

## The History of Tudor Rare Symbols: An Iconographic Study

By Natalya Davidko\*

*In this essay, I discuss the logic of Tudor symbolism in relation to immediate historical context and iconography. Tudor iconography as a historically established set of visual modes of representation of monarchs and their mainstream political ideas had its aim to instill in collective conscience meaning frames supposed to ensure social integration and coherence so crucial for a young nation state. It is through the analysis of the Tudor iconography that we interpret conventional and novel symbols which function as a medium for conveying socially relevant content. The research has exposed that symbolism is used as an instrument of propaganda and a means of the creation of a cult of a ruling sovereign. The analysis of symbols in a diachronic perspective has educed its adaptability to the changing historical circumstances in terms of the emblematic construction of social experience. Several cultures belonging to antecedent historical stages are at work in producing symbols of the early modern period in Tudor England.*

**Keywords:** *symbol, iconography, emblem, collective conscience.*

### Introduction

In the Tudor period that spanned over a century and had five crowned Princes, the central figure in English polity was the sovereign. The first Tudor king, Henry VII, who did away with the baronial mayhem of the feudal state and consolidated power in his hands, was aware only too well of the social effects of images, as Roy Strong points out, under the Tudors, "the dissemination of a ruler's image in paint, stone, print and metal throughout the realm achieved a scale unheard of before."<sup>1</sup> With the development of the English Renaissance, there appeared a new creative class of professional artists. True, at the beginning they were mainly Continental portraitists, who were invited to perpetuate the personality of a Prince and whose forte was conveying the character of their models; later there appeared homebred artists, who took up the mantle.

In this article, I propose to discuss symbols that Tudor culture abounds in – those derived from an earlier symbolic paradigm and those created especially for the Tudor rulers to represent essential, time-sensitive political issues and power relations. It is of interest to bring to light evident and latent meanings of emblems, as well as trace their origin to various stages of human civilizations which have left trace in the symbolic paradigms of later historical periods. Particular historical events,

---

\*Assistant Professor, Moscow Institute TOURO, Russia.

1. R. Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p. 12.

national history in general and chronology are a key to understanding symbolic meaning. As John Manning pointed out, the social function of emblems served particular historical events and perceptions of a national history. "Grounded in a historical moment, emblems can be misunderstood, or be totally incomprehensible, unless there is an awareness of the immediate temporal context."<sup>2</sup> It is a fascinating task to expose the interplay of "perceptions of a national history" with the visual culture of emblems in the national ethos and Tudor royalism. Symbolic visual representations reveal the hidden or long-lost links to protogenic cognitive foundations of their meanings, which the current study intends to unravel and expose. Understandably, within the limits of one article, the visual material cannot be exhaustive, but we consider it representative enough to let us draw valid conclusions. The current article is concerned with symbols of the Tudor dynasty as a mode of representation of important abstract concepts and prominent ideological propositions advanced by the Princes.

### Theoretical Premises

The theoretical foundations of the article comprise three aspects and consist of three parts. The first sets out my understanding of symbolism as it is developed and defined by Ernst Cassirer within Neo-Kantian philosophy of mythical thinking. The second part considers Emile Durkheim's ideas of society's "shared beliefs" as a social instrument of consolidation. The third part sketches the relationship between politics and iconography arguing that iconography as "the symbolic representation of meaning by the use of artistic and literary images"<sup>3</sup> to a great extent is a specific ideological system governed by immediate political needs.

### The Concept of Symbol

The notion of the symbol is central for this work, it is a form of human creativity, which represents one content through another. "A present content possesses the power of evoking another content, which is not immediately given but merely conveyed by it."<sup>4</sup> In this way it becomes a vehicle, a means of performing the function of signification. It presents a concept too abstract for direct sensory representation via "something visible, audible or tangible".<sup>5</sup> A symbol gives a perceivable form to abstract ideas and expresses in a concise way a whole world of meanings, associations

---

2. J. Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion, 2002), p. 10.

3. J. King, *Tudor royal iconography: literature and art in an age of religious crisis* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. xv.

4. E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Volume one: Language (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 106.

