

## Anne Boleyn's legacy to Elizabeth I:

### Neoclassicism and the iconography of Protestant Queenship<sup>1</sup>

Helen Hackett

On 31<sup>st</sup> May 1533 Anne Boleyn, six months pregnant, processed in state through the City of London towards Westminster, to be crowned in the Abbey the following day. Her white satin litter canopied with gold was the centrepiece of a resplendent procession of hundreds of courtiers and officials.<sup>2</sup> The impressive spectacle declared the irrevocability of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and the legitimacy of the new Queen and her expected child: riding in triumph, Anne personified the defiant independence of England and its Church as they sundered themselves from Pope, Emperor, and Catholic Europe. However the starting-point of her majestic procession, the Tower of London, was a location where she would return in disgrace and die a traitor's death just three eventful years later. Over coming decades the wheel of fortune would turn again: her daughter Elizabeth would also find herself in the Tower accused of treason, but then would set out from there on her own coronation procession, and as Queen would confirm the establishment of the Protestant Church of England whose inauguration had been so closely bound up with Anne's marriage and ascendancy.

There is a widespread view that the adult Elizabeth avoided mention of her mother. David Starkey, for instance, asserts that:

Anne Boleyn's death was a terrible blow for Elizabeth, and her father's role in it more terrible still. But how deep the wound went we do not know as Elizabeth never wrote or spoke a single word about it: her father's name was to be constantly on her lips, her mother's and her mother's death, never.

Was this silence the result of a repression of a trauma too hurtful for the conscious mind to acknowledge? Most writers have thought so.<sup>3</sup>

In fact there *were* some occasions when Elizabeth mentioned her mother. During Mary I's reign, according to the Venetian ambassador, she asserted her legitimacy by "alleging in her own favour that her mother would never cohabit with the King unless by way of marriage, with the authority of the Church, and the intervention of the Primate of England."<sup>4</sup> Then early in her own reign, in 1566, she invoked her mother to assert her pure English ancestry by contrast with her half-Spanish half-sister: "Was I not born in the realm? Were my parents born in any foreign country? Is there any cause I should alienate myself from being careful over this country?"<sup>5</sup> Mary Hill Cole and Susan Doran have also found evidence of filial loyalty in the favour that Elizabeth bestowed on her Boleyn cousins; in her use of Anne's badge, a crowned white falcon on a tree stump from which red and white roses grow; and in her adoption of Anne's motto, *semper eadem* (always one and the same).<sup>6</sup> Even so, references to Anne by Elizabeth are few and far between; and even an item sometimes claimed as evidence of her affection for her mother's memory, a locket ring containing miniature portraits of herself and another woman, has been re-interpreted as depicting not Anne but Elizabeth's beloved stepmother Katherine Parr.<sup>7</sup>

Elizabeth's psychological and emotional attitude towards her mother's memory inevitably remains elusive to us. However, a different kind of connection between mother and daughter can be traced in their regal iconography and their similar roles as female personifications of a newly Protestant England. In panegyric of the two queens we can identify continuities which constitute a cultural legacy; and this is particularly evident in the use of neoclassical themes and images by writers eager to assert England's humanist credentials and literary status.

### Anne Boleyn and neoclassicism

The pageants that greeted Anne as she processed through the City to her coronation included three with neoclassical themes. The first of these, at “gracious church corner” – the turn from Fenchurch Street into Gracechurch Street – showed “mounte pernasus with the founteyne of helicon.” Figures of Apollo and the Muses were accompanied by epigrams and posies written in gold at their feet, praising Anne. The pageant was provided by the merchants of the Hanse, the resident community of North German merchants, and was almost certainly designed by Hans Holbein (written descriptions closely resemble one of his surviving drawings).<sup>8</sup> The second neoclassical pageant, at the Conduit in Cornhill, showed the Three Graces; while the third, at the Little Conduit in Cheapside, depicted the Judgement of Paris.<sup>9</sup> Other pageants continued the medieval tradition of identifying a queen consort with the Virgin Mary and other biblical heroines and saints;<sup>10</sup> part of their function, in the wake of the King’s divorce, the schism from Rome, and extensive political upheaval, was to assert continuities with the past.<sup>11</sup> However at the same time the introduction of neoclassicism was a significant innovation, identifying Anne’s elevation with the creation of a new, independent England requiring a new language of symbolism.

< Fig. 1: Hans Holbein the Younger, *Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus*, 1533,  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin>

Eric Ives writes that the neoclassical pageants “deliberately broke with tradition” by deploying “the new humanist style.”<sup>12</sup> Their chief authors were two leading English humanists, Nicholas Udall (1504–1556) and John Leland (c.1503–1552). At this early point in his career Udall was associated with religious reform, having been accused of distributing Lutheran works at Oxford in 1527–8 (though in the 1550s he would adapt his position to serve Mary I). After working on Anne’s pageants he was headmaster of Eton from 1534 to

1541.<sup>13</sup> His friend and collaborator Leland would go on to write *Genethliacon illustrissimi Eaduerdi principis Cambriae* (publ. 1543), a Latin poem celebrating the birth of Prince Edward in 1537, and various works celebrating the history and topography of England.<sup>14</sup> While Udall's contributions to the 1533 coronation pageants combined English and Latin, Leland's were all in Latin, the international language of humanist scholarship.<sup>15</sup> This was in keeping with Leland's practice throughout his literary career of combining neoclassical motifs and original Latin composition with assertion of England's national identity and noble history. Cathy Shrank describes his "patriotic humanism": "Although a champion of native letters ... Leland is still part of a neoclassical tradition. His public works are written in Latin, magnifying England's charms for an international audience, and it is in, and through, Latin that he competes with Continental humanists in order to claim intellectual laurels for his homeland." Henry VIII's rift with Rome and with the immediate past needed "a supporting ideology, and it is this that Leland, amongst others, attempted to provide through recourse to the *studia humanitatis*."<sup>16</sup>

