



*Biblical Typology and Royal
Power in Elizabethan Civic
Entertainments*

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Abstract: A range of biblical figures were depicted or invoked across the entertainments staged for Elizabeth I of England while she was on progress. These biblical figures were used to counsel and critique Elizabeth, with the pageant devisers using a variety of typologies to present Elizabeth as a providential monarch, legitimise her actions (both religious and political), and exhort her to take further actions against Catholics, both at home and abroad. To explore the relationship between royal power and biblical typology in civic entertainments staged for Elizabeth, this article analyses the appearance of biblical figures in two civic entertainments: Elizabeth's coronation procession on 14 January 1559, and the entertainments staged in Norwich during the 1578 East Anglian progress. Using these two entertainments as case studies, this article reveals the links between biblical typologies and royal power, and adds to our understanding of the way that early modern monarchs were counselled and critiqued through biblical types in a variety of mediums.

Keywords: Bible; Elizabeth I; counsel; biblical analogy



n 1 February 1563, only days after their counterparts in the Commons, members of the House of Lords petitioned Elizabeth I of England to marry and produce an heir, or at the very least to publicly designate her successor. Elizabeth had constantly obfuscated around the marriage question, but the danger her unwed status posed to England was made clear in October 1562, when the Queen almost died after contracting smallpox.¹ In their petition, the Lords turned to the precedent of the Bible, telling the Queen:

the Scriptures hath declared succession and having of children to be one of His principal benedictions in this life ... And therefore Abraham prayed to God for issue, ... and

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¹ On these petitions, and the succession crisis caused by Elizabeth's smallpox, see: Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), 60–64; and Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabeth Succession Question, 1558–1568* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 45–52.

Elizabeth (whose name your majesty beareth), mother to John [the] Baptist, was joyful when God blessed her with fruit.

... It is plain by the Scriptures that godly governors and princes ... have always been careful to avoid the great evil that might ensue through want of a certain limitation of succession. And therefore Moses did assign Joshua to be his successor, and David his son Solomon, whereby a great sedition was appeased ... if therefore no sufficient remedy should be by your highness provided, that then it should be a dangerous burden before God to your majesty.²

This use of the Bible was a clever and shrewd tactic. The Lords were not merely exhorting the Queen to marry and produce an heir: instead, they claimed that the precedent of the Bible demonstrated that it was the course of action God wanted. While the petition did not sway Elizabeth, the use of these biblical examples emphasises the way that the scriptures were mined for advice, precedent, warning, and example.

The Bible was the paramount text in early modern England.³ As the word of God, it was believed to be prefigurative of the present. In order to understand how the events of the ancient past of the Old Testament could be applicable to the present, figures and events were read typologically: that is, an event in the Bible was said to reverberate down the centuries, with contemporary situations linked to a biblical event in order to understand what God had in store for His people, or to conceptualise how a situation should be handled.⁴ Thus, Edward VI supported the Reformation in England like the reforming Hebrew boy-king, Josiah;⁵ Mary I, despite being in her late thirties and early forties, would be blessed to give birth to an heir like the Old Testament matriarchs Sarah and Hannah;⁶ and parliamentarians in the Civil War of the 1640s and 1650s constantly turned to the Exodus as “the only parallel” for their situation.⁷

² *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 84–85.

³ Victoria Brownlee, *Biblical Readings and Literary Writings in Early Modern England, 1558–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 2. See also: Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 1993).

⁴ Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 35. See also: Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 10; and Donald Stump, *Spenser's Heavenly Elizabeth: Providential History in "The Faerie Queene"* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 27.

⁵ See: Christopher Bradshaw, “David or Josiah? Old Testament Kings as Exemplars in Edwardian Religious Polemic,” in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Later Reformation*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 76–90.

⁶ See, for instance, Richard Smith, who claimed that God would allow Mary “to conceive a childe ... [and] he would ayde, and strengthen her, hignes in her birth, as he dyd Sara Abrahams wife, Rachel, Isaacs wife, [H]anna Helchanaes wife, Elizabeth, Zacharies wife, mother of saint John [the] Baptist, with divers others, verye aged women, that she maye easily without great payne, and al Danger of her life, bring forth her child into this world.” Richard Smith, *A Bouclier of the Catholike Fayth of Christes Church* (London, 1554/5; STC 22816), sigs. CC4r–CC4v.

⁷ *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell: Volume III, The Protectorate, 1653–1655*, ed. Wilbur Cortez Abbott

These typologies, however, all rely on the doctrine of providence, which held that God was not an “idle, inactive spectator upon the mechanical workings of the created world, but an assiduous, energetic deity who constantly intervened in human affairs.”⁸ It was this belief in providence that meant Mary I’s supporters genuinely believed that God would intervene and allow Mary to give birth to an heir who would secure the Catholic succession in England.

Typologies and analogies, however, require human interpretation. Thus, while Mary’s supporters might believe she would be granted a child like Sarah or Hannah, Mary’s adversaries believed that the Queen’s childlessness was a punishment from God for her Catholicism.⁹ The precise interpretation of a particular typology, however, proved to be a powerful didactic tool, and a variety of early modern commentators and polemicists used the precedents of the Bible to comment on the present.¹⁰ It is for this reason that biblical typologies were often offered to monarchs, or why monarchs were frequently paralleled or conflated with their biblical antecedents. Thus, a monarch could be exhorted, for instance, to emulate Solomon’s wisdom, to defend their people from invasion like Judith, or to ensure that God was properly worshipped like in the days of Hezekiah. By offering counsel or critique through a biblical example, commentators were able to suggest that their advice actually came from God, and that they were merely reminding the monarch of their duty to God. Biblical typologies could, therefore, be a powerful way of legitimising a monarch and their decisions, but they were also a potent medium of counsel that could not be lightly ignored.

It was common throughout the early modern period for subjects to attempt to counsel their monarch through a biblical typology (or analogy). Thus, typologies appear in a myriad of texts and documents, as well as in more performative mediums. Shakespeare, in *Henry VI, Part 1*, could therefore be confident his audiences would understand the reason that the Dauphin, after being bested in a fight by Joan la Pucelle (Joan of Arc), claimed that “thou ... fightest with the sword of Deborah.”¹¹ It is these more performative uses of biblical typology that I am interested in here.

In virtually every summer of her reign, Elizabeth and her court left London and went on progress.¹² While the Queen did not travel particularly far from London (the furthest north she visited was Stafford), her visits tied her royal power to her physical presence, and as such,

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), 434–435.

⁸ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2.

⁹ As was the case of Michal, David’s first wife, who, after complaining that David had danced naked in front of his handmaids, was punished with barrenness and “had no child unto the day of her death” (2 Samuel 6:23). It is worth noting, however, that according to 2 Samuel 21 “the five sons of Michal the daughter of Saul” were “delivered ... into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the hill before the Lord” (2 Samuel 21:8–9). All scriptural references are from the King James Version.

¹⁰ Brownlee, *Biblical Readings and Literary Writings*, 8; Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England*, 4.

¹¹ William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part 1*, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition*, ed. Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 935 (1.3.84).

¹² Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 1–2.

allowed the Queen and her subjects to engage in carefully orchestrated political theatre.¹³ Elizabeth's arrival usually coincided with a dispute (generally economic or religious), which allowed the Queen to be both the final arbitrator and the harbinger of peace. The towns and cities that hosted the Queen during her progresses also engaged with the political theatre of the visit, and thereby reciprocated this ruling dynamic—they were aware of the issue or dispute that brought the Queen to them, and the entertainments they performed were cleverly designed to ensure that Elizabeth was alert to the outcome they wanted. As such, the entertainments served a dual purpose: they reinforced the city's loyalty to the Queen and emphasised her royal authority, while at the same time providing an ideal opportunity to counsel the now-present monarch. This duality, which Elizabeth embraced throughout her reign, ensured that these entertainments were an integral part of the way royal power was performed in early modern England.