5. *ibid.*, p. 106.

and allusions involved. As Cassirer points out, "The world of tangible forms seems to recede, and in its place a new world gradually arises: a world of intellectual principles."<sup>6</sup>

Cassirer reworded Kant's ideas about the human intellect. Kant considered that "It is an intellect which is 'in need of images,' we should rather say that it is in need of symbols."<sup>7</sup> Any natural object may have a "symbolic intent" to express some part of human experience as a mode of its objectification. An object, a natural element, a person, an action, or an event assumes a definite meaning, a particular ideational content. "There are many ways in which one symbol can apprehend and interpret the world. This is as true of art as it is of cognition; it is as true of myth as of religion."<sup>8</sup> Marcel Proust contemplating Giotto's *frescoes* of Vices and Virtues in Padua gave an exhaustive description of symbols and symbolism:

"But in later years I understood that the arresting strangeness, the special beauty of these frescoes lay in the great part played in each of them by its symbols, while the fact that these were depicted, not as symbols but as real things, actually felt or materially handled, added something more precise and more literal to their meaning, something more concrete and more striking to the lesson they imparted."<sup>9</sup>

Symbol formation is a process of cultural conceptualizations of the external world through the lens of a society's contemporary world view, artistic canons, and aesthetics. Symbols possess a cognitive aspect and at the same time are emotive and constructive. The interpretation of symbols draws on broad cultural knowledge. Researchers distinguish between culturally standardized symbolism of societies and the idiosyncratic personal symbolism of individuals<sup>10</sup>. Understanding symbolic meanings is crucial for the interpretation of messages of royal portraiture, heraldry, and Biblical illuminations as, according to Emile Durkheim, symbols were necessary because they created sentiments of loyalty and solidarity in society. However, the symbols have little meaning without some knowledge, at least of immediate historical context. The current article analyzes individual symbols of monarchs as well as common dynastic emblems and examines dynastic imagery against the background of important historical events and nascent political ideas, to which symbols gave visual expression. Thus, being sophisticated, historically grounded, socially meaningful, culture-constituted creations, symbols permeate all aspects of intellectual, political and religious life of a young nation state.

---

6. *ibid.*, p. 226.

7. *ibid.*, p. 128.

8. *ibid.*, p. 78.

9. M. Proust, *Swann's way* (New York: Modern Library, 1956), p. 14.

10. I. Lewes, *Symbols and sentiments: cross-cultural studies in symbolism* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1977).

*Emile Durkheim's Theory of Collective Conscience*

Emile Durkheim, the founding father of sociology, who pioneered the concept 'collective conscience' in his book of 1883 *The Division of Labor in Society*, postulated that societies were held together by a set of shared mental and moral orientations.

"The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society forms a determinate system which has its own life; one may call it the *collective or common conscience*. No doubt, it has not a specific organ as a substratum; it is, by definition, diffuse in every reach of society. It has specific characteristics which make it a distinct reality. ... It is the same in the North and in the South, in great cities and in small, in different professions. Moreover, it does not change with each generation, but, on the contrary, it connects successive generations with one another."<sup>11</sup>

Durkheim's great contribution to sociology lies in his approach to the concept of solidarity. The collective conscience is the psychic life of society, which contributes to societal harmony and social cohesion and is of paramount importance for the ruling political elite. Durkheim considered that "social life, in all its aspects and in every period of its history, is made possible only by a vast symbolism."<sup>12</sup> Symbols may include material emblems, plants, animals as well as persons, real or mythical, who perform the function of representation. He asserted that symbols represent reality, "a concrete and living reality," and this reality gives a symbol its meaning. It looks as if Durkheim's ideas of the role of symbols in society prefigured those of Cassirer's: "we are unable to consider an abstract entity, and cannot explain it to ourselves except by connecting them to some concrete object of whose reality we are vividly aware."<sup>13</sup>

For Durkheim, an emblem is a "a rallying-centre" of societies. It does not only express the social unity in a material form, but constructs the meaning and helps constitute this social reality: "for the emblem is not merely a convenient process for clarifying the sentiment society has of itself; it also serves to create this sentiment; it is one of its constituent elements"<sup>14</sup>. Symbol is both a reality itself, and something which can help to constitute it. Thus, symbols are assigned two functions: exegetical, cognitive function and a formative, creative function.

The collective conscience consists of "collective representations" – ways in which the thought of the collectivity is epitomized. They sustain their existence successfully by taking on a more general meaning with relatively fixed meaning frames. Collective representations are the result of social cooperation, backed by some authority that is selective about ideas and symbols conveying them.

---

11. E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*. Translated by G. Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1933), p. 79.