Scholars have debated how far Anne's coronation pageants reflected her personal taste, or the preferences of the court in general, or of the City authorities.<sup>17</sup> Ives attributes their innovative style to Anne herself: "The significant point ... is that Anne Boleyn should have committed herself so firmly to the new humanist style ... The distinctive classicism of Anne Boleyn's entry in 1533 should almost certainly be traced to her time in France, where this newer style was beginning to evolve."<sup>18</sup> Whatever the level of Anne's personal involvement, it is indisputable that Leland and Udall as authors were flaunting their humanist credentials and boldly associating the new learning with Anne. Asserting the independence, cultural accomplishment, and modernity of England depended paradoxically on the use of Latin and neoclassical motifs, which were appropriated, adapted, and integrated with vernacular traditions. As Shrank explains, in response to the low international status of

English culture, “educated Englishmen tended to choose one of two paths: to out-Latin the practitioners of classical humanism and prove their compatriots’ competence in Latin and Greek, or to champion the capabilities of their native tongue and prove that it could produce proficient examples of humanist genres.”<sup>19</sup>

### From Anne to Elizabeth: disjunctions and continuities

Thus Anne’s coronation pageants deployed neoclassicism to herald a new England and a new age of religious reform. Yet their style of iconography did not take hold in ensuing decades, with few or no classical components in pageantry for entries to London by Jane Seymour, Edward VI, Mary I, and Philip II of Spain.<sup>20</sup> Leland’s *Genethliacon* of 1537 emulated the 1533 coronation pageants in bringing Muses, Graces, nymphs, dryads, and other female figures from classical myth to bestow gifts and blessings on the new-born Prince Edward.<sup>21</sup> However, this style remained unusual: entertainments at the courts of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I tended to have religious or chivalric themes, or to take the form of allegorical morality drama, or of masques of dancers in exotic costumes.<sup>22</sup>

In the 1550s a few more classical themes gradually began to be introduced,<sup>23</sup> but Elizabeth I’s own coronation pageants in January 1559 were not neoclassical, even though this was a second occasion when England needed a new iconography for a new Protestant queen.<sup>24</sup> Anne herself appeared in the pageants in a tableau of Elizabeth’s ancestry, where beside a figure of Henry VIII “sate one representing the right worthy ladie quene Anne, wife to the said king Henry theight, & mother to our most soueraign ladie quene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with Sceptours & diademes, and other furniture due to the state of a king & Queene.”<sup>25</sup> However, Roy Strong comments that Elizabeth’s coronation entry “was a triumph for the Protestant Reformation and yet in style it was wholly a child of the preceding Gothic ages,”<sup>26</sup> while for John N. King these spectacles “assimilated Protestant ideology and

iconography into a medieval dramatic mode instead of looking to the classical models that Leland and Udall had infused into Queen Anne.”<sup>27</sup>

Some narratives of the development of royal iconography through Elizabeth’s reign have suggested that in early decades she was identified with biblical heroines such as Deborah and Judith, and that neoclassical personae only came later. Elkin Calhoun Wilson, for instance, in *England’s Eliza*, his invaluable survey of Elizabethan royal iconography, entitled the first two chapters “Judith in the Broad-sides” and “Deborah in Progress,” and reserved the titles “Diana,” “Cynthia,” and “Gloriana” for later chapters.<sup>28</sup> John N. King similarly located “increased emphasis on classical mythology in royalist panegyric” after the failure of the Anjou courtship in 1582, when “the introduction of the classicized figures of Diana, Venus-Virgo, or Astraea as regal prototypes” constituted “new departures in Elizabethan iconography.” According to King it was later Elizabethan panegyrists such as Edmund Spenser, Thomas Blenerhasset, and George Peele who integrated “the language of biblical pastoral into classical Arcadianism as a formula for Protestant allegory.”<sup>29</sup>

Other scholars have found precursors for later Elizabethan iconography in what Shrank calls “the fusion of classical, Continental, and vernacular cultures” in earlier Tudor writings, especially similarities between Leland and Spenser.<sup>30</sup> For Shrank “it is ... the neoclassical Leland with whom Spenser has most in common as a national writer”, in their shared Virgilian influences, focalisation of their vision of the nation on the monarchy, interest in topography, and merging of neoclassical and native traditions.<sup>31</sup> Philip Schwyzer, also comparing their shared interests in topography and national identity, suggests that “it is Spenser ... who can best lay claim to the disputed title of Leland’s Elizabethan heir.”<sup>32</sup> Anne Boleyn’s coronation pageants confirm this affinity. The 1533 pageant of the Muses on Mount Parnassus was described thus: “there was the mounte pernasus with the founteyne of helicon which was of white marbell and iiij stremes withoute pipe dide rise an ele highe ... on the

mounteyne satt apolo and at his fete satte caliope and on every syde of the mounteyne satt  
 iij<sup>33</sup> muses plaing on seuerall Swete Instrumentes.”<sup>34</sup> Latin verses by Leland introduced the  
 Muses:

Hae nouem Musae, Iouis alta proles,  
 Teque uirtutesque tuas ad astra  
 Aurea hinc sublime ferent canoris  
 Uocibus Anna.

