QUEENSHIP AND POWER

Edited by Carole Levin and
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Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens

QUEENSHIP AND POWER

Series Editors: Carole Levin and Charles Beem

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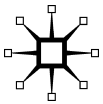

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This book is for the Julias in my life,
one who does beautiful creative work
and the other who produces fine scholarship
and both who are my friends

and

for Estelle, who loves queens as much as I do

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Acknowledgments

The idea for this book began when Katarzyna Lecky sent me a poem by her student, M. Wells, about Boudicca and asked if I had any ideas where he might publish it. I really liked the poem, and knew that Kat was also writing on Boudicca. I was intrigued both with the idea of a book where scholarly and creative work played off each other, and a book that would combine the work of more established scholars with that of graduate students. I am not only grateful to Kat for the seed that started this collection, but for her fine work as both a scholar and teacher, and for her dear friendship.

The poet Christine Stewart-Nuñez, whom I first knew as my student, did a wonderful job as associate editor. Her own poems, and those others she solicited, have made this collection unique and special. It is a great pleasure to have the work of a number of former and current students from the University of Nebraska: Amber Harris Leichner, Paul Strauss, Andrea Nichols, Dennis Henry, Alyson Alvarez, Catherine Medici, and Megan Gannon. The other special joy of putting this collection was that I got to work with so many scholars whom I greatly admire not only for their excellent work but for their commitment to their students as well. I also so appreciate their friendship. I am especially grateful to Jo Eldridge Carney, for her help and support on this project and so much else in my scholarly and personal life. I also want to thank the people at Palgrave Macmillan, Kristin Purdy, Brigitte Shull, and Mike Aperauch, for all they did to bring this book to fruition. The frontispiece art is by Julia Noyes.

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Theresa Earenfight is a professor of History at Seattle University where she has held the Theiline Pigott McCone Endowed Chair in the Humanities. She specializes in medieval and early modern Spanish history, especially issues of women and power. Her books include *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan 2013) and *The King's Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (U of Pennsylvania P, 2009). She is currently developing a database of maternity among royal families of medieval Europe and researching and writing a book-length study of Catherine of Aragon.

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Katarzyna Lecky is an assistant professor of English at Bucknell University. Her work highlights how premodern authors and artisans capitalized on the flourishing business of cheap print to mobilize ordinary people as political agents. Her current book project studies how portable cartography charted the birth of the British middle class in ways taken up by poets paid to voice the early modern nation. She has earned numerous grants for her research from the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Renaissance Society of America, the Folger, and others.

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Carole Levin is Willa Cather Professor of History and director of the Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program at the University of Nebraska, where she specializes in early modern English cultural, political, and women's history. Her books include *The Heart and Stomach of a King* (2nd ed., 2013), *Dreaming the English Renaissance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), and (with John Watkins) *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds* (Cornell UP, 2008). Her current book projects include Boudica's Daughters: Queens and Nationalism in the Tudor/Stuart Age. In 2015 she was a Fulbright Scholar at the University of York in England.

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Brandie R. Siegfried is the Nan Grass Professor of English Literature at Brigham Young University. Her work on Grace O'Malley has appeared in a variety of venues, and she continues to write about Ireland's literary influence on Tudor thought. Recent articles on this topic include "Recognizing Elizabeth I: The Idea of Sovereignty in Sixteenth Century Gaelic-Irish Poetry," in *Elizabeth I and Ireland* (2014), "Rivaling Caesar: The Roman Model in Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Ireland," in *Sidney Studies Journal* (2011), "Wrestling with the Angel: The Typology of Israel in John Derricke's *The Image of Ireland*," in *Ireland and the Pale* (2011), and "The *Song on Queen Elizabeth*: Coins, Clocks, and the Stuff of Political Satire in Dublin, 1560," in *Elizabeth I and Foreign Relations* (2011).

Erika Stevens is poetry editor-at-large at Coffee House Press and runs Quick Bread Editorial, an independent editing business. Erika is also a senior editor at the University Press of Florida.

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M. Wells is a poet who received his MA in English from Arkansas State University and worked with Professor Katarzyna Lecky.

Introduction: Talking About Scholars and Poets Talk About Queens

Carole Levin

Queens from the ancient period through the Renaissance have always held a special fascination. We are interested in the historical lives of queens, how they were represented in later chronicles and histories, and the different ways they are embodied in later drama and literature. This collection focuses on a range of queens, from early mythical queens to those of the Tudor period. Queen Elizabeth I is central to two essays but she is in the background in a number of others. What makes this collection unique and of especial appeal is that there are not only analyses of queens and their representations in history and literature, but recent creative depictions of these queens as well. By pairing scholarly essays with contemporary poems and creative pieces about them, the collection intends to demonstrate the ongoing relevance and immediacy of these powerful women: whether fictional or factual, these queens continue to be compelling figures.

Some of the queens in this collection are mythological such as Hecuba, wife of King Priam and Queen of Troy. Other early queens include Cleopatra, the famous final independent pharaoh of ancient Egypt who was the lover of the Roman Anthony and the first century Iceni queen Boudicca, who fought the Romans to protect the freedoms of Celtic peoples against the invading Romans. The essays in this collection consider how these queens were understood in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As well as ancient queens, there are essays about such medieval queens as the Empress Matilda, the woman who fought to be queen of England after the death of her father Henry I, and Henry VI's consort, Margaret of Anjou, who also fought to hold England for her husband and her son. With Margaret as well the focus is on her representation in early modern chronicle and drama. Sixteenth-century English queens are also examined—wives of Henry VIII, his daughters Mary and Elizabeth who, unlike Matilda, were able to be crowned and rule in their own right, and their cousin Mary Stuart, queen consort of France, queen of Scotland in her own right until her forced abdication. The final queen under consideration is the Irish chieftain and leader, Grace O'Malley, popularly known as the pirate queen.

In her essay on Hecuba Marguerite A. Tassi examines how in the English Renaissance Hecuba is, in Arthur Golding's words, the "Queene of moothers all," and the importance of empathetic relations to a mother's mourning. Tassi pursues the question of what kind of ethical empathy for the fallen Trojan queen performed for those in the Elizabethan age. Paired with Tassi's essay is her own poem, "Hecuba's Dream," and Darla Biel's poem, "Hecuba Laments." Andrea Nichols looks at depictions of Cleopatra in the reign of Elizabeth and presents the connections by early modern playwrights of Cleopatra and Elizabeth. Her essay is paired with Erika Stevens's poem "Grand Unified Theory."

Katarzyna Lecky also deftly relates connections made by sixteenth-century chroniclers between the first-century Briton queen Boudicca fighting invaders and building nationalism, with Elizabeth I. Paired with this essay is M. Wells' poem, "The Queen Iceni Seeks Andraste." The connection between the Iceni queen and her sixteenth-century counterpart is explored in comic fashion in Carole Levin's short play, "The Heart and Stomach of a Queen."

Charles Beem compares and analyzes the rather negative historical reputation of the Empress Matilda with her attempts to create a positive public image for herself within the male feudal society over which she attempted to assume leadership. Dennis Henry's short play, "Maude and Ellie Play Chess," portrays a clever, dominant queen mother in her old age.

Just as historians have been harsh in their assessments of Matilda, so too were many early modern historians unforgiving in their portrayal of Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou. Carole Levin finds that while these negative descriptions of her ruthless nature had

to do not only with Margaret's martial qualities but with her being French, there were also those, such as Thomas Heywood, who celebrated Margaret as one of the nine female worthies, along with other queens in this collection, Boudicca and Elizabeth. Regina Buccola in "After Lives" allows Margaret to speak in her own voice about the tragedies of her life and how she was regarded.

Theresa Earenfight's essay, "Regarding Catherine of Aragon," takes a different approach than usual about Henry VIII's first queen by examining her relationships with her own mother Isabel of Castile and her mother-in-law Elizabeth of York, who showed great kindness to Catherine. Christine Stewart-Nuñez's poems "Granadas: Katherine to Her Daughter," and "Of Books and Bijou: The Poet's Letter to Katherine" reflect the theme of the essay as does Regina Buccola's poem about Elizabeth of York, "The First of that Name," which also connects with essays about Elizabeth.

Mary is also discussed in Catherine Medici's essay, " More Than a Wife and Mother: Jane Dudley, the Woman Who Bequeathed a Parrot and Served Five Queens," as one of the queens in the life of Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland, who, Medici, describes, worked hard for both her husband and children but deserves to be known for more than that. Megan Gannon's poem, "On the Revolutions of Space," also presents a window into this fascinating and not well-known player at the Tudor courts.

Alyson Alvarez compares the first widowhood of Mary Stewart after the death of the young French king Francis II with that of her second, when Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley was murdered. Alvarez argues that while Mary followed the expected ideal Renaissance behavior for a royal widow in her first widowhood, she defied such expectations in her second, with disastrous results. Mary Ruth Donnelly considers the results so disastrous that her poem is "Mary Queen of Scots in Hell."

While Queen Elizabeth plays a role in a number of the other essays, she is full center in those by Paul Strauss and Sonja Drimmer. Strauss in "The Virgin Queen as Nurse of the Church: Manipulating an Image of Elizabeth I in Court Sermons," again examines the image of Elizabeth, this time by those ministers who preach at her court and how Elizabeth served as a nurse for her people. Sonja Drimmer takes a different perspective on Elizabeth by looking at the gifts she received New Year's Day 1567, and examining the significance of the three that the queen chose to keep with her: a lavish pedigree book, a chessboard and set in an ivory box, and an instrument

for cleaning teeth. Drimmer analyzes the ways in which the dental instruments and chess set aid in understanding the aims and designs of Elizabeth's pedigree book. Though Elizabeth is not a character in Maude and Ellie Play Chess, the chess queen certainly is and relates to this essay as well. Yet another view of Elizabeth comes from Amber Harris Leichner's poems, "For My Eyes, Part 1 and Part 2," about her and relationship with Robert Dudley.

One of the legends that Brandie Siegfried examines in her essay, "Notorious: Gráinne Ní Mháille, Graven Memory, and the Uses of Irish Legend," was the meeting of Gráinne Ní Mháille, also known as Grace O'Malley, with Queen Elizabeth. While there is no documentary evidence that the meeting happened, it is one of the powerful stories later told about O'Malley, and Siegfried argues that examining the legends around the pirate queen allow us to know more about Ireland's history. This meeting is also depicted in Heidi Czerwiec's poem, "GRACE: O'Malley Meets the English Queen (1593)."

The scholarly section of the book ends with a discussion of a number of queens. Jo Eldridge Carney's essay, "Poisoning Queens in Early Modern Fact and Fiction," explores the rumors and realities of poison plots that tainted Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Mary I, Elizabeth I, and Mary, Queen of Scots. These stories tell us much about poison as an early modern weapon of choice, but they tell us even more about perceptions and fears surrounding women in power, a theme in the entire collection. Paired with this essay is Grace Bauer's poem, "The Kingdom If I Can."

Hecuba

Tears for Hecuba: Empathy and Maternal Bereavement in Golding's Translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

Marguerite A. Tassi

Her fortune moved not
Her Trojans only, but the Greekes her foes to ruthe: her lot
Did move even all the Goddes to ruthe: and so effectually,
That Hecub to deserve such end even Juno did denye.

—*Golding, Ovid's* Metamorphoses *13.685–88*[1]

In the first printed English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (London, 1567), Arthur Golding recounts the story of Hecuba, fallen Queen of Troy, for native readers.[2] Golding's translation offers an extended narrative of Troy's fall and its aftermath, with a significant section, a full 200 lines, devoted to Hecuba's tragedy (13.488–688). The section is arranged in five scenes that are rendered with emotionally potent rhetoric and vividly striking images. Such a poetics of feeling, richly visceral and dramatically attuned to Hecuba's suffering, invites readers to participate empathetically in the tragic experience of the legendary queen. The nature of participation is determined both structurally and linguistically through three significant textual strategies: first, Hecuba's story is framed by other women's experiences of loss at the hands of men; second, models of empathetic spectatorship and response are incorporated into the narrative; and third, Golding's rhetoric evokes affective responses through sense-oriented language and Hecuba's own voice of lamentation.

Scenes of feminine grief and lamentation were a hallmark of Renaissance Ovidianism, imbuing figures of sorrowing women with pathos. Of all the Ovidian women, Hecuba emerged as "the quintessential figure of grief and unjust suffering" for Renaissance writers.[3] Golding's English readers would have been struck not so much by Hecuba's loss of homeland and husband, but rather by her loss of children. His readers encounter Hecuba's grief as a form of suffering that arises specifically from the experience of child loss. The queen's maternal mourning is manifested in tears, embraces, kisses, the touching of her children's wounds, and vocal lamentation. The figurative wounding of the mother, felt deeply in her own body when she gazes at and touches the wounds in her children's bodies, lies at the emotional center of the poem, offering a poignant model of empathetic reciprocity. Golding's translation offers not only the representation of Hecuba as the emotive force of empathy, but also incorporates spectators—the narrator, the Trojan wives, and the gods—who bear witness to Hecuba's maternal suffering and give credence to empathy and an ethic of care as predominant goods in the social sphere.

As a point of emphasis, Golding hails Hecuba as "Queene of moothers all" (578). Her royalty is defined in relation to maternity. It is of no small significance that of the pitying gods who are moved by Hecuba's undeserved fate, the only one named is Juno, as she is the divine "Queene of moothers all." Juno is the goddess of married women, and mother of Ilithyia, helper of women in childbearing; thus, Juno, despite being a deadly enemy of the Trojans, appropriately expresses pity for the degrading extremes of Hecuba's tragic maternity. The final narrative shift to the spectating gods suggests to the reader that Hecuba's sorrows not only are profound enough to catch the attention of gods, but that they merit divine lament. The gods are "effectually" (i.e., thoroughly) moved to "ruthe" (sorrow, pity, lament) by the pitiable sight of the mortal queen. The emphasis on pity, the classic Aristotelian tragic emotion, in the spectators who witness Hecuba's tragedy and the revealed sources of that pity—the Trojan wives' identification with child loss, the gods' sense of injustice done to a royal mother—articulate a model of empathetic response that has maternal ethics at its source. Hecuba's story concludes with a situation analogous to that of spectators before the work of art. The emphasis on "ruthe," a word twice repeated, brings to the fore an essential value of Renaissance art: the capacity to instruct and to move beholders through representing the emotional and mental

states of others. As a complex cognitive and affective process of the imagination, empathy serves to instruct and delight through spontaneous sharing or mirroring of affect between reader and text, viewer and image.

In recent years, neuroscientists have discovered mirror neurons in the brain, observing that they fire when we imaginatively and feelingly re-create in our minds the gestures, facial expressions, and actions we see.[4] For readers, mirror neurons fire in response to vivid, sensuous, emotive language and descriptive, penetrating characterization. This neural basis for the sharing of emotions and cognitive activity confirms in modern scientific terms what Renaissance writers and artists already understood, that rhetoric and visual images have the power to evoke reciprocity in feeling from readers and viewers. This inward experience of reciprocity renders literature a potent tool for raising consciousness about women's suffering in narratives such as Hecuba's, which explores the grief of child loss and the wild justice of revenge.

For Renaissance writers, the mirror trope was used frequently to indicate a didactic model for imitation (e.g., *The Mirror for Magistrates*), with the underlying premise that readers would see an instructive reflection of themselves in the text. In performances of *Gorboduc* (1561–62), audiences at the Inner Temple and Whitehall heard Hecuba described as "the woeful'st wretch / That ever lived to make a mirror of" (3.1.14–15).[5] As Jonathan Bate observes, "Dramatic laments in plays from *Gorbuduc* onwards make Hecuba into a 'mirror' of woefulness."[6] But to what end? In his preface to readers of the *Metamorphoses*, Golding uses the mirror trope to suggest the instructive nature of allegorical interpretation: "Now when thou readst of God or man, in stone, in beast, or tree / It is a myrrour for thy self thyne owne estate too see" (81–82). Yet, in reading Golding's translation, readers cannot help but see their own state literally or analogously reflected in Hecuba's maternal suffering. The connection readers make to Hecuba is deeply human and painful, for it is the experience of child loss that is emphasized throughout the narrative. Thus, it seems clear that the appeal of Golding's representation of Hecuba lies more in the realm of feeling than in intellect, in the activation of mirror neurons than in other kinds of brain activity. The intellectual grasp of Fortune's fickleness cannot compete with the feelings of horror and pity that move readers in their encounter with Hecuba. Elizabethan readers would have been schooled in pathos (a concept encompassing pity, sympathy, and empathy) through

extensive rhetorical training in education and their own direct experiences with literature and play-going; thus, a reading experience that lent itself directly to empathy and emotional response would have been familiar and compelling to the English.

Renaissance writers understood well that affect and empathy could be generated from rhetorical appeals to the visual realm. Rhetorical vividness in representations (*enargeia*), for example, could make readers feel as if they were envisioning, or mirroring, a character's inner world and actions in their imaginations. Perhaps because Ovid's poem generates pathos through such visually evocative episodes, a vogue for illustrating the *Metamorphoses* arose during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is striking that Golding's translation did not follow this vogue; his poetic rendition of Ovid contains no illustrations. They may have seemed unnecessary to his purpose, but still this is no small point considering the enormous popularity of illustrated Ovids during the Renaissance.[7] Produced in urban centers such as Venice, Milan, Lyons, Paris, and Cologne, Renaissance editions of the *Metamorphoses* appeared with plentiful woodcut illustrations of dramatic moments in Ovid's narrative. In the influential, widely copied cycles produced by Bernard Salomon and Virgil Solis (1557–91), five ornately framed woodcuts depicted the significant events of Hecuba's story: her capture by the Greeks at Troy, the killing of Polydore, the sacrifice of Polyxene, the discovery of Polydore's body, and Hecuba's revenge for her son's murder. Later editions, such as the 1584 Giunti text, were enhanced by printmakers with sophisticated engravings that captured more visual detail and nuance.

Around 1585, the mannerist printmaker Antonio Tempesta made 150 copperplates of scenes from Ovid's text, which were printed later in 1606 and accompanied only by explanatory verse. The printing of Ovidian images for readers' consumption and delight became the substitute for Ovid's poetry. The soulful rendering of Hecuba's discovery of Polydore's body offers an example of how skillfully Tempesta's images not only distilled and dramatized the narrative, but captured the emotional quality of the character's suffering. Tempesta altered the iconography of the scene established by Salomon and Solis in order to achieve greater emotional nuance. He reduced the number of attending women to the intimacy of two, one of whom raises her arms, shows distress through her facial expression, and opens her mouth in a cry. He altered the iconography of Hecuba's body and her placement in the picture. Hecuba appears in the center; her arms are not crossed, as they were in countless earlier

illustrations of this scene. Rather, she is opening her arms, stretching them wide in grief, reaching to embrace the body of Polydore, who is partially submerged in water. At the same time, her arms reach wide enough to take in Polyxene's corpse, which lies at her feet. The outstretched arms are rendered with just enough perspectival depth that her left arm begins to blur the line between the picture plane and the viewer's space. Hecuba's face is cast in shadow—a nice touch on Tempesta's part to express her mute grief—and her garments whirl dynamically to convey inner turmoil and passion. There is a delicate grandeur in this engraving, which achieves its emotional power by depicting shared tragic feeling between Hecuba and another Trojan woman.

Golding's edition stands in direct contrast to the inter-artistic Continental tradition of illustrated Ovids that culminated in Tempesta's series of exquisite engravings. Golding relies entirely on an emotive poetics to generate maximum feeling from language. His rendition of Ovid's subtle, sophisticated Latin is in "rugged," "racy" English fourteeners, full of "quirks and oddities" in diction, to echo John Frederick Nims.[8] For Golding, this was an unusual venture into imaginative literature, as his work consisted mainly of translations of religious writing, most notably John Calvin's sermons. As a writer with Puritan leanings, Golding most likely felt no interest in incorporating visual art into his text; perhaps he shared the anti-visual prejudice that pervaded Reformation England during his lifetime (c. 1535–1606). Like many of his fellow Elizabethan translators, he was "Englishing" a classical text and moralizing Ovid as part of a Christian humanist effort to introduce English readers to ancient and Continental works. Instead of illustrations, his edition contains a lengthy epistle and preface that call for the reader's "skill, heede, and judgement" (title page) in understanding Ovid's myths in an allegorical sense. Though he does not mention Hecuba directly in his epistle, he mentions the "slaughter of king Priams stock without remors of pitie," and notes how the story of Polymestor's treachery "further witnesseth that murther crieth ay / For vengeance, and itself one tyme or other dooth bewray" (243, 260–61). Golding's vision of Hecuba is sympathetic and ethically charged in its implication that her "piteous cace" warrants a justified revenge against treacherous rulers. She is the victim of Greek pitilessness; she is the agent of vengeance that justice demands; she is the figure who rouses emotion in the reader, who activates the emotional and political marrow of the allegory.

Many of Golding's English readers would have encountered Hecuba's story in grammar school where Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was used as a central text for rhetorical training, but some would have read Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas* (London, 1559), which centers on the maternal traumas of two noble Trojan women, Andromache and Hecuba. The most traumatic event of the play is child murder, the killing of Astyanax, but the lamentations of Hecuba, who is paralleled with the boy's mother, Andromache, are given much attention. The Chorus instructs the reader to see Hecuba as "*A mirrour . . . to teach you what you are / Your wavering wealth, O Princes here is seene*" (1.2).[9] The mirror trope is subtly echoed in Hecuba's speech when she emphasizes the act of vision and her own face as the reflecting glass for others:

> Let him in me both se the Face, of Fortunes flattering joy:
> And eke respect the ruthful end of thee (O ruinous Troy)
> For never gave shee playner proofe, then this ye present see:
> How frayle and britle is the state of pride and high degree.(1.1)

As the drama progresses, however, Hecuba appears in more concrete, moving terms as a mourning mother. She nearly faints and then weeps with grief over the sacrifice of her daughter Polyxene: she recalls momentarily,

> A happy heape of children late on every side mee stoode.
> It wearied me to deal the mother's kisse among them al,

And then, laments

> The rest are lost, and this alone now doth me mother call.
> The onely child of Hecuba, a comfort left to me,
> A stayer of my sory state and shall I now leese thee,
> Depart O wretched soule, and from this carefull carcas flie,
> And ease me of such ruthfull fates, to see my daughter die.
> My weeping wets, alas, my eyes, and stains them overall. (4.1)

At the end of the drama, Hecuba proclaims her calamity the greatest of all, while at the same time claiming that she bears the world's sufferings in her body:

> What ever mans calamatyes ye wayle for myne it is.
> I beare the smart of al their woes, each other feeles but his
> Who ever he, I am the wretch all happes to me at last. (5.1)

The subtle wordplay on "beare" brings to mind her maternity and further uses of tactile language—"smart," "feeles"—join with the acoustic "wayle" to evoke empathy in the reader. These speeches call to mind Plutarch's famous anecdote about the ancient tyrant Alexander of Pherae who fled the theater in tears upon witnessing Hecuba and Andromache's sorrows in a performance of Euripides' *Troades*.[10] Heywood's translation seems rhetorically charged with emotion, such that the reader or listener might be moved to tears for Hecuba.

Like Heywood's depiction of Hecuba, Golding's translation of the Ovidian Hecuba evokes strong feeling responses through emotive rhetoric. It is not so much the fall of "Priams wretched wife" (488) that Golding attended to in his translation, or even to the loss of "womans shape" (489) in Hecuba's metamorphosis into a dog, but rather the physical and vocal expression of a mother's grief. It is telling that Hecuba is referred to as Priam's wife only three times in the poem, whereas she is called queen six times, and mother eight times. She is Polyxene's "wretched moother" (553), "the famous moother / Of Hector" (616–17), and "Queene of moothers all" (578); Polyxene is fetched from her "mothers lappe" (538), and Hecuba sheds "moothers teares" (632). The references to her as queen cluster in the section where Hecuba finds her "princely hart" (660) and takes revenge on her son's murderer. Maternal vengeance is sanctioned implicitly through Hecuba's authority as queen.

The *Metamorphoses* obsessively circles back to scenes of feminine lament and child loss. As Cora Fox observes, "the poem attempts to articulate a feminine response to violence and an interior life in the female figures who grieve, lament, or rage throughout the poem."[11] The story of Hecuba is framed by images of child loss that result from wartime atrocities—at the opening, the reader hears of the killing of Hector and Andromache's son (and Hecuba's grandson), and after Hecuba's story concludes, the next interlude involves the grief and prayers of Aurora, an immortal mother mourning the loss of her mortal son in the battle at Troy. The brutal murder of Astyanax is included early in the narrative as one of the atrocities committed by the Greeks before they left Troy. When the Trojan wives are described as lingering "Among the burning temples of theyr Goddes" (498), suddenly the narrator recalls the death of Astyanax. The shared line, "Theyr sacred shrynes and images. Astyanax downe was cast" (499), strongly suggests that the destruction of this child is a sacrilege on par with the burning of sacred places and objects of worship.

The following lines memorialize the child and the place of his death: "From that same turret from the which his moother in tyme past / Had shewed him his father stand oft fyghting to defend / Himself and that same famous realme of Troy that did descend / From many noble auncetors" (500–503). The glorification of Troy and its greatest warrior, Hector, is presented in the context not only of a burning city, but of child loss, which means the lossof descendants for Troy's royal house. Both Hector and his son become casualties of war; and Andromache, like Hecuba and the other Trojan women, becomes a slave, seized by the Greeks after Troy falls.

The Trojan wives function as a community of mourning women who share personal losses sustained during war. As captive women, they are free only in their expression of emotion and fellow feeling. They are empathetic spectators to Hecuba's tragedy, for they know experientially the anguish of her loss; as wives, they, too, have lost husbands, who were slain in battle. As mothers, they have suffered child loss, for the absence of children accompanying them into captivity subtly suggests their deaths to the reader. As Trojans, they have lost their homeland and their gods. The reader is moved to empathize with their plight from the start of the narrative, for they are presented literally kissing the ground of Troy as they are captured: "Adeew deere Troy (the women cryde), wee haled are from hence. / And therwithall they kist the ground, and left yit smoking still / Theyr native houses" (506–8). The Trojan women make a second appearance when they are needed to carry the slain body of the queen's daughter, Polyxene, back to her, and then they appear once more to share with Hecuba the discovery of her dead son, Poydore, in the water.

Golding first names Hecuba as "Queene Hecub . . . a piteous cace to see" (509). This description invites the reader to gaze upon the image of a royal woman in reduced circumstances and to feel the pity that such a sight naturally evokes. Certainly, the scene in which Hecuba first appears is a "piteous" one: She is "found amid / The tumbes in which her sonnes were layd" (509–10). She weeps over her dead children's bodies. Golding's language is attentive to the sensate ground of the body: "Hecub did / Embrace theyr chists and kisse theyr bones," and "in her boosom bare / Away a crum of Hectors dust, and left on Hectors grave / Her hory heares and teares" (510-11, 512–14). Such viscerally charged details, crudely phrased yet poignant, evoke mourning ritual; indeed, the narrator calls her hair and tears "poore offrings" (514) to the dead. These gravesite images

compel the reader to experience the mother's physical and emotional intimacy with the dead bodies of her sons. The naming of Hector and the emphasis on Hecuba's loss of Hector brings to mind her famous son's glory, now crushed to dust along with Troy. The staging of this scene reveals Hecuba to the reader just before Ulysses intrudes upon her grief. Ulysses is described as "voyd of care" when he "pull[s] her thence" (511–12). In contrast to Ulysses' lack of empathy, other characters, both mortal and immortal, are moved by Hecuba's suffering and therefore function as models of care, feeling response, and affective resonance with the mourning queen.

Throughout the poem, Golding's narrator guides the reader to privilege the feminine ethic of care above all; the women are shown to be the victims of "careless" men who commit acts of outrageous violence against women, children, and the gods. As Hecuba's story continues, the focus turns to her grief over the deaths of two more children, who are killed by men greedy for honor in one case and gold in the other. Just after the account of how Hecuba is pulled from Hector's grave, the narrator introduces another son, the "little infant Polydore" (518), who was sent to be fostered in Thrace at the start of the war. He reveals that the "wicked king of Thrace / Did cut his nurcechylds weazant . . . and threw him also in the sea" (522–23, 525). The homely word "nurcechyld" suggests the connection of an infant with its mother's body through nursing. "Weazant," a rather colorful, old-fashioned word in sixteenth-century English, is dialect for the throat or windpipe (the sound of "wheezing" is in the word). The language calls attention to the tenderness and youth of the child and to the wickedness of his murderer, preparing the reader for Hecuba's discovery of his body.

Yet the first extended scene of child loss occurs between mother and daughter, when the ghost of Achilles demands to be honored in Thrace through the sacrifice of Polyxene. The shocking nature of the sacrifice and the harrowing scenes in which the daughter is taken from her mother's lap and then killed before the Greek warriors are displayed movingly through Golding's rhetoric, intensifying the reader's emotional connection to Hecuba. The reader then witnesses the Trojan women bringing Polyxene's body to Hecuba and hears the mother's lamentation over her daughter's still bleeding body. The complement of image and speech creates a very deliberate dramatization of the scene; the rhetorical effects are visually specific and attuned to mourning rites. The scene is introduced with the women taking up the body of Polyxene, calling to mind the losses of

the Trojan house: "moorning reckened / King Priams children, and what blood that house alone had shed" (574–75). They sigh for the unfortunate daughter, but the narrator shifts the focus to Hecuba at that point and uses direct address: "they syghed eeke for thee / Who late wart Priams wyfe, whoo late wart counted for to bee / The flowre of Asia in his flowre, and Queene of moothers all" (576–78). The narrator's apostrophe to the mythic queen reflects his intimacy with her feelings; he empathizes, too, with the women's sighs and with their sense of the enormity of their queen's loss. Because they, too, are bereaved women, mothers and daughters, they are present to bear feeling witness to a queen's lot in wartime. They watch Hecuba weep, kiss her daughter's mouth, stain her hair in the "jellyed blood" of her wound (588), and rent her breasts. The physicality of Hecuba's maternal lament and the sorrowful spectatorship of the captive Trojan women are striking aspects of Golding's translation, reflecting both a sense of ancient Greek mourning ritual and an artistic arrangement of a lamentable scene.

Hecuba's agency is made apparent through her grief-stricken treatment of her daughter's body, but also through her voice. Hecuba's lament is the longest speech in the narrative, accounting for forty-eight and half lines (591–640). Using the rhetorical figure of prosopopeia at this moment is highly effective in generating empathy for Hecuba. In *The Foundation of Rhetoric* (London, 1563), Richard Rainolde imagines "what lamentable Oracion Hecuba Quene of Troie might make, Troie being destroied."[12] In this adaptation of Aphthonius's third-century rhetoric book *Progymnasmata* (Practice Speeches), which was used in Tudor grammar schools, Rainolde offers Hecuba as his example of *ethopoeia*, or prosopopeia, a rhetorical figure designed to place the speaker of the text and listener in sympathetic harmony with the character. He distinguishes Hecuba's oration as a specific kind of *ethopoeia*, an "imitation passive, which expresseth the affection . . . and motion of the mind." Aphthonius had used Niobe, another ancient mother who suffers the loss of her children. Rainolde's substitution of Hecuba suggests the greater signifying power of the Trojan queen for Renaissance readers, and at the same time the aptness of a feminine figure of woe for eliciting tragic feeling. The first part of the speech universalizes the fall of mighty kingdoms and reversals in fortune, then shifts to Hecuba's wounded heart and loss of Hector, and finally gives way to a rhetoric of bald pathos: the words "woe" and "doleful" resound throughout the latter half of the oration.

When Golding's Hecuba laments, "O daughter, thou art dead and gone. I see / Thy wound which at the verry hart strikes mee as well as thee" (592–93), she gives voice to the resonant emotional, even physiological, undercurrents of empathy, or the "vicarious, spontaneous sharing of affect," as Suzanne Keen defines it.[13] In the image of the double wound, the reader is called upon to feel the emotional resonance between the feeling bodies of mother and daughter, and to feel empathy for Hecuba's traumatic experience. She weeps into Polyxene's wound, which joins the figures of tears, heart, and wound into an expressive continuum. This layered scene of empathetic witnessing and bereavement suggests a model of response that is not unlike what one encounters in formulations of audience/reader response in Renaissance drama, rhetoric books, and arts treatises. Attention to pathos—feeling responses to fictional experiences of characters—was an integral aspect of Renaissance rhetoric and art theory, inherited from classical antiquity. At its root, the empathetic response mirrors the emotions and physical expressiveness a character witnesses in another character; similarly, in the spectator/reader's encounter with the work of art, there is a fundamental mirroring process that occurs. Emotional resonance is at the very heart of the reader's imaginative experience of literature. Hecuba's tragic maternity represents a case of intensified feeling that emerges from violence done to the mother-child bond.

The final sections of Golding's translation depict Hecuba's discovery of Polydore's body, her revenge, and her metamorphosis. Hecuba suffers loss upon loss—Troy, Priam, her countless children—but it is the crushing loss of her last child, Polydore, that inspires a grief so fierce it gives rise not to lament, but rather to stunned silence. Out of that profound silence, wrath and revenge are born. While Hecuba's voice is an intimate signature, a conveyor of agency, emotion, and presence within the narrative, silence is the necessary medium for generating action. With the murder of Polydore, a child no more than ten years old, Hecuba has no words; her grief is absolute; it is time for action. The extremity of maternal grief pushes Hecuba beyond the normal bounds of femininity, even humanity, and into metamorphosis. Golding recounts how Hecuba draws near the sea to wash the blood from her daughter's wounds and face; suddenly, she catches sight of her son's body. Golding's image of the body focuses on its wounds and re-creates the violent action that made those wounds: She "the carkesse sawe, / And eeke the myghty wounds at which the Tyrants swoord went thurrow" (643–44). The women shriek,

but Hecuba "was dumb for sorrow"; she "stood astonyed leeke / As if shee had beene stone" (645, 647–48). Her tears devour her heart and her speech; in this moment, for Golding, she is reminiscent of Niobe, which he linguistically marks through the words "astonyed" and "stone."

Hecuba gazes upon her son's face and then his wounds, just as she did with her daughter. The image of a mother gazing at a child's face humanizes the encounter in a particularly moving way. There is no returned gaze; instead, the mother's eyes are compelled to turn to wounds on her child's body. For emphasis, Golding writes, "Sumtymes his woundes, (his woundes I say) shee specially behilld" (651). Again, there is the sense of Hecuba's wounded maternity: her child's wounds are her own, and her maternal nurturance and care have been violated. Embedded in Ovid's poem, too, and conveyed only implicitly in Golding's Elizabethan translation is a sense of horror peculiar to the ancients at the prospect of so many bonds and laws being torn asunder at once: the premature killing of a youth, the violating of hospitality (guest-friendship) laws, the dishonoring of a fostering agreement, the cutting off of a royal line.

Grief, wrath, and vengefulness arise almost as a single fiery passion within the mother's heart as she gazes upon the gaping wounds in Polydore's body. Golding describes Hecuba at this moment in terms reminiscent of avenging warriors in classical epic: "shee armd her selfe and furnisht her with ire" (652). No longer a heartbroken, aged, helpless queen, she rises up, her heart "fully set on fyre" (653), a "princely" (660) avenger and, figuratively, a bereaved, maddened lioness hunting her prey. Golding follows Ovid in depicting a double internal metamorphosis in Hecuba, which gives agency to the mourning mother. Yet it is telling that Golding calls Hecuba "queen" three times in this passage, whereas Ovid called her queen only once. For Golding, Hecuba clearly has reclaimed her innate nobility and royal authority through revenge. The revenge is fueled by her wounded maternity and her heroic anger at the savage injustice done her and her child. The revenge is as viscerally charged in its description as the mother's bodily expressions of grief were.

Yet a notable feature of the revenge is that Hecuba is not alone. She is in the company of the Trojan women, whose empathy for the queen drive them to "succor" her in her revenge. Hecuba calls to them: "Streyght calling out for succor to the wyves of Troy at hand" (672), and they join her in revenge. Together, they scratch out Polymestor's eyes. Hecuba goes further, though: "Shee thrust her

fingars in as farre as could bee, and did bore / Not now his eyes (for why his eyes were pulled out before) / But bothe the places of the eyes berayd with wicked blood" (675–77). The excessiveness of the punishment wrecked upon Polymestor's body is clear. The wounded gaze—or the mother's gaze, full of her child's wounds—is paid back not only with the gauging out of the eyes but with trauma done to the tyrant's eye sockets, which are stained with his own "wicked blood" (677). In the classical world, eyes were associated with children; thus, the eye sockets figuratively stand for wombs, the "places" of the children. Hecuba figuratively destroys Polymestor's line.[14]

Hecuba's metamorphosis is fully realized when she reacts to the stones thrown by the Thracians at her and the Trojan women. She runs at a stone, worries it between her teeth, and then starts barking. Golding does not name her new form, but gives disturbing details that render her canine transformation pitiable. Her revenge done, she then is left "howling in the feeldes of Thrace" (685). No agent of the metamorphosis is given. The change in form physicalizes Hecuba's dogged quality in pursuing revenge, and degrades her, particularly because her grieving self lingers within the new form: "Long myndfull of her former illes, shee sadly for the same" (684) is left to howl in a foreign land.

The gods are the ultimate spectators in Golding's Ovidian tale of metamorphosis. The gods bear witness to Hecuba's tragedy: "her lot," Golding writes, "Did move even all the Goddes to ruthe" (686–87). Her "lot" is her fate; and the response modelled by the gods to such a fate is "ruthe," or sorrow, compassion, and grief. The word also means remorse, which carries the subtle implication that the gods have been involved in the making of Hecuba's fate, which led ultimately to revenge and metamorphosis. The incorporation of an audience into scenes from Hecuba's legend is one of the distinguishing marks of Ovid's tale, for the sense of community, of emotionally involved, watching spectators, calls for a feeling response from the reader. The emotions are engaged as the reader looks through the eyes of the poem's narrator and through the feeling gaze of the poem's spectators. The dramatic arrangement of Hecuba's legend is in itself a cue to the deep feeling response desired by Golding as he worked to translate Ovid's tale. Golding reanimated for an English audience a classical figure of extreme maternal loss who is represented without benefit of illustrations as a feeling body in relation to the bodies of her children, who is given agency through voice, lamentation, and revenge, and who inspires empathetic resonance in

the reader. Golding's translation ultimately upholds a feminine ethic of care in the face of masculine brutality and treachery. The narrative implicitly argues that without the nurturance of care, the world becomes a graveyard, mothers are bereft of their children, and acts of justice can only be sought through vengeance. Hecuba's story, as seen through Golding's translation, suggests that care-giving is the hallmark of the human, a touchstone of morality, and the ground of familial love and communal justice.

Some years later, Shakespeare would invoke Hecuba in a tragedy that turns the stage's world into a grave, and Hecuba would serve in that famous play, *Hamlet,* as "a symbol of the moving power of tragedy."[15] Hecuba appears as the culminating image in the Player's recitation of Aeneas's tale to Dido. Before an audience of Hamlet, Polonius, and others, he describes her as grief-stricken, facing the death of Priam and the burning of Troy. Her tragic maternity is subtly woven into this image, as her "*lank and all-o'erteemèd loins*" (2.2.446) suggests.[16] When the Player recounts Hecuba's grief and "*instant burst of clamour*" (453) as she watches Pyrrhus slaughter her husband, his face changes color, he speaks brokenly, and sheds tears for her, even as he is imagines the "*burning eyes of heaven*" weeping (455). These lines are reminiscent of the conclusion of Golding's translation of Hecuba's tale. But in Shakespeare's play, the empathetic narrator (the Player) literally sheds tears for Hecuba, and then thinks, as Golding's narrator does, of a greater audience moved by the plight of Hecuba. The Player speaks of "*passion in the gods*" (456), invoking the gods as the ultimate audience to human tragedy. Hamlet is fascinated by Hecuba's power to generate empathy. He pauses to consider the mysterious process of emotional mirroring between Hecuba, a mythic character, and the Player: "What's Hecuba to him, or he to her / That he should weep for her?" (494–95). It is significant that this question—the ultimate question about the relationship between art and audience—involves Hecuba and that it should arise in a tragic work of art. In most versions of Hecuba's legend, her passions are portrayed in the extreme, figured through iconic moments in her narrative that represent her strong feeling responses to tragic circumstances, particularly those involving her children, and there are witnesses, as in Golding's Ovidian translation of the poem, who are moved by her suffering. The empathy generated by her image was recognized by Renaissance writers and visual artists who took Hecuba as a feminine figure of grief, loss, and of tragedy itself. The myth of Hecuba, however, derives mainly from Ovid, and before

him, Euripides, and that myth discloses the sufferings of a mother subjected to the loss of her many children to untimely deaths. The rhetorical achievement of Golding's poem lies in its poetics of empathy. Simply stated, in the figure of a grieving mother, readers of all kinds, male and female, aristocratic and common, are made to feel the tragic consequences for women who are subjected to the violent and treacherous actions committed by "careless" men.

Notes

1. *Ovid's Metamorphoses; The Arthur Golding Translation of 1567*, ed. John Frederick Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2000). All subsequent quotations from the Golding translation refer to this edition.
2. Seven more editions of Golding's *Metamorphoses* were printed in the 50 years that followed its first appearance in print. Prior to Golding, William Caxton completed a translation of Ovid's poem into English in 1480, but his manuscript was not printed.
3. Cora Fox, *Ovid and the Politics of Emotion in Elizabethan England* (New York: Palgrave, 2009), 107. Scholars interpret Renaissance depictions of Hecuba in a generalized manner, as "the archetype of extreme unhappiness and misfortune from antiquity onwards . . . [H]er sorrow," as Judith Mossman argues, "[is] used to illumine countless other tragedies." *Wild Justice: A Study of Euripides' "Hecuba"* (London: Bristol Classical P, 1999), 2.
4. See Giacomo Rizzolatti and Corrado Sinigaglia, *Mirrors in the Brain: How our Minds Share Action and Emotions*, trans. Frances Anderson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006). See also Suzanne Keen, "A Theory of Narrative Empathy," *Narrative* 14.3 (October 2006), 207–36.
5. Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, *Gorboduc,* in *Drama of the English Renaissance I: The Tudor Period,* ed. Russell A. Fraser and Norman Rabkin (New York: Macmillan, 1976). The play was printed in an unauthorized edition in 1565; an authorized version called *Ferrex and Porrex* appeared in 1570.
6. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994), 20.
7. Ilaria Andreoli estimates that between 1530 and 1600 in Italy alone, around 15 million copies of illustrated *Metamorphoses* were printed. France and Germany witnessed a similar abundance in printing illustrated editions of Ovid's poem. See "Ovid's 'Meta-metamorphosis': Book Illustration and the Circulation of Erotic Iconographical Patterns," in *Shakespeare's Erotic Mythology and Ovidian Renaissance Culture,* ed. Agnès Lafont (Surrey, England, Ashgate, 2013), 28.
8. *Ovid's Metamorphoses*: *The Arthur Golding Translation of 1567*, xiv.

9. Jasper Heywood, *Troas*, in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies, Translated into English*, ed. Thomas Newton (1581; rpt. Bloomington and London: Indiana UP, 1960). All subsequent references are to this edition. Lizette I. Westney contextualizes Heywood's representation of Hecuba as a didactic mirror within the tradition of Elizabethan "mirror" literature. See "Hecuba in Sixteenth-Century English Literature," *CLA Journal* 27.4 (June 1984), 442–44.
10. Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, tr. Thomas North (1579; rpt. Oxford: Blackwell, 1928), vol. 3, 43.
11. Fox, *Ovid and the Politics of Emotion*, 13.
12. Richard Rainolde, *The Foundation of Rhetoric* (1563; rpt. Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1972), N1r-3r.
13. Keen, "A Theory of Narrative Empathy," 208.
14. Fiona McHardy entertains the possibility of this interpretation of the same moment of revenge in Euripides' *Hecuba*: "While the eyes are symbolic of offspring and the family line, his [Polymestor's] blind eyes in the play signify the lack of offspring and future hope. The light of the house has been extinguished for him." *Revenge in Athenian Culture* (London: Bristol Classical P, 2008), 44.
15. Tanya Pollard, "What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?" *Renaissance Quarterly* 65.4 (Winter 2012), 1063.
16. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Thomson Learning, 2006).

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Hecuba's Dream

Marguerite A. Tassi

I. In the Ducal Palace at Mantua

Bodies are hurtling out of chariots, horses rearing up, weapons piercing breastplates, warriors killing and being killed. This is the siege of Troy at its peak, raging across the ceiling of the *sala di Troia*. Along the walls, too, frescos have been painted in Giulio Romano's grand style: the Trojan Horse, the Death of Ajax, Hecuba's Dream . . . Hecuba might be a Renaissance nude but for the shadowy figure at her back, an omen, is it? A messenger arriving like a bird to give the fatal sign. In his hand, a firebrand is delicately painted to show a line of light piercing Hecuba's womb. Strange, how some have thought that Romano's visions of Troy were the *Iliad* brought to life, for nowhere in that poem does Hecuba dream. The painter must have been reading Apollodorus's *Library* and stumbled across a fragment that tells of how the young queen dreamt of giving birth to a fatal firebrand. Was it her utter vulnerability that moved him so, that drove him to imagine Hecuba as Beauty unaware of itself, the Dream, a delicate brush of wings, the touch of a hand?

II. Firebrand

In the time before Troy fell,
gods walked the earth, feasted at the tables of mortals,
made visitations through dreams.
Take Hecuba, for example,
sleeping one afternoon, languid, pregnant.
A winged figure descends from Olympus.
Alighting in her chamber,
he caresses her hair,
brushes against her back,

holds a firebrand above her lovely form.
She dreams of burning wood,
smells the cinder,
feels how strange it is
to give birth to fire.

After the prophet interprets the dream,
after Cassandra runs mad for all Troy,
the child arrives, shrouded
in ambivalence, feared, abandoned on a hillside.
For five days, he is suckled by a she-bear,
then raised by a kindly servant.
In time the child becomes Paris, victim of Strife,
in love with Beauty,
in love with his own ruin. His winnings
from Aphrodite spur him to thievery.
Troy is already ash
when Helen enters its gates.

III. The Past Is a Dream

Remembering the past is like trying to reanimate a dream, to make out figures in the whirling dust. Inside Troy, Helen laments, "There was a world . . . or was it a dream?" After years of war, trapped within the city's walls, Helen and Paris know their days of splendor are done. Crime and punishment have become indistinguishable.

IV. Crown of Flames

There is always another story,
another angle of vision.
The truth is, Hector was a firebrand too.
His tremendous body cased in flashing bronze,
he moved his battalions to the Achaean ships
burning everything in sight, pitiless.
Possessed by Ares,
god of battlefield rapture,
Hector gloried in his doom.

When Achilles emerged from his tent
he stood on the battlements overlooking Troy,
a terror to behold.
A crown of flames circled his head,
and his immortal armor, forged

by Hephaestus himself, shone in the distance.
His fury drove him into the field,
god-like, his greater fire fated
to devour Hector's lesser.

V. Fire and Ash

In Pindar's version of the dream, Hecuba gives birth to a fiery hundred-handed Fury who threatens to hurl Troy to pieces. Did Romano know this legend too? Did he see the Fury taking root in Hecuba's body, see its flaming hands bursting out of her flesh? Did he imagine in a flash the city burnt to ash? Did he hesitate as he painted Hecuba's Dream, wondering whether Pindar's was the truer image?

Figure 1 "Il Sogno di Ecuba" (The Dream of Hecuba), fresco, Sala di Troia, Palazzo Ducale, Mantova

Source: By permission of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities—Italy

Hecuba Laments

Darla Biel

Before the fall, I dreamt I birthed the fire
that burned our city down, so now these flames
are mine to own. These torches raining grief
and terror through our streets, I claim: on me,
the fate of noble husbands who fling the covers
from their legs, then hush us as they listen
to cries outside. They place their feet
upon bare floors and leave for good. On me,
the bodies of our sons who die in fear.
My own stood guard outside the gates, ignoring
his father's pleas and mine. Achilles' chariot
drug his corpse so we would see the dirt
and blood on him. He was just one of ours.
His brother, Polydorus, washed ashore,
the vultures circling around us as I wept.
On me, our ravaged daughters, too, who pray
to Athena for mercy that never arrives. My own
Cassandra was raped by Ajax at the altar.
She clung to the statue of our goddess long after
her faith in its beneficence was lost.
And Polyxena, a sacrifice demanded
by Achilles' ghost, rearranged her clothing
so she'd die with poise. On me, on me, all this.
I curse the quiet sea that keeps our victors
here long after our defeat. What grief
to bear the wails of you, my maids—the spoils
of war—who, shackled in cloth tents along the shore,
await your fate as slaves of cruel men.
Our lives are now assemblages of grief
framed stark between departure and defeat.

Cleopatra

"I was not I?": Tracing the Representations of Cleopatra in English Drama, 1592–1611

Andrea Nichols

Representations of Cleopatra in art and literature have shifted enormously over the centuries. Her ethnicity and origins have varied as much as representations of her roles as mother, wife, and monarch. Some elements and themes have recurred frequently, while others evolved as the context, author, and times changed. Similarly, the famous Tudor monarchs Queen Mary I (1516–58) and her sister Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603), along with their cousin Queen Mary Stuart of Scotland (1542–87), have also been portrayed in a wide variety of ways—beginning during their lifetimes, and continuing in postmortem reinterpretations that suited contemporary cultural discourses on gender and power. These early modern queens regnant and Cleopatra are similar in regard to their multivalent representations, and in how they raised troubling questions about female monarchy, sexuality, and motherhood given that their mere presence as rulers in their own right destabilizes patriarchal authority.[1] While much research has been done on each queen individually, very little has compared them together, particularly within early modern English dramatic depictions of Cleopatra. An examination of the first two English closet dramas on Cleopatra by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and Samuel Daniel reveals that the Egyptian queen served as a critique for female rule, simultaneous to the public debate on gynecocracy outside England by men such as John Knox.[2]

For English drama, there were complex political caveats to consider before portraying Cleopatra as a critique of monarchy, particularly the female regnants who reappeared in the Tudor dynasty.[3] For example, in "the first year of Elizabeth's reign," there had been a proclamation forbidding "all plays in which 'either matter of religion or the government of the Commonwealth shall be handled . . . before any audience but of grave and discreet persons.'"[4] Toward the end of her reign, in 1596, there was a decree by the Star Chamber that "no manuscript was to be set up in type until it had been perused and licensed by the archbishop [of Canterbury] or bishop of London. The press of any printer who disobeyed the ordinance was to be at once destroyed; he was prohibited from following his trade thenceforth, and was to suffer six months' imprisonment."[5] Both laws show the pressures that theaters and writers faced. The later decree marked the fluctuating political tensions that once again appeared at the end of Elizabeth's reign. Problems such as who would rule after Elizabeth were at the forefront of Englishmen's minds, and had led to the downfall of Mary Stuart.[6] As Helen Morris pointed out, it would have been "imprudent to make any theatrical reference to her [Elizabeth] other than . . . passing formal compliment."[7] Indeed, Queen Elizabeth's famous remark in 1601 in response to the Earl of Essex's production of *Richard II*—"I am Richard II, know ye not that?"—reinforces the importance of not eliciting a similar remark of "I am Cleopatra, know ye not that?"[8]

Because the law forbade theatrical discussion of contemporary matters, English playwrights often turned to earlier times or foreign lands as the setting for their characters. In the 1590s, in particular, one dominant dramatic theme was Roman history plays. Roman history was a familiar topic to Englishmen since the Tudor dynasty had used rhetoric and propaganda to link themselves to the Roman Empire, and, according to historical lore, the Romans had founded England.[9] In addition, the recent English civil war called the War of the Roses (1455–85) mirrored the Roman "civil strife" with power conflicts among several rulers "finally culminating in a beneficial unification"—the Tudor dynasty (1485–1603).[10] Renaissance humanism had helped to bring these classics back to the forefront of education and writing.

Why, then, was Cleopatra a particular choice of Elizabethan dramatists? First, classical history worked well to vent "anxieties, resentments, and grievances about current politics" since "the past could offer political lessons to the present" especially when "dangers

and disasters from earlier times could be seen as analogous to contemporary troubles."[11] For Tudor England, these "contemporary troubles" generally were a complex mix of concern about female sexuality and gender, royal authority and absolutism, and royal succession.[12] Second, any female ruler of ancient lore—Helen of Troy, Dido of Carthage, and Octavia—could have been used, given that the English people were "very conscious of their princess" Elizabeth and her female relatives, and undoubtedly would have linked a play with a powerful female protagonist to any of them.[13] Nevertheless, Cleopatra was a moldable female monarch with the ability for multivalent representations, seen in particular to embody "politics and desire," tying together "the notion of a woman's body and the notion of authority."[14] Her story could be reinterpreted in a variety of ways to fit any of the contemporary queens regnant, while still remaining recognizable as Cleopatra.

For instance, Cleopatra largely ruled alone, as had Elizabeth. Cleopatra had scandalous relationships with Roman men in an attempt to secure or advance her power, something more similar to Queen Mary Stuart, yet even applicable to Elizabeth due to the scandalous gossip about her supposed lovers and illegitimate offspring. Even though not sexually scandalous, Mary Tudor unnerved the xenophobic English with her marriage to a Roman Catholic, Philip. Cleopatra also attempted to pick the winning side or middle path in the political upheaval of the late Roman Republic, something befitting Elizabeth's context in the shifting religious and political situation of early modern Europe. Finally, very similar to the lives and postmortem reinterpretations of all three queens regnant, Cleopatra and her enemies had "even in her lifetime . . . already, several times over" remade her image.[15] With Roman writers, Cleopatra became synonymous with decadence, excess, sexual promiscuity, cruelty, and manipulation—all labels divided up and placed upon the sixteenth-century Tudor and Stuart queens regnant too. For example, Mary Stuart's childhood in the decadent Catholic French court made her appear doubly foreign to her Protestant Scottish subjects. Moreover, there was the debate among contemporaries and modern scholars that arose around her last two husbands, on whether or not her sexual desires caused not only her quick marriage to, but the later murder of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley and subsequent pregnancy and marriage to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. For the label of cruelty, Elizabeth's sister Mary worked passionately during her reign to bring England back into the Catholic fold, persecuting many people

and earning the epitaph "Bloody Mary." Finally, Elizabeth's carefully crafted image was slandered by others—both foreign enemies and English subjects—uncomfortable with a female monarch, as they gossiped that she was sexuality promiscuous with her favorite male courtiers and had cruelly executed her cousin Mary Stuart in 1587.

"Safety from these Ills Procure"—Mary Sidney Herbert and the *Tragedy of Antony*

During the sixteenth century, in addition to her representations in Renaissance paintings, there were ten tragedies about Cleopatra that appeared in Italy, France, and England. The four in England were the closet drama *Tragedy of Antony* by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (written 1592, published 1595); the closet drama *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* (written 1594) by Samuel Daniel, the *Tragicomedy of the Virtuous Octavia* (1598) by Samuel Brandon, and a closet drama about Antony and Cleopatra by Fulke Greville, which he destroyed.[16] *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) by John Knox, and the stream up to the 1590s of rebuttals or support for his argument, were all written by men. Therefore, for the Countess of Pembroke to become safely involved in political debates about female monarchical rule, she had to write privately.