12. E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1915), p. 231

13. *ibid.*, p. 220.

14. R. Bellah, *Emile Durkheim On morality and society: selected writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. xlviii.

Durkheim was interested in social institutions which could produce the collective conscience necessary for complex forms of solidarity. These institutions include the state, media, religion, education, judicial system, and some others. In sixteenth-century England, the state was "the throne and altar", the latter was eventually subjugated to the king. In addition to roaming minstrels and balladeers, who acted as news distributors, "Media" was inextricably related to iconography in all of its aspects: numismatic images, sideboards, pictorial art, devotional art, Biblical illuminations, and book (both religious and secular) illustrations.

Of great interest for our research are Durkheim's ideas about power relations. He considered that wherever an authority with power to govern is established its "primary and principal function is to create respect for the beliefs, traditions, and collective practices; that is, to defend the common conscience against all enemies within and without."<sup>15</sup> The authority thus becomes the symbol of that conscience, in everybody's eyes its living expression. The right to rule is communicated to that authority which is "superior to the individual man, a power in some way transcendent, under some symbol which it makes penetrate into consciences."<sup>16</sup> It assumes a character that renders it unrivalled. Sacredness of power is felt by people as something superhuman, "outside and above them." "Very often we represent it to ourselves in the form of one or several concrete beings: ancestors or a divinity."<sup>17</sup>

## Iconography

Iconography as a specific research domain with its methodology was developed by the German art historians Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky for studying art and literature with the ultimate aim to uncover deep, intrinsic meanings of works of art. They defined iconography as "that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning, as opposed to form."<sup>18</sup> Warburg's methodology calls for analyzing the inherent meaning of an art work within what he termed a "collective cultural memory," which involves literary, theological and mythological evidence.<sup>19</sup> For him, subjects, ideas, values, aesthetic tastes, and prevailing traditions imbedded in the iconographic imagery were of primary importance.

Erwin Panofsky expanded Warburg's theory. He worked out his own three-level iconographical approach to the analysis. In his opinion, the first step is to identify the "primary or natural subject matter" of a painting which falls into two categories: factual meaning and expressional meaning, with the latter being

---

15. E. Durkheim, *The Division*, p. 84.

16. *ibid.*, p. 141.

17. *ibid.*, p. 100.

18. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 5.

19. M. Rampley, "Iconology of the interval: Aby Warburg's legacy" *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 17(4) (2001): p. 305.

empathetic apprehension of the former. The next stage is iconographical analysis proper, which presupposes a study of a conventional system of means (images, symbols, allegories) deployed to convey a theme or designate a concept. At this level, "iconological" method is concerned with interpreting a work of art within the conceptual framework of the historical period in which it was produced. The third phase concerns itself with historically relevant details which acquire special "iconographical significance" in revealing the basic attitudes of a nation to political, religious, and social trends of a period or country under investigation.<sup>20</sup> "Iconographic meaning", according to Panofsky, is systematic and arbitrary; its hermeneutics involves "decoding of images," which may be achieved by establishing the source of the artistic image.<sup>21</sup> Panofsky formulated his own interpretative theory of a work of art via its complex historical particularity, which is appreciated by modern researchers as "the most sensitive approach to the understanding of the art of the past."<sup>22</sup>

Timothy J. Clark, a reputed art historian and writer, in the book *Image of the people: Gustave Courbet and the Second Republic, 1848-1851* explains the links between artistic form, the available systems of visual representation, ideologies, and the general historical background: "the artist responds to the values and ideas of the artistic community, which in turn are altered by changes in the general values and ideas of society, which in turn are determined by historical conditions."<sup>23</sup> This point of view is echoed by Jonathan Alexander, who exploring medieval Christian art read it as an ideological system, in which visual images bore encoded values for instilling them within community.<sup>24</sup> John King, a respected scholar in Tudor portraiture, illustrates convincingly that Tudor iconography was a "unique fusion of "medieval typological formulas, evangelical patterns from the Bible, and popular religious writing that supplied a reservoir for the iconography of the Protestant monarchs."<sup>25</sup> To this we can add themes from popular folklore, classical mythology and Italian "renaissance." Along with literature, pictorial art served as a means of propaganda. An accurate reading of iconography is possible if it is based on the sound historical knowledge of political culture in the country, major concerns in political life, contemporary political theories, and the changing mentality of Protestant subjects.

