerged as a separate numismatic medium in Italy during the late-fourteenth century, with the earliest designs following the compositional form of classical Roman coinage.⁶ As increasing numbers of competing families and factions commissioned medals of their own, imitation of the classical gave way to Renaissance elaboration. The vogue for medallic portraits spread and diversified across Europe, arriving in France, Germany, and the Low Countries at the start of the fifteenth century.⁷ Having reached so far so fast, however, the trend struggled to cross the Channel. No named English medallists would appear until the

² *Medallic Illustrations*.

³ For medals after 1760, see L. Brown, *A Catalogue of British Historical Medals 1760-1960*, 3 vols (London, 1980-1995).

⁴ G. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (London, 1978), pp. 143-4.

⁵ *Medallic Illustrations*, i, p. xi.

⁶ The first modern commemorative medal being minted to mark Francesco II Novello's recapture of Padua in 1390. It follows the design of a late-first-century, Roman *sestertius*. See M. Jones, *The Art of the Medal* (London, 1979), pp. 7-8.

⁷ Eimer, *Commemorative Medals*, p. 12.

middle years of the sixteenth century, with Englishmen wishing to invest in medallic portraiture having to employ foreign artists and import their commissions from abroad.⁸

The first known English medallist was Henry Basse, the chief engraver of the royal mint during the 1540s.⁹ Despite failing to inaugurate an 'English School' of medallurgy, Basse's work nevertheless marked a significant moment in English medallic history.¹⁰ His *Supremacy Medal* (1545) may not have been on the political pulse or at the cutting edge of the craft, but it was the first English medal to contrive a portrait motif into a piece commemorative of specific political circumstances. Although postdating the Act of Supremacy it celebrates by eleven years, and the craftsmanship being far below that available abroad, Basse's work nonetheless represents a significant precedent in the English Crown's use of politicised medallurgy.¹¹ His medals established a mode of commemorative representation repeated by all subsequent English monarchs; the *Supremacy Medal* serving as the prototype for Edward VI's *Coronation Medal*, minted by Basse only two years later.¹²

Coronation medals have been a persistent feature of English monarchic ceremony since this Edwardian inauguration. So entrenched have they become, one cannot help sympathising with William Till, a nineteenth-century antiquarian, who wrote: 'we may cease to wonder that Coronation Medals commenced not earlier than 1547'.¹³ Since then, Mary Tudor is alone in not commissioning a token to mark her accession. Although Edward VI's medal follows his father's pattern almost exactly, the subtle differences in the kings' portraits reflect the variations in their commissions' functions.

Where Henry's bust shows him in soft cap and furs, and celebrates an achieved position, his son is shown half-length, armoured and holding a sword, characterised as the

⁸ Jones, *Art of the Medal*, p. 65. Jones gives three examples: John Kendal's Florentine portrait; Archbishop Schevez of St Andrews's by Quentin Matys (Antwerp), and Henry VIII's by the German Hans Schwarz (Augsburg).

⁹ Jones, *Art of the Medal*, p. 65. See Appendices III.1, and III.2.

¹⁰ Non-native engagement remained a near-constant part of Early Modern England's medallic product. See Eimer, *Commemorative Medals*, p. 15.

¹¹ For Thomas Cromwell's contemporary and far more accomplished medallic portrait see Appendix III.3

¹² *Medallic Illustrations*, i, pp. ix-xv, 47.

¹³ W. Till, *Descriptive Particulars of English Coronation Medals* (London, 1838), p. 1.

boy-king, Josiah, ready to enforce his faith and ensure that ‘God [be] truly worshiped and idolatry destroyed’ in England.¹⁴ By echoing Henry’s commission at the outset of his reign, Edward’s medal demonstrates an intention to rule with the same Supremacy as his father before him, but by adapting it, he simultaneously signalled a change in the Crown’s priorities.

No matter their authors’ specific intentions, Basse’s Henrician and Edwardian commissions established medallurgy as a viable form of political expression for later English monarchs. Queen Mary may not have followed her half-brother’s example in striking a coronation medal, but the monarchy’s use of medallurgy to communicate policy and political intent nonetheless survived into her reign. In 1555, Mary commissioned the celebrated Habsburg medallist, Jacopo de Trezzo, to mark England’s Catholic reconciliation.¹⁵ Although England’s return to the Holy See and the stability symbolised in Mary’s commission ended with the Elizabethan accession, English medallurgy fared somewhat better. The aptly named *Accession Medal* was minted within the first weeks of the new queen’s reign. Following the Edwardian example, the Elizabethan regime used the early production of a medal to communicate the nature of the forthcoming administration, albeit somewhat more ambiguously.

The 1558 *Accession Medal* – considered in our first medallic case study – demonstrates the new government’s willingness to use medallurgy as a mode of political expression, discursive of Elizabeth’s regime. The second and third case studies show that that willingness was not restricted to Elizabeth’s dominions; the *van Herwijck Medal* (1565) being of Franco-Dutch origin, whilst the three medals struck to commemorate the Anglo-Dutch alliance formalised by the Treaty of Nonsuch (1585-7), are Dutch. In contrast to the previous two case studies, these Dutch medals were likely minted for non-English audiences, and between them establish the idea that Elizabeth’s medallic portrait was not

¹⁴ As quoted by D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant* (London, 1999), p. 62.

¹⁵ *Medallic Illustrations*, i, pp. 72-3. See Appendix III.4.

only used in England, or to engage the English, but held international currency. Together, these medals highlight differences between ‘English’ and ‘Netherlandish’ compositional trends that have tremendous repercussions for the symbolic function of Elizabeth’s portrait. The fourth case study, Nicholas Hilliard’s *Dangers Averted Medal* (1589), emphasises these differences further.

With Hilliard’s work, our interest returns to England’s domestic medallic produce, considering in detail the work of a known Englishman working in what could be described as a distinct ‘English style’ for the first time. Hilliard’s medallic Elizabeth underscores the barriers to English images’ effectively rendering Elizabeth as symbolic of the nation, with the intrinsic distinctions between sovereign and subject prohibiting the visual conflation of nation and monarch. Our concluding case study – the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* (c.1602) – whilst still not uniting England and its sovereign in a single body, imagined Elizabeth in a manner suggestive of what lay ahead for abstract national personification during the seventeenth century. Even a partial appreciation of this neglected work symbolises much of what this thesis seeks to demonstrate: that despite the undoubted importance of iconology in providing familiar reference for social and political structures, individual iconographies rely on specific circumstantial context to define the nuances in their meanings.

i. *The Accession Medal* (1558)



Figure III.1 Elizabeth I's *Accession Medal* (1558).
Medal, bronze, English, medallist unknown.
Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: M.6858.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

In 1838, the above-quoted William Till stated clearly that ‘Elizabeth struck no coronation medal’.¹⁶ Despite Till’s confidence, however, this is not entirely true. Dating from around the time of her coronation, Elizabeth’s *Accession Medal* (1558, Figure III.1) might be functionally and aesthetically very different to her half-brother’s more ostentatious offering, but it demonstrates similarly the early priorities of the new monarch’s government in a simple medallic image. Where the Edwardian regime used the medallic commemoration of Edward’s coronation to define his intended Supremacy, the equivalent Elizabethan authorities chose pointedly not to do the same. Far from being a clear statement, the Elizabethan *Medal* is rhetorically evasive.

Even at first glance, Elizabeth’s medal is far less impressive than her half-brother’s. Where Edward’s is large, hers is small; where his is minted in silver and gold, hers survives only in bronze and lead.¹⁷ Her predecessor’s medal forms a clear politico-religious statement, simultaneously reaffirming royal Supremacy and demonstrating an intent to reform the English Church according to his personal authority; Elizabeth’s fulfils no such function. Instead, the young queen is represented in such a way as to communicate little other than her basic appearance and un-substantiated ‘glory’. This representative inconsequence is symptomatic of the uncertainty surrounding England’s national condition at the start of Elizabeth’s reign. The disparities between Edward and Elizabeth’s medals make sense when considered in light of the two monarch’s contrasting successions.

In legal terms, both monarchs may have inherited the Crown swiftly and smoothly, but when comparing the details of their accessions we find signs that there were concerns over the stability of Elizabeth’s position that were simply not issues in Edward’s case. Three days after Henry VIII’s death, a royal proclamation announced his son’s succession,

¹⁶ Till, *English Coronation Medals*, p. 9.

¹⁷ C. Skidmore, *Edward VI: The lost King of England* (London, 2007), p. 62. It is possible that the material distinction was due to the greater amount of silver and gold available to the Crown after the systematic debasement of English coinage between 1544 and 1551. See C. Challis, ‘The Debasement of the Coinage, 1542-1551’, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 20.3 (1967), pp. 441-66. Details of these medals’ material composition is contained in their BM listings (Edward: object G3.EM.1; Elizabeth: objects M.6857 and M.6858).