A number of civic entertainments relied on biblical types and analogies to counsel Elizabeth. To explore the relationship between royal power and biblical typology in civic entertainments staged for Elizabeth, this article analyses the appearance of biblical figures in two civic entertainments: Elizabeth's coronation procession on 14 January 1559, and the entertainments staged in Norwich during the 1578 East Anglian progress. These were not the only entertainments staged for Elizabeth that featured biblical figures, but they serve as useful case studies for the way that biblical figures were used to bolster, legitimise, counsel, and warn Elizabeth.¹⁴

There is limited scholarship on the appearance of biblical figures across Elizabethan civic entertainments: to date, scholars have tended to focus on a single entertainment, or do not study the content of the entertainments in a comparative fashion.¹⁵ Elizabeth's coronation

¹³ As Kristin Bezio has observed, these progresses showed how Elizabeth continued to publicly embrace “the performative elements of the monarchy as the cornerstone of her authority.” Kristin M.S. Bezio, *Staging Power in Tudor and Stuart English History Plays: History, Political Thought, and the Redefinition of Sovereignty* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 36.

¹⁴ For instance, the entertainments at Woodstock, in addition to calling Elizabeth the “most Christian Deborah,” associated the Queen with Daniel, David, and Jael. Gabriel Heaton, ed., “Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Woodstock, 29 August–3 September 1575,” in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources, Volume II: 1572 to 1578*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 470.

¹⁵ An exception is Tim Moylan, although his chapter is focused on comparing strategies of counsel, rather than comparing biblical types (and the Bristol progress of 1574 contains no biblical figures). Tim Moylan, “Advising the Queen: Good Governance in Elizabeth I's Entries into London, Bristol, and Norwich,” in *Elizabeth I and the 'Sovereign Arts': Essays in Literature, History, and Culture*, ed. Donald Stump, Linda Shenk, and Carole Levin (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), 233–250. Other than Elizabeth's coronation procession, the entertainments staged for the Queen at Kenilworth by the Earl of Leicester in 1575, and those performed for her during her visits to Cambridge (1564) and Oxford (1566), are the most commonly studied. See: Sandra Logan, *Text/Events in Early Modern England: Poetics of History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); 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; Elizabeth Goldring, “Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progresses: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575,” in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of*

procession remains the most studied early modern civic entertainment, but there is limited understanding of how the biblical figures who appeared in that entertainment fit within a wider context of counsel and royal authority. Likewise, the scholarship has, to date, displayed limited interest in analysing the content of the pageants that used biblical figures in terms of the typologies being employed, and the links between the biblical story and the present.¹⁶ The people of early modern England had a deep familiarity with the Bible, thanks to enforced attendance at weekly Church of England services, meaning that even “a simple allusion to” scripture “conjured up a vivid scene,” without the “need for a detailed rehearsal.”¹⁷ In a world that lacks this same familiarity, this article seeks to re-construct the “vivid scene” created within these two entertainments. Doing so will not only further reveal the links between biblical typologies and royal power, but will also add to our understanding of the way that early modern monarchs were counselled and critiqued through biblical types in a variety of mediums.

The Coronation Procession of 1559

During the course of Elizabeth’s coronation procession, held on 14 January 1559, two biblical analogies were publicly used to bolster and legitimise the new queen. At the beginning of the procession, Elizabeth thanked God in a public prayer for having preserved her to celebrate this day, in the same way that He had preserved Daniel from the lion’s den. Separate to this, the fifth pageant of the procession offered the example of Deborah the Judge to Elizabeth, linking

Queen Elizabeth I, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 163–188; and Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980).

¹⁶ For instance, Mary Hill Cole’s groundbreaking *The Portable Queen* does not discuss the recurrence of biblical motifs across Elizabeth’s progresses. Her only relevant comment was made in relation to Elizabeth’s coronation procession, with Cole claiming that the appearances of the Bible and Deborah served as “a call for peace, unity, and royal responsibility.” She did not, however, explain *how* the use of Deborah made such calls. Likewise, in his seminal study on early modern English civic pageantry, David Bergeron largely overlooked the use of biblical figures in Elizabethan entertainments. Instead, he noted that “what loses ground in the period 1559–1604 is the overtly religious presentation,” and he compared the coronation processions of 1559 and 1604 by claiming that while “Elizabeth might ... hear the words of one personating Deborah of Biblical history ... no such events greet[ed] James.” Certainly, none of the pageants for James’s coronation procession overtly featured biblical history like those of Elizabeth’s, but the Bible was nevertheless used to counsel James. The first pageant for the King’s coronation procession, which was staged at Fenchurch Street and written by Ben Jonson, featured a depiction of the figure of Theosophia (Divine Wisdom). Theosophia, according to Jonson, was intended to remind James that “Per me Reges Regnant” (By me [God], kings reign—Proverbs 8:15), and she held a serpent and a dove, which represented Jesus’s invective to his disciplines in Matthew 10:16, “I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.” Given the deep familiarity early modern people had with the Bible, the meaning and contemporary relevance of these references—which emphasised James’s providential accession to the English throne, and counselled the King to defend the English ‘doves’ from the ‘wolves’ of Catholicism—would have been clear. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 18; David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 89; Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1616; STC 14752), 884 (sig. Bbbb2v).

¹⁷ John Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation: Deliverance Politics from John Calvin to Martin Luther King Jr.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 42.

female kingship with divine favour.

The coronation eve procession was steeped in history: entertainments can be traced as far back as Richard II's coronation in 1377.¹⁸ Originally devised and produced by the City of London alone, by the time of Henry VIII's procession, the event was a fusion of counsel for the new monarch by the citizenry, an engagement with political theatre on the monarch's behalf, and a public (albeit symbolic) reaffirming of the relationship of interdependence that existed between the monarch and their people.¹⁹ In effect, the coronation procession brought to the new monarch's subjects the religio-political purpose of the act of coronation, while also allowing them to have a stake in the ceremony that was undoubtedly one of the most significant in a monarch's reign.²⁰

Elizabeth's prayer at the commencement of the procession was evidently intended to have as great a performative impact as possible. The account of the procession—authorship of which is generally ascribed to Richard Mulcaster—recounts how “her grace before she entered her chariot, lifted up her eyes to heaven and sayd [the prayer].”²¹ All eyes would have been on the Queen as she emerged from the Tower of London, and by stopping before she climbed onto her chariot, she would have commanded the total attention of the audience. She had deliberately disrupted the order of the procession: it is not hard to imagine the unsure expressions of her attendants. In what was clearly a polished piece of oratory, Elizabeth invoked what is probably the first analogy of her reign:

O Lord, almighty and everlasting God, I geve thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast beene so mercifull unto me, as to spare me to behold this joyful day. And I acknowledge, that thou hast dealt as wonderfully, and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy true and faythful servant Daniel thy Prophet, who thou deliveredst out of the denne from the cruelty of the greedy and raging Lyons: even so was I overwhelmed, and onely [sic] by thee delivered.²²

The public prayer, and its invocation of Daniel, served a dual purpose. The Tower of London had been a central location in Elizabeth's life, for only five years earlier, in 1554, she had been imprisoned there due to her suspected involvement in the Wyatt Rebellion against Mary I. Although Elizabeth was interrogated regarding her alleged complicity in the plot, no charge was brought against her. Now, she emerged from the royal apartments as England's new monarch. Her providential favour was indisputable; God had chosen her to be his monarch in

¹⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 17.

¹⁹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 17.

²⁰ Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.

²¹ [Richard Mulcaster], *The Quenes Majesties Passage through the citie of London to westminster the daye before her coronacion* (London, 1559; STC 7589.5), sig. E4r.

²² [Mulcaster], *The Quenes Majesties Passage*, sigs. E4r–E4v.

England, and he was going to continue to protect her. Given the many plots that Elizabeth would survive or foil, it is unsurprising that this motif continued to re-appear throughout her reign, and indeed in the decades after her death.

There is one final point to make about the invocation of Daniel that is generally not considered in the scholarship of the procession. In a similar way to how the published version (or indeed the surviving manuscript copies) of a speech by Elizabeth are unlikely to have been exactly what was delivered, accounts of entertainments performed for the Queen are not 'live' accounts of how the entertainment was actually performed, but rather, the script of what should have been performed.²³ Indeed, it is not uncommon for entertainment accounts to include details of pageants that were not performed. For instance, Thomas Churchyard's 1574 entertainment for Elizabeth's progress to Bristol records the speech of the boy actor playing "Obedient Good Will," even though he "could not speak [because] time was so spent."²⁴ However, Elizabeth's speech at the Tower, given at the start of the procession, is included at the *end* of the published account. It seems likely, then, that the account's author had produced a 'script' of the entertainment, but decided that Elizabeth's spontaneous engagements with political theatre needed to be recorded. Indeed, that the speech at the Tower is included in a section entitled "Certain notes of the quenes majesties great mercie, clemencie, and wisdom used in this passage" points to it being a record of what was actually said (or very close to it).²⁵ So while the prayer may not be Elizabeth's exact words, the ubiquity of the Daniel and the lion's den story in early modern England, coupled with the likelihood that the last section of the pamphlet was a stop-press addition, means that it is almost certain Elizabeth made the invocation, with the direct implication that she declared herself to be England's providential monarch.²⁶ Regardless, the inclusion of the prayer in the pamphlet had the effect of ensuring people believed that Elizabeth did compare herself to Daniel, and multiple authors throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries referred to, and reproduced, the prayer.²⁷

²³ See: Leah S. Marcus, "Collaboration in the Parliamentary Speeches of Queen Elizabeth I," in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, ed. Patricia Pender (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 47–69; and Francis Teague, "Queen Elizabeth in Her Speeches," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the Renaissance*, ed. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 63–78.