[Here are the nine Muses, exalted progeny of Jupiter.  
 They will elevate you sublimely, Anne, and your virtues to the golden stars  
 With melodious voices.]<sup>35</sup>

Udall provided individual speeches by each of the Muses:

Ergo Pieriae, genialis turba, sorores,  
 Nobilis Anna venit, linguis cantúque fauentes,  
 Ordine quaeque suo, claris date carmina plectris.  
 [Noble Anne is coming, therefore, sweet group of Muses,  
 Each in your own turn play melodies on your brilliant instruments,  
 Giving free rein to words and song.]<sup>36</sup>

Forty-six years later, in Spenser’s “Aprill” Eclogue (1579), Colin Clout similarly invoked the  
 Muses to assist his panegyric song:

And eke you Virgins, that on *Parnasse* dwell,  
 Whence floweth *Helicon* the learned well,  
 Helpe me to blaze  
 Her worthy praise,  
 Which in her sexe doth all excel.<sup>37</sup>

Spenser’s Muses then hasten to join Elizabeth in person:





To fyll the fourth place,

And reigne with the rest in heauen.<sup>41</sup>

The echoes of the 1533 coronation pageants in the “Aprill” Eclogue of 1579 are striking, and invite investigation of the development of neoclassical iconography in the intervening decades.

### Neoclassicism in royal entertainments of the 1560s

Despite the absence of neoclassicism from Elizabeth’s coronation pageants, and despite the assertions of some modern scholars that early Elizabethan royal iconography was mainly Biblical, in fact the 1560s were an important decade for reviving the style and content of the 1533 coronation pageants. W.R. Streitberger notes that Sir Thomas Benger, Master of Revels from 1559 to 1572, introduced to court revels classical themes which had been absent from those of his predecessor, Sir Thomas Cawarden, including “the first known entertainment at Elizabeth’s court based on a classical subject”, a double masque of Actaeon and Diana at Shrovetide in 1560.<sup>42</sup> Benger may also have had a hand in an entertainment at the Inner Temple in January 1562 which promoted the marriage suit of Lord Robert Dudley by representing him as “Pallaphilos”, a lover or “souldiour of Pallas”, and presented Elizabeth as Pallas as a patron of the Muses.<sup>43</sup> Pageants prepared for a projected meeting between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots in the same year at Nottingham – but never performed, because the meeting was cancelled – also featured Pallas prominently, alongside other classical characters including Argus, Hercules, Jupiter, and Pluto.<sup>44</sup> Three years later, in 1565, a Masque of Hunters presented by Benger at court included “a Rocke, or hill” carrying “ix musses”.<sup>45</sup>

Streitberger comments on the aborted Nottingham entertainment that “[t]he classical trappings are never wholly integrated and never approach the level of myth [...] The classical

features are little more than decoration applied to a fundamentally gothic device.”<sup>46</sup> The same could be said of the Inner Temple masque of Pallaphilos, which is essentially chivalric and pseudo-Chaucerian. However, a more concentrated neoclassicism developed in 1560s royal entertainments at places of education, eager to display their excellent humanist scholarship in Latin orations and verses. These sometimes closely echoed the 1533 coronation pageants, as in mention of the Muses in Latin verses presented by Eton scholars at Windsor in 1563: “Esse ferunt solum ter tres Heliconis alumnas, / Regia sed decimam facit Elizabetha sororem” [They say there are only thrice three daughters of Helicon, but royal Elizabeth makes a tenth sister].<sup>47</sup> There was also revival of the theme of the Judgement of Paris or the Three Goddesses. In 1533 Anne was eulogised for uniting the qualities of Juno, Minerva and Venus:

Passing beautee

And chastitee

With high degree

And gret riches

Soo coopled bee

In unytee

That chief ar yee

In worthynes.<sup>48</sup>

At Windsor in 1563 Elizabeth heard no fewer than three sets of Latin verses on the same theme, including: “dedit nunc Juno cui / Potentiam, formam Venus / Minerva virtutem” [Juno now gives her power, Venus beauty, Minerva virtue].<sup>49</sup> An important implication of the triumph of an English queen over the three goddesses was the achievement of peace and unity: whereas Paris’s choice of Venus over the other goddesses had sown discord and instigated the Trojan war, Anne, and then Elizabeth, were celebrated for combining the

qualities of all three goddesses in one person, thereby bringing peace. For both queens this myth of national concord was especially necessary in the wake of recent political and religious turbulence. The Three Goddesses iconography also perpetuated the medieval myth of England or London as Troynovant, but now not just a new Troy, but a better one, transcending conflict to achieve divinely confirmed peace under a goddess-like new young queen.