The choice of closet drama as the medium for her ideas was important, given the political implications of her translation of Robert Garnier's French text *Marc-Antone*, because Pembroke portrayed Cleopatra "as a selfish act of dynastic self-destruction," sacrificing her children and throne for Antony.[17] The medium of closet drama kept the dramatic form alive while not placing the author's work before the eyes of the public, but instead in a manuscript circulated among a small group of educated elite. Private reading, though, could enter the public sphere through the discussion it sparked, therefore not diminishing the potential impact of closet drama.[18] In particular, the Sidney Circle, whom the Countess headed after her brother Sir Philip Sidney died in 1586, was known for their use of Senecan drama to explore "the issue of tyranny," and Mary molded her closet drama *Tragedy of Antony* in that Senecan style, which "in turn influenced her male peers."[19] Nevertheless, the use of closet drama as her medium of dissemination did not completely shield the Countess from all dangers inherent with introducing a critique of tyranny in a female protagonist. She had to still contend with the law not allowing any direct commentary upon the government of the realm, as it could be

damaging to her career and life itself.[20] However, as a high-ranking aristocratic female writer, she was able to avoid political damage by using translation as a deflection "of authorial agency by appearing properly submissive," even as her rank enabled her to have an audience for her writing.[21]

The applicability of Cleopatra for analyzing female rule can be seen in the numerous instances where textual descriptions paralleled contemporary views of the three British Isle queens—Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, and Mary Stuart. The topics *Tragedy of Antony* discussed were political authority, civil war, reason and emotion, succession, along with Cleopatra's love, beauty, wealth, fickleness, and her role as a wife and mother. Connections to the current female ruler, Elizabeth, are very apparent. For instance, Cleopatra had a "sweet voice all Asia understood" and when "hearing sceptered kings' ambassadors / [she could] Answer to each in his own language."[22] Elizabeth was known widely for her speeches and ability to converse with ambassadors in their own tongues. She took great pride in her linguistic abilities, as did her tutors and people at court.[23] Also, Cleopatra was described as having an "alabaster covering of her face."[24] Elizabeth, too, had a white face, thanks to liberal use of cosmetics.

The contemporary worry of royal succession in England manifested itself in the belief that once Elizabeth died without an heir (as had her older sister Mary), the country would be plunged into civil war by those claiming succession (as had happened during Mary Stuart's life), or taken over by a powerful foreign enemy.[25] Cleopatra's subjects too discussed the precarious situation Egypt held since she would not use her advantage as a woman to bring Octavian into submission too, as she had other great Romans before him. England held similar views, as Elizabeth could solve many problems through marriage by having a male consort to help her rule and provide a strong ally, and furthermore produce an heir and thus "safety from these ills procure / Her crown to her, and to her race assure."[26]

If Cleopatra, and by implication, Elizabeth, did not secure her throne, Egypt would "ruined low shall lie / In some barbarous prince's power."[27] Cleopatra's powerful enemy was Rome, as was Elizabeth's, particularly after the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570) declared her a heretic and released her subjects from allegiance to her. At times, though, Octavian and classical Rome also appear to mirror King Philip II of Spain, Elizabeth's contemporary, who similar to Octavian seemed to have inherited the entire world from his father, the Holy

Roman Emperor Charles V. Octavian, later Caesar Augustus, was described as "Mastering the world with fearful violence, / . . . As a monarch I both world and Rome command."[28] Philip II was also involved in violence in the Americas and on the European continent with various religious wars. Unlike Octavian's success at the naval Battle of Actium, Philip's Spanish Armada (1588) had not been successful in conquering his female enemy Elizabeth. However, as is echoed multiple times in the play, fear in England still remained about a possible future where "their people, charged with heavy loads . . . / Not ruled, but left to great men as prey."[29] Even with the connections to King Philip II, Octavian, the tyrant, could also be compared to Cleopatra.

For example, there was a moment when Octavian and Agrippa debated the Machiavellian view of rulers. Agrippa directly addressed Elizabeth's favorite theme of "having the people's love," saying, "No guard so sure, no fort so strong doth prove, / No such defense, as is the people's love," to which Octavian replied ominously replied, "Naught more unsure, more weak, more like the wind, / Than people's favor still to change inclined."[30] In comparison, Elizabeth, in a speech to Parliament in 1601, stated, "And though you may have had, and may have, many mightier and wiser princes in this seat, yet you never had, nor shall have any, that will love you better." [31] She had stated the same sentiments in an earlier 1566 speech to Parliament: "For we think and know you have just cause to love us, considering our mercifulness showed to all our subjects since our reign." Yet there was continued concern with her "dying without issue, [and] what a danger it were to the whole state." Elizabeth declared she would "marry as soon as I can conveniently . . . And I hope to have children; otherwise I would never marry." But she warned the members of Parliament that "it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head," as they were trying to do so by their demands, which was one of the complications of female rule: women were supposed to submit to men, the head of the family; but in political power, as queen, Elizabeth was the head of the state.[32] The *Tragedy of Antony*'s critique, though, would seem to be that Elizabeth should be careful with her words of love for her people, as her rhetoric was increasingly not speaking as loudly as her actions in repeatedly refusing to marry or name an heir, the key items among many topics in which she repeatedly clashed with her councilors and Parliament.[33]

While Elizabeth constantly affirmed her place as wedded to England, and thus a loving "mother" to her people, the *Tragedy of*

Antony has shown a concern with the peculiar problem of female rule, further emphasized through Cleopatra's waiting woman Charmion, who commented upon the Egyptian queen's apparent lack of true motherly feeling. Charmion said, "Our first affection to ourself is due / . . . Next it extends unto / Our children, friends, and to our country soil."[34] Later in the play, as Cleopatra persevered in her desire to die and join Antony, Euphron, the tutor of her children pleaded with her to "Live for your children's sake; / Let not your death of kingdom them deprive. / Alas, what shall they do? Who will have care? / Who will preserve this royal race of yours?"[35] These doubts in the sincerity of Elizabeth's motherly rhetoric, in addition to the fear that her continued unmarried state and lack of heirs would bring foreign rulers to England, makes Cleopatra—and thus Elizabeth—appear heartless, seemingly confirmed when Cleopatra told her children, "Farewell, my babes, farewell. My heart is closed."[36]

Samuel Daniel and *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*

Composed two years after the Countess of Pembroke's *Tragedy of Antony*, Samuel Daniel's closet drama *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* shifted the view entirely to that of Cleopatra, beginning the story after Antony was dead. As a mirror of Pembroke's play, Daniel too had Act I to be an entire speech by Cleopatra, whereas Pembroke had it to be a speech by Antony, thus continuing the heavy emphasis upon rhetoric and not action.[37] This refocus of emphasis to be entirely upon Cleopatra, and her interaction with Octavian, allowed for more focus on upon Cleopatra's rationale for dying, determining succession, and molding her image for posterity, as she reasoned through the courses of action, reflecting upon why she was in her current situation and what she should do now.

Daniel's play was created at the request of the Countess of Pembroke, who wanted a "companion-piece to her translation," while he was under her patronage from 1592–1594 as a tutor to her daughter.[38] While similar in topic, Daniel's changes allowed him to address more directly the heightening political concerns, since King Philip II of Spain had rebuilt his fleet after the 1588 Armada disaster, and continued to threaten to invade England. The textual constructions in Daniel's 1594 *Cleopatra* become more apparent upon noticing the numerous editions he made, with revision, between 1599 and 1605, then again from 1607 to 1611.[39] This highlights a continued audience and author interest in the topic and the representations

his play conveyed. While his original 1594 closet drama may have been useful as an initial venture into playwriting since the theaters had been closed for plague for two years, there are two other factors that spurred Daniel to revise his original work. First, in 1599, the Blackfriars Theater reopened, focusing upon a higher-status audience since the seats were more expensive.[40] Here was an impetus to refresh his closet drama for refined readers, into a more appealing form for public performance to a higher-status audience. The second impetus could be that in 1604 he was appointed licenser of plays, possibly placing pressure on him to adjust his play in order to not only prove his worth as a writer, but also be sure not to offend the monarch and lose his job.[41] It is interesting to note that in his pre-1605 revisions, he focused on softening "a number of Cleopatra's self-accusing statements," in her Act I opening speech.[42] These revisions imply a realization that Cleopatra was a recognized symbol for female monarchy and the problems that being a monarch can bring. Therefore, in order for his work to become acceptable for public production, it needed to be revised.

No matter the later influences, the first 1594 version of the play had Daniel using Pembroke's model of a five-act Senecan drama to the full extent, complete with ending the acts with choruses, albeit entirely Egyptian, unlike Pembroke's use of one Roman chorus. Under Daniel's pen, these choruses offered critiques of monarchy and Elizabeth—such as the much-feared chance of war and subjection under a foreign power after Elizabeth's soon to be expected death—and more frequently than *The Tragedy of Antony* ever had.[43] This higher frequency of concern and complaint within the chorus lines could be because the Egyptian choruses represent the English or Scottish peoples, just as their Egyptian queen mirrors Elizabeth or Mary Stuart.

For example, following Cleopatra's opening speech that filled Act I entirely, the chorus directly addressed the topics Cleopatra had mentioned: "And Cleopatra now, / Well sees the dangerous way / She took, and cared not how, / Which led her to decay. / And likewise makes us pay / For her disordered lust," since "This hath her riot won; And thus she hath her state, herself and us undone" because "she did not well, / To take the course she did."[44] In particular, "well sees the dangerous way / she took, and cared not how" appears to point to Queen Mary Stuart of Scotland and the rash decisions she made, in marriage and governing. The "disordered lust" of both Mary's remarriage to Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, once she had returned to

Scotland from France; and, shortly after Darnley's death, her capture by and marriage to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, not only led to further evidence for the impolitic nature of marrying a subject, but also to her loss of crown and country, and eventual death in England. On the other hand, Elizabeth remained single, but in this her advisors and Parliament reminded her that "she did not well, / To take the course she did." Elizabeth was not without passion, and her male court favorites, in particular the Earl of Essex, did give rise to scandalous gossip, and even danger when Essex attempted a rebellion in London in 1601.

The entire chorus after Act II debated the problems of pride, fate, and downfall—elements all relatable to the reigns of three Tudor and Stuart queens—questioning whether the downfall the Egyptians faced was a just reward, since "with the ruin of their [monarch's] fall, / Extinguish people, state and all. / But is it Justice that all we / The innocent poor multitude, / For great men's faults should punished be, / And to destruction thus pursued?"[45] Those "[t]hat so long rule have held" through their actions (or inactions) would make the Egyptian people "no more us, / But clean confound us thus."[46] Fears of civil war and revolution were also mentioned, but with a sense of destiny and stoicism, since the leaders, with whom the fault lay, "As we, so they that treat us thus, / Must one day perish like to us."[47]

Of particular relevance to the current English queen, Elizabeth, Cleopatra in a few places acknowledged her fault in bringing about calamity and the end of the dynasty, since "The Ptolomies should fail, and none succeed, / And that my weakness was thereto reserved, / That I should bring confusion to my state."[48] When the "the Ptolomies [Tudors] did fail," and Elizabeth died in 1603, it was ironically her enemy Mary Stuart's son, King James VI, who inherited the throne. Nevertheless, in several places, Cleopatra admitted that her "weakness" stemmed from her frailties as a woman, an accusation that Elizabeth also addressed throughout her reign.[49] Dolabella, her own lady in waiting, concedes that Cleopatra has done wrong, but "for what she hath been: / The wonder of her kind, of rarest spirit, / A glorious Lady, and a mighty Queen, / And now, but by a little weakness falling" for which she should not be fully blamed because if you "Take away weakness" you "take women too."[50]

Elizabeth, though, had spent much of her reign attempting to dispel the fears stemming from the view of her as a "mere woman" by using carefully constructed rhetoric to portray herself as something grander—a mother to her countrymen, a king in a woman's body,

the first English queen regnant who was entirely English, and a goddess.[51] Arguably, she learned some of these methods and rituals from her sister Mary's earlier reign.[52] Cleopatra addressed the efforts necessary even more so in female monarchs in order to rule successfully, because "interposed smoke make us seem more: / These spreading parts of pomp whereof we are proud / Are not our parts, but parts of others store." However, Daniel, through Cleopatra, warned Elizabeth that monarchs attract only "gallant fortune-following trains, / These Summer Swallows of felicity / Gone with the heat: of all, see what remains, / This monument, two maids, and wretched I [Cleopatra]."[53] In the twilight of Elizabeth's reign, this seemed to be a warning that those surrounding her were only flattering, fleeting courtiers who would swiftly "fly away" upon her death. Cleopatra could no longer hide behind smoke and mirrors, as time and her decisions had removed all of the elaborate rhetoric and visualization, leaving "nothing hid" with "the text . . . made most plain" to the Egyptian people. Cleopatra now had "no means to undeceive their minds."[54] Finally, a Machiavellian speech, similar to the one Pembroke's Octavian gave, warned how even if rhetoric had not won the people's love, neither would brute force—"Yet cannot vanquish hearts, nor force obedience; . . . / Who forced do pay us duty, pay not love: / Free is the heart, the temple of the mind . . . / No mortal hand force open can that door."[55] The message is clear, even if Elizabeth was getting old and losing the love and belief of some people for her rhetoric, becoming a tyrannical monarch would still not do her any good.

Daniel provided another link between Cleopatra and Elizabeth by portraying the Egyptian queen as having aged, since no longer "the glory of her youth remained," whereas Pembroke had made no mention of her age, but rather emphasized her beauty and the power it had upon Antony.[56] Daniel's Cleopatra instead recognized "my beauties wane, / When new appearing wrinkles of declining / Wrought with the hand of years, seemed to detain / My graces light, as now but dimly shining, / Even in the confines of mine age, when I / Failing of what I was, and was but thus: . . . / This Autumn of my beauty bought so dearly."[57] Daniel's emphasis upon the loss of her beauty not only moves Cleopatra closer to being a representative of the aging Elizabeth, but also reminds the English monarch that the loss of her youth and beauty, and therefore her desirability sexually by men, would mean a loss of power at home and abroad.[58] This was certainly true, since Elizabeth no longer had suitors in earnest after the Duc d'Anjou in 1578–79, and therefore lost a powerful bargaining

chip against outside powers and Parliament's pressures about the succession.[59]

With Cleopatra's age a more acknowledged element in Daniel's play, the issues of motherhood and succession to the throne have more poignancy. To Octavian, "for her children, [she] prayed they might inherit" the throne, but his imperial designs allowed no man, or woman, to have a power equal to his. Against such a mighty opponent, her children were truly "luckless issue," and "the poor of[f]-spring of" Cleopatra for whom the hope that "blood and name be links of love in Princes" did no good—Octavian killed Caesarian, Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, when his tutor betrayed him to Roman forces.[60] But, in a change from the unaffectionate language of Pembroke's Cleopatra telling her children that her "heart was closed" to them,[61] Daniel's Cleopatra still attempted to avert blame from herself by saying that she must die "my self uncaptiv'd, and unwon: / Blood, Children, Nature all must pardon me, / My soul yields Honor up the victory."[62] This seemed to echo Elizabeth's ultimate goal—an unwed monarch (uncaptiv'd), whom all must forgive (her Tudor bloodline, her subjects, and nature itself) since she believed to have earned honor and victory with her death.

Daniel was "cagey about the politics behind his companion play," but the politics were still there. For some, the fear of being caught and condemned—as Daniel was for his later work *Philotas* (1605)[63]—made writing politically charged dramas, pamphlets, or royal biographies arguing for or against the right of a monarch to inherit or rule too dangerous. For example, another member of the Sidney Circle and patron of Daniel, Fulke Greville, wrote a closet drama about Antony and Cleopatra sometime between the Countess of Pembroke's play and 1600. However, due to fears of it circulating and being condemned as treasonable by the court, he burned it by 1601, as the political crisis peaked with the Earl of Essex's attempted take-over of government.[64] Nevertheless, analyzing the representations of gynecocracy in early modern plays, particularly those about Cleopatra, provides further views on contemporary worries and critiques of female monarchs, complementing the public debates of John Knox and John Aylmer. Furthermore, later periods of political critique also had a complementary Roman history play: William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599), William Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606), Thomas May's *The Tragedy of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt* (1626), Richard's *Melissina, the Roman Empress* (1635), and Thomas May's *The Tragedy of Julia Agrippina, Empress of Rome* (1639).[65] It would seem that

Cleopatran drama, in particular, served a crucial role as a vehicle for social and political critique, given the queen's unique ability to address contemporary worries over female monarchs and the related topics of power, gender, sexuality, authority, succession, loyalty, and civic duty.

Notes

Grosart, Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, vol. 3, *The Dramatic Works* (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, 1885), page 33, line 36.

1. Julia M. Walker, *The Elizabeth Icon: 1603–2003* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 6–48; Mary Hamer, *Signs of Cleopatra: History, Politics, Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xv–xxii and 24–44.
2. For more on this type of literature, see Ann Patricia Lee, "'A Bodye Politique to Governe': Aylmer, Knox, and the Debate on Queenship," *The Historian* 52.2 (1990): 421–61. Also, Paula Louise Scalingi, "The Scepter and the Distaff: the Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607," *The Historian* 41 (1978): 59–75.
3. Until 1553 when Mary I took the throne, there had not been a female regnant monarch in England since Matilda I in the twelfth century. Some debate on whether Matilda was even a queen regnant. See Constance Jordan, "Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought," *Renaissance Quarterly* 40.3 (1987): 424. Judith M. Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule': Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 28.1 (Spring 1997): 101.
4. Sandra Clark, *Renaissance Drama* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), 2. Carole Levin, "*The Heart and Stomach of a King": Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1994), 131.
5. Robert P. Adams, "Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power Politics in Late Elizabethan Times," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10.3, Renaissance Studies (Autumn, 1979): 6.
6. Adams, "Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power," 13; and Jordan, "Woman's Rule," 426.
7. Helen Morris, "Queen Elizabeth I 'Shadowed' in Cleopatra," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 32.3 (May 1969): 271.
8. Ibid., 271.
9. Arthur F. Kinney, ed., "Introduction to 'The Tragedy of Antony,'" *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 330–31.

10. J. Leeds Barroll, "Shakespeare and Roman History," *The Modern Language Review*, 53.3 (Jul., 1958): 328.
11. A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to English Drama*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge UP, 2003), 175; see also pages 188, 165–66, and 120.
12. Adams, "Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power," 7; and Carole Levin, "All the Queen's Children: Elizabeth I and the Meanings of Motherhood," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 30.1 (2004): 64. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, eds. *The Myth of Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 9–16. Susan Dunn-Hensley, "Whore Queens: The Sexualized Female Body and the State," in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 101–116.
13. Morris, "Queen Elizabeth I," 271.
14. Mary Hamer, *Signs of Cleopatra: History, Politics, Representation* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xvi and xvii.
15. Lucy Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams, and Distortions* (London: Bloomsbury, 1990), 14 and 18–32.
16. Mary Morrison, "Some Aspects of the Treatment of the Theme of *Antony and Cleopatra* in Tragedies of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of European Studies*, 4.2 (June 1974): 114. Brandon's play is based upon Daniel's work and the writings of Suetonius and Plutarch (as did Daniel), and also focuses largely upon Octavia, and thus will not be examined in this paper.
    For the sake of clarity, I have modernized spelling in the quotes, in addition to removing the italicization of the Chorus's lines in Daniel's play.
17. Danielle Clarke, "The Politics of Translation and Gender in the Countess of Pembroke's *Antoine*," *Translation and Literature*, 6.2 (1997): 150 and 159. Victor Skretkowicz, "Mary Sidney Herbert's *Antonius*, English Philhellenism and the Protestant Cause," *Women's Writing*, 6.1 (1999): 7.
18. Marta Straznicky, *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550–1700* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2004), 1–2.
19. Straznicky, *Privacy*, 14. Karen Raber, *Dramatic Difference: Gender, Class, and Genre in the Early Modern Closet Drama* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2001), 68. Clarke, "The Politics of Translation," 153. Skretkowicz, "Mary Sidney Herbert's *Antonius*," 13.
20. An Act of the Common Council of London (1574) provided some leniency for private showings of dramatic works. Nothing, though, would shield a nationally circulated printing (Raber, *Dramatic Difference*, 83).
21. Raber, *Dramatic Difference,* 55. Clarke, "The Politics of Translation," 153.

22. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, *The Tragedy of Antony* in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), Act II, lines 463, 487–88.
23. Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London: Phoenix, 1997), 14–15, 201, and 731. Frances Teague, "Queen Elizabeth in Her Speeches," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit, MI: Wayne State UP, 1992), 63–78. "Queen Elizabeth's Speech to a Joint Delegation of Lords and Commons, November 5, 1566," Speech 9, Version 2, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000), 97.
24. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act II, line 477.
25. Clarke, "The Politics of Translation," 154. See also, Levin, "'We Shall never Have a Merry World," 88–90. Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York: Oxford UP,1993), 38–40 and 97–100. Levin, *Heart and Stomach,* 41–43 and 127–29. "Queen Elizabeth's Answer to the Common's Petition that She Marry, January 28, 1563," Speech 5, Additional Document A, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 73.
26. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act II, lines 503–04.
27. Ibid., Act III, lines 597–98.
28. Ibid., Act IV lines 11 and 16. Samuel Daniel will also echo this view of Philip, as in his dedication to the Countess of Pembroke, he pointed out that Philip II was the "tyrant of the North" (see, Grosart, *The Complete Works*, page 24, line 34).
29. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act III, lines 319–23. These concerns were echoed in "Queen Elizabeth's Speech at the Closing of Parliament, April 10, 1593," Speech 21, Version 1, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 329.
30. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act IV, lines 168–71.
31. Quoted in Levin, *Heart and Stomach,* 146. For that same speech, see also "Elizabeth's Golden Speech, November 30, 1601," Speech 23, Version 1, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 337.
32. "Queen Elizabeth's Speech to a Joint Delegation of Lords and Commons, November 5, 1566," Speech 9, Version 2, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 94–98.
33. Michael Dobson, "He That Plays the Queen: Cross-Dressing, the Seventeenth-Century Stage, and the Afterlives of Elizabeth I," in *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present*, ed. Christa Jansohn (Münster: Lit, 2004), 138. John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2002), 1.
34. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act II, lines 351–53.
35. Ibid., Act V, lines 27–30.

36. Ibid., Act V, line 73.
37. Laurence Michel and Cecil C. Seronsy, "Shakespeare's History Plays and Daniel: An Assessment," *Studies in Philology*, 52.4 (October 1955): 569.
38. Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study* (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool UP, 1964), 12. See also, Raber, *Dramatic Difference,* 98 and 101.
39. Arthur M. Z. Norman, "*The Tragedie of Cleopatra* and the Date of *Antony and Cleopatra,*" *The Modern Language Review*, 54.1 (January 1959): 1.
40. Straznicky, *Privacy,* 7.
41. Michel and Seronsy, "Shakespeare's History Plays," 550 and 556.
42. Russell E. Leavenworth, *Daniel's Cleopatra: A Critical Study* (Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1974), 21 and 19.
43. Levin, "'We Shall never Have a Merry World," 88. Frye, *Elizabeth I*, 97–100.
44. Grosart, *The Complete Works*, 41 lines 222–27, 232–33, and 236–37.
45. Ibid., 60, lines 785–93.
46. Ibid., 92, lines 1699–1701.
47. For civil war, see Ibid., 77, lines 1255–56; for revolution, see 61, lines 807–11; and finally, 61, lines 812–13.
48. Ibid., 36, lines 101–03.
49. Ibid., 33, lines 20–24.
50. Ibid., 81, lines 1375–77, and 1380.
51. Ronald G. Asch, "A Difficult Legacy: Elizabeth I's Bequest to the Early Stuarts," in *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present*, ed. Christa Jansohn (Münster: Lit, 2004), 35. Frye, *Elizabeth I*, 96, 109, and 112–13. Levin, *Heart and Stomach,* 121–25, 128, 146–47. Doran and Freeman, *The Myth of Elizabeth,* 10–13. Lisa Hopkins, *Writing Renaissance Queens: Texts by and about Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots* (Newark, NJ: U of Delaware P, 2002), 12–13.
    "Queen Elizabeth's First Speech before Parliament, February 10, 1559," Speech 3, Version 2, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 59—"for every one of you, and as many as are English, are my children and kinsfolks."
52. Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
53. Grosart, *The Complete Works*, 33, lines 40–46.
54. Ibid., 41, lines 238 and 242; and 37, line 123.
55. Ibid., 42, lines 261, 264–265, and 268.
56. Ibid., 57, line 709. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act I, lines 11, 16–17, 34–35, 75–78, 80, 82, 111, 118, 120, 140; Act II, lines 461–494; Act III, lines 275–78, 355–57; Act IV, line 34; Act V, line 87. Frye, *Elizabeth I*, 97–100.
57. Grosart, *The Complete Works*, 39, lines 171–76 and 181.
58. Ibid., 80, lines 1365–1368.

59. Susan Doran, "Why Did Elizabeth Not Marry?" in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1998), 30–31 and 38–53.
60. Grosart, *The Complete Works*, 35, line 83, and page 45, line 352.
61. Sidney, *The Tragedy of Antony*, Act V, line 73.
62. Grosart, *The Complete Works*, 35, lines 93–95. See also, Adams, "Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power," 8.
63. Straznicky, *Privacy,* 14.
64. Adams, "Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power," 7 and 9. See also Kinney, "Introduction," 331–32; and Straznicky, *Privacy,* 50.
65. Barroll, "Shakespeare and Roman History," 341–42, argues that Cleopatra and Antony were not expected in the canon of understood Roman history, but was brought over by Pembroke.

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Grand Unified Theory

Erika Stevens

If the past exists only in its retelling, I'll tell you that I picture her with a Greek hook to her nose. She's maybe a little astigmatic, fond of

her library and matters of state. She's more charming than most but no more murder-prone than her forbears or than having a brother-husband might make anyone.

That we still argue over her life as much as over her death suggests that she who dies by poison can never be said to have surrendered, much less been bought.

An electromagnetic empress charged with positive binding force can't resist radioactive decay when time catches up. And history is written

by hegemonies of strong force that are often unkind to the smart, charismatic women we might have known as savvy or wily strategic planners—in

the absence of the word *whore*. Cleopatra is all arrows to me, a vector field of hypotheses to consider. It is not the tabloid-steamy sex

I'm interested in but how she used the binding agents at her disposal, how she wore her agency, and what she thought about linking work and pleasure.

Boudicca

How the Iceni Became British: Holinshed's Boudicca and the Rhetoric of Naturalization

Katarzyna Lecky

In 1548, the Dutch-born London bookmaker Reyner Wolfe devised a plan to create a chronicle of the world that incorporated every national history into a grand narrative.[1] Although he was a foreigner, he prospered in his adoptive home to the point that he became the favored printer of the three English monarchs Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. He hired native Englishman Raphael Holinshed to assist him in his ambitious endeavor—ambitious not least because Wolfe lived during a period shocked with the discoveries of new lands at a rapid rate, even as England and its neighboring European nations were all rocked repeatedly by political and religious strife as they too expanded to accommodate waves of immigrants. At a time when the shifting world was growing at a dizzying pace, the printer decided to concentrate it into the pages of a single magisterial work. Wolfe died before realizing the fruits of his labors, but Holinshed (who subsequently hired his own assistants) published a portion of their efforts in 1577 as *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.[2] This text was so popular that multiple editions were printed that same year, while three more editions emerged within the decade. Its influence reverberated throughout the canon of early modern English literature, as is reflected in the works of Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, William Shakespeare, John Fletcher, and John Milton, to name but a few.[3]

Holinshed's paradigmatic text, which shaped the character of England's national literature, offered its readers a surprisingly labile

conception of that national character.[4] This essay takes its cue from Wolfe's own status as a naturalized Englishman to study the ideal of naturalized citizenship at the heart of British identity in the *Chronicles*. In particular, I focus on its influential representation of Boudicca, the ancient Briton queen who led a revolt against the Roman occupation of Britain in first century CE. As the authors of the *Chronicle* grapple with a sixteenth-century nation wracked by its internal schisms, Boudicca emerges as an exemplar of how to successfully unite a commonwealth whose members have little in common. In short, the ancient queen teaches her Elizabethan audiences how to imagine a community built on nothing but its shared fiction of nationhood.[5] And this fiction is not monolithic. In the Elizabethan "Voadicia's" speech, the foreign/native queen naturalizes her subjects as British at the very moment at which she turns the crisis of cultural, ethnic, political, and religious difference into the ground of the new nation's strength.[6]

The 1577 edition presents us with a fascinating woodcut that corresponds to the text of Boudicca's speech to her rebel armies immediately before they go to war against the invaders. Unlike the great majority of the woodcuts in this edition, most of which are generic and repetitive emblems that speak little to the text's lexicon, this image is notable for its direct reflection of its corresponding textual moment.[7] In the image, a woman in an Irish mantle addresses a motley group of individuals wearing an assortment of clothing and headdresses, rather than the standard uniform of an organized military force. In fact, this group seems more divided than united: most of them seem to be debating hotly among themselves instead of listening to the figure about to address them. The anonymous engraver highlights this group's internal incommensurability by including in the left-hand corner two variously uniformed soldiers locked in combat within a tent erected inside the war camp. The tents, too, are of all different shapes, exemplifying a veritable mishmash of styles. This woodcut highlights the internal divisions present within the ancient Britons, even as they unite to fight against their Roman oppressors. There is no British army—no cohesive "Britain" at all—until a female sovereign creates one through her sheer rhetorical will.[8]

Boudicca's speech consistently highlights the radically contingent nature of Britishness. Before that moment in the text, Holinshed's account paints the natives of ancient Britain as a loosely affiliated set of autonomous sects, which were often at war with each other. It is only the act of speaking their common identity that causes these

various groups to consolidate into a community that is identifiably British. In this way, the ancient nation of the *Chronicles* mirrors the Elizabethan nation for whom the book was created. A host of critics including Brendan Bradshaw, Hugh Kearney, John Kerrigan, and Peter Roberts have recently forwarded a vision of early modern Britain not as an unified and homogeneous national community, but rather as a loose affiliation of archipelagic states each boasting a distinct culture.[9] These localized identifications effectively shaped the overarching category of Britishness, as the English Crown successively (and more or less successfully) consolidated Wales, Scotland, and portions of Ireland into its holdings over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The resulting identity of the British archipelago was effectively a bricolage of these regional affiliations, not fragmentary so much as multivalent. This identity shifted in accordance with its various cultures, with ideals of Britishness varying at times drastically from place to place within the realm. In short, although an Old English settler in the Irish pale, a Londoner, and a Welshman all may have thought of themselves as British subjects, what that actually meant for each person varied by location.

From this perspective, British identity was from its inception an inherently naturalized form of belonging, since there was no firm foundation of bloodline or ancestral land upon which it could be based. Elsewhere, I have spoken of the Roman foundations of this form of elastic, accommodative identity: as Rome conquered vast swaths of new territories, the people in charge of these new colonial holdings would adapt to the unique needs of their new subjects.[10] Foreignness was thus built into the core of the republican notion of naturalized citizenship. Nevertheless, this model had its complications, as transnational accords contained within them the discordant notes of inequalities separating the rulers from the ruled. In the Boudicca episode, the *Chronicles* explores this tension between harmony and dissonance in the ideal of naturalized citizenship that Elizabethan Britain inherited from republican Rome. Even as the queen appropriates this model of community from the Romans who have colonized her realm, she also denies Rome's power to shape her land and its people.[11] Boudicca's double move of adoption and rejection of Roman imperialism reveals the fissures marring the ideals of the Elizabethans who were at the time of the book's publication struggling to make the British archipelago cohere under a single crown.

The *Chronicles* sets forth this model of naturalized citizenship in its initial "Description of Britain."[12] This section explains that the

Romans were "a confused mixture of all other countries" who were united as a group in "name" only (2). The ancient state's identitive incoherence led to the moral turpitude of its members: when the Romans invaded Britain "wyth them came in all maner of vice and vicious living, all ryot and excesse of begaviour, which their Legions brought thyther from eche corner of their dominions, for there was no province under them from whence they had not servitours" (2). Rome's lack of a firm collective identity resulted in its constituents' embrace of a dissolute lifestyle, which the invaders implanted into each of their conquered territories. Immediately after it condemns the Romans, the "Description" then turns to an emphasis on both Britain's disjointed nature and its tendency to social irresponsibility. It explains that the Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Danes were likewise "but strangers" to the Island, who each invaded Britain and changed the face of its population through settlement (2–3). Like Rome, medieval Britain was inherently mutable; and this was to its detriment. The text continues that the fragmentary Britons refused to quell the atrocities committed against wives and maidens, especially by the Danes; they also accepted their enslavement by their numerous conquerors. Finally, divine providence was forced to send the Normans to rescue the Britons from their own passivity (3). In the first pages of this monumental work, the chronicler connects the country's ethical failures with its failure to protect its women. Britain's national character is at base feminine, and its national failures are marked by its neglect of its female constituents.

To this end, the *Chronicles* describes the nation itself in notably feminine terms. For instance, the "Description" concludes its history of Britain's successive waves of imperializations with the lament,

> Thus we see howe from time to time this Islande hath not onely been a praye, but as it were a common receptacle for straungers, the natural homelinges being still cut shorter and shorter, as I sayde before, till in the end they came not onely to be driven into a corner of this region [Wales], but also in tyme also verie like utterly to have ben extinguished. (3)

The land has been used by so many foreign armies that its native genes are inextricably immixed with those of its invaders. The terms that the chronicler uses are unmistakably sexual: ancient and medieval Britain was a "common receptacle" ravaged by incessant conquest to the point that her very identity was nearly lost.

The sole reason that native Britishness was not effaced from the stock of the British corporate body was due to the efforts of St. Edward, who

> permitted the remnaunt of their women to joyne in maryage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbandes & male children were slayne with the sworde) it coulde not have ben otherwise chosen, but their whole race must needs have sustained the uttermost confusion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons utterly have perished. (3)

The obverse of forced miscegenation is not chastity but choice. Holinshed asserts that the female survivors of the Briton bloodline bred with the "English"—that is, the hybridized populace of those waves of settlers—to keep British identity alive. In the pre-Reformation country, individual women rescue the feminine state by mingling with their conquerors in ways that would preserve traces of the ancient stock in the veins of the land's current inhabitants. The text thus offers a definition of native Britishness as fundamentally a blend of Britons and "straungers." The fate of Britain's future as it reaches back and grounds itself in its most ancient stock is in the hands—or, more particularly, the loins—of its women. In the *Chronicles*, national identity is always in process: it disseminates matrilineally while accommodating foreignness. Blood is important merely as a means of transmission. Purity is impossible and moreover irrelevant—what matters is the goal to make the alien native.

Citizenship in Holinshed's nation is therefore often constituted as a decision to align oneself with the land's women. Recognizing how sixteenth-century writers such as Holinshed crafted the ideal of Britishness as inherently a choice (the quintessential process of naturalization) helps explain the vexed nature of Renaissance citizenship noted by many recent critics.[13] The trajectory of the naturalized citizen is the inverse of its native-born counterpart: whereas the citizen is the product of an individual body's projection into the impersonal sphere of political belonging (a move so impersonal, in fact, that Jacques Rancière describes the resulting subject as nonhuman), the person who embraces a new affiliation leaves behind the general political category into which she was born and approaches citizenship on her own terms, and in profoundly individualized ways.[14] In this way, she counteracts the disenchantment with the classical definitions of republican citizenship that many British

authors borrowed from ancient Rome. This model of civic leadership recognizes the real-world inevitability of political inequality and labors to rectify it.

In republican thought, a citizen's freedom is defined "not as the absence of interference (the classical liberal definition) but as nondomination."[15] Roman republican theories of government see the potential for abuse of power by the ruling class and urge that rulers uphold personal standards of morality no less than they adhere to public standards of justice.[16] In classical republican thought this moral fortitude is crucial to a sovereign's identification with his citizenry. Mutual moral ground establishes a deep commonality between ruler and ruled, and knits a community together despite its differences and inequalities. This process results in a body politic unified by virtue of its shared beliefs, and ready to work in unison to uphold the nation. Rather than relying on heredity and blood to bond the *natio* in the tribal sense, republican citizens build their nation "through shared practices of voting, legislation, and law enforcement and through shared narratives of history and communal custom."[17] The circumstances of birth are thus irrelevant, while the morality of the individual citizen is crucial to the establishment and continuation of the republic. Rather than attempting to forge a template of citizenship into which everyone must fit, the republican community depends upon its autonomous members more than these individuals are indebted to their political system. In its purest form, republicanism cultivates a common identity grounded in difference, and recognizes that difference as the essence of its common ground.

Of course, the ideals of republican thought vary greatly from their historical manifestations in places such as ancient Rome, fourteenth-century Italy, the nascent United States, and post-Revolutionary France. In many of these real-world versions, the universal principles of citizenship devolved into exclusionary policies that disqualified many within the body politic—such as women, slaves, and men who did not own land—from enjoying the privileges of full enfranchisement. This has led to much disenchantment with republicanism as a viable political system on the part of liberal democratic philosophers. For example, according to Lupton the "literature of citizenship" negotiates a thorny "set of problems" having to do with

> the relation between the particularity of specific cultures and the universalism promised by rational law. Citizenship falls on the side of universalism in its promise of formal equality to those enrolled in

> its rosters, yet its definitive ties to some mix of locale, nativity, language, and custom as well as its constitutive exclusions of internal and external demographies bind citizenship to a persistent particularism. In this regard, I define citizenship as a form of limited universalism that equalizes its members in a new public sphere, but at the cost of specific identities: those naturalized in its ranks must give up prior loyalties and forms of affiliation, while those beyond its pale are often branded with the stigmata of a reified otherness.[18]

This pessimistic view of citizenship pinpoints succinctly the degraded republicanism practiced in many ancient and modern nations: in order to be part of a commonwealth, individuals must give up precisely what individuates them from the "People," the imaginary ideal of a group delimited by the political powers-that-be. In this sense, the reality of republicanism is as divergent as it is possible to be from its ideal.

In Holinshed's version of Boudicca's story, the force of the British form of naturalization that counters the dehumanizing force of the Roman *patria* is intensely personal and markedly feminine: it begins with the queen's outrage over the rape of her daughters and her own beating, and ends with the consecration of her body to this goal. The chronicler builds to this episode with a series of instances in which the Britons who come before Boudicca are defined by their treatment of women. In book four, chapter six of the "Historie of England" section, Holinshed emphasizes that the Silures (the Britons ruled by the king Caratacus) who lived free of the Roman yoke "enjoyed their wives children safe and undefiled" (38 ll.55–56).[19] When the Romans subsequently captured the Silures, the foreign aggressors struck at the core of British autonomy by striking at the Briton's ruling women, and "the wife and daughter of Caratacus were taken prisoners" (39 ll.30–31). Again, we see the connection of national sovereignty with the freedom of the female selves within that nation.

As Britain's liberty is marked by the liberty of its women, British women also have the power to cause the downfall of male sovereigns: Caratacus escapes the Romans and commits "his person under the assurance and trust of Cartemandus queene of the Brigants, [but] was by hir delivered into the hands of the Romans" (39 ll.32–35).[20] The chronicler also highlights the Britons' concurrent respect for the women found within the Roman patriarchy embedded in Britain: when the captive Caratacus sues for mercy from the Emperor Claudius (which is granted), he and his brethren turn to

Empress Agrippa, "whom they reverenced with the like praise and thanks as they had doone before to the emperour" (39 ll.31–33). The ancient Britons are so accustomed to valuing feminine sovereignty that they award it the same deference when they find it among their adversaries.

Throughout its description of the events leading to Boudicca's revolt, the *Chronicles* repeatedly highlights how ancient Britain's feminine qualities mark most clearly its rebellion against the law of the Roman patriarchy. For instance, when Suetonius takes over Roman rule of Britain, he decides to subdue the Isle of Anglesey, "a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels" (41). When his soldiers arrive, they find that among the "Druids" resisting them, "a number of women were also running up and downe as they had beene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe aboute their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands" (41). The Roman soldiers are so shocked by these strange women that they allow themselves to be slaughtered like "senselesse creatures," until their general orders them "in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women" (41 ll.44–47). They then "with their owne fire smoldered and burnt them to ashes" (41 ll.48–49). This episode foregrounds the extreme danger that these native British women pose to their foreign Roman conquerors, as well as the extreme measures that the Romans take to quell their rebellion. And these native women (and their men) are truly scary: Holinshed mentions that they perform human sacrifices to their gods in the woods of Anglesey, which the Romans cut down upon their successful takeover of the island. The ancient ancestors of the *Chronicles*' Elizabethan audience are at once purely British and utterly exotic, at once admirable and uncivilized. They have not yet been softened by the process of naturalization to come.

After the massacre of the people of Anglesey by the Romans, the Britons begin to complain about the double Roman yoke of military and economic suppression. They rally themselves to action because they recognize that "Where the Britons have their countrie, their wives and parents, as just causes of way to fight for: the Romans have none at all, but a covetous desire to gain by rapine, and to satisfie their excessive lusts" (42). Once again, Holinshed's text describes the conquest of Britain through the metaphor of rape. Virtue, meanwhile, lands on the side of those who choose to fight for their "wives and parents"—for their individual familial units rather than for a greater good. The personal and the feminine stand against the ideals of the masculine state to start the Britons on the path away from accepting

their lot as citizens of Rome and toward naturalization as subjects of the British "countrie."

This political unrest leads directly to the story of Boudicca and her kin. They, too, are misused by the Romans, as the chronicler recounts. Prasutagus (sometimes named Arviragus, king of the Iceni), the husband of "Voadicia" (also referred to as "Bonduca" in the printed marginal gloss that announces Book Ten, as well as "Bonduica," "Boudicia," and "Bonuica" later in the text) casts his lot with the Romans in order to protect his family. On the contrary, the Romans invade his kingdom, "his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters ravished, the peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaves" (42). At the same time, the Romans begin extorting even more money from the Britons, even as Roman soldiers colonize British lands in such a way as to either drive Britons from their homes or put them to use as slaves. The text tells us that the seas turn red; disembodied howling is heard in the theaters; and "Women also were ravished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the romans in feare" (42). Holinshed then immediately casts doubt on the significance of these portents, explaining that "we" cannot as good Christians believe such things. With this move, the narrator again exoticizes the ancient Britons by estranging them from his nation's Renaissance identity as a Christian nation. Again, he paints a vision of a country at once foreign and domestic, at once recognizably British and insistently unknowable.

The *Chronicles*' association of an alien culture with an uncanny woman portends social transformation in ways that allow the affective energy of revolutionary thought to remain in play. Revolution, for better or for worse, engenders anxieties; and texts that concern themselves with revolution often emblematize those misgivings in feminine form. *The Chronicles* offers an instance of how in literary ekphrases of political upheaval the woman represents both the promise of egalitarianism by embodying the presence of the excluded (those normally invisible to the world of the policy makers) within the inner sphere of governmentality, and the threat of disenfranchisement for those who have traditionally been privy to masculinist spheres of political influence. When a writer is sympathetic to the revolutionary cause, she is a nurturing mother; when an author's ontology is threatened, she is a menacing savage. Boudicca is a hybrid of the two.

If we return to the woodcut, we see the combination of comforting and hostile elements at play in her image. Regally beautiful and brandishing a staff, she dominates the image, taking up a quarter of its available space. None of her soldiers stand near her, although one gives her a sidelong glance from a face that hints at his distaste. She is the disconnected, even unwelcome, yet undeniable center of this woodcut: the lone woman who crowds out the mass of men around her. Neil Hertz traces the ways that the aesthetic of revolutionary literature often links "the politically dangerous" with "feelings of sexual horror and fascination."[21] He surveys a number of written responses to the French Revolution of 1848 that see "the meaning of [the] times" written on feminine physiognomy, literally on "a woman's face" (212). Over and over, Hertz finds in these writings "intensely charged passages that are about a confrontation with a woman, a confrontation in which each finds an emblem of what revolutionary violence is all about" (215). In these texts about the aesthetics of revolution, "The dangers . . . are indeterminately political, sexual, and epistemological. Enslavement, seduction, the loss of manhood, and the unfixing of determinate ideas of what things mean are held up as equivalent threats" (223–24). The figure of the outlaw woman mediates the emotional wallop of social upheaval through her unruly physical body in such a way that the anxieties of political unrest are channeled into a monumental feminine representative that may be analyzed, feared, blamed, and worshipped. Lady Liberty is an example of this revolutionary female colossus; Holinshed's Boudicca is another.

Boudicca's role in the *Chronicles* is to oppose Roman patriarchy by decrying her beating and her daughters' ravishment, by appealing to the integrity of the female bodies that are privileged conduits of revolutionary thought.[22] She channels the affective repercussions of her family's physical mistreatment into cogent rhetoric by staging their suffering as a microcosm of Britain's anguish under foreign rule. The text emphasizes her pivotal role in the revolt by asserting "the Britains were chieflie moved to rebellion by the just complaint of Voadicia" (42). Her feminine eloquence leads to her adoption by the rebels as their leader: her unrecorded lament convinces her fellow inhabitants that "she was most earnestlie bent to seeke revenge of their injuries, and hateth the name of the romans most of all other" (42). At this moment, the narrator decides to interject that "they chose her to be capteine . . . for they in rule and government made no difference than of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman" (42). This admission about the egalitarian nature of British government (which,

of course, flies in the face of the gendered hierarchy of the Romans) reveals the narrator's admiration for his exotic premodern ancestors and justifies the value of preserving the British bloodline.

The democratizing, accommodative quality of British blood—a trait that did not lessen with its dissemination into foreign cultures—was doubtless an appealing legend for an Elizabethan nation ruled by an admittedly intimidating queen set on expanding her English kingdom. In places like Ireland, English settlers in the Pale had immingled with the native inhabitants for so long that some families were as much Irish as English. This process of "going native" caused major problems for Elizabeth as she attempted the replantation of Ireland in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Her imperial move engendered internecine wars between the Irish, the Old English settlers from the time of the first conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century by Henry II, and the New English settlers sent there by their queen. One way the *Chronicles* highlights the resonance between ancient Britain and Elizabethan Ireland is by its emphasis on Boudicca's "Irish mantell," which appears prominently in both the text and its accompanying woodcut (43).[23] The narrator offers a solution to this thorny problem: the immixing of English with Irish blood should be read as a process of turning the Irish English, rather than vice versa. Furthermore, because of its inherently feminine qualities, this naturalization is antithetical to the violent subjugations enacted by the Romans upon their conquered territories. In short, the *Chronicles* paints English imperialism as the opposite of enforced Roman patriarchy, and it suggests that the Irish should welcome it rather than resisting it.

Boudicca thus stands as the uncanny embodiment of Britain as at once English, Irish, and feminine. She begins her rhetorical appeals to her multicultural soldiers by addressing them as her "lovers and friends," thus invoking an egalitarian vision of a community united in shared affection if little else (43). She sharpens this affective focus with her ensuing speech, which hinges on a sustained association of the British body with the individual bodies made to suffer within it. Boudicca equates Roman rule with "thralldome and bondage," and warns them "slaverie attendeth" foreign sovereignty (43). When she then admonishes the rebels to instead embrace "the customes and lawes of your own countrie," she is in essence creating the idea of one through her discourse (43). However, she does not call upon the expected concepts of heredity or topography; rather, the British identity that she invokes is grounded in the shared suffering of its constituents: she cries, "For what thing (I beséech you) can there be

so vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, sithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?" (43). She unites her listeners on nothing more than the harms done to them by the Romans, while painting those injustices as personal acts against the individuals standing before her.

Boudicca's concept of communal identity is so expansive as to be nearly meaningless in terms of classical conceptions of citizenship and nationhood. Nevertheless, the queen invests this form of belonging with significance by tying it to the material bodies of those who have shared in her personal suffering. In this way, she rejects the Roman ideal of citizenship, whose problems are perfectly encapsulated by Shakespeare's Brutus when he exclaims, "In the spirit of men there is no blood," before lamenting that the body of Caesar must bleed so as to keep the spirit of Rome alive. In Holinshed's text, Boudicca illuminates the anguished body as the invisible center of the patria—a body subject to Roman tyranny even after death, when the Britons must "paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcases" (43). She continues, "among other nations such as are brought into seruitude, are alwaies by death discharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doo still liue" (43). Her reference to the imperialists' control over their subjugated bodies (a bondage that reaches beyond the boundaries of lived existence) stages colonial Britain as a negative category of affiliation marked only by its members' material servitude. The queen posits the status of a Roman subject as a living death, in which the material existence of an individual is abjected from the spirit of the system yet crucial to its pragmatic operations.

Boudicca then turns her speech away from its early emphasis on the broken bodies of her assorted listeners, to a construction of a coherent identity founded upon its members' common abjection. She begins with a vision of the Britons as all "left naked, & spoiled of that which remaineth in our houses, & we our selues as men left desolate & dead" (43). She invokes the creature comforts lost by her fellow rebels to emphasize the fact that they all have a personal investment in revolting against the Romans, before establishing the nation as the physical site of their mutual revenge:

> We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean sea, diuiding vs from other nations, so that we séeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a seuerall heauen: we, euen we (I saie) whose name hath béene long kept hid from the wisest of them all, are

> now contemned and troden vnder foot . . . Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinsfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I saie, because we haue not doone it heretofore, and whilest the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) sticke together (43).

In this passage, the culmination of Boudicca's entreaty, the image she forwards of Britishness is remarkable: she simultaneously establishes the island as a coherent "maine" or sovereign territory, while asserting its exceptional quality as a unified territory separate from all others. Even as she calls it into existence as a single "nation," however, she also notes that its "name" had lain hidden until her articulation of it. Boudicca's speech gives birth to Britain as something that has always already been there, waiting for its citizens to recognize it. At the same time, the queen founds a kinship based on an accident of geographical proximity upon that found land, which like Britain itself has been extant but undiscovered. At its origin, Britain is eternal, uncreated, natural.

The naturalization of the citizen is thus attended by the naturalization of the nation in a double move that functions as an identitive tautology. Anyone who finds herself living off the land belongs there; and conversely, anyone who does not embrace an existence in tune with the British landscape is an enemy of Boudicca's new/old nation: the queen explains that the Romans weaken themselves by relying heavily on their "houses also and tentes . . . their baked meates, wine, [and] oile . . . whereas to us everie hearbe and roote is meat, everie juice an oile, all water pleasant wine, and everie tree an house" (44). In contrast to the Britons, who deserve to possess ownership of the island because "there is no place of the land unknowne to us," this same terrain for the Romans is "for the most parte unknowne and altogither dangerous" (44). They are the natural inhabitants of the contested terrain by sheer virtue of the fact that they make use of their landscape. This is naturalization through the everyday experience of the "countrie," and community-building through declarations of affiliation.

Boudicca succeeds in establishing both a British nation and an army to defend it. After her closing prayer to Adraste (for a poetic rendition of it, see Mitchell Wells' excellent poem in this volume), the queen leads her followers to attack the Romans at the same time that their lieutenant Suetonius is warring with the wild women of Anglesey. The Britons slaughter every person found within the

city of Camelodunum (including women, children, and the old and infirm) before repeating this massacre at London and Verolanium (now St. Albans). Holinshed stresses that London is not a Roman city, although it has a colony of Romans within it; rather, it is at that time a prosperous merchant city. The merchants beg Suetonius to stay and defend them, but he abandons them to their fate at the hands of Voadicia's army, which "slue . . . 70 thousand Romans" in their overweening thirst for revenge (45). They spared no one, and Holinshed repeats the rebel army's maltreatment of Roman women: "women of greate nobilitie and worthie fame they tooke and hanged up naked, and cutting off their paps, sowed them to their mouthes, that they might seeme as if they sucked and fed on theme, and some of their bodies they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes" (45). The same bias that grants importance to women makes women the prime targets of British violence, and the army tortures the female colonizers in a grisly form of revenge for the indignities performed upon Boudicca and her daughters.

This emphasis on the feminine character of the Briton's war against the Romans persists through its final defeat, during which Boudicca puts her daughters before her on a chariot, and rolls before "the souldiers of ech sundrie countrie" to tell them "it was a thing accustomed among the Britains to go to the warres under the leading of women" (45). With this explanation (given to an army that now recognizes itself as British, but does not know what that means yet), the queen continues to code the cultural mores privileging female rulers upon the newly formed nation. Of course, this rhetorical gesture simultaneously authorized the monarchy of Holinshed's Queen Elizabeth I; but Boudicca does not rely on royal ancestry to establish that right to govern. Instead, she renounces her ancestral claim to lead this army as a born noblewoman, instead proclaiming that she goes to war "as one of the meaner sort" to avenge her lost freedom, as well as her scourging and the rape of her daughters (45). In essence, Boudicca makes herself "common" as she sheds her Iceni identity to become a British sovereign. In this way, Holinshed's ancient nation is also already at its inception a commonwealth.

Although Boudicca's newly minted British nation was ultimately defeated, her Renaissance chronicler offers his readers an evocative portrait of a nation and its queen as a speculum for Holinshed's England. Of course, Holinshed was neither the first nor the last to write about Boudicca: he was preceded by the Greek historian Cassius Dio, the Roman chronicler Cornelius Tacitus, the early medieval

British monk Gildas, and the early-sixteenth-century Italian historian Polydore Vergil (*Anglia Historia*, considered one of the most important Renaissance histories of England because of its widespread dissemination and influence). Nevertheless, as the legendary progenitor and feminine model of a specifically British form of citizenship that embraced its constituents' diversity, Holinshed's Iceni queen pits herself against traditionally patriarchal systems of rule in order to establish the principles of a true commonwealth. She draws from her personal moral code to establish an eloquence that speaks intimately to the real-world experiences of her diverse body politic.

Boudicca's appeals reached a ready audience: authors such as Spenser, Jonson, Fletcher, Milton, and others all included her in their plays, poems, and histories. Of course, her legend continued to flourish from the seventeenth century; today, two major statues commemorate her in London and Cardiff, Wales. In her long afterlife, she has been styled variously as a pagan princess, a proto-Christian warrior, a courtly lady, or the mother of savages; she was quiet or strident, admired or ridiculed, desired or feared; but in any case, her powerful rhetoric touched a common nerve that connected her to her followers (in the seventeenth century as well as the first) on a deeply emotional level. In the Renaissance imagination, Boudicca is one of the forces driving the powerful undercurrent of republican thought flowing through British literature, which often overflowed its banks to flood wider streams of political thought. Although virtually all of the extant texts about the ancient warrior-queen written by Holinshed's readers are by men, femininity's undeniable power looms large in their canons and influences their conceptions of a nation driven collectively by its inhabitants, who in the *Chronicles* may all become British regardless of their nativity.

Notes

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1. Andrew Pettegree, "Wolfe, Reyner (d. in or before 1574)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004). http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101029835/Reyner-Wolfe; accessed March 1, 2014.