²⁴ Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes, contayning twelve severall Labours* (London, 1575; STC 5232), sig. N6v.

²⁵ [Mulcaster], *The Quenes Majesties Passage*, sig. E3r.

²⁶ The first two editions of the account include a blank page at the end. Given the speed with which the account was published after the procession, it is likely that the account was already laid out ready for printing, and that the "Certain notes" were added last minute, resulting in a less-than-ideal distribution of the text across the paper. This distribution was corrected in the 1604 editions.

²⁷ The prayer is reproduced in both the 1577 and 1587 editions of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. It was also reproduced on numerous occasions in the seventeenth century: it was reprinted in Thomas Heywood's *England's Elizabeth* from 1631; in 1650, Samuel Clarke included the prayer in his biography of Elizabeth, writing how that at the start of her coronation procession "shee made a solemne thankesgiving to God, who had delivered her no lesse mercifully, and mightily, from her imprisonment in that place, then Daniel from the Lions Den"; and in 1660, Peter Heylyn reproduced the prayer with the caveat "But first before she takes her Chariot, she is said to have lifted up her eyes to heaven, and to have used some words to this or the like effect," reinforcing the emphasis on

Elizabeth, Deborah, and Female Kingship

Elizabeth's use of the Daniel analogy at the start of her coronation procession seemingly offered a tacit endorsement of the trope of comparing events of the present or recent past with the ancient past of the Old Testament. Elizabeth was thus participating in the same religio-political milieu as her subjects, which is emphasised by the fact that the fifth pageant in the procession featured a depiction of Deborah the Judge. The pageant was staged on Fleet Street, near the water-conduit, and featured a stage on which sat six figures—two representing the nobility, two the clergy, and two the commons.²⁸ Raised above these figures was a throne, on which sat a “personage richlie apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, as a Quene.”²⁹ Above the character of the queen was a sign that read “Debora with her estates, consulting for the good government of Israel.” As a female judge, Deborah served as a powerful *typos* for Elizabeth, and female kingship more generally: after all, there are no examples of female kingship in the Bible on which Elizabeth and her supporters could draw.

Each pageant in the procession was accompanied by a child actor, who explained the pageant's meaning. Once Elizabeth's chariot was brought close enough, the boy actor chosen for this pageant recited:

Jaben of Cannan king had long by force of armes
Opprest the Isralites, which for gods people went
But god minding at last for to redresse their harmes,
The worthy Debora as judge among them sent.

In war she, through gods aide, did put her foes to flight,
And with the dint of sworde the bande of bondage brast.
In peace she, through gods aide, did alway mainteine right,
And judged Israell till fourty yeres were past.

A worthe president, O worthe Queene, thou hast,
A worthe woman judge, a woman sent for staie.
And that the like to us endure alway thou maist,

the fact that she was *believed* to have invoked the analogy. Thomas Heywood, *Englands Elizabeth her life and troubles, during her minoritie, from the cradle to the crowne* (London, 1631; STC 13313), 226; Samuel Clarke, *The Second Part of the Marrow of Ecclesiastical Historie* (London, 1650; Wing C4556), 191; and Peter Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata, or, The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (London, 1660; Wing H1701), 106. See also: Matthew J. Smith, *Performance and Religion in Early Modern England: Stage, Cathedral, Wagon, Street* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2019), 18.

²⁸ Probably an allusion to Judges 4:4–5: “Deborah, a prophetess ... judged Israel at that time. And she dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim: and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment.”

²⁹ [Mulcaster], *The Quenes Majesties Passage*, sigs. D3r–D3v.

Thy loving subjectes will with true hearts and tonges praie.³⁰

The boy's speech not only conflated Elizabeth and Deborah, but also conflated recent English history with the ancient past of the Old Testament. The mention of the "Opprest ... Israelites" would have called to mind the 'tyranny' inflicted on England's Protestants during the reign of Mary I, with the mention of the "force of armes" likely alluding to Mary's taking the throne by force from Edward VI's nominated, Protestant, successor Jane Grey. God, however, sent Deborah to relieve the Hebrews from the oppression of the Canaanites, which was a clear parallel for God's sending of Elizabeth, who it was widely believed would restore the country to Protestantism. Indeed, this pageant even anticipated later uses of the Deborah type, which suggested that like Deborah, Elizabeth would defeat the Catholic-Canaanites with "gods aide." The recourse here to Deborah also brushed aside any potential arguments against female kingship. The speech goes to great lengths to emphasise Deborah's gender, while at the same time repeating her worthiness and the divine support for her rule. Finally, the use of Deborah also hints at the desire for monarchical stability: by emphasising that Deborah ruled for forty years, the speech gave voice to what was probably a fairly widespread desire for a peaceful and stable reign, coming as it did after the tumultuous and short reigns of Edward VI and Mary I.

The title of the pageant, "Deborah with her estates, consulting for the good government of Israel," has been read by a range of scholars as constituting a coded swipe at Elizabeth's power. Scholars have claimed that the pageant devisors were suggesting that while Elizabeth was England's legitimate monarch, her gender meant that she had to listen to the counsel of the 'wise' men around her. A representative example of this approach is Kevin Sharpe's claim that with the pageant, "Elizabeth's sex was vindicated, her power was exalted by comparison with biblical heroines; but her need to take counsel (and the counsel of the godly) was no less asserted."³¹ The idea that Deborah was linked with counsel is only found in the pageant's title: there is nothing in the boy's speech that implies Elizabeth is 'less' of a monarch than her male predecessors.³² Elizabeth and Deborah are conflated in the text, with Elizabeth sent to the English like Deborah was sent to the Hebrews. Indeed, in the Latin text summary of the boy's speech that was displayed next to the pageant, Elizabeth was exhorted to be a Deborah to the English.³³ Unlike other female biblical types—such as Judith, who was raised up to defeat a specific foe—Deborah continued to rule even after the Canaanites were

³⁰ [Mulcaster], *The Quenes Majesties Passage*, sig. D3v.

³¹ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 422. See also: Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 40; Moylan, "Advising the Queen," 240–241; and Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation*, 170–172.

³² Such an interpretation was discounted by printer and chronicler Richard Grafton, who claimed that the pageant "was made to encourage the Quene not to feare though she were a woman: for women by the spirite and power of Almyghte God, have ruled both honorably and pollitiquely, and that a great tyme, as did Debora, whiche was there sett foorth in Pageant." Richard Grafton, *Graftons Abridgement of the Chronicles of Englande, newly corrected and augmented, to thys present yere of our Lord, 1572* (London, 1572; STC 12152), 194v.

³³ "Debora sis Anglis Elizabetha tuis." [Mulcaster], *The Quenes Majesties Passage*, sig. D4r.

defeated, and thus served as proof that God approved of female rule.³⁴ The pageant, then, emphasised the way that the present was habitually read through the lens of the Bible. Deborah's rule served as a precedent for Elizabeth's reign: this is because, according to early modern understandings of typology, Elizabeth actually *was* a Deborah. God had not merely sent Deborah to the Israelites in their time of strife, but had sent Deborah for all humanity, with Elizabeth merely being the most contemporary embodiment of the female judge. The boy's speech reiterated three times how Elizabeth was a judge like Deborah, and given that the judges were understood to be the supreme authority in all matters in pre-monarchical Israel,³⁵ the idea that this pageant somehow was intended to limit Elizabeth's power misunderstands the biblical story of Deborah: a story with which Elizabeth and her contemporaries would have been deeply familiar.