Resemblances between Anne's 1533 coronation pageants and Elizabeth's 1563 Windsor entertainments possibly reflect personal connections. The 1563 verses and orations were co-ordinated by William Malym, headmaster of Eton, who had been a pupil of Udall's at the school.<sup>50</sup> A manuscript of the Windsor entertainments begins by explicitly linking Elizabeth with her mother:

Quis enim nostrum ignorat in teneris hiis ac penè lactentibus studiis nostris  
clarissimam tuam matrem Annam Bolonensem serenissimam olim Reginam nostram  
in Anglia natam, sed á nobilissima ac augustissima Gallorum familia oriundam ac  
proseminatam fama, forma, ac virtutibus celeberrimam, fide clarissimam, literis  
commendatissimam, religione maximè piam quoad hic in terris spiraret, extitisse?  
[For which of us is ignorant (though in these tender and almost suckling studies of  
ours) that your most distinguished mother, Anne Boleyn, once our most serene  
Queen, was born in England, but descended from a most noble and august French  
family,<sup>51</sup> and was most celebrated for her fame, beauty, and virtues, most famous for  
her faith, most praised for her scholarship, and most pious in her religion, as long as  
she lived here on the earth?]<sup>52</sup>

Anne is praised here for the triad of attributes, "fama, forma, ac virtutibus", identified with Juno, Venus, and Pallas respectively, again invoking the Three Goddesses theme. The emphasis on Anne's faith, scholarship, and piety also aligns these 1563 entertainments with

the elevation of Anne as a Protestant icon which gathered momentum through the early Elizabethan period. Shortly after her accession Elizabeth received a letter from Alexander Ales (or Alesius), a Lutheran who had taught at Cambridge during Anne's ascendancy.<sup>53</sup> He narrated the tragedy of Anne's death, asserted her piety and virtue, and declared that "True religion in England had its commencement and its end with your mother," exhorting Elizabeth, "May Christ preserve Your Highness from the snares of the devil, and warm your heart to love the true religion."<sup>54</sup> John Aylmer also praised Anne and linked her with Elizabeth in his *Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes* (1559);<sup>55</sup> while William Latymer, one of Anne's chaplains, wrote a hagiographical account of her life, probably in 1564,<sup>56</sup> which Maria Dowling has described as designed "both to give a respectable ancestry to the Elizabethan church and to exhort her daughter to carry on the work of reformation which Anne had initiated."<sup>57</sup> It particularly emphasised Anne's patronage of learning, and attributed to her the initiation of Elizabeth's own renowned humanist education.<sup>58</sup>

These early Elizabethan Protestant writers had multiple objectives: to flatter Elizabeth by praising her mother; to seek Elizabeth's patronage and advance their personal careers; to promote religious reform in England; and to characterise Anne as a template for the kind of actively reforming monarch and governor of the Church that they wanted Elizabeth to be. This elevation of Anne as a Protestant heroine continued in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, whose edition of 1563, the same year as the Windsor entertainments, detailed Anne's charitable works, her patronage of scholars, and her efforts to introduce reformist ideas to King Henry. Subsequent editions added more materials, including a defence of Anne's innocence.<sup>59</sup> The accolade to Anne in the introduction to the 1563 Windsor entertainments, with its specific assertion of her maternal tie to Elizabeth and praise of her piety in religion, clearly belongs to this contemporary context of polemical panegyric of

Anne as a model of Protestant humanist queenship, and may suggest that echoes of the 1533 coronation pageants were knowing and intentional.

Entertainments for Elizabeth at the two universities in the 1560s included Latin plays, some ancient, some new, which displayed the humanist learning fostered by the two institutions while complimenting the Queen on her own erudition.<sup>60</sup> Latin orations were also delivered, and at Oxford included the Three Goddesses theme in verses addressed to the Queen by scholars from the staunchly Protestant colleges of Magdalen and Christ Church: “Omnia sunt tua, tu Juno, Minerva, Venus” [All of these qualities belong to you: you are Juno, Minerva, and Venus].<sup>61</sup> Paulina Kewes has written of the royal visits to Cambridge and Oxford that “[b]eyond the obvious task of promoting learning, in the 1560s the primary purpose of Elizabeth’s progresses to the universities was to enforce religious conformity.” This was an especially pressing concern at Oxford, where Catholicism had had a vigorous resurgence during Mary I’s reign and survived in pockets alongside the radical Protestantism of returned exiles.<sup>62</sup> Here orators told Elizabeth that “in ipso regalis tuae potestatis aditu confractum et reiectum papisticae tyrannidis iugum, quo multis annis miserè gens Anglica pressa et grauata fuit” [in your very accession to royal power the yoke of papal tyranny was shattered and thrown off, under which the English people were wretchedly crushed and oppressed for many years], and that she had brought “lucem veritatis ecclesiae” [the light of truth for the church].<sup>63</sup> As Kewes observes, these speeches were designed not only to assert the orthodoxy of the university, but also, in the tradition of *laudando praecipere* or panegyric as counsel, to praise the Queen for what forward Protestants wanted her to do, urging her to take a strong line on religious reform and suppression of Catholicism.<sup>64</sup> In this context it was highly appropriate to emulate the neoclassical themes of the 1533 coronation pageants, a precedent for Elizabeth’s accession as a landmark moment in the establishment of Protestantism in England.

The 1533 coronation verses survive today only in a unique manuscript which was probably a presentation copy for Anne herself, subsequently passing into the royal collection.<sup>65</sup> However, various other sources described the pageants;<sup>66</sup> and other manuscripts of the verses, now lost, could have been transmitted to scholars preparing royal entertainments in the 1560s via teacher-student relationships, such as Udall's with Malym, and other shared school and college backgrounds, scholarly friendships, and collaborations. There is substantial evidence of the wide circulation and influence of Leland's manuscript works among following generations of authors. John Bale and Sir John Cheke both made efforts to preserve Leland's papers, and each of them in turn had extensive connections with other scholars and writers. The Elizabethan polymath Dr John Dee purchased some of the medieval manuscripts from Leland's collection when it was sold and dispersed in 1556, while Leland's topographical works were known to, and drawn upon by, the Elizabethan historians John Stow, William Harrison, and William Camden.<sup>67</sup> It is not impossible that academic entertainments for Elizabeth in the 1560s were directly influenced by a surviving manuscript or manuscripts of the pageant-verses prepared for her mother in 1533.