2. For two recent influential studies of this text, see Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer, and Felicity Heal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013); and Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994).
3. Holinshed's influence on Shakespeare is by now a critical commonplace, but he never mentions Boudicca by name. Nevertheless, Boudicca appears in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*, Edmund Spenser's *Ruines of Time*, John Fletcher's *Bonduca*, and Milton's *Historie of Britain*. For a recent essay encapsulating Holinshed's influence on Spenser, see Richard McCabe, "Spenser and Holinshed" in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012). For Fletcher's use of Holinshed's Boudicca, see Claire Jowitt, *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics, 1589–1642: Real and Imagined Worlds* (New York: Manchester UP, 2003), 104–140. For Milton's famous defamation of the queen, see Willy Maley, "The Fatal Boadicia: Depicting Women in Milton's History of Britain, 1670" in *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, ed. David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008), 305–30. For an extended list of English authors who mention Boudicca (as well as their variant spellings of her name), see Aleks Matza, *Boudica: Historical Commentaries, Poetry, and Plays* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2010), 14–15. Carolyn Williams, *Boudicca and Her Stories: Narrative Transformations of a Warrior Queen* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2009), also lists her various names on 44–55.
4. For an insightful reading connecting individual biography with the writing of national history, see Stephanie Lawson, "Nationalism and Biographical Transformation: The Case of Boudicca," *Humanities Research* 19.1 (January 2013): 101–19.
5. The classic study of this fictional ground of the nation is Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.
6. Although Holinshed's text refers to her as Voadicia (one of myriad Renaissance variants of her name), I have chosen to use the version that is currently popular.
7. Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994). Patterson also notes that Holinshed greatly augments his sources in his narration of Voadicia's speech (104–5).
8. For another study that recognizes Boudicca's instrumental role in the formation of British identity in the *Chronicles*, see Jennifer Feather, *Writing Combat and the Self in Early Modern English Literature: The Pen and the Sword* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 82–92. Feather emphasizes how "Voadicia envisions the Britons as a coherent people in her speech" (91). She adds, "the process whereby Voadicia creates British identity reveals the power of violence to establish and naturalize a communal identity" (92). She concludes that Holinshed

celebrates savagery as the means by which to form British coherence; my reading diverges in that I see femininity and not savagery as the defining factor of British identity as it emerges in the Boudicca episode.

9. There is a vast amount of recent work on the fundamental multiplicity of early modern Britishness. See, for instance, the excellent collection edited by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003); Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989); John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603–1707* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008); Claire McEachern, "Literature and National Identity," in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 313–42; and Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).
10. Kat Lecky, "Naturalization in the *Mirror* and *A Mask*," *Studies in English Literature* 54.1 (Winter 2014): 125–42.
11. John E. Curran, *Roman Invasions: The British History, Protestant Anti-Romanism, and the Historical Imagination in England, 1530–1660* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated UP, 2002).
12. Holinshed 1577 *Chronicles* (STC 13568 copy 1); page numbers follow in-text.
13. For instance, one of the most influential recent works on Shakespeare's response to republicanism, Oliver Arnold's *The Third Citizen: Shakespeare's Theater and the Early Modern House of Commons* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 2007), consistently uses the term "subject" rather than "citizen" to describe the Elizabethan commons. Furthermore, Arnold reads the republican version of representative government during this period as a form of "patriarchal tyranny" that mirrors the "political tyranny" of monarchy (130). Similarly, Andrew Hadfield's otherwise comprehensive analysis of republicanism in Shakespeare's plays deals with this political system's relations to the powers-that-be rather than with the important place of citizens within this economy: see Hadfields' *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.) John Michael Archer at once constricts and effaces the concept of the citizen in *Citizen Shakespeare: Freemen and Aliens in the Language of the Plays* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.) He reduces the definition of Elizabethan citizenship in Shakespeare's plays to a function of economic privilege in the city of London by arguing, "citizenship in Shakespeare cannot be understood apart from the city and the language of its material culture," while asserting that ultimately "citizenship expanded [during

the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], but it dissolved into subjecthood as it did so" (165–66). One notable exception is Julia Reinhard Lupton's excellent study *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2005), which expands the parameters of citizenship to include the commonwealth as a whole, and includes a provocative chapter on Milton's *Samson Agonistes*. For shorter essays that advocate a more inclusive definition of early modern citizenship, see Markku Peltonen, "Rhetoric and Citizenship in the Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I," in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, ed. John F. McDiarmid (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 109–28. In this essay, Peltonen reveals the tension between inclusive and exclusive models of active citizenship by analyzing "the centrality of eloquence in the Elizabethan notion of citizenship": a notion that ultimately privileges those who had access to rhetorical education (110). Patrick Collinson also focuses on the elites of sixteenth-century Elizabethan republicanism, but nevertheless asserts that principles of engaged citizenship cut across class boundaries. See "The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I" in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 19–58.

14. Jacques Rancière, *Aesthetics and its Discontents*, trans. Steven Corcoran (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009), 118.
15. Joy Connolly, *The State of Speech: Rhetoric and Political Thought in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007), 10. For another exploration of republican citizenship, which "conceives the citizen as someone who plays an active role in shaping the future direction of his or her society through political debate and decision-making," see David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 53–60, citation on 53.
16. Connolly, *The State of Speech*, 10.
17. Ibid., 85.
18. Lupton. "Rights," 53.
19. Holinshed STC 13569 copy 1 vol. 1 (London, 1587). Page numbers follow in-text.
20. In the eighth chapter of same book, Cartemundus marries Venutius (a Britain initially loyal to the Romans); but throws him over for his squire, whom she marries and hands away her kingdom because she "followed riotous lust to satisfie hir wanton appetite" and "so dishonoured hir selfe" (40). Her betrayal causes a war and turns Venutius against the Romans; many of her people—the Brigants—turn on her as a result of her divorce and remarriage and side with her rejected husband. The Romans help the queen, but lose the land to Venutius.
21. Neil Hertz, "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria under Political Pressure," in *The End of the Line* (New York: Columbia UP, 1985), 199–230; citation on 205. Page numbers follow in the text.

22. Jodi Mikalachki reads Boudicca as the embodiment of the foreclosed "maternal" medieval past with which post-Reformation masculine writers had to struggle in *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 118. She argues as well that "the figure of Boadicea registers masculine concern with female authority" until at least the rule of Margaret Thatcher in the twentieth century (117), and points out that sixteenth-century writers from Polydore Virgil onward kept butting up against the figure of the Iceni queen as they attempted to construct a British history of Roman origins (119). In this view, Boudicca is the abject center of humanist historiographies that desired to define nationalism in classical terms by aligning it with the venerable topos of republican Rome. Mikalachki posits Holinshed among the historians unanimously aligned in condemnation of the ancient British queen, and asserts that Holinshed, like Camden in the *Britannia*, initially sympathizes with Boudicca but ultimately places his allegiance with the Romans (121). For a counter-reading, see Judith Mossman, "Holinshed and the Classics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 303–17, especially 311–17. In her account, Holinshed condemns the Roman conquest of Britain (311). She also notes that Holinshed revises his source texts to showcase Boudicca's rebellion (and savagery) as driven by personal revenge against the men who raped her daughters, and argues "In Holinshed, then, Voadicia is the one really vocal champion of British liberty against the Romans" (316).
23. Scholars dismiss the oddity of the first British queen wearing an Irish mantle by explaining that it was a common symbol of simplicity. However, in light of Spenser's explanation of the dangers of women wearing the mantle in *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, the critical assumption that Boudicca's outfit signals no more than that she is not a slave to fashion should be revisited; but that is beyond the scope of the present essay.

The Queen Iceni Seeks Andraste

M. Wells

To you, I word the truth with wheels
and subtleties, with symbol and augury.
That hare drawing the divine from my hem[1]
carries the burden of hope and sway—
clashing boldly with fortune and doom
like usurper[2] and Iceni[3] blade. And I lifted
then, the veil of the mundane; so we might,
woman to woman echo priorities
of victory and liberty, through throngs
of painted congregants who tremor
in your divine assent. Singing with a dull sheen
upon their swords—the Iceni call you
to make a war upon a pantheon of whores.
Thus, to sacrifice I go, to promise you
a gift of wives to widows; ripping ripe
breasts of high harlots to apply them to
their speech[4]—letting them suckle from their
own Rome. Yet, I beseech you to tell,
will those tables of stone gummed with blood
not run thick enough? No? Then, I will unmake
those whoresons as they soured my daughters
and scoured my rights and pride. This sacrament
I will make with rancor to aegis, vengeance to
brand, and warrant to crown; all to the nascent
gnashing of teeth that clamors in the sweet-scented
baths of Londinium[5]—soon to drown in the din
of my flames and gain. I, Boudicca, claim praise
of those graves and that which is razed to echo
my own Empress, who not even *their* own Justitia[6]

could blindly scale. And though their marble
monoliths lumber high, these stones shall tremble
low, like cairns; as towers become their tombs
to usher out refuse. Yet, blindly they go, my kith
to paint meadows above rook and slavering Morrígan,[7]
who drags madness upon her hooks to bless her
contagion upon our minds. Blessed Andraste,
I see their nameless barrows rise under Albion's
sky, where Her shores have not enough stones
to cradle Her children's heads. But this sacrifice,
sold with my own blood—I am willing to make.

Notes

Andraste is the Celtic goddess of victory.

1. During a speech to her people, Boudicca pulled a hare from her robes as a type of divination to foresee the outcome of her battles.
2. The Romans.
3. The name of the Boudicca's tribe.
4. When Boudicca's followers attacked Roman settlements, they would often remove the breasts of Roman noblewomen and sew them to their mouths.
5. The Roman name for London.
6. The Roman goddess of law, order, and justice
7. The Celtic goddess of madness who supposedly was responsible for driving warriors into a seething rage on the battlefield. One of her forms was said to be a crow.

The Heart and Stomach of a Queen

Carole Levin

With apologies to William Shakespeare, Monty Python, and James Aske.

CAST
Sir Peregrine Bertie
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Francis Drake
Lord Robert Dudley
Henry VIII
Queen Elizabeth
Boudicca

SCENE I. Right outside of Greenwich
Sir Peregrine Bertie at his post. Enter Sir Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter. Who's there?

Sir Peregrine. Nay, answer me: stand, and unfold yourself.

Sir Walter. Long live the queen!

Sir Peregrine. Sir Walter?

Sir Walter. He.

Sir Peregrine. You come most carefully upon your hour.

Sir Walter. 'Tis now struck five and a storm is coming; get thee indoors, Sir Peregrine.

Sir Peregrine. For this relief much thanks: 'tis bitter weather and I am sick at heart when I think about the Spanish possibly attacking us.

Sir Walter. Have you had quiet guard?

SIR PEREGRINE. Not a mouse stirring.

SIR WALTER. Well, farewell. If you do meet Lord Robert and Sir Francis, The rivals of my watch, bid them make haste.

SIR PEREGRINE. I think I hear them. Stand, ho! Who's there?
Enter LORD ROBERT and SIR FRANCIS.

LORD ROBERT. Friends to this ground.

SIR FRANCIS. And liegemen to the great Queen.

SIR PEREGRINE. Give you good night.

SIR FRANCIS. O, farewell, honest soldier:
Who hath relieved you?

SIR PEREGRINE. Sir Walter has my place.
Give you good night.
Exit

SIR FRANCIS. Holla! Sir Walter!

SIR WALTER. Say,
What, is Lord Robert there?

LORD ROBERT. A piece of him. I'm so concerned about the Spanish I'm leaving pieces of myself all over court these days.

SIR WALTER. Welcome, Lord Robert: welcome, good Sir Francis.

LORD ROBERT. See you both the sky? That rain cloud with the enormous belly and what looks to be a crown upon the head.

SIR FRANCIS. It looks like the old king Henry!

SIR WALTER. And so it does!
Loud Boom of thunder! The actors act as if it is raining hard.

SIR FRANCIS. The storm hath made it dark. The old king hath disappeared in a lightning strike. Might it actually have been the king returned upon this terrible time that faces our good Protestant nation?

LORD ROBERT. No, tis but our fantasy.
Enter ghost of HENRY VIII.

SIR FRANCIS. Peace, break thee off; look, where it comes!

SIR WALTER. In the same figure, like the king that's dead.

SIR FRANCIS. Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Lord Robert.

SIR WALTER. Looks it not like the king? mark it, Lord Robert.

LORD ROBERT. Most like: it harrows me with fear and wonder.

SIR WALTER. It would be spoke to.

SIR FRANCIS. Question it, Lord Robert.

LORD ROBERT. What art thou that usurp'st this time of night,
Together with that fat, so fat, so very fat kingly form.
by heaven I charge thee, speak!

SIR FRANCIS. It is offended.

SIR WALTER. I do remember that I heard in my youth he was sensitive about his weight.

SIR FRANCIS. See, it stalks away!

LORD ROBERT. Stay! speak, speak! I charge thee, speak!
Exit GHOST.

SIR FRANCIS. 'Tis gone, and will not answer.

SIR WALTER. How now, Lord Robert! you tremble and look pale:
Is not this something more than fantasy?
What think you on't?

LORD ROBERT. Before my God, I might not this believe
Without the sensible and true avouch
Of mine own eyes.

SIR FRANCIS. Is it not like the king?

LORD ROBERT. As thou art to thyself:
Such was the very armour he had on
So gigantic only he could wear it.
This bodes some strange eruption to our state.

SIR WALTER. Well may it sort that this portentous—I mean enormous—figure
Comes armed through our watch; so like the king
This speaks to the war coming with Spain.
GHOST reenters.

LORD ROBERT. If thou art privy to thy country's fate,
Which, happily, foreknowing may avoid, O, speak!
GHOST exits.

SIR FRANCIS. 'Tis gone!

LORD ROBERT. Break we our watch up; and by my advice,
Let us impart what we have seen to-night
Unto our queen.

SIR FRANCIS and SIR WALTER. Let's do't.

Scene II: In Elizabeth's private chamber.

ELIZABETH. I've heard from my dear Lord Robert that he and other trusty men have seen the ghost of my father. There is much worry in the land that the Spanish are coming to invade us, take over our country, kill the queen—me—and bring with them the Inquisition, and after all—no one expects the Spanish inquisition.

The Spanish Armada—known as invincible—will soon be here at our shores.

Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham say I must stay in London where it is safe but I want to go to Tilbury and let the troops know how much I appreciate them and that I am willing to stand with them. Should I go? And what would I say to them? I just don't know.

Enter ghost of HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. England is in the worst crisis of the century—I discount all that happened during my reign—and instead of a king to deal with it there is just my daughter Lizzie.

Well, Lizzie, I've always known I should have dumped Katherine Parr when I had the chance and made a try with number seven for the spare to go with the heir. Then there would be a king on the throne right now to stand head to head with Philip of Spain. As I have long said, the most important role for the monarch is on the battlefield, and the battlefield is "unmeet" for women's imbecilities.

Enter the ghost of BOUDICCA.

BOUDICCA. Well, is it "meet" for men's imbecilities, old man? Go to Tilbury, Elizabeth, and talk to the people!

ELIZABETH. Who art thou, dread queen, to give me such expert advice?

BOUDICCA. I am the ghost of Boudicca, queen of the Iceni tribe of Britain, who fifteen hundred years ago fought the foreign invaders, the Romans, just as you are fighting Rome and the Spanish! The Romans came and whipped me, ravished my daughters, pillaged my land and my people. But we did not give up! This is what I told them.

I do suppose (my lovers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well understand how much liberty and freedom is to be preferred before thraldom and bondage . . . you do at this time (I doubt not) perfectly understand how much free poverty is to be preferred before great riches [when enslaved] . . . Therefore (my well beloved citizens, friends, and kinsfolk) for I think we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile.

Breaking in.

ELIZABETH. That's amazing, Boudicca. When I first became queen I told the people that "every one of you and as many as are English, are my children and kinsfolk." I knew we were kindred queens!

BOUDICCA. I also told them that I came forth not as one born of noble ancestors to fight for riches, but as one to defend our liberty. And I said that we had to determine in this battle either to die with honor, or else to vanquish the enemy by plain force. And I wanted them to know that I being a woman was fully resolved to fight, as for the men, especially if they were like your father Henry VIII, if they wanted they could live and be brought into bondage.

HENRY VIII. I object!

BOUDICCA. Your daughter is twice the king you were Henry, even if she has half your stomach!

HENRY to himself. O that this too, too solid and fat flesh would melt . . .

ELIZABETH. Stomach, hmm . . . that gives me an idea for the speech you have roused me to give. Thank you, Boudicca, I am heading down to Tilbury.

Scene III: Tilbury

ELIZABETH comes in accompanied by LORD ROBERT and the crowd cheers—all the other actors in the play and the audience too cheer.

ELIZABETH. My loving people

We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our selves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects; and therefore 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—no, wait, a minute, I have the heart and stomach of a queen, and a queen of England too! What's this weak and feeble woman business—we women are strong and powerful!

Everyone cheers.

Hurrah for Queen Elizabeth! Hurrah for the Queen! For the Queen!

SIR WALTER and SIR FRANCIS. We run to take our places on our ships and fight the enemy!

Exit RALEIGH and DRAKE

LORD ROBERT. Our thrise renowned queen, our Amazonian queen, is another Boudicca, who was once England's happy queen. Boudicca

showed constant courage until her death, and now her virtues are revived in the wonderful courage of Elizabeth!

RALEIGH and DRAKE run in.

SIR FRANCIS. The Spanish ships are all capsized due to our great English navy and the weather. Oh, so fortunate the fact that God, luckily, is an Englishman!

SIR WALTER. England and our queen are safe!!!

More cheering for Elizabeth.

The ghost of BOUDICCA turns to the ghost of HENRY VIII.

Old man, old ghost, begone as fast as you can waddle out. Our great Elizabeth has proved the worth of daughters and their abilities to rule!

More cheering as play ends.

The Empress Matilda

The Virtuous Virago: The Empress Matilda and the Politics of Womanhood in Twelfth-Century England

Charles Beem

Nearly a millennium after her chequered career as a female contender for the English throne, Empress Matilda (1102–1167) remains a decidedly enigmatic historical figure today, in marked contrast to the intense interest contemporary commentators paid to her tumultuous dynastic career. Caught between the vice of feminine virtue and the demands that compelled her to play the role of virago, it is both curious and provocative that a woman who fought so tenaciously for her destiny should be so neglected and misunderstood in a postfeminist age that has sought to champion the exercise of female power in history.[1]

Yet trying to understand the historical Empress Matilda has never been easy. One of the pitfalls of feminist history is the imposition of contemporary worldviews upon women of the past, with the result that they are sometimes credited with or assessed by attitudes that they probably would not have understood in the context of their own time.[2] Indeed, the goals of modern feminism would be lost upon Matilda, who viewed the world distinctly in terms of *class*, rather than *gender*. She was not interested in improving the lot of women in Anglo-Norman feudal society; her dilemma was to accomplish goals for herself that were not usually those that women pursued. To accomplish these, Matilda endeavored to build a reputation for female virtue to bolster a quest for the English throne that required her to behave as a virago, displaying the masculine qualities of leadership, resolve, and courage in her quest to take possession of the

English throne. As we shall see, playing the role of virago was not necessarily a disadvantage, but it needed to be deployed in a fashion that complemented, rather than challenged, a royal woman's position as a daughter, wife, and mother.[3]

For Matilda, this proved to be a difficult balancing act. As they have throughout history, aristocratic and royal women led complicated lives balancing family and dynastic imperatives that defy any simple categorization of their characters. Additionally, such efforts have always been viewed and analyzed through the lens of contemporary societal norms and mores that seek to define proper roles and behavior for women.[4] For Empress Matilda, life in Anglo-Norman feudal society meant that the basic categories for assessing female behavior were limited to the opposite poles of virtue and sin, of Mary and Eve. Much like her much more famous daughter-in-law Eleanor of Aquitaine, Matilda lived a life too complicated to fit neatly in either one category or the other, nor did she live in a society particularly receptive to the exercise of sovereign female political power.

While the challenges she faced are clear to us, what she thought about them is not; few of Matilda's own words have survived in the historical record. Other than various forms of documentary source material, such as charters and grants, most of the extant narrative sources describe her actions, rather than what she thought, or how she understood her place in the world in which she lived. The histories describing Matilda's actions were all written by men who lived a cloistered monastic existence, such as William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, Robert of Torigni, Henry of Huntington, and the anonymous authors of the *Gesta Stephani* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* These men were hardly representative of the society and culture in which she lived, and their works are imbued, in varying degrees, with the misogynistic worldview characteristic of the medieval Christian church.[5]

But whether they favored or reviled her, monastic chroniclers told the story of a remarkable woman, famous for her achievements, her indomitable will, and her fiery temper. She was born in 1102, the elder of only two surviving legitimate offspring of the third Norman King Henry I (r. 1100–1135), despite a plethora of illegitimate children, including Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who later became Matilda's chief military strategist. At the age of eight, she was betrothed to holy Roman Emperor Henry V, whom she married in 1114. The decade Matilda spent as Holy Roman Empress was the formative period of her life, with on-the-job training that taught her the complexities of church/state relations as she served her husband ably as imperial

consort, judging court cases, attesting charters, and performing acts of intercession, one of the most important forms of legitimate female power.[6] Indeed, Robert of Torigny later recorded that "the princes of the Roman court, well aware of her prudence and charming character, had expressed their wish, while her husband the emperor was still alive, that she should rule over them in every way," sentiments that suggest Matilda, even as a teenager, had developed rather virago-like leadership abilities.[7] The only failure in this otherwise successful marriage was the lack of heirs, which was, in all likelihood, the fault of Henry V, given Matilda's later fecundity in her second marriage.

Matilda's father also experienced dynastic setbacks that made possible her career as a female royal heiress. In 1120, Matilda's brother, William *Athling*, drowned in a tragic shipwreck in Harfleur harbor. Following the death of his first queen, Henry married Adeliza of Louvain in 1121 for the express purpose of producing another male heir. But after six years of marriage, Adeliza showed no sign of conceiving.[8] Following Henry V's death in 1125, King Henry summoned his widowed daughter back to Normandy. While a female succession to the English kingdom and Norman duchy was unprecedented, in January 1127, at his Christmas court at Windsor Castle, Henry I compelled his tenants in chief to swear allegiance to his daughter as his heir, in case he produced no further male issue.[9]

Matilda's designation as heir was spurred by two basic and complimentary reasons; her abilities and her pedigree. Undoubtedly, Matilda possessed the skill and experience to run a kingdom and duchy, according to contemporaries who gave her high marks for her performance as empress. But equally, if not more important, was her ability to forge a dynastic link between Henry I and his hoped for male grandsons. This was an important if not overriding consideration in the designation of other twelfth-century royal heiresses such as Uracca of Leon-Castile and Melinsende of Jerusalem, both of whom were later castigated as viragos as they defended their royal authority from husbands and sons alike after they had succeeded to their father's thrones.[10] Thus, the now 27-year-old Matilda's designation as her father's heir was accomplished in conjunction with negotiations for her second marriage, to 14-year-old Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, which took place in 1128.

Ideally, the geopolitical gains of a royal marriage were balanced by issues of compatibility.[11] In the case of Matilda's second marriage, however, geopolitics trumped compatibility; Henry I was undoubtedly multitasking in arranging the Angevin marriage, as he sought to

add Anjou and Maine to the territories his eldest grandson would one day inherit. Unfortunately, Matilda and Geoffrey were mismatched in both rank, she an empress and he a provincial French count, as well as in age. Contemporaries noted their incompatibility; both Robert of Torigny and Hildeberte of Lavardin noted her initial refusal to submit to the marriage, which brought a more negative dimension to her reputation as a virago.[12] After a stormy first year of marriage, Matilda left her husband to reside with her father in Normandy. However, after a nearly three-year separation, Matilda and Geoffrey were reconciled, after the English baronage reaffirmed their oaths to recognize Matilda as her father's sole heir, without any mention of what role Geoffrey would play as his wife's consort. Undoubtedly, this recognition was contingent upon Matilda reconciling with her husband and producing hoped-for male heirs.

It appears Geoffrey came to terms with this state of affairs, on one occasion even signifying himself as "the husband of Matilda, daughter of the king of the English and former wife of Henry, Roman emperor," in effect acknowledging her superior dynastic status.[13] In 1533, six years into their marriage, Matilda gave birth to a son, the future King Henry II, and a year later, to another, named Geoffrey, fulfilling the dynastic bargain she had made with her father. But Matilda never gave up her rank, continuing to signify herself in charters and grants as empress and daughter of King Henry, rather than Countess of Anjou, her married status. What this suggests is that Matilda appeared to be creating a singular representation for herself in Anglo-Norman society apart from her status as a wife and a mother, to advertise herself as a worthy successor to her father, constructing an image of female feudal power as she made grants of patronage and attested charters. From documentary evidence it appears that, for the purposes of her status as her father's heir, Matilda was representing herself as a single woman.[14]

As her father's heir, Matilda needed to find the means to create prestige for herself in Anglo-Norman feudal society. For men, this was accomplished by feats of military prowess. Royal and aristocratic women, however, created prestige by virtuous acts of piety, charity, and devotion.[15] In this arena, Matilda worked diligently to advertise herself as a devoted daughter of holy mother church over the course of her entire adult life. She was conspicuously devoted to the cult of the virgin, which had gained in popularity over the course of the twelfth century, and founded an abbey in her honor following the birth of her third son in 1136.[16] She was also quite generous to numerous Cistercian monastic establishments, which also particularly

venerated the virgin, as well as Benedictine houses such as Bec and Cluny, who remembered her generosity long after her death. Robert of Torigny offered a particularly vivid description of Matilda's success in creating a reputation for pious virtue.

> The same Empress Matilda demonstrated her wisdom and religious devotion to the present and future generations when she was lying ill in Rouen. She distributed not only her incomparable imperial treasures . . . to religious of both sexes, to the poor, widows, and orphans. She gave them with so devout a hand that she did not even hesitate to dispose of the silk mattress on which she had slept during her illness, but sold it and ordered the money she received to be given to lepers.[17]

Undoubtedly, these actions mixed sincere piety with political calculation, an area of legitimate activity that can be construed as acceptable for a woman of her class who was also the heir to a royal and ducal throne.[18]

Yet for all her efforts to create a singular identity, Matilda could not completely escape her status as a wife. While she eventually developed a working relationship with her husband, she was unable to prevent a rupture between him and her father, resulting from Henry I's refusal to relinquish Matilda's dowry castles in Normandy, which Geoffrey began assaulting in 1135.[19] On December 1, 1135, after Matilda had just become pregnant with her third child, Henry I died unexpectedly in Lyon-la-Foret in Normandy after a short illness. Norman succession patterns were highly fluid; both William Rufus and Henry I rode roughshod over the claims of their elder brother Robert Curthose and his son William Clito to become king of England. The constitutional idea that there always exists a king would have to wait until the thirteenth-century accession of Edward I. Instead, in 1135, as in 1086 and 1100, there was an interregnum, which only ended when a candidate laid claim to and was invested as king in what was essentially an elective process. While her father's barons had sworn to uphold her as his successor, these oaths in of themselves did not make Matilda England's next monarch.

Instead, Matilda needed to be physically present in England to lay claim to her father's throne. This she failed to do, while contemporaries offered no explanation for why this was the case. William of Malmesbury tersely recorded that Matilda remained in France "for certain reasons," while Robert of Torigny noted that when King Henry died, "the Empress Matilda, whom he had long before appointed heir

to his realm, was staying in Anjou with her husband count Geoffrey and her sons."[20] Given the intensity of her desire to reclaim her inheritance four years later, it appears that the most plausible explanation for her failure to bolt to London was the onset of her third pregnancy. Her second one had nearly killed her, which suggests that child-bearing had a particularly severe effect on her health. In the face of her inactivity, her cousin, Stephen, count of Boulogne, a grandson of William the Conqueror, stepped into the breach as he raced to London to secure the throne. After his brother Bishop Henry of Winchester secured Henry I"s treasury, Stephen convinced the barons, prelates, and representatives of the City of London to elect him king, claiming, among other things, that King Henry had a deathbed change of mind concerning his successor.[21] In the absence of any other viable candidate, Stephen was crowned on December 22, 1535.

Matilda, then, lost her English inheritance in 1135 not because she was a virago, but because she failed to go to London to claim her crown. It is worth noting that, following the birth of her third son William in July 1136, Matilda leapt back into action, assisting her husband in what was the most feasible task, which was subjugating Normandy, a campaign Geoffrey pursued with sustained purpose until he was formally invested as duke in 1144. In October of 1536, she escorted a troop of soldiers to Geoffrey at le Sap while in the spring of 1138 she locked up Ralph of Esson, a local lord who had not submitted to her lordship, until he relinquished his castles to her.[22] In these tasks, Matilda added to her virago-like reputation as she laid the groundwork for her desire to reclaim her English inheritance.

This moment came in 1539. By this time Stephen had frittered away much of the goodwill that had accompanied his accession; leaving the governance of England without the firm hand of King Henry; as chronicler John of Worcester put it, "during the reign of Stephen, the bond of peace was broken asunder, and the greatest disorder prevailed," as barons and bishops alike took advantage of the lack of firm royal control to erect unlicensed castles all over England.[23] More seriously, Stephen trampled the rights of the church, arresting the bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely on suspicion they were ready to hand over their castles to Matilda. Despite his earlier support for his brother, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who had recently been appointed papal legate, was a stout support of the Cluniac and Gregorian reform movements that both upheld papal authority as well as the independent rights of the church. The bishop swiftly held a legatine council demanding both penance and reparation. Stephen's

noncompliance set the stage for Matilda to cast herself as a more *virtuous* alternative to Stephen. According to William of Malmesbury, a chronicler sympathetic to Matilda, a critical mass of "prominent men" that may have included the Bishop of Winchester, offered to support her as a challenger to Stephen's throne.[24]

Yet when she landed on the Sussex coast in September of 1139 accompanied by her half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, she needed to present a personal style that would convey kingly qualities. But how far could a reputation for religious virtue go toward creating the image of a viable contender to the throne? Anglo-Saxon England of course had saintly kings, most recently Edward the Confessor. But Edward's Norman successors practiced a more forceful, aggressive approach to kingship. It appears that this Norman model was the one Matilda adhered to, but for a woman to behave in this manner was uncharted territory. While she remained a wife and mother, her husband and her three sons were in France, as Geoffrey continued to make progress in his own theater of operations in Normandy. But Matilda made no effort to imply that her quest to claim her father's throne was being performed on behalf of her eldest son.

This may have been a problem. Generally, medieval royal women justified their exercise of political power as wives and mothers, serving as the helpmates of their husbands and defending the rights of their underage sons.[25] For instance, Matilda's aunt, Adele, Countess of Blois, Stephen's mother, received high marks from contemporaries as she ruled the county "nobly for some years because her sons were at this time less able to do so."[26] Matilda, however, made it clear to her contemporaries that her efforts were being performed solely for her own gain. As she gathered a critical mass of tenants-in-chief, including Brian fitz Count and Miles of Gloucester, to her west country stronghold at Gloucester Castle, she began operating like an independent female feudal lord, minting coins and granting charters and patronage with a decidedly virago-like flourish. Was this the right approach? While St. Bernard advised Queen Melisende of Jerusalem to "show the man in the woman; order all things . . . so that those who see you will judge your works to be those of a king rather than a queen," such an approach appeared to do Matilda's cause harm, at least in the eyes of the monastic commentators.[27]

Nevertheless, in the short term, Matilda needed to draw baronial support away from Stephen. These efforts created what was known as "the anarchy," with two competing sources of royal power that ultimately eroded the powerful kingship of Henry I, as England was

"troubled by the brutalities of war."[28] The logjam became temporarily broken when Ranulf, Earl of Chester took Stephen prisoner in Lincoln on February 2, 1141, who handed him over to Matilda's custody. The Worcester chronicler recorded that "Matilda, ecstatic at [this] turn of events, having now, she thought, gained possession of the kingdom, which had been promised her by oath."[29] Other contemporary commentators also reported that effective royal control had fallen into the empress's hands.[30]

Now in possession of power, Matilda needed a public persona with which to exercise it. She already brought with her a reputation for piety and devotion to the church, a form of virtue that helped secure the allegiance of the Bishop of Winchester, despite the fact he was Stephen's brother, who joined a conservable number of barons and clerics in Winchester in early March to recognize the empress as *Domina Anglorum,* Lady of the English.[31] The bishop subsequently called a Church Council to explain why, stating that he had transferred his allegiance because of Stephen's inability to prevent civil war or protect the rights and privileges of the church. What Matilda needed to accomplish now was to receive a Westminster coronation that would in fact have made her England's first queen regnant.

As we have seen, Matilda also possessed a growing reputation as a virago, which had been considerably bolstered since her arrival in England. As Marjorie Chibnall has noted, Matilda, although a woman, needed to assume a position of both political and military leadership with a need to act decisively and effectively.[32] But what models did she have to choose from? The examples of previous queen consorts, especially the more virtuous ones, would not be all that helpful when she needed to consolidate her authority. Instead, it appears that Matilda took her cue from her male predecessors, such as her father and her first husband, rulers noted for their decisiveness and their ruthlessness.

At this point, in the spring of 1141, contemporaries were dazzled by the fact that Stephen was imprisoned and Matilda had assumed the mantle of royal power. The hostile *Gesta Stephani* not so accurately reported that Matilda "actually made herself Queen of all England and gloried in so being called."[33] Even though the bulk of the English church, including Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, transferred their allegiance to her, a significant number of barons as well as the City of London remained holdouts to the authority of the Lady of the English. In the spring of 1141, Matilda was negotiating with the Londoners for her entrance into the city following her coronation, while Stephen's queen, also named Matilda, had assumed command

of Stephen's military forces, including the mercenary army of the Fleming William of Ypres.

During this moment of the empress's triumph, contemporary monastic chroniclers, even those who were somewhat favorable to her, found fault with her virago-like behavior. In her negotiations with the representatives of the City of London, Matilda demanded a tax, "not with unassuming gentleness, but with a voice of authority." After listening to the Londoner's objections,

> She, with a grim look, her forehead wrinkled into a frown, every trace of a woman's gentleness removed from her face, blazed into unbearable fury, saying that many times the people of London had made very large contributions to the king, that they lavished their wealth on strengthening him and weakening her.[34]

The Gesta Stephani further noted that,

> She at once put on an extremely arrogant demeanor instead of the modest gait and bearing proper to the gentle sex, began to walk and speak and do all things more stiffly and more haughtily than she had been wont.[35]

Henry of Huntington described her as "elated with insufferable pride" while the Worcester chronicler noted her "hard heart."[36] It seemed that her virago-like reputation trumped her virtue, as John of Worcester noted,

> The lady was asked by the Londoners that they might be allowed to live under the excellent laws of King Edward, and not the oppressive ones of her father, Henry. She did not listen to good advice but harshly rejected their petition, and there was great disorder in the city.[37]

It appears that both her arrogance and her rejection of male advice cost her dearly. Yet Stephen's queen, Matilda, played the role of virago with much more success, ultimately wining the public relations war with the empress. The pro- Stephen *Gesta Stephani* described her as "a woman of subtlety and a man's resolution," who assumed control of the forces loyal to Stephen.[38] Queen Matilda played the virtue card initially, tearfully interceding with the empress for Stephen's release and for her son Eustace's inheritance.[39] Intercession was a standard and acceptable form of female power; the empress's rejection of the queen's suit cast her in a decidedly negative light.[40] What the queen could not do with tears, she did with force of arms. The *Gesta Stephani* further noted that,

> The queen, expecting to obtain by arms what she could not by supplication, brought a magnificent body of troops across in front of London from the other side of the river and gave orders that they should rage most furiously . . . in the sight of the countess and her men.[41]

The queen later was admitted into the city, "forgetting the weakness of her sex and a woman's softness, she bore herself with the valor of a man."[42]

So why did Queen Matilda escape the opprobrium heaped on the empress for such virago-like activity? What seems more than ironic was that, quite unlike the queen, the Empress Matilda refrained from engaging in any overt military activity. While Chibnall speculated that Matilda lacked military experience or that she feared capture, it is more likely that Matilda's approach to military activities resembled the behind-the-scenes managerial approach that worked quite famously three centuries later for Isabel of Castile, a queen who also carefully balanced the virtuous and the virago within her own public persona.[43] The most plausible explanation for why Queen Matilda escaped opprobrium for her overtly military activities was that it was understood that she was performing these activities on behalf of her husband and her son, whereas the empress's hard-line stance was performed solely for her own benefit.

Ultimately, Empress Matilda's virago-like stance resulted in her expulsion from Westminster, before her coronation could be performed, causing her and her forces to retreat to Oxford. Henry of Huntington recorded that, "in revenge, with a woman's bitterness, she caused the Lord's anointed [King Stephen] to be bound with fetters," hardly the behavior of a virtuous woman who was already being castigated for her virago-like behavior.[44] The Worcester chronicler, however, offered a more temporal explanation for the Londoner's change of heart. After dismissing Queen Matilda's plea to free her husband, the empress also refused the bishop of Winchester's request to grant Stephen's son Eustace the honors his father held during King Henry's time. It appears that is was a combination of unlady-like attitudes that resulted in her expulsion from London before she could undergo a coronation in Westminster Abbey.

Only after this reversal did Matilda begin to associate her eldest son with her cause. After detaching Geoffrey de Mandeville, castellan of the Tower of London, from his allegiance from Stephen, de Mandeville dispatched one of his vassals, Hugh of Ing, to Normandy to secure nine-year-old Henry's assent to the charters that his mother

had issued to him.[45] Nevertheless, the tide had definitely turned for the empress, who advanced to Winchester in August 1141 with a sizeable force including her uncle, King David of Scotland, and a number of tenants-in-chief, in order to forestall the desertion of the bishop of Winchester. When the bishop refused to meet with her, her forces besieged his castle, while she herself was besieged by forces loyal to King Stephen and Queen Matilda. Ultimately, Matilda was forced to flee, mounting "a horse in male fashion."[46] It is provocative that, in adversity, her virago-like behavior was commended, even by the fiercely antagonistic *Gesta Stephani*, which reported that, "The countess of Anjou, who was always above feminine softness, and had a mind steeled and unbroken in adversity, fled ahead of the others to Devizes."[47]

Despite her bravery, Queen Matilda's forces captured the Earl of Gloucester, who was later traded for King Stephen, returning the struggle to the stalemate that had existed since Matilda's arrival in England in 1139. Despite the loss of Oxford in 1142, in which Matilda effected yet another virago-like escape, Matilda was able to hold sway over a large area of southwestern England, which she ruled like a female king, receiving vassals, granting charters, and appointing sheriffs in those shires loyal to her For the next six years, as Marjorie Chibnall has noted, Matilda resuscitated her reputation for virtue, respecting sworn oaths, and sticking to the "accepted rules of conduct and combat in a harsh society," in marked contrast to Stephen, who was frequently accused of "deceit and perfidy."[48] Matilda also integrated her eldest son into her affairs, bringing him to England in 1142, and associating him in the granting of her charters, which bolstered the loyalty she enjoyed for the remainder of her time in England.[49] These acts were undoubtedly performed under the assumption that Matilda would never unseat Stephen herself. Instead, until she finally left England for Normandy in 1148, effectively bequeathing the struggle to her now teenaged son, she wielded her authority in a much more traditionally female kind of way, as a mother defending the rights of her son, actions much more acceptable than the bold, singularly virago persona that attracted so much negative comment in 1141. Following her son's accession as king of England in 1154, according to the terms of the Treaty of Winchester, Matilda served as a de facto justiciar in Normandy, wielding a political authority that did not attract any negative comment, because it had been delegated by her son. In her final years, until her death in 1167, she continued to cultivate a reputation for pious virtue, advising

her son to mend his quarrel with Thomas Becket, and living a religious life among the monks at Bec.

Nevertheless, Matilda remains a decidedly unsympathetic historical figure today. If she resembles any modern figure, it would be Margaret Thatcher, a woman whose 2013 death was met with a decidedly mixed reaction of praise for her virago-like achievements and condemnation for a decided lack of feminine compassion and virtue. Both women were wives and mothers; both made sure neither of those roles would stand in the way of their political career. Matilda certainly had the will of the Iron Lady, considering herself to be on a level-playing field with the men who dominated politics and government, while making no allowance for any feminine softness to blunt the force of her management style. Both Matilda and Thatcher had these traits in common, and both lost the support of key supporters at a critical moment in their careers. My attempt to compare Matilda and Thatcher is not an attempt to "presentize" Matilda, as I had warned against at the beginning of this essay. Rather it is to perhaps contemplate why Matilda remains such an enigmatic and unsympathetic figure in modern feminist history, like Thatcher, who was always determined to play by the rules of male dominant political society, with little thought for the gendered challenges other women faced, attitudes that are ultimately and decidedly antifeminist.

Notes

1. The only major scholarly study of Matilda in recent times is Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). It remains a solid, detailed study, but any discussion of Matilda's gendered problems appear as afterthoughts. More recently Charles Beem subjected Matilda to a full-blown gender analysis in *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 25–62.
2. See Susan Bassnet, *Elizabeth I: A Feminist Perspective* (Oxford: Berg, 1988), 5.
3. See Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women" in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 143–59.
4. See J. A. Green, "Aristocratic Women in Early Twelfth Century England," in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth Century Renaissance*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), 60–72.
5. For a brief discussion of Matilda's contemporary commentators, see Beem, *The Lioness Roared*, 27–30.

6. See Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 45–50.
7. *Gesta Normanorum Ducam of William Jumieges, Oderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni, vol. 2, books v-viii*, ed. Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 241.
8. After Henry I's death, Adeliza married Wiliam d'Aubigny, first earl of Arundel, to whom she bore seven children.
9. Malmesbury stated, "if he himself [Henry I] died without a male heir, they [the nobles of England] would immediately and without hesitation accept his daughter Matilda, formerly empress, as their lady." William of Malmesbury, *William of Malmesbury's Historia Novella*, ed. Edmund King, trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 6–7.
10. For a recent study, see Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 127–28, 161–78.
11. See John Gillingham, "Love, Marriage, and Politics in the Twelfth Century," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 25 (1989), 292–303.
12. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 55–56.
13. See P. Marchegay and A. Salmon, *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, vol. 1* (Paris: 1856–71), xv, n.1, cited in Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 70.
14. Following her father's death and Stephen's accession, Matilda consistently represented herself solely as *Imperatrix* and *Henrici regis filia,* See *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol.* 2, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), notes 20, 368, 391, 597, 628, 697, and794.
15. Stafford, "Royal Women," 147.
16. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 127–37, 178–83.
17. *Gesta Normannorum Ducam*, 244–45.
18. Matilda's sincerity is attested by her request, when she nearly died following the birth of her second son in 1534, to be buried among the Monks at Bec. See *Gesta Normannorum Ducam*, 246–47.
19. Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 6, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 444–45.
20. William of Malmesbury, *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England,* ed. J. A. Giles, (London: Henry Bohn, 1897), 490, *Gesta Normanorum Ducam*, 264–65.
21. Only the hostile *Gesta Stephani* reports that King Henry had a deathbed change of mind concerning his successor. See *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter, (Oxford: Clarendon Press,) 1976, 11–13.
22. Orderic Vitalis reported that soon after Henry I's death, Geoffrey of Anjou sent Matilda into Normandy to take possession of castles that formed part of her dowry. However, a year and a half later, in May 1137, Geoffrey invaded Normandy himself, "acting as his wife's stipendiary commander." Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 454–455, 482–483.
23. *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, with the Two Continuations Comprising Annals of English History, from the Departure of the Romans to*

the Reign of Edward I, trans. Thomas Forester(London: H. G. Bohn, 1854), 187.
24. Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, 63–64.
25. Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women Through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500–1100," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, ed. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper Colophon, 1974), 103–18.
26. *Gesta Normanorum Ducam*, 277.
27. Cited in Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 97.
28. Malmesbury, *Historia Novella,* 40.
29. John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, vol. 3, trans. and ed. P. Mcgurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 293.
30. Henry of Huntington, *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntington*, ed. Thomas Forester (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853), 381, *Gesta Stephani*, 117, *John of Worcester*, 293–95.
31. Walter de Gray Birch, esq, "A Fasciculus of the Charters of Mathildis Empress of the Romans and an Account of her Great Seal (repr. from the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*), London: 1875, 378.
32. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 96.
33. *Gesta Stephani*, 119–21.
34. *Gesta Stephani,* 120–23.
35. *Gesta Stephani,* 119.
36. See Henry of Huntington, 280, John of Worcester, 297.
37. John of Worcester, 297.
38. *Gesta Stephani,* 123.
39. *Florence of Worcester*, 208.
40. For a recent discussion of the role of intercession, see Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 6–7, 11–12.
41. *Gesta Stephani,* 123.
42. Ibid, 127.
43. See Elizabeth Lehfeldt, "Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile," *Renaissance Studies* 53.1 (Spring 2000), 31–56.
44. Henry of Huntington,280.
45. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 112.
46. *Florence of Worcester*, 209.
47. *Gesta Stephani,* 134.
48. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, 121.
49. See A. L. Poole, "Henry Plantagenet's Early Visits to England," *English Historical Review*, 47 (1910), 447–50.

Maude and Ellie Play Chess

Dennis Henry

Maude and Ellie Play Chess was first presented as a staged reading on April 24, 2013, at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln as part of the Medieval and Renaissance Studies program's annual awards and honors celebration.

It was directed by Dennis Henry. The cast was as follows:

Empress Matilda (Maude)	Virginia Smith
Eleanor of Aquitaine (Ellie)	Sarah Imes Borden
King Henry II	Ian M. Borden
Bernart, a troubadour	Christian Novotny

A chamber in a royal residence near London around the year 1165. Eleanor Of Aquitaine *and* Empress Matilda *sit across from each other playing chess.* Bernart*, a troubadour, plays a simple upbeat tune on a lute or a harp.*
The women stare intently at the board. It is silent and tense. Finally, Eleanor makes a move.

Maude. Nice move, Ellie.

Ellie. You've beaten me twice in a row. I won't allow it to be three.

Maude. With stakes this high, I do hope you've been practicing.

Ellie. I have.
Maude makes a move. A silence.

Maude. Such intensity. Is that the death stare that convinced pious Louis to give you an annulment?

Ellie. I hope your idle observations are not intended to break my concentration.

MAUDE. Well, your blasted troubadour is breaking mine.

ELLIE. Bernart, that will be all for now.

BERNART. Of course, my Lady.

MAUDE. See you soon, Bernart.
He bows and exits

ELLIE. Happy?

MAUDE. Elated. (*A Silence. Then just as* ELLIE *is about to make a move*) I hope you are thinking three steps ahead. The way you did when you got your claws into my son and this crown.

ELLIE. (*an outburst*) Nonsense! He got his claws into me. He wanted Aquitaine. Both of you did.
EMMA makes a foolish chess move then immediately regrets it.

MAUDE. Oops.
MAUDE takes one of ELLIE's knights with glee.

ELLIE. Oh. I see. Anything to win. Typical.

MAUDE. When the stakes are high I always win.

ELLIE. Is that what you said when you ended your reign as queen uncrowned and fleeing your subjects?

MAUDE. I knew I'd be back and here I am.

ELLIE. As the King's mother. Not as Queen.

MAUDE. Yes, but you're forgetting the most important thing, Eleanor.

ELLIE. What's that?
MAUDE. *(referring to the game)* Your king is exposed. I am about to win the third match in a row. And, most importantly, the wager.

ELLIE. Vicious.

MAUDE. Oooh.

ELLIE. Relentless.
Entering unnoticed is KING HENRY II

MAUDE. Hmmm.

ELLIE. Carnivorous.

MAUDE. Don't forget haughty, proud, arrogant . . .

ELLIE. Bloody, flesh-eating – -

MAUDE. Hello, Henry!

ELLIE. Your move, she-wolf.

HENRY. You two at it again? You are so wicked to each other when you play.

MAUDE. Well, we must do something to pass the time.

ELLIE. Yes, why don't you go wage war somewhere and let us alone to rule the kingdom?

MAUDE. There would be far less vitriol that way.

HENRY. Hmmph.

MAUDE. My little boy looks glum.

HENRY. Hmmph.
ELEANOR makes a chess move, quickly followed by a move by Maude.

MAUDE. Nice escape attempt, Ellie, but it won't work.

HENRY. Thomas and I used to play chess together.

MAUDE. Oh. Is that what's wrong? You miss your little friend?

HENRY. He's not my little friend! Thomas Beckett is the Archbishop of Canterbury and a powerful man.

ELLIE. Yes he is. You put him in office and now he's excommunicating all your allies. What a tragedy.
ELLIE moves her Bishop.

MAUDE. Oh my.

ELLIE. That's right Matilda. You're in check.

MAUDE. Talk it out with him. Tommy has always been such a nice boy.

MAUDE moves her Queen. HENRY takes note of the game for the first time.

ELLIE. Oh, excellent defense with the queen!

HENRY. You can't do that!

MAUDE. What do you mean?

HENRY. That's not how you play chess. The queen piece can only move one space and only on a diagonal.
MAUDE and ELLIE both laugh.

ELLIE. Henry, a queen may do whatever she wishes.

MAUDE. We have adjusted the rules to more accurately reflect reality.

ELLIE. We remedied that error in the rules the very first time we played.

MAUDE. Oh yes. That might have been the first time we agreed on something.

ELLIE and MAUDE both laugh

HENRY. Your rules make the queen a more powerful piece than the king!

They laugh harder.

ELLIE. You are a naïve boy, Henry, but you catch on quickly.

HENRY. What kind of fool lives in the same house as his wife and mother-in-law? You two will be the death of me.

MAUDE. Come now, Henry. Tell me about your troubles with Tommy.

HENRY. I don't want to talk about it.

MAUDE. Well, don't sulk.

HENRY. Hmmph.

ELLIE. Check!

MAUDE. Oh! (*she sighs*) Will no one rid me of this troublesome priest?

HENRY. What's that?

MAUDE. Her bishop. It is obstinate. Look, Henry. Her bishop has my king in check. I am at a lost to counter the bishop. I strategize and maneuver and still my king is in check. Perhaps, though, I can find a way for my knights to take the bishop out of play.

HENRY. I have to go.

ELLIE. Where HENRY?

HENRY. Away.

ELLIE. Tell me the Holy Land for a several decade respite, so that your mother and I can fix the mess you've made of the kingdom.

HENRY. Beckett!

Henry exits. A silence. They play.

ELLIE. You shouldn't put thoughts like that into his head.

MAUDE. Where would he get them from then?

ELLIE. He'll kill Beckett and imagine it was his idea.

MAUDE. Bishops are expendable, dear.

MAUDE takes one of ELLIE's bishops

ELLIE. He should reconcile with Beckett. The people don't like discord with the church.

MAUDE. He is a priest. His allegiance is to the pope. He will turn on Henry the moment it is politically expedient just as the Bishop of Winchester did to me.

ELLIE. Henry and Thomas are friends.

MAUDE. One does not forge an empire by making friends.
Speed of play picks up and they move a chess piece each time they speak a line.

ELLIE. You *are* a she-wolf, Matilda. Just as all the men say.

MAUDE. Check.

ELLIE. Carnivorous.

MAUDE. Check.

ELLIE. Relentless.

MAUDE. Check.

ELLIE. I see a way out.

MAUDE. No way out. Check.

ELLIE. Damn.

MADDIE. Don't forget proud. Check.

ELLIE. Oh.

MAUDE. Haughty. Check.

ELLIE. Damn.

MAUDE. Proud. Check. Ill-tempered. Check.

ELLIE. Vicious.
MAUDE leaves the playing table and crosses the room to look out a window.

MAUDE. I am all of these things. A she-wolf, if you must. I dominated. And when my route to power was cut-off, I protected, defended and exalted my young. Now my little pup is the big dog.

ELLIE. Good description of him. He certainly spends enough time roaming the countryside looking for bitches to mount.

MAUDE. Ha! Boys will be boys. He's a good king. A strong one. Even if he lets his weaknesses show around you and I. No one else sees them.

ELLIE. I know.

MAUDE. You're a she-wolf, too, Ellie. I see you around your boys. Young Henry, Geoffrey. Even John. Especially Richard.

ELLIE. Your point, Maude?

MAUDE. I believe you will outlive my son. I know his lifestyle. Syphilis or the gout will do him in, or he'll get a fistula from all the damned time he spends riding his horse.

ELLIE. Or his good friend Beckett might get to Henry before Henry can get to Beckett.

MAUDE. True. And then you'll pounce. (*MATILDA returns to the chess board*) You'll pounce to be sure one of your pups gets the crown.

ELLIE. I suppose.

MAUDE. I know. Checkmate.

ELEANOR looks back to the board and realizes she's lost the game.

ELLIE. You've got me three in a row.

MAUDE. Losing is a bad habit.

ELLIE. Maybe I should do as John does to his opponents and hit you over the head with the board for beating me.

MAUDE. He is a weaselly little thing.

ELLIE. Luckily, I have three older sons. John will never touch the crown.

MAUDE. Now, the best part! Time to pay up! Bernart!

ELLIE. (*She puts her hands in her face.*) Oh. Here we go!

BERNART enters and bows

BERNART. My gracious ladies.

MAUDE. Queen Eleanor has lost.

BERNART. Again?

ELLIE. Bernart!

BERNART. My apologies, madam. And my condolences.

ELLIE. Give it a rest, Bernart.

MAUDE. Bernart, a bawdy song about the queen, please.

BERNART. *(to ELLIE)* Forgive me, my Lady. I am compelled.

ELLIE. She won the bet, Bernart. Just shut up and play.

MAUDE. I want it filthy and scandalous!

BERNART. Of course, Madam.

MAUDE. This will be delicious. Proceed, Bernart.

BERNART. (***singing***)
Oh, Ellie was a loosy lass
Who came from Aquitaine.
She liked to frolic with the boys,
For she had not any shame.

MAUDE. I like it already!

BERNART. (***singing***)
She'd lift her gown for any man
No matter how big or small
Both young and old and fat and thin
Young Ellie would take them all.

ELLIE. I like the "young" part.

BERNART. (***singing***) Louis, her husband, the King of France,
Sat in his lonely bed and cried,
While Ellie went from room to room,
To let every page and groom inside.
ELLIE and ELEANOR both laugh.

ELLIE. He did cry a lot. That much is true.

BERNART. Here comes the big finale, madam. My apologies.

MAUDE. (laughing to Ellie) Shh! Shh! The big finale!

BERNART. (***singing***)
She vowed to change her wicked ways,
When she came to our English shores,
But though we call her majesty,
Ellie is still the queen of—

ELLIE. (laughing) Okay, that's enough!

MAUDE. *(gleefully)* Whores! The last line is "queen of whores!"

ELLIE. If that song doesn't improve my chess game, nothing will.

MAUDE. Be sure to have something ready for when I win again next week, Bernart.

BERNART. I've been working on a ballad involving a death bed confession of infidelity. I think you'll love it.

ELLIE. Can't wait. Thank you for your service, Bernart. I won't have you beheaded. Not tonight, anyway.

BERNART. Very gracious, my lady.
BERNART Exits

MAUDE. We must laugh, musn't we Ellie?

ELLIE. If we can't laugh, then what do we really have?

MAUDE. Not much.

ELLIE. You have been such a blessing to me, Matilda. Such a surprising blessing.

MAUDE. I never thought I'd meet another woman could match me.

ELLIE. I don't match you. I can only hope to become the woman that you are.

MAUDE. No more sentimentality. It's unbecoming of a she-wolf.

ELLIE. Ha! What would the people think?
HENRY reenters suddenly

HENRY. Mother?

MAUDE. Yes, dear.

HENRY. Did you imply that I should have my friend Thomas Beckett killed?

MAUDE. What are you talking about? I said Tommy was a nice young man and that it's a shame that you are quarreling.

HENRY. No. The bishop thing. The chess. It was a metaphor or something.

MAUDE. What an imagination you have.

HENRY. But you said he was checking the king and—

MAUDE. Henry. Relax. I would never advise you to hurt one of friends. No matter how much Tommy is subverting you. No matter how dangerous he might seem to you or how traitorous his behavior appears. He is still your friend and to be trusted.

HENRY. No. He won't manipulate me. Did you know he threatened to excommunicate me? I'll be damned, first.

ELLIE. Very likely, Henry.