The appearance of both these biblical stories in Elizabeth's coronation procession shows how pervasive the Bible was as a frame of reference in early modern England. That Deborah appeared in the pageants organised by the City of London is not unexpected (after all, Judith appeared in one of the pageants staged for Mary I's coronation procession); what is unusual is that Elizabeth herself also invoked a biblical analogy.³⁶ It is very unlikely that Elizabeth would have known about the contents of the fifth pageant in advance of arriving at the Fleet conduit. These independent uses of the Bible demonstrate how both monarch and subjects turned to the scriptures to conceptualise their present situations. Not only does this fact emphasise the way that the stories of the Bible permeated all aspects of early modern society, but it also shows that biblical stories were a potent and viable medium for explaining a situation and offering counsel. Given the number of analogies made between Elizabeth and Deborah throughout her reign, and indeed in the century after her death, it is tempting to view the coronation procession as a precedent-setting event.³⁷ Whether or not this was the case, the Deborah typology proved to be a potent and adaptable tool for perpetuating and legitimising Elizabeth's royal power, as well as a key device for counselling the Queen.

³⁴ Again, this theme was emphasised in the Latin summary, which prayed that Elizabeth would govern her people in war and peace ("Sic, O sic populum belloque et pace gubernā"). [Mulcaster], *The Queenes Majesties Passage*, sig. D4r.

³⁵ Judges, as Joy A. Schroeder notes, served as the "President, Supreme Judge, and Right Reverend in the Theocratic Republic of Israel." Joy A. Schroeder, *Deborah's Daughters: Gender, Politics, and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

³⁶ *The Accession, Coronation, and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, ed. and trans. C.V. Malfatti (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza, 1956), 32.

³⁷ See: Alexandra Walsham, "'A Very Deborah?' The Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch," in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 143–170; and Aidan Norrie, "'Courageous, Zealous, Learned, Wise, and Chaste' – Queen Elizabeth I's Biblical Analogies After Her Death," *Royal Studies Journal* 2, no. 2 (2015): 25–44.

The East Anglian Progress of 1578

As had been widely expected, shortly after her coronation, Elizabeth's first parliament assembled and enacted the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. In addition to returning the Church of England to Protestantism, the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer, with some conservative alterations, was prescribed for use in all church services. The definitive statement of the Church of England's doctrine was finally codified in 1571, when the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were agreed to and promulgated.³⁸ Despite being a decade into her reign, Elizabeth still faced opposition from Catholic recusants and puritan agitators, and the 1570s would prove to be an uneasy period for Elizabeth and her religious settlement. The Earl of Sussex had successfully suppressed the Northern Rebellion of 1569, which had seen the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland attempt to re-impose Catholicism in England by deposing Elizabeth and replacing her with Mary, Queen of Scots.³⁹ This victory was only short-lived: spurred on by the rebellion's failure, Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth in the infamous papal bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which was issued on 25 February 1570. The bull "absolved" the English from loyalty to their Queen, and purported to "deprive ... Elizabeth of her pretended title to the crown."⁴⁰ The regime quickly responded by enacting a new treason law that, amongst a number of provisions, made anyone who claimed that Elizabeth was a "Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Usurper of the Crown" or who argued that the Queen "ought not to enjoy the Crown" guilty of treason.⁴¹ Not long after, the Ridolfi Plot, which (also) sought to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne, was foiled in September 1571. If successful, Mary would have been married to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the country would have been returned to the Catholic fold. Norfolk was found guilty of treason for his part in the plot, and was beheaded on 2 June 1572.⁴² Mary's role in the plot was furiously debated and denounced in parliament, and Elizabeth increasingly distanced herself from her prisoner, leaving her to languish in the Midlands under house arrest in the custody of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his estranged wife, the indomitable Bess of Hardwick.⁴³ In addition, Elizabeth's secretaries Sir Francis Walsingham and William Cecil,

³⁸ See: Peter Marshall, "Settlement Patterns: The Church of England, 1553–1603," in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1662*, ed. Anthony Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 45–62.

³⁹ On the Northern Rebellion, see: K.J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁴⁰ Pius V, "The Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth (February 25, 1570)," in *Elizabeth I and Her Age: Authoritative Texts, Commentary and Criticism*, ed. Donald Stump and Susan M. Felch (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 157.

⁴¹ Owen Ruffhead, ed., *The Statutes at Large, from the First Year of King Edward the Fourth to the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1770), 583. The Act is 13 Eliz. 1 c. 1.

⁴² Paul E.J. Hammer, "The Catholic Threat and the Military Response," in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London: Routledge, 2011), 632.

⁴³ Kristen Post Walton, *Catholic Queen, Protestant Patriarchy: Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Politics of Gender and Religion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 165, 170. For a summary of the parliamentary response, see: J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1559–1581* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953), 241–290.

Baron Burghley, paid closer attention to Mary's activities, placing spies in her household and intercepting her correspondence.⁴⁴

While the issue posed by Catholics was somewhat defused in the aftermath of Norfolk's execution, Elizabeth began to face issues within her own church. Her first Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, died in May 1575, and was replaced by Edmund Grindal (previously Archbishop of York) in December 1575. Less than two years later, in June 1577, Elizabeth suspended Grindal for failing to suppress puritanism and enforce uniformity throughout his province.⁴⁵ Grindal's failures had impacts at the diocesan level—especially in the Diocese of Norwich.

It was against this fraught backdrop that Elizabeth progressed to East Anglia in the summer of 1578. Between 31 July and 30 August 1578, Elizabeth and her court visited various towns and noblemen's estates across Norfolk and Suffolk.⁴⁶ Much of the latter part of the tour was spent in Norwich, and two commemorative accounts of the Queen's visit were published soon after: Bernard Garter's *The Joyfull Receyving of the Queenes most excellent Majestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* was entered into the Stationers' Register on 30 August—only eight days after the visit to the city had concluded—and Thomas Churchyard's pamphlet, *A Discourse of the Queenes Majesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk*, was entered in the Stationers' Register on 20 September.⁴⁷

As was typical, the decision to progress to East Anglia was not arbitrary. During the mid-1570s, the Diocese of Norwich was plagued by religious non-conformity: Norfolk was home to one of the largest Catholic populations in England, and Norwich itself was a hotbed of puritanism. The first Elizabethan Bishop of Norwich, John Parkhurst, died in February 1575. Parkhurst, while a committed Protestant, had done a poor job of enforcing uniformity in the diocese. His successor, Edmund Freake, who was appointed in November 1575, had a Herculean task in enforcing uniformity on the diocese.⁴⁸ Freake, however, seemed to be more interested in suppressing puritanism than Catholicism, which caused him to come into conflict with his diocesan chancellor, the puritan John Becon. Freake appealed to the Privy Council for assistance in this conflict with Becon, and Elizabeth's progress was intended to ensure that the Council's decision—that the Elizabethan Settlement be enforced and that Catholic and puritan non-conformity was punished with equal severity—was being put into action.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Curtis Breight, *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 71.

⁴⁵ Patrick Collinson, "Grindal, Edmund (1516x20–1583)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/11644.

⁴⁶ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 191. A full description of the 1578 progress can be found in: Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen's Journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996).

⁴⁷ David Galloway, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Norwich, 1540–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 243.

⁴⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 141–145; Patrick Collinson, "Pulling the Strings: Religion and Politics in the Progress of 1578," in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 127.

⁴⁹ Collinson, "Pulling the Strings," 127; C.S. Knighton, "Freake, Edmund (c.1516–1591)," *Oxford Dictionary of*

The visit of Elizabeth and her councillors also allowed them to meet with the city's Dutch Protestant refugees. Since 1564, Dutch Protestant textile workers had been settled in Norwich in a *quasi*-religious refugee programme, where they had been allowed to set up their own church. By 1578, nearly one third of Norwich's 16,000 residents were Protestant immigrants from the Low Countries.⁵⁰ By the middle of the sixteenth century, Norwich had grown to become the second largest and second wealthiest city in the country. The Dutch Protestant population, as well as their export industries, would be an important theme throughout the entertainments performed in Norwich.