#### An adaptable legacy: marriage, messianic prophecy, imperial power

As the 1560s progressed, neoclassical echoes of the 1533 coronation pageants were used to urge Elizabeth not only toward more forward Protestantism, but also toward marriage. In Anne's pageants the Three Goddesses theme had been used to assert that she united the qualities of Juno, Minerva and Venus in one person, and this iconography was re-applied to Elizabeth in similar terms, as we have seen. However, it also developed in a way which emphasised the contest between the goddesses and replaced the chaste goddess Minerva with the even more militantly virginal Diana, producing a bilateral debate between her and Venus or Juno in which their attributes of love and marriage were triumphant.<sup>68</sup> A

masque at Whitehall in 1565 by performers from Gray's Inn judged in favour of Juno over Diana, and provoked the Queen to complain "This is all against me".<sup>69</sup> In the same year a masque by Thomas Pound for the wedding of Frances Radcliffe and Thomas Mildmay, attended by Elizabeth, presented Venus, Pallas and Juno making gifts to the bride as rewards for her choice of matrimony, while Diana, also present, conceded their victory.<sup>70</sup> Modern commentators have agreed that the message was not only compliment to the bride, but also counsel to Elizabeth, to stop delaying in the matter of her marriage.<sup>71</sup>

The use of a contest or debate between Juno and Diana to urge Elizabeth to marry continued until the mid 1570s. An unperformed masque composed by George Gascoigne for the 1575 Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth instructed a nymph of Diana called Zabeta, obviously a figure of Elizabeth, that "shee shall finde much greater cause to followe *Iuno* then *Dyana*". A closing speech by the goddess Iris insisted:

How necessarie were  
for worthy Queenes to wed  
That know you wel, whose life alwayes  
in learning hath beene led.<sup>72</sup>

In such works classical goddesses like those in the 1533 coronation pageants were used to urge Elizabeth to emulate Anne in becoming a wife and mother, and in understanding this procreative role as an essential duty of queenship.

As Susan Doran and others have established, all of this changed in the late 1570s as Elizabeth's fertile years drew toward a close and she embarked on her last, deeply unpopular courtship negotiation with the French Catholic Duke of Anjou.<sup>73</sup> Progress entertainments at Norwich in 1578 made extensive use of classical goddesses and hovered between commending matrimony or virginity, but leaned towards the latter: Elizabeth was hailed as 'Vnspoused Pallas' and 'Vnarmed Pallas', while Diana acclaimed her as 'Virgin Queene'

(one of the first uses of this title).<sup>74</sup> As Elizabeth's intact body was increasingly celebrated as a symbol of the proud independence of Protestant England, she became increasingly associated with Anne not as a potential wife and mother, but as the sacred and immaculate child born from Anne. The 1533 coronation pageants had repeatedly alluded to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, a prophecy of the birth of a royal child who would bring peace and prosperity. A long Christian tradition identified this child with Christ; accordingly, Virgil's poem was invoked in the 1533 verses to associate the pregnant Anne's fecundity with that of her namesake St Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, and with the Virgin herself, and to acclaim the child in Anne's womb as a messianic Protestant saviour for England. Udall wrote:

as from this deuout Saint Anne,  
 Issued this holy generacion ...  
 Wee the Cittizens, by you, in shorte space,  
 Hope such issue, and descente to purchase,  
 Whereby the same faith shalbee defended,  
 And this Citie from all daungers preserued.<sup>75</sup>

Leland added:

Haec mox iam meditabitur,  
 Foecundo sobolem gignere masculam  
 Partu, quae imperium regat,  
 Vnà cum senibus rite parentibus.  
 Imò si retinent fidem,  
 Nec sunt astra nimis falsaque vanaque,  
 Iamdudum Annae vterus tumens.  
 [She intends soon to bear a son fruitfully



Who will duly rule the empire  
 Together with his aging parents  
 Indeed, if the stars are truthful  
 And not too false and delusive,  
 Anne is already great with child.]<sup>76</sup>

Decades later, Spenser's own fourth eclogue for "Aprill", the fourth month of his *The Shepheardes Calender*, combined Virgil's messianic prophecy with Ovidian metamorphosis to dispel the ugly clouds of scandal around Anne's sexual reputation and Elizabeth's legitimacy:

Of fayre Elisa be your siluer song,  
     that blessed wight:  
 The flowre of Virgins, may shee florish long,  
     In princely plight.  
 For shee is *Syrinx* daughter without spotte,  
 Which *Pan* the shepheards God of her begot:  
     So sprong her grace  
     Of heauenly race,  
 No mortall blemishe may her blotte.<sup>77</sup>

The purity and sacredness of Elisa's conception was explicated in E.K.'s commentary: sexual union was sublimated into a god's breath through a reed, and

here by Pan and Syrinx is not to bee thoughte, that the shepheard simplye meante those Poetical Gods: but rather supposing (as seemeth) her graces progenie to be diuine and immortall ... could deuise no parents in his iudgement so worthy for her, as Pan the shepeheards God, and his best beloued Syrinx. So that by Pan is here meant the most famous and victorious King, her highnesse Father, late of worthy memorye

K. Henry the eyght. And by that name, oftymes (as hereafter appeareth) be noted kings and mighty Potentates: And in some place Christ himself, who is the verye Pan and god of Shepheardes.