HENRY. I've no time for your sarcasm, Eleanor. I need to take care of that bastard, Beckett!
HENRY exits with purpose

ELLIE. You are good.

MAUDE. Anything to protect my pups. Sometimes you have to get them barking a little.

ELLIE. Yes.
ELEANOR starts to exit

MAUDE. Ellie.

ELLIE. Yes?

MAUDE. I was queen in my own right, with no King beside me, for three months, but I never wore the crown. I know you'll try to one-up me.

ELLIE. I will.

MAUDE. Do you have a plan?

ELLIE. I've learned from your chess game. To win: be aggressive, but be patient. And it doesn't hurt to create a distraction.

MAUDE. Yes.
ELLIE starts to leave again

MAUDE. Ellie?

ELLIE. Yes?

MAUDE. Don't turn on Henry while I'm alive. I won't allow it.

ELLIE. I understand.

MAUDE. Thank you.

ELLIE. But after you're gone (*a short pause*) if I don't turn on him, your ghost will never forgive me.
After a moment of mutual eye contact, ELLIE exits.
MAUDE sits in ELLIE chair by the chess board. She picks up one king and one queen. She kisses them both.
Blackout.

THE END

Queen Margaret

Queen Margaret in Shakespeare and Chronicles: She-Wolf or Heroic Spirit

Carole Levin

In Shakespeare's *Henry VI part III*, Richard, Duke of York, calls Queen Margaret—Henry VI's wife known to history as Margaret of Anjou—"the she-wolf of France." Margaret is furious with her husband for giving the power of the crown to York, and even more with York for taking it, thus nullifying the rights of her son Prince Edward. Margaret—not her weak husband Henry—raises an army to challenge York. Margaret's army defeats York's and he is captured. Earlier versions had York die in battle. Here he is brought before the queen who mocks him and crowns him with a paper crown:

> Ay, this is he that took King Henry's chair
> And this is he was his adopted heir.
> . . .
> Off with the crown, and with the crown his head!
> And whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead.[1]

York responds to Margaret in equally if not more harsh language that demonstrates how he perceives women ought to be and how different Margaret is from this ideal.

> She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,
> Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth! (I, iv, 111–12)
> . . .

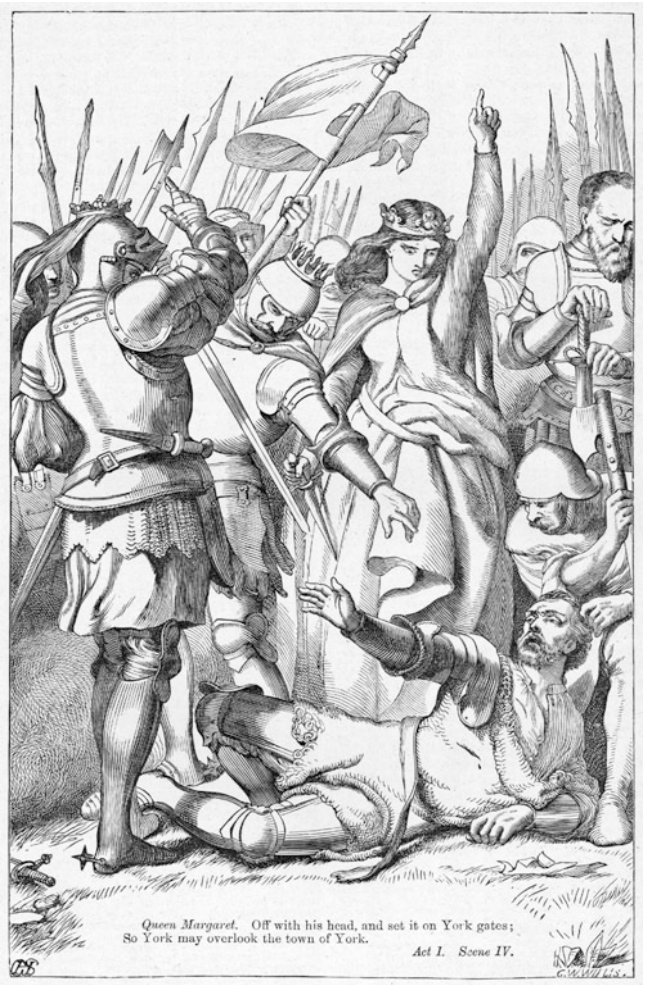

Figure 2 "Queen, Off With His Head"
Source: Henry Courtney Selous, *Casell's Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1874. Public domain

O tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide! (I, iv, 137)
. . .
Women are soft, mild, pitiful and flexible;
Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless. (I, iv, 141–42)
. . . false Frenchwoman. (I, iv, 149)
. . .
you are more inhuman, more inexorable,
O . . . ruthless queen. (I, iv, 154–56)

The wolf was well known in early modern England for its viciousness and strength, its claws and its howling. But it was also often known for its cleverness, and the English editions of Aesop's Fables are filled with stories of wolves, who have both power and cunning.[2] Having heard his long diatribe against her—and this is but a small part of it—it is Margaret herself who stabs him. "She-wolf of France," what York calls Margaret, is an echo of what was said about the earlier French queen consort Isabel who took a lover, led an army to depose her husband Edward II, and later had him murdered.

Unlike Isabel, Margaret never conspired against her husband, and though there were rumors that she had a lover there is no evidence that this was true. Yet she too had this dreadful label given to her, and, though factually inaccurate, the Margaret as presented in some chronicles and Shakespeare's plays indeed took a lover and conspired to murder Henry's uncle Humphrey, the "good" duke, to get a powerful man out of the way; in Shakespeare's play she directly kills the Duke of York. Yet despite this demonization of Margaret in Shakespeare, less than a half century later, Thomas Heywood refers to Margaret's "undaunted spirit" when he discusses her as one of the *Nine Female Worthies* in his 1640 text.

We might wonder what the historical Margaret did that so infuriated her enemies, and why her reputation was so twisted, yet still allowed her to be considered heroic by some in the early modern period. Margaret is the third French queen since the Conquest to be represented in such a harsh light. Even before Isabel, Henry II's wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was said to have taken lovers during their marriage and to have offered Henry's sweet mistress Rosamund the choice of either poison or a dagger. Even though Rosamund is the the mistress and Eleanor the wronged wife, the sympathy is all for Rosamund, perhaps because Rosamund is what the Duke of York characterized as appropriately female—soft, mild, and flexible—while Eleanor is like Margaret, stern, obdurate, and flinty. Just as with Margaret, we have no evidence that Eleanor was ever unfaithful to Henry—whatever may

or may not have happened during her first marriage to Louis VII—and Rosamund Clifford retired to a nunnery before her natural death in 1176. But Eleanor did stir up her sons to rebels against her husband and was an extremely powerful woman. And so was Margaret of Anjou. This essay narrates what we know about the historical Margaret and how her image was represented in the early modern period.[3]

Margaret was born in 1430, the fourth surviving child and second daughter of René, Duke of Anjou (1409–1480), and Isabelle (d. 1453), daughter and heir of Charles II, Duke of Lorraine. Her father was related by blood or marriage to many of the important families of Europe, which led to his expensive and unsuccesssful claims that he was the rightful heir to a number of duchies and provinces.

As her father's political fortunes were so precarious, Margaret spent much of her childhood either in the care of her mother or her paternal grandmother, Yolande of Aragon. Both of these women were powerful and strong-minded and, I argue, significant in giving Margaret the belief that women could play important public roles. When her husband was absent, Isabelle ruled as regent. While René was imprisoned, she fought for his interests in Italy. Yolande played a critical role during the Hundred Years War. She supported the French against the English and the Burgundians, helping the Dauphin Charles to press his claim to the throne. She had him live, protected in her castles, and he married her daughter Marie in 1422; it was in one of Yolande's castles that Charles received Joan of Arc, and Yolande helped finance Joan's army in 1429. Since Charles was married to Yolande's daughter, when Charles became king, Yolande was the mother-in-law to the monarch.

In 1442, the year her grandmother Yolande died, Margaret was 12. René gave up his attempt to become king of Naples and returned to France so that he could maintain his holdings there and arrange important marriages for his children. For Margaret, that meant marriage with the young English king. Alas, Henry VI was a weak man, easily led, who suffered from periodic bouts of insanity.

William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was in charge of these negotiations, which were part of the attempt to bring the long and expensive war between France and England to an end. Margaret's dowry was exceedingly modest—only 20,000 francs—but the French and English also agreed to a 20-month truce. The low value of the dowry angered a number of English nobles. When Margaret arrived in England on April 9, 1445, she was ill and had to stay for a while at Southampton. Henry VI was so eager to meet his young bride that, according to the Milanese ambassador, he came in disguise to see her. Margaret recovered enough so that the wedding was celebrated on April 22.

She was crowned queen at Westminster Abbey on May 30 and there were three days' celebration of feastings and tournaments.

As a young wife, Margaret devoted herself to Henry and was effective at securing support for him. The two were unusually close in the first years of their marriage, spending a great deal of time together. She was also concerned about the welfare of her household servants. But for a number of years she failed at the most important function of a queen—bearing an heir. Margaret did not get pregnant.

In 1441 Elinor, wife of Humphrey, Duke of Glouceser and uncle of the king, was arrested and found guilty of conspiring with sorcerers. She was imprisoned for the rest of her life and the duke retired from public life, dying in 1447 as a charge of treason was being leveled at him. After the disgrace and later death of Duke of Gloucester, Suffolk became Lord Chamberlain and the principal power behind the throne. But in the next three years, England lost virtually all its French possessions, and Suffolk was blamed, leading to accusations of treason from the House of Commons. Henry VI banished Suffolk for five years, but on his way to the Low Countries, he was captured by pirates and executed. Since Margaret was so closely allied with Suffolk, his fall damaged her reputation.

The spring of 1453 appeared to finally be a good year for Margaret; she was so pleased that she was finally pregnant, she went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham to give thanks. By July, however, all was not well. A final defeat ended the Hundred Years War with England, holding nothing but the port city of Calais. Worse, at the beginning of August, Henry suffered a complete mental collapse. For the next seventeen months Henry was in seclusion in Windsor, not recognizing anyone or understanding anything, possibly suffering catatonic schizophrenia or a depressive stupor. He had no interest or understanding about his infant son Edward, born on October 13, 1453. Henry's cousin, Richard, Duke of York, was regent while Henry was incapacitated, but York and Margaret fought over who was in charge, Margaret fearing he would permanently rule for the incapacitated king.

Just as he fell suddenly into his collapse, Henry suddenly recovered during Christmas, 1454, and he was now elated with his young son. But Henry had another breakdown the next October. York became regent again for a not completely recovered Henry. But Margaret and a number of nobles were deeply unhappy with the situation. York lost so much support that in the king's presence he resigned his protectorship late February 1456.

But Henry, never a strong king, weakened more in his ability to rule during the next few years. By 1459, Margaret became more and more in charge while relations between Margaret and the Duke of York

continued to disintegrate. In 1460, York and his son Edward, Earl of March, with their supporters swore loyalty to Henry but demanded major changes in government. The Yorkists maintained that they were loyal to their king, but he was also completely in their power. Contemporaries described Henry as completely lacking in wit or spirit. Richard, Duke of York, forced Henry to agree that while he would be king for the rest of his life, his heir would be York, thus disinheriting his own son Edward. As one can imagine, Margaret was furious.

Margaret with her young son rallied support to challenge this settlement. Her army confronted York's at Wakefield in Yorkshire December 30, 1460, with a resounding victory, and, as was discussed earlier, York, was killed during the battle. But the fighting continued, with the Yorkists being led by the duke's 19-year-old son Edward, supported by his maternal uncle, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Edward's victory at Mortimer's Cross in early February of 1461 led him to enter London, declare Henry unfit to rule, and announce himself king, being crowned Edward IV. Margaret and her son ultimately escaped to France while Henry was eventually captured in 1465 and lodged in the Tower of London.

It would seem that Margaret's role on the English political stage ended, but the medieval wheel of fortune could rise and fall sharply. Almost a decade after he became king, Edward's uncle, known as "kingmaker" for helping make Edward king, decided after a divisive split from Edward to unmake him. Warwick was deeply upset in 1464. He was negotiating a marriage between Edward and French king Louis XI's sister Bona, when Edward suddenly announced he had secretly married Elizabeth Woodville, Lady Grey, a woman with many relations eager to gain power.

Warwick began to plot his revenge. With the aid of the French king, he managed to reconcile with Margaret, once his bitter enemy. In 1470 Margaret's son Edward, 17 years old, married Warwick's younger daughter Anne, aged 14. Warwick's invasion put Edward IV to flight and Warwick ruled England for Henry VI, nominally restored to the throne. But as England was still not completely under Warwick's control, Margaret and her son stayed in France; she did not want to return until she was convinced it was safe for her son to do so. She also was concerned about whether she could actually trust Warwick.Then bad weather delayed them further. When she and Prince Edward finally landed on April 14, 1471, they immediately learned of the Lancastrian defeat and death of Warwick at the Battle of Barnet. Margaret made her way to other Lancastrians who were camped outside Tewkesbury. In the subsequent battle on May 4, Margaret's son Edward was killed and the Lancastrian army finally and completely defeated. Margaret

was brought a prisoner to London as Edward IV made his triumphal entry into the city on May 21. The same night Henry VI died, according to the Yorks, "of pure displeasure and melancholy."[4] An axe in the back of the head can certainly cause displeasure and melancholy.

Whatever the loss of her husband and son meant to Margaret personally—and clearly she would have been far more anguished over the death of Prince Edward than Henry, whom she had not seen in years and for whom by that time she had no real respect—their deaths also erased her own political importance. Margaret was now a childless widow. In 1475 she was returned to France, after being forced to renounce her claim to all her dower lands in England. In France, King Louis in turn forced Margaret to give up all claims to any lands and wealth through her parents to him, saying he needed to be compensated for what he had spent on her behalf since she had first fled to France. Margaret died in 1482, having lost everything that had mattered to her.

The battering of Margaret's reputation began in her own lifetime. With the centuries old bitter rivalry and warfare between England and France, the English people could not trust a French queen. That there had been so little gained in the negotiation of her marriage put Margaret into an even more vulnerable position, as did her inability to become pregnant for a number of years. Though there is no evidence suggesting anything improper in the relationship between Margaret and the Duke of Suffolk, soon there were whispers that they were lovers. When Margaret finally did get pregnant, many stated that King Henry could not be the father. It was much easier to blame the strong-minded French queen than the passive English king for the country's problems. When Edward IV firmly established himself on the throne, he encouraged the characterization of Margaret as domineering queen who led the country into civil war, wanting her to be shown as ruthless and cruel, forever seeking both power and vengeance on any she thought had wronged her.

One of the first chronicles to describe Margaret was a manuscript of the histories of the reigns of Richard II to Henry VI, ending in 1461. According to its most recent editor William Marx, the narration of the history from 1440 to 1461 was an independent addition to the already existent text. It was clearly provided by someone who favored the Yorkist cause. The negotiation of the marriage between Henry and "Dame Margerete" was "medled with treson," since as a result of the marriage, England lost most of its holdings in France. Moreover, as the reign progressed, "Englonde was oute of all good governaunce . . . for the kyng was simple and led by covetous counseyll . . . The queen as suche as were of affynite rewled the realme as

her liked, gaderyng ryches innumerable."[5] The author of the chronicle blamed Margaret for the battles between Lancaster and York.

The sixteenth-century English chronicles continued this theme, as we can see clearly from Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, which Raphael Holinshed explicitly used as a source.[6] Edward Hall's *Chronicle* only hints at Henry VI's incompetence and does not discuss his bouts of madness. Hall emphasizes how problematic the very idea of Margaret marrying Henry was, and hints that Suffolk may have been bribed to arrange it, that it was a "phantasie" it would bring about any good for England, especially "as the kyng with her had not one peny" (203, 205). Holinshed continued this version, suggesting that Suffolk was "either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this unprofitable marriage." Yet when Margaret first arrives in England, Hall describes her as a woman who "excelled all other, aswell in beautie and favor, as in wit and pollicie, and was of stomack and corage, more like to a man, then a woman" (205). He later expands on her character thus, describing her as "a woman of a greate witte . . . and of reason, pollicye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, belongyng to a man, full and flowing," a description that Holinshed borrowed and he even added, "wisedom" (208).

But both Hall's and Holinshed's narratives demonstrate that this beauty, wit, and courage—even wisdom—only make Margaret more dangerous and destructive. She was desperate for glory and "covetous" for honor (208). Hall argued, and this is copied also in Holinshed,

> after this spousage, the Kynges frendes fell from hym, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his realme, fell in division emongest themselfes, the commons rebelled against their sovereigne Lorde . . . many thousandes slain, and finally, the kyng deposed, and his sonne slain, and this Quene sent home again, with asmuche misery and sorowe, as she was received with pompe and triumphe. (205)

Throughout Hall's account, he emphasized God's punishment of the evil Margaret. Hall furthers the idea that Margaret was immediately unfaithful to Henry with Suffolk, whom she "entierly loved," and used her feminine wiles to convince her cuckolded lord to raise her "dearlynge" Suffolk from Earl to Duke (218, 219). Because of Margaret, "a sodain mischief, and a long discorde, sprang out sodainly" (208). She decided that Henry's uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, "this noble man," had too much power and conspired to murder (210). Margaret did this because she was "determined with her self, to take upon her the rule and regiment, bothe of the kyng and his kyngdome . . .

And although she joyned her husbande with hir in name . . . yet she did all, she saied all" (208). In her "the whole rule of the realme consisted . . . [her] breath ruled, [her] worde was obeyed aboue the kyng and his counsail" (236). But while destroying Gloucester got her power for a while, in the end it proved the destruction of herself and all she held dear. Said Hall, "if this Duke had lyved, the house of Lancaster had not been defaced and destroyed, which thynges hapned all contrary by the destruccion of this good man" (210).

Just as Margaret destroyed Gloucester, when she felt her power threatened by the Duke of York, who claimed he should rule the country and be king after Henry's death instead of her son, she intended to destroy him as well. But not only York, indeed with her "fraude and feminine malice, whiche rulyng the kyng at her pleasure and wil," she wanted the destruction of the all the nobility of the realm (236). King Henry, in the meanwhile, wanted "nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie life" (241).

Hall detailed the great victory for Queen Margaret and her forces against the Duke of York at the battle of Wakefield. Margaret was elated when one of her supporters found York's corpse, struck off the head, and "and set on it a croune of paper, & so fixed it on a pole, & presented it to the Quene." Shakespeare took this description of York's death and made it more gruesome and more Margaret's fault. (251). But this victory did not last long, and Hall narrates the success of the duke's son becoming Edward IV with Henry VI in the Tower and Margaret and her son sheltering in France. Hall continues to foreshadow the tragedies that will justly befall her: "Nor yet she had not lived all her old age, in misery wretchednes and callamitie, as she did, [losing] bothe her husbande, her sonne, her Realme, and her honor" (259). With Margaret out of the country, the realm was in a state of tranquility. That ended when the Earl of Warwick broke with Edward and went to France. Warwick and Margaret, with the support of the French king, planned to put Henry VI back on the throne, in name at least. But as we know, before Margaret could even join Warwick back in England in triumph, Edward defeated him in battle and he was killed.

When Margaret and her son did get back to England they and their followers were soon defeated at Tewksbury, and Prince Edward died, leaving Margaret "almost dead for sorowe" (300). Hall again emphasizes that this tragedy was Margaret's fault from her behavior years before. "This Quene Margarete might well consider and thynke, that these evill aduentures, chaunced to her for the moste parte, for the unworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester" (297). Hall sums up Margaret by saying at "in the beginning of her tyme, she lyved like a Quene, in the middel she ruled like an empresse, toward thende she was vexed with troble . . . languishyng and mornyng in continuall

sorowe" (301). This representation of Margaret continued in other Elizabethan histories. For example, in Petruccio Ubaldini's history of earlier British queens that he presented in manuscript to Queen Elizabeth in 1576 and published in 1591, he describes Margaret as a virile, manly woman who was sagacious and ambitious, but she deserved her miserable fate because of her role in the death of the innocent Duke of Gloucester.[7] John Stubbs, in his scathing pamphlet against Elizabeth's potential marriage with the French king's brother, detailed the disasters in English history when their monarchs married into the French royal house. Henry VI's marriage to Margaret, which only happened because of a "princely bribe," caused the loss of all French holdings and finally caused the "ignominious deprivation of Henry the sixt from this realm."[8] This Margaret, who can cause such damage, is the Margaret that Shakespeare develops.

Shakespeare used Holinshed extensively as a source, and when he wanted to know more about a fifteenth-century event, he consulted Hall's *Chronicle,* which often gave far more detail.[9] Margaret appears as a character in four plays: all three of the Henry VI plays and in *Richard III.* Margaret appears at the end of 1 Henry VI, after Joan la Pucelle has been dragged off to be burned. One dangerous French woman is replaced with another. From the very first we hear that "She's beautiful, and therefore to be woo'd; /She is a woman, therefore to be won."[10] Suffolk is immediately enamoured of Margaret, who he is negotiating to marry young King Henry VI. Because of his feelings for her, he decides he will force the marriage even though the English "nobility will scorn the match" (V, iii, 96). Henry is thrilled when Margaret comes: "Of beauteous Margaret hath astonish'd me" (V, v, 2). At the end of the play, Humphrey's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, demonstrates his opposition to the match but is unsuccessful.

Shakespeare's Margaret is far more dangerous, passionate, and powerful than she was in his sources. She attempts to turn Henry against Gloucester. Margaret does all she can to make Henry fear his uncle and poison his mind.

"And should you fall, he is the next will mount."[11] Margaret presents her antagonism to Gloucester by way of protesting her great affection and concern for Henry.

> The reverent care I bear unto my lord
> Made me collect these dangers in the Duke. (II, iv, 34–35)

One might wonder, however, just how much this character Margaret actually cares for her husband, since she has already taken the Duke

of Suffolk as her lover. They play counterpoint with each other in their attempts to frighten Henry. Suffolk says:

> He harbors treason
> The fox barks not when he would steal the lamb
> No, no, my sovereign. Gloucester is a man
> Unsounded yet, and full of deep deceit. (II, iv, 54–57)

Margaret then is even more vehement:

> Take heed, my lord: the welfare of us all
> Hangs on the cutting short that fraudful man. (II, iv, 80–81)

Gloucester is then arrested for treason, but Henry informs him that he hopes he will be able to clear himself. Henry exits still convinced his uncle has been wronged.

Once the king is out of the way, Margaret, fearing Henry and the Commons will save Gloucester, conspires with the Dukes of Suffolk and York—soon to be her worst enemy—to have Gloucester killed.

> This Gloucester should be quickly rid the world,
> To rid us from the fear we have of him. (III, i, 233–34)

Suffolk agrees to take on the task, and hires ruffians to murder Gloucester. But though Margaret, Suffolk, and York conspire to remove Gloucester, they are also each thinking of who will have power now, which will lead to endless enmity between Margaret and York and shows the audience how ethically challenged York is as well as Margaret and Suffolk. York tells himself:

> For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be
> And Henry put apart, the next for me. (III, i, 382–83)

Henry is devastated when he hears that Gloucester is dead, and is doubtful when informed that Gloucester died in his bed. But when he flinches from Suffolk, Margaret takes him to task.

> Why do you rate my Lord of Suffolk thus?
> Although the Duke was enemy to him,
> Yet he most Christian-like laments his death:
> And for myself, foe as he was to me,
> Might liquid tears or heart-offending groans,
> Or blood-consuming sighs recall his life,
> I would be blind with weeping, sick with groans
> Look pale as primrose with blood-drinking sighs,
> And all to have the noble Duke alive. (III, ii, 56–64)

Margaret's language here is filled with blood, she even describes herself willing to drink blood to restore Gloucester—a horrific mocking image of the sacrament—but the blood of Gloucester is actually on

her hands. Henry responds briefly about how sad he is, leading to Margaret haranguing him for caring more about Gloucester than he does about her. She begins by telling him,

> Be woe for me. (III, ii, 73)
> . . .
> Be poisonous too, and kill thy forlorn Queen,
> Is all thy comfort shut in Gloucester's tomb?
> Why then Dame [Margaret] was ne're thy joy. (III, ii, 77–79)

She ends nearly fifty lines later by saying

> Ay me, I can no more! Die, Margaret,
> For Henry weeps that thou dost live so long. (III, ii, 120–21)

Shakespeare's Margaret is shameless in her attempts to manipulate Henry. Later in the scene, the Commons in Parliament demand that the Duke of Suffolk be banished, as they are convinced he was involved in Gloucester's death. Henry's agreement causes Margaret to despair, as she begs, "O Henry, let me plead for gentle Suffolk!" (III, ii, 289). But weak, malleable Henry for once will not be swayed:

> Ungentle queen . . .
> No more, I say! If thou dost plead for him,
> Thou wilt but add increase unto my wrath. (III, ii, 290–92)

As Suffolk leaves, Margaret tells him that he takes her heart with him.

If Margaret is devastated by Suffolk's expulsion, she is even more distraught when she learns of his death. Margaret starts to fall apart, but soon pulls herself together, telling herself:

> Oft have I heard that grief softens the mind . . .
> Think therefore on revenge, and cease to weep. (IV, iv, 1–3)

We see her revenge and hardness in the first act of the Henry VI part III when she stabs the Duke of York after the battle. Margaret hates the Yorks and their supporters, even more after York's son defeats her army and becomes king. Critical to the young Edward IV's success is his maternal uncle, the Earl of Warwick, and he is one of Margaret's greatest enemies. Yet she is determined and disciplined enough once Warwick breaks with Edward, to take him as an ally.

> Warwick, these words have turn'd my hate to love,
> And I forgive and quite forget old faults.[12]

When Warwick and Margaret with her young son Edward go to war, it is Margaret who most demonstrates her bravery. Yet the Lancastrians lose. Not only is Warwick killed but Margaret and her son are captured and Edward IV and his two brothers each stab Margaret's son

Edward, killing him. For Margaret this is worse than death and she begs, "O, kill me too!" (V, iv, 41) Edward's brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, is more than willing to oblige, but Edward feels they have "done too much" already, and lets her live, allowing the character to return in the next play where she keeps cursing Richard (V, iv, 43). Soon after Richard does kill her husband Henry.

Figure 3 "Queen, O Kill Me Too"

Source: Henry Courtney Selous, *Casell's Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1874. Public domain

Yet the character Margaret, like her historical counterpart, without her son and husband, is not only now a woman of no position but also devastated. Though the historical Margaret did not return in this way, in *Richard III* the character Margaret appears to taunt the Yorkists, suggesting that they will eventually be as miserable as she. After many asides to the audience as she watches the various Yorkists sniping at one another, she comes forward, noting that they are "wrangling" and "snarling" with each other, and asks them: "Which of you trembles not that looks on me?"[13] Margaret wants Edward's brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, whom she describes as "murth'rous villain," and "devil," to feel great pain as she did (I, iii, 133, 117).

> If heaven have any grievous plague in store
> Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
> O, let them keep it till thy sins be ripe,
> And then hurl down their indignation
> On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace! (I, iii, 216–20)

For Richard, Margaret is now a "foul, wrinkled witch" (I, iii, 163). The only pleasure that Margaret can have is in warning her enemies that the pain she feels will come to them as well. Though King Edward is seriously ill and there are worries what will come next, no one is ready to believe Margaret. By the time Richard has decimated many of the characters, the landscape has shifted, and both the Duchess of York and the dowager queen Elizabeth are distraught. Elizabeth's two young sons—the duchess's grandsons—are dead. The older woman says,

> So many miseries have craz'd my voice
>
> That my woe-wearied tongue is still and mute. (IV, iv, 17–18)

Though previously enemies, the duchess and Elizabeth now have more in common with Margaret—they too are devastated by loss, and because of the death of the males in their lives, they are also lacking in power. Once enemies, Elizabeth entreats Margaret to tell her how to curse her real enemies, and Margaret gives her clear directions.

> Forbear to sleep the nights, and fast the days;
> Compare dead happiness with living woe; (IV, iv, 118–19)
> . . .
> Resolving this will teach thee how to curse. (IV, iv, 123)

From what we know about her, the historical Margaret was loyal to her husband and fiercely protective of her son, but she was also

French—the ultimate enemy of the English—and married the king under a cloud, as the dowry was seen as insufficient and the marriage did not end the hundred years war. Without Margaret's passionate regard for the rights of her son, there could have been a smooth transition from a weak king—husband Henry—to a strong one in his cousin, the Duke of York. What Margaret most had in common with Edward II's wife Isabel, besides the nationality, was her willingness to take up arms and lead battles. And this may have been enough to cause those in early modern England to present her as a murderer. Margaret was a strong woman who passionately fought for her son, and, even with a woman on the throne—especially with a woman on the throne—strong women were problematic.

The historian and poet Samuel Daniel, in his 1609 *The Civile Wares betweene the Howses of Lancaster and Yorke*, is also highly critical of Margaret, but also of Henry, "a right good man, but yet an evill king," since he was weak and feeble, and unfit to rule.[14] Daniel's work is in some ways far more modern historiographically; he evaluated kings not on personal piety or courage, but on how effectively they ruled the realm. Daniel depicts Margaret as a "martiall Amazon," but describes the marriage between Henry and Margaret "a fatall match," and also blames her for the murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which Margaret accomplishes, so that by "her full desire / . . . she and her Minion Suffolke raigns" (196, 128, 136). But then Daniel departs sharply from Shakespeare's depiction and has Margaret agree to Suffolk's banishment, since fighting for her lover might cause her to lose her power.

> Shee yields to Pride: and rather thought it good,
> To sacrifice her Love unto their hate;
> Then to adventure else the losse of all:
> Which (by maintaining him) was like to fall. (138)

Daniel's Margaret is brave, but concerned only for her own power above all else.

In the early seventeenth century, the debates on women in some ways intensified. James I was extremely uncomfortable with the idea of strong and independent women. In January 1620 John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that James was so upset by the "insolencie of our women, and theyre wearing of brode brined hats, pointed dublets, theyre hair cut short or shorne" that he commanded John King, the bishop of London, to order the clergy to preach against this. Two

weeks later Chamberlain updated Carleton: "Our pulpits ring continually of the insolencie and impudencie of women."[15] About the same time was a pamphlet war on the subject of women's capabilities that contained some terrible comments about women but also led to more positive representations of Margaret.

In 1615 Joseph Swetnam published *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women* in 1615, originally under the pseudonym Thomas Tell-Troth, but soon reissued in his own name. The book had two further editions in 1616 and 1617, and was reprinted 12 times during the seventeenth century. Swetnam described women as greedy, lusty, dishonest, and cruel. He wrote, "a woman that hath a faire face, it is ever matched with a cruell heart, and her heavenly lookes with hellish thoughts; their modest countenance with mercilesse minds," which could well have been a description of Margaret.[16] Swetnam also warned men that "When a woman wanteth any thing, shee will flatter and speake faire, not much vnlike the flattering Butcher, who gently claweth the Oxe, when hee intendeth to knock him on the head" (11).

Swetnam's text sparked many heated responses. One was the 1617 *Ester Hath Hang'd Haman*, published under the pseudonym Ester Sowernam, a play on the name Swetnam. The author states that "If I should recite and set down all the honourable records and monuments for and of women, I might write more books than I have yet written lines," and decides to only mention a few of the many examples of women in England.[17] One she does choose is Margaret, "who, if her husband's fortune, valour and foresight had been answerable to hers, had left the crown of England to their own son" (20).

Thomas Heywood presents a far longer defense of Margaret, whom he names as one the nine "most Worthy Women of the World."[18] While he tells much of the same story as the one already detailed, he presents it rather differently. Heywood describes Margaret as having an "undaunted spirit," a "haughty and invincible spirit," of "being a woman of a brave and Heroicke Spirit," and as "that Heroycall Lady Margaret" (152, 159, 156, 171). While haughty could in the Renaissance mean "proud, arrogant, supercilious," it could also mean either "imposing in aspect; grand, stately, dignified," or "lofty, eminent; high-minded, aspiring; of exalted courage or bravery," and given the other descriptions of Margaret, it is likely Heywood is using the last meaning of "haughty" here.

Figure 4 Queen Margaret

Note: George Glover in Thomas Heywood, *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine the most worthy women of the vvorld: three Iewes. Three gentiles. Three Christians*

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He also describes her fury at her husband Henry agreeing that Richard, Duke of York, would be his heir—and rule for him during his lifetime—thus disinheriting their son Edward. Margaret and Edward at this point were in the north, and Heywood explains that the Council decided that the Duke of York should raise an army and go north against the queen, leading to a "sharp and bloody battle" (168). Heywood even uses Shakespeare's depiction of the result of the battle, how York was brought before Margaret, "who in great derision and scorne, placed him on a molehill, instead of a Throne,

and put a Crowne of paper on his head for a Diadem, and after she had sufficiently taunted, his ambition, caused him to be slaine" (168). Heywood does soften this by saying, "It is said," that happened, suggesting maybe it did not, but otherwise does not condemn Margaret for this action—and he does not present the Duke of York in a positive light in his discussions of how he tried to take over the realm.

Years later, when Margaret and her son battled Edward IV and his brothers, Heywood describes how the two were taken prisoner and brought before the king. Margaret still had "a bold and undaunted countenance," and she spoke to Edward not as a prisoner but "as what shee had beene, a commanding Princessse," which made Edward have her sent away (179). Her son was "the true heire to his Mothers magnanimous spirit" (179). When King Edward vilified the prince to his face, he "replyed unto him in a language, best suiting his birth, and the Sonne of such a Mother" (179). The king was so furious, he struck Prince Edward in the face, and then the king's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, stabbed him to death. If Heywood did not blame Margaret for killing King Edward's father, the Duke of York, he certainly condemned Edward and his brother Richard for killing Margaret's son.

Margaret felt great grief at the murder of her son, and even more so for "not having power to revenge her selfe" on his murderers (179). Her son's murder tormented her more than the imprisonment of her husband, the loss of her kingdom, or her own captivity, "yet outwardly shee is said to have borne all these disasters, with an incomparable magnanimity," meaning in that time great courage and fortitude (180). There is no mention in Heywood of Margaret being unfaithful to King Henry with the Duke of Suffolk, but he still took much of the story of Margaret that had been used in the chronicles and from Shakespeare to vilify the queen, and instead made her, because of her stalwart courage, into one of the nine greatest women of all history. I do not want to suggest that this view of Margaret was then the prevalent one, however. Histories of England later in the seventeenth century continued the story of Margaret as murderer of Humphrey of Gloucester.[19]

In the early modern period, there was a powerful debate about a strong woman when for at least part of that time a woman ruled. To castigate her, Margaret was referred to as a she-wolf. But the she-wolf was not only perceived negatively. The wolf, unlike the sheep, cow, or goat, had not one offspring to nourish but many, and did all she could to protect her whelps. According to Pierre de la Primaudaye,

"When the she woolfe hath yong ones, if she find hir selfe oppressed with dogs, or men, she taketh one of hir whelpes in hir mouth to beare away, that shee may not loose them all . . . Shee never leaves them except the hee woolfe remaine for their gard, going both by turnes out" so they could feed their young.[20] Moreover, Romulus and Remus, "two children ready to perish," were famously saved by a she-wolf, who had lost her own whelps, and "miraculously nursed" them.[21] Margaret may have been called a she-wolf, but she led armies as she bravely pursued the claim of her son. She was a woman well worth reckoning.

Notes

Earlier versions were presented at Grand Valley State University and the University of York. I am deeply grateful for very helpful comments at both of these venues. I truly appreciate the UCARE program at the University of Nebraska and my wonderful UCARE research assistant, Brittny Ofstedal.

1. William Shakespeare, *The Third Part of Henry the Sixth*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 711–47, esp. 717. Act I, scene iv, lines 97–98, 107–108. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
2. *AEsops fables, with the fables of Phaedrus moralized, translated verbatim, according to the Latine, for the use of grammar schooles, and for children* (London, 1646) has over 50 mentions of wolves. See also, for example, Thomas Adams, *The Blacke Devil or the Apostate Together with the Wolfe Worrying the Lambes* (London: William Jaggard, 1615).
3. For more on Margaret, also see Patricia-Ann Lee, "Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39.2 (1986), 183–217; Helen E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* Rochester (New York: Boydell Press, 2003); Sarah Gristwood, *Blood Sisters: the Women Behind the War of the Roses* (New York: Basic Books, 2013); Philippe Erlanger, *Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1971); J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445–1503* (New York: Oxford UP, 2004).
4. *Three Chronicles of the Reign of Edward IV*, intro. Keith Dockray (Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Alan Sutton, 1988), 9.
5. *An English Chronicle 1377–1461; A New Edition*, ed. William Marx (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), xiv, 65. 78. See also Dockray on this chronicle. "The Battle of Wakefield and the War of the Roses."

6. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1809). All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
7. Petruccio Ubaldini, *Le vite delle donne illustri. Del regno d'Inghilterra, & del regno di Scotia, & di quelle, che d'altri paesi ne i due detti regni sono stato maritate* (Londra : Appresso Giouanni Volfio, 1591).
8. John Stubbs, *John Stubbs's Gaping Gulf with Letters and other Relevant Documents*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1968), 45.
9. Mabillard, Amanda. *Henry VI, Part 1. Shakespeare Online*. August 20, 2000. (May 25, 2012) http://www.shakespeare-online.com/sources/1henryvisources.html.
10. Shakespeare, *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed.,ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 632–667, esp. 659. Act V, scene iii, line 78–79. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
11. William Shakespeare, *The Second Part of Henry the Sixth,* in *The Riverside Shakespeare* 2nd ed. ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 668–710, esp. 682. Act II, scene iv, line 22. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
12. Shakespeare, *The Third Part of Henry the Sixth*, 731. Act III, scene iii, lines 199–200. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
13. William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Richard the Third,* in *The Riverside Shakespeare* 2nd ed., ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997) , 748–804, esp. 759. Act I, scene iii, lines 157, 187, 159. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
14. Samuel Daniel, *The civile wares betweene the howses of Lancaster and Yorke corrected and continued by Samuel Daniel one of the groomes of hir Maiesties most honorable Priuie Chamber* (London: Simon Watersonne, 1609), 126. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
15. Chamberlain to Carleton, February 12, 1620, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, edited with an introduction by Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, 289.
16. Joseph Swetnam, *The araignment of lewd, idle, froward, and uvnconstant women or the vanitie of them, choose you whether : with a commendation of wise, vertuous and honest women : pleasant for married men, profitable for young men, and hurtfull to none* (London: printed for Thomas Archer, 1615), 4. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
17. Ester Sowernam, *Ester hath hang'd Haman: or An ansvvere to a lewd pamphlet, entituled, The arraignment of women With the arraignment*

of lewd, idle, froward, and vnconstant men, and husbands. Diuided into two parts. The first proueth the dignity and worthinesse of women, out of diuine testimonies. The second shewing the estimation of the foeminine sexe, in ancient and pagan times; all which is acknowledged by men themselues in their daily actions. VVritten by Ester Sowernam, neither maide, wife nor widdowe, yet really all, and therefore experienced to defend all (London: Thomas Snodham, 1617), 19. All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.

18. Thomas Heywood, *Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine: The Most Worthy Women of the World: Three Jewes, Three Gentiles, Three Christians* (London: printed by Thomas Cotes, 1640). All following quotations from this work will be cited in-text.
19. J. D., *A memorial for the learned, or, Miscellany of choice collections from most eminent authors in history, philosophy, physick, and heraldry* / by J. D., Gent (London, 1686).
20. Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The third volume of the French academie contayning a notable description of the whole world*, Englished R. Dolman (London, 1601), 387.
21. Thomas Heywood, *The generall history of women containing the lives of the most holy and prophane, the most famous and infamous in all ages, exactly described not only from poeticall fictions, but from the most ancient, modern, and admired historians, to our times* (London, 1657), 132.

After Lives

Regina Buccola

First, I had to learn to accept that France
would continue to exist without me in it.
I had to learn to spit out my own tongue
onto the marshy soil of *l'Angleterre*,
turn from proud princess to scorned, flouted queen.

Next, I had to learn to lose the husband
I had been bought and brought from *la France*
to espouse: *Henri Six* ceased to be regal,
sensate, martial. I had to strap on his breastplate,
ride astride, fight his battles, piss standing up.

Then my son, my joy, England's last hope.
My Edward—not the headstrong rebel who
pushed him out of the throne after his father
pushed him out of the line of succession.
La reine, moi; le roi, mon fils. Régnant.

And then I had to lose England itself, my second
home, burial ground of all that I had loved
as a woman, to thrash back across the Channel
to the land I had left as a girl, giddy with fear,
dizzy with delight at the prospect of being a queen.

Finally, I lost myself in the tabloid verses
of the paparazzi poet: the worst sins
in the most sordid terms, trapping me
in a land I'd long since left, carrying the head
of a man I'd never loved. *Loup. Tigre. Reine.*

Catherine of Aragon

Regarding Catherine of Aragon

Theresa Earenfight

To modern readers, Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) was a dutiful bride (twice), a neglected widow of Prince Arthur Tudor, a lively and happy then frustrated wife of Henry VIII, a devoted mother, and a bitter rejected queen consort who died a dowager princess.[1] Her life, "the tragic story of Henry VIII's first unfortunate wife," is a prelude to what, for many authors is the main event, Anne Boleyn and the divorce that sparked a religious reformation.[2] Biographers, both scholarly and popular, tell and retell a story in which Henry dominates the narrative. Using the same set of official sources, they see her obliquely, through the gaze of men—father, husband, courtiers, diplomats, and churchmen—who measure her importance as wife and widow. Yes, she was widowed after six months of marriage and endured seven years in diplomatic limbo until marrying again. But she also governed as Henry's regent in 1513, gave birth to his heir in 1516, bore five other children who did not live past infancy, tolerated her husband's infidelities, and defied Henry's efforts to divorce her.[3]

What is missing is Catherine herself. She was a complex cultural blend. Her Spanish parents, Isabel of Castile (1451–1504) and Fernando of Aragón (1452–1516), named her Catalina in honor of her grandmother, the daughter of Constanza of Castile and John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. Since early childhood, she was *la princesa de Gales*, betrothed to Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII (1457–1509) and his wife, Elizabeth of York (1466–1503). To the English, she was Ladie Kateryne of Spain, a foreign-born bride who brought to England her Spanish accent and entourage and seemingly exotic customs. Her pomegranate badge evoked the Muslim

Nasrid kingdom of Granada recently conquered by her parents. The pomegranate, the apple of Granada, was a token of a childhood spent in a warmer climate eating figs and oranges and growing up in a multi-faith society populated by Christians, Jews, and Muslims but witnessing the inquisition and expulsion of Jews. This was a doubly ironic choice, symbolizing fertility yet a poignant reminder of Persephone's annual season in the underworld.

She is, however, an elusive subject. She has kept her confidences well for centuries, so much so that very little of the copious bibliography on the Tudor era is devoted solely to Catherine. This is due in part to sources. Few of Catherine's letters survive, so we rarely hear her voice. When we do hear her, it is an act of ventriloquism, her words filtered through men's voices in letters, official documents, chronicles, and the Calendar of State Papers. Reading these sources in search of Catherine the woman is like looking through a telescope with a poor lens; we know she's there but we see mostly outlines or shadows. Spanish and English chronicles outline her life, but royal household accounts enliven the narrative. More than just lists of payments for clothing purchases, annuities, and moving expenses, these sources reveal personal relationships.[4] But her neglect also reveals scholarly bias. Historians of both England and Spain ignored her because she was either too Spanish or too English, either a Catholic queen of England or a Spanish *infanta* who moved to England.[5]

The historiographic tide has begun to turn, however. New research into the life of Catherine has shifted the focus from Henry, Anne, and the divorce. Antonia Fraser wrote an insightful feminist analysis of Catherine's life as part of a collective biography of Henry's six queens (1992).[6] Since then, scholars have studied Catherine on her own, analyzing aspects of her sovereignty, the political culture of queenship at the Henrician court, her role in the development of humanism, her patronage, and her legacy.[7] Although these studies take up particular questions of queenship, no study to date has looked broadly at Catherine of Aragon's practice of queenship. This is a striking absence, given the many books on queenship in the reigns of Isabel of Castile, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. The divorce, important as it was, has distracted us from seeing Catherine. She was more than just a victim of patriarchal dynastic concerns and the first of six queens overshadowed politically by Henry and his Privy Council. She was a vital part of Tudor monarchy whose ideas on women and power informed Mary's reign, whose sovereignty paved the way for Elizabeth's.

In this chapter, I will focus on Catherine's early life, from her birth in 1485 to the death of Isabel in 1504, the crucible of her queenship but a period that has received scant attention, attentive to three things common to both Spanish and English queens. First, both Isabel and Elizabeth survived challenges to political legitimacy from competing dynastic claims. In the decades before Catherine arrived at Plymouth in 1501, both Spain and England endured long periods of war that profoundly affected dynasty security and shaped Isabel and Elizabeth as queens. Second, both queens valued formal humanist education. Isabel's court was a sort of intellectual and artistic salon and she hired noted Italian tutors for her children. Elizabeth stimulated the creativity so important to the emerging aesthetics of the English renaissance and her mother-in-law Margaret Beaufort supported education and founded colleges at Cambridge.[8] Third, queens learn as much from experience as formal education. At a very early age, Catherine learned vital lessons in queenship from her mother as the family moved with Spanish armies who fought the Muslim king of Granada. She grew up in towns near battlefields, she listened to news reports of her mother at the head of armies, and was only six years old in 1492 when her parents captured Granada.[9] In England, Elizabeth guided her as a young princess in a foreign land and then as a widow. Elizabeth's death in 1503 meant that her personal contact with Catherine was brief, but Margaret Beaufort stepped in until her own death in 1509 and was an important resource for Catherine as widow and then wife. The influence of Isabel, Elizabeth, and Margaret guided Catherine through the deaths of children and her struggle to keep her family together, and help us understand one of the most controversial events in Catherine's life: whether or not she and Arthur actually consummated their marriage.

These issues of queenship are intertwined with kingship. Henry and Fernando were conventionally late medieval kings—masculine, tough-minded, and fully in charge of their realms whose monarchies were based on a preference for rule by a king. Both realms were governed by dynastic principles, coronation rites authorized the king (and sometimes the queen), coronation oaths bound him to his subjects and to the law, and marriage legitimized the heir. But there are important differences. Catherine's unwavering conviction that her daughter could rule legitimately in her own right should they have no son has deep roots in Castilian political culture and the unique monarchy of her parents. Castile had suffered decades of ineffectual rule by Juan II and Enrique IV, whose masculinity and fitness to rule was

challenged by nobles vying for power at court. In 1469, Isabel, on her own initiative and knowing full well what she was doing, defied a prohibition on her marrying without the consent of the realm and married Fernando of Aragon. Isabel persuaded her half-brother Enrique to designate her his heir. When he died in 1474, she seized the throne of Castile and carefully constructed her queenship as a balance of pious femininity and virile rulership. She ruled in her own right as sovereign queen regnant of Castile from 1474 to her death in 1504. Fernando inherited full sovereign power in the Crown of Aragon from his father and ruled until his death in 1516, but when he married Isabel he had to accept a novel and subordinate status as king-consort. Together, Isabel and Fernando sponsored the Inquisition, defeated the Muslim kingdom of Granada, ruthlessly expelled the Jews from Spain, and sponsored the voyages of Christopher Columbus. But, as Elizabeth Lehfeldt notes, Isabel also flaunted feminine symbolics: She was publicly a dutiful wife who flirted with her husband, looked aside at his infidelities, gave birth to five children, and embroidered his shirts. Critics who thought her too masculine and threatening found themselves outmaneuvered by a queen who very skillfully used the feminine piety of a wife and mother as a counterbalance to Fernando's militant masculinity.[10] The lesson for Catherine was that kings and queens worked together, symbolized by Isabel and Fernando's famous motto—"tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando," "as much Isabel as Fernando."[11]

But medieval England had no tradition of a sovereign queen, did not like queens as regent, and had no office like the politically important queen-lieutenant in the Crown of Aragon.[12] Elizabeth of York adopted the more conventionally deferential motto, "humble and reverent."[13] Questions of personal legitimacy concerned Henry VII greatly. He may have had some royal blood but he was not born to be king and he was only partly English: his grandmother was a French princess (Catherine of Valois) and his parents were English (Margaret Beaufort) and Welsh (Edmund Tudor). His heritage and his seizure of power after a military victory posed problems of political legitimacy that he tried to resolve by marrying the daughter and heir of a former king.[14] But he was beset by pretenders to the throne and ambitious relatives, bequeathing to his son a conviction—just as unwavering as Catherine's—that only a male heir would secure the Tudor dynastic future. Their divorce was never simply about canon law or papal powers. It was about the gender dynamics of power, the possibility of female rule, and conflicting ideas on kingship and queenship.

Catherine, born in the archbishop of Toledo's palace at Alcalá de Henares on December 16, 1485, was an attentive child who spent much of her childhood in the newly conquered kingdom of Granada alongside her mother. To care for and educate Catherine and her siblings—Juan, Isabel, Juana, and María—Isabel selected members of her own itinerant court who were trained in Latin, religious conduct, and decorous behavior. These women, bound to the queen and her daughters by ties of service and friendship, combined intellectual pursuits with sewing, embroidery, spinning, and weaving.[15] Her children received the rigorous education that Isabel wished she had had. Household accounts show that Isabel carefully selected and compensated her children's tutors.[16] Isabel's servants, Andrés de Miranda, a Dominican at the monastery of Santo Domingo (Burgos) and Beatriz Galindo (*la Latina*, "the Latinist") were important in educating the children. At age six, Catalina began her studies with two Italian humanists, the brothers Antonio and Alessandro Geraldino. Alessandro accompanied Catherine to England in 1501, served as her confessor, and wrote *De erudition nobelium puellarum* (*On the Education of Noble Girls*, 1501), at Isabel's request. At age 11, Catherine owned a breviary.[17] At age 12, she was expected to exercise some discretion and had learned to supervise servants. Her studies included philosophy, literature, and religion, and music (she could play the clavichord and harp). She could speak French, English, and German in addition to Castilian and Latin, prompting Beatriz Galindo to note that Catherine surpassed their mother in Latin learning.[18] She studied late medieval ideas on virtue, justice, and proper queenly behavior and Christianized versions of classical philosophy and natural science concerning medical understandings of the differences between the sexes.[19]

Catherine's tutors were guided by a copious body of literature on the education of an *infanta*, including *Regimiento do príncipes* by Juan García de Castrojeriz (1344) and Isidore of Seville, whose works emphasized the divine source of royal authority and good conduct expected of a king and queen. They would have read, or known of, works that dealt with the education of women such as Juan Rodriquez de la Camara's *El triunfo de las* donas (1443), Alvaro de Luna's *El libro de las virtuosas y claras mugeres* (*The Book of Virtuous and Famous Women*, 1446), and Fray Martín Alonso de Córdoba's *Jardín de la nobles doncellas* (*The Garden of Noble Maidens*, 1468). Córdoba's work, written in defense of Isabel's right to inherit the crown of Castile, was particularly influential.[20] These works follow a tradition of guides for girls

and female rulers such as Vincent of Beauvais and Egidio Colonna in the thirteenth century and Christine de Pizan's *Livre de trois vertus* (1405).[21] Also important were two works by the influential Catalan Franciscan, Francesc Eiximenis (d. 1409), whose *Llibre de les dones (The Book of Women)* and *Scala Dei* (*The Ladder to God*, also known as the *Tractat de la Contemplació*, or *Treatise on Contemplation*), which were part of the literary milieu of Isabel's court. Eiximenis wrote his works on women with queens in mind, in particular the late-fourteenth-century Catalan queen Maria de Luna, but they were intended to guide Christians in general. He discussed the nature of women and what they should do to overcome their limitations relative to men and emphasized the need to govern girls with care, good morals and customs, devout Christian prayers and practices.[22] It is easy to imagine Catherine dutifully following the instructions of Eiximenis to accompany her mother to church, carry a rosary, keep her head covered, and dedicate a portion of each day to prayer. At age nine she made pious donations at Easter and Christmas, and at fourteen she had an almoner among her court officials.[23] In turn, she used her own education to guide her daughter, Mary, by calling on her fellow Spaniard, the humanist Juan Luis Vives.[24]

It is noteworthy, however, that the reading material at the Castilian royal court included more than conventional devotional literature and conduct books. In the fifteenth century, Spanish male authors, like their English and French counterparts, were engaged in a vigorous debate over women in society. This genre, known as the *querelle des femmes*, has implications for Iberian queenship because one of the authors, Juan de Flores, was not only the author of a number of short romances, he was also the royal chronicler to Isabel and Fernando. He dedicated his works to women, and Emily Francomano argues that one of the key texts in the *querelle* was dedicated to an unnamed female reader who may well have been Isabel, making it likely that Isabel's daughters read works by de Flores.[25] Flores was responding to harshly misogynist works by a Catalan contemporary, Pere Torellas, who served at Fernando's court as soldier, courtier, and seneschal while composing poetry.[26] The debate over women recites familiar stereotypes of women as weak, inconstant, hysterical, and dangerous, but what makes them important to Catherine is that they are thinly veiled critiques or apologies for women and power. These and wider questions of gender that swirled around Castilian culture during Catherine's childhood fostered her tough intelligence, eloquence, and an ensemble of unwavering convictions that

influenced her understanding of queenship. She knew that sons were preferred over daughters and was no doubt aware that royal chronicler Alonso Fernández de Palenia's remarked when she was born that "a son would have caused *los reyes* greater happiness, for a succession depending on only one son inspired no small fear."[27]

Keeping all this in mind, Catherine waited out a very long betrothal to Arthur. Marriage negotiations began in 1488 and were on and off from 1419 to 1499 while Henry VII faced a challenge from Yorkist pretender Perkin Warbeck. The diplomatic fiasco threatened Henry VII's claim to rule and nearly derailed the marriage negotiations, which were further complicated by quibbles over her dowry.[28] It is unlikely that Catherine was a focus for the Warbeck plot, but there was some concern that her association with the plot might make her a suspicious person in England. The threat subsided by October 1496 when the final terms for the marriage were signed by Isabel, Fernando, and Henry VII. On August 15, 1497, she and Arthur were officially betrothed, and on May 19, 1499, they were married by proxy. When she left Spain in the late summer of 1501, Catherine as *princesa de Gales* was as ready to be a queen as any woman could have been. Well-educated, well-dressed, well-shod, and bejeweled, she was accompanied on her journey by a large retinue that included her *ama* (nanny) Inés Vanegas, Inés's daughters Mayor and Teresa who served as Catherine's ladies-in-waiting, and Elvira Manuel, her *camarera mayor* (head of household).[29]

Catherine's departure was emotionally very difficult for her mother, who by then had suffered the death of her only son, Juan, in 1497, and had sent all her other daughters off to foreign realms to marry—Isabel (d. 1498) to Portugal where she married twice, Prince Afonso (d. 1491) and King Manuel I (d. 1521); Juana to the Netherlands to marry Archduke Philip (d. 1506); and Maria to Portugal to marry Manuel, her sister's widower. Catherine bid her brother and sisters farewell, kept up with them through diplomatic reports, and grieved with her mother at Juan's death, which Isabel worried had been caused by an active sex life at too young an age. Isabel delayed sending Catherine to England until Arthur was at least 14 because she did not want them to consummate the marriage too early. We can only speculate on the psychological factors of leaving home and knowing that she may never see her family again, but it is clear that Isabel wanted to accompany her daughter to La Coruña. Both Isabel and Catherine fell ill with tertian fever that summer and Isabel was not well enough to make the trip. The

fleet carrying Catherine was caught in a storm, waited in Laredo for better weather, finally set sail in September, and landed at Plymouth on October 2, 1501.[30]

Catherine discovered when she arrived that queenship in England was both rather different and very much like what she knew of Spain. Early Tudor queens-consort were conventional in the sense that they were expected to conform to familiar medieval standards of nobility, beauty, virtue, temperance, and chastity. She would certainly have understood the actions of Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV (d. 1483), who protected her family after her brother-in-law's seizure of power and rule as Richard III. English queens were not expected to assume a position independent from their husbands, and books for princes warned the king not to disclose political matters to the queen. Elizabeth of York was daughter, sister, and niece of three kings (Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III) and heir to the throne twice: from her birth in 1466 until the birth of her brother in 1470, and again in 1483 at age 17, after the death of her father and her brothers, Edward V and Richard. Like Isabel, Elizabeth understood the unpredictable and transient character of human life. She experienced firsthand the deadly uncertainties of life in a royal family that were tempered in early childhood by familial civil wars and the death of loved ones. Her ability to claim her inheritance was nullified by her uncle, Richard III, who declared illegitimate her and her siblings. Despite her prominence, she was overshadowed by both her husband and mother-in-law, often regarded as the passive and uncomplaining wife of a ruthless, chilly man. But she was very valuable as the mother of Henry VII's children and a shrewd royal mother who wisely kept her head down, not only weathering harsh political tumult but doing so quietly, with a graceful steady force of will. She understood that she was an important counterbalance to her husband's weak claim to rule and an insecure structure of succession. For Catherine, she was a model of a queen-as-mother in very rough times who knitted together antagonistic factions and whose children were the products of that knitting. An heir or two is essential for an unsteady new dynasty, and in this Elizabeth exceeded expectations. Four children survived infancy (Arthur, Margaret, Henry, and Mary) but three died in infancy or shortly thereafter (Elizabeth, Edmund, and Catherine). Elizabeth almost disappeared from view after the Yorkist pretenders were gone and fears of a coup subsided; after Arthur's birth she had almost no official role in Henry's reign.[31] Like Isabel, Elizabeth

was close to her children, often travelling with them. Like Isabel, motherhood to her was more than just part of the job of queenship. Children were more than just heirs and representatives of dynastic legitimacy and security, and she took great care in educating and training the children.