‘fully invested and established in the crown imperial of [England]...[;] with all regalities, pre-eminences, styles, names, titles, and dignities’ as had been his father’s before him.¹⁸ Henry was dead; Edward was king, and if his subjects were faithful and obedient, he would be a good and benign lord. The proclamation announcing Elizabeth’s accession, whilst similar in structure, was tonally different. It ‘straightly’ commanded her new subjects to abandon any allegiance to Mary or her cause; discharging them ‘of all bounds and duties of subjection towards [the late queen], and be from the same time in nature and law bound only to [Elizabeth] as to their only sovereign lady’.¹⁹ There is no such explicit command in Edward’s Proclamation. Where Edward had simply been his father’s ‘undoubted heir’, Elizabeth’s claim is qualified, albeit with forceful certainty, as satisfying the demands of both ‘blood and [law]’.²⁰ Edward’s regime felt secure enough in his authority to use his *Coronation Medal* to demonstrate how he would rule. Elizabeth’s *Accession Medal* carries no such commitments.

Elizabeth was Mary’s legitimate heir, and her transition to power as ‘seamless’ as any English monarch before her; yet, the Elizabethan administration felt the need to secure her authority before they could affect it.²¹ At the point of her succession, and to an extent ever after, England’s populace was religiously divided; the model of English faith having been manipulated by regime after zealous regime.²² Under Henry VIII, the English Church had been beholden to Rome and then the Crown. Edwardian reforms established Protestantism before Marian counter-reform saw a return to the Holy See. Elizabeth’s own religion has been a consistent subject of study since the early twentieth century, and in many ways, it has been shown that the young queen was religiously conservative:

¹⁸ TRP, i, p. 381.

¹⁹ TRP, ii, p. 99.

²⁰ TRP, i, p. 381; ii, p. 99.

²¹ D. Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London, 2000), p. 235.

²² S. Monta, ‘Rendering unto Caesar: the Rhetorics of Divided Loyalties in Tudor England’ in D. Janes & A. Houen, eds., *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Premodern to Contemporary Perspectives* (New York, NY, 2014), pp. 59-86; E. Evenden & V. Westbrook, eds., *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England* (Farnham, 2015).

Protestant, certainly, but an ‘odd sort of Protestant’.²³ As Elizabeth acceded to the throne, it remained to be seen what the new queen’s reign would mean for her kingdom’s faith. Elizabeth may have been far from a ‘Henrician Catholic’, but neither did her inheritance indicate an immediate revival of Edwardian Protestantism.²⁴

The *Accession Medal* gives no indication of the future the Elizabethan administration had in mind for England, only that Elizabeth was now sovereign, crowned, and the embodiment of Crown authority. Her forebears’ religiously absolutist statements are absent; the English Church is not mentioned, and the new queen is not heralded as defender of the faith. Instead, she is simply crowned imperial, *Angliæ Gloria et Sola Phoenix*; the imprisoned, illegitimate, and disinherited princess, having been reborn a virtuous queen.²⁵ The broader, ‘community’ consequences of this rebirth, however, are not elaborated upon.

The Henrician and Edwardian regimes had used their first politically discursive medals to demonstrate clearly England’s subjection to their kings’ Supreme authority. In quite a different mode, Elizabeth’s *Accession Medal* distributed an ambiguous vision of her queenship, all but devoid of any politico-religious aspect. Although the English would not have to wait long for answers regarding their religious future – royal assent being given to the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy on 8th May 1559 – this image, the earliest of Elizabeth as England’s queen, does not engage in the realm’s ongoing ecumenical struggles. At the genesis of her reign, Elizabeth was shown as nothing more or less than England’s glorious and virtuous queen, delaying any potential conflict until the battleground sloped in her favour. What her accession was to mean for the nation, and the shared concerns of

²³ P. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), p. 114. See also A. Pollard, *The History of England from the accession of Edward VI to the death of Elizabeth* (London, 1913), p. 180; J. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, (London, 1959); J. Neale, *The Age of Catherine de Medici and essays in Elizabethan History* (London, 1963) p. 255; J. Hodges, *The Nature of the Lion* (London, 1962), p. 131; C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1988); S. Doran, ‘Elizabeth I’s Religion: the Evidence of Her Letters’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51.4 (2000), pp. 699-720.

²⁴ N. Jones, ‘Elizabeth’s First Year: The Conception and Birth of the Elizabethan Political World’, in D. Haigh, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke, 1984), pp. 27-53; Doran, ‘Elizabeth I’s Religion’, p. 700.

²⁵ ‘England’s Glory and Sole Phoenix’. For a fascinating article regarding the phoenix’s mythological and symbolic development see J. Spencer Hill, ‘The Phoenix’, *Religion & Literature*, 16. 2 (1984), pp. 61-6.

religion and the nature of Crown authority, remained ambiguous until she and her regime felt it expedient to provide clarity.

ii. *The van Herwijck Medal* (1565)



Figure III.2 *The van Herwijck Medal* (c.1565)
Medal, lead, Franco-Dutch, by Steven van Herwijck.
Part of the NPG collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: NPG 4294.
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

The only known example of the *van Herwijck Medal*, the subject of our second medallic case study, was discovered in a freshly ploughed field just outside Great Moulton, East Anglia, in 1962.²⁶ Apart from being just about the most notable thing to have happened in Great Moulton since its inclusion in the *Doomsday Book*, the find was the remarkable manifestation of an artefact that had previously been known only as the subject of a correspondence between William Cecil and Charles Utenhove, a Flemish Protestant resident in London during the mid 1560s.

On New Year's Day, 1565, Cecil received a letter from Utenhove proposing that a medal bearing the queen's likeness be struck.²⁷ In 1561, Utenhove had travelled to England as secretary to Paul de Foix de Carmain, a French prelate and diplomat who, earlier in his career, had been arrested on suspicion of being a Huguenot sympathiser.²⁸ As Utenhove and his employer arrived in England, the kingdom remained in a state of war with France, a conflict that had led to the French re-conquest of Calais at the beginning of 1558.²⁹ When in June 1562 the first French civil war broke out between the Catholic majority, led by the Guise, and the Calvinist Huguenots, Elizabeth and her advisers were initially hesitant to engage, refusing to commit English resources to the conflict, despite Huguenot requests.³⁰ As Spanish and German Catholic intervention looked set to crush French Protestant forces, however, a second Huguenot petition to England met with a more favourable response. A swift Catholic victory would have made any Guise ambition to place Mary, Queen of Scots, (Mary of Guise's daughter, and niece of Francis, Duke of Guise) on the English throne all the easier. As much as Elizabeth's Privy Council's desire to intervene in France may have derived from a commitment to preserve the Protestant movement in Europe and to stall any threat to Elizabeth's throne, the queen was also driven by a will to

²⁶ Grosvenor, 'The identity of "the famous paynter Steven"', p.16.

²⁷ London, Public Record Office, SP 70/48 f.2-9.

²⁸ J. van Dorston, 'Steven van Herwijck's Elizabeth (1565) – A Franco-Flemish Political Medal', *The Burlington Magazine*, III, 792, (1969), p. 143; L. Forster, *Kleine Schriften zur deutschen Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam, 1977), p. 77, n. 1.

²⁹ S. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (London, 2000).

³⁰ S. Doran, *England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1999), p. 99.

recover Calais. Supporting the Huguenots, despite Elizabeth's personal distaste for rebellion, could see both intentions satisfied; in the September of 1562, the queen signed the Treaty of Hampton Court, committing both military and financial aid to the French Protestants.³¹ Within months, however, the venture had failed.³²

Only weeks after the treaty, 6000 English troops had been committed to France and Le Havre captured, but, in December, Elizabeth's French allies were defeated, leaving the English queen to choose between further commitment to bolster their mutually flagging cause, or withdrawal. She did neither, instead choosing to withhold further support whilst clinging to Le Havre in the hope of exchanging the town for Calais. At the beginning of 1563 the Huguenots reached terms with the French Crown, leaving Elizabeth alone. When defeat came, it was ignominious, absolute, and partially at the hands of those she had once called her allies. Elizabeth was left with no hope of regaining Calais, and the lasting impression that allies were fickle and European wars expensive.³³ De Foix and Utenhove were part of a French embassy charged by Catherine de Medici to arrange the terms of the Treaty of Troyes (1564) that would bring an end to the Anglo-French conflict. The *van Herwijck Medal* was likely commissioned to mark the conclusion of those negotiations.³⁴

Utenhove's New Year proposal to Cecil was for a token bearing Elizabeth's portrait and showing her as ΖΑΘΕΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ ΛΙΒΑΣ, 'the divine fountain of the realm'; an anagram of ΕΛΙΖΑΒΗΘ Η ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ, 'Elisabeth the Queen'. The Great Moulton medal matches this exactly, and the image is undoubtedly the finest medallic portrait of Elizabeth prior to Hilliard's work of the 1580s. It is likely the work of Steven van Herwijck, a Dutch

³¹ CSPF 1562: 296, in Doran, *Foreign Policy*, p 21.