Biblical Analogies and Civic Entertainments in 1578

Given that the East Anglian progress took place against a backdrop of anxieties concerning religion—more than any other progress of Elizabeth's reign—the appearance of multiple biblical figures across the progress's entertainments is altogether unsurprising. Indeed, the utility of biblical figures to legitimise and reinforce royal power was made apparent from the very start of the visit to Norwich. Elizabeth arrived at the city at 1pm on Sunday, 16 August, and was greeted by the Mayor of Norwich, Robert Wood. Wood, who would be knighted by the Queen during her visit, used the biblical past to explain the city's delight that their Queen was visiting, and to emphasise the city's desire to adhere to the Elizabethan Settlement, despite the recent issues with uniformity. Wood began his oration by conflating the citizens of Norwich with the Israelites:

If our wishe should be graunted unto us by the Almighty ... we would account nothing more pretious (most Royall Prince) than that the bright beame of your most chast eye, which doth so chere us, might penetrate the secret strait corners of our hartes: then surely should you see how great joyes are dispersed there ... in beholding thee the light of this Realme (as David was of Israell) now at length, after long hope and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coastes.⁵¹

Wood then hinted at the religious issues that had brought the Queen and her Privy Council to East Anglia, emphasising that the City was full of her “most loving, obedient, and well willing subjectes,” and that they were “most studious of Gods glory and true religion.” He then concluded the speech by assuring Elizabeth that “We only therefore desire, that God would abundantly blesse your highnesse with al good gifts of minde and body.”⁵² Given the

National Biography, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/10136.

⁵⁰ Matthew Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard: Pen, Sword, and Ego* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 192.

⁵¹ Bernard Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving of the Queenes most excellent Majestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1558; STC 11627), sig. B1v. The Mayor's oration was delivered in Latin, but Garter included an English translation of the speech in his account. I quote from the English version, as there are no changes of consequence between the Latin and English versions.

⁵² Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sigs. B2r–B2v.

circumstances that had brought the Queen on progress, these assurances, in addition to being fairly standard platitudes, are somewhat to be expected. Nevertheless, the recourse to biblical motifs at the start of the oration deserves further unpacking.

The phrase, “the bright beame of your most chaste eye,” in the Mayor’s speech is curious. While it has a biblical feel, it does not correspond to any specific biblical reference. Certainly, eyes were used in a variety of metaphorical ways in the Bible—most famously in the parable of the Mote and the Beam from Christ’s Sermon on the Mount. The phrase might, however, draw on a proverb from the Book of Sirach.⁵³ In his discussion of the Creation, Ben Sira claimed that God “set his eye upon their hearts, that he might shew them the greatness of his works.”⁵⁴ Given that Wood stated that these “beams” would “penetrate the secret strait corners of our hartes,” he seemed to be suggesting that Elizabeth would be able to see the “greatness” of Norwich during her visit: economically, socially, and religiously. That Wood’s phrase is somewhat removed from the original context of the proverb can perhaps be explained by the Mayor’s desire to avoid conflating Elizabeth with God: after all, Elizabeth was only able to *metaphorically* look into her citizens’ hearts. This rather obscure reference, however, emphasises both the deep familiarity early modern people had with the Bible, and the way that biblical examples were reflexively used to make didactic points in the present.

The use of the story of David is much more obvious. By referring to David and Elizabeth as the lights of their respective realms, Wood not only conflated the two monarchs, but also emphasised the divine favour of which both rulers were in receipt. According to 2 Samuel, Abishai, David’s captain (and nephew), called the King “the light of Israel” during a battle against the Philistines.⁵⁵ Abishai told David to retreat from the battle after he was almost slain by a Philistine giant, fearing that David’s death would plunge Israel into chaos. This perhaps commented on the contemporary situation in England: Elizabeth remained unmarried and childless, and her heir presumptive was the Catholic and imprisoned Mary, Queen of Scots. Should Elizabeth die, Mary would become queen, and she would surely attempt to return England to the Catholic fold. Wood thus hoped that God would preserve Elizabeth, and thus England’s Protestantism, so that the country was not plunged back into the ‘darkness’ of Catholicism. The contrast between the light of Protestantism and the darkness of Catholicism, which is implicit in Wood’s reference, builds on the use of light as a common metaphor in the Bible, especially as a metaphor for following the will of God.⁵⁶ Indeed, the Bible routinely equated darkness with terrible or ungodly events—most notably the darkness that covered “all the earth” for three hours while Jesus was dying on the cross.⁵⁷ Wood thus

⁵³ The Book of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, which was compiled (or possibly written) by Jewish scribe Ben Sira, is part of the Apocrypha. See below for a discussion of the use of the Apocrypha in Elizabethan England.

⁵⁴ Sirach 17:8.

⁵⁵ 2 Samuel 21:17.

⁵⁶ For instance, Isaiah pleaded with the Hebrews to come and “walk in the light of the Lord” (Isaiah 2:5).

⁵⁷ The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke all recount the same story: “Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour” (Matthew 27:45); “And when the sixth hour was come, there was

described Elizabeth's accession and England's return to Protestantism as a re-instatement of the light that had been extinguished during Mary I's reign. Elizabeth's actions here also echo those of David: just as Elizabeth had returned England to the light of Protestantism, David restored the light to the Israelites by encouraging sincere worship of God after the unlawful practices of Saul, and by returning the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem—actions for which God blessed David.⁵⁸ Finally, Elizabeth had only been able to “appeare in these coastes” because like David, she had been protected by God—both during the reign of her half-sister, and in more recent years from Catholic assassination attempts.

During the speech, Elizabeth had been presented with a gold cup worth £100 (about £22,000 in 2020).⁵⁹ Garter records that after the Mayor finished, Elizabeth responded to both the oration and the cup, heartily thanking the “Maior, and all the reste, for these tokens of goodwill.” Elizabeth then engaged in some clever political theatre, emphasising what was truly important to her. In addition to expressing gratitude for the golden cup, Elizabeth told her audience that “the heartes and true allegeaunce of our Subjects ... are the greatest riches of a Kingdome,” before responding directly to the Mayor's speech: “as we assure our selves in you, so do you assure youre selves in us of a lovyng and gracious soveraigne.”⁶⁰ Elizabeth might have been the guest in Norwich on that wet August Sunday, but she was quick to assert her royal power, and to use the entertainments designed for her to her own advantage.

After this welcome, Elizabeth moved into the city proper. She sheltered in St Stephen's Gate due to a shower of rain, and then progressed to the city's first pageant, which was staged outside St Stephen's Church.⁶¹ The pageant, which was designed by Garter, showed off the wool and yarn that Norwich produced and exported, and emphasised the great benefits Norwich had received since the Dutch Protestant exiles had settled in the city.⁶² After this pageant was completed, Elizabeth “marched” to the second pageant, also designed by Garter, which was staged outside the market.

The pageant featured “five personages appareled like women” who took it in turns to address the Queen: respectively, a representation of the City of Norwich, Deborah, Judith, Esther, and Martia, daughter-in-law of the mythical King of Britain who had built Norwich

darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour” (Mark 15:33); “And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour” (Luke 23:44).

⁵⁸ See: 2 Samuel 6:1–12.

⁵⁹ The cup was not added to Elizabeth's treasury, suggesting that it was either re-gifted or melted down shortly after the progress. A. Jefferies Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: The Inventory of 1574* (London: The British Museum, 1955), 111–112, 565.

⁶⁰ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. B2v.

⁶¹ For a full account of this first pageant, see: Aidan Norrie, “Child Actors in the 1578 Norwich Civic Entertainment,” *Shakespeare Bulletin* 37, no. 2 (2019): 167–185.

⁶² Aidan Norrie, ““Our Queen is Comming to the Town’: Child Actors and Counsel in the Elizabethan Progresses of 1574 and 1578,” in *New Directions in Early Modern English Drama: Edges, Spaces, Intersections*, ed. Aidan Norrie and Mark Houlihan (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 107.