But they differ significantly in one important way. Unlike Isabel who successfully fought to claim her inherited right to succeed and rule, Elizabeth did no such thing. But the wreckage of the English monarchy and the ruthless marital politics in the 1480s make her actions understandable. In the summer of 1483, after the death of Edward IV, Queen Elizabeth Woodville, with Elizabeth of York and her sisters, took sanctuary at Westminster. Parliament declared her marriage illicit and her children illegitimate, and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was made king. In 1485 Henry Tudor defeated Richard at Boswoth Field and was crowned king; a year later he married Elizabeth of York hoping to bolster his shaky dynastic claim. This risky but dynastically brilliant marriage appears to have been arranged by both Elizabeth Woodville and Margaret Beaufort.[32] Elizabeth was crowned queen in 1487, over a year after she gave birth to Arthur to make it appear that although she was vital, "in whose person could be found whatever appeared to be missing in the king's title elsewhere," Henry did not owe his kingship to her.[33]

She should have been able to display her family's power through the royal arms, but to do so would imply shared sovereignty with Henry. Instead, her arms celebrated her royal lineage without making obvious reference to her superior ancestral descent.[34] Henry dominated the relationship, but she was neither entirely silent nor powerless.[35] Her personal chambers were used for royal businesses involving other women, but high-ranking noblemen also attended these events. She carefully supervised household accounts, was influential in appointing people to high-ranking household positions, and supervised the renovations at Greenwich Palace in 1502. She took an active role in arranging marriages for her family and supported her sisters financially. This is subtle work, not noisy. It is personal, not high politics, but because it involved members of the royal family and their allies, it is not insignificant. Catherine, present at Elizabeth's court at Richmond, Greenwich, and Eltham, listened carefully, watched attentively, and took note of how to be an exemplary English queen-consort.

On October 2 when Catherine arrived at Plymouth and encountered more than Henry VII's entourage, she met English political

culture and customs. Some of the differences between Spain and England were apparent immediately. Catherine's comportment was more modest in demeanor than the English, which accounts for why she was shocked by the king's informality. In a famous clash of cultures on November 4, Henry and Arthur intercepted her at Dogmersfield, and Henry insisted on seeing her even "if she were in her bed."[36] She apparently assumed she was supposed to be secluded until her wedding. Spanish etiquette seems to be shorthand for cultural assumptions about how women were supposed to behave, but contemporary criticism of her as overly pious and staid had a tone that disparaged the Spanish. Life at the Castilian court had trained her well in decorous comportment and she proved to be comfortable in any public setting. In all the public ceremonies for the wedding, she aroused favorable comment on her fashion: "She was dressed in her native fashion, with a little hat like that of a Cardinal, and with her fair auburn hair hanging down her back. After the princess came four Spanish and four English ladies. One of them wore a black thing of cloth over the kerchief on her head, like a religious woman, after the manner of Spain [. . .] the Spanish women were marvellously dressed, but were not of the fairest." Catherine had received equestrian training, but there was some confusion about equestrian customs: "The Spanish ladies rode on the wrong side of their mules, and their saddles were like folding stools, with four staves, two behind and two before."[37] And she was familiar with the sumptuousness of royal dress. In her childhood, a large portion of the expenses for the *infantas* was cloth and articles of clothing. Isabel employed the services of tailors and shoemakers who knew that clothing was an important aspect of royal performance and made sure that dress highlighted not only a royal body but also the retinue around it.[38] Catherine also faced criticism about her Castilian entourage at her court in England. Isabel stipulated that Catherine have the right to maintain up to 150 Castilian servants while in England, and both the number of attendants and their poor language skills stirred comment.[39]

One other woman in the English royal court was central to Catherine's education. Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother, was regarded by contemporaries as much a queen as Elizabeth of York.[40] She survived the dangerous shifting political allegiances wrought by the deaths of two husbands, two kings, and her two nephews, and determined the course of her life with remarkable self-control and discipline. As a widowed mother at age 14, she

worked to protect her son from ambitious male relatives. With luck, shrewdness, and loyal allies, she navigated the uncertainties and the exile of her son to France. Family lands restored to her after the accession of Henry gave her a platform for public political action, which made her an important member of the regional government and was an active presence in Henry's reign. Her highly visible presence makes it difficult to know exactly what Elizabeth did of her own accord. To the modern eye, Elizabeth appears weak by comparison. But we should not privilege the actions of politically active women over someone who exercises subtle influence. Elizabeth shared power with Margaret, but she was not eclipsed entirely by her. The queen's favor was the route to power for a number of courtiers and she skillfully used her powerful family members. Laynesmith regards their relationship as more than cordial, citing the fact that both Elizabeth and Margaret united to persuade Henry not to allow the marriage of Margaret, then eight years old, to the twenty-four-year-old James of Scotland.[41] This kind of intervention was uncontroversial and subtle but not inconsequential.

Both Elizabeth and Margaret were attentive to human needs and realities and took different paths to the same goal and, sensing perhaps that minor cultural differences would need to be smoothed out, were closely involved with educating and nurturing Catherine.[42] Margaret hosted a sumptuous feast for Catherine's reception on her way to the wedding, and to make her Spanish guests feel comfortable among the English she assigned an English companion for each Spanish lady and lord. The request that Catherine learn French before her arrival came from both Margaret and Elizabeth, but it was Margaret who composed the list of Catherine's attendants for the coronation. Jones and Underwood, noting blank spots on the list, have suggested that some posts were pending until Elizabeth and Margaret conferred.[43] And Elizabeth of York made arrangements for Catherine to spend the night before her wedding in the queen's lodgings at Baynard's Castle, surrounded only by the queen's household and men of Catherine's entourage.[44]

It was, however, a very brief marriage. After the wedding festivities, the couple proceeeded through England, and on December 21 they arrived at Ludlow Castle at the Wales border where Arthur was head of royal government. The weather was cold and damp, almost everyone in the entourage was sick at some point, but Arthur's poor health made him especially vulnerable. On April 2, 1502, he died

from a pulmonary ailment and both parents grieved piteously and openly, which generated considerable comment at the time, showing a personal side of Elizabeth and Henry that official records do not convey.[45]

The intimate circumstances of their marriage and Catherine's subsequent marriage and divorce from Arthur's brother Henry are at the heart of one of the most controversial questions in history: Did Catherine and Arthur consummate their marriage? According to canon law, they were old enough to have sex and consummation was a key factor in legitimizing the marriage.[46] Arthur's health had been poor for some time, but Catherine's health was robust and it is not unreasonable to consider that they were physically able to have intercourse. It is unimaginable that Isabel of Castile would have allowed Catherine to marry had she not been mature enough. Contemporary sources suggest that male courtiers at the time believed the marriage had been consummated, and so they secluded Catherine and gave her attendants the day off.[47] Henry VIII certainly maintained that they did, citing a member of the prince's household, Sir Antony Willoughby, who testified two decades later during the divorce trial of Henry and Catherine that Arthur said to him, "I have been this night in the midst of Spain."[48] This quote is memorable but hardly fact. But then again, neither is Catherine's statement at the trial where she "affirmed on her conscience that from her marriage with Prince Arthur, on the 14th November, until his death on the 2nd of April, she had not slept in the same bed with him more than seven nights and that from him I remain untouched and pure as she [*sic*] came from the belly of her mother."[49] There are no records, or none that have come to light, reporting on the reactions of the women of the household.

This question will never be answered definitively, but it is worthwhile to consider the point of view of Isabel, Elizabeth, and Margaret Beaufort. Isabel was very careful to protect Catherine from an early marriage, fearing that she would end up dead from either the physical effects of intercourse while still so young or too often. We may never know exactly how much of her mother's fear Catherine understood, but the lesson was reinforced by Margaret Beaufort's own very real concern for the health of young brides. Childbirth in medieval Europe was risky no matter how old the mother was, but far riskier for young girls, something Margaret knew firsthand. When she married Edmund Tudor, he was 25 and she was 12 years old and 13 when she gave birth. It was a very difficult childbirth and she was never

pregnant again, leading some to speculate that her sexual relations with Edmund were physically brutal or that childbirth scarred her. The dangers of sex and childbirth at a young age led both Margaret and Elizabeth to oppose the marriage of Henry VII's seven-year-old daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland (then 24) because they feared that James "would not wait, but injure her and endanger her health until the young princess was suitably old enough to consummate the marriage."[50] Catherine had waited for years to marry and had learned the value of patience. The most likely scenario is that she assessed Arthur's poor health and they may well have engaged in some form of sexual intimacy, prompting Arthur's boast. But Catherine was not a woman to kiss and tell, so she revealed no details until much later. From Catherine's standpoint, it would have made sense to take it slow, making it is unlikely that they consummated the marriage and likely that she did indeed tell the truth at the divorce proceedings in 1529.

The widowed Catherine was treated with great kindness by her mother-in-law who settled past due bills accrued from the wedding: the expenses of black velvet used in the litter that brought Catherine to London from Ludlow, five bucks for Catherine's table at Durham House and four yards of flannel, Catherine's barge from Durham House to Westminster for a visit, and a litter of blue velvet with cushions of blue damask probably given to one of Catherine's attendants.[51] Until her death in 1504, Isabel paid annuities to her tutor and confessor, Alessandro Giraldino, and María and Teresa Figueroa, the daughters of her *ama*, Inés Vanegas.[52] Henry VII, too, initially showed great kindness to Catherine, but after the death of Elizabeth of York in childbirth in 1503, his generosity began to diminish. Only after the death of Henry VII in 1509 and Catherine's marriage to his surviving son, Henry, does Catherine again take a prominent place at court.

After 1509, Catherine stepped forward into a brighter light and we know more about her. But many questions remain. What was Catherine's relationship to her father like before she left Spain? What are the psychological factors of leaving home and knowing that she many never see her family again? What can we learn from Catherine's Spanish and English friends? From her Tudor sisters-in-law? From her brother's widow, Margaret of Austria? How, and from whom, did she learn how to manage a household? From whom did she learn about health, especially about women's health, pregnancy, and child rearing?

In many ways, Catherine blended smoothly into life among the Tudors, but the similarities and differences of queenship are striking. Elizabeth of York seems a conventional queen-consort who legitimized the dynasty through her marriage, her children, and grandchildren. Unlike Isabel, Elizabeth probably did not have much choice whether to marry Henry or not. She made no attempts to claim the throne itself and did not try to diminish Henry's authority. Her practice of queenship was starkly different from what Catherine knew best from the marriage of her parents, a marriage of equal royal partners, both governing in their own right. Still, the similarities are striking. Isabel and Elizabeth understood the uncertainties of legitimacy, both of one's birth and one's right to rule. Both were fundamental to forging a new sense of national unity when their marriages united warring branches of a fractured family. Both endured the death of a beloved son. Both realized the value of loyalty and submission to men even as they acted autonomously. Both were obedient, constant wives and tenacious, resilient survivors who created two families that dominate the history and culture of early modern Europe. This heritage and these women shaped Catherine's upbringing, education, and acculturation into the English court. She knew intimately and well that a queen could act honorably in public and govern skillfully, but also she knew the power of men's hostility to women, their belief that women by nature were unruly, unable to control themselves, and unfit to govern others. This knowledge informed her later actions, from her regency of England while Henry was in France in 1513 to the steely dignity of her intellect and demeanor during the divorce proceedings. Catherine's keen awareness of the contradictions and responsibilities of queenship was taught to her by women who knew the ins and outs of the job.

Regarding Catherine as Isabel of Castile's daughter and Elizabeth of York's daughter-in-law provides a much richer understanding of queenship than we get when we privilege the political over the personal. We see how a woman learned to be queen, how cultural and personal experiences informed decisions that affected both her family and the realm. When we adjust our sightlines and see them not through the eyes of men but of women, we take women on their own terms. We see women essential to the public and private aspects of monarchy and governance but whose practice of queenship was more complex than what we see when we only look at the masculine ambits of power.

Notes

1. Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston: Little Brown, 1941); Francesca Claremont, *Catherine of Aragon* (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1939).
2. Patrick Williams, *Katharine of Aragon: The Tragic Story of Henry VIII's First Unfortunate Wife* (Stroud: Amberley, 2013).
3. Giles Tremlett, an English journalist, recently reversed this trend in a popular biography that uses more original research in the Spanish archives on Catherine than any scholar since Mattingly. *Catherine of Aragon: The Spanish Queen of Henry VIII* (London: Walker, 2010).
4. For Isabel, see Antonio de la Torre and E. A. de la Torre, eds., *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, Tesorero de Isabel la Católica*, 2 vols (Madrid: Consejo Superior de la Investigaciones Científicas, 1955); and Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *La Corte de Isabel I: Ritos y ceremonias de una reina 1474–1504* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2002). For Elizabeth of York, see Nicholas Nicolas, ed., *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York; Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV, with a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes* (London: Pickering, 1830); Arlene Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002).
5. For brevity, throughout this essay I will use Spain to refer to the joint realm of Castile and the Crown of Aragon of Isabel and Fernando.
6. Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Knopf, 1992).
7. Betty S. Travitsky, "Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50.1 (1997): 164–74; Timothy Elston, "Almost the Perfect Woman: Public and Private Expectations of Catherine of Aragon, 1501–1536," PhD dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2004; Matthew C. Hansen, "'And a Queen of England, Too': The 'Englishing' of Catherine of Aragon in Sixteenth-Century English Literary and Chronicle History," in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 79–100; and Georgianna Ziegler, "Re-Imagining a Renaissance Queen: Catherine of Aragon among the Victorians," in "*High and Mighty Queens*," ed. Levin, Carney, and Barrett-Graves, 203–22.
8. Timothy G. Elston, "Transformation of Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I and Juan Luis Vives," "*High and Mighty Queens*," ed. in Levin, Carney, and Barrett-Graves, 11–26, esp. 13–14; Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 221; Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 202–31.

9. It is possible to trace her travels across Spain through the household accounts that note payments for moving her household. De la Torre and de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 1, 238, 267, 319–20, 381–83, 398; vol. 2, 21–23, 257–58, 334–35, 535, 623.
10. Elizabeth Lehfeldt, "The Gender-Shared Sovereignty: Texts and the Royal Marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand," in *Women, Texts, and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, ed. M. V. Vicente and L. R. Corteguera (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 37–55; idem, "Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 31–56.
11. Theresa Earenfight, "Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchical Partnership," in *Questioning the Queen: Isabel I of Castile 500 Years Later*, ed. Barbara Weissberger (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), 3–18; Peggy Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2004; 1st ed. 1992); Barbara Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004); and idem, ed., *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008).
12. Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens, and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender and History* 19.1 (2007): 1–21.
13. J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 125.
14. Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (London: Routledge, 2007), 10–11.
15. Angela Muñoz Fernandez, "Notas para la definición de un modelo socioreigioso femenino: Isabel de Castilla," in *Las Mujeres en el cristianismo medieval: Imágenes teóricas y cauces de actuación religiosa*, ed. Angela Muñoz Fernandez (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1989), 415–34; Ronald E. Surtz, "In Search of Juana de Mendoza," in *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain*, ed. Helen Nader (Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois P, 2004), 48–70.
16. Isabel continued to pay annuities to Alessandro Geraldino ("maestro de las ynfantes") until her death in 1504. See de la Torre and de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 120, 125, 206, 263, 340, 378, 420–22, 455, 653. The royal account books report expenditures on books, patronage, philanthropy, alms, as well as clothing and jewelry from 1478 to 1504.
17. de la Torre and de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 332–33.
18. Cristina de Arteaga, *Beatriz Galindo "La Latina"* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1975), 31; Bethany Aram, *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001), 24–27; Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 286.

19. Anna Dronzek, "Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books," in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2001), 133–59. See also Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 21–26.
20. Elston, "Almost the Perfect Woman," 40; Elston, "Transformation of Continuity," 16–17.
21. Lorraine Attreed and Alexandra Winkler, "Faith and Forgiveness: Lessons in Statecraft from Queen Mary Tudor," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36.4 (2005): 971–89.
22. David J. Viera and Jordi Piqué, *La dona en Francesc Eiximenis* (Barcelona: Curial, 1987); David J. Viera, "Francesc Eiximenis on Women: Complimentary or Conflicing Views?" *Catalan Review* 17.2 (2003):1 93–204.
23. De la Torre and de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 161, 358, 434, 440, 521, 583.
24. Elston, "Transformation or Continuity," 11–26.
25. Emily Francomano, ed. and trans., *Three Spanish* Querelle *Texts:* Grisel and Mirabella, The Slander against Women, *and* The Defense of Ladies against Slanderers (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013), 51.
26. Francomano, *Three Spanish* Querelle *Texts*, 1–33.
27. Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 233–34.
28. On Perkin Warbeck and his impact on the Spanish negotiations for Catherine's marriage, see Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy, 1491–1499* (Stroud: History Press, 2009), 86–88, 109–10, 176, 181–215, 308.
29. De la Torre and de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 487, 498–99, 505–506, 511–15, 525, 531.
30. Liss, *Isabel the Queen*, 380–81.
31. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 148–49, 179–80; Arlene Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 221
32. Cunningham, *Henry VII*, 10–11; Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 1–40.
33. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, quoting the Crowland continuator on 58–59; see also 89–90; Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 55–64.
34. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 155–55, 184–85, 217–18, 233, 237, 247–49.
35. Malcolm G. Underwood, "The Pope, the Queen, and the King's Mother; or The Rise and Fall of Adriano Castellisi," in Benjamin Thompson (ed), *The Reign of Henry VII* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), 65–81, esp. 73.
36. Okerlund, in *Margaret of York*, 154–63, gives a richly detailed account of Catherine's arrival based on a close reading of the accounts of

the many ceremonies that greeted Catherine. For the meeting on November 4, see 155–57.

37. Robert Fabyan, A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, eds. *The Great Chronicle of London*, attributed to (London: G. W. Jones, Dolphin, 1938), 236.
38. Aram, *Juana the Mad*, 16, 24–27.
39. Her sister Juana, Archduchess of Austria, experienced similar reactions to her Spanish entourage in the Low Countries. Luís Suárez Fernández, *Polítca internacional de Isabel la Católica*, 5 vols. (Valladolid: Instituto "Isabel la Católica: de Historia Eclesiastica, 1965), vol. 4, 636–42, doc. 188.
40. G. A. Bergenroth, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish. I. Henry VII, 1485–1509* (London: 1862), 164; Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 75.
41. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 211.
42. Ibid., 210. Margaret Beaufort was generous to Catherine with New Years' gifts.
43. The mingling of the duchess's household with the queen's was evident at Catherine's coronation in 1509 when officials attached to Margaret appear on the list of officials for Catherine. Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 161, 166.
44. Kipling, *Receyt*, 38.
45. One of the chroniclers said that "so sore and great violence had battled and driven in the singular parts of him inward; that cruel and fervent enemy of nature, the deadly corruption" caused Arthur's death. This description led to speculation that it was sweating sickness that he may have caught while washing feet on Maundy Thursday, but it was likely a pulmonary ailment. Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 181–86, quote on p. 185.
46. For medieval canon law on consummation, see Constance Bouchard, "Neither Bewitched nor Beguiled: Philip Augustus's Alleged Impotence and Innocent III's Response," *Speculum* 89.2 (2014): 410–36.
47. Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 170.
48. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London: HMSO, 1876), vol. 4, part 3, 2577.
49. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. 4, ccccxvii; translation in Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 169.
50. G. A. Bergenroth, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, I. Henry VII, 1485–1509* (London: 1862), 176. The couple waited six years and were married in 1503.
51. Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 10, 48, 61, 69, 94, 103; Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, 113, 184–86, 194, 215–17.
52. De la Torre and de la Torre, *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza*, vol. 2, 653–57.

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Of Books and Bijou: The Poet's Letter to Katherine

Christine Stewart-Nuñez

Wedding bliss subsided. To quell homesickness,
Henry VII invited you to Richmond, hosted
your ladies in his new library. Bookish Infanta!
He planned to please you with words penned
in Latin, English. To seal his success, velvet
boxes opened: brooches set with sapphires
and pearls, carcanets of emeralds, habillaments
of diamond and topaz, ruby rings. *Choose
your heart's desire*, he said. After Arthur's
death, your mother-in-law tried to assuage
your sorrow by sending you more books
and a barge to sail for Court. Yet *bransles*
dances and delectable meat-pies at Richmond
didn't work. You *wrote* you heart's desire.
I imagine you sat as I do now, heavy-eyed, elbow
on oak, chin resting on your palm, fingertips
of your free hand poised to ink the page. How
the thrill of the chasing down the right word
suits us. We both *dare not write the truth in plain
writing*. For me, the puzzle of marrying image
and sound; for you, daughter-diplomat, the cipher
of shape and code: Rs disguised as 7s, Cs as +
and Ys as Ø. Perhaps a day at your desk
decorated your hand with a garnet of ink;
mine ends with pear-shaped impressions.
Even after we've closed the day's page,
our minds search for sharp sparkle and cut
of phrase, those handsome sets of persuasion.

Granadas: Katherine to Her Daughter

Christine Stewart-Nuñez

As a toddler, stumble-stepping
in the palace, I sought quince jelly—
the fruit hard and sour until bletted
or stewed. I adored *azúcar rosado.*
almost as sweet the pomegranate,
my badge. In Greece, it meant
ambition; in Egypt, fruit of the dead.
To the Spanish Jews my mother
expelled, killed, or converted—
productivity. The first time I took
one whole, I sliced open its leathery
skin and ripped. Seeds burst, juice
streaking white marble magenta.
I plucked seventeen seeds and sucked
one at a time, then chewed, bitter
splinters on my tongue. The King,
your father, planted the first
pomegranate in England. The taste
takes me home to the Alhambra's
glistening pools, green gardens,
hibiscus hedges of hot pink
blossoms. In Hampton Court's
Great Hall, look for my Coat of Arms
and the branch carved to decorate
the doorway. How prescient I was;
granadas taken for weapons. Consider
mine launched and rolled through
time. See? The golden ovals are slit
open to look like watching eyes.

Mary Stuart

The Widow of Scots: Examining Mary Stewart in Her Widowhoods

Alyson Alvarez

On February 11, 1567, Mary Stewart, the queen of Scotland, attended the wedding ceremony and dinner of her favorite chambermaid, Margaret Carwood. Mary's presence at the wedding celebrations caused disbelief amongst the Scottish people, as it occurred the day after the murder of her second husband, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. On February 10, 1567, only one year after the birth of his son James, Darnley died under suspicious circumstances at Kirk o' Field. While initially it looked as if Darnley had been killed in an early morning explosion, his body, along with his servant, was found strangled right outside the house.

Mary's attendance at her maid's wedding was not the only action that caused rampant gossip and speculation among both her own subjects and the people of England; on May 15, almost exactly three months after Lord Darnley's suspicious death, she married James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, who many suspected was involved with the murder of her husband. While the funeral, investigation, and Bothwell's trial for the murder of Lord Darnley were cloaked in controversy, it was the quick marriage that initiated uproar against the newlywed couple.

Mary's unconventional behavior after the death of her second husband defied what was expected from widows in early modern Europe. Widows of all stations were obligated to behave in a certain manner and follow established traditions. This chapter examines how Mary Stewart functioned during her widowhoods and argues that her experience after the death of her first husband, Francis II, contributed to her erratic behavior after the death of Lord Darnley.

When widowed for the first time, despite acting as a proper widow, the young Mary faced numerous challenges as she returned to Scotland. She also had the example of how Catherine de Medici handled her own widowhood. Following Darnley's murder Mary did not adhere to the expectations customary for widows, thus creating great anxiety for her subjects. Nor was she as astute as her former mother-in-law. Mary's inability to behave as a proper widow after Darnley's death eventually led to her downfall.

Widows in the early modern period were often treated with mockery, hostility, or contempt. The aversion that society demonstrated toward widows likely originated from legal rights the women gained upon the deaths of their husbands. Widows were no longer obliged to the concept of coverture, which dictated that when men and women married, the law considered them a single person. Unlike wives, widows were able to create and sign legal documents, as well bring disputes to court by themselves.[1] Additionally, widows would often serve as the executors to their husbands' wills.[2] The legal opportunities awarded to widows gave these women the opportunities to legally protect themselves and their property, thus granting them a significant amount of autonomy.

In addition to being freed from the restrictions of coverture, numerous widows also challenged the patriarchal society by living on their own. Aristocratic widows, particularly, were able to run their own estates. Wealthy widows became responsible for the tasks that were previously completed by their husbands, including maintaining tenants and collecting rents. Although some widowed women employed men or recruited male relatives to help, the majority of widows took care of their properties by themselves. Widows not only gained power through managing estates, but they were also able to gain authority and influence through the patronage of artists and authors, thus acquiring recognition and prestige for both themselves and their families. Wealthy widows also had opportunities to bequest money and land as they pleased, which in turn gave them substantial influence within their families and communities.

The autonomy and power that women gained in their widowhoods challenged the patriarchal communities in which they lived. The obstacles that widows faced manifested in a number of ways, including strict standards and expectations. Widowed women often needed to protect themselves from men who felt entitled to their inheritances, as male relatives sometimes attempted to claim a widow's property. The independence of widows had threatened the rigid

societal structure of early modern Europe, where men typically possessed authority.

When Mary Stewart was widowed a second time in 1567, Western Europe was in the hands of powerful queens and regents, such as her cousin Elizabeth I and her former mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici. These women, despite their authority, still caused anxiety for many of their subjects. Mary challenged societal notions about rulers not only as a queen in her own right, but also a widow who refused to follow traditional expectations.

Mary Stewart 's lineage played a key role in her life, as it placed her in a position that they allowed her to claim the rights to multiple thrones and apparently affected how she saw herself and her abilities. The only surviving child of James V of Scotland and Mary of Guise, Mary was born on December 8, 1542. She was grandaughter of James IV and Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII of England. Mary's established ancestry enabled her to claim that she was rightfully queen of England, as Catholics considered Elizabeth to be illegitimate. As queen of Scotland, almost from birth, Mary was a great marriage prize for any European prince. King Henry VIII wanted the young queen raised in England and to be the wife of his son, Edward. This "rough wooing" greatly concerned her mother, Mary of Guise, who negotiated a marriage between the four-year-old Mary and the dauphin of France, the son of Henry II and Catherine de Medici.[3] Because Scotland and France had a long history of fostering a natural alliance through intermarriage, Mary of Guise's decision to marry her daughter into the French royal family had been expected and practical. The marriage offered great benefits for both families; Henry II now had even more access to Scotland and the Guise family continued their influence in France. In July of 1548, Mary boarded one of Henry II's royal ships and made the 18-day journey to France.[4]

Mary, only six years old at the time of her arrival in France, was raised alongside her betrothed and his royal siblings. Although Mary did not speak French when she arrived, Henry II insisted that Mary learn it. Henry's sister, Marguerite, directed the education of the royal children, in which they learned about cultural and geographic aspects of France. The children were also exposed to other traditional subjects, including Latin and classical literature.[5] Henry's insistence on Mary understanding both the language and history of France would have been a strategic attempt to make sure that Mary was raised culturally French in order that she would behave as an

appropriate queen consort. Mary was said to be a captivating child, entertaining the court by reciting Latin and dancing. Mary's personality contrasted with the reserved dauphin, who was two years younger than his future bride. Francis was also small for his age and often sick. Despite the two children possessing strikingly different personalities, the two cared for one another and Mary often helped care for the frequently ill Francis.

Years after arriving in France, the details of the royal couple's marriage were sorted out, and their marriage contract was negotiated and finalized. The contract stated that if Francis should die without an heir, Mary could choose whether she wanted to stay in France or return to Scotland. Mary would also receive a large dower and remain in control of Scotland. The wording of the contract also discusses what would happen if Mary died, or if the two had any children.

On April 24, 1558, Mary and Francis's marriage festivities finally began. As expected, the royal couple had an extravagant three-day celebration. The next year the couple was crowned king and queen when King Henry II was fatally injured in a jousting tournament.[6] While Catherine de Medici was distraught at the loss of her husband, she did not observe the customary six-weeks of mourning. Additionally, Catherine, who worked diligently to prepare her oldest son to take the French throne, also chose to wear black, rather than traditional white mourning robes.[7] Catherine's ability to maintain power within the French court despite her disregard of mourning customs may have effected how Mary understood the expectations of widowed queens. While the royal couple was of age to rule, Francis' mother took the opportunity to engage in politics directly and dealt with many of the administrative issues. Mary's powerful Guise uncles also worked to maintain political control in France during the young newlyweds' reign. Francis only ruled for one year before he died in 1560 after an abscess formed in his brain. The close connection that Mary and Francis developed as a result of being raised together caused Mary deep sorrow upon her husband's death.

Unlike her mother-in-law a year earlier, as a widow, Mary closely followed the mourning customs that were practiced by the French aristocracy. Almost immediately after Francis' death Mary went into seclusion for 40 days. Mary, who donned white robes for mourning, remained in her rooms, which were kept dark and draped with dark cloth.[8] Following the French traditions, Mary saw very few people

during her mourning period—only her close family and later her bishops. Other than her relatives and religious leaders, nearly everyone was denied access to the widow. Prior to her seclusion, Mary willingly returned the crown jewels to her mother-in-law, suggesting that she had no intention of keeping anything that did not rightfully belong to her.[9]

The French mourning customs were not the only traditions of which Mary had to be aware; European thought on widows was deeply influenced by Spanish Humanist, Luis Juan Vives. Vives was the author of the influential work titled *De institutione feminae Christianae,* or *Instruction of a Christen Woman.* The Latin work was originally produced in the 1524 and translated into several different languages, including French. This notable piece of literature, dedicated to Queen Catherine of Aragon, played a key role in both the treatment and perception of women for centuries after its publication. Timothy Elston argues how important it was for widows, even queens, to behave properly.[10] Vives' text dictated how women should behave at different stages of their lives. The work, which is divided into three sections, begins by discussing the proper behavior for a maid. The text then declares the roles of a wife and mother. The last section of the book assesses widowhood and the acceptable behavior for a widow. The first aspect that Vives covers pertains to mourning, in which he claims that wives should not mourn excessively but rather trust that their husbands are safely in heaven and work to console their grief, "but let her so mourne, that she remember soberness and measure, that other may understand her sorrowe, without her own bostyng and utteruance. And after that first bronte of her sorrowe is past and swaged, than let her begynne to study for consolation".[11] Vives also asserts that widows should honor their husbands' memory by living as if their husbands were still alive; they should remain chaste. Vives suggests that unless a woman had young children and needed help, she should refrain from remarrying. Vives' examination of widows remained dominant in European culture for so long simply because it was one of very few texts that discussed widows and what was expected of them.

Although Mary eventually remarried after the death of Francis, a necessity for her as queen, she did follow the majority of expectations that were set for widows. Mary remained chaste while the European courts fretted over who she would marry. One of the only expectations that Mary could not meet was concealing her grief. Mary's anguish was exacerbated by the death of her mother, who

died earlier that year in 1560.[12] Mary even had trouble eating after the death of her husband: a Venetian ambassador, Michiel Surian, noted Mary's deep and genuine sadness.

> So by degrees every one will forget the death of the late King except the young Queen, his widow, who being no less noble minded than beautiful and graceful in appearance, the thoughts of widowhood at so early an age, and of the loss of a consort who was so great a King and who so dearly loved her, and also that she is dispossessed of the crown of France with little hope of recovering that of Scotland, which is her sole patrimony and dower, so afflict her that she will not receive any consolation, but, brooding over her disasters with constant tears and passionate and doleful lamentations, she universally inspires great pity.[13]

Even after Mary had moved back to Scotland, she continued to wear black to demonstrate her sorrow.[14]

Despite adhering to the French customs of mourning and submitting to the more general European expectations of widows, Mary still struggled after Francis' death as she was forced to return to Scotland, despite her marriage contract, which stated that she could choose to remain in in France. Mary's mother's powerful family, the Guise, hoped that the widowed Mary might stay in France and eventually marry her young brother-in-law, Charles IX, but Catherine de Medici, who ruled as regent, immediately rejected the idea. John Guy suggests that Catherine and Mary had been at odds with one another since both women intended on nursing the ailing Francis.[15] Furthermore, as an apt political player, Catherine understood the importance of limiting the influence of the Guise family. Beginning almost immediately after Francis' death, there were rumors of who the young widow would take as a second husband. One alluring option that was immediately discussed was Don Carlos of Spain. Don Carlos was in line to inherit the Spanish throne and he was a devout Catholic, but, like Mary's first husband, Don Carlos had been sickly his entire life. While another royal marriage would have been appealing to Mary and her relatives, this match was unlikely since there was a lack of support from other European monarchs, including her former mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici, and her cousin, Elizabeth I. Both Catherine and Elizabeth resisted any marriage that would contribute to the Spanish Empire. While Elizabeth instead suggested her own favorite Robert Dudley as a potential suitor, and made him Earl of Leicester, his complicated relationship with Queen Elizabeth and the suspicious death of his first wife also made him an unlikely candidate.

When Mary returned to Scotland, the country was in a disarray, as there were both political and religious strife. Not only was there abundant religious conflict, there were also powerful Scottish lords constantly competing for power and control of the country during the regency of Mary of Guise. In Scotland, Mary struggled as she attempted to rule a land that was very different from France. Despite Mary having been born in Scotland, she spent most of her life abroad, and as a result was unfamiliar with life in Scotland and its needs. Mary seemed foreign to the Scottish people; moreover much of the population was Protestant and Mary had always been a devout Catholic. Meanwhile, Mary, who remained unmarried during the transition back to Scotland, had been considering a number of suitors and one that she had shown a great interest in was her cousin Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley.

Darnley was son of Matthew Stewart, fourth earl of Lennox and Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor, and thus Henry VIII's niece. Though of Scottish background, Darnley was born Yorkshire and raised amongst the English nobility. Although Darnley had been brought up Catholic, he was apparently unconcerned with his faith, as he professed the reformed religion while in England. In January 1565 Darnley and his father received permission from Elizabeth I to go to Scotland to take care of their estates.[16] Darnley met with Mary on February 17 and the two spent much time together. Although the meeting between the queen and Darnley signified that a marriage was possible, there was great resistance to the marriage by members of the Scottish aristocracy, particularly by Mary's illegitimate brother James Stewart, Earl of Moray. Despite the controversy, the two wed on the Sunday July 29, 1565, in a Catholic ceremony, and the following day Darnley was declared king.[17]

Mary's marriage to Darnley was tumultuous, as she was forced to address the political and religious instability occurring in Scotland. The marriage was not popular; many of the Scottish nobles found the new king to be arrogant, vain, and insolent. Within a few weeks of the wedding, Darnley insisted that he be awarded crown matrimonial, which would allow him to rule as king if Mary were to die before him, and he was very upset that this was not granted.[18] In addition to the country's issues, Mary and Darnley were also at odds over David Riccio, a young Italian musician at Mary's court, who attracted negative attention from the powerful Scottish lords, including the king. James Melville, a Scottish diplomat, notes that he attempted to warn the queen that her relationship with Riccio

would cause great discomfort for nobility.[19] Melville's assertion had been correct, and the influential and dominating nobles, along with her jealous husband, claimed that Riccio's access to the queen was inappropriate and began conspiring against him. On March 9, 1566, as Mary dined with Riccio and a few of members of her court, the plotters, including Darnley, marched in and killed Riccio.

At the time of Riccio's murder Mary was pregnant and on June 19, 1566, Mary Stewart gave birth to her son James.[20] Mary had fulfilled her duty as both a wife and queen as she was able to deliver a male heir. The birth of James should have been reason enough to celebrate the queen of Scotland, yet the people of the realm remained resistant to the young monarch and her relationship with Darnley continued to deteriorate.

Darnley's behavior not only altered his relationship with the queen, but also isolated him from the other members of the aristocracy. In February of 1567, Lord Darnley was briefly staying at Kirk o' Field as he recovered from illness. On February 10, an explosion occurred at Darnley's lodgings and his body was found in the garden.[21] An examination of Darnley's body revealed that the cause of death had been strangulation or suffocation. The death of the king caused immediate rumors and speculation about who was responsible for the murder and one of the men suspected of the plot was James Hepburn, Lord Bothwell.

Mary was at the palace of Holyrood when she heard the news of her husband's death. Darnley's body was brought to Holyrood Castle, where Mary solemnly identified him. Mary was sorrowful and quiet as she completed what was required in identifying Darnley.[22] Like a proper royal widow, Mary requested that her court go into mourning. Due to the death of her first husband, King Francis, Mary not only understood the proper steps in mourning but also how important it was socially and politically to the nobles. Despite comprehending the significance of mourning practices, it took Mary five days to order her mourning garments.[23] When Mary did order the appropriate attire, she also requested 150 pounds black cloth to drape around her rooms.[24]

Although Mary was aware of what was expected of a widow, she did not adhere to all of the strict mourning practices that were required of a queen. The day after Darnley's death, prior to entering the traditional 40-day seclusion, Mary attended the wedding of her maid, Margaret Carwood. Margaret, who wore a dress that Mary had purchased for her, married John Stewart, of Tullyuist, on February 11.[25] Mary's decision to appear at Margaret's wedding contrasted the

choices that Mary made after the death of Francis, when she grieved publicly and then remained in her private rooms. Going to the wedding did not reflect well on the young queen, as many expected her to mourn privately. After her 40-day mourning period, Mary chose to wear a veil when she went out, though rumor of her presence at the wedding tarnished her persona as a grief-stricken widow.

The scandal of Mary's appearance at the wedding of her favorite bedchamber maid was exacerbated by her other actions. Twice in February Mary had visited Seton, which was about ten miles away from Edinburgh. On Mary's second visit, Bothwell had accompanied her. It is unclear whether or not Bothwell was actually by her side the entire time or had arrived separately; it is also uncertain what Mary did during her second visit in late February. Mary also chose to have a private funeral for Darnley, as opposed to having a state funeral, which would have been traditional for a king of Scotland.

Attending such a festive event, visiting Seton, hosting a small funeral, and not continuing to mourn traditionally, had not been the only decisions that affected her image as a widow. In a letter that Mary wrote to Archbishop Beaton after the death of Darnley, she suggests that she intended to discover the plotters:

> We doubt not but, according to the diligence our Council has begun shortly, and the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour as shall serve for the example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always whoever has taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was designed as well for ourselves as the King.[26]

Although it appeared that Mary did not put forth tremendous effort to find Darnley's killers, her letter presents another perspective. James Beaton, who served as archbishop of Glasgow, became Mary's ambassador to the French court. Mary assures Beaton that her husband's killers will be punished. Mary also demonstrates the frustration that she felt about Darnley's death. Despite this convincing letter, Mary's efforts did not match her intentions, as the trial against Bothwell for the murder of Darnley did not result in a conviction. After the murder, a magistrate and surgeons were sent to examine the body of Darnley, in which they determined that he had died from strangulation, not the explosion. Councilors questioned servants and other witnesses and the Crown promised a two-thousand-pound reward to anyone who could identify the plotters.[27]

Darnley's father, Matthew Stewart, fourth earl of Lennox, who had already written to Mary about his initial suspicions, took Bothwell to court for the murder of his son. On the night before the trial, Lennox, who feared for his own safety, attempted to bring a large army to Edinburgh, but was stopped at the city gates and refused entrance by Bothwell's supporters. Since Lennox's men had been prevented from coming into the city, he decided to send councilmen in his place to advocate for an adjournment.[28] The court denied Lennox's representatives any deferment and quickly delivered a verdict. Bothwell was acquitted. Despite the acquittal and the supporters who prevented a fair trial, numerous people believed that Bothwell was the main perpetrator in the crime against the king and there were fliers and handbills all around Edinburgh that consciously accused Bothwell of the murder. Many anticipated that Mary and her nobles would have quickly been able to apprehend those responsible for the murders.

Although Mary did not have to worry about justice for Francis, it was imperative that she attempt to find and punish those responsible for Darnley's death. The pursuit of justice would have not only protected her image as a loving wife and a mourning widow, but also as a strong queen. In a letter dated February 25, 1567, Elizabeth cautioned her cousin as more rumors about Darnley's death continued, "However, I exhort you, I counsel you, and I beseech you to take this thing so much to heart that you will not fear to touch even him whom you have nearest to you if the thing touches him, and that no persuasion will prevent you from making an example out of this to the world: that you are both a noble princess and a loyal wife."[29] Elizabeth emphasized both the importance of capturing Darnley's murderers and presenting herself as honorable. Elizabeth specifically tells her cousin that it is her duty to demonstrate that she remains a loyal wife. Mary's reaction to the murder of her husband played a significant role in how she was perceived, as both a widow and a queen.

After Darnley's death and Mary's poor effort in capturing and convicting the murderers, the young queen was isolated. Mary's erratic behavior, as well as her failure to undertake the duties laid out for a widow, left her without many allies. While these two particular actions tainted Mary, it was her marriage to Bothwell that caused tumult in all of Western Europe. Mary, who blamed her half-brother, James Stewart the Earl of Moray, for Darnley's death, refused not only to acknowledge Bothwell's involvement, but also her citizens' belief that he was guilty. On April 24, Bothwell's first wife, Lady Jean Gordon, accused her husband of adultery with their

maidservant Bessie Crawford, and attempted to end their union.[30] On May 3, a Protestant commissary court officially dissolved the marriage of Lady Gordon and Bothwell.[31] On the queen's return to Edinburgh, Bothwell forcibly captured Mary and took her to Dunbar castle. Mary alleged that during this traumatic seizure, Bothwell had raped her, thus forcing her to marry him to protect her honor. Scholars debate Mary's kidnapping and rape. Although Fraser argues that Mary was forcibly taken and assaulted by Bothwell, Mackay argues that Mary allowed herself to be seized by Bothwell, in order to calm the religious strife in Scotland. [32] Guy also suggests that Mary engaged in a consensual relationship with Bothwell.[33] Although the nature of Bothwell and Mary's relationship is unclear, Mary did claim that she married Bothwell to protect her honor. On May 15, at Holyrood, Mary and Bothwell were wed in a Protestant ceremony. The Protestant ceremony caused even more upheaval, as many Catholics across Europe looked to Mary to uphold the religion.

Mary's action in marrying Bothwell was extremely controversial, and many of her subjects were distraught over the queen's decision. In a series of letters to William Cecil, Sir Henry Norris, Elizabeth's ambassador to France, relayed information about the death of the Scottish king. In a February 10 letter, Norris notes that Elizabeth desires "as much of the truth of the circumstances of the murder of the king of Scots as might be; and hithero the same is hard to come by, otherwise then in a generality, that he was strangled, and his lodgings razed with Gunpower; and his Father was first said to have been slain; but not true for he was at Glasco at that time."[34] Norris' correspondence highlights the interest the murder generated beyond Scotland.

The hasty nuptials also attracted the attention of European monarchs, such as Queen Elizabeth. After the marriage, Elizabeth I wrote to Mary requesting her to be cautious, clearly demonstrating her disapproval at the queen's latest actions:

> To be plain with you, our grief has not been small thereat: for how could a worse choice be made for your honor than in such haste to marry such a subject who, besides other notorious lacks, public fame has charged with the murder of your late husband, besides touching yourself in some part, though we trust in that behalf falsely! And with what peril have you married him, that hath another lawful wife alive, whereby neither by God's law nor man's, yourself can be his lawful wife nor any children betwixt you legitimate?[35]

Elizabeth's reaction to Mary's latest marriage mirrored what much of Europe felt about the Scottish queen's choice. Elizabeth acutely points out to Mary that many people believed that Bothwell was responsible for Darnley's murder and that her marriage caused anger and apprehension for her subjects. The English queen also mentions that Bothwell had been married to another woman right before his nuptials with Mary. Elizabeth's letter demonstrates the concerns that Mary's marriage raised for Scotland and the rest of Europe.

Scotland reacted to the royal marriage and Bothwell's aggressive pursuit of power with hostility as the Scottish nobles led a rebellion against their queen shortly after. Many of the nobility felt that Bothwell had too much control over Mary, and they directly confronted the royal couple claiming that were unable to have access to the queen without her new husband. At this time, Mary was carrying twins and she was emotionally and physically drained. During the rebellion, which began in early June, Mary and Bothwell fled to Borthwick castle. They were forced again to flee to Dunbar; Bothwell left first, leaving his new wife to manage the trip on her own. While at Dunbar, the two were able to regroup their army. The turmoil in Scotland did not die down, and the royal army faced the rebels at Carberry Hill in Haddingtonshire on June 15. Rebellious armies forced Mary to surrender, and on July 24 she abdicated the throne in favor of her son, James; his uncle, the Earl of Moray, became his first regent. Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven Castle, where she miscarried the twins the following month. In 1568 Mary escaped and went to England for refuge. Mary did not receive a warm reception in England, as she was immediately placed under house arrest. Bothwell attempted to enlist the help of the Danish king Frederick II; when he arrived, he was kept prisoner in Dragsholm castle until he died in April 1578.[36] Mary, who still had numerous supporters, provided a threat to both her son in Scotland and Queen Elizabeth in England. Mary, never stopped trying to claim the Scottish and English thrones, and remained under house arrest until her death. Elizabeth I ordered the execution of her cousin after Mary's involvement in the Babington plot, which aimed to overthrow Elizabeth. On February 7, 1587, after a morning spent in prayer, Mary was beheaded.

After the death of Francis, Mary carefully adhered to the expectations customary for young widows. By properly performing the mourning customs and exhibiting genuine anguish over the death of the king, Mary created her image as noble and widow. During her second widowhood, Mary continually aggravated both her allies and

enemies by disregarding the behaviors dictated for widows. While attending her maidservant's wedding and visits to Seton prompted worry, it was her rapid remarriage to Bothwell that secured her fate. Mary's inability to publicly embrace and utilize the requirements for established widows after the death of Lord Darnley caused tremendous anxiety among both her subjects and others abroad. The decisions that Mary made after Darnley's murder, in addition to being unable to act as a proper widow, played a key role in her abdication.

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Mary Queen of Scots in Hell

Mary Ruth Donnelly

The poets are right, of course. No stars
can be seen in Hell. But I was prepared
by the endless winter darkness
in Scotland where stars were often hidden
by water-choked clouds. But here,
my leather shoes lose purchase
on the rugged ice
and my teeth chatter endlessly.
Though others in this place suffer
from frozen tears, I shed none
as I wander through brooding ice caves,
carved into hideous, striving shapes
by gales in the ninth circle with others
who have been less than kind to kin.
They say I plotted against my cousin,
Elizabeth. How could I not?
They say I killed my husband, Darnley.
Did I? I'm not sure myself, maybe
a careless word, a fantasized plan—
perhaps I even ordered it, or felt
in my own hands the resistance
of his flesh to plunged daggers.
And so I reign in this brooding
place over a vast people
who all despise each other.
Yet, there was a girl in France,
not at all grown woman who played
with the fragile Dauphin, Francis,
her first husband, in a meadow,
sun glowing on dragonflies
and flowers that brushed her legs.

She spent airy afternoons
in castle suites that were softly draped
with tapestries, gold and summer pink.
There she sat on window casements
thrice her height and listened
to the pipes and tambours.
She made that wretched little prince
laugh, the only times he ever did.
If there is a god who sends
such a girl of the French sun
to this Hell, I choose to walk on frozen shards
with feet that no longer feel and hands
too cold to grasp a door handle,
should one appear in this lightless land
from which such a god remains in exile.

Elizabeth I

The Virgin Queen as Nurse of the Church: Manipulating an Image of Elizabeth I in Court Sermons

Paul Strauss

And Kings shall be thy nursing fathers,
and Queens shall be thy nurses:
they shall worship thee with their faces toward the earth,
and lick up the dust of thy feet:
and thou shalt know that I am the Lord:
for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me.

—Isaiah 49:23[1]

Isaiah 49 describes how God will preserve and care for God's people, and verse 23 provided important Scriptural support for Queen Elizabeth I as a female ruler. John Calvin cited Isaiah 49:23 when writing to William Cecil to justify the rule of extraordinary women.[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that "nurse" in the sixteenth century referred to either a wet nurse or a person who nurtured or cared for others.[3] Depictions of Elizabeth as a "nurse" of the Church were not uncommon and the connotation became part of Elizabethan imagery. During Elizabeth's 1578 visit to the city of Norwich, the mayor lauded her as "thou Nurse of religion, Mother of the Commonwealth, Beauty of Princes, Solace of thy Subjects," and the schoolmaster's oration also acknowledged Elizabeth as the mother of the commonwealth and the country, nursing the people as a nurse suckled her babes. Even the epitaph on her funeral monument described her as a "nurse of religion and learning."[4]

The representation of Elizabeth as nurse of the Church also appeared in Edward Dering's February 1570 sermon before the queen. Dering based his sermon on Psalm 78:70–72 in which God selected David to rule Israel in the expectation that David would rule in a God-fearing manner, and Dering indicated that his audience should fulfill their callings from God and avoid disobedience. He proclaimed,

> Kings must be Nurse fathers, and Queens must be Nurses unto the Church of God. And to this end they must use their authority, that God's children may learn virtue and knowledge. For to seek only worldly peace and security, or to make us live at ease here in this wayfaring city, that is rather to feed flesh and blood, than to feed Jacob: rather to make happy this worldly fellowship, than to instruct Israel.[5]

While this acknowledged the status of the queen as a nourisher and protector of the Church, it also noted that such authority was based on her responsibility to care for the spiritual well-being of her people. Delivered in the wake of the Northern Rebellion with its religious overtones, such a call reminded the queen and courtiers that complacent living and the achievement of worldly security was not sufficient for God. Implementation and enforcement of godly religion was the true fulfillment of divinely sanctioned authority and needed to be pursued regardless of opposition. Dering was not the only preacher at court to present this interpretation directly to the queen and later disseminate it through print, but he had an influential voice. Published in 11 editions between 1570 and 1603, this was the most reprinted sermon during the reign of Elizabeth.[6]

The representation of Elizabeth as nurse fits well with religious imagery praising the queen, but it has received little scholarly attention despite its regular appearance during the period. Nevertheless, it offers another view on how and to what ends others encouraged the queen to exercise power. Noting the association of Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary, Helen Hackett indicated that while the Virgin Mary had been depicted literally as the nursing mother of Christ and symbolically as nourishing all Christendom, Elizabeth was represented as a nursing mother of the *English* Church.[7] The present study deepens our understanding of this image and demonstrates its application, while it contrasts the nurse representation with the image of Elizabeth as a leading figure of international Protestantism

surrounded by male counselors and intermediaries.[8] Instead, preachers encouraged Elizabeth to adopt a very direct, personal role in domestic religious affairs, which was their primary concern.

Sermons are especially useful for examining this image of Elizabeth as nurse, especially those sermons initially preached at court and later printed, because they are important windows into how clergymen used this point of access to the monarch to attempt to exert some influence over the policies and morals of the court.[9] They also served as important mechanisms for disseminating images of royal power as well as its limitations. Some preachers wanted to restrict Elizabeth's freedom on such topics as her dress, marriage, and church policy.[10] The Geneva Bible annotations on Isaiah 49:23 easily suggested limitations on Elizabeth's rule, combining an acknowledgment of authority with associated responsibilities and presenting them in starkly humble terms. The glosses stated that "Kings shall be converted to the Gospel and bestow their power and authority for the preservation of the Church," and that "Being joined with the Church, they shall humble themselves to Christ their head, and give him all honor."[11] Thus, even while promoting Elizabeth's rule, preachers using this verse could stress that she should subordinate other concerns to the promotion of Protestantism. Through print, these ideas circulated among a larger audience beyond the court. Sermons became an increasingly important genre for spreading information and viewpoints in the sixteenth century, and could be suppressed if they were especially offensive to the government.[12]

By examining the representation of the queen as nurse of the Church in sermons preached in Elizabeth's presence and later printed, we can explore the potential pitfalls of supportive imagery. While the nurse image acknowledged and legitimized Elizabeth's rule, it also carried implications to adopt policies to protect the Church and promote correct religious belief and practice. Preachers exploited these implications to encourage the queen to adopt their own preferred religious reforms. They represented her as a ruler with power over the Church, showing no indication of female rule as problematic or limited, but as a ruler still in need of proper guidance and admonishment, which as preachers they were responsible for providing. This was not completely because these male preachers saw Elizabeth as a woman naturally subordinate to themselves, or as "powerless to govern effectively without male advice and guidance."[13] Preachers often insisted (to varying degrees of intensity) that God spoke through them; in the court of a sovereign it was frequently to

inspire complacent rulers to be more zealous in their maintenance of religion.[14] The expression of the image of Elizabeth as nurse of the Church and its subsequent dissemination through print demonstrate the precarious path preachers followed between praise and admonishment of the queen. This chapter explores the production of these sermons, the deployment of the nurse representation, the maternal and masculine roles preachers suggested Elizabeth adopt, and recommendations by preachers to increase clerical support and quality.

The sermons discussed in this chapter were delivered before Elizabeth herself, so she was aware of the image that these preachers were constructing of her and the uses for which it was deployed. Nevertheless, the articulation and production of the representation of the queen as nurse in sermons was not entirely controlled by Elizabeth herself. The queen did not personally exercise control over the appearance of preachers in the court pulpit and the views expressed there. The archbishop of Canterbury chose Lenten preachers and the lord chamberlain selected preachers for Sundays and holy days, but the lord treasurer also influenced preaching appointments. These officials had to assemble lists of preachers to balance various preferences of courtiers and bishops as well as the queen.[15] Since there was no single "court preacher" during her reign, or even any chaplains specifically tasked with regular preaching before the court, a variety of admonishments and suggestions for religious policies could be delivered by various preachers.