³² Wernham, *Before*, p. 371.

³³ Doran, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 23-4.

³⁴ For further information on Utenhove, see W. Janssen, *Charles Utenhove (1536-1600)* (Nijmegen, 1939); J. Dechamps, 'A Flemish Poet at the Court of Queen Elizabeth', *Belgian Review* (1941), pp. 39-40, and J. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors*, (London, 1962), pp. 15-21.

medallist seemingly recalled to England specifically for the task.³⁵ The artist is known to have come to England in 1562, completing several commissions for English patrons; in a letter dated March 1565, he indicated a return to complete ‘*zekere werken*’ for the queen, further suggesting that he was indeed the artist to whom Utenhove referred.³⁶

Although Cecil’s reply has been lost, that the medal exists is evidence that permission was granted. The medal is of a comparable style and quality to other of van Herwijck’s medallurgy. Given the similarity between this and other of the artist’s portraits known to have been completed from life, it is reasonable to suppose that this may be the earliest surviving *ad vivam* image of Elizabeth as queen.³⁷ It is unique amongst her medallic representations in that, despite being produced in England and with English permissions, the commissioner, artist, and political purpose of the piece all derive from overseas.³⁸ What remains, then, is to answer the question that has been something of a mantra for this study: in light of the context described above, what does this Elizabeth represent and to what purpose?

The physical description of the medal is formulaic. The obverse is dominated by van Herwijck’s portrait and the queen’s royal style in Latin, *ELIZABETH·D·G·ANGLIA·ET·HIB·[REG]*, with the reverse featuring an allegorical scene of *Faith* sat at the base of a fountain in legend: *ΖΑΘΕΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ ΛΙΒΑΣ*, ‘the divine fountain of the realm’. There are currently two interpretive models for what this medal was composed to achieve. Firstly, and almost inevitably, came that of Roy Strong, the assistant keeper at the National Portrait Gallery when the medal was donated.

³⁵ Utenhove suggested the ‘famous painter, Steven’, for the commission (Grosvenor, ‘The identity of “the famous paynter Steven”’, pp. 12-7).

³⁶ Jones, *Art of the Medal*, p. 66. See also V. Tournier, ‘Steven van Herwijck’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5.2 (1922), pp. 91-132.

³⁷ Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 7-8, 17-19; Dorston, ‘Steven van Herwijck’s Elizabeth’, p. 144.

³⁸ Dorston, ‘Steven van Herwijck’s Elizabeth’, pp. 143-5, 147.

Strong saw the piece as demonstrative of ‘pressure to create cult images of the young Queen’; marking the advent of her creation as a politico-religious devotional figure.³⁹ Following shortly after came Jan van Dorsten who, whilst indebted to Strong’s material assessment, suggested that van Herwijck’s Elizabeth gives effective visual form to the terms of the Treaty of Troyes, with the disentanglement of English and French politico-religious interests for mutual benefit.⁴⁰

Strong’s interpretation is altogether too domestic for a piece so internationally contrived. Reiterating his position in the late 1980s in response to van Dorsten’s work, Strong interprets the ‘cryptic [French] approval’ of England’s religious condition as encouraging the cultivation of an English brand of Protestantism beholden to Elizabeth as a central, pseudo-divine, devotional figure. Strong’s insistence that this ‘Elizabeth [is] a cult image inset into an elaborate humanist politico-religious allegory’, however, steps beyond that which this medal’s imagery or provenance can support.⁴¹ Van Dorsten’s interpretation is altogether more defensible. Undoubtedly composed to engage with a specific moment of Anglo-French diplomacy, the *van Herwijck Medal* represents an uncomplicated, unexplored image of English faith and the realistic political ambition of the English queen from a French perspective.

Utenhove appears sensible to the concerns of both the French masters he served, and the English establishment he courted. Whilst his characterisation of Elizabeth as, ‘*la Divine Fontaine/En vertu, en savoir, en beauté*’, constitutes as obsequious an epithet as one could ever hope to find, the medal neglects the traditional English claim to the French throne, naming her simply, Elizabeth ‘of England and Ireland Queen. France was not Elizabeth’s concern, as England’s faith was no concern of France. As van Dorsten observed, this omission was altogether ‘too conspicuous to have been overlooked by

³⁹ *Gloriana*, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Dorsten, ‘Steven van Herwijck’s Elizabeth’.

⁴¹ *Gloriana*, p. 63.

[Elizabeth] or anyone else so soon after concluding the 'Treaty of Troyes' and the ceding of England's last continental territory.⁴² In stark contrast to his precise description of the reverse's anagram, Utenhove neglected to share his intentions for the obverse legend in his initial communication with Cecil. Whilst being candid about his programme having also been passed to his French employers, Utenhove's shrewd withholding of certain potentially inflammatory details demonstrates alertness to the sensitivity of his proposed subject. To list France in Elizabeth's style would risk the displeasure of his masters, and suggest reach that the English queen simply did not have. But, when making his proposal to Elizabeth's principle counsel, to omit her claim conspicuously would potentially render his petition moot. Remaining silent allowed for Utenhove's request to be granted, and the French-sponsored medal to symbolise the reduction of the English Crown's dominion: 'Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England and Ireland Queen'. This image, ostensibly of Elizabeth's divinely ordained role in sustaining England's faith, is, in fact, a French articulation of Anglo-French relations at the end of their conflict.

⁴² Dorsten, 'Steven van Herwijck's Elizabeth', p. 144.

iii. *Three Dutch Medals Describing the Anglo-Dutch Alliance (1585-7)*



Figure III.3 Dutch copper token (1585)
Jeton, copper, Dutch, medallist unknown.
Part of the Rijksmuseum collection.
Ref: NG-VG-3-651.
This image is in the public domain.



Figure III.4 Dutch silver medal (1586)
Medal, silver, Dutch, medallist unknown.
Part of the Rijksmuseum collection.
Ref: NG-VG-3-656.
This image is in the public domain.



Figure III.5 Dutch silver medal (1587)
Medal, silver, Dutch, attributed to Gerard van Bylaer.
Part of the Rijksmuseum collection.
Ref: NG-VG-1-462.
This image is in the public domain.

Elizabeth's first experience engaging in continental warfare had been so abhorrent, she only repeated it when there was no practical alternative.⁴³ More than two decades would pass, but the next time English armies would be committed to foreign battlefields, it would be to intervene once again in a politico-religious conflict on behalf of a desperate Protestant faction. Figures III.3-5 show medals dating from the consecutive years 1585-7, and describe the developing Anglo-Dutch alliance, not from an English perspective, but from a Dutch.

All were produced in the United Provinces at the time of England's active military commitment in the Dutch Revolt and exhibit stylistic similarities but, for the most part, the details of their provenances are unclear.⁴⁴ The Rijksmuseum lists all as being of Dutch origin, and each is dated, but for all but the most recent (Figure III.5), that is the limit of our knowledge. For that piece, the craftsman is identified to have been Gerard van Bylaer, the *stempelsnijder* (literally, 'metal-cutter') at the *Munt van Holland* during the latter decades of the sixteenth century, and one of the most prolific medallists in the new United Provinces.⁴⁵ It is possible that all these works are his, or after him, but to claim with any certainty that they are the work of the same man, workshop, or the result of a regular commission by a particular party or patron, would be to step beyond that which the material evidence supports.

The earliest medal (Figure III.3) dates from 1585, and shows the English queen welcoming Dutch diplomats with 'good spirit', honouring and sustaining them and their purpose. The second (Figure III.4), produced a year later, demonstrates more explicitly the practical form that sustenance was to take; the queen handing a naked sword, symbolic of her martial strength, to kneeling Dutch supplicants. The third (Figure III.5) places the

⁴³ Doran, *Foreign Policy*, p. 24.

⁴⁴ *Medallic Illustrations*, i, p. 139.

⁴⁵ Gerard van Bylaer is the attributed artist of dozens works commissioned across northern Europe from the mid 1570s until the early seventeenth century. The Rijksmuseum holds sixty-three pieces attributed to him, with several more held in collections in London and Paris.

English queen alongside the abstract personifications of five Dutch Provinces, and is the earliest of Elizabeth's medallic portraits that can be interpreted as iconising the English queen to represent a homogenous – albeit unreal – English community. Although alien to contemporary English iconographies, imagining a personified figure as the embodiment of an abstract concept of a socio-political community would have been familiar to a Dutch audience; abstract personifications having been used to symbolise the Provinces' conditions for the previous three centuries.⁴⁶ As observed earlier in this thesis, the Dutch tradition of emblematising their Provinces was far more advanced than any equivalent English imagery.⁴⁷

In January 1579, the Union of Utrecht had bound the northern Dutch Provinces into a single *Republiek*, combining their interests into that of a shared state.⁴⁸ The artificial person of the 'Dutch Maiden', or individual personifications of each province shown together, represented their shared authority in lieu of a natural person or persons to fulfil that role.⁴⁹ Although the image of Elizabeth could never be so entirely abstracted as the Dutch Maiden or other Provincial personifications, in van Bylaer's medal, when representing the relationship between the imagined communities of England and the United Provinces, it is in Elizabeth's image that combined English interests are visualised.