Castle, Gurgunt.⁶³ Of these five figures, three are biblical, and the speeches each figure delivered sought to both praise the Queen, and to use the typologies of the biblical figure to counsel her future actions. Deborah spoke second, and of the three biblical figures, her speech is the longest:

Where princes sitting in their thrones set god before their sight
And live according to his lawe, and guide their people right,
There doth his blessed giftes abounde, there kingdomes firmly stand
There force of foes cannot prevayle ...
My selfe (oh peerlesse Prince) do speake by prooffe of matter past,
Which prooffe by practise I perfourmde, and foylde his foes at last.
For Jabin king of Canaan, poore Israel did spight,
And ment by force of furious rage to overrun us quite.
...
But he that neyther sleeps nor slackes such furies to correct,
Appointed me Debora for the judge of his elect:
...
So mightie prince, that puisaunt [powerful] Lord, hath plaste thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant Realme alone belongeth to thee.
Continue as thou hast begon, weede out the wicked
...
Thus shalt thou live and raigne in rest, and mightie God shalt please.
Thy state be sure, thy subjectes safe, thy common welth at ease.⁶⁴

The speech conflated Elizabeth and Deborah, suggesting that God not only sent Elizabeth to the English like He did Deborah to the Hebrews, but also that under Elizabeth's rule the English would be protected and blessed just as the Jews had been under Deborah. As the fifth pageant at Elizabeth's coronation attests, Deborah and Elizabeth were closely associated; indeed, throughout her reign, and in the century after her death, Elizabeth was linked with Deborah more than any other biblical figure, and was commonly remembered as England's Deborah. Both Deborah's speech in 1578 and the speech in the coronation procession remind their audiences how God helped the Hebrew judge to overcome the Israelites' "foes." It also mentions the more practical things Elizabeth had done, and needed to continue to do, in order to receive God's blessings—especially to live according to God's laws, and to rule her people

⁶³ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. C1r; Matthew Woodcock, ed., "The Queen's Reception and Entertainment at Norwich, 16–22 August 1578," in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources, Volume II: 1572 to 1578*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 795n1047.

⁶⁴ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sigs. C1v–C2r.

wisely and justly.

The link here between the Canaanites of Deborah's day and the Catholics of Elizabeth's comes through so clearly in the speech that it is almost rendered explicit. Certainly, the Canaanites were used as a type for virtually all non-Protestant foreigners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, during Elizabeth's reign, the struggle to expel the Canaanites from the Promised Land was also offered as precedent for the present, with English Protestants having to expel the Catholics from England, and to ensure that Catholicism was not allowed to take root again. As Elizabeth's reign progressed, these calls became more acute. For instance, in 1581, Anthony Gilby used the example of the Canaanites to justify his argument that the final vestiges of popery should be cleansed from the Church of England. He noted that while the Israelites destroyed many of the Canaanites, following God's command, they lived

quietly for a while with the rest [of the Canaanites], and leaving some reliques and remnaunts of them, by their own negligence, fond affection, and foolish policie, were continually corrupted, polluted, and plagued with these wicked remnauntes, by Gods just judgement: So is it to be feared here in Englande, that the abolishing of muche Poperie according to Gods will, and the reserving of some superstitious and idolatrous reliques of the same by negligence, affection, or policie to have quietnesse, should cause this realme still, to be poluted, corrupted, and plagued with papistes and poperie.⁶⁵

It is not difficult to read Gilby's diatribe as a more developed version of Deborah's invective to Elizabeth to continue to "weede out the wicked." Elizabeth may have been victorious over the Catholics thus far, but they were not yet fully 'weeded' out, meaning that further action needed to be taken against them. Such a request perhaps anticipated the 1581 passing of the Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their True Obedience and the increase of the fines for recusancy to £20 (about £4,400 in 2020), and the enactment of the Act Against Jesuits and Seminary Priests in 1585.⁶⁶ Obviously, Garter cannot have known that these laws would be enacted, but given that laws are generally reactionary, it seems likely that recusancy

⁶⁵ Anthony Gilby, *A Pleasant Dialogue, Betweene a Souldior of Barnwicke, and an English Chaplaine* ([Middelburg?], 1581; STC 11888), sigs. E4v–E5r. Other examples of the type include James Pilkington, the first Elizabethan Bishop of Durham, who linked the evil of "the Canaanites [who] persecuted Gods people the Jewes" with the "Papistes of late ... [who] banisshed, burned and persecuted many godly men, so cruelly as no history speakes of the like"; Francis Clement, who claimed that Catholics, as the "Reliques of the Canaanites," were the "most despitefull enemies of Gods Church"; and Richard Lewes, who decried Catholics as "popish Canaanites." James Pilkington, *Aggeus and Abdias Prophetes, the one corrected, the other newly added, and both at large declared* (London, 1562; STC 19927), sigs. Aa2r–Aa2v; Francis Clement, *A Briefe Discourse of Mans Transgression and of his redemption by Christ, with a particular surveigh of the Romish religion* (London, 1593; STC 5399.8), 67; and Richard Lewes, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Cross* (Oxford, 1594; STC 15556), sig. A6v. See also: Kevin Chovanec, *Pan-Protestant Heroism in Early Modern Europe* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 218–220.

⁶⁶ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558–1603* (London: Routledge, 1994), 53–58.

and Catholic priests were still considered an issue that needed addressing. It may even be a glance at the contemporary situation in Norwich: Bishop Freake was commonly accused of turning a blind eye to Catholic recusancy, and instead clamped down on puritans.⁶⁷ This need to further “weede out the wicked,” therefore, also contains a warning for Elizabeth. While Deborah told Elizabeth that “Thy state be sure, thy subjectes safe, thy common welth at ease,” this was contingent on the Queen both continuing the work she had done to promote Protestantism, and ensuring that she and the English live according to God’s law (a euphemism, of course, for Protestantism). It was thus paramount that Elizabeth continue to emulate the example of Deborah, and that she continue to “set god before ... [her] sight.”

Garter includes no details on how the speeches were performed, nor does he record Elizabeth’s response to the speeches, merely claiming that after the pageant was finished, her “thanks [w]as plainely expressed [by] hir noble nature.”⁶⁸ It is thus unclear how the five figures interacted with each other, but after Deborah’s speech, Judith addressed the Queen:

Oh mighty Queene and finger of the Lord,
... be ... sure thou art his mighty hand,
To conquere those which him and thee withstand ...

God ayded me poore widow nerethelesse,
To enter into Holofernes field,
And with this sword by his directing hand,
To slay his foe, and quiet so the land.

If this his grace were given to me poore wight,
If widowes hand could vanquish such a foe:
Then to a Prince of thy surpassing might.
What Tirant lives but thou mayest overthrow.⁶⁹

Elizabeth and Judith are thus conflated, with Garter emphasising the providential favour that both women received, while at the same time reminding the Queen of her duty to defend England’s Protestantism. Given the diocesan disunity that the Privy Council was dealing with during the progress, this speech would have assured the Queen of the city’s adherence to the Elizabethan Settlement—but it also hinted that the time for dealing with Catholics through ‘policy’ was past.⁷⁰ Indeed, it was not uncommon for Catholics (especially the Spanish) to be

⁶⁷ Knighton, “Freake, Edmund.”

⁶⁸ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. C3r.

⁶⁹ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. C2r.

⁷⁰ Aidan Norrie, “Elizabeth I as Judith: Reassessing the Apocryphal Widow’s Appearance in Elizabethan Royal Iconography,” *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 5 (2017): 716.

equated with the invading Assyrians, with Philip II depicted as a Holofernes—and given the ongoing struggle between Protestants and Catholics in the Low Countries, it is possible to read this example as an exhortation to Elizabeth to support the Dutch Protestants.⁷¹ Indeed, by being described as the “finger of the Lord,” Elizabeth was presented as a vessel who would carry out God’s will.⁷² This allusion, coupled with the example of Judith, showed that it was time to destroy God’s enemies: after all, if God had granted a “poore widow” the strength to slay the great Assyrian general Holofernes, He would certainly likewise strengthen his anointed monarch.

Unique of the biblical figures analysed in this article, Judith’s story (from the Book of Judith) was part of the Apocrypha, and thus it was technically not part of the Old Testament. The books in the Apocrypha had long been viewed as being of lesser theological value because they were not part of the Jewish Masoretic Text—in the early fifth century St Jerome had labelled them “ecclesiastical,” rather than “canonical”—and this distinction was preserved, although rarely practiced (the books of the Apocrypha remained part of the lectionary), throughout the medieval period. The Luther Bible of 1534 was the first to place the Apocrypha in a separate section between the two Testaments, and this separation was preserved in subsequent Protestant editions.⁷³ In England, the distinction between the Apocrypha and the Old Testament was formalised in the Sixth Article of the Thirty-Nine Articles, which described the Apocrypha as being texts that “the Church doth reade for example of lyfe and instruction of maners: but yet doth it not applie them to establishe any doctrine.”⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the Book of Judith remained popular, and it continued to be part of the Church of England’s lectionary. It is this popularity that likely explains why the Bethulian widow functioned as an important typological device for both Elizabeth and her predecessor, Mary I.⁷⁵ Judith was a clear type of a woman strengthened by God to defend His people from attack, and as a contemporary Judith, Garter was in no doubt that Elizabeth was able to defeat the threat of Catholicism, and “quiet so the land.”