Patronage and popularity played a role in preaching at court, and preachers with influential patrons could take considerable leeway in their sermons. The Cambridge-educated Dering held the favor of Robert Dudley as well as Henry and Catherine Killegrew (the brother-in-law and sister of William Cecil) yet gained the disfavor of the queen with his 1570 sermon calling for further reform of the Church of England (which Elizabeth as ruler and nurse of the Church was obligated to provide). Strongly implying that Elizabeth was being negligent in her duties, he took the queen to task for not punishing religious offenders and claimed she was not ignorant of the vices around her, warning that "let not the Princess deceive herself, the spirits of God doth not possess her heart, if she hear daily lying and blasphemous swearing, and see the people's ignorance, and yet leave all unpunished."[16] Lest the queen take offense at his admonishment, he urged her to not behave toward preachers "as an untamed unruly Heifer,"[17] which surely did not help his standing. Although Elizabeth

does not appear to have reacted during the sermon, the entire council soon knew of Elizabeth's desire to suppress Dering. It was not until 1573, however, that the government removed him completely from his preaching post at St. Paul's Cathedral. With his notable patrons and his status as one of the most popular preachers in London, Dering proved difficult to oust.[18]

The queen exercised little direct control over the content or publication of court sermons including those using the nurse representation. The only sermons delivered at court printed by royal command were a collection of sermons by John Jewel published posthumously in 1583.[19] A Marian exile in Zurich, Jewel became bishop of Salisbury in 1560 and wrote vigorously in defense of the Church of England. The *Certaine sermons* were edited and published by his protégé John Garbrand, who dedicated them to William Cecil and Robert Dudley with the request that they support learned and godly ministers.[20] Spreading an image of the queen through publishing a sermon was sometimes done by preachers themselves. In 1564 the Marian exile Thomas Cole (another Dudley client) noted that he was publishing at the request of some of his audience and for his own desire to inform the public that he fulfilled his role as a preacher to admonish all estates to "execute the office and charge committed unto them."[21]

Some sermons delivered at court were not published by the preacher but by others. The preface to the 1574 edition of Richard Curteys's Lenten sermon on humility and morals before the queen at Greenwich noted that several peers desired a copy of the sermon and that the queen herself had highly commended it.[22] This is one of the rare instances in which Elizabeth's approval can be noted, but it is not surprising as Curteys was a favorite preacher of the queen. Curteys enjoyed considerable support from William Cecil after leading conformists at Cambridge in the 1560s and he subsequently advanced to become the bishop of Chichester.[23] Thomas Brown compiled this 1574 sermon by gathering notes from various people and he claimed that he had assembled almost the entire sermon even if it was not quite the same as Curteys had exactly preached.[24] This sermon was reprinted twice, while Curteys's 1576 Lenten sermon was reprinted in 1584. The opening letter to readers of the collected sermons of Richard Eedes, printed only in 1604, acknowledged that the publisher did not have the permission of Eedes to print his collection of sermons, but that many people wanted them printed so they would survive rather than fade into oblivion.[25] Eedes was a respected royal chaplain and preacher, the dean of Worcester, and was appointed

to the commission working on the English Bible shortly before his death in 1604.[26]

Nevertheless, although Elizabeth exercised little direct control over these sermons, they included the representation of her as nurse, which clearly recognized her as ruler of England and guardian of the English Church. In addition to providing a Scriptural basis for female rule, Isaiah 49:23 associated the queen with nursing and maternal imagery which also helped legitimize her rule. Protestant depictions of ruling women were often maternal, as a female ruler would not only be "a mother to her own physical offspring, but also . . . a metaphorical mother to the whole nation."[27] In the early modern period, motherhood was one of the few ways women could express public power, and maternal imagery "naturalized the anomaly of female rule and defined the bonds joining subject to queen as those of loving mutual responsibility." Motherhood also indicated that the queen could be modeled into a characteristic early modern Protestant mother because they were expected to teach their children and provide religious instruction, creating a bond between mother and child that was an acceptable form of female control.[28] Such representations could be problematic, however, because they limited a woman's role in society. Elizabeth herself did not use maternal imagery, except for a few years early in her reign, because it limited her to the role of nurturer, and her subjects could manipulate such images to revise her status and claim privileges for themselves.[29]

Reminders that rule came with responsibilities to teach Elizabeth's children in the true faith and to protect that faith permeate the sermons. In his March 1564 Lenten sermon, Cole noted that it was right for kings and queens to nurse the Church and he acknowledged his lowly status as a "nursling." He warned Elizabeth, however, that failure to fulfill her duty would expose the nurslings to the threat of Satan; nurslings could then appeal to God for protection, although to what end was left unsaid.[30] In a reflection of initial anxiety over Elizabeth's unmarried status and its consequences, Cole bluntly stated that Elizabeth might understand her role as nurse of the Church better if she had biological children, stating that "if it had pleased God, to have showed his mercy upon us, in giving your Grace a nursling of your own womb in that chaste estate of Matrimony, more profitable in my conscience to your realm and people than Virginity."[31] In 1563, Parliament had petitioned the queen to marry, pointing out that as their "mother" the queen had the responsibility to care for and protect her "children" (i.e., her subjects) by securing the succession

through marriage and having biological children.[32] Cole's sermon occurred in a court marked by uncertainty over the queen's marriage possibilities, as the queen met with negotiators over the unsuccessful candidacy of the Habsburg Archduke Charles in January 1564.[33] Deployment of the nurse image in this context added further pressure on the queen to marry, indicating sentiment that she would be a better ruler if she had a husband and children of her own body.

In addition to having biological children, Cole argued that Elizabeth would be a good nurse if she maintained true religion "taught out of God's book without addition and diminishing," including the destruction of golden idols (i.e., images in churches), copes, and "all other Popish dregs."[34] These attacks on lingering Catholic remnants in the English Church fit with Cole's role as a nonconformist in the Vestiarian Controversy in the 1560s. A leading cleric challenging the official stance on vestments, Cole encouraged ministers to flout Archbishop Matthew Parker's directives. Cole clearly seized the opportunity provided by his court sermon to admonish the nurse of the Church that her status required her to promote proper religious practices. Although Cole was a popular preacher, this bold sermon before the queen and Cole's other fiery preaching against vestments prompted his patron Dudley to halt this public nonconformity.[35]

Richard Curteys mixed praise and admonishment in his March 1574 sermon. His chosen text, Ecclesiastes 12:1–7, emphasized humility, and the bishop subtly reminded his audience of their own mortality and the necessity of living an upright life. Curteys chastised his audience for growing lazy and careless, noting that "we eat, we drink, we buy, we sell, we plant, we build, we pastime, and make merry."[36] While the sermon criticizes the morals of individuals broadly, Curteys chose to do so using general terms with few specific criticisms, which probably contributed to his position as a favored preacher. He noted the favor shown by God toward the English Church, particularly because Elizabeth had been set by God over England so that she might "set forth his glory, to cause his word to be taught, to advance virtue, to punish vice, to be a nurse and fosterer of his people."[37] Just like the other members of the audience, the queen could not simply enjoy the pleasures of prosperity but needed to instruct her people in her role as nurse.

Curteys cited the Isaiah verse directly in his March 1576 sermon on Acts 20:28–31, in which he discussed Paul's admonition to guard against false teachers. Curteys declared that many had claimed and continued to claim they were teaching the gospel, but he argued they

all twisted the word of God to their own ends.[38] Much of his sermon focused on the fulfillment of vocation by queen and courtiers. Extending Isaiah 49:23 to the nobility as well, he noted that God had "made you gods of the world, and given you the kingdoms of the earth and hath made you nurses of his people." Since their power and authority came from God, their purpose was "neither to grow in riches, nor to live in pleasure nor to oppress the weakest but to feed the Church of God."[39] This feeding meant that those in authority, particularly the queen, should provide instruction in true religion and govern the Church to protect it from false teachings. Elizabeth rejected those in Parliament actively pressing for further religious reform by noting in her closing address to Parliament in March 1576 that God showed approval for her actions by providing England with peace and prosperity. She used this to claim that she was not neglecting the spiritual welfare of her subjects.[40] Curteys could use his position and the nurse imagery in his sermon to press the cause of further reform in a much more subtle manner and by offering rather vague policy recommendations. He urged the queen and courtiers to be like Gideon in fighting for the Lord and Hezekiah in encouraging prayer, thanksgiving, and church attendance. The suggestion to princes, counselors, magistrates, and nobles that they read and make use of the Bible was not followed by specific recommendations on how to incorporate their reading into policy, but with the implication that they would promote correct religion.[41]

Praise of the leadership provided by Elizabeth and the fulfillment of her vocation filled the effusive 1595 Lenten sermon by Richard Eedes, who based his entire sermon on the Isaiah verse. As nurse she had provided for the clergy as well as the common good despite threats from foreign princes and the open enmity of the pope.[42] He proclaimed that "there is no doubt but succeeding ages shall confess, that that the cause of religion doth owe more to one Queen, then to many Kings that went before her."[43] In doing so, she had fulfilled her rightful vocation as ruler. Indeed, it had pleased God "to make a virgin Queen the best nurse of the religion of him, who had a virgin to his Mother."[44] Eedes provided a strong defense of female rule, a point the other preachers endorsed but did not detail. He insisted that the law of God gave women the right to inherit. Not only did the Isaiah verse offer them status as "nursing mothers" of the Church, but women were also spiritually equal to men as children of God, and both men and women had the responsibility to nourish religion in others.[45] Although several sixteenth-century writers (notably John

Knox) used religion to denigrate female rule, others such as Eedes drew from the idea of spiritual equality of the sexes to argue that women had "not only the ability but also the right to act conscientiously in public life" as spiritual equals of men.[46]

The portrayal of Elizabeth as a Protestant woman nourishing the Church is complicated, however, by the preachers' association of the queen with Biblical and classical male rulers who had protected and furthered Christian faith. Preachers urged Elizabeth to adopt male figures as models for her own religious policies far more frequently than female figures. As Peter McCullough suggested, for preachers "moral or political attributes were of more importance than gender when choosing biblical personae as types illustrating royal virtues and vices."[47] Associating Elizabeth with male figures was not unusual. Her coronation entry pageants featured comparisons of her to Plato's philosopher-king and she compared herself to Daniel when praying in the Tower of London.[48] The 1569 edition of the *Christian Prayers and Meditations* portrayed her as a "Queen Solomon" leading household prayer with royal trappings displaying her authority as a theocratic ruler. This depiction, however, occurred in private spaces much more conformable to gender expectations.[49] The status of "nurse" makes little distinction on gender, as the Isaiah verse refers to kings as well as queens as nurses. Jewel even referred to preachers as nurses of a flock in spiritual turmoil.[50] As nurse, however, Elizabeth was urged to adopt a very public, and typically masculine, role.

Uncertainty over these implications for gender and sovereign rule with the nurse metaphor might be revealed in the 1591 sermon by Lancelot Andrewes on Psalm 77:20 on the leadership of Moses and Aaron. For a people who followed God, Andrewes declared, God would appoint over them "a Ruler according to His own heart" even though they did not deserve it. No leader would be too good for them, either kings as "foster-fathers" or queens as nurses,[51] a subtle change from the earlier conflation of kings and queens as nursing the people. This subtlety did not affect the responsibilities of each, however, as both were still expected to lead people to proper religious instruction, from the vanity of the world "to the sound comfort of His word in this Book," and to manage a good government that would restrain the wild nature of the people.[52] A ruling nursing queen could still exercise the same powers as a male foster-father. Sir John Harington later recorded that this sermon was particularly well received and that it moved many in the audience, including those who usually let sermons go "in at one ear, and out at the

other."[53] Andrewes retained the backing of the powerful courtiers Sir Francis Walsingham and later Robert Cecil, and he was one of the favored preachers of both Elizabeth and James I.[54] The separation of male kings as nurses did not affect his rising star. McCullough argued that it was only after Elizabeth's death that preachers at court openly expressed relief for the return of male rule; during her reign such thoughts were suppressed and preachers focused on topics that were not gender specific.[55]

Court preachers identifying Elizabeth as nurse often urged her to follow the example of male rulers and take action herself. This ran against Elizabeth's typical practice, however, in which she directed religious affairs from the background and forced her bishops to lead public fights over religion.[56] In his 1560 sermon on Psalm 69:6 before Elizabeth, Jewel noted that Emperors Theodosius, Constantine, Valentinian, and Justinian had taken responsibility for caring for the Church, and that Charlemagne took responsibility for promoting Christianity in his newly conquered provinces of Saxony and Helvetia by setting up places for learning.[57]

In 1578 William James, who eventually rose to the position of bishop of Durham with the backing of Christopher Hatton, John Whitgift, and Robert Cecil,[58] directly called for her to adopt the persona of Zerubbabel, who rejected Samaritan offers to help the Jews rebuild the Temple after the Babylonian Captivity. In an explicit use of the text (Ezra 4:1–4) to comment on contemporary events, James equated the Samaritans with English Catholics who claimed to conform to Elizabeth's laws and policies and be obedient to her, but in reality were hypocrites and idolaters following the devil. The devil threatened the Church, and rulers were responsible for the protection of the Church. Just as Zerubbabel had rejected the poisoned offers of the Samaritans, he asked whether Elizabeth (as Zerubbabel) should "not suffer any high treason against himself, and shall he wink at open blasphemy against God?" James argued that to spare Catholics would bring about ruin for England, just as Solomon had ruined Israel when he allowed his foreign concubines to worship according to their own tastes.[59]

In order to meet this threat, James noted that God raised up kings as nursing fathers and queens as nursing mothers for the Church and "hath not given them the sword for naught."[60] Pressure on Catholics increased in the late 1570s as proposals circulated to increase fines and penalties on recusants and as the government developed extensive lists of their names and locations. The queen's progress through

East Anglia in the summer of 1578 was intended (in part) to deal with Catholics, and the council examined several accused recusants themselves.[61] James's sermon depicting Catholics as traitors formed part of the environment at court in which formal moves against traditionalists became increasingly severe. His call for the use of the sword provided a form of justification for such moves by the government. James not only warned the queen of Catholic threats, however, but also of Protestant divisions such as that between Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli over the Lord's Supper.[62] Despite this denunciation of Protestant division, it was the fear of Catholics, promoted by preachers such as James, which caused much confusion in England as to why the government more actively pursued and punished nonconformist Protestant preachers rather than Catholic recusants and sympathizers.[63]

The relations of Elizabeth's government with Protestant preachers and its support of these preachers, which several court sermons addressed as one of the responsibilities of Elizabeth as nurse of the Church, touched a debate that went right to the heart of Elizabethan religion. It was well known that Elizabeth preferred the ceremonies of the Church of England and arranged her own piety around prayer and liturgy. She enjoyed elaborate church music and permitted such Catholic vestiges as vestments, crosses, and candles, considering further reforms of these unnecessary. She did not consider frequent sermon attendance necessary for herself or her subjects, and sermons were rarely included in her own Sunday services.[64] The queen was no passive listener or captive audience during sermons, as she made clear on numerous occasions. She chastised Alexander Nowell over his attack on images in her chapel and walked out of a sermon denouncing a proposed marriage with the French Catholic duke of Alençon. McCullough claimed the primary reason she made her displeasure known so publicly was because these were outdoor sermons open to the public at Whitehall; she did not interrupt the critical sermons by Cole and Dering because these were delivered more privately (only to assembled courtiers) in a chapel.[65]

To support her religious settlement, Elizabeth preferred that preachers read homilies approved by the government rather than deliver their own.[66] Many in the clergy, however, saw it as their duty to press for a well-trained corps of preaching ministers capable of delivering their own sermons. The sermon held paramount importance for Protestants in general because it was the spoken word of God. They argued that the word of God when preached moved one

to salvation; the written word was not lacking but "had to be activated or 'applied' by the living voice of the preacher in order to strike home to the heart of the listener."[67] Upon Elizabeth's accession, many leading Protestant clergymen wanted a sermon at every service. Parish clergy, however, were simply not trained for these demands and a corps of pastors trained for such service would not emerge until the 1570s and 1580s. Even then a dispute erupted between those who wanted pastors to compose their own Sunday sermons and others such as Archbishop Whitgift who believed it unnecessary to have "a barrage of freshly-crafted prose Sunday by Sunday [because] a regular diet of the official homilies was wholesome enough."[68]

The nurse image provided a useful tool for preachers to deploy in their campaign to improve the quality of the clergy and clerical livings, and sermons provided immediate access to Elizabeth that these campaigners did not usually enjoy. Since, from early in the reign, they accepted that the monarch managed the English Church, the nurse image could be used to indicate that as the Supreme Governor she was the person to take action. Jewel presented both the problem and a solution to Elizabeth in 1560 with the insistence that the clergy were her responsibility. He noted that when God raised Elizabeth to the throne, religion was all in disorder. Jewel praised her for fixing religious doctrine but urged her to "now cast your eyes towards the Ministry, give courage and countenance unto learning, that God's house may be served."[69] Continuing his direct address to the queen, Jewel declared, "You are our Governor, you are the Nurse of God's Church. We must open this grief before you . . . But if it may be redressed, there is no other besides your Highness, that can redress it . . . To this end hath God placed Kings and Princes in their state."[70] To achieve this end, he insisted that a well-trained clergy was necessary for the Church and by extension for the entire realm because "it is a part of your kingdom, and such a part, as is the principal prop and stay of the rest." He urged her to follow the more recent example of the German princes, who had established schools and colleges as "nurseries to breed up learned men, that might be able to teach the people, and to maintain religion." He sought to bring these problems to her attention because "I know, your grace heareth not of these matters . . . there are grievous complaints made, that the Bishops appoint Priests and Ministers, that are ignorant and have no understanding in the Latin tongue. Would God it were not true."[71] Although Jewel firmly supported the religious settlement, he used his pulpit to support a clear policy recommendation favoring greater

change on a point that his editor Garbrand also emphasized (as previously noted).

The problem of a sufficiently supported clergy did not disappear, as Cole subtly reminded his audience by mentioning the despoliation of benefices while claiming he did not want to digress on the topic.[72] Such a tactic only served to recall the problem. Dering bemoaned the problem of poor clergy, claiming many ministers were "dumb Dogs." He admonished Elizabeth to examine the benefices and their patrons because "some are selling their Benefices, some farming them, some keep them for their Children, some give them to Boys, some to Servingmen."[73] Even the effusive Richard Eedes, preaching in 1595 when there were more well-trained preachers, linked a corps of quality ministers to Elizabeth's rule and argued that contempt for ministers was the same as contempt for the prince. While he noted that it was proper to have taken away from the Church's excess wealth and its overbearing pride, taking away too much could be as dangerous and not leave enough to support ministers.[74]

The representation of Elizabeth as nurse of the Church provided preachers with a tool to combine praise of the queen with reminders of her responsibilities, as these admonishments clearly demonstrate. It helped preachers at court support Elizabeth as a ruling queen while encouraging her to adopt their recommendations for religious policy. The sermons these preachers delivered before the queen offered them access to her, and they used their opportunities to urge Elizabeth to protect the Church and promote their preferred religious beliefs and practices. In appealing to her as a nurse of the Church, they legitimized female rule but also expanded Elizabeth's role beyond that of a Protestant mother nourishing the realm by associating her with male rulers who also promoted right religion, providing a support for rule that did not rely on her sex. They adopted this imagery of Elizabeth and redeployed it for their own ends, and Elizabeth exercised little direct control over this representation of herself. Using the nurse representation indicates that they accepted and promoted her as ruler of the realm and guardian of the English Church, but they also used it to insist that such a status meant she also had responsibilities that they obligingly described to her. Although the emphasis of each sermon varied due to differing styles and contexts of preachers, these sermons expressed generally similar anxieties over Elizabethan religion. Constructed in different phrases over time, preachers expressed real concerns with Elizabethan religion, such as the Catholic policy of the government, the role of preaching,

and status of the clergy, and they urged her to take action. As preachers, they saw their role as reminding her of those responsibilities and encouraging her to follow their own preferred religious policies.

Notes

1. *The Bible and the Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testaments*, William Whittingham (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560), 300v. I would like to thank Amy Burnett, Jo Carney, Carole Levin, and Linda Shenk for their extensive comments on previous drafts of this article.
2. John Calvin to Sir William Cecil, after January 29, 1559, *The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with some of the Helvetian Reformers During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, *Second Series, A.D. 1558–1602*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1845), 35.
3. "nurse, n.1," OED Online, September 2012, Oxford UP, http://0-www.oed.com.library.unl.edu/view/Entry/129240?rskey=95x8Ux&result=1 (accessed December 9, 2012).
4. Louis A. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2006), 86; and Peter Sherlock, "The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory," *Journal of British Studies* 46 (April 2007): 281.
5. Edward Dering, *A Sermo(n) preached before the Quenes Maiestie, By Maister Edward Dering, the. 25. day of February. Anno. 1569* (London: John Awdely, 1569), Ciiv.
6. Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 90. McCullough speculated that the sermon was so popular because it titillated Elizabethan audiences.
7. Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), 4.
8. Linda Shenk, *Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 35.
9. Peter McCullough, "Out of Egypt: Richard Fletcher's Sermon before Elizabeth I after the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots," in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1998), 119.
10. Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1994), 36.
11. *The Bible and the Holy Scriptures*, 300v.
12. Mary Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons," *The Historical Journal* 42 (December 1999): 1112; and

Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 221–22. In the seventeenth century, Peter Heylyn remarked that Elizabeth's government would always "tune the pulpits" whenever there was business or announcements to spread among the populace; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 59.

13. Margaret Christian, "Elizabeth's Preachers and the Government of Women: Defining and Correcting a Queen," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (Autumn 1993): 562, 571.
14. Admonishment and calling listeners to repentance through preaching became the chief responsibility of ministers in the English Reformation. See Eric Josef Carlson, "The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540–1640," in *Preachers and the People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001); and McCullough, "Out of Egypt," 130–34.
15. McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 61, 64.
16. Dering, *A Sermo(n) preached before the Quenes Maiestie*, Civr.
17. Ibid., Biiir.
18. Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 310–11.
19. McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 210.
20. John Jewel, *Certaine sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie, and at Paules crosse, by the reuerend father Iohn Ievvel late Bishop of Salisburie* (London: Christopher Barker, 1583), iiiv.
21. Thomas Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon* (London: Henry Denham, 1564), Aiv.
22. Richard Curteys, *A Sermon preached before the Queenes Maiestie, by the reuerende Father in God the Bishop of Chichester, at Grenewich, the. 14. day of Marche. 1573* (London: Henry Binneman, 1573), Aiiv. There had been much debate in the sixteenth century on the propriety of printing sermons based on the argument that the printed word could not replace the spoken word of God that was preached. Of the sermons examined in this article, only Brown defended his work against the charge that a printed sermon was not as beneficial as a preached sermon, although Arnold Hunt noted that apologizing for printing a sermon was common in the 1500s; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 121.
23. Roger B. Manning, "Curteys, Richard (1532?–1582)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004, online edition, January 2008, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/6957 (accessed November 19, 2012).
24. Curteys, *Grenewich*, Aiir. This process was not particularly unusual. Preachers typically composed an outline and delivered a sermon from it, relying on the Holy Spirit for inspiration and to concentrate

on their delivery, but sermons for important events often were written out fully. Audience members were encouraged to take notes for later reflection. See Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, 131–33.

25. Richard Eedes, *Six Learned and godly Sermons: Preached Some of them before the Kings Maiestie, some before Queene Elizabeth* (London: Adam Islip, 1604), Aviiir–Aviiiv.
26. Gordon Goodwin, "Edes, Richard (bap. 1554, d. 1604)," rev. Tom Beaumont James, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004; online edition, January 2008, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/8461 (accessed November 30, 2012).
27. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 50.
28. Christine Coch, "'Mother of my Contreye': Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood," *English Literary Renaissance* 26.3 (1996): 425, 442–44.
29. Donald Stump, "Abandoning the Old Testament: Protestant Dissent and the Shift in Court Paradigms for Elizabeth," in *Elizabeth I and the "Sovereign Arts": Essays in Literature, History, and Culture*, eds. Donald Stump, Linda Shenk, and Carole Levin (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), 292; Jacqueline Vanhoutte, "Elizabeth I as Stepmother," *English Literary Renaissance* 39.2 (May 2009): 325, 331; and Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 77.
30. Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon*, Avr–Avir.
31. Ibid., Avir–Aviv.
32. Coch, "'Mother of my Contreye,'" 445–48.
33. David Loades, *Elizabeth I* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 145; and Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), 75.
34. Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon*, Biir, Eviiv–Eviiiv.
35. Brett Usher, "Cole, Thomas (*c.*1520–1571)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, January 2009, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/5856 (accessed November 7, 2012).
36. Curteys, *Grenewich*, Cvr.
37. Ibid., Bviir.
38. Richard Curteys, *Two Sermons Preached by the reuerend father in God the Bishop of Chichester, the first at Paules Crosse on Sunday beeing the fourth day of March. And the second at Westminster before ye Queenes maiestie the iij. Sunday in Lent last past* (London, 1576), Eviv, Fiir.
39. Curteys, *Westminster*, Dviiir, Evir–Eviv.
40. Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 190–91.
41. Curteys, *Westminster*, Eivr, Fviiiv.
42. Eedes, *Six Sermons*, Lviiiv, Miiv.
43. Ibid., Kivv.
44. Ibid., Miiv.

45. Ibid., Kiiir–Kiiiv.
46. Constance Jordan, "Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought," *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (Autumn 1987): 421, 426.
47. McCullough, "Out of Egypt," 140. McCullough also speculates whether the association of Elizabeth with male figures may also "suggest our own ahistorical exaggeration of the importance of gender in sixteenth-century representations of Elizabeth."
48. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 131.
49. Shenk, *Learned Queen*, 23–26.
50. Jewel, *Certaine sermons*, Lvv.
51. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons by the Right Honorable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, late Lord Bishop of Winchester* (London: George Miller, 1629), 278. On the printing of the *XCVI Sermons*, see Peter McCullough, "Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626–1642," *The Historical Journal* 41 (June 1998): 401–24.
52. Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, 279.
53. John Harington, *A briefe view of the state of the Church of England as it stood in Q. Elizabeths and King James his reigne, to the yeere 1608* (London: 1653), 145.
54. P. E. McCullough, "Andrewes, Lancelot (1555–1626)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004, online edition, January 2008, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/520 (accessed July 22, 2013).
55. McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 92.
56. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 15.
57. Jewel, *Certaine sermons*, J4v.
58. Michael Tillbrook, "James, William (1542–1617)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford UP, 2004, online edition, January 2008, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/14623 (accessed November 20, 2012).
59. William James, *A Sermon Preached before the Queenes Maiestie at Hampton Courte, the 19. of February laste paste* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), Biir, Ciiir-Civr.
60. James, *Hampton Courte*, Dviir.
61. Zillah M. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1996), 15–16, 88–94; and Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 195.
62. James, *Hampton Courte*, Diiv, Dviir.
63. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 35, 47; and Carole Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 28, 34.
64. Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, 25; and McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 76–77.

65. McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 47–48, 93.
66. Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, 31.
67. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing* 25–27.
68. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England*, 111–17.
69. Jewel, *Certaine sermons*, L3r.
70. Ibid., L2v.
71. Ibid., K2v.
72. Cole, *A Godly and Learned Sermon*, Bivr–Bivv.
73. Dering, *A Sermo(n) preached before the Quenes Maiestie,* Eivr–Eivv.
74. Eedes, *Six Sermons*, Lvr–Lviv.

Questionable Contexts: A Pedigree Book and Queen Elizabeth's Teeth

Sonja Drimmer

Introduction

On New Year's Day, 1567, Queen Elizabeth received a lavish pedigree book from Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms (London, British Library, King's MS 396).[1] A large volume, it comprises three sections: the first contains the dedication to the queen, along with abstracts summarizing the descent of titles to her (fols. 1v–3v);[2] the second (figure 5), which encompasses the bulk of the manuscript, is an illuminated genealogy from Rollo to Elizabeth herself (fols. 4v–27v); the final section is a proof of the queen's claim to Scotland (fols. 28v–29v). This book has never been acknowledged beyond a brief mention in an exhibition catalog published over three decades ago.[3] To a degree, the neglect is understandable because of the formal discrepancies between this manuscript and its generic precedents. In other words, it looks very little like traditional genealogies or pedigrees.[4] And because Elizabeth's pedigree book refuses to speak in the dialect of similar works made for her predecessors, it is illegible within the genre of which it declares itself a member.[5]

In 1992, Norman Bryson invoked Jonathan Culler's proclamation that "context is not given but produced."[6] Bryson's statement was a call for art historians to recognize the artifice of context, a construct traditionally treated as a natural entity. Since that time, most art historians have assimilated this idea. Still, when we assemble our materials we operate within the entrenched infrastructure of a discipline founded on formalism, and often under the assumption that

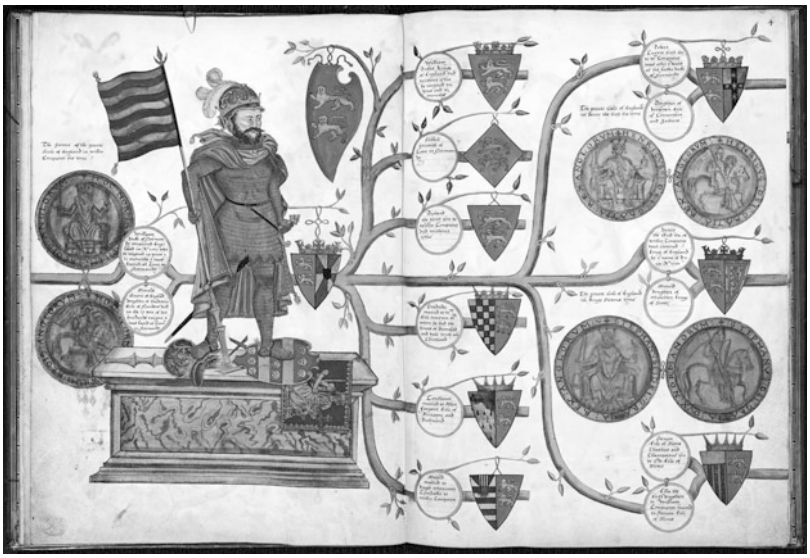

Figure 5 Pedigree book of Queen Elizabeth I

Note: William the Conqueror and lines of descent. England, 1567

Source: London, British Library, King's MS 396, fols. 6v-7r. Photo: © The British Library Board

our objects must "do" with one another in form, must somehow be bound by iconography, genre, the hand of the artist, and so forth.[7] Against the grain of this habit, this chapter will advocate the value of treading the ligature that joins disparate material.

To this end, I would like to start again.

On New Year's Day, 1567, Queen Elizabeth received 170 gifts from numerous people close to the court.[8] Following procedure, Elizabeth delegated the gifts for safekeeping to a number of household employees.[9] However, in this year she kept three gifts with herself: the first, the lavish illuminated pedigree book, described as "By Roberte Cooke al[ia]s Chester A Booke of Armes of the Quenis Ma[ies]ties progenitors Tytle to the Crowne of Englande and Fraunce . . . with the Quene";[10] the second, a chessboard in a box of ivory given by William Drury;[11] and the third, a glass of sweet water and instruments for the teeth given by the Italian author, illuminator, and aspiring diplomat Petruccio Ubaldini.[12] According to Jane Lawson, "although Elizabeth did not supervise the delivery of New

Year's gifts . . . she certainly reviewed them . . . Gifts that caught the Queen's eye remained 'with the Queen.'"[13] Using the queen's pleasure as pretext, this essay demonstrates how dental instruments can tell us something about what this unusual pedigree book is attempting to achieve. My argument is that when seen from an oblique angle and under the raking shadow cast by toothpicks, this manuscript emerges as an advocate for alternatives to the figural representations that Elizabeth used to distribute her presence.

The Toothpick as an Instrument of Statecraft

What exactly were these instruments for the teeth, and why would the queen keep them with herself, particularly when other items of personal care were delegated to others? Although none of Elizabeth's dental instruments survives, a near-contemporary set in the Wellcome Collection gives an idea of how it might have looked (figure 6).[14] This set was produced for an unknown descendant of Nicholas Brown, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and comprises a small chest covered with embroidery that features the owner's arms. Fitted inside are four silver descalers for removing plaque and other deposits, which accord well with the advice of Thomas Raynalde, who in his 1565 publication, *The Womans Booke*, recommends that, "To kepe and preserue the teeth cleane . . . yf they be very yelowe and filthy, or blackish, let a Barber scour, rube, and pycke them cleane and whyte."[15] Over the 24 years for which New Year's Gift Rolls survive, the queen received gifts relating to dental hygiene 22 times, and Ubaldini's was the first. These gifts run the gamut from humble toothcloths of "corse hollande" to the bijou described as a "Touthe picke of golde the top beinge garneshid with a faire emeraude, a Dyamond & Ruby & other smale Dyamondes and Rubies with ij perles pendaunt."[16] (See Appendix A for a list of all known gifts of dental hygiene presented to the queen.) Nicholas Penny has observed how such elaborate picks suspended from chains feature in sixteenth-century Italian portraiture as signs of conscientious hygiene.[17] However, no known portrait displays the queen with a pendant pick.[18]

Elizabeth's waning beauty and her rotting teeth feature routinely in traditional biographies, while scholars since the 1990s have taken a critical approach to accounts of her encroaching decrepitude.[19] My own concern in the queen's dental instruments has less to do with the currency of royal representation than with the bodily contingencies that underwrote its checks. A case in point occurred in the same year that Elizabeth received the first gift of dental instruments on record,

Figure 6 Set of dental instruments and case

Note: England, early 17th century

Source: London, Wellcome Collection, Accession Number A61493. Long-term loan to the Science Museum, London. Image courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London

when she met with Guzmán de Silva, ambassador to Spain. According to a dispatch to the secretary of state, written on December 29, 1567, "[t]he most serene Queen came here on the xxiii[rd] of this (month) with her health, although she hadn't had it three or four days before, owing to a toothache and a fever that lasted, according to what I've been told, forty hours, which exhausted her."[20] This episode is important. It indicates that it was the state of the queen's teeth which jeopardized her ability to conduct affairs of state. After a far more famous meeting from 1597, the French ambassador De Maisse offered the—now

oft-quoted—comment that, "her teeth are very yellow and unequal . . . and on the left side less than on the right. Many of them are missing so that one cannot understand her easily when she speaks quickly."[21] Once again, defects of the teeth impinged on the use of her mouth.

Her mouth was, arguably, Elizabeth's most potent political apparatus and the one that she herself advertised as such.[22] The queen's fluency in multiple languages is well known.[23] Her prayer of thanksgiving, following recovery from smallpox in 1562, unites the "unimpaired" state of her body to her "superior[ity] in the knowledge and use of literature and languages."[24] And throughout her recorded speeches and letters, Elizabeth retails her word as her bond, as, for example, in her 1563 answer to the Lords' petition that she marry: "Since there can be no duer debt than princes' word." [25] How binding would that word be if the mouth that issued it were defective? The manuals on rhetoric and oratory that crowded London's bookshops during Elizabeth's reign have much to say on the impotence of inarticulate speech,[26] and as Carla Mazzio points out, the Latin root of inarticulate is "artus," for joint. Knowledge of this etymology suffused Elizabethan thought on misspoken speech, referred to as "uniointed."[27] The mouth is effectively a large joint, so we might, with Elizabethans, diagnose poor oratory as a condition with a physiological etiology. Philemon Holland, in his 1601 translation of Pliny, writes that teeth are "necessarie also they be for the framing of our speech . . . but when they be once falne out of the head, man is bereaved of all meanes of good utterance and explanation of his words."[28] The transactions between this particular physical pathology and psychological strain could be quite intense. Carole Levin notes that "[d]reams about teeth always had distressing implications and seemed to be quite common, possibly suggesting the problems early modern people had with dental care. Losing a tooth meant the death of a friend, but bloody teeth foretold one's own death"[29] Leaving aside such psychological implications—dire though they might have been—it was the success of the queen's orations which depended upon her ability to keep her teeth in her mouth. Dental instruments facilitated that end. And so the toothpick, read from a clinical perspective and viewed in the hands of the queen (not adorning her in portraits), appears less like a beauty aid and more like an instrument of statecraft.

Evasion and Emulation

How, then, can dental instruments index the meanings and value of Elizabeth's pedigree book? To answer this question, it is helpful to consider that emulation recurred as a motif in royal discourses

of succession, which presented Elizabeth with a challenge. Though Elizabeth did identify with her father, Louis Montrose notes that "such strategies of identification . . . risked emphasizing precisely the condition that she wished to neutralize."[30] This vexation might be amplified by a genealogy that presents the queen with a lineage of exclusively male forebears on whom she could not model her physical self. However, her pedigree book recommends precisely the opposite: it configures a strategy for circumventing the modes of dynastic assertion that Elizabeth was unable to deploy.

Several aspects of this manuscript facilitate such a circumvention: the book's horizontal orientation, its narrative mode, and most significantly its refusal to paint the face of the English monarch. It opens with an image of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy (figure 7). He reclines upon a throne, a skin of chainmail outlining his muscular physique, and with a jagged scepter in one hand. A knoll beneath his throne gives rise to a tree trunk with nascent leaves, the origin of the biobotanical narrative that ensues. Two pages on, the viewer encounters his descendant, William the Conqueror (figure 5). Here the first Norman king of England stands in triumph above the marble tomb of his foe, Harold, whose rent and splintered achievements lie crushed beneath the victor's feet. This opening is particularly significant because it telegraphs the representational strategies to follow. Though William was indeed king of England, he is presented as not entirely such: on his body is the armor of a military leader, and on his head is a ducal coronet. The crown of king, instead, surmounts his shield of arms, his kingship proxied by the royal seal to the left, while his medallion proclaims only the date of his conquest, duration of his reign, and place of his burial. For every other king presented in this manuscript, an escutcheon surmounted by a royal crown or a seal is his only means of representation, and—with the single exception of Stephen—a date of coronation is detailed. Not a single king of England in the entire manuscript, following William, is represented in face or body. Not one.[31] I return to the importance of this point below.

Visual convention dictates that a genealogy proceed in a vertical fashion, whether stretching up as a Tree of Jesse, or climbing down as its roots. It is a logical convention that assists royal genealogies' biogenetic plot. An example is the well-known genealogy of Henry VI from the Talbot-Shrewsbury Book (London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E vi, fol. 3r), in which a column of roundels runs down either side of the folio (figure 8): on the left, against a ground of fleurs-de-lis is the French royal line; on the right, against a ground of leopards, is the English. At the bottom of the folio, the

Figure 7 Pedigree book of Queen Elizabeth I

Note: Rollo, Duke of Normandy, enthroned. England, 1567

Source: London, British Library, King's MS 396, fol. 4v. Photo: © The British Library Board

two lines converge in a point over which is a roundel framing the figure of Henry VI. An angel hovers on either side, each holding a crown over Henry's head so that, ultimately, his status as the heir to two parallel lines of descent is legible, visible, and inevitable.[32] Genealogies made for public display, such as the Coronation Roll of Edward IV (Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis MS 201), likewise allow for most or even the entirety of a monarch's descent to be viewed in a single visual span, whether laid out upon a table or (less likely) hung from a high elevation: either way, the result is a

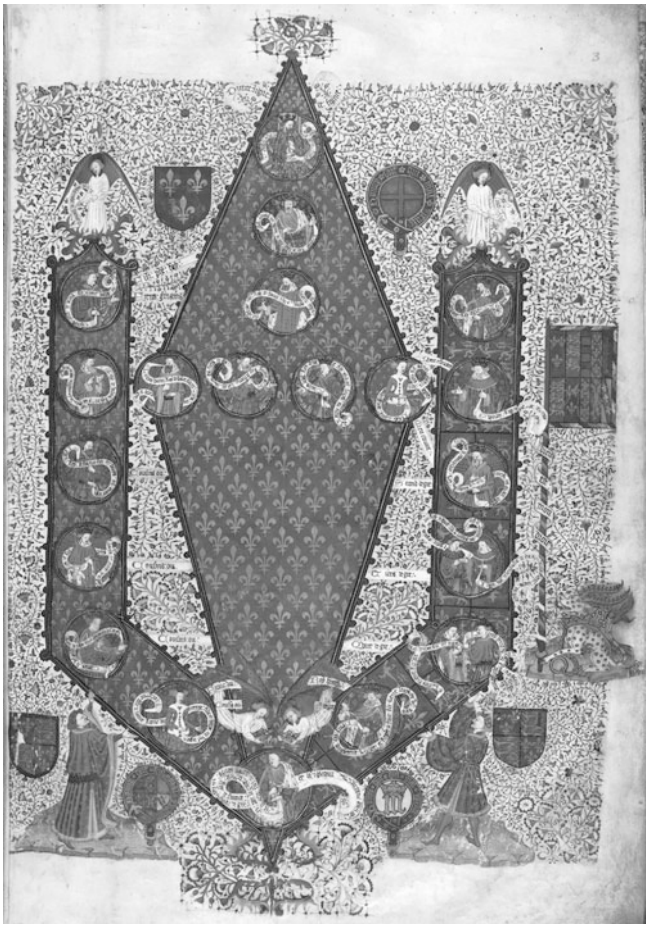

Figure 8 Talbot Shrewsbury book

Note: Genealogy of Henry VI. Rouen, 1444–1445

Source: London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E vi, fol. 3r. Photo: © The British Library Board

smooth and uncontested passage from the legitimate monarchs of the past to the new monarch of the present.[33] Perhaps more importantly, codices containing aristocratic and royal genealogies that are contemporary or near-contemporary with Elizabeth's pedigree book orient their contents vertically, despite the horizontal orientation of the codex as a support. For example, a genealogy of Edward VI (London, British Library, King's MS 395) was written and illustrated so that it must be opened on a table with the spine

perpendicular to its customary position (figure 9). Similarly, a genealogy of Robert Dudley commissioned, almost certainly, by Robert Cooke (University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 1070) opens in the typical fashion for a book; yet the lines of descent emulate roll genealogies and run vertically down each page.[34] Elizabeth's pedigree book, in contrast, moves horizontally from left to right as the

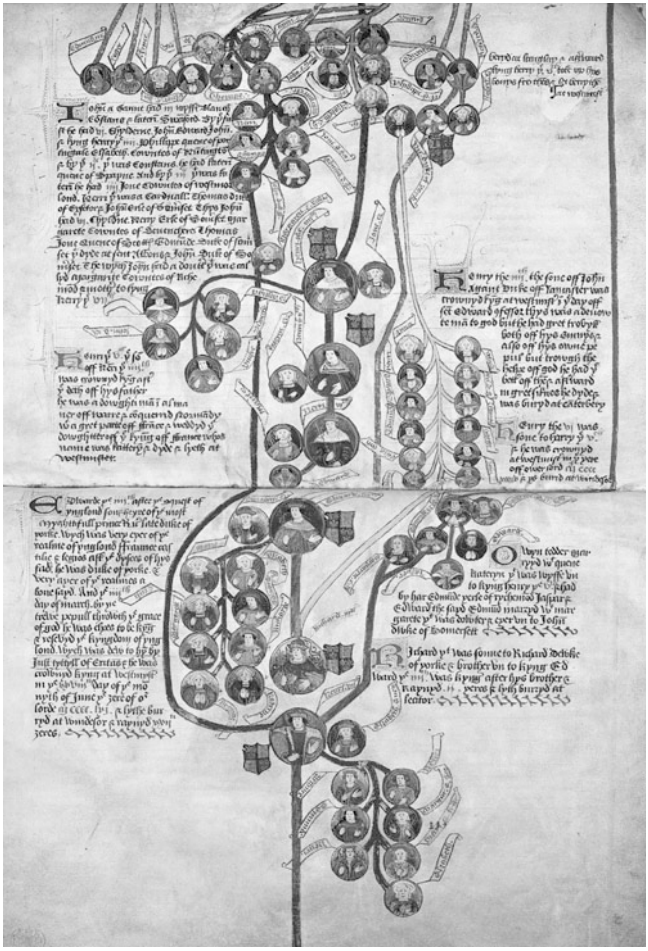

Figure 9 Genealogy of Edward VI

Note: Section including Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII. England, c. 1511 with additions before 1553

Source: London, British Library, King's MS 395, fols. 32v-33r. Photo: © The British Library Board

pages turn.[35] Each opening is an independent unit with an episodic quality that disables the continuity demanded by genealogical display. Phenomenologically, then, the motivation of this genealogy is neither gravitational nor natural, but indeterministic: the will of history, or the willingness of the reader-viewer to turn the page.

As with other genealogies, the proliferation of text in this manuscript thickens its historical texture: it is a very chatty genealogy, detailing not only dates but also specifying who married whom, who married twice, who had no issue, who was illegitimate, who fought where, and so forth. But what is more, the book was designed for cross-reference, given original foliation as well as instructions to those folios, where appropriate or necessary for narrative sense.[36] As a result, it is very difficult to extrapolate a continuous biological vein from Rollo to Elizabeth.

By the time the reader-viewer approaches the genealogy's finale, the sublimation projected on William the Conqueror's page is complete (figure 10): only a parade of shields deputizes Elizabeth and her immediate ancestors. What is remarkable about this page is the manner in which its final progress recasts the pageant that greeted Elizabeth on her entry into London eight years earlier (figure 11).[37] Rather than describe the culmination of the cycle, it seems appropriate to juxtapose it with one record of the event, *The Pasage of our most drad Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion*. In this account, the author describes:

> Upon the lowest stage were made one seate royall, wherin wer placed two personages representyng kyng Henrie the seuenth and Elyzabeth his wyfe . . . thone of them whiche was kyng henrie the seuenth proceding out of the house of Lancastre, was enclosed in a read rose, and thother which was Queene Elizabeth being heire to the house of Yorke enclosed with a whyte rose . . . Out of the which two roses sprang two brau[n]ches gathered into one, which wer directed upward to the second stage or degree, wherin, was placed one, representing the valiant & noble prynce king henry theight which spring out of the former stock, crowned with a crown imperial, & by him sate one represe[n]tingye right worthy ladie quene Anne . . . & ii. tables surmounting their heades, wherein were writte[n] their names & titles. Fro[m] their seate also proceaded upwards one brau[n]che directed to the thirde and uppermost stage or degree, wherein lykewyse was planted a seate royall, in the whiche was sette one representyng the Queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth nowe our moste dradde soueraigne Ladie, crowned and apparelled as thother prynces were.[38]

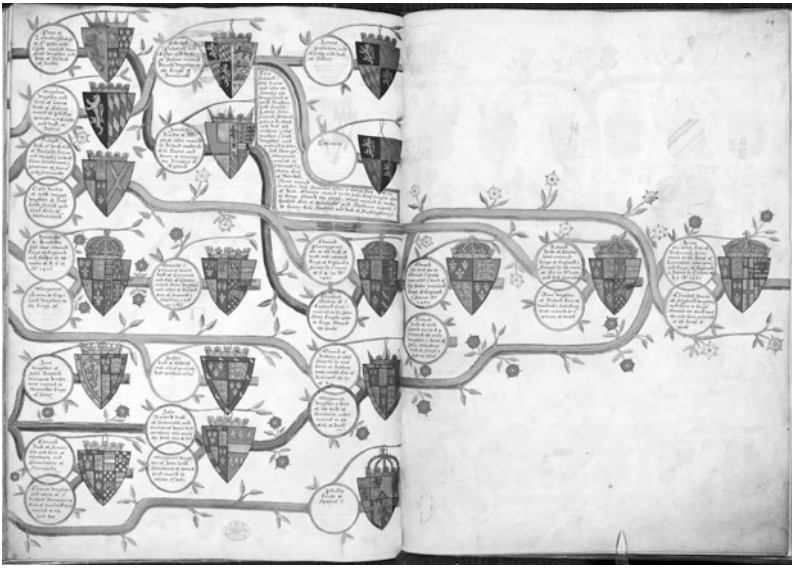

Figure 10 Pedigree book of Elizabeth I

Note: Lines of descent approaching Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. England, 1567

Source: London, British Library, King's MS 396, fols. 26v-27r. Photo: © The British Library Board

Every detail from this description conforms to the pages of the pedigree book, except one: whereas the pageant represented kings and their queens in figural form as part of a *tableau vivant*, here the monarchs appear only as heraldic emblems. Most surprising of all is the summary of the queen herself as a symbolic array. It is a telling—if not deliberate—return to origins for the blazon genre of poetry: where one might expect to find a body, she encounters instead the visual catalog of its surrogate, with crest, torse, mantling, escutcheon, and supporters.[39] In her presence as a configuration of shapes and tinctures, the queen reiterates the form of her forebears and appears as an apt conclusion to the series of male monarchs who preceded her. Overall, then, the aims of this program are to suggest to the queen's own eyes alternatives to corporeal emulation, alternatives that avert the vexations identified above. Mary Beth Rose has summarized a current that runs through scholarship on Elizabeth, which argues that "[w]ith expert use of traditionally male discourses of divine right, the king's two bodies, and military heroism—all discourses

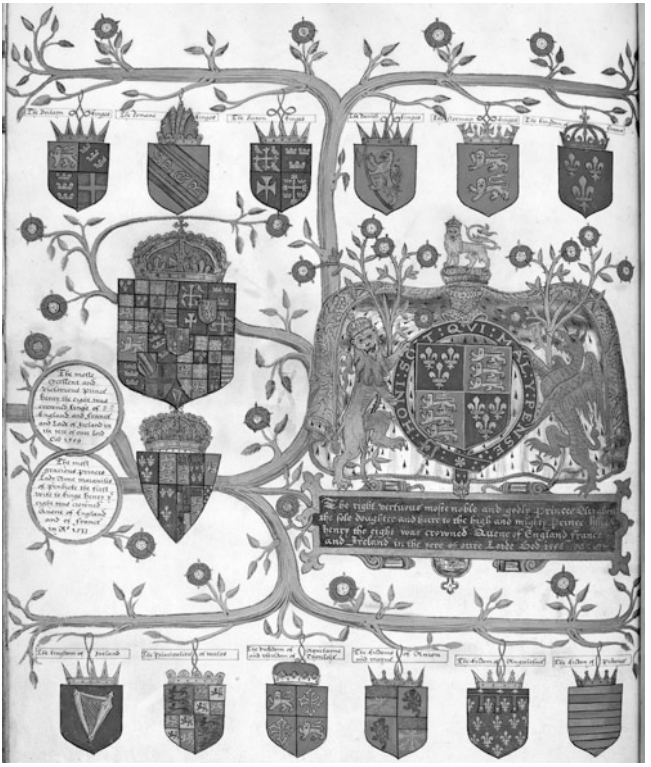

Figure 11 Pedigree book of Elizabeth I

Note: Escutcheons representing Henry VIII, Lady Anne, and Elizabeth I. England, 1567

Source: London, British Library, King's MS 396, fol. 27v. Photo: © The British Library Board

that assume the superiority of abstract, symbolic systems to actual, embodied experience—[Elizabeth] grounds her authority in her metaphysical and political position as the legitimate heir in a male dynasty."[40] My own position is that objects made for the queen provided the very models for presenting such unembodied experience. It was a strategy that the queen was already implementing through her imposing orations.

Conclusion: Voice and Blazon

If, throughout this essay, I have evaded the weightier matters of biography and events, it is not for lack of circumstantial material.

The year 1566 saw a reprisal of Parliament's demands that Elizabeth commit to marriage and secure the succession, inciting her famous battery of rhetorical questions: "Was I not born in the realm? Were my parents born in any foreign country?"[41] The chord they strike resounds when rehearsed alongside an image from this manuscript. What's more, just one day after she received this New Year's gift, the queen dissolved Parliament in response to the Commons' insistence that she marry. The security of the succession was nothing short of a public obsession in these years.[42] So would someone have pressed the issue in his New Year's gift to the queen? I doubt that Robert Cooke would have been so incautious as to prod so tender a nerve. In other words, I do not think that this book is concerned with Elizabeth's issue, and I am not convinced that the ready-to-hand context of the succession—the traditional preoccupation of genealogy—is relevant to it.

Instead, it is knowing that the queen favored it, along with dental instruments and a chess set, that opens on to a different path of inquiry. This essay has not focused on the chess set, but it is worth remarking that it was only in the sixteenth century that the queen became the most agile piece on the board.[43] And so, these objects, but particularly these objects together, suggest the potential for a para-history of representational strategies during Elizabeth's reign in which the queen's carnal body could be put to retreat.[44] Relevant here is Rose's observation that "[a]fter her early speeches on marriage and the succession . . . Elizabeth virtually gives up on emphasizing the trope of virgin mother as a salient aspect of her self-presentation."[45] Furthermore, Elizabeth's relationship with the figural portraits of her was uneasy, prompting in 1563 the drafting (if not necessarily the implementation) of a proclamation that prohibited the production of unauthorized portraits of the queen until a suitable pattern could be designed and disseminated.[46] The queen's body—as many have shown—was a liability, a fact of which she was aware.

Histories of kingship and queenship often focus on the aura of the monarch's presence, which proceeds from his or her physical body or the likenesses that stand for it. But equally powerful was the monarch's intangible residue. Whether ephemeral, like viva-voce oration, or symbolic, like heraldry, Elizabeth did indeed have at her disposal means of expression that were not vitiated by their issuance from a female body. And it is in furnishing some questionable contexts that more of these less visible means might be accommodated in our discussions of Early Modern queenship.

APPENDIX A

Gifts relating to dental hygiene presented to Queen Elizabeth as recorded in the New Year's Gift Rolls. For ease of reference the gifts are listed according to their catalog number in Lawson, *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*.

67.167 "By Patritio Baldino a Glasse of swete water with certeyne other Instrumentes for Teethe &c with the Quene."

71.86 "By the Lady Ratlif a night Rayle and a paire of Ruffes of lawne wrought with blacke silke and edged with venice siluer and silke / a Swette bagge and sixe Touthe pickes of Quilles garnisshed with silke . . . The Sleues dd to Mrs Staffourde The Sweetebagge dd to Mrs Habingdon The touthpickes to Mrs Knowles."

75.95 "By Snowe Six litle tothe pykes of gold and Six verey small tothe clothes edged with black sylke with her Ma^{tie}."

76.23 "By the Duches of Somerset a litell Cofer or deske with Diuers tilles in the same couerid with Crymsen vellat in the lidde is sette a Steele glasse and in the same cofer is diuers other thinges vide Comes, Touthpickes, Sisers &c and also in it is a Snusken of Nedleworke of venice golde siluer and silke lyned with vnshorne vellat and frenged at bothe endes, And a swet bagge of blewe Taphata embrauderid. Deliuerid to the said Richarde Todde."

76.110 "By the Lady Paulet a cusshioncloth of networke wrought with blake silke and edged with a brode passamane of blacke silke, two swetebagges of Taphata, twelue tothpickes and a Litle nosegaye of flowers of silke thendes trimed with pearle. The tothepickes and nosegaye with the Quene by Richard Todde / The Cusshion cloth and bagges to the saide Mrs Skidmore."

76.147 "By Mrs Snowe foure touthpickes of golde and Sixe touth clothes wrought with blake silke and golde . . . The tothe clothes dd to Mrs Skidmore / the tothepickes and houerglasse dd to the said John Asteley."