The emphasis of Elizabethan royal iconography had shifted from promoting the Queen's marriage to asserting her virginal purity and the divinity of monarchy, and so now echoed a different aspect of the neoclassicism of the 1533 coronation pageants.

Leland's influence may have reached Spenser via various routes. Spenser attended Westminster School under Richard Mulcaster, who may have consulted the 1533 coronation pageants when collaborating on the pageants for Elizabeth's 1559 coronation entry.<sup>78</sup> Moreover Spenser's close friend Gabriel Harvey (possibly the real identity of E.K.) had as his patron Sir Thomas Smith, whose broad intellectual interests included a knowledge of Leland's works.<sup>79</sup> Indeed Harvey himself composed distinctly Leland-like Latin panegyrics of Elizabeth in his own *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1578), which, like the 1533 coronation pageants, include the Three Goddesses theme, the Muses, and the Graces: "Bina Venus: Musaeque decem: Charitesque quaternae: / In tribus his, *Princeps*, Musa, Charis, Venus es" [Twofold Venus, the ten Muses, and the four Graces: among these three, Queen, you are a Muse, Grace, Venus].<sup>80</sup>

Spenser's "Aprill" Eclogue transformed Anne Boleyn into Syrinx and Elizabeth's conception into an asexual, sacred act. This Ovidian mythology of immaculate conception was developed further in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*, where Belpheobe, one of Spenser's personae for Elizabeth, was conceived by the rays of the sun impregnating her sleeping mother's womb.<sup>81</sup> Shrank finds irony in the way that the "Aprill" Eclogue opposes the Anjou match and promotes the icon of the Virgin Queen. She points out that Leland's *Genethliacon*, his celebration of the birth of Prince Edward in 1537, had invoked Virgil's Fourth Eclogue to acclaim the successful birth of a male heir, whereas Spenser, "in contrast, lauds an ageing,

childless queen and seeks to prolong her virginal state, removing any hope of a child.”<sup>82</sup> In fact there are ironies upon ironies here. Elizabeth, identified with the child of Virgil’s prophecy in the 1533 coronation pageants while still in the womb, had in the event turned out to be a far more successful Tudor heir than her short-lived brother. Spenser’s invocation of Virgil’s Fourth Eclogue turns the wheel back full circle to Anne’s pageants and their prophecy of Elizabeth’s redemptive birth, while at the same time registering the profound difference between the pregnant Anne and her resolutely virginal daughter.

Thus the maternal themes of the 1533 pageants were echoed in shifting and even opposing ways over the course of Elizabeth’s reign. Another neoclassical theme from 1533 which persisted and mutated was that of the Three Goddesses, which became one of the most popular motifs in Elizabethan royal panegyric.<sup>83</sup> Examples include two allegorical portraits of Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses, one from 1569, attributed to Hans Eworth, the other a miniature of c. 1590 probably by Isaac Oliver; verses for Elizabeth’s progress to Norwich in 1578; and George Peele’s court play of c. 1580-81, *The Araygnement of Paris*.<sup>84</sup> It was a theme associated not only with humanist neoclassicism, but also with England’s claim to imperial power.<sup>85</sup> In Anne’s pageant, she was awarded the golden apple in preference to all three goddesses, but was then offered a yet higher prize:

Queene Anne, moste excellent that ever was,  
For you is redy a Croun Imperiall,  
To your joye, honour, and glorie ymmortall.<sup>86</sup>

The closed imperial crown (as opposed to the open royal diadem) had taken on special significance following the Act of Restraint of Appeals of April 1533, just a month before Anne’s coronation, with its declaration that Henry’s jurisdiction was not royal but imperial. Dale Hoak comments on the presence of the imperial crown in Anne’s coronation pageants: “The message was clear: God had conferred imperial authority on Anne and Henry’s issue by

her.”<sup>87</sup> Eworth’s 1569 painting of Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses, probably produced to celebrate the suppression of the Northern Rebellion, shows Elizabeth too wearing a closed imperial crown. So again does Oliver’s Three Goddesses miniature of c. 1590, soon after the Armada victory. This use of neoclassical iconography to acclaim Elizabeth as imperial ruler of a triumphant Protestant realm stretches right through her reign, and again its origins can be traced back to her mother’s coronation pageants.

### Conclusion

It would of course be an exaggeration to attribute all neoclassical themes in Elizabethan royal panegyric to the influence of Anne Boleyn’s coronation pageants. Nevertheless, as we have seen, there are traceable connections from Anne’s pageants to the deployment of neoclassical motifs by Elizabethan authors to mythologise and celebrate her daughter. In its associations with both queens this iconography was used to assert England’s independence from Rome, eminence in humanist scholarship, cultural status, and imperial aspirations. Evidence of Elizabeth’s preservation of her mother’s memory, though not non-existent, is often patchy or ambiguous. However, a case can be made that one of the most potent links between Anne and her daughter was their shared association with neoclassical themes (often inventively combined with Christian symbolism) as a means of forging a new iconography of English Protestant queenship. This, arguably, was one of the most valuable legacies passed on from mother to daughter.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr Paulina Kewes and to a seminar audience at Regent’s Park College English Society, Oxford, for their helpful responses to earlier drafts of this essay.

<sup>2</sup> Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 176-7.

<sup>3</sup> David Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), 23.

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<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, vol. VI, pt. 2, 1556-1557, ed. Rawdon Brown (London, 1881), item 884, p. 1059.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 95.