This is not, however, a representative function common to all these Dutch medallic portraits. In figure III.3 for example, Elizabeth receives a Dutch envoy with 'good spirit', recognising the petition and gifting them with sustenance in the form of roses 'soaked in nectar'.⁵⁰ Here she is symbolic of English authority, not a national community. The welcome represented in this image contrasts with the negative response that greeted an

⁴⁶ See van Winter, 'De Hollandse tuin', pp. 29-121.

⁴⁷ Chapter II.v.

⁴⁸ J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 184-96.

⁴⁹ A. Sawyer, 'Medium and Message. Political Prints in the Dutch Republic, 1568-1632.' in, J. Pollmann & A. Spicer, *Public opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 163-87.

⁵⁰ 'MACTE·ANIMI·ROSA·NECTARE·IMBVT·A'.

earlier Dutch delegation in 1576.⁵¹ Prior to the Union of Utrecht, Holland and Zeeland had offered Elizabeth sovereignty over their Provinces in exchange for military aid. Although Elizabeth noted that, despite being rebels, there was an ‘appearance of reason in [the Dutch Protestants] defending themselves and seeking aid’, their petition was declined.⁵² After a second embassy in 1585, this time by the new United Provinces, met with success and the English committed themselves to supporting the Dutch cause, the first of these three medals (Figure III.3) was struck to mark the change in English policy, symbolising the support Elizabeth granted with the signing of the Treaty of Nonsuch (1585).

The policy change was explained to the English in the same year by the anonymously authored pamphlet, *Declaration of the Causes Moving the Queen of England to Give Aid to the Defence of the People Afflicted and Oppressed in the Low Countries*.⁵³ Although the pamphlet cites shared traditions and cultural affections that bound the English and Dutch communities –referencing that which we might describe as aspects of an English ‘national’ sensibility – the medal is not so expressive, stopping short of such communal imagery; focusing instead on the political authority invested in the queen.⁵⁴ The second medal, dated the following year is similarly themed, showing the practical action inherent in the terms of the Treaty of Nonsuch. In signing the Treaty, the English committed 6,400 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and an annual stipend of 600,000 florins to the Dutch cause.⁵⁵ The anonymous *Declaration* justified such a large commitment as seeking to prevent the Spanish ‘danger to ourselves, our countries and people’, and the hostile occupation that had befallen other

⁵¹ R. Strong & J. van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* (Leiden, 1964), p. 20; S. Adams, ‘Elizabeth I and the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, 1576-1585’, *TRHS*, 14 (2004), pp. 313-4.

⁵² ‘To be answered to them of Holland’, TNA, SP 70/137/2.

⁵³ Anon., *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England*.

⁵⁴ P. Lake, *Bad Queen Bess?: Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2016), p. 225.

⁵⁵ Wernham, *Before*, p. 371; Doran, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 51-2.

states, defending English interests by actions overseas.⁵⁶ We see that practical commitment visualised in the second token (Figure III.4) dating from 1586.

As before, the English sovereign nurtures and sustains the Dutch cause as ‘the nourisher of those who hunger after [God]’.⁵⁷ Where in the earlier image the nature of that nourishment was vague, here the military aspect is made explicit. The queen hands a Dutch delegation a sword, symbolic of both martial strength and her sovereign commitment to see justice served; all the while with Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester and Lieutenant-General, poised at her side.⁵⁸ In January 1586, the same year this medal was struck, Leicester had misguidedly accepted the title ‘Governor General’ of the United Provinces, and with it the apparent sovereignty of the Republic on behalf of his mistress. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to see his appearance here as symbolic of the queen’s authority extended, specifically demonstrative of the remote, practical application of her influence.

Leicester had played an important role in the success of the Dutch petition, and in executing the terms of the resulting treaty. The ‘political Puritans’ of Elizabeth’s Privy Council supported military action against the Catholics in the Low Countries, and none more so than the earl.⁵⁹ In this medallic image, as Elizabeth offers the Dutch her support, Leicester holds open a book, the significance of which changes depending upon the relative perspective an observer adopts. From the queen’s point of view, Dudley reminds her of her religious obligations; showing her two parallel illustrations of identical crosses, symbolising the shared Protestant faith that bound the English and Dutch together. From Leicester’s own perspective the crosses are inverted into swords; illustrating the joint Anglo-Dutch cause, religious though it might be, as a mutual military commitment. No matter its nature, a year later the adventure had stalled. In the latest medal (Figure III.5),

⁵⁶ Anon., *A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene of England*, p. 11; A. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 241.

⁵⁷ ‘E[LIZABETH] R[EGINA] EST ALTRIX ESVRIENTIVMEVM’.

⁵⁸ For sword imagery, see Hall, *Symbols*, pp. 87-8.

⁵⁹ Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, p. 28.

Leicester's role and the tone of the image at large are substantially different to those that came before.

Van Bylaer's 1587 image integrates entirely abstract persons into the medallic representation of the Anglo-Dutch alliance, allegorising the scene. He places five figures, naked and kneeling, before the English queen; provincial arms identifying them as Guelder, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friesa. She has a many-headed beast, indicative of the Papacy, at her mercy but alive. Leicester pulls at her robes, seeming to urge his queen into further action, but where previously Elizabeth's figure had been engaged with the Dutch cause, she now sits unmoved. The moment captured in this medal is one of crisis for the fledgling Dutch Republic and the Anglo-Dutch alliance.⁶⁰

The queen never intended England's commitment to the Dutch Revolt to embroil her kingdom in all-out war with Spain. Her preference was for peace, and her actions likely intended to incite Phillip II to sue for terms.⁶¹ Leicester's military and political failures, most notably his acceptance of the title of Governor General of the United Provinces in direct contradiction to Elizabeth's command, saw the effectiveness of England's military commitment in the Netherlands melt away.⁶² The earl was recalled in December 1587 and, whilst England's support remained essential for the survival of the Dutch Republic, Elizabeth was unwilling to increase her obligation beyond that already granted.

In showing the Provinces personified in Elizabeth's presence, van Bylaer visualises the imagined community bonds described by *The Declaration of the Causes Moving the Queen of England*, anthropomorphising England and the Dutch 'countries' into sharing a personal relationship. In this respect, van Bylaer's Elizabeth can be seen to personify the English national community in the same manner that the abstract persons personify the Provinces;

⁶⁰ Strong & Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, p. 24.

⁶¹ P. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 49; Doran, *Foreign Policy*, p. 52.

⁶² F. Osterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands, 1586-87* (Utrecht, 1988); P. Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547-1603* (Oxford, 1995); J. Nolan, *Sir John Noreys and the Elizabethan World* (Exeter, 1997), p. 99.

their figures symbolic of broader identities beyond the individuals or authorities represented in the earlier medals. Whilst still seeking the support of the same Crown their agents had before courted, as circumstances degenerated the Provincial figures in van Bylaer's image appeal to the shared 'culture', traditions', and affections that the English had themselves cited as the foundation of their alliance.

Van Bylaer's Elizabeth is not so abstracted as the print attributed to van der Heyden, but the general circumstances of the figurations are similar and their iconographic responses are comparable. Elizabeth is again created as the abstract personification of an English community in conference with similarly represented Dutch communities. When the queen convenes with ambassadors, there is no need for such abstract representation. The print examined in the previous chapter exhibited the same structure. Throughout all her reign, these are the only two portraits to engage Elizabeth as the personification of an imagined English nation, and in both cases, she is representative of not only a foreign power and authority, but a parallel Protestant community. In both images, Elizabeth's personification of the English nation depended upon two things: the engagement of the pre-established Dutch tradition of abstract community representation, and a desire to suggest mutuality between the Dutch and English Protestant communities at large, and not merely court the authority and influence of England's queen.

iv. *The Dangers Averted Medal (1589)*



Figure III.6 *The Dangers Averted Medal (c.1589)*
Medal, cast and chased gold, English, attributed to Nicholas Hilliard.
Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: M.6903.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

Simultaneous to Leicester's ill-fated career in the Low Countries, England's naval forces had been deployed under the command of Frances Drake; harrying Spain's Atlantic shipping. The war with Spain had been a dual land and sea action from the start, and as badly as the continental campaign may have faltered, the maritime offensive proved so successful that it provoked the Spanish Crown into attacking England directly. Drake's forces harassed Spain's Atlantic coast and territories, and, in late 1585, Phillip II accepted a Papal charge to re-subjugate England for Catholicism; to invade, conquer, and bring the island kingdom to heel.