⁷¹ For instance, a monument to Elizabeth erected in the Church of All Hallows at the Wall, London, shortly after her death declared, “Against Spain’s Holofernes, Judith she / Dauntless gain’d many a glorious Victory.” Thomas De Laune, *The Present State of London: Or, Memorials Comprehending A Full and Succinct Account Of the Ancient and Modern State thereof* (London, 1681; Wing D894), 30.

⁷² The concept of the finger of God appears multiple times in the Bible, and they all relate to God directing intervening in the human world. For instance, when Aaron imposed a plague of lice in Egypt, pharaoh’s magicians were unable to do likewise, and they declared that the plague was “the finger of God” (Exodus 8:19). Similarly, Jesus claimed to be relying on “the finger of God [to] cast out devils” (Luke 11:20).

⁷³ A good overview of the development of the Apocrypha is: Floyd C. Medford, “The Apocrypha in the Sixteenth Century: A Summary and Survey,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 52, no. 4 (1983): 343–354.

⁷⁴ *Articles of Religion* (London, 1571; STC 10038.9), sig. A3v.

⁷⁵ Judith was a fairly common type for Mary I; Elizabeth was exhorted to emulate Judith throughout her reign, and in the century after her death, commentators remembered the Queen as a Judith who defended English Protestants. See: Norrie, “Elizabeth I as Judith,” 707–722; Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 38; and Norrie, “Courageous, Zealous, Learned, Wise, and Chaste,” 28.

The speech of Esther, the final of the three biblical figures, was evidently intended to compliment the speeches of both Deborah and Judith:

The fretting heads of furious foes have skill,
As well by fraude as force to finde their pray:
In smiling lookes doth lurke a lot as ill,
...
Thy selfe oh Queene, a prooffe hath seene of this,
So well as I poore Esther have iwis [indeed].

As Jabins force did Israel perplex,
And Holofernes fierce Bethuliel besiege,
So Hamons slights sought me and mine to vex,
...
But Force nor Fraude, nor Tyrant strong can trap,
Those whiche the Lorde in his defence doth wrap.

The proofes I speake by us have erst bin seene,
The proofes I speake, to thee are not unknowen.
Thy God thou knowest most dread and soveraigne Queen,
A world of foes of thine hath overthrowen.⁷⁶

Despite being the fourth of the five speakers, Esther offered a brief summary of Deborah and Judith's feats, explaining why they were worthy of remembering, and linking them to her own actions. Nevertheless, the reason for using the example of Esther was made explicit. Both Esther and Elizabeth faced foes whose "smiling lookes" masked a desire to do "ill." Just as Haman secretly plotted against the Jews in Persia, Catholics in England continued to plot to assassinate and overthrow Elizabeth. Nevertheless, like Esther, God defended Elizabeth, and her enemies would continue to fail in their attempts to overthrow her. Out of the three speeches, this one makes the most of the providential favour Elizabeth had already received. After all, Elizabeth had faced down the Northern Rebellion in 1569 and the Ridolfi Plot of 1571 and been victorious. Elizabeth's contemporaries believed that these deliverances were the direct result of God's intervention: Elizabeth and her people were protected just like Esther and the Jews. Like the other speeches, however, there is an undertone of counsel contained within the analogy. Because God had wrapped England "in his defence," Elizabeth was ideally situated to expand England's Protestantism, taking on the might of Catholic Spain and assisting the Protestant rebels in the Low Countries. Just as Esther and the Jews killed their

⁷⁶ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sigs. C2r–C2v.

enemies and then celebrated with revelry and gift giving, it was time for Elizabeth to share the gifts England had received because of its Protestantism with the rest of the world.⁷⁷

In this pageant, Garter conflated Elizabeth with three Old Testament heroines to emphasise the Queen's providential favour, and to push for a more expansionist approach to England's Protestantism. This is the only civic entertainment across Elizabeth's reign in which three biblical figures were presented to the Queen. Not only does this fact emphasise the role of biblical analogies in bolstering the Queen's royal power, but it also demonstrates the utility of the Bible for commenting on the present. Early modern understandings of typology meant that Elizabeth could be, and indeed was believed to be, the contemporary embodiment of these three figures, which is why Garter employed them to communicate the pageant's didactic point. God indisputably favoured all three of these figures, and ensured they were able to defend the Israelites from His enemies. It is not a stretch to see why Elizabeth, who was believed to embody these three figures, was being exhorted to defend England and its Protestant church—just like these Old Testament luminaries.

Biblical Typology and the Norwich Entertainments

On Tuesday, 19 August, the weather cleared, and Elizabeth was able to go hunting; she did so at the large estate of the widowed Lady Mary Jerningham in Costessey, which was only a few miles outside of Norwich.⁷⁸ On her way back to her lodgings at Bishop Freake's palace, Elizabeth was stopped and addressed by the Minister of the Dutch Protestant Church in Norwich. As noted above, Norwich was home to a large community of Dutch Protestant exiles, and it seems the community wanted to use Elizabeth's visit as an opportunity to thank the Queen for the help she offered them. The Minister, who is not identified in Garter's account,⁷⁹ began his speech by reminding the audience of "the teares ... of faithfull Christians [that] have throughly moved" Elizabeth to "defende and protect the miserable and dispersed members of Christ," offering "safetie and preservation ... of minde as [well as] bodie" towards those who were "banished for Christ [and] his religion," perhaps (inadvertently) reiterating the message contained within the Mayor's oration of welcome.⁸⁰ The Minister then linked Elizabeth with the Old Testament figure Joseph, the son of Jacob, who was sold into slavery by his brothers, but who was preserved by God and made the Egyptian pharaoh's deputy.

⁷⁷ After "the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and slaughter, and destruction, and did what they would unto those that hated them" (Esther 9:5), "a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another" (Esther 9:19) was celebrated, which is the origins of the Jewish festival of Purim.

⁷⁸ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 76.

⁷⁹ The Dutch minister in Norwich in 1578 was Hermanus Modert, meaning he was almost certainly the one who delivered the oration. Linda Shenk, "Praising Elizabeth I in Latin at Norwich (1578)," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 46 (2020): 85.

⁸⁰ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sigs. D1r–D1v. The oration was given in Latin, but like the Mayor's speech, an English translation was published by Garter. I quote from the English version, as there are no changes of consequence between the Latin and English versions.

According to the Minister,

the goodnesse of God towards your majestie is lively drawn out of the historie of the innocent & most godly Josephus, whom neither pollicie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a Christian heart, and heavenly vertue by Gods singular mercie, delivered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren & feare of death, and brought unto high dignitie and royal kingdome.⁸¹

The Minister then reiterated that Elizabeth and Joseph endured “the same ... with suche temperance and fortitude,” before conflating the Queen and her Old Testament antecedent: “Thou surely doest followe moste hollily, the minde of Josephus, by the singular goodnes of God, aswell in preserving thy kingdome, as in amplifying the kingdome of Christe.”⁸²

After concluding his speech, the Minister presented Elizabeth with a silver-plated cup. On the cup, which Garter believed was worth £50, a small verse about Joseph’s life was inscribed, which again emphasised the link between Elizabeth and Joseph:

To royall scepters, godlinesse,
Josephus innocent,
Doth take, from brothers bloudie hands,
and murtherers intent.
So thee, O Queene, the Lord hath ledd
from prison and deceite
Of thine, unto these highest toppes
of your princely estate.⁸³

The analogy between Elizabeth and Joseph was clear: Elizabeth had been delivered from her half-sister Mary just as Joseph had been from his brothers. This, however, is a curious message to be sharing with the Queen: after all, the Dutch community had only settled in Norwich *after* Elizabeth became queen. Thus, none of the Dutch immigrants would have lived in England during the events this oration and the cup describe. The choice of this motif, then, shows that the recent past was regularly associated with the biblical past, and that Elizabeth’s delivery from Mary was still a common enough topic to be discussed some twenty years into Elizabeth’s reign. The choice of the story certainly emphasises the belief in the providential favour that Elizabeth was in receipt of, but it may also hint at a contemporary relevance. Rather than using the typology of Deborah or Judith to discuss Elizabeth’s victory over Catholics (which would have been relevant due to the Dutch Revolt and their struggles against

⁸¹ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. D1v.

⁸² Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. D1v.

⁸³ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. D2r.