76.166 "By Mrs Laundres Twist two handkercheues and iiij totheclothes trimmed with gold & silke . . . Deliuered to the said Mrs Skidmor."

77.108 "By the Lady Cheeke a Toothe & Eare picke of golde beinge a Dolphin enamvled with a perle pendaunt with xvj smale Rubyes beinge but sparckes & v sparkes of Dyamonds. dd to the Lady Howard."

77.144 "By Mrs Snowe vj tothe pickes of golde, and vj smale clothes to wype Teeth wrought with blacke silke. dd the vj tothpickes to the La Hawarde and the clothes to Mrs Skydmore."

77.159 "By Mrs Twiste laundrys Six smale Tothe clothes wrought with black silke and edgid with a smale border of black silke siluer & golde . . . dd to Mrs Skydmore."

78.114 "By the Lady Ratclif v crippins of Lawne garnesshed with golde and siluer purle two swete bagges of sylke and anightcoyf of white cutworke floresshed with Siluer and set with Spangilles / and v tothe pykes beinge quilles the Crepyns dd to Mrs Blanch threst to Mrs Skydmor."

78.160 "By Twyst Lawndrys ii handkerchers wrought with blac spanysshworke and edged with abonelace of venice golde and iiij totheclothes of corse hollande wrought with black sylke / and edged with bonelace of Siluer & black sylke . . . dd to Mrs Skydmor."

79.99 "By the Lady Mary Semer wif to Mr Rogers A Touthe pike of golde made gonne fation dd to the foresaid La haward."

79.131 "By Sir Edward Horsey Captayne of Thile of wight a Touthe picke of golde the top beinge garneshid with a faire emeraude a Dyamond & Ruby & other smale Dyamondes and Rubies with ij perles pendaunt dd to the Lady hawarde."

79.163 "By Mrs Twiste Six Towthclothes wroughte with blake silke and edged with golde . . . the tothe clothes dd to Mrs Skydmore."

82.152 "Smithstone allis Tailor a Coif of Lawne florisshed with blacke silke and edged with a bonelace of venice golde and vj totheclothes of holland wrought with spanishworke . . . Mrs Skidmore cate."

82.153 "Twist a paire of Sleves of Camrike wrought with blacke silk and vj toutheclothes Mrs Skidmore cate."

88.144 "By Mrs Smithson Two handkerchers and two toothclothes dd to the said Mrs Skydmore."

94.115 "By Sir Thomas Cecyll A Tooth picker Case of golde Garnished with Sparkes of Dyamondes and Rubyes Three pearles pendant One Bigger then the Residue, and a Small Chayne of golde to hange itt by . . . dd to Mrs Radclyffes."

97.82 "By the Baroness Hunsdon one Case of gold garnished with Dyomondes Rubies and three small pearles pendant with Sisers and tooth Pikes therin dd to Mrs Ratcliffe."

97.198 "By Mr Baker one glasse of Precious water for the teath dd to the La: Skudamore."

98.195 "By Mr George Baker one glasse of precious water for the teeth Delivered to the Lady Scudamore."

99.192 "By Mr George Baker one Glasse of water for the Teeth dd to the La: Scudamore.

Notes

This paper originated as a presentation for the Renaissance Society of America's 2014 conference in New York. I am grateful to Sara Torres for organizing this session and to Carole Levin for her generous response, suggestions, and encouragement. My deepest thanks also go to the intrepid and resourceful Cassandra Duncanson whose work as research assistant was critical to the preparation of this paper. Finally, I thank the University of Massachusetts Amherst for a Flex Grant that allowed me to fund Cassandra's position.

1. My decision to refer to the manuscript as a "pedigree book" is informed by the book's dedication (see note 2). The manuscript is mentioned in the New Year's Gift Roll for 1567 (London, British Library, Additional MS 9772). See Jane A. Lawson, "The Remembrance of the New Year: Books Given to Queen Elizabeth as New Year's Gifts," in *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing*, ed. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: British Library, 2007), 133–72 (152–53). On Robert Cooke, see J. F. R. Day, "Cooke, Robert (d. 1593)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6148 (accessed August 28, 2014).
2. The dedication reads, "Whereas moste excellent and mightie princesse my dreade soueraigne, I suppose, the readinge of petegres to be more rare unto your Maiestie, then the knowledge in other causes, and that it woulde be a thinge somwhat tedious, and paynfull to your highnes to peruse every severall ligne in this booke conteyned, I have thought good therefore, under your Maiesties pardon, to sett down in writing, a brief and playne abstract of the whole contents of the same, wherein doth appere, how your maiestie is descendid as lineall heire to to all those most noble, and famous howses of seuerall Emperours, Kinges, and princes, whose petegrees as they haue of antiquitie truly remayned of recorde, so haue I faithfully cowched the same in such

sorte, as by right of blood and progeny they are directly descendid, to your most royall and sacred person, in whome, as remayneth not only the truth of their inheritance, but much more the possession of their royall vertues, and princely qualities, so the eternall kinge, graunt your maiestie not only so many and prosperous yeres as any of those youre maiesties most noble progenitors did inioy, but also if it might stande with gods good fauour and mercy, the yeres and felicitie of them all" (London, British Library, King's MS 396, fol. iv).

3. Richard Marks and Ann Payne, *British Heraldry from Its Origins to c.1800* (London: British Museum, 1978), 116.
4. For visual representations of genealogy, see William H. Monroe, "13th- and Early 14th-Century Illustrated Genealogical Manuscripts in Roll and Codex: Peter of Poitiers' Compendium, Universal Histories and Chronicles of the Kings of England," PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1989; Olivier de Laborderie, "'Ligne de reis': culture historique, représentation du pouvoir royal et construction de la mémoire nationale en Angleterre à travers les généalogies royales en rouleau du milieu du XIIIe siècle au début du XVe siècle," PhD dissertation, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2002. See also idem, "A New Pattern for English History: The First Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England," in *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*, ed., Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward D. Kennedy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 45–61; Alixe Bovey, *The Chaworth Roll: A Fourteenth-Century Genealogy of the Kings of England* (London: Sam Fogg, 2005); Joan Holladay, "Charting the Past: Visual Configurations of Myth and History and the English Claim to Scotland," in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2010), 115–32.
5. On the place of women in medieval genealogy, see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *L'ombre des ancêtres. Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* (Paris: Fayard, 2000). For an excellent discussion of Jesse Tree imagery and its possible preparation in one manuscript for a female viewer, see Anne Rudloff Stanton, "'La genealogye comence': Kinship and Difference in the Queen Mary Psalter," *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996): 177–214.
6. Norman Bryson, "Art in Context," in *Studies in Historical Change*, ed. Ralph Cohen (Charlottesville, VA: U of Virginia P, 1992), 18–42 (21). Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign:Criticism and Its Institutions* (Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma P, 1988), xiv.
7. Vast tracts of eminent scholarship have been devoted to this topic, a disciplinary bugbear. Michael Yonan has offered an insightful recapitulation of the problems presented by art history's formalist (and Platonic) investments in: "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 18 (2011): 232–48.

8. All of these gifts are recorded in the New Year's Gift Roll for 1567 (London, British Library, Additional MS 9772). All surviving gift rolls have been edited and published in: Jane A. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559–1603* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).
9. Lawson discusses this practice in *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*, 15–19. For an extensive study of the tradition and its history, see Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Court ca.1400," *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 598–625.
10. London, British Library, Additional MS 9772; Lawson, *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*, no. 67.170.
11. "By Mr William Drewery a Chessebourde with chessemen in a boxe all of bone with her Ma[ies]tie" (London, British Library, Additional MS 9772; Lawson, *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*, no. 67.153). On William Drury (d. 1579), see Sean Kelsey, "Drury, Sir William (1527–1579)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8101 (accessed September 8, 2014)
12. "By Patritio Baldino a Glasse of swete water with certeyne other Instrumentes for Teethe &c with the Quene" (London, British Library, Additional MS 9772; Lawson, *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*, no. 67.167). On Ubaldini, see Cecil H. Clough, "Ubaldini, Petruccio (fl. 1545–1599)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27970 (accessed August 28, 2014); Helen Carron, "A Question Of Misattribution: William Sancroft's Copy Of Petruccio Ubaldini's *Le Vite Delle Donne Illustri* . . . (London, 1591)," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14 (2010): 285–90; and Giovanni Iamartino, "Under Italian Eyes: Petruccio Ubaldini's Verbal Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I," in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (New York: Palgrave, 2011), 193–209.
13. Lawson, *Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges*, 19.
14. London, Wellcome Collection, Accession Number A61493. The dental set is currently on long-term loan to the Science Museum, London. I am grateful to Rory Cook for providing me with detailed information about this object. Although a history of dentistry in Early Modern England has been published, a comparable study of dental hygiene has yet to be written. For dentistry, see A. S. Hargreaves, *White as Whales Bone: Dental Services in Early Modern England* (Leeds: Northern UP, 1998).
15. Thomas Raynalde, *The birth of mankynde otherwyse named the womans booke. Newely set foorth, corrected, and augmented* (London: Richard Jugge, 1565), STC (2nd ed.) 21157.5.
16. A toothpick from the second half of the sixteenth century, which is now in the British Museum gives an idea as to how so sumptuous an object may have looked (London, British Museum, WB 188).
17. Nicholas Penny, "Toothpicks and Green Hangings," *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005): 581–90. I am grateful to Monika Schmitter for

bringing this article to my attention. See also, Jessica Striebel MacLean, "Mission Santa Catalina's Mondadiente de Plata (Silver Toothpick): Materiality and the Construction of Self in Spanish La Florida," in *The Materiality of Individuality: Archaeological Studies of Individual Lives* (New York: Springer, 2009), 125–39.

18. Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987) gathers together all of the major portraits of the Queen and contains no image showing a pendant pick. Its former fashionability in England is implied in *All's Well That Ends Well*, when Parolles describes the pendant pick as an outdated accessory: "Virginity, like an old courtier, wears her cap out of fashion: richly suited, but unsuitable: just like the brooch and the tooth-pick, which wear not now" (*Alls Well That Ends Well*, I.1.157–60).
19. The shift toward critical biography is articulated aptly in Susan Frye's reference to Elizabeth as a "discursive agent," a framework that has been widely applied (Elizabeth Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993], 6). See also Carole Levin, *"The Heart and Stomach of a King": Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1994); Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2006); Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009); and Anna Riehl, *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I,* ed. Carolyn L. White (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
20. "Esta Reina Serenísima entró aquí á los 23 deste con salud, aunque no la había tenido tres [o] cuatro días antes de dolor de dientes y de una calentura que le duró, según me ha dicho, cuarenta horas, que la fatigó mucho." Archivo general de Simancas, Secretaría de Estado, Lpg. 819, fól. 223. My translation. Many thanks to Isabel Aguirre Landa for sending to me a complimentary copy of this document at very short notice.
21. Andre Hurualt Maisse, *De Maisse: a Journal of All That Was Accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse, Ambassador in England from King Henri IV to Queen Elizabeth*, ed. G. B. Harrison and R. A. Jones (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931), 26.
22. For studies of Elizabeth's orations see Allison Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I: Parliamentary Rhetoric and the Exercise of Power," *Signs* 1 (1975): 31–55; Frances Teague, "Queen Elizabeth in Her Speeches," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. Susan P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1992), 63–78; Linda Shenk, "Turning Learned Authority into Royal Supremacy: Elizabeth I's Learned Persona and Her University Orations," in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 78–96; Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 324–57.

23. *Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, ed. Janel Mueller and Leah S. Marcus (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003). See, also, Linda Shenk, *Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth*, 30–33.
24. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 141.
25. Ibid., 79.
26. A glance at the following indicates just how popular texts on rhetoric had become over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Lawrence D. Green and James J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric Short-Title Catalogue*, 1460–1700 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003). See also Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002); and idem, A *History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380–1620* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).
27. Carla Mazzio, *The Inarticulate Renaissance: Language Trouble in an Age of Eloquence* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2009), 6–8.
28. *The Historie of the World. Commonly Called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: Islip, 1601), STC 20029. The loss of teeth as an impediment to speech has been a concern to physicians since Antiquity (and presumably prior). See Jeffrey Wollock, *The Noblest Animate Motion: Speech, Physiology, and Medicine in Pre-Cartesian Linguistic Thought* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1997), 22, 25–52, and n.20 on page 106, which cites a number of sources from Galen to Wedelius, which diagnose missing teeth as the cause of inarticulate speech.
29. Carole Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance: Politics and Desire in Court and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 6–7.
30. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth*, 20.
31. There are numerous individuals who are represented in their figural likenesses throughout the manuscript, but, again, with the exception of William the Conqueror, these individuals are not English monarchs. They include: Rollo, Duke of Normandy; William, Duke of Normandy; Geoffrey, Count of Anjou; William, Duke of Aquitaine; Robert, Count of Mortain; Sancho, King of Spain; Arnold IV, Count of Angoulême; Charles the Great; Luderic, Forester of Flanders; Theodoric, Count of Holland; Hermann, Count of Hainault; Albert, Count of Namur; Geoffrey, Duke of Ardenne; William, Count of Warenne; Godfrey, "Erle of Array" [Comte d'Eu]; Eric, Count of Bigorre; Eustace, Count of Boulogne; Robert, Earl of Gloucester; Robert FitzHaimon; Macmurrough, King of Leinster; John the Marshal; Hugh de Lacy, Lord of Meath; William de Braose; Edmund, Earl of Lancaster; Thomas, Lord Wake; Bartholomew de Badesmere; Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln; Patrick Chaworth of Kidwelly; and Blondel of Luxemburg; Emperor Lewis IV.

32. J. H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem," *The Library* 4 (1932–33): 77–88; and J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 145–62.
33. It should be acknowledged that very little information on the use and display of genealogies is known. The Free Library's genealogical roll of Edward IV, for example, is extremely long, which means it would either have been viewed on a table in at least two sections, or it would have to have been hung from a height of 16 feet in order to have been viewed in its entirety.
34. An MA thesis devoted to this manuscript, which I have not consulted, dates it to 1572 (Barbara A. McGeoch, "A Study of a Genealogical Manuscript of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester" [MA thesis, City University of New York, 1974]). The manuscript has been fully digitized and can be viewed at: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/detail.html?id=MEDREN_4218616.
35. On the rarity of horizontal genealogies, see Ann Payne, "Heraldry and Genealogies," in *Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*, ed. Mark Evans (London: Roxburghe Club, 2010), 22. Payne refers to Elizabeth's pedigree book among two other examples of late sixteenth-century, horizontal genealogies (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.956 and the Lumley Inventory itself, which was probably made c.1590).
36. For example, "Geffrey duke of Arden of whom did descend the barons of Jaynvile whose heire was maried to Roger lord Mortimer of Wigmore as apperith folio 21" (London, British Library, King's MS 396, fol. 20v)
37. This event has been analyzed at length by numerous scholars. For a selection of this scholarship, see Sidney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 345–59; Roy Strong, "The 1559 Entry Pageants of Elizabeth I," in *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* II (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), 330–54; Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation*, 22–55; Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1999); Hester Lees-Jeffries, "Location as Metaphor in Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Entry (1559): *Veritas temporis filia* (1559)," in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 65–85. Cynthia J. Brown has published a fascinating study of pageant books produced for Anne of Brittany, which in many ways mirrors the process by which Elizabeth's Pedigree refashions a staged event. See Cynthia J. Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of*

Brittany, 1477–1514 (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2011); and Anne-Marie Legaré, "L'entrée de Jeanne de Castille à Bruxelles: un programme iconographique au féminin," in *Women at the Burgundian Court: Presence and Influence*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger, Anne-Marie Legaré, and Wim Hüsken (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 43–55

38. *The Pasage of our most drad Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion* (Tottell, 22 January 1558 [*sic*]) STC 287:02.
39. For a discussion of the ways in which the queen's antagonists manipulated the blazon genre to serve a subversive agenda, see Hannah Betts, "'The Image of this Queene so quaynt': The Pornographic Blazon 1588–1603," in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1998).
40. Mary Beth Rose, "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I," *PMLA* 115 (2000): 1077–82 (1079).
41. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 95.
42. For in-depth treatments of the issue, see Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002); and Anne McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England," *Journal of British Studies* 41 (2002): 259–90. For primary texts from a later period: *Breaking the Silence on the Succession: A Sourcebook of Manuscripts and Rare Elizabethan Texts (c.1587–1603)*, ed. Jean-Christophe Mayer (Montpellier, France: Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier, 2003).
43. Jenny Adams, *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2006), 160–61. These changes were very recent; as Adams notes, a book of 1529 printed in England still outlined chess problems using the old rules (i.e., those that did not account for the queen's aggrandized position on the board).
44. The potentials of such a para-history are suggested in Cassandra Auble's "Bejeweled Majesty: Queen Elizabeth I, Precious Stones, and Statecraft," in *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, ed. Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 35–51.
45. Rose, "The Gendering of Authority," 1079.
46. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 365–66; Louis Montrose, "Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I," *Representations* 68 (1999): 108–61; Rob Content, "Fair is Fowle: Interpreting Anti-Elizabethan Composite Portraiture," in *Dissing Elizabeth*, 229–51.

For My Eyes, Part 1

Amber Harris Leichner

*Now will I end, that do imagine I talk still with you, therefore loathly say farewell õõ.**

–Elizabeth to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, July 19, 1586[1]

It's not enough.
But it's enough
this moonlight
possession
of you
by my mind.

The sun rises
brings the robin
and a hope of song
still for me.
His gypsy plumes
importune—

We were just children
across the Tower walkway
waiting.
You carved an oak
out of limestone
left the leaves for me.

With a diamond
I scratched the pane
and light filtered through

the words of my story.
Still nothing proved
but what the eyes see.

We are wedded
by blood on the block,
the children of traitors.
In this court
birth is a portent
of duty—

My Rob,
Do not forget the volta,
our love in its leaping.
And I will not despair
of all I gave up,
as your queen.

*Note: Elizabeth's symbol to represent "eyes," her nickname for Leicester.

Note

1. Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Vol. 21, Part 2, June 1586–March 1587. Originally published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1927. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol21/no2/pp84–97.

For My Eyes, Part 2

Amber Harris Leichner

She was so grieved that for some days she shut herself in her chamber alone, and refused to speak to anyone until the Treasurer and other Councillors had the doors broken open and entered to see her.

—Informant of Spanish spy Don Bernardino de Mendoza[1]

I can hear the click of their cups and feel the midnight breeze
chivalrous
as it forages through silken folds, my head heavy on the velvet
cushions,
reclining in that long summer heat. And laughter comes as down a
pulpit,
the Thames swirling with one voice— your voice— tonic to my
spirits.

By candlelight and gaiety you buoyed me beyond the old business
of rule. We two were too much together, too bold in our silliness.
Remember being aboard the royal barge? The Spanish Bishop bore
our teasing when you asked him to marry us there on that boat.

I was eight the day I declared I'd never marry. Boy that you were,
you
listened. I was your princess, mistress with no master, but always
true.
You navigated my sacrifices and mapped out a lifetime of ragged
routes
around my jealousies and your betrayals. You earned your
reproaches.

What have I now but this dark absence. All your astronomy could not

cast out the silence that night when burst and flame lit the sky up hot.
You spent and spent to put those fireworks in the air for me, and my
eyes
reflected all their color, but it wasn't their fleeting fire in my insides.

Days I've shut myself in this room, enclosed like that deer
at the point of my crossbow as your greyhounds drew near.
We spared that quivering captured creature, but my knife
took a ransom of his velvet ears, the cost of continuing this life.

It was only weeks ago that we dined alone, walls closing in on our
fable,
tightening like the rings upon our fingers. Across the torch-lit table
you and I were as close as we had ever been, your beautiful wit still new.
No need to say it now: if it had been anyone, it would have been you.

Note

1. Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Vol. 4, 1587–1603. Originally published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1899. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/simancas/vol4/pp425–432.

The First of That Name

Regina Buccola

How comforting it must be for you
to have a mother who lost her head
long before she could assign one to you.
Daughter of a whore, you had no need
to whore yourself to any,

though some say you tried many,
found all of them wanting in your
eyes, or those of your wise councilors,
and thus you reign, sole, anointed
Elizabeth, the first of that name.

Have you forgot me? Though
you never knew me, certain it is
you knew of me. Every time
you walk with regal step
beneath those carved Tudor roses

I should be twinned to your thoughts,
the first rose of that branch,
thornless, whose blooming
made your stock possible:
Elizabeth Tudor, first of that name.

Named for my mother, whored
to a king (as some would have it)
whose brother-king asked her to
twist me to him, niece-wife;
she saved me by binding me to his thorn.

Grace O'Malley

Notorious: Gráinne Ní Mháille, Graven Memory, and the Uses of Irish Legend

Brandie R. Siegfried

Gráinne Ní Mháille, popularly known as Grace O'Malley or The Sea Queen of Connaught, was the acknowledged ruler of a significant portion of the west coast of Ireland during the latter half of the sixteenth century.[1] She regularly conducted raids by land and sea, and by her middle years had become mistress of several castles, ships, and a ready force of armed soldiers. Her place in the historical record is confirmed by bardic genealogies and various documents of the Tudor colonial administration centered in Dublin, while her status in early modern legend is preserved in ballads and poems. Of special interest here is a famous illustration—and the only image printed before the nineteenth century now available—of Gráinne's meeting with Elizabeth I, a meeting that currently belongs to legend since no documentary evidence of a face-to-face encounter has yet been discovered (Figure 12).

Figure 12 "Grana Uile introduced to Queen Elizabeth"

Note: Coveri llustration, *Anthologia Hibernica* 2 (July–August 1793).

Source: Reproduced by kind permission of Special Collections, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan.

What does the strictly documentary evidence tell us about Gráinne's visit to London? Quite a bit, actually: Gráinne did, in fact, sail to England; she did request an audience with Queen Elizabeth; and she was at court from June to September of 1593 (probably at

Greenwich Palace). Additionally, we have Lord Burghley's articles of interrogation listing the questions Gráinne was asked and which she answered.[2] We also have the subsequent letter of Queen Elizabeth to her own English official in Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham—the very man Elizabeth had charged with capturing O'Malley in the first place—commanding him, henceforth, to leave the Irish woman alone.[3] All of these bits are highly suggestive, but what we do not have is an account of a closeted tête-à-tête between the two queens. Rather, the narrative we have of that famous meeting relies for its authority on an account that appeared two centuries later—an account that, in turn, seems to have found its source in the poetry of early ballads.

Gracing the cover of the July–August edition of the 1793 Dublin periodical, *Anthologia Hibernica*, is the illustration of Gráinne's legendary meeting with Elizabeth in 1593. The engraving is meant to augment the subsequent article, "An Account of Grana Uile's Castle,"[4] which describes an Irish architectural antiquity of special interest. Since the journal advertises itself as "Monthly collections of science, belles-lettres, and history," and worth every penny for being "illustrated with beautiful engravings," we are meant to understand that the article is intended to be read as factual, even as the illustration is meant for a pleasurable, ruminative gaze. Published on the bicentennial anniversary of Gráinne's trip to England, the engraving may have been commissioned especially for this volume; however, periodicals of the eighteenth century were just as likely to employ engravings from prior publications, in which case, it may well have been copied and reintroduced in the "Account" precisely so as to invoke prior contexts of well-known broadside ballads and their illustrations.[5] As we shall see, a strong hint appears at the conclusion of the piece suggesting that this was indeed the case.

Certainly, an observant reader might find it curious that the illustration of Gráinne's meeting with Elizabeth was used at all, especially given that there existed in the late 1700s several apt etchings of three of Gráinne's castles, the supposed topic of the article. Furthermore, from our modern vantage point, it is reasonable to wonder whether the international roilings and boilings of the era might provide a useful, partially explanatory frame for understanding the journal's visual emphasis on the famous encounter between the Irish captain-queen and the English monarch: after all, earlier that same year—January 1793—French revolutionaries had led Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, the king and queen of France, to the guillotine and, via

public proclamations sent throughout the provinces and abroad, declared the people's intention to spread republicanism "throughout the world."[6] Was the "Account" an instance of a purposeful yet safely disguised political gesture—a "secret sign" of sorts, meant to invite the initiated into the knowing circle of advocates for revolution in Ireland? Or, on the contrary, was the legendary Sea Queen of Connaught revived as a synecdoche for historical reconciliation, an echo from the past meant to encourage eighteenth-century readers to see Ireland's status in relation to Great Britain as reflective of successful alliance and integration? Or might it have been part of the encyclopaedic urge informing many of the periodicals of the time, a gathering of historical anecdotes meant to add flesh to the growing body of formal, collective memory? This discussion is not meant to shut the door conclusively on any of these possibilities; rather, the close look that follows is intended to spark curiosity, and is proffered as an incentive to further inquiry.

Labeled "Grana Uile introduced to Queen Elizabeth," the *Anthologia Hibernica's* cover engraving is relatively simple in both composition and theme, the figures poised on the edge of allegory. Elizabeth is seated, denoting both her superior status and her juridical role, while Gráinne stands before her as petitioner and foreign visitor. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, stands to Elizabeth's right, staff in hand, the sign of his office and his historical reputation as the bureaucratic good shepherd to Elizabeth's three realms of England, Wales, and Ireland. Two of Elizabeth's ladies converse in the background; a cloud of smoke rises ominously from the fire blazing on the hearth;[7] and Gráinne's dark-shadowed, Turkish-garbed servant stands quietly as her mistress completes the gesture of tossing a handkerchief to the floor with one hand, while with the other hand she pulls her Irish cloak more closely about her. Thematically and architecturally, the two pillars of the chamber help to frame a parallel strength between the two queens. Moreover, when the eye follows the lines of the left pillar as it arches to join the lines of the right, the gaze is drawn down the perpendicular to complete the ellipse: at the bottom of the scene lies the infamous handkerchief—here the size of a blanket, so the reader cannot miss it—to which we shall return shortly.

While the illustration is freighted with an assertive historical presence meant to capture the essence of Irish-Anglo relations, the subsequent article advances a triumphalist story of "Grace O'Maly, known among the Irish as Grana Uile." Indeed, despite the article's

titular focus on Gráinne's castles, the description of "Carricke a Uile" constitutes only a brief paragraph; the rest of the piece lingers fulsomely on episodes detailing the adventurous accomplishments of the "high spirited lady" who was "ever foremost in danger," and whose "courage and conduct secured her success."[8] We are treated to a brief review of Gráinne's marriages, with special emphasis given to her bond with "Sir Rickard Bourke, styled MacWilliam Eighter, who died in 1585, after having by her three sons and one daughter."[9] We are also told that "Lord Deputy Sidney writ to the council in England, in 1576, that O'Maly was powerful in gallies and seamen." In fact, we are assured that her "fame attracted many desperate and hardy mariners from distant parts." Further well-documented escapades are briefly recounted before the author[10] turns to the prospect of legend: "Tradition says, that her piracies became so notorious, and her power so dangerous" he writes, "that she was proclaimed [publically declared an outlaw], and one hundred pounds offered as a reward for apprehending her."[11] After explaining that "the English power growing strong in Connaught, she resolved to make her peace with Queen Elizabeth, and went to her court," the author goes on to dramatize the supposed encounter with considerable detail:

> The queen, surrounded by her ladies, received her in great state. Grana was introduced in the dress of her country: a long mantle covered her head and body; her hair was gathered on her crown, and fastened with a bodkin; her breast was bare, and she had a yellow boddice and petticoat. The court stared with surpize at so strange a figure, when one of the ladies perceived that Grana wanted a pocket handkerchief, which was instantly handed to her. After she had used it she threw it into the fire. Another was given her, and she was told by an interpreter, that it was to be put in her pocket. Grana felt indignant at this intimation, and applying it to her nose, threw it also into the fire, declaring, that in her country they were much cleanlier than to pocket what came from their nostrils."[12]

In conjunction with the added particulars of the illustration—where not only is the difference in garb nicely detailed, but another kerchief is depicted lying between the two women (potentially both barrier and bridge)—the article's lingering preoccupation with Gráinne's hair and attire suggests an ongoing interest in cultural difference. From what sources might this colorful depiction have been taken?

I pause to note that anthologists publishing a century later claimed to have come by the same ballad noted in the *Anthologia* but

in an earlier Irish form. Thus, "The Meeting of Grace O'Malley and Queen Elizabeth" is a useful example for understanding the kinds of material informing the literary and political revival of Gráinne in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more generally, and for considering the influence of particular literary genres more particularly.[13] For instance, as part of a lengthy footnote to an entry on "Rickard an Iarain . . . who was m. [*sic*] to the celebrated Grace O'Malley," the ballad is referenced in the influential *Irish Pedigrees: Or, The Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation* (1892).[14] In this later article, the ballad begins by invoking the same tower house that the author of the 1793 "Account" features in the *Anthologia Hibernica*, but the persona of the poet—a visionary rather than a chronicler of antiquities—enters the "grey old tower, by storm and sea-waves beat" and, climbing the stairs to the top, contemplates the ocean vista from the window as night falls. The stage is thus set for an "aisling" poem, an Irish genre in which the contemplation of an ancient building or landscape conjures up a vision of the past in which Ireland appears to the poet in the form of a woman.[15] Typically, this personification of a she-nation laments the current state of affairs, calls for Ireland's fighting men to rise to the occasion, and gives prophetic shape to a future of renewal and rejoicing that will follow a great victory.

In this particular case, however, the vision of Gráinne as the aisling-angel merges with the musical petition for the longed-for warriors: that is, to see Gráinne is to simultaneously behold Erin beckoning, *and* to summon an Irish campaign. Thus, with "the hum / of the lone wild bee" and "the curlew's cry" in his ear, the persona of the poet finds that the view of the sunset on water has given way to something else: "And lo! Upon me did a vision come / of her who built that tower, in days gone by." The scene swiftly shifts from Gráinne's castle to Elizabeth I's court where counselors and courtiers are gathered to receive the Irish entourage:

A Tucker sounds, and lo! There enters now
A stranger group, in saffron tunics drest:
A female at their head, whose step and brow
Herald her rank, and, calm and self possessed,
Onward she came, alone, through England's best,
With careless look, and bearing free yet high,
Tho' gentle dames their titterings scarce repeat,
Noting her garments as she passed them by;
None laughed again who met that stern and flashing eye.
[. . .]

And in her girdle was a skeyne of steel;
Her crimson mantle, a gold brooch did bind:
Her flowing garments reached unto her heel.
[. . .]
She seemed as one well used to power—one that hath
Dominion over men of savage mood.[16]

Despite the details of dress, the narrator is at pains to stress that ultimately, "'Twas not her garb that caught the gazer's eye / —Tho' strange, 'twas rich, and after its fashion, good— / But the wild grandeur of her mien—erect and high." In contrast to the descriptions of the "tittering" behavior of Elizabeth's ladies, Gráinne's "wild grandeur" echoes the visionary landscape with which the ballad began.

In addition to the fact that the ballad invokes Gráinne as part of a genre meant to herald revolution, it seems clear that the chronicler of the 1892 *Irish Pedigrees* had been consulting sources similar to those used by the author of the 1793 "Account" in the *Anthologia Hibernica*. This becomes even more apparent when we turn to O'Hart's note on Gráinne in the main body of *Irish Pedigrees* (the ballad quoted above is included in the appendix at the end of O'Hart's book). "In 1575 lord deputy Sidney wrote to the Council in London that Grace O'Malley 'was powerful in galleys and seamen,'" O'Hart writes, and we immediately recognize the words of the "Account" of 1793. O'Hart goes on to explain, still echoing the *Anthologia Hibernica*, "After having performed many remarkable exploits against the English, Grace was, as a matter of state policy, invited as a guest by Queen Elizabeth to London; the reception which the queen accorded to her was most gracious." What is particularly noteworthy, though, is that O'Hart here departs from the "Account" and provides a narrative of a much earlier visit (in the 1570s) to Elizabeth's court than the one (in 1593) mentioned by the author of the article in the *Anthologia Hibernica*. O'Hart goes on to explain that Elizabeth "even offered, at parting, to make her [Gráinne] a 'Countess,' which the proud Irishwoman refused, but accepted the title of 'Earl' for her infant son." O'Hart then recounts the "remarkable fact that during the voyage from Clare Island, in Mayo, to Chester, where she landed, Grace O'Malley was delivered of a son—thence named Tiboid na Luinge (meaning 'Toby of the Ship')." This finally brings O'Hart's readers back to the patrilineal point of the page at hand, for it was Toby "from whom descended the Viscounts Mayo." Even so, O'Hart simply cannot conclude on this practical note, and adds one more paragraph reminiscent of the "Account":

> Dressed in the simple costume of her country—a yellow bodice and petticoat; her hair gathered to the crown and fastened with a silver bodkin; with a crimson mantle thrown over her shoulders and fastened with a golden brooch—the Irish Chieftanness approached Elizabeth, and boldly addressed her . . . *less as a Mistress than as a sister Sovereign*"[17] [emphasis mine].

O'Hart, in short, is at pains to emphasize equality: Gráinne and Elizabeth are both unusual sovereigns, each graced with a particular power that somehow transcended yet was peculiar to their sex. Even so, the ballad (included, remember, in O'Hart's appendix) bluntly elevates admiration for Gráinne over the shortly acknowledged splendor of the Tudor court: the poetical account portrays Elizabeth's gawking courtiers as sneeringly effete; the silly "tittering" of the English is put to silence, remember, by the "stern and flashing eye" of the Irish queen as she prepared to address the Anglo monarch. It is this altogether superior demeanor that leads the visionary poet to declare of the aisling-Gráinne, "She seemed as one well used to power—one that hath / Dominion over men of savage mood."

What becomes apparent when we juxtapose the 1793 "Account" with the material later gathered into the 1892 *Irish Pedigrees* is a curious literary revolution: we see the wheel-like turning of narrative gears as they mesh with one another, the action of one necessarily resulting in the movement of others. To put it another way, we have now traced how a ballad emerged from the archives of the late 1600s to influence thoughts on Irish heritage in the 1700s, the era of revolution; that eighteenth-century rumination on Hibernian history was revolved into the late nineteenth-century chronicle of family lineage that, in turn, narrated the legendary exploits of an Irish "sister Sovereign"—and did so, in part, by pivoting back to the early aisling tradition that influenced both. We return to the 1793 "Account," then, with a better sense of the kinds of sources "from the Irish" that went into the revival of Gráinne in the age of revolution, as well as how narratives like the "Account" would in turn influence nineteenth-century chronicles of Hibernian lineage and history—the very sources that W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and other activists eager for Irish independence would draw upon as they created their own vision of futurity. Such sources played no small role in the years leading up to the formation of the Irish Free State, heralded by the signing of An Conradh Angla-Éireannach (The Anglo-Irish Treaty) in 1921.

But let us return to the eighteenth century and the "Account." After lingering on the visit of the two queens, the *Anthologia Hibernica*'s 1793 narrative of Gráinne next summarizes a well-known adventure on the east coast of Ireland, just north of Dublin. This second story is taken partly from circumstantial evidence mentioned in English government documents, and partly from popular ballads, and concerns an incident that purportedly occurred in 1576. This adventure did not, as the "Account" seems to imply, happen hard on the heels of Gráinne's 1593 visit to Elizabeth's court. Rather, the author has collapsed elements of three different experiences into one account: the tale of Gráinne's earlier London visit—and the birth of her son Toby— melts narratively and visually into the more famous later exchange between the two queens that the cover of the periodical celebrates, and the adventure at Howth becomes the propitiative element that dissolves one event into the other. The pieces of this latter tale are simple and lock into place with the certitude of oral tradition: during a trip to Dublin, Gráinne attempted to pay a courtesy visit to Christopher St Lawrence, 7th Baron Howth (ca. 1509–1589). Howth was a place of portage for Dublin where, in 1576, Gráinne was visiting the English Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, on business.[18] However, upon arrival at Howth, Gráinne was informed that the family was at dinner and the castle gates were closed against her. In retaliation, she abducted the grandson and heir, and sailed home with him to Clew Bay on the other side of Ireland. As legend has it, Gráinne refused to release the young Howth until his grandfather, the baron, had promised to keep the gates open to unexpected visitors and to set an extra place at every meal. The point of the story is that Gráinne's insistence on traditional Irish hospitality ended in promise: a promise of continuity irrespective of future change.

What the essay in the *Anthologia* takes for granted, because in the 1700s it was still a well-known part of the legend, was the *character* of Baron Howth—something that makes a great deal of difference for our understanding of how the figure of Gráinne was meant to be construed in her eighteenth-century revival. Howth was a member of the Privy Council of Ireland, and played a leading part in the Irish government of the 1560s. He was famous in Irish popular memory for two things: the first was his rebellion against the English scheme for taxing the Irish, for which he was jailed in Dublin castle for several months in 1577 and again in 1578. In this regard, he might have been remembered as a popular hero were it not for the second prong of his fame: he was notorious for his domestic brutality. In 1579, he was

brought to trial for cruelty to his wife, Elizabeth Plunket, and daughter, Jane. On the evidence of the initial testimonies, the lord chancellor of Ireland, Sir William Gerard, ordered a full hearing before the Court of Castle Chamber at Dublin Castle. The evidence showed that the frequency and severity of Howth's violence meant that his wife eventually had to flee for her life. Further evidence showed that after beating his teenage daughter unconscious, she was unable to recover and died of her injuries. Howth was briefly imprisoned, fined, and ordered to "pay maintenance" to his wife. The Court of Castle Chamber also ruled that his wife would live apart from him, and that she would be given custody of the children (an extremely rare judgment for the period).

In short, the writer of the essay in the *Anthologia Hibernica* follows his account of Gráinne's visit to Elizabeth in 1593 with a 14-year flashback to the moment when Gráinne kidnapped the Howth heir and forced submission and obedience on the brutal earl. Moreover, following hard on the heels of the tale of Gráinne's visit to Elizabeth, the flashback to what we might term "corrective kidnapping" provides a further contrastive frame for the illustration of the two queens. Suddenly the poetical echoes of the early ballad, in which "[Gráinne] seemed well used to power, as one that hath / Dominion over men of savage mood,"[19] takes on a new sense of gravity: in addition to being a "sister-queen" to the English monarch, and as an augmentation to her revolutionary aisling function, the "Account" also reveals Gráinne to be an icon of anticipatory justice.

Curiously, the "Account" concludes by noting a missing ballad, one that had emerged in a political fray 40 years earlier. "The celebrity of Grana Uile had been a prime topic for many years," the author assures us, and then goes on to write,

> In the year 1753, during the political contests of the Duke of Dorset's administration in Ireland, a very popular song was formed, partly English and partly Irish, to the old air, and the burden, Grana Uile. This we have endeavored to procure, but hitherto without success. We shall thankfully receive it from any of our numerous readers who may possess it, and gladly give it a place in the *Anthologia*.[20]

Clearly, that another ballad featuring Gráinne had been in circulation at an earlier date, during a time of "political contests," is highly suggestive. In this context, mentioning it at all is as much as to say, "Remember, we usefully revived Gráinne in a fracas forty years ago,

and we can certainly use her again now." On that previous occasion, Gráinne had been revived as a kind of political coin, for the skirmishing referred to was economic in nature. An English administrator, Lionel Cranfield Sackville, the first Duke of Dorset, had long eyed the position of lord lieutenant and chief governor of Ireland; through a series of judicious alliances, he managed to secure that appointment twice. His first appointment began upon his arrival in Dublin on September 13, 1731, where, as Robert E. Burns explains, he "quickly discovered that the English governments of that era had no consistent strategy for managing the Irish parliament or for governing the country." However, when he fell out of favor with his patron Sir Robert Walpole, he lost the position and was not able to regain it until 1750. During the Dublin parliamentary session of 1751–52, a serious contest developed between Dorset's executive and an opposition party that formed under the leadership of Henry Boyle. The question at the heart of the friction had to do with the manner of applying a current Irish revenue surplus to the Irish national debt. As Burns further explains, "Since part of that revenue surplus had been derived from the hereditary revenues (that is, moneys belonging to the king and not voted by parliament), crown law officers insisted that the Irish parliament could not dispose of such funds without royal consent." In order to rally the votes needed to defeat the lord lieutenant on this issue, "Dorset's opponents began a major public relations campaign, [including] . . . a barrage of pamphlets [and ballads] attacking the arrogance and questioning the competence" of Dorset's administrators. Suffice it to say, the situation further deteriorated and eventually Dorset was ousted. The victory of the Boyle party—which succeeded in defending the principle that the Irish parliament could pay Irish debts from a surplus of Irish revenues *without* the king's consent—was celebrated as the people's victory with demonstrations, ballads, and bonfires.[21]

The appropriateness of recalling the legend of Gráinne on that occasion is manifest in multiple tales reminiscent of Robin Hood. In the interest of space, a vignette will have to stand in for the long years of economic struggle between Gráinne, on the one hand, and the agents of the English crown, on the other: in 1583, when heading into the country of the MacWilliam (the recognized demesne of Gráinne's husband, Richard Burke, titled the MacWilliam), to collect taxes on behalf of the English government, Theobald Dillon wrote in his report that he met

> McWilliam . . . [and] his wyfe Grayn Ny Mayle with all their force, and did swer they wolde hav my lyfe for comyng soo furr into ther countrie, and specialie his wyfe wold fyght with me before she was half a myle nier me.[22]

The point, here, is that Gráinne's feminine martial capacity was one thing; her belligerent refusal to meekly pay taxes to the English government added insult to injury. And though we don't know which ballad the author of the "Account" was asking his readers to seek and send him in 1793, Dillon's letter of 1583 suggests that Gráinne's colorful historical escapades had certainly been revived to provide thematically apt inspiration during the rebellion-of-the-revenues of 1751. The memory of Gráinne was a form of assurance, anchoring Ireland's future success to the reality of a well-chronicled past.

In short, the 1793 "Account" and the accompanying illustration of the meeting of the two queens must be understood in relation to at least two rebellions: the Irish tax rebellion of 1751, and the execution of Louis XVI in January of 1793. Of the illustration, it's worth noting that in the context of the French revolution, Gráinne's simple garb looks like that of contemporary revolutionaries: she seems a figure of the present ("of the people") speaking to the no-longer fashionable Elizabeth who now looks like an icon of sixteenth-century monarchical obsolescence (despite the grandeur of her costume and stance). Moreover, with hindsight, we know what the editors of the *Anthologia Hibernica* strongly suspected: they were sitting on a powder keg.

Just two years previously, the United Irishmen staged a public demonstration that explicitly invoked revolution. Nancy J. Curtin tells us that the "event began with a procession of Volunteers, Northern Whigs, and other enthusiasts, many carrying banners with portraits of such revolutionary heroes as Benjamin Franklin and the Compte de Mirabeau, or with mottoes celebrating liberty and the event itself."[23] The growing momentum of the movement can be seen in the popularity of a volume of songs published in Belfast, 1795, just two years after the 1793 "Account" appeared. *Paddy's Resource: being a select collection of original and modern patriotic songs, compiled for use by the people of Ireland* went through several editions, and the Dublin edition had an even more explicit title: *Paddy's Resource, or the Harp of Erin attuned to Freedom*. Several ballads in the collection refer to "Granu's Sons," a term used as a password by several secret societies formed for the maintenance of "Liberty."[24] The refrain, "For the queen of the ocean is Granu Waile!"[25] was therefore far more than a nostalgic nod to an irrecoverable past; the invocation of

the Sea Queen of Connaught became, as one contemporary put it, the "impressive" and "affective" call meant to "strike the soul through the senses."[26] I began this essay wondering whether the "Account" was an instance of a purposeful yet safely disguised political gesture—a "secret sign" of sorts, meant to invite the initiated into the knowing circle of advocates for revolution in Ireland. Though the author (who remains anonymous, remember) may not have intended quite such an explicit overture to revolution, the context in which it was published certainly gave it the irresistible luster of an arcane fraternity.

Moreover, in 1794—just a year after this volume of the *Anthologia* was published—Theobold Wolfe Tone (considered the father of Irish Republicanism) went so far as to invite a French invasion of Ireland meant to liberate the Irish in the same manner they had liberated the Americans. As Gough explains, "Such a force set out for Bantry Bay in 1796, but was scattered by storms."[27] Still, although the invasion failed (and was mocked as another sinking "Armada" in the English press), by 1798, the Irish freedom movement erupted into full-blown revolt. Had the editors of the *Anthologia Hibernica* seen this coming? It is difficult to say, without any direct evidence of intention, especially given the case that the 1793 volume in which the "Account" appears is by no means politically univocal. As Mark Parker reminds us in his work on such magazines, "the dialogism *within* the magazine," constitutes some of the "most important" of the "basic formal features of periodicals [emphasis mine]."[28] That is, the articles within this issue of the *Anthologia Hibernica* were meant to be experienced as if in conversation with each other.

With regard to this implied dialogism, the two essays immediately following the piece on Gráinne are certainly suggestive. The first, "General Education," is a review and response to Jean-Jacque Rousseau's *Julia; or, the New Eloisa* (1761), and the second is an essay titled, "Some Thoughts on the Rise and Progress of Architecture in Ireland, from the remotest Periods to the present Time."[29] This latter is a conglomeration of bits from Fynes Moryson's *Travels* (London, 1617) and Tacitus's *De moribus Germanorum et De vita Agricola.* As one might suppose from the juxtaposition of these two works by Tacitus, the English are revealed to be the heirs to Caesar's roman empire—the promoters of the civil sophistication that roman architecture represented historically—while the Irish are portrayed as living after "the manner of the ancient Britons and Germans," who, we are told emphatically, did not erect great monuments or design palaces of architectural merit, but lived in "deep caves in the ground . . . wherein they dwell during winter . . . in these they also retire from their enemies."[30]

In other words, the 1793 *Anthologia Hibernica* stages a series of competing conversations: the article on Gráinne explicitly invokes the Irish woman's "peace" with the English monarch Elizabeth, yet concludes by triumphantly recollecting Dorset's 1753 failure to secure the British crown's prerogative over Irish revenue surpluses. The article on Irish architecture that follows the "Account" aligns British nationalism with the towering memory of Rome, while Irish cultural heritage is dismissed as subterranean, piratical, and unschooled. The Rousseau-inflected essay on education for the masses begins by opining that "the very general diffusion of knowledge [is] injurious to society," and then proffers a long quotation of Rousseau, which concludes, "There are thousands of simple honest people, who have no occasion for a diversity of great talents; supporting themselves better by their simplicity, than others with their ingenuity."[31] What are we to make of such polemics in a volume whose cover celebrates the two-hundred year anniversary of Gráinne's visit to the English court? There are, of course, no easy answers to this question. Still, the context is highly suggestive: 1793 is the year of international furor over the regicide in revolutionary France; the United Irishmen were calling themselves "Granu's Sons" and invoking Gráinne as an aisling-angel meant to call forth (and foretell) Irish liberation; the allusion to the Howth kidnapping stresses Gráinne's role as an icon of anticipatory justice; and the author of the "Account" openly calls for the retrieval of ballads about Gráinne used in a previous successful rebellion against the distributive prerogatives of the English crown over Irish revenues.

Here is what we can say with confidence: in the graven memory of the *Anthologia Hibernica*'s cover illustration, the visual emphasis on the tossed handkerchief seems suspiciously reminiscent of a thrown gauntlet.

Notes

1. Spellings and variations on Grace O'Malley's name include Granuaile, Granu Waile, Gráinne Mhaol, Gráinne Uí Mháille, Gráinne Umhaill, Grany O'Mayle, Granie Imallye, Granny Nye Male, Grany O'Mayle, Granie ny Maille, Granny ni Maille, Granny O'Mally, Grayn Ny Mayle, Grane ne Male, Grainy O'Maly, Granee O'Maillie, Granny Wales, Granny O'Whale, and Grania Wale.
2. See "Eighteen articles and interrogatory to be answered by Grany ne Malley," and "The Answer of Grany Ne Maelly," in *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland*, Searchable Text Edition, vol. 5 (October 1592–June 1596), ed. Hans Claude Hamilton (Tanner-Ritchie,

2006), 133–36 at http://web.a.ebscohost.com.erl.lib.byu.edu/ehost/ebookviewer.

3. For an extended discussion of the rhetorical treatment of Gráinne in the correspondence of Bingham and other English colonial officials in Ireland, see Brandie R. Siegfried, "Queen to Queen at Check: Grace O'Malley, Elizabeth Tudor, and the Discourse of Majesty in the State Papers of Ireland," in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 149–75.
4. "An Account of Grana Uile's Castle," *Anthologia Hibernica* 2 (July–August 1793): 1–3. Hereafter, "Account." Other items from the same issue are cited as *Anthologia Hibernica*.
5. The drawing for this picture was provided by William H. Beauford (1735–1819), the son of a French refugee who moved to Ireland in 1758. Beauford was one of the founding members of the Antiquarian Society, and best known for his *Map of Ireland* (Dublin, 1792). Several of his drawings were engraved for Joseph Cooper Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Bards and Music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1786). See Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, vol. 1 (Dublin: Maunsel, 1913). The engraver for the illustration was S. Clayton, who had collaborated with Beauford on other projects.
6. As Hugh Gough notes, Irish reformers read France's decrees closely, and were especially encouraged by those asserting that "the French nation would give 'fraternity and assistance' to any people wishing to recover its liberty." See Hugh Gough, "The French Revolution and Europe, 1789–1799," in *Ireland and the French Revolution*, ed. Hugh Gough and David Dickson (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 7.
7. The "Account" explains the cloud as the result of two previous handkerchiefs having been thrown into the fire; the friction of cultural difference, as we shall see, crackles into a suggestively emblematic blaze.
8. "Account," 1–2.
9. Ibid. Note that the Burkes were also distant cousins of Elizabeth's, making Gráinne a relative by marriage. In this regard, note also that another of Elizabeth's Irish cousins—her much-favored Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, or "Black Tom" as he was popularly known—had helped to broker a détente between the two leaders.
10. The author of the piece is not named, but only given an initial, "D." Worth noting is Mark Parker's observation that early magazines commonly "present their contributions anonymously or under a pseudonym." Additionally, editors "routinely changed and at times substantially rewrote contributions." When I refer to the "author" here, it is with these complications of composition and presentation in mind. See Parker, *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism*, 4–5.
11. "Account," 1–2.

12. "Account," 2.
13. "The Meeting of Grace O'Malley and Queen Elizabeth," in *Irish Pedigrees*: *Or, The Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, ed. John O'Hart, vol. 2 (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1892), 675–77. Hereafter, "The Meeting." O'Hart notes that this poem was translated "from the Irish."
14. The entry is found in the segment devoted to "The Bourkes, Lords Viscount Mayo," *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, p. 62. The separate gloss on "Grace O'Malley" at the bottom of the page is a notable departure from method in a two-volume work explicitly devoted to Irish patrilineal heritage.
15. For a good discussion of the aisling tradition, see Breandán Ó Buachalla, "Irish Jacobite Poetry," *The Irish Review* 12 (Spring–Summer 1992): 40–49. For a clear discussion of the significance of poetry in relation to revolution, see Tom Dunne, "Subaltern Voices? Poetry in Irish, Popular Insurgency, and the 1798 Rebellion," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22.3 (1998): 31–44.
16. "The Meeting," 676.
17. "The Bourkes," *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, p. 62.
18. See Robert Dunlop, "St. Lawrence, Christopher (d.1589)," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, 1897), 50. For an extended account of the trial in context, with excerpts from the transcripts, see Jon G. Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland: The Court of Castle Chamber, 1571–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005). For the case that English colonial officials may have inflated the account in order to politically hamper Howth, see Valerie McGowan-Doyle, *The Book of Howth: Elizabethan Conquest and the Old English* (Cork: Cork UP, 2011). McGowan-Doyle's book also provides an excellent discussion of the Book of Howth's significance as a source for historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and elaborates on its continued worth for parsing Irish cultural history.
19. *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 675.
20. "Account," , 2.
21. We are also told that "at that time Irish politics functioned in an unusually undirected state, and Dorset had to bargain with individual faction leaders to get the support necessary to pass the Irish money bills and to complete the rest of the king's business in a timely fashion. In each of his three sessions the duke managed to complete most of the king's business expeditiously." See Robert E. Burns, "Sackville, Lionel Cranfield, First Duke of Dorset (1688–1765)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), online ed., January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24446 (accessed January 25, 2014).
22. Theobald Dillon to Walsynham, cited in Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: Ireland's Pirate Queen, c. 1530–1603* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1983), 86–87.

23. Nancy J. Curtin, "Symbols and Rituals of United Irish Mobilisation," in *Ireland and the French Revolution*, ed. Hough Gough and David Dickson (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 69.
24. This password was used in conjunction with symbols, oaths, ceremonies, and emblems borrowed from the Freemasons. For an extended discussion of the popularity of "Granu's Sons" in the Irish revolutionary ballads of the 1790s, see Marilyn Butler, "Edgeworth, the United Irishmen, and 'More Intelligent Treason,'" in *An Uncomfortable Authority: Maria Edgeworth and Her Contexts*, ed. Heidi Kaufman and Christopher J. Fauske (Cranbury, NJ: Associated UP, 2004), 33–61.
25. See an extended version of one such, "Grainne Mhaol," in Patrick Joseph McCall's collection, *Songs of Erin* (Dublin: Simpkin Marshall, 1899), 19–21.
26. From the correspondence of Dr. William Drennan, in which he discusses the importance of Freemason symbols and utterances to "the patriots of liberty." See William Drennan to Samuel M. Tier, May 21, 1791, in *The Drennan Letters*, ed. D. A. Chart (Belfast: np, 1931), 54.
27. Gough, "The French Revolution and Europe, 1789–99," 7.
28. See Parker, *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism*, 14–16.
29. *Anthologia Hibernica*, 3–7.
30. *Anthologia Hibernica*, 4.
31. *Anthologia Hibernica*, 3.

GRACE: O'MALLEY MEETS THE ENGLISH QUEEN (1593)

Heidi Czerwiec

Gracelessly, I shaved my hair when
informed that, as a girl, I could not man
my father's fleets along the Irish Atlantic.
And if man, why not chieftain? Why not take
and tack those ships, claim them name them mine?

And if I am a Pirate King (or Queen),
why should I not consort with one of my own,
another island queen with navy alike?
Without grace

her smirking guards at Greenwich frisked me, found
my girdled dirk. Yet at this, the Queen grinned,
said As equals then, in Latin, let us speak.
A woman needs about her her own prick
if we are to navigate this world of men
with grace.

Gifts and Poison, Whispers and Letters

More Than a Wife and Mother: Jane Dudley, the Woman Who Bequeathed a Parrot and Served Five Queens

Catherine Medici

In her will of 1554, Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland, bequeathed her parrot to the Duchess of Alva. In 1746, almost 200 years after her death, Arthur Collins wrote of Jane that she was "the greatest example in the fortitude of mind in adversity; and of modest virtue; and whose wisdom, care, and prudence, restored her overthrown house, even in a reign of cruelty and tyranny."[1] In the nineteenth century, Victorian guidebooks commonly stated in the duchess' biography that accompanied descriptions of her tomb, that Jane had been beheaded alongside her husband in 1553 after the fall of Jane Grey, a romantic but incorrect statement. Contemporary historians and novelists remark on Jane's bequest of her parrot.