After delays of almost a year due to English raids on Spanish shipping and the harbour at Cádiz, the Armada sailed in 1588, intent on rendezvousing with the Duke of Parma's armies in the Spanish Netherlands and escorting them across the Channel. The duke and his 27,000 men would then execute a swift *coup d'état*, replacing Elizabeth's government with a pro-Catholic regime, or, at the very least, forcing the queen to grant English Catholics religious toleration.⁶³ As Phillip's Armada, some 125 ships strong, left Spain for England, few would have argued that their grand campaign would meet with anything other than success.

At the height of summer, 1588, however, the Armada was overcome by storms and scattered around the northern coast of Great Britain with the loss of around 30,000 seamen and a third of the fleet. Despite the English Navy inflicting only minor damage to their Spanish adversary and the Habsburg kingdom retaining its position as Europe's leading maritime power, the failure of the 1588 Armada can be seen as a political turning point and a propaganda victory for the English and their Protestant allies.⁶⁴ Nicholas Hilliard's

⁶³ Doran, *Foreign Policy*, pp. 52-4.

⁶⁴ Over the course of the 1590s, three more Spanish fleets would sail against England without success, in 1596, 1597, and 1599.

Dangers Averted Medal (Figure III.6, 1589) was composed as part of that propaganda, and lauded England's condition as the 1580s drew to a close.⁶⁵

Whether the condition Hilliard represented was fantasy or truth does not matter; the message of his imagery is clear and simple: inside the borders of Elizabeth's England, all was well. The Armada was defeated. With the 1587 execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, the threat of a Guise-led, Catholic uprising that had hung over Elizabeth's government since the 1560s ebbed away. War with Spain may have been ongoing, but the Treaty of Berwick (1586) had secured a peaceful accord with Scotland. Despite continuing concerns over the succession, an issue that would persist for the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, Hilliard's image would have us believe England was as secure as ever it had been under her government.⁶⁶

The medal illustrates England's ideally imagined situation and the supposed reasons for it. The obverse is filled by Elizabeth's portrait in high relief and in legend that reads, 'DITIOR·IN·TOTO·NON·ALTER·CIRCULUS·ORBE', 'there is no richer circle in all the world'; the inference being that there is no better place – nowhere so secure and fruitful for a people – than within the borders of Elizabeth's authority. The reverse image allegorises Elizabeth's island kingdom as safe and prosperous, the land stamped with the words 'NON·ISPA·PERICULA·TANGUNT', 'not even dangers can touch'. The island is secured by both earthly defences (the ships to the image's left) and the will of God, manifest in a lightning bolt striking a hostile vessel to the right of the scene. An enormous bay tree, a classical mark of glory and victory, traditionally impervious to lightning, and here emblematic of the English people, grows up from the fertile ground.⁶⁷ England's territory

⁶⁵ The medal's attribution to Hilliard is due to its execution rather than any literary records. The medal's exact provenance is unclear. See *Medallic Illustrations*, i, pp. 154–6.

⁶⁶ For the question of Elizabeth's succession see S. Doran and P. Kewes, *Doubtful and Dangerous: A Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester, 2014).

⁶⁷ *Rich. II*, 2.ii.8.

and people are secured by Elizabeth's government which in turn is sustained by divine favour.

Hilliard's Elizabeth does not embody ideas of English national identity or condition, but her figure nonetheless dominates this piece and her imagined authority is central to the preservation and good condition of the realm and nation she governed. As the anonymous medallist of the *Accession Medal* and Steven van Herwijck had before him, Hilliard maintained a clear distinction between the queen and the direct representation of any collective English condition. Elizabeth's medallic images are amongst the most straightforward of all her portraiture, and the examples examined here largely maintain the queen's portrait as separate to any allegorical symbolism. Found on the opposite face to Hilliard's allegorised England, this Elizabeth's image is *associated* with ideas of the nation's communal prosperity, faith, and glory, but not iconised into representing those things independently. For the queen's portrait to represent something as abstract as a community or its condition effectively, her portrait must itself be abstracted away from any 'realistic' depiction, such as that which Hilliard so skilfully composed.

v. *The Elizabeth-Minerva Medal (c.1602)*



Figure III.7 *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal (c.1602)*
Medal, silver, artist unknown.
Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: 1897, 0605. 1.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

The exact origins of the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* (Figure III.7), the subject of our final case study, are not clear. We know neither its patron, nor the artist responsible for its execution; where it was struck, or exactly when. Given that its reverse is marked 1602, we can be reasonably sure that it dates from the final months of Elizabeth's life, but to give any more details regarding this piece's provenance would be to go beyond the limits of our current knowledge. With the queen in her late sixties, however, and clandestine preparations for her death well underway, it is compelling to read the work's iconography as a visual reconciliation between the queen's inevitable mortality and the continued demonstration of her imagined, living qualities.⁶⁸

The medal survives in three identically patterned examples; with two struck in silver (as pictured) and the other, gold.⁶⁹ The obverse shows Elizabeth's portrait, half-length and turned slightly to the left, outfitted in a dress decorated with roses and fleurs-de-lis. Adorned with the Crown regalia, she appears within a legend derived from Psalm 91: 'CADET·A·LATERE·TVO·M·ET·X·MA·A·DEXTRIS·TVIS·ELIZ· REGINA·a·ω', promising safety for the faithful, and destruction for the ungodly: exactly the message one might expect to find associated with the portrait of the Supreme Governor of a reformed Church.⁷⁰ Indeed, exceptional as its craftsmanship is, the symbolism and inference of this obverse portrait are not out of the ordinary.⁷¹ Turning to the reverse, however, we find something altogether more peculiar.

There we see the first visual conflation of Elizabeth's imagined body with that of the Roman goddess, Minerva. A female figure stands in legend reading, *CASTIS·DLADEMA·PERENNE*, mirroring the obverse portrait's leftward orientation, and

⁶⁸ See S. Doran & P. Kewes, eds., *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester, 2014).

⁶⁹ *Medallic Illustrations*, i, pp. 181-2. Other than the version pictured in figure III.7, the two other iterations are held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, both listed under object number MEC111.

⁷⁰ 'A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, O Elizabeth, Queen α ω'.

⁷¹ It has been suggested that this medal might be by the same anonymous medallist responsible for the similarly executed piece listed on *Medallic Illustrations*, i, p. 177.

draped with loose cloth.⁷² Her left hand points downward to a dragon and snail beneath her feet, whilst her right hand extends up towards a crown, borne between the sun and the moon on either side. The inscription ‘*MINERVA 1602*’ can be seen on either side of the central figure, and three roses complete the scene. This second figure is pointedly labelled ‘Minerva’, and not Elizabeth, but in combination with the surrounding legend and the obverse portrait, the inference is clear. In death, Elizabeth will be lauded in the heavens, equal in standing with the virginal goddesses of antiquity, and granted an eternal crown.

From the moment of Elizabeth’s demise, her image would be released from any corporeal constraint derived from her natural body. The enduring ‘agelessness’ imagined in much of her painted portraiture would find a morbid realisation in her mortal reality. The physical barrier provided by Elizabeth’s living body against her fulfilling the impossible, superhuman aspects of her characterisations would be removed, and the line between the physical and the metaphysical could blur. As Roy Strong observed, at the time of the queen’s demise, few publishing material in her honour referred to her in human terms, preferring symbolic illusions to elements of her established allegorical imagery. The phoenix had been consumed by the flames; the moon had gone into eclipse; the rose had wilted on its stem; Astraea had flown back to the heavens.⁷³ We have seen elements of all these characterisations, and more, rendered in the portraits considered in this study. Despite it seemingly dating from prior to her death, the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* seems most comfortably considered as part of this post-mortem treatment of the queen’s image. Rather than referencing a well-established trope, however, the artist merges their Elizabeth with Minerva; a figure she had only been equated with rarely, and never visually. The equivalency, whilst unusual, is nonetheless compelling, with interesting repercussions for Elizabeth’s portraits’ representational functions after her death.

⁷² ‘To the chaste there is an eternal crown’.

⁷³ Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, p. 15.

Not all Elizabeth's after-life treatments encouraged her memory's longevity, but in creating her as a Minerval figure, the medallist responsible for the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* instilled their Elizabeth with an immortal quality that mirrored the agelessness of her painted portraiture.⁷⁴ By conflating the queen's character with that of Minerva, the artist effectively infers that the virtues they were imagined to share – their virginity, wisdom, and magnanimity – were, in fact, the same virtues; the two figures becoming one in the same body.⁷⁵ In his 1582 poem, *A Revelation of the True Minerva*, Thomas Blenerhasset had written:

Thy due desert hath thee Minerva made
A goddess, with whom none can compare,
For hee of heaven hath set it down and said,
The Brittain Queen shalbe that Phoenix rare,
Whom death to touch with dart will never dare.⁷⁶

Twenty years later, death's 'dart' may have struck Elizabeth's mortal body, but as Blenerhasset had suggested, and we see visualised in this medal, her imagined character, virtues, and her 'Minerval' qualities are bound and protected within the immortal, pseudo-corporeal figure of the classical goddess. As she had promised her people at the 1563 parliament:

I assure yow all that though after my death yow may have many stepdames, yet shall yow never have any more naturall mother then I meane to be unto you all.⁷⁷

In death, the virginal mother of her people symbolically merged with the virginal goddess who breathed life into Promethean clay: the eternal, virgin mother of all mankind.⁷⁸

Where from Blenerhasset's verse the inferred relationship is that Elizabeth transforms into the goddess, the medal represents a more mutual conflation between the two figures. She has Minerva's appearance, and bears her name, but many of the virtues and qualities associated with the goddess had already been realised in association with

⁷⁴ For accounts of the variety of treatments Elizabeth's post-mortem image experienced, see M. Dobson & N. Watson, *Elizabeth's England, An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford, 2002); J. Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England, Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁷⁵ For the characteristics associated with Minerva, themselves generally borrowed from the Greek goddess Athena, see R. Parker, 'Athena' in *OCD*, pp. 201-2.