<sup>6</sup> See Mary Hill Cole, 'Maternal memory: Elizabeth Tudor's Anne Boleyn', in *Elizabeth I and the 'Sovereign Arts': Essays in Literature, History, and Culture*, ed. Donald Stump, Linda Shenk, and Carole Levin (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), 6-7, 10; Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) 2, 19-20, 196-7. For examples of Elizabeth's use of Anne's falcon badge, see its occurrence at the lower corners of a hand-illuminated title-page portrait of Elizabeth of 1584 (George de la Mothe, 'Hymne A Tres-Haute ... Elizabeth Royne D'Angleterre', Bodl. MS Fr. e. I, fol. 7, reproduced in Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* [1977; rpt. London: Pimlico, 1999], 73, fig. 49); alongside woven portrait-images of Elizabeth on a linen damask napkin and tablecloth (napkin, c. 1570-1600, Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no. T.215-1963, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O101377/napkin-unknown/>; tablecloth, made 1580-1600, museum no. T.119-1927, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O315600/table-cloth/>); and on a virginal (musical instrument) owned by Elizabeth ('The Queen Elizabeth Virginal', Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no. 19-1887, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O70511/the-queen-elizabeth-virginal-spinet-baffo-giovanni/>; 'Queen Elizabeth's Virginal', Giovanni Baffo, 1594, Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed August 13, 2014, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/q/queen-elizabeths-virginal/>).

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<sup>7</sup> The ring is the property of the Chequers Trust. For examples of its association with Anne Boleyn, see Susan Doran, ed., *Elizabeth I: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 12-13, cat. no. 7, and Cole, 'Maternal memory', 13. For more recent identification of the unknown woman as Katherine Parr, see Susan E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 109. I am grateful to Dr Jeri McIntosh for alerting me to James's work.

<sup>8</sup> Hans Holbein the Younger, *Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus*, 1533, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, accessed April 12 2017,

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Apollo\\_and\\_the\\_Muses\\_on\\_Parnassus,\\_by\\_Hans\\_Holbein\\_the\\_Younger.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Apollo_and_the_Muses_on_Parnassus,_by_Hans_Holbein_the_Younger.jpg)

<sup>9</sup> Martin Wiggins in assoc. with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue: Vol. I: 1533-1566* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3-7, item 3; Elizabeth Goldring et al., gen. eds, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), V: 12-14; Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 224-8.

<sup>10</sup> Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 220-24.

<sup>11</sup> See John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 50; Gordon Kipling, "'He that saw it would not believe it": Anne Boleyn's royal entry into London', in *Civic Ritual and Drama*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüskén (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), 39-79, esp. 51-60; and Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 39-76.

<sup>12</sup> Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 224-5.

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<sup>13</sup> Matthew Steggle, 'Udall, Nicholas (1504–1556)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2006), accessed 22 July 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27974>.

<sup>14</sup> James P. Carley, 'Leland, John (c.1503–1552)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2006), accessed 17 July 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16416>.

<sup>15</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 23. Leland's verses may have been added after the event, for the presentation manuscript; see Wiggins, *British Drama I*, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 77, 23, 69.

<sup>17</sup> Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 248; Kipling, 'He that saw it', 39-79, esp. 60-61; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 64. See also Cole, 'Maternal memory', 9.

<sup>18</sup> Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 225, 229.

<sup>19</sup> Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 228-9; Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 158-62, item 151; pp. 260-2, item 249; pp. 277-80, item 258.

<sup>21</sup> Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 44-5, item 48.

<sup>22</sup> See Wiggins, *British Drama I*, passim.

<sup>23</sup> Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 231-3, item 224; pp. 251-2, item 238; pp. 252-3, item 239; pp. 254-6, item 241; pp. 286-8, item 267; pp. 288-9, item 169.

<sup>24</sup> Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 331-5, item 311.

<sup>25</sup> [Richard Mulcaster], *The passage of our most drad Sovereaigne the Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to westminster the daye before her coronacion Anno 1558* (London, 1559), A4v.

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<sup>26</sup> Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1984), 11.

<sup>27</sup> King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 230. See also Germaine Warkentin, ed., *The Queen's Majesty's Passage and Related Documents* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University: 2004), 23.

<sup>28</sup> Elkin Calhoun Wilson, *England's Eliza* (1939; rpt. New York: Octagon, 1966).

<sup>29</sup> King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 233, 184, 242.

<sup>30</sup> Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 221.

<sup>31</sup> Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 225-6, 230.

<sup>32</sup> Philip Schwyzer, 'John Leland and His Heirs: The Topography of England', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485-1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 10.

<sup>33</sup> The manuscript of verses by Leland and Udall includes speeches for nine Muses, the usual number.

<sup>34</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 12.

<sup>35</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 26/47. Where Goldring gives original Latin text followed by an English translation, the two references are separated by a slash.

<sup>36</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 27/48.

<sup>37</sup> Edmund Spenser, 'Aprill: Aegloga Quarta', *The Shepheardes Calender*, in *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999), 60-71, lines 41-5.

<sup>38</sup> Spenser, 'Aprill', lines 100-05.

<sup>39</sup> For a full account of the Muses in Spenser's works, see Stella P. Revard, 'Muses', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 481-2.

<sup>40</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 14.



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<sup>41</sup> Spenser, 'Aprill', lines 109-17. For a full account of the Graces in Spenser's works, see Stella P. Revard, 'Graces', in *Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. Hamilton, 338-9.

<sup>42</sup> W.R. Streitberger, *The Master of the Revels and Elizabeth I's Court Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 50, 73-4; Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 350-51, item 329.