Catholic Spain), the Dutch community employed Joseph, who was raised up to power by God, and who looked after his family during the famine. Instead of only referring to Elizabeth's preservation under Mary, the analogy may also hint that the Dutch—who could be viewed as being part of a larger Protestant family—hoped that Elizabeth would help them in their fight against Spain by being a contemporary Joseph to them. Elizabeth had been supporting the Dutch unofficially for several years (she was even offered the Dutch crown in 1575, and again in 1585), but she would only do so 'officially' in 1585, as a consequence of the Treaty of Nonsuch.⁸⁴ It is tempting to wonder if Elizabeth remembered the Dutch minister's oration when, only seven years later, she signed the Treaty.

Unlike all the other speeches delivered during the 1578 progress, which were essentially fleeting moments of performance, this oration would have a prolonged afterlife due to the gift of the cup. We can only speculate on the fate of the cup, given that it does not appear to have survived, but it was extant when the Treaty of Nonsuch was signed.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it would have served not only as a memento of the speech, but also a stark reminder of the divine protection Elizabeth had been under, which had seen her preserved and allowed to visit Norwich on progress as queen.

In addition to these more didactic uses of biblical figures, the Bible was also mined for specific, metonymic types that could be used for more than mere rhetorical effect. In the premodern period, biblical figures were often closely associated with an attribute or skill, and such figures could be called upon to suggest that a person in the present would likewise embody such an attribute. The most obvious example of this practice is the association between Solomon and wisdom: if a commentator wished to describe a person as embodying (divine) wisdom, they could merely invoke Solomon's name and the point would be apparent to the early modern audience. Indeed, Solomon was employed this way during Garter's second pageant at Norwich. During the first speech, a person embodying the City of Norwich prayed that God would "blisse [sic] thy noble grace / ... With all good giftes of Salomon, and twice as many more."⁸⁶ Garter used this typology to express his hope that Elizabeth would be blessed like Solomon—not only as the recipient of divine wisdom, but also of the many riches and treasures that God granted Solomon.⁸⁷

This was not the only metonymic type employed during Elizabeth's visit to Norwich. Garter himself delivered a speech to the Queen as she prepared to depart the city that concluded with a plea that God would "length[en] thy life like Noe."⁸⁸ This was not merely a request that God preserve Elizabeth, but instead linked preservation with extreme old age:

⁸⁴ Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 111–120; and Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558–1603* (London: Routledge, 2000), 34–44, 52–54.

⁸⁵ The cup was still in Elizabeth's treasury in 1597. See: Collins, *Jewels and Plate*, 565.

⁸⁶ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. C1v.

⁸⁷ See: 1 Kings 3:12–13.

⁸⁸ Garter, *The Joyfull Receyving*, sig. E4v.

Noah was 500 years old when his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth were born (Genesis 5:32), 600 when the world was flooded (Genesis 7:6), and he died at 950 (Genesis 9:29)—meaning he was the third-longest lived person in the Bible. While certainly not as developed as the other analogies invoked during the visit, these two examples would have been instantly understood by their audience. The typological point required no additional explanation, further emphasising the deep familiarity with the Bible that pervaded premodern Europe.

Across the entertainments performed for Elizabeth at Norwich, the Queen was conflated, associated, and paralleled with Old Testament luminaries including David, Deborah, Esther, Joseph, Judith, Noah, and Solomon. These figures all provided important typological messages to both the Queen and the entertainment's audiences. These typologies functioned as both praise intended to bolster the Queen, as well as counsel to be heeded. If the Queen was preserved from her enemies, and granted long life and wisdom (like Joseph, Noah, and Solomon), Elizabeth, as a contemporary Deborah, Judith, and Esther, would be able to advance Protestantism, defeat the tyranny of both Catholicism and the Pope, and defend England from internal and external threats. These biblical figures were therefore a powerful way of demonstrating, and bolstering, Elizabeth's royal power. They legitimised the Queen's actions to date, and sought to influence the future policies of the regime.

The 1578 Norwich entertainments contain the largest group of biblical figures offered to Elizabeth throughout her entire reign. This is significant, and has not been noted in the scholarship to date. The appearance of these many biblical figures underscores the way that the Bible was widely understood to have contemporary relevance, with the many analogies and typologies believed to be a legitimate way to praise and counsel Elizabeth. It is also important to remember that these entertainments were not associated with the court or with Elizabeth's favourites. Unlike the 1575 Kenilworth entertainments, for instance, which were organised by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Garter (no doubt in consultation with the city officials) was responsible for the content of the entertainments.⁸⁹ This means that the analogies were considered appropriate for the Queen, both in terms of the counsel they were intending to impart, and the metonymic associations on which they were drawing. Garter would not have included a device if he thought it would offend the Queen, and given the time and performance constraints associated with progress pageants, he would have made sure to choose examples that would clearly and effectively communicate the intended message.

Biblical figures were thus an accepted and potent device for legitimising and emphasising Elizabeth's monarchical power—not only at court, but also in the wider kingdom as well. Elizabeth had compared herself to Deborah, Esther, and Judith less than a decade previously, in the third Spanish prayer of her *Christian Prayers and Meditations*.⁹⁰ While it is

⁸⁹ On the Kenilworth entertainment, see: Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 30–35; and Martin Wiggins, ed., *British Drama, 1533–1642. A Catalogue, Volume II: 1567–1589* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 131–136.

⁹⁰ [Elizabeth I], *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine* (London, 1569; STC 6428), sigs. Nn4r–Nn4v. English translation: “Oh my God, oh my Father, whose goodness is infinite and

tempting to claim that Garter knew of the prayer, and had purposely chosen those three women for his second pageant, there is, of course, no evidence for this. Nevertheless, these congruencies suggest that both the Queen and her subjects understood the utility of the Deborah, Esther, and Judith typologies, and that these typologies were a powerful tool that could bolster Elizabeth's royal power, and imbue it with providential favour.

Biblical Figures and Elizabethan Royal Power

In his 1622 *Memoriall of All the English Monarchs*, John Taylor commemorated Elizabeth as “A Deborah, a Judith, a Susanna,” and described her as “Courageous, Zealous, Learned, Wise, and Chaste, / With Heavenly, Earthly gifts, adorn'd & grac'd.”⁹¹ Despite being published nearly twenty years after Elizabeth's death, Taylor's commemoration of the last Tudor monarch bears a striking resemblance to the way that biblical figures were used to counsel and celebrate the Queen in her lifetime. Across Elizabeth's coronation procession of 1559, and the entertainments staged for her in Norwich in 1578, the Queen was conflated and/or associated with the Old Testament figures Daniel, David, Deborah, Esther, Joseph, Judith, Noah, and Solomon. This range of biblical types emphasises how the Bible was mined for examples and precedents that were then used to explain contemporary circumstances. These biblical figures were used to both praise and counsel the Queen, with their associated types presenting Elizabeth as a providential monarch, legitimising her actions, both religious and political, and exhorting her to take further actions against Catholics, both at home and abroad. A reference to Deborah or Daniel may not have the impact today that it did in sixteenth-century England, but it is vital that the deep familiarity people in early modern England had with the Bible and its stories is recognised when analysing these kinds of sources. Biblical typologies and analogies were an important and powerful tool for bolstering Elizabeth's royal power, but as the entertainments of 1559 and 1578 show, they also provided a key opportunity to counsel the now-present monarch.

whose power is immense, you usually choose the weak things in this world to destroy the strong, Persevere, persevere for the glory of your name, for the honour of your Son, for the rest and quiet of your afflicted church in giving me strength so that I, like another Deborah, like another Judith, like another Esther, may free your people of Israel from the hands of your enemies.” Original Spanish: “O Dios mio, O Padre mio, cuya bondad es infinita y cuya potencia es inmensa, que sueles escoger las cosas flacas deste mundo para cõfudir y destruir las fuertes, persevera, persevera por la gloria de tu nombre, por la honra de tu Hijo, por el descanso y quietud de tu yglesia afligida en dar me fuerças para que yo como otra Debora, como otra Judith, como otra Esther, libre à tu pueblo de Isreal de las manos de tus enemigos.” On Elizabeth's authorship of these prayers, see: *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 143n1; and Jennifer Clement, “The Queen's Voice: Elizabeth I's *Christian Prayers and Meditations*,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13, no. 3 (2008): 1–2.

⁹¹ John Taylor, *A Memoriall of all the English monarchs, being in number 150 from Brute to King James in heroyicall verse* (London, 1622; *STC* 23773), sig. F4v.