⁷⁶ T. Blenerhasset, *A reuelation of the true Minerua The effect of this booke. Who on earth be gods: and by what meanes mortall men may bee made immortall*. (London, 1582), sig. E4r.

⁷⁷ *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, pp. 70-2.

⁷⁸ *Ov. Met.* I:81.

Elizabeth and her Crown elsewhere, quite separate from any Minerval representation. In some ways, the ethereal figure on this medal's reverse is as much the English queen, as she is the Roman deity. Other than the central figure, the representative mechanisms at work on the reverse echo the sentiments of the obverse, and refer directly to the English queen's spiritual and secular authority. The snail and the dragon are simultaneously positive aspects of Elizabeth's realised authority *and* the malicious factions it combats.

In the first instance, they support her. She is borne aloft by the Tudor dragon, representative of her heritage and Crown, and the snail, symbolic of the patience, temperance, and endurance the queen required to preserve her state throughout the course of her long reign.⁷⁹ Conversely – or rather, simultaneously – this 'Elizabeth-Minerva' could be 'trampling' the beasts under foot: the dragon, symbolic of Satan, and the snail demonstrative of waste, sloth, and the vengeance that awaits the 'wicked' at the hands of God.⁸⁰

Let them be like the snail that dissolves into slime;
Like the untimely birth that never sees the sun.⁸¹

As much as this Elizabeth adopts Minerva's established abstract representative functions, so this Minerva takes on aspects of the English queen. At a stroke, Elizabeth's qualities found an eternal host, and Minerval iconography was initiated in English visual iconology.

This 'Elizabeth-Minerva' thus performed three parallel representative functions. The first, commemorating the present; celebrating the achievements of the queen's reign. The second, more unusually, was a commemoration of the imagined future, with Elizabeth's apotheosis and accession to an eternal crown. The third, perhaps most

⁷⁹ For the Tudor dragon, see J. Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', in *Speculum*, 8.2 (1933), p. 232. For positive snail imagery see P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*... (Basel, 1575), pp. 359-60; J. Chevalier & A. Gheerbrandt, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London, 1994), pp. 390-1. The snail was listed in Ripa's *Iconologia* as symbolic of patience, but not until 1618, and formed the subject of Richard Lovelace's 1659 poem, *The Snayl*, where the gastropod is lauded as the 'wise emblem of our politick word'. See C. Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1618), p. 339, and *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. C. Wilkinson (2nd edn, Oxford, 1953), p. 136.

⁸⁰ *Medallic Illustrations*, i, p. 181. For the dragon as Satan, see Rev. 12:1-9. For the snail as a contemporary negative emblem see R. Harvey, *A theologicall discourse of the Lamb of God and his enemies*... (London, 1590), p. 2; Anon, *The honorable entertainment given to the Queenes Maiestie*... (London, 1591).

⁸¹ Ps. 58.

interestingly, was to create a new iconography, conflating Elizabeth's perceived earthly qualities with those of Minerva; fashioning a potential post-mortem host for the myriad symbolisms associated with the queen, and the many virtues imagined for both her natural and politic bodies. The immortal Crown may have passed to Elizabeth's heir, but the statement here is that the virtues were inherent, not in Elizabeth's politic body, but in her natural self. With her mortal demise, the queen's 'personal' virtues became disembodied, but in combination with the immortal Minerva they found a new face and name by which to be known. Elizabeth's character could live on, whilst allowing the image of her natural body to die.

Conclusion

Of all early modern rhetorical portraits, those composed in medallurgy have had the least scholarly attention, are often the most iconographically straight-forward, and perhaps are the most easily associated with their contemporary contexts. For these reasons, they offer the clearest demonstration of the thesis that portraits' specific contexts form an essential element of their iconographic functions, and that Elizabeth's portraits, despite the common assumption, only represented the English nation when circumstances required and allowed it. When viewed as simply iconographic or emblematic displays, these images are limited in comparison to their more visually expressive paint and ink counterparts, only yielding the full complexities of their meaning when set into contemporary contexts. That is exactly the pattern we see exhibited in the medals discussed above.

On the *Accession Medal* (III.i) all the queen's figure is intended to do is mark her coming to the throne. Its representative function was to be non-communicative and non-committal about the religious or authoritative models that the new regime might pursue, allowing the queen's reign to become established before she risked soliciting any additional discontent within a divided kingdom. The medal's pointed silence only becomes apparent when looking at the circumstances of its production, and comparing it to the precedents of politically discursive medals produced by Supreme monarchs who had gone before. In light of the difficulties faced by the new Elizabethan authority, this medal exhibits the regimes policy of not making a rod for its own back; of saying nothing until confident of success. The medal's subsequent anonymity in the medallic record suggests its muted ambition was achieved.

For the Franco-Dutch party responsible for the *van Herwijck Medal* (III.ii), the intention was to present the queen for a purpose perhaps similar to that realised in the *Welbeck Portrait* (Chapter I.iv), whereby the portrayal was composed to suggest policy, or

else reconcile the queen with unfavourable events.⁸² Ostensibly, the queen's role in preserving the faith of her 'realm' would seem entirely standard. She was established as Governor of the Church of England; the Supremacy was secure. Read in the context of French royal patronage, however, and the inference shifts away from lauding Elizabeth's authority to limiting it, curbing it at the borders of her island territories. After the Treaty of Troyes finally ended any hope of retrieving Calais, the removal of France from her style was a pointed reminder of the genuine extremity of Elizabeth's power, and an indication as to where she should focus her interests: not in France, but at home. In both these opening case studies, the image's functional complexity is shrouded by the simplicity of their iconographies.

The three Dutch medals (III.iii) display a greater level of sophistication than the earlier examples; moving past a numismatic composition to integrate their Elizabeths into discrete rhetorical snapshots of the Anglo-Dutch alliance. Rather than iconographic images that can be interpreted in light of contemporary events, these medals present an account, albeit highly stylised, of events themselves. These images serve to report and reflect the condition of the Anglo-Dutch enterprise from its optimistic 1585 beginnings, to its pitiable, albeit only partial, failure in 1587. The medals recall the Anglo-Dutch alliance from an exclusively Dutch perspective, and engage Elizabeth in a manner distinct from all her English medallic renditions. Here the English queen is a Dutch device, and serves the purposes of her appropriators. For them, at least at first, she alone is the focus of their entreaty.

On the *Dangers Averted Medal* (III.iv) Elizabeth's image is again removed from the wider iconographic scene. The obverse side describes the queen and her government, whilst England's condition is removed to the reverse. As observed on several occasions throughout this study, the nation's condition is defined in relation to her divinely

⁸² See Chapter I.iv.

sanctioned authority, but the two are represented quite separately.⁸³ So long as sovereignty is contained within the single natural body of the monarch, the body politic and the national community are simultaneously connected – one cannot be sovereign without something ‘subject’, and vice versa – but inherently divided. The English state relies upon the bipartite relationship between monarch and dominion. In no other medium is this abstract mutuality clearer than medallurgy, and in no other piece than Hilliard’s medal. Despite being materially bound, ‘two sides of the same coin’, queen and country are forever divided by 180 degrees of separation.

The *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* (III.v), on the other hand, only has one subject although shown in two modes. Unlike every other portrait considered in this thesis, it reflects on the potential afterlife of Elizabeth’s condition, and as we saw in our discussion, the context of her natural body’s inevitable demise had tremendous repercussions for the representative function of the queen’s portrait. After death, the natural queen would no longer be the embodiment of the Crown’s body politic. The representation of her authority, and the condition and achievements of her reign would be past tense. With an imagined apotheosis, we see the queen’s qualities, virtues, and example disembodied and transfigured into an immortal form entirely separate from her natural body. This Elizabeth-Minerva composition granted the queen’s qualities immortality, whilst allowing her natural body the temporal fate that defined it.