<sup>43</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 206-33, esp. 207, 209, 211, 214, 215.

<sup>44</sup> Streitberger, *Master of the Revels*, 21-4.

<sup>45</sup> Streitberger, *Master of the Revels*, 75.

<sup>46</sup> Streitberger, *Master of the Revels*, 23-4.

<sup>47</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 259-368, esp. 267/321. For numerous other examples of the Muse motif in Elizabethan royal panegyric, see Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 581, index entry for 'Elizabeth I identified with/described as/compared to Muses'.

<sup>48</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 41.

<sup>49</sup> Standleye, Epigram 49, in Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 289/344. See also Franckline, Epigram 17 and Cumminge, Epigram 46, Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 273/328-9, 288/343.

<sup>50</sup> Steggle, 'Udall'; Stephen Wright, 'Malym, William (1533-1594)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), accessed August 18, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17883>.

<sup>51</sup> Anne was associated with the style and culture of the French court, where she had spent a number of years (Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 3-4, 27-36, 45); this may have misled this author to believe that she was of French descent.

<sup>52</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 263/317.

<sup>53</sup> Gotthelf Wiedermann, 'Alesius [Allane or Alan], Alexander (1500-1565)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008), accessed August 14, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/320>.

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<sup>54</sup> Alexander Ales to the Queen, 'Elizabeth: September 1559, 1-5', *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 1: 1558-1559*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (1863): 524-42, *British History Online*, accessed August 14, 2014, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=71760&strquery=Ales>.

<sup>55</sup> John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes* (London, 1559), B4v, L3r.

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Hope, 'Latymer, William (1498/9–1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008), accessed August 14, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47142>.

<sup>57</sup> William Latymer, 'Chronickille of Anne Bulleyne', ed. Maria Dowling, *Camden Miscellany Fourth Series* 39 (July 1990): 44.

<sup>58</sup> Latymer, 'Chronickille', 57, 63.

<sup>59</sup> Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 52-3.

<sup>60</sup> Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 404-05, item 383; pp. 452-3, item 428; pp. 456-7, item 431; Siobhan Keenan, 'Spectator and spectacle: royal entertainments at the universities in the 1560s', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 86-103.

<sup>61</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 466-672, esp. 567/602.

<sup>62</sup> Paulina Kewes, "'Plesures in lernyng" and the politics of counsel in early Elizabethan England: royal visits to Cambridge and Oxford', *English Literary Renaissance* 46 (2016): 333-75 (334-5). See also Gerard Kilroy, 'The Queen's visit to Oxford in 1566: a fresh look at neglected manuscript sources', *Recusant History* 31.3 (May 2013): 331-73, esp. 335.

<sup>63</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, I: 549-50/578, 553/584.

<sup>64</sup> Kewes, 'Plesures in lernyng', 360, 362, 372.

<sup>65</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 23.

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<sup>66</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 1-3.

<sup>67</sup> Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 103; Carley, 'Leland'.

<sup>68</sup> Susan Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: the treatment of Elizabeth's marriage in plays and entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal* 38.2 (1995): 257-74.

<sup>69</sup> Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 416-17, item 397.

<sup>70</sup> Doran, 'Juno versus Diana', 264; Wiggins, *British Drama I*, pp. 446-7, item 424.

<sup>71</sup> Louis Adrian Montrose, 'Gifts and reasons: the contexts of Peele's *Araygnement of Paris*', *English Literary History* 47.3 (Autumn 1980): 441, 444; Doran, 'Juno versus Diana', 264.

<sup>72</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, II: 309, 321.

<sup>73</sup> Doran, 'Juno versus Diana'; *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996).

<sup>74</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, II: 825, 814; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 96-8.

<sup>75</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 33.

<sup>76</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 30/53. See also 28/50, 32/54, 35-6/55, 39/57.

<sup>77</sup> Spenser, 'Aprill', lines 46-54.

<sup>78</sup> Although various scholars assert that Mulcaster was taught by Udall at Eton, Warkentin notes that in fact Udall left the school shortly before Mulcaster entered it as a pupil. However Richard Grafton, who collaborated with Mulcaster on the Elizabethan pageants, certainly had known Udall. Warkentin, *Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 41.

<sup>79</sup> Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 225.

<sup>80</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, II: 588/652. For numerous other examples of the Graces in Elizabethan royal panegyric, see Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 579, index entry for 'Elizabeth I identified with/described as/compared to Graces'.

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<sup>81</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), III.vi.4-10.

<sup>82</sup> Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 237.

<sup>83</sup> See Helen Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The "Three Goddesses" Theme in Art and Literature', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77.3 (Autumn 2014): 225-56.

<sup>84</sup> Hans Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* (1569), Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 403446, accessed 23 July 2015,

<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/403446/elizabeth-i-and-the-three-goddesses>;

Isaac Oliver (attrib.), *Queen Elizabeth I ('Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses')* (c. 1590),

National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 6947, accessed 23 July 2015,

<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw224945/Queen-Elizabeth-I-Elizabeth-I-and-the-Three-Goddesses>; Goldring, *Nichols*, II: 799, 825-6; George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, ed. R. Mark Benbow, in *The Life and Works of George Peele: vol. 3: The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, gen. ed. Charles Tyler Prouty (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 1-131.

<sup>85</sup> See Kipling, 'He that saw it', 66-7; Hunt, *Drama of Coronation*, 68-72.

<sup>86</sup> Goldring, *Nichols*, V: 40.

<sup>87</sup> Dale Hoak, 'The iconography of the Crown Imperial', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale W. Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 54.