Despite her curious bequest, praiseworthy characteristics, and impressive accomplishments, Jane Dudley does not play a large role in works on Tudor history. For centuries, Jane Dudley has mostly known for a few interesting details about the last few years of her life, when she helped place Jane Grey on the throne and then fought for pardons for her sons when Mary Tudor became queen. Arthur Collins, the author of the family chronicle written in the eighteenth century from records kept at Penshurst when the family line had only female heirs, credits Jane Dudley, the Duchess of Northumberland with the restoration of the family in his dedication. In his later

biographical explanation of the duchess, Collins explained how he came to his earlier characterization of Jane Dudley and points out her political agency and involvement, writing "by her solicitations, after the marriage of the queen with the King Phillip, she obtained Pardon for her sons, principally by the Spaniards, who accompanied him into England."[2] Collins' story presents a legacy of women in the Dudley family who used their education to help their family, with Jane Dudley at the pinnacle. In current historiography, Jane's place is limited at best. Her role in restoring her family's position is mentioned in detail and positively acknowledged in books on the Sidney family, like Margaret Hannay's *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke* and Michael Brennan's *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy*. However, the only source on the entirety of her life is the coverage David Loades provides in his biography of her husband, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland*, which actually provides very minimal information about Jane.[3] The fullest account of Jane's life is available as a short biographical and bibliographic essay written by the novelist Susan Higginbotham to accompany her novel *Her Highness the Traitor*.

Through an examination of the State Papers and other contemporary records, it becomes clear that Jane held a role in the court politics from the 1530s to 1550s during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Jane Grey, and Mary I. Jane served at court with almost all of Henry's queens. She was part of the court during Anne Boleyn's reign, was a mourner for Jane Seymour, and served in the household of Princess Mary and Anne of Cleves. She attended the wedding of Katherine Parr to the king and was a member of her household at court. After the death of Henry's son Edward VI, Jane was both a central part of her husband's placement of Jane Grey on the throne and the most influential force in the freeing of her sons afterward during the reign of Mary I. Through Jane Dudley, we can see how women's relationships with queens placed them at the center of political life in Tudor England. A complete examination of her life shows that Jane Dudley was politically significant throughout her life because of her relationships with English queens and possessed political skills strong enough to overcome charges of treason.

Little is known about Jane's early life. Jane was the daughter of Edward Guilford and Eleanor, his first wife. Edward Guildford was a member of Henry VII's court, a founding member of the Privy Chamber of Henry VIII, and a close friend of Charles Brandon.[4] Eleanor was the daughter of Thomas West, Baron West and Baron

de la Warr.[5] Much later in life, in the 1550s, Jane would claim this connection for an inheritance and go through a lengthy court battle to attain the de la Warr lands and monies.[6] Based on her age at her death, 46 in 1555, Jane was born in 1508 or 1509. She was raised at the family's home in Kent and was likely educated alongside her brother, Richard, at home by a tutor.[7]

In 1512, the Guildfords gained the wardship of young John Dudley after the execution of his father for treason against the crown. Young John joined the family in Halden, Kent, to be educated and brought up as a young gentleman. John Dudley's biographer, David Loades argues that Edward Guildford treated John as a son.[8] Jane was therefore largely raised and educated alongside her future husband.

By late 1525 or early 1526, Jane had married John Dudley. The couple may have been betrothed at a younger age, but were likely not married until John reached his age of majority and could take control of his lands in 1525. Based on calculations of her childrens' ages in the 1550s, Jane likely gave birth to her first child, Henry in 1526. She had a second son, Thomas, who died in infancy, and then a third son, John, in 1528.[9] In 1527, John Dudley began his career at Henry VIII's court and seemed to take the side of the Boleyns in the case of the King's divorce. While John was serving the king in various military engagements, he clearly made time to see his wife. Jane gave birth to a child nearly every year until the mid-1530s, eventually having thirteen children, eight sons and five daughters.[10]

Jane was at court just before the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn and was included in the New Years gift rolls for 1532, noted as "young lady Guldford" she gave the king a shirt.[11] She continued at court during the queenship of Anne Boleyn, possibly as a member of the Privy Chamber.[12] In the New Year's gift roll for 1534, she was listed alongside the women of the court, including those who were part of the queen's household.[13] Jane again appears in the records as a member of the court in 1537, when she participated in the funeral of the queen, Jane Seymour. Jane, noted as Lady Dudley, was part of the procession of noble ladies who followed Mary Tudor, chief mourner for the queen. Jane was grouped in the second tier of noble ladies.[14] While the king was unmarried Jane remained at court as part of Princess Mary's household.[15]

By 1539, Jane apparently held a place in court politics. The ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire, Eustace Chapuys, wrote to Emperor Charles V regarding his concerns about being caught up in the arrest of another foreigner at court for writing treasonous letters.

In his letter, Chapuys pointed to Jane Dudley as wishing to warn him about the danger, stating, "Master Dudley has sent twice to tell his wife that he has warned me of it and no one has mentioned it to me at all." It seems that Jane Dudley was connected to the ambassador in some way, as she was concerned that he not be caught up in a treason trial and sought assurances from her husband that Chapuy would be protected. Additionally, she must have been in personal contact with the ambassador, as his characterization suggests that he knew what John Dudley told his wife he did, even though he did not actually do it.[16] Jane's connection to the Spanish would prove crucial later in life, making this early indication of a relationship with Chapuys significant.

Jane appears in the records of the court once again in 1540 when she became part of Anne of Cleve's household. Jane was named an attendant for the new queen in January of 1540.[17] As Anne was a foreigner and would have known no one in England to select herself, the placing of Jane in the queen's household shows her rising status within the Court. Despite Anne of Cleve's swift fall from her position as queen, Jane seemed to be unaffected. While there is no record of if she held a position during Katherine Howard's queenship, in 1546 she was again a member of the queen's household, this time under Katherine Parr. Jane lacked a position and was simply a lady of the household for Katherine Parr, but was accompanied by many of the women who had made up Anne of Cleve's household.[18]

Jane's place in Katherine Parr's household led to her next recorded involvement in court politics as she came dangerously close to a brush with treason. In 1545 and 1546 Anne Askew, a staunch Protestant, began to be questioned about her beliefs about transubstantiation that seemed to be outside the beliefs of the Church of England at the time. Anne was connected to the court through her brother Edward, who was a cup-bearer to the king and her half-brother Christopher who had been a gentleman of the privy chamber. Her brother-in-law, George St Poll, was a lawyer employed by Catherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, a member of Katherine Parr's household. In the summer of 1546, Anne was arrested for heresy and extensively questioned and tortured. The conservative faction at court apparently believed that if they could get Anne to implicate some of the women of the court they could use Anne to take down their husbands, the men of reformist faction. Anne was questioned about receiving support from many members of Katherine's household, but not Jane Dudley.[19]

Jane, however, was still implicated in the Askew affair. Chapuys wrote of the effect the Askew affair was having on the court. As a Catholic, Chapuys was clearly upset by the Askew affair, as it showed the strong influence of Protestantism on the court. He noted, "the King favours these stirrers of heresy, the Earl of Hertford and Lord Admiral." John Dudley had been made Lord Admiral in 1543. However, Chapuys felt that the queen would be an even greater influence on Henry. Katherine was known as a strong Protestant with possibly radical leanings, but Chapuys thought that these leanings were "instigated by the Duchess of Suffolk, Countess of Hertford and the Admiral's wife." And so Chapuys blamed these women, including Jane Dudley, with infecting the queen with words and exhortations that he thought would only serve to turn England away from the Empire.[20] Though Chapuys intended to paint Jane as a heretic, his letter places her among the most influential women at court as part of the group of women who held sway over the queen and through her the king. This is significant because Jane is not usually included in this group because she was not named by Askew as a supporter and was not an official member of the Queen's Privy Chamber. Chapuys' letter suggests that though she may not have held an officially important position, she was an important member of the queen's household. The political power she held through her ability to influence was significant, and something to be concerned about.

After the death of Henry in 1547 and Edward VI's ascension, the Dudley's place at court became even more significant. John Dudley was a member of the Privy Chamber and Lord Chamberlain. Without a queen, Jane did not hold an official place at court, but Jane maintained her place as an important intermediary for her husband. After John Dudley ascended to the presidency of the Privy Council and displaced Edward Seymour, Earl of Somerset, as regent, there were a number of plots to help the earl regain his position. In a letter to one of the Earl's servants, John Thynne, an unknown writer discussed his concerns of presenting himself to the Privy Council for questioning. He noted that he sought advice from Jane Dudley, stating that he had "this afternoon been with my Lady Warwick, whose advice in any wise is that he should submit himself."[21] In this case, Jane was sought out to give advice on the probable actions of the Council headed by her husband, showing that she was thought of as politically astute and knowledgeable about the mood of the Privy Council.

Jane's position beside her husband during the reign of Edward is apparent in the records in a few ways. Her support for John during

the years before he became the president of the council was important to him. In a letter to William Cecil, John noted that despite being slandered for his actions on the council that "he and his wife take all that comes."[22] Whether this indicates that Jane was a subject of slander as well is unclear, but it certainly shows that she was privy to and involved in John's political life. Jane also acted as a hostess for important members of and guests to Edward's court. In 1553, Richard Morrison, the English ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire, thanked John and Jane Dudley for their kindness during his recent visit to the English court.[23] It would make sense that as the wife of the regent and thus as the highest-ranking woman present, Jane would become the primary hostess at the court. Jane also engaged in important patronage during the reign of Edward VI. She requested two tracts on geography and astronomy from the noted polymath John Dee.[24]

In an attempt to surpass the power he held as Edward VI's regent, John Dudley married his son Guildford to the young Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's younger sister. Jane was a Protestant alternative to succeed Edward VI, as his sister Mary was a strong Catholic. In May of 1553, Guildford and Jane Grey were married in the Dudley's London home, Durham House.[25] When Edward died in July of 1553, John Dudley, with help of his sons, placed Jane on the throne.

Jane Dudley's role as mother-in-law to the young claimant to the throne is debated in the literature. While little documentation remains of the few months between Jane Grey's marriage and the attempt to place her on the throne, Jane Dudley was an important part of those months. In a letter to Mary Tudor explaining the actions that led to her claim to the crown, Jane Grey made many claims about the Duchess of Northumberland's involvement and poor treatment of her. Jane wrote that the Duchess of Northumberland broke her promise to allow Jane to return to her parents' home and instead insisted she stay with the Dudleys in case Edward died so that Jane could immediately claim the throne. Jane's letter further portrayed the duchess almost as a guard, insisting Jane and her son be near her and keeping them in the house. Jane also stated that the duchess was "angry" with her. However, Jane also presented the duchess as part of the first group to acknowledge Jane as the queen.[26] Jane also noted that her choice to make Guildford a duke and not king gave the duchess "great cause for anger and disdain" and due to her displeasure she "persuaded her son not to sleep with me any longer." Jane

firmly stated that she was "ill treated" by the duchess and that she was poisoned in the "house of the duchess of Northumberland." [27]

Despite this negative portrayal of Jane Dudley, the letter shows the duchess' involvement in the highest level of court politics. This can be seen in Jane's assertions of the duchess' many actions to control her, and thus the outcomes of court politics, but also in her credit of the duchess for many actions. In many cases, Jane could have easily replaced duchess with duke; however her choice to grant agency and ownership to the duchess suggests that she was really a moving force in the few months as her mother-in-law.

Mary Tudor quickly claimed her throne without a battle. John Dudley's grasp for power nearly led to the downfall of the entire Dudley clan. All of the Dudley men, along with Jane Grey were imprisoned in the Tower. John Dudley was beheaded on August 22, 1553, as were Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley, six months later after the Wyatt Rebellion challenged Mary's reign. The other Dudley males remained imprisoned in the Tower. Though she may have originally been taken to the Tower with her husband and sons, Jane Dudley was not imprisoned.

Jane was allowed to remain free, but most of her possessions were confiscated by the Crown. She was "stripped almost of all necessaries of life, and turned out of her house, and so rigid were they, as to sell the furniture thereof, and every thing they could lay hold of." [28] The Crown seemed particularly interested in Jane's apparel and listed many of her gowns and pieces of cloth that were to be taken from her. The listings of the clothing and cloth, including four yards of gold and silver lace, cassocks and dresses of velvet and satin, and kirtles of damask, white silver, and satin, show the great wealth the Dudleys had amassed.[29] Jane moved from Durham House to the Dudley country home in Chelsea and fought to retain as much property and lands as she could. She fought to be recognized as an heiress in her own right so that incomes and properties could not be confiscated on behalf of her husband's treason. In June of 1554 a jury agreed that she was the "cousin and heir of Thomas West Lord la Warr" and in September of the same year the courts also declared that she was the sole heir of her father.[30] By winning these court decisions Jane was able to claim possession of two manors as well as some additional lands, which not only provided her with much needed income, but allowed her to have some property to bestow to her heirs.

During the early years of Mary's reign, Jane was not only busy fighting for her inheritances, but also fighting for the release of her

sons. With the help of her daughter Mary Sidney, her daughter-in-law Elizabeth Tailboys Dudley, and her son-in-law Henry Sidney, Jane used relationships with Spanish men and women who came to England as part of Philip's court.

Clearly, Jane had created strong relationship with these Spanish noblemen and women, but how did the woman who was accused of infecting the king through his wife against the Catholicism and the Holy Roman Empire by the imperial ambassador in 1547 come to depend on the Catholic Spanish to free her sons from the Tower? Jane's connections to Spain were varied and long lasting. Early in the reign of Henry VIII, her uncle Henry Guildford had fought under the flag of Ferdinand and Isabella and for his valor was honored with the addition of a pomegranate to his coat of arms.[31] In 1537, John Dudley traveled to Spain on one of his first diplomatic missions.[32] He made some strong connections to Spanish nobility, as in 1537 Jane and John also named the Spanish nobleman and diplomat Don Diego de Mendoza as the godfather to their son Guilford.[33] Additionally, despite his later indictment of Jane, Eustace Chapuys indicated a close relationship with Jane Dudley earlier in his career as ambassador.[34] Jane depended on these longstanding connections between herself, her family, and the Spanish nobility to gain her sons' freedom.

Jane's cultivation of the Spaniards at court is apparent in an examination of her will. To the Duchess of Alva Jane bequeathed her "green Parot, having nothing worthy for her else," and requested that she continue to be "a good Lady to all her Children, as she as has begun."[35] The Duchess of Alva, Maria Enríquez de Toledo y Guzmán, was one of the few Spanish noble women present at court and had traveled there with her husband, the third Duke of Alva. The small number of Spanish women at court can be attributed to two factors. Philip had prohibited his noblemen from bringing their wives, though some did. Additionally, some of the noblewomen who came with the royal entourage were not received at court by Mary. Besides being one of the few Spanish women present, the Duchess of Alva was the highest ranking Spanish noblewoman in England. The duchess' elite position would have made her the best Spanish woman for Jane to cultivate a relationship with, even though the duchess did not have a personal relationship with Queen Mary.[36]

To other women Jane bequeathed items of clothing, but to the Duchess of Alva she gave a valuable and unique possession. Parrots were rare pets in sixteenth-century England. The first use of the

word in English came in 1525 and it did not appear again until 1564.[37] It seems that the only other recorded owner of a parrot as a pet at that time was Queen Elizabeth in the 1560s.[38] The gifting of such a rare item suggests the importance Jane placed on the duchess, and her notation that she had been good to her children further indicates that the duchess had been instrumental to Jane's efforts on behalf of her sons.

The other important Spaniard that Jane Dudley mentioned in her will was Don Diego de Mendoza, whom she referred to as Lord Dondagoe Domondesay. To him she gave what was likely her single most valuable movable item, a "book clock." As with the gift she gave to the Duchess of Alva, her gift to Mendoza was unique in value to gifts given to others in the will. The detailed description of the clock suggests its value, it had a sun, the moon, and a dial tied to the almanac, while on the other side it contained a "golden number." Mendoza had remained a supporter of the Dudleys since becoming the godfather of Guildford in the 1530s. In 1553, he had even expressed his support for Guildford's kingship.[39] Jane's acknowledgment to Mendoza indicated his importance to her efforts as she commended him "for the great Friendship he hath showed her, in making her have do many friends about the King's Majesty, as she has found."[40] Jane's will shows Mendoza as the key piece of her efforts to gain favor with the Spanish to free her sons, as he was apparently the one who introduced her to the Spanish members of court and encouraged their support of the efforts.

Jane's connection with and use of the Spanish is further seen in her thanking the, presumably Spanish, Duke of Salvan and "Lords and Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, that did her sons Good." She beseeched them "for God's sake to continue the good Lords to her Sons in their Needs, and her Trust is, that God will requite it to them."[41]

Jane's wrote her will at a time when she did not know if her sons would be freed. Her eldest son John was released from the Tower in October 1554, but he had not been officially pardoned and died at his sister Mary's home, Penshurst, almost immediately. In December or January 1554/55 the remaining Dudley brothers, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry were released. Jane died shortly after on January 22, 1555, at her home in Chelsea. A week after her death her efforts were fully successful and her sons received their pardons.[42]

It was usual in this time for women to lobby members of the court for the benefit of their sons and husbands accused of treason.[43] What

is interesting in this case is that the family presented a united plan to gain support from the ascendant Spanish. Jane Dudley used her political acumen to come up with a plan to free her sons. Through the right connections, shown in her will, and her willingness to acknowledge and maintain the support that their Spanish connections provided, she succeeded. All her sons were released from the Tower and eventually obtained their rights to inheritance and membership of the peerage.

In addition to her relationship with the Spanish, Jane's will is illuminating in her relationships with her family, faith, and the Crown. Jane stated that the purpose of her will was to "have my debts paid and my Children and servants considered."[44] Jane made charitable donations to the poor of her parish and to the prisons of London, Ludgate, Newgate, and Marshalsea. She additionally left legacies to her servants and gave her remaining gowns to various female relations.[45] She also noted that her hope was that her children would inherit her lands, though she could not know if they would because of their precarious situation. She asked that the king and queen show mercy on her sons and pardon them so that "they may enjoy my lands."[46] To her daughter, Mary Sidney, Jane granted 200 marks for her and 200 for her newborn son, Philip, Jane's only grandchild. Mary also received many dresses, movable goods, and a horse.

While Jane's bequeathal of her lands to her sons and their heirs was normal enough, the inheritance she left her daughter Katherine was unusual. Initially she left Katherine the same amount as her brothers, "50 marks lands out of my lands and inheritances," which is remarkable enough on its own. However, in the case that Katherine, who was still a child, was refuted by her husband Henry Hastings, Jane's will provided for her. She would have received "400 marks in money" that was to be taken from the sale of lands from Jane's inheritance from her uncle Lord le Warr.[47] Jane clearly understood the need for a woman to have her own source of wealth in case of things going poorly. This bequest was more valuable than what she gave to her sons other than the oldest Ambrose. The fact that Jane specified that only male heirs could inherit her lands and monies makes this bequest especially interesting. In fact, Katherine's husband did not refute her and she went to live with his family until she reached her majority.

Jane's will is a testament to the religious uncertainty of England in the 1550s. She was decidedly unspecific about her preferences for her burial and funeral, noting, "bury me with such service as is in the Church" and that she was to "have such divine service as mine

executors shall think mete." Jane's will also shows her precarious position with the Crown, as she asked the queen not only to pardon her sons, as already discussed, but not to "consent to have any part of my will broken."[48]

What is rather remarkable about the will is that until the very end, Jane Dudley seemed sure that her sons would be pardoned; in fact, she thanked Philip and Mary for doing so. But, at the end of the will she included a provision in case her sons were not pardoned and unable to inherit at the time of her death. In the case of having Henry Sidney and other more distant family members inheriting, she asserted that they must use the resources to help her children.[49]

Through a biographical study of Jane Dudley, we have seen that she was a politically connected woman who was viewed by others as politically significant. From the work of Arthur Collins, this representation of her remained into the eighteenth century, but by the twenty-first, her significance in Tudor politics and history has been almost erased. It is clear that more work needs to be done on Jane so that a full picture of her life can be presented.

Notes

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2. Ibid., Dedication, 3.
3. Margaret Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix: Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke* (New York: Oxford UP, 1990); Michael Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy 1500–1700* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); David Loades, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996).
4. David Loades, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 19.
5. "Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)," David Loades in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), online ed., Lawrence Goldman, October 2008, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/8156 (accessed March 25, 2013).
6. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* , 33.
7. Loades, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, 18.
8. Ibid., 19.
9. Ibid., 23.

10. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* , 31.
11. Though Jane would have actually been Lady Dudley in 1532, neither her father or her uncle had any other daughters or daughters-in-laws in 1532, so Jane would be the only women who could be called "young lady Guldford." "The King's New Year's Gifts," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* ed. J. Gairdner, vol. 5: 1531–1532 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1880), 327.
12. David Loades, "Dudley, John, Duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)."
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15. "The King's Payments," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* ed., J. Gairdner. Vol. 13: Part II: 1538 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893), 540; "The King's Payments," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, Vol. 16: 1540–41 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), 380.
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17. "The Queen's Household," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, Vol. 15: 1540 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), 9.
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Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), online ed., Lawrence Goldman, September 2010, http://owww.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/27421 (accessed April 16, 2013).

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24. John Dee, *A letter, containe a most briefe discourse apologeticall with a plaine demonstration, and feruent protestation, for the lawfull, sincere, very faithfull and Christian course, of the philosophicall studies and exercises, of a certaine studious gentleman: an ancient seruant to her most excellent Maiesty royall* (London: Peter Short, 1599), B.
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27. Jane Grey, "Jane Grey to Mary Tudor," 499..
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29. Ibid, 32-33.
30. Ibid., 33.
31. Ibid., 31.
32. Loades, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, 36.
33. Richard Davey, *The Nine Days' Queen, Lady Jane Gray, and Her Times* (New York: Putnam, 1904), 263.
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35. Jane Dudley, "Last Will and Testament," in Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, 34.
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39. Davey, *The Nine Days' Queen*, 263–65.
40. Jane Dudley, "Last Will and Testament," in Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, 34.

41. Ibid., 34.
42. Loades *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland* , 272, Collins, 36.
43. Barbara Harris*, English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 227.
44. Jane Dudley, "Last Will and Testament," 33.
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49. Ibid., 34, 35, 36.

Poisoning Queens in Early Modern Fact and Fiction

Jo Eldridge Carney

Beloved, virtuous, and capable queens are plentiful in early modern history and literature, but it is the figure of the wicked queen that has an especially tenacious hold on our imaginations. Nefarious female monarchs, who exploit their power, dominate the men who surround them, compete ruthlessly with other women, and relish their horrific deeds—these make for colorful narratives, and thus the evil queen type is perpetuated in popular and literary culture. While the wicked queen's brand of evil manifests itself in various ways, a recurrent site of treachery is in her association with poison.

From the poisoning strategies of the iconic evil queen in *Snow White* and other early modern fairy tales to Shakespeare's poisoning queens in *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline*, the female monarch who drugs her enemies into submission—or death—is a recognizable and enduring type. Queens are also the victims of poison as well as the perpetrators: witness Gertrude in *Hamlet*, Regan in *King Lear*, and the queen-in-waiting, Snow White herself. Literary kings are also poisoned and poisoners, with King Hamlet and Claudius being the most infamous examples, but overwhelmingly it is queens who are associated with the taint of poison.

Are these fictional representations of poisoning queens driven by exaggerated or sensational plot devices, or is the literary use of poison as a royal weapon borne out in fact? Although the implementation of poison to harm or murder is not specific to a particular historical period, the number of documented cases in early modern Europe and England suggests that it was indeed a popular weapon of choice at the time. However, the hysteria that surrounded it, as evidenced

in literary and popular discourse, obfuscates attempts to separate its factual uses from its rhetorical and narrative appropriation. Furthermore, representations of its use in the early modern period reveal that the wielding of poison was not circumscribed by gender, class, nationality, or ethnicity.[1] Why, then, is there a preponderance of associations between early modern queenship and poisoning plots? Do the numerous literary representations of poisoning queens have any historical correspondence, or do they primarily make for good theater and thrilling storytelling—and if so, why?

When we turn to the historical record of medieval and early modern queenship, we find numerous examples of queens linked with poisoning plots, from Caterina Sforza, Lucrezia Borgia, and Catherine de Médicis to Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. Most of these historical associations, however, are as fictional as their literary counterparts, a manifestation of contemporary paranoia and anxiety, not just about the threat of poison but about the threat of powerful women.

In 1499, Caterina Sforza, ruler of strategic realms in northern Italy, found herself in a territorial standoff with the ruthless Cesare Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI. Borgia eventually succeeded in seizing Sforza's lands and taking her captive, but Caterina's prolonged and defiant resistance humiliated him and infuriated the pontiff. The Pope proclaimed that Caterina had tried to murder him by means of a poisoned letter scheme, and extracted confessions, through torture, of two of her servants. But the information gleaned was vague and inconsistent—one version claimed that letters were tainted by germs of plague victims, and another that poison tinctures were involved.

Sforza was famous for her interest in cosmetics and medicines, and she kept a meticulous notebook recording her work, published posthumously under the title *Gli Experimenti.* The book comprised recipes for a variety of concoctions, ointments, herbal remedies, and antidotes to poisons. This pseudo-scientific collection may have helped perpetuate any association between Sforza and poisoning plots, but much of Caterina's work on *Gli Experimenti* work came at the end of her life, well after the Pope's accusations. At any rate, the alleged assassination plot was never substantiated and appeared to be a clumsy ploy to discredit and vilify an intractable woman.[2]

Pope Alexander's attempt to paint Caterina as a poisoning ruler is ironic, given how frequently he and his family were themselves accused of masterminding poison plots.[3] Indeed, his own daughter,

Lucrezia Borgia, is often cited for her alleged participation in poisoning intrigues more than for any of her other accomplishments. As Daniel J. Kevles puts it, "Think murder by poison, and Lucrezia Borgia quickly comes to mind."[4] Even though Lucrezia was a devoted mother, an entertaining wit, and an enthusiastic patron of the arts, she is remembered as a wielder of a poison ring, copies of which can still be found today in specialty jewelry shops. Again, there is no credible evidence to support this association, even as the Lucrezia Borgia poison ring survives in the popular imagination.[5]

For Sforza and Borgia, their crimes vis-à-vis poison seemed primarily to be one of association: Italians in general were reputed to possess a particular expertise in the arts of poisoning, a notoriety colorfully captured by English writer Thomas Nashe's assessment that Italy was "The Academie of man-slaughter, the sporting place of murther, the Apothecary-shop of poison for all Nations."[6] The stain of this national reputation followed Catherine de Médicis—the most significant early modern queen that Italy produced—to France, where she would spend several decades as queen consort and queen regent.

In 1533, when Catherine was just 14, she was sent off to marry the Duke of Orléans, who became King Henri II of France in 1547. After Henri died in a jousting accident in 1559, Catherine ruled as queen mother and regent during the successive reigns of her sons François II, Charles IX, and finally Henri III. Although Henri III was a more autonomous ruler than the two brothers who preceded him, Catherine still remained an influential political force until her death in 1589.[7]

From the beginning of her reign, Catherine was the target of anti-Italian sentiment, but her loyalty to her unfaithful husband and her perseverance in overcoming their infertility issues—she eventually bore ten children—mitigated some of the early xenophobia. But after the horrific St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, for which many held Catherine responsible, the construction of "the Black Legend of the wicked Italian queen," began in full force. As Elaine Kruse explains, "Following the massacre, Protestant polemics proclaimed that Catherine was malevolent to the core, the wicked queen who master-minded the massacre, poisoned her enemies, taught her children Machiavellian political strategies, and corrupted their morals."[8]

Catherine's Italianate origins were deemed sufficient to be branded a poisoning queen, but this particular charge was exacerbated by her

idiosyncratic obsession with what was referred to as "the black arts," involving alchemical experiments, collections of talismans and effigies, and a fascination with astrology. Accusations of Catherine's dabbling in superstitious matters frequently involved her personal *parfumier* and druggist, René Bianco, an Italian who had accompanied her to France.

One story recounts how Catherine had Bianco concoct a scented apple as a present for Huguenot leader Louis de Condé, one of her many political enemies. Condé's vigilant surgeon, wary of the gift, tested a piece of the fruit on his dog, which immediately dropped dead.[9] While this episode appears to belong to the realm of rumor, a similar story—this one of Catherine poisoning another queen—is equally apocryphal.

In the summer of 1572, Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, came to Paris in preparation for the wedding of her son, Henri, to Catherine's youngest daughter, Marguerite. Jeanne, already in poor health when she arrived, became ill and died before the wedding took place. An autopsy confirmed "tuberculosis and an abscess in the right breast."[10] Catherine and Jeanne were religious and political opponents and they had disagreed publicly over the conditions of the marriage settlement. But only after the wedding, which became the tragic occasion of the Massacre, did the story surface that Catherine was responsible for Jeanne's death. Again, René Bianco was said to be involved, this time by allegedly sending Jeanne a pair of poisoned gloves at Catherine's orders.[11] The late emergence of the rumor in the midst of the outburst of post-massacre and anti-Catherine propaganda, coupled with the verified autopsy findings, suggest one more addition to falsified accusations of poisoning.

Certainly, Catherine and her supporters were often politically ruthless; in her attempts to preserve the Valois dynasty, she could be a fierce and unforgiving opponent to her enemies. To what extent she either directed or knew of any poisoning plots perpetrated on political rivals is nearly impossible to establish from this vantage point. But it is clear that highly exaggerated rumors that she was a queen "who poisoned her enemies" had great currency in her lifetime and beyond. Her political savviness and influence, her Italian roots, and her immersion in the occult encouraged the poison rumor mongering.

If, however, truth can be stranger than fiction, one of the most fascinating poison episodes emerging from the Catherine de Médicis era was uncovered just a few years ago, and in this case Catherine was not directly involved.

Perhaps the most difficult challenge Catherine faced during her 26-year marriage to Henri was his devotion to his long-time mistress, Diane de Poitiers. Though Henri understood that he and Catherine had a responsibility to produce legitimate royal heirs, Diane was his first love and most powerful confidante. For decades, Catherine had to suppress her jealousy and endure her rival, a renowned beauty especially celebrated for her white porcelain skin.

In a 2009 issue of the *British Medical Journal*, an article published by French scientists reported that Diane's famed pale complexion was a result of a poisonous elixir that she consumed daily, composed of gold chloride and diethyl ether. In 2008, archeologists excavated Diane's mummified skeleton during a dig at the cemetery near the castle of Anet, where she spent her remaining years after Henri's death. Scientists authenticated and examined Diane's exhumed remains and determined that locks of her hair contained gold "five hundred times" above normal levels. This twenty-first-century discovery corroborated a contemporary account of Diane's cosmetic rituals by Pierre de Bourdeille, the Abbé de Brantôme. A tireless chronicler of the royal women's lives, Brantôme wrote of Diane:

> "I saw her at seventy years of age beautiful of face, also fresh and also pleasant as she had been at thirty years of age . . . and especially she had a very large whiteness without any make-up. But it is said well that, every morning, she would use some drinks made up of drinkable gold and other drugs which I do not know given by good doctors and apothecaries."[12]

Gold's regenerative powers were frequently touted by sixteenth-century chemists and physicians, but it appears that Diane's use of the elixir was particularly prolonged. In short, in her attempts to preserve her youthful beauty, Diane de Poitiers unwittingly poisoned herself to death. Given her rival Catherine's reputation as arch-poisoner, history may see this new revelation as a perverse turn of poetic justice. Perhaps a more generous response would view it as a tragic commentary on women's extreme and self-destructive attempts to resist the effects of aging.[13]

Despite Thomas Nashe's xenophobic claims that Italians had perfected the art of poisoning, his own country was not free of its own poisonous scandals, especially at court. Queens in sixteenth-century England figured in poisoning plots as well, even if the charges were as fictitious as their European counterparts.

When Henry VIII repudiated his wife of two decades, Catherine of Aragon, in order to marry Anne Boleyn, Catherine was furious.

As the years passed and Catherine persisted in her refusal to accept the divorce, Henry's treatment of her worsened: her allowances for servants and expenses were reduced; she and her household were forced to move to increasingly less comfortable residences; and her visits with her daughter Mary were severely restricted. By the end of her life, Catherine not only worried about general maltreatment, she genuinely anticipated death by poisoning, either by Henry's own hand or by his minions. These were not Catherine's fears alone: the pope worried that she could be poisoned, as did the Holy Roman Emperor's ambassador to England, Catherine's devoted confidante, Eustace Chapuys. Catherine also suspected that her daughter Mary was the target of poisoning conspiracies.

Such fears became alarmingly real when one of Catherine's staunchest supporters, Bishop John Fisher, suffered a poisoning tragedy in his household. Fisher had remained steadfastly pro-Catherine during the long years of the divorce proceedings. On February 18, 1531, Fisher's cook, Richard Roose, prepared a broth that the household consumed. Fisher, known for his abstemious habits, did not partake that day—but those who did became violently ill, and two of them died.[14] Roose confessed to poisoning the broth, but protested that it was an act of mischief not intended to have fatal consequences. Whether or not this is true, or whether Roose was participating in a larger plot, were never finally established, but because of Fisher's outspoken loyalty to Catherine, many were quick to assume that her enemies were behind it. Chapuys wrote to the emperor:

> They say that the cook having been immediately arrested on the application of the Bishop's brother, confessed at once that he had actually put into the broth some powders, which he had been given to understand would only make his fellow servants very sick without endangering their lives or doing them any harm. I have not yet been able to ascertain who it was who gave the cook such advice, nor for what purpose. The King has certainly shewn some displeasure at this, but whatever demonstrations of sorrow he makes he will not be able to avert *suspicion* from falling, if not on himself, for he is too noble-minded to have resource to such means—at least on the Lady and her father.[15]

Chapuys' loyalty to Catherine often led him to make exaggerated claims, but he also diplomatically defended Henry from responsibility, saying that the king is "too noble minded to have resource to such means." Indeed, Henry—who at any rate preferred more public

and transparent forms of punishment and retribution—harbored an intense abhorrence of poison. Following the episode in Bishop Fisher's household, Henry determined that the crime of poisoning was to be considered treason, not just a felony, and that the appropriate form of punishment was to boil the perpetrator alive. If Chapuys assigned any blame in the incident to Henry, or perceived that popular perception ascribed any blame, it was guilt by association with the Boleyn faction who were more widely presumed to be connected to the Roose debacle.[16]

This was the climate in which Catherine worried about her own safety and that of her daughter, and her fears were exacerbated by her supporters. In July, 1533, the emperor's ambassador to Rome, Count Cifuentes, wrote to Charles that "the Pope's advice is that unless the Queen has a great number of trusty and devoted servants about her person, she ought to quit England at once lest they should administer poison to her."[17] These fears were still alive the following year, when Chapuys also wrote to the emperor about Mary's suspicions that she would be poisoned for her refusal to accept Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn:

> I shall consider the matter over and over again, and look out for other means of parrying the impending blow, or at least averting it for some time. If, however, the King and his concubine [Chapuys' designation for Anne] have decided to make her swallow poison, neither the tender of the oath itself, nor any other thing we might think of, would be of any use.[18]

As time passed and their anxieties were not realized, it might be expected that Catherine and Mary's paranoia would be allayed. But the fear of poison was firmly entrenched; even when Henry's behavior became less punitive, they assumed that the King's kinder approached was only a cover for a poisoning plot. Chapuys was relentless on the subject, again writing to the emperor:

> The King, perceiving that he cannot subdue the Princess' temper by rude treatment or threats, and influenced perhaps by considerations of another sort, has since then treated her more honourably than usual. The Princess firmly believes that such affectation of better treatment on the part of the King covers some design on his part. It may, perhaps, be intended to disguise the poison they intend giving her; for which, as she says, she cares not in the least, firmly believing and trusting in God that she will go straight to Heaven, and be freed from this world's tribulations and troubles.[19]

As anxious as Catherine and her supporters were about the threat of poison, their concerns heightened when Catherine was on her deathbed. Catherine's health had been in gradual decline since her exile from court, so she and her supporters were continually on the alert for signs of poisoning. Just a few weeks before Catherine's death, Chapuys reported to the emperor:

> The Queen's illness began about five weeks ago, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty. The day after the Nativity she had a relapse. The symptoms were pains in the stomach, so violent and acute that she could not retain the smallest particle of food or drink. I have many a time asked the physician who attended her, whether he had any suspicions of poison having been administered. His answer has always been that he had some doubts about it, for that since she had drunk of beer brought from Wales, she had never felt well. The poison, if there was any, must have been very subtle and refined, for he had been unable to discover externally any traces of it in her body, such as pure and simple poison would inevitably leave.[20]

Chapuys' language, or the physician's, betrays the ambiguity that typically clouded poisoning plots. The physician had "some doubts," but it is not entirely clear from this report whether he was doubtful that Catherine had been poisoned, or doubtful that she had not. Furthermore, there may or may not have been a connection between the Welsh beer Catherine consumed and her decline in health, and there may have been poison, but if so, it must have been especially "subtle and refined," for there were no physical traces of known toxins. The illogic is revealing: rather than concluding that in the absence of clear evidence no poison was involved, the assumption is that the poisoning techniques are so expert that they escape detection.

These suspicions were amplified after Catherine's death, as evidenced in yet another of Chapuys' letters to the emperor after the autopsy:

> The man [coroner] also said that he found inside the heart something black and round, which adhered strongly to the concavities. And moreover, after this spontaneous declaration on the part of the man, my secretary having asked the Queen's physician whether he thought the Queen had died of poison, the latter answered that in his opinion there was no doubt about it, for the bishop [of Llandaff] had been told so under confession, and besides that, had not the secret been revealed, the symptoms, the course, and the fatal end of her illness were a proof of that.[21]

Subsequent medical science has demonstrated that "a secondary melonotic sarcoma" was the actual cause of Catherine's death, but the rumors persisted that she had been poisoned at the behest of her closest enemy—Anne Boleyn.[22] Just as the charge that Catherine de Médicis poisoned Jeanne d'Albret was an outlandish fabrication in the face of other evidence, the claims that Henry's new queen, Anne Boleyn, orchestrated the poisoning of his previous queen were equally sensationalized. The possibility that a queen could be involved in nefarious poison plots to harm anyone was cause for alarm, but the fear that one queen would poison another queen was an even greater threat to the social and political hierarchy. The extremity of such a crime is what made it so appealing for gossip and rumormongering.

While Anne Boleyn's antagonism toward Catherine and Mary was extreme—and vice versa—there is no evidence whatsoever that she tried to poison either of the women. Anne's temper and outspokenness has been carefully examined and documented, but as biographers and historians have argued, bursts of anger and frustration do not imply murderous action. However, hatred of Anne and resentment of Boleyn family's rapid rise to power gave these rumors currency. If, as Chapuys had claimed, it was up to Henry to deflect accusations that Anne and her family were involved in poisoning plots against Catherine or Mary, then it is especially ironic that just a few years later, he himself would resort to the same charges against her.

By the spring of 1536, Anne's relations with Henry had taken a disastrous turn. After three years of marriage, Anne had failed to provide Henry with the son he so desperately desired. Anne's reproductive failures and the tumultuous political and religious consequences of Henry's divorce from Catherine led to insurmountable tension, and he was determined to rid himself of his second queen. Anne was charged with multiple infidelities and harmful intent to the King; although she was almost certainly innocent of the accusations that resulted in her execution, she was tried and found guilty of treason.

The evidence against Anne Boleyn—or lack thereof—has been thoroughly examined by scholars who recognize its implausibility and excessiveness. The case was built of exaggeration, because there was no single, unequivocal evidence of her guilt. The charges against Anne and five other men, primarily comprised accusations of adultery, but amidst the multiple counts of adultery, there were several other charges as well. As Eric Ives points out, "At the trial, though not in the indictment, the rumours about the poisoning of Katherine and the intention to poison Mary were dragged in."[23]

While it is usually impossible to trace the specific source of a widespread rumor, it appears that this one was enabled by Henry himself. Chapuys reported that "the very evening the concubine was brought to the Tower of London, when the duke of Richmond [Henry's illegitimate son] went to say goodnight to his father . . . the king began to weep, saying that he and his sister, meaning the princess Mary, were greatly bound to God for having escaped the hands of that accursed whore, who had determined to poison them."[24] Ives claims that this display demonstrates Henry's propensity for maudlin self-pity and "shows how quickly the Seymour alliance had got to work, for the story that Anne intended to poison Mary and actually had poisoned Katherine had been a fixation with them for months."[25] Furthermore, the parental behavior here is disconcerting: the father tells his children a bedtime story, not a comforting tale, but one of a wicked stepmother who tried to kill them all. Henry is also in this case allying himself with his daughter Mary's sense of victimization: whereas before Mary feared that both her father and Anne may have tried to poison her, now Henry is insisting that he was just as much a victim of Anne's insidious designs. Tall tales about poison had even reached, and emerged from France, where it was claimed that Anne intended to poison Henry so she would be free to marry one of the men with whom she had allegedly committed adultery.[26]

Thus, amid the staggering charges of adultery that Anne was required to repudiate, she was also confronted with accusations of an attempted murder by poisoning. Ives describes Anne's conduct at court: although she had previously told William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, that she assumed there was nothing she could say to prove her innocence, she spoke forthrightly at the trial and answered each charge: "No, she had not been unfaithful; no, she had not promised to marry Norris; no, she had not hoped for the king's death; no, she had not given secret tokens to Norris; no, she had neither poisoned Katherine nor planned to poison Mary . . . and so it went on."[27] Even many of those who had not previously been sympathetic to Anne found her conduct and protestations of innocence dignified and convincing. What is interesting is how the charge of poison is conflated with the other charges: multiple sexual transgressions should have been sufficient in the construction of an evil queen, but it appears that the charge of poisoning was assumed to enhance her wickedness. And not only did Anne intend to harm the King, so the argument was presented, but she planned to murder another queen and a princess.

If the sins of the mother are passed on to the daughter, it may not be surprising that Elizabeth I had to reckon with similar suspicions as a poisoning queen, although in reality she was herself the victim of countless assassination attempts by poisons.

Not long after her accession, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth of a plot against her life, namely "a pestilent and horrible device of the Guises to poison her by means of an Italian named Stephano, a burly man with a black beard, about forty-five years of age."[28] A year later, Throckmorton exposed another poisoning plot against Elizabeth involving "one, named Maniola de Corfeu, a Greek, appointed by a great personage to make a voyage into England to poison the Queen."[29] Plots such as these—some more threatening than others—plagued Elizabeth's long rule. Her council took such threats seriously: her secretary William Cecil wrote a document, "Certain Guidelines for the Queen's Apparel and Diet" that outlined various precautions against the threat of poisoning: food and drink must be prepared with the utmost vigilance; gifts, such as perfumed gloves, should not be accepted without careful examination; and "all manner of things that shall touch any part of her majesty's body bare" (undergarments) must be carefully inspected.[30] In the last decade of her reign, long-standing concerns about poison again emerged, this time as part of a scandalous conspiracy, in which Dr. Roderigo Lopez, Elizabeth's personal physician, was accused of acting on behalf of Spain to poison the queen. In spite of Elizabeth's doubts about Lopez's participation in the plot, he was ultimately executed. Scholars have debated Lopez's innocence or guilt, and the extent to which he was a scapegoat in the political machinations between Spain and the Earl of Essex's faction, but for our purposes, that poison was again declared to be the alleged method of assassination reveals what a common threat it represented. [31]

If Elizabeth was the target of poison, she was also perceived, like her mother Anne Boleyn, as capable of complicity in poisoning a rival. One of the most notorious scandals of her reign involved a woman who was considered by some as a personal rather than a political threat. Among Elizabeth's many favorites, Robert Dudley, eventually the Earl of Leicester, was her most beloved. Dudley had been married to Amy Robsart for several years prior to Elizabeth's queenship; when Amy died in 1560 from injuries incurred after falling down stairs, rumors flared up almost immediately that Dudley had poisoned her so that he and Elizabeth could marry. As the Spanish

ambassador, De Quadra, claimed, "I had heard . . . veracious news that Lord Robert has sent to poison his wife."[32] Elizabeth understood that she suffered imputations of guilt by association, and she was sufficiently astute, even this early in her reign, to order a proper investigation of the accident and ensure that Dudley maintained an appropriate distance, so as to quell the poisoning plot rumors that surrounded the tragic incident.

Elizabeth's greatest female rival, however, was undoubtedly Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; their complex and contentious relationship was grounded in Mary's tenacious challenges to Elizabeth's throne. In spite of any personal animosity, the two queens maintained a public show of friendship and kinship, even during Mary's 18 years of captivity. But behind the public façade of amity a powerful political feud was waged, with the pro-Catholic factions of Europe supporting Mary against the Protestant England Elizabeth ruled. This high-stakes battle involved numerous assassination plots, primarily directed against Elizabeth, with the specter of poison involved as often as gunpowder or the assassin's dagger. It was the Babington Plot of 1586 that finally sealed Mary's fate, as this time there was sufficient evidence of her complicity in the plans to kill Elizabeth so that she could take the English throne, "though when their conspiracy came to light they had not yet determined whether to poison her stirrup or her shoes, in the Italian manner" or to kill her with gunpowder.[33] During the months that Elizabeth wrestled with the decision to sign Mary's death warrant, she wrote to Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, "You see whether I keep the serpent that poisons me . . . by saving of her life they would have had mine."[34] While the poison reference in this case is metaphorical, it was drawn from the multiple occasions on which she feared actually being poisoned by Mary's supporters. Mary also feared poisoning from Elizabeth's allies. The food and gifts that she received during her years of imprisonment were carefully examined for evidence of poison, and once she was arrested for her part in the Babington Plot, she wrote to her cousin, the Duc de Guise, "I am expecting some poison or other such secret death." [35]

Historical evidence affirms that poison posed significant dangers in the early modern period, especially to monarchs whose positions guaranteed political enemies. Indeed, in spite of what literary and popular discourse suggests, queens were more often the targets of poisoning plots than the perpetrators. Yet, that the queen-as-poisoner figures so vividly in fictional representations—and in what

we might refer to today as urban legend—even in the absence of evidence, reveals the firmly entrenched cultural hysteria about the capabilities of women in power. Queens, though plentiful in the early modern period, were still largely seen as an aberration, as many scholars have shown. Queens who poisoned their enemies, directly or through delegation, were a lurid demonstration of that unnaturalness, and the paranoia that one queen would murder another queen, as in the case of Catherine de Médicis and Jeanne d'Albret, Anne Boleyn and Catherine of Aragon, Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, cultivated an even greater female monstrosity, one in which women were so covetous of their positions of power that they would "kill their own" to maintain it.

Literary representations and popular discourse share a mutually reinforcing dynamic: the question is not whether the rumors that sprang up around these actual queens were fueled by their literary counterparts, or whether the fictional representations were based on known events. Tales of the poisoning queen, like so many other legends, exist in a reciprocal and organic cycle, each perpetuating the other.

The highly popular HBO series, *Game of Thrones*, is a fantasy narrative that evokes the medieval and early modern period. In an episode in Season Four, a young girl, Arya Stark hears that her tormenter, King Joffrey, has been poisoned to death; only later is it revealed that the family of his new queen planned the killing. Arya's captor, the Hound, speculates about the assassination method. "Poison's a woman's weapon," he tells Arya. "Men kill with steel." And so, over five centuries later, the legends endure.

Notes

1. For an overview of the scholarship on the literary representations, social implications, and cultural discourse surrounding poison in the early modern period, see Catherine E. Thomas, "Toxic Encounters: Poisoning in Early Modern English Literature and Culture," *Literature Compass* 9.1: 48–55.

   For representations of poison plots involving other types of literary characters, see Katherine Armstrong, "Possets, Pills, and Poisons: Physicking the Female Body in Early Seventeenth- Century Drama," *Cahiers Elisabethains* 61 (April 2010): 43–56; Fredson Bowers, "The Audience and the Poisoners of Elizabethan Tragedy," *JEGP* 36 (1937): 491–504; Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England*

(Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006); Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005; and Miranda Wilson, *Poison's Dark Works in Renaissance England* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2013).

A broad but useful study of specific poisons as murder weapons throughout history is John Emsley's *The Elements of Murder: A History of Poison* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006).

2. See Ernst Breisach, *Caterina Sforza, a Renaissance Virago* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1967); Elizabeth Lev, *The Tigress at Forli* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2011); and Joyce de Vries, *Caterina Sforza and the Art of Appearances* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).
3. See Christopher Hibbert, *The Borgias and their Enemies: 1431–1519* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2008).
4. Daniel J. Kevles, "Don't Chew the Wallpaper: A History of Poison." www.slate.com/articles/health.../dont_chew_the_wallpaper.html April 6, 2006.
5. For less sensationalized discussion of Lucrezia, see Maria Bellonci, *The Life and Times of Lucrezia Borgia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953); Sarah Bradford, *Lucrezia Borgia: Life, Love, and Death in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005); and Leonie Frieda, *The Deadly Sisterhood: A Story of Women, Power, and Intrigue in the Italian Renaissance, 1427–1527* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014).
6. Thomas Nashe, "Pierce Penniless: His Supplication to the Devil," in *The Unfortunate Traveler and Other Works* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 83.
7. See Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004).
8. Elaine Kruse, "The Woman in Black: The Image of Catherine de Medici from Marlowe to *Queen Margot*," in *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Debra Barrett-Graves, and Jo Eldridge Carney (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 224. Also N. M. Sutherland, "Catherine de Medici: The Legend of the Wicked Italian Queen," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9.2 (1978): 45–56.
9. See Leonie Frieda, *Catherine de Medici: Renaissance Queen of France* (New York: Harper, 2003), 216.
10. R. J. Knecht, *Catherine De'Medici* (London: Longman, 1998), 151. See also Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret 1528–1572* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968).
11. See Frieda, *Catherine de Medici*, 244 and Knecht, *Catherine De' Medici*, 151.
12. Pierre de Bourdeille and Abbé de Brantôme, *The Lives of Fair and Gallant Ladies*, trans. A. R. Allison (New York: Liverwright, 1933), 127.

13. Philippe Charlier, "Fatal Alchemy: Did Gold Kill a 16th Century Courtesan and Favorite of Henri II?" *British Medical Journal* (2009): 339: b5311. Their conclusion: "We have identified the remains of Diane de Poitiers to a high degree of confidence. We believe that she drank gold, which is compatible with Brantôme's report. The high concentrations of gold in her hair indicate that she could have died of chronic intoxication with gold." For more on the life of Diane de Poitiers, see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "Diane de Poitiers," in *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France, and England*, ed., Diana Robin, Anne Larsen, and Carole Levin (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2007), 296–297.
14. See Richard Rex, "John Fisher," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 19 (Oxford: Oxford UP, . 2004), 685–93; Maria Dowling, *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher,1469–1535* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999); and Wilson, *Poison's Dark Works in Renaissance England*, xvii–ix.
15. *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 4, Pt. 2, March 1, 1536. Item 646.
16. Miranda Wilson discusses Roose's execution and cites the report from the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London: "this yere was a coke boyled in a cauderne in Symythfeld for he wolde a powsynd the byshoppe of Rochester Fycher with dyvers of hys servanttes, and he was lockyd in a chayne and pullyd up and downe with a gybbyt at dyvers tymes tyll he was dede." After Henry's death, Edward VI reversed his father's mandate, and redefined poisoning as a felony, thus ending the particularly horrific practice. This punishment of boiling the criminal alive also occurs in several early modern fairy tales. Wilson, *Poison's Dark Works in Renaissance England*, xviii.
17. *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, vol. 4, July 17, 1533. Item 1006.
18. Ibid., vol. 5, May 14, 1534. Item 57.
19. Ibid., vol. 5, Pt. 2, January 21, 1536. Item 9.
20. Ibid., vol. 5, Pt. 2, January 9, 1536. Item 3.
21. Ibid., vol. 5, Pt. 2, January 21, 1536. Item 9.
22. Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 424–25. See also Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1941) and David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003).
23. Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004), 393.
24. *Calendar of State Paper*, vol. 5, Pt. 2, May 19, 1536. Item 908.
25. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 327.
26. Ibid., 392.
27. Ibid., 386–87.
28. *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth*, vol. 2. April 25, 1560. Item. 1066.

29. Ibid., Vol. 4, September 26, 1561, Item 538.
30. Cited in Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (New York: Knopf, 1992), 262–63 and Carolly Erickson, *The First Elizabeth* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 196–97.
31. See James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia UP, 1997) and Stephen Orgel, *Imagining Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).
32. For more discussion of the Amy Robsart episode, see Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power,* 2nd ed. (Pennsylvania: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013).
33. Carolly Erickson. *The First Elizabeth* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1983), 362–63.
34. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: U of Chicago, 2000): 293.
35. Jane Dunn, *Elizabeth & Mary, Cousins, Rivals, Queens* (New York: Vintage, 2003), 390.

On the Revolutions of Space

Megan Gannon

(In Which Jane Dudley's Mistaken Cosmology
Reveals her True Intent to Queen Mary)

Good madam, of goodness
remember me. How like some
celestial body I have kept to this
fixed circumference, skirting
in my skirts the sphere
of influence. Majesty, I have been
as hoops in a farthingale, encircling
and concealing from prying eyes
the deeds of three queens.
Some had sought to overstep
this distance, an idea
as disallowed as sun supplanting
earth at heaven's core.
If once I positioned myself
closer to the body corporate,
it was only as laces tightened
about flesh wedded to my flesh,
a pressure that stifles less
than fortifies the spine. Would
I were free of these changing
fashions, that admiring
lights might warm without
drawing close. Lady, I burn
in the balance; your oscillations
agitate oceans in ebb and flood.
Would I knew the formula for these tides.

The Kingdom if I Can

Grace Bauer

This is a story mine not mine
note the use of possessive
the word *story* the implication
what tale entails

Who was it said:
"The king died and then the queen died is a statement;
the king died and then the queen died *of grief* is a plot?"

Cause and effect or
maybe cause and more cause
just because

Once upon and then and then
and so they lived and so
plotting
the complications the twists
the so-called arc of this drama

And how can one be *upon* time

this story not mine and mine
I am not the heroine of this story
(note the silent *e* it makes all the difference)

I am neither *pro* or *an*/tagonist

not quite witness not quite victim
still somewhat more than
> minor > character
in this major league disaster
that is happening that is waiting to happen

Is *that* what it means to be upon
(as in up on as in the latest news—
those *breaking* stories)

And *how* did the king die?
Was he fighting a major battle? a losing cause?
The world of this story turns on
a kind of denial a silence
I am breaking into? out of?

Breaking in's a crime
Breaking out?—it may be
Breaking through?
That's always seen as triumph

Everyone was turning on
No one was telling
when things took a bad turn
more than the *e* was silent

me not me
mine not mine
could be my breakthrough
moment role

But I am not a queen
good grief no monarch

I am not *doing* time
I am not serving this sentence
the story ongoing *and* unraveling
anticipation and aftermath
adding up two plus, too

Who or what does the telling serve
and what's so new about breaking
You can mine any story
for details *and* deletions

the queen's grief the absence
on which the tale turns—
did it make a ruler of her
and what did she measure
who were her subjects

Too many complications
to keep track of him hiding his tracks
keeping up with his own personal joneses
the fixed focus of need
a constant fix that can't be

the time he serves the sentences
he says I say we all have our say

the queen's grief a decree of mourning

the duty of subjects
each the subject of their own
unraveling stories

one's need to end all but one need
another's need to tell
what is the objective of the telling
beyond the act of it the upon of time
assuaging of grief revelation of all

the fix that cannot be the craving
so elemental one wants
to call it *pure*
as in pure gold as in
unadulterated solid

but who knows the cost
of telling not telling
the truth upon which
we stand take a stand?

What if the queen's grief
was mere sham what if
she was all *good riddance*
disguised as sorrow my own
questions less about regret
than guilt which is always

its own kingdom
a craving to tell

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