From her accession to her demise, Elizabeth’s medallic portraits bear little representative similarity to one another. Despite their common subject, each was composed for the specific purposes of their authors, and to exhibit meanings all their own. Medals themselves were defined by the specific events and circumstances that they were contrived to represent. Although there are comparatively few examples from which to draw, especially when compared to painted and printed portraits, the breadth of purposes

⁸³ Most compellingly, in the *Ditchley Portrait*, Chapter I.vi.

and parties served by appropriating the queen's bodily image is nonetheless broad. Whilst it is unclear by whom the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* was authorised, the *Accession Medal* served Elizabeth's regime; the *Van Herwijck Medal*, the French regency; the Dutch medals, the Dutch Rebels, and Hilliard's work, again, the regime. In each case, the Elizabeth described defines particular relationships between two parties, whether that be the Crown and those subject to it, or English interests and those of a foreign power. The representative heterogeneity of these objects, compositionally similar as they may be, is the product of these ever-developing, functionally diverse relationships. To argue that Elizabeth performed the same, homogenous representative function between these objects would be to ignore the variations in the relationships that these portraits were composed to represent. In medallurgy, as with painting and print, Elizabeth was undoubtedly iconised, but exactly how, and to what purpose, changed depending on whose interest the portrait served.

CONCLUSION

‘Context’ has a great number of meanings. Whilst it is easy to say, ‘we must contextualise Elizabeth’s portraits to understand them’, that means different things for different images. No two portraits are quite alike. Even those made at the same time and in the same studio engage varied iconographies to create quite singular ‘Elizabeths’. Even those that used similar iconographies did so in light of their own circumstances, or to serve the interests of different parties. This study tries to demonstrate that ‘context’, be it defined by the interests a portrait served, those who composed it, or the contemporary circumstances it engaged, dictated the specific meaning of each Elizabeth image. Because no two portraits developed the same iconography to serve identical interests in identical circumstances, no two portraits had homogenous meanings. There was no ‘Elizabeth icon’; instead a kaleidoscope of Elizabeths derived from similar patterns, defined by the particular concerns and specificities of their origins and exhibition. Rather than visualising her *semper eadem* motto,

Elizabeth's portraits reflect the *semper mutantus* maelstrom of politics and personalities that engaged them.¹

This does not necessarily discount interpretations that Elizabeth's portrait could be composed to represent the English nation. As Hadfield observed regarding literature, the precise nature of English nationhood depended upon the individual, resulting in as many different 'Englands' as there were authors to write them.² The same was true for Elizabeth and her iconised portraits. If the interests of those authorising or composing a rhetorical Elizabeth portrait were served by her representing the national community, in addition to her inextricable natural and political bodies, then there was no inherent obstacle for their doing exactly that. We have seen two examples where portraits' authors sought to evoke both queen and community.³ In those cases, it is true to say that looking at Elizabeth's image was tantamount to looking at an imagined nation. National representation was not, however, a universal or even a common aspect of Elizabeth's portraits.

In most instances, including every portrait considered here that served the interests of Elizabeth's English subjects, the queen's image did not represent universal ideas of England or nationhood. In almost every portrait that refers to both Elizabeth and aspects of the English national community, Elizabeth's function is not to embody the abstract nation, but to demonstrate her supreme and sovereign authority over it. The relationship between the Crown and community was inextricable, but necessarily bipartite; dependent upon the unquestioned distinction between sovereign and subject. This is best demonstrated in her portraits where both the queen and England are given clear independent form, such as the *Ditchley Portrait* (I.vi) and the *Dangers Averted Medal* (III.iv). As Elizabeth's reaction to John Stubbs' indiscrete conflation of her body with the broader community showed, such a symbolic union might have been understood to debase the

¹ 'Ever-changing'

² Hadfield, *National Identity*, p. 1; 'The Nation in the Renaissance', p. 140.

³ See Chapter II.v and Chapter III.iii.

queen's majesty; mitigating the distinctions between sovereign and subject necessary for her government.⁴ This provides explanation as to why the noted instances of Elizabeth's portraits that exhibit such a conflation do so to reflect interests outside Elizabeth's sovereign jurisdiction.

Both such examples discussed here are Dutch, and closely associate their personification of England in Elizabeth's body with abstract personifications of the Dutch Provinces. In circumstances where authors' interests were served by representing their Provincial communities' relationships with the English, rather than developing an abstract figure by which to demonstrate the foreign power, Elizabeth provided a convenient, recognisably 'English' model. Her natural body and its image already demonstrated the abstract English Crown; if your purpose was to represent both England's Crown and community obligation, the conceptual leap was not such a difficult one, especially if the abstract personification of your own community was already well established. England had no such tradition. When Peter Paul Rubens produced works commemorating Elizabeth's successor, James VI & I, his personifications of England and Scotland resembled the *Dutch Maiden* of his homeland.⁵ Unlike their Netherlandish equivalents, however, neither the 'Elizabeth-Englands' nor Rubens' maids were destined to become a common trope. For a repeated abstract personification of their community, the English would have to wait until they had no monarch.

When sovereignty was vested in the community, when England was a republic, the visual conflation of sovereign and nation became fluent. In 1652, Marchamont Nedham's translation of John Selden's *Mare Clausum* featured an intaglio showing the *Angliæ Respublica* personified in a manner that, with minor adaptation, persists today. Triumphant over the crowns and arms of her monarchic enemies, the incorporeal, republican nation found

⁴ TRP, ii, pp. 445-9.

⁵ See Appendix C.1.

visual form in the classical body of man's virginal, wise, belligerent, and immortal 'mother': Minerva.⁶

Over the course of the seventeenth century, Minerva's martial form would inspire the iconographic shorthand for nations across Europe.⁷ She was the embodiment of wisdom; a patron of the arts; the goddess of trade, strategy, and considered war.⁸ For any community forging its identity in the seventeenth century, it is difficult to think of a finer role model. When the *Angliæ Respublica* sat enthroned above her enemies, or perhaps when a more benevolent Minervan figure, *Britannia*, appeared on the *Breda Medal* some fifteen years later, an elderly Englishman might have been reminded of a similarly imperious woman, as paradoxical and adaptable as the abstraction, only mortal.⁹

Shortly before Elizabeth's demise, the unknown artist responsible for the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal* (III.v) chose to conflate the queen with an immortal figure who embodied many of the qualities that had been associated with her throughout her long life. She was virginal, wise, of good judgment, and strong, and, although never having taken to the battle field herself, at Tilbury said:

I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live and die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.
I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm: to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.¹⁰

Homer wrote that, before Athena (the Hellenic form of Minerva) took to the field at Troy, she removed her female garb, the fine vestments 'which she herself had made', and

⁶ See Appendix C.2.

⁷ M. Wintle, 'Personifying the Past: National and European History in the Fine and Applied Arts in the Age of Nationalism', in S. Berger, L. Eriksonas, & A. Mycock, eds., *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media, and the Arts* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 235-6.

⁸ R. Parker, 'Athena', in *OCD*, pp. 201-2; J. Scheid, 'Minerva', in *OCD*, p. 984.

⁹ See Appendix C.3.

¹⁰ Elizabeth I's Speech at Tilbury', British Library, Harley MS 6798, f.87. For a discussion of Elizabeth's projection as a 'warrior queen', see A. Whitelock, "'Woman, Warrior, Queen'?", in A. Hunt & A. Whitelock, eds., *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York, NY, 2010), pp. 173-89.

prepared 'herself for grievous war, wearing her father's armour'.¹¹ Elizabeth's father had similarly armed her with the heart and stomach of an English king. She is England's sovereign, its protector, and the nation's very own 'Minerva'.

There is no evidence to suggest the artist who created England as Minerva in the 1650s ever encountered the *Elizabeth-Minerva Medal*. The narrative that sees the living Elizabeth inspiring patriotic devotion before apotheosing into Minerva and returning as *Britannia* is a tempting one, but it seems likely the unknown medallist was prophetic rather than influential. Rather than enjoying the immortality that comes with abstraction, Elizabeth will forever symbolise her time: forty-four years when England arguably became itself. During her reign, as much as religion, language, foreign relations, or territory, England was defined by its subjection to Elizabeth. If the *Ditchley Portrait* shows us anything, it is that to be English was to be under her. Despite this conceptual interdependence, to say that 'to all intents and purposes, looking at an image of Elizabeth was looking at England', is a gross oversimplification of what Elizabeth's portraits were produced to symbolise and how their symbolism related to the representation of the English nation.¹² It fails to embrace the complexity and diversity of how the people who iconised the queen related to her and her bodies, and how the specificities of each portrait's discrete purpose and circumstance affected its meaning.

¹¹ Hom. *Il.* I.5. 773-7. See also Ov. *Fast.* III:5-6.

¹² *Gloriana*, p. 99.

Appendix I.1



Figure A.1 *Princess Elizabeth* (c.1546)
Oil on panel, attributed to William Scrots.
Part of the Royal Collection, Windsor.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: RCIN 404444.
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Appendix I.2



Figure A.2 *Elizabeth I (c.1572)*
Miniature watercolour on velum by Nicholas Hilliard.
Part of the NPG collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: NPG 108.
© National Portrait Gallery, London

Appendix I.3



Figure A.3 *George Gower* (1579)
Oil on panel, by George Gower (self-portrait).
Held in a private collection.
The image is in the public domain and available at:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/94/George_Gower_Self-portrait_1579.jpg.

Appendix I.4



Figure A.4 *The Darnley Elizabeth* (1575)
Oil on Panel, by Federigo Zuccaro.
Part of the NPG collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: NPG 2082.
© National Portrait Gallery London.

Appendix I.5



Figure A.5 *Elizabeth I (c.1592)*
Miniature watercolour on velum, by Isaac Oliver.
Part of the V&A painted miniature collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: p8.-1940.
© Victoria & Albert Museum.

Appendix II.1



Figure A.6 Frontispiece, *The Great Bible* (1539).
Woodcut, artist unknown.
The image is in the public domain and available at:
<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ea/GreatbibleI.jpg>.

Appendix II.2



Figure A.7 *Vuile Bruid of de Bruiloft* (1570)
 Intaglio by Pieter van der Heyden.
 Part of the Rijksmuseum Collection.
 A typical print by van der Heyden from the period he was known to be active.
 Ref: RP-P-1897-A-19651.
 This image is in the public domain.

Appendix II.3

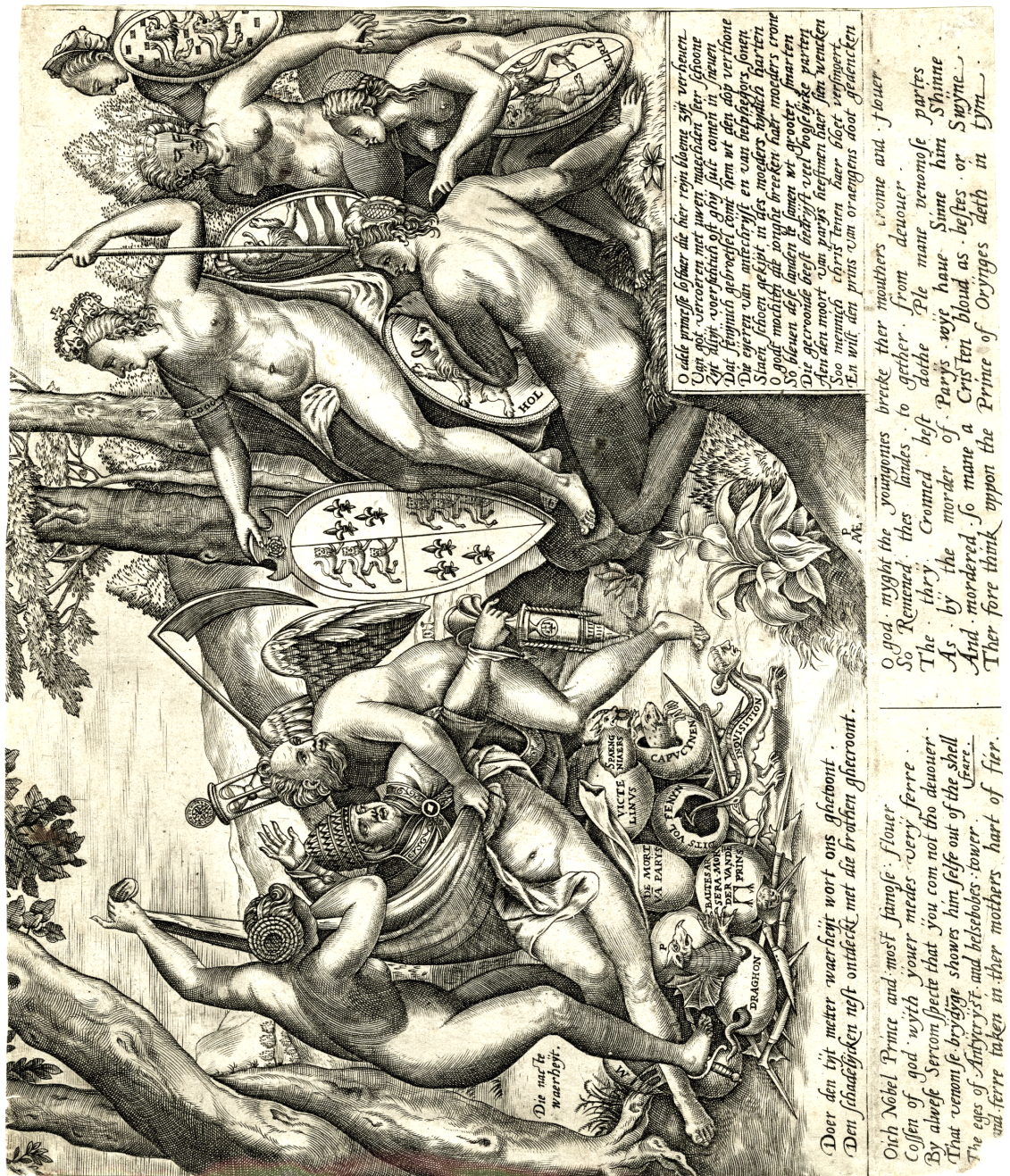


Figure A.8 *De Waarheid en de Tijd Onthullen het Broedsel van de Paus* (c.1585)

Intaglio, attributed to Pieter van der Heyden.

Part of the BM's prints and drawings collection.

Reproduced with permission.

Ref: 1893,0530.1

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Appendix II.4



Figure A.9 Funeral effigy and corset of Elizabeth I (1603)
Part of the Westminster Abbey Library collections.
Reproduced with permission.
© Dean & Chapter of Westminster Abbey.

Appendix II.5



Figure A.10

Medal celebrating the Cadiz expedition (1596)

Medal, silver, Dutch, medallist unknown.

Part of the National Maritime Museum's coins & medals collection.

The obverse shows the Arms of England, France and the United Provinces, bound together by ropes held by a hand (of God?), in legend: *RVMPITUR·HAVD·FACILE* ('It is not easily broken'). The reverse shows the Spanish fleet sinking in a storm, condemned by God (the tetragrammaton above). Here the legend reads: *QVID·ME·PERSEQVERIS·1596* ('Why persecutest thou me?').

Reproduced with permission.

Ref: MEC0015.

© National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

Appendix III.1



Figure A.11

The Supremacy Medal (1545)

Medal, gold, English, attributed to Henry Basse.

Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.

The obverse shows Henry VIII, with an inscription in two circles, divided by a crowned rose, portcullis, *fleur-de-lis*, and *clairseach*. On the reverse, inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek read the same as the obverse's Latin: 'Henry VIII, King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and under Christ the supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland'.

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Figure A.12 *The Coronation Medal of Edward VI (1547)*

Medal, gold, English, attributed to Henry Basse.

Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.

The obverse shows Edward VI, half-length crowned, in armour, and holding a sword and an orb. In three concentric legends (divided by a crown rose, portcullis, *fleur-de-lis*, and *clairseach*) it reads: 'Edward VI, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and the supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland, crowned 20 February 1546, at the age of ten years'. The reverse carries Hebrew and Greek translations (both containing mistakes).

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Appendix III.3



Figure A.13 A medallion portrait of Thomas Cromwell (1538)
Medal, gold, likely the work of a continental craftsman, but artist unknown.
Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.
The obverse shows secretary's portrait in legend: 'Portrait of Lord Thomas Cromwell, King's Secretary, year 38'. The reverse shows his Arms, surrounded by the Order of the Garter's insignia.
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Appendix III.4



Figure A.14 Mary I's *State of England Medal* (1555)

Medal, bronze, by Jacopo da Trezzo.

Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.

The obverse shows Queen Mary I, in profile and half length. The reverse shows the personification of peace (possibly intended to be the queen), seated on a cube, symbolic of stability, and decorated with united hands. She holds an olive branch above her head and applies fire to a pile of weaponry. Above, rays of light stream down, representing God's favour.

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Ref: 1927, 0622. 1.

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Appendix C.1



Figure A.15 *The Union of the Crowns* (1632-4)
Detail from ceiling canvas, Banqueting House, Whitehall, by Peter Paul Rubens.
Part of the Historic Royal Palaces collection.
Reproduced with permission.
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© Historic Royal Palaces.

Appendix C.2



Figure A.16 *Angliæ Respública* (originally 1652)
This version is taken from the frontispiece of T. Violet, *Proposals Humbly Presented to His Highness Oliver...*, (London, 1656).
Part of the BL collection.
Reproduced with permission.
Ref: Violet, 1656: A.
© The British Library Board.

Appendix C.3



Figure A.17

The *Breda Medal* (1662)

Medal, gold, Anglo-Dutch by John Roettier.

Part of the BM's coins and medals collection.

The obverse shows a portrait of King Charles II, in profile and crowned with a laurel. The reverse shows the Minervan personification of Britain, *Britannia* in her recognisably modern form: seated, with a spear, and Union-Flag-adorned shield.

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Ref: G3,EM.4.

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