---

20. Panofsky, pp. 6-7.

21. C. Hasenmueller, "Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 36, no. 3 (1978): p. 292.

22. K. Moxey, "Panofsky's Concept of "Iconology" and the Problem of Interpretation" *History of Art* 17, no. 2 (1986): p. 272.

23. T. Clark, *Image of the people: Gustave Courbet and the Second Republic, 1848-1851* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1973), p. 10.

24. J. Alexander, "Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art" *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): p. 1.

25. J. King, *Tudor royal iconography*, p. 17.

"Iconography transcends the realm of purely visual images, because it is necessary to relate texts (books, inscriptions, quotations, mottoes, and epigraphs) to the images that contain or accompany them and, alternatively, to determine how to "read" images that may function like texts."<sup>26</sup>

## **Methods and Material**

The aim of this research is to study Tudor symbolism, specifically, rare and idiosyncratic emblems. I argue for a way of understanding symbols as a special ideological system based on cognitive, associative, and ideational meanings. Methodologically, two main approaches are employed, – iconographical and historical, which help expose a complementary relationship between a cultural and historical context and symbols representing mainstream ideas, which propel society forward. The research material includes portraits of Tudor sovereigns, both conventional and allegorical, Bible illuminations, religious and secular book illustrations, heraldry, miniatures, woodcuts, and numismatic images. The research questions are: 1) What are the cognitive associative meanings of a symbol; 2) What historical connections exist between a symbol, its ideational content, and its infusion into the symbolic paradigm; 3) How the advancement of Tudor pictorial art affected the complexity, diversity, and ideological importance of symbols. 4) How the original content of a symbol was subsumed for political purposes of a ruling Prince.

## **Symbols of Monarchial Power**

Symbols as constitutive elements of Tudor royal iconography signify in the first place the relationships of power. Much of the modern scholarship on this issue addresses the themes of Tudor cults and the role of iconography in the consolidation of the dynastic perception as divinely ordained personalities. The objective of this part of the article is to specify the origin and representational evocations of the symbols of the abstract concept of kingly power. They include culturally conventional symbols (orb and scepter, crown, throne) and artistic, constructive innovations projecting into society novel cultural meanings and values.

## **The Whole World in the Palm of your Hand**

Ever after Henry VII was crowned with Richard III's crown found among the spoils in the battlefield, the question of his legitimacy arose, which vexed all the monarchs of the dynasty. Understandably, in royal portraits a symbol of dominance and power is always present. The most common and well-known symbol is, no

---

26. *ibid.*, p. 6.

doubt, the orb, a globe surmounted by a cross denoting monarchical/imperial power and justice from time immemorial. It is present in all Coronation portraits and on Great seals of the Tudors.

In the first allegorical painting (1569) *Elizabeth I and Three Goddesses* attributed to Hans Eworth, a most distinguished Netherlandish artist, who worked in England, Elizabeth is holding a golden orb in her left hand, which may be an allusion to the Eastern Roman emperor Justinian (from 527 to 565), who tried to restore the Roman Empire in its ancient boundaries and rule it according to the completely revised Roman Laws. In Constantinople, there was a famous equestrian statue of Justinian, in his left hand he held an orb, which is believed to have been inscribed with the words, "I own the world as long as this ball is in my hand."<sup>27</sup> We also know that the orb featured on many coins of Imperial Rome portraying Jupiter who presented an orb to the respective emperor. The Elizabethan allegory was painted almost twenty years before the great Armada debacle, but already at that time the idea of ruling the world was taking shape. However, in the Tudor iconography there exists a more subtle symbol of power. In a very interesting sketch of young Henry VII from the collection of portraits known as the *Recueil d'Arras*, a sixteenth-century manuscript comprising 293 paper folios of drawings of historical people, an unknown artist managed to grasp and present in a symbolic form the young man's aspirations.<sup>28</sup>

In his right hand Henry is holding an apple. The apple is a precursor of the orb, which being informed in the course of history with new meanings and christened by the cross, evolved into a recognizable form of a gold sphere. The apple from which the symbol was drawn, was integrated in the narrative landscape of diverse realms of thought such as classical mythology and Christianity – two main strands of European cultural knowledge (Figure 1). According to Juan Eduardo Cirlot, "being almost spherical in shape, the apple signifies totality."<sup>29</sup>

**Figure 1.** A Sketch of Henry as a young man from the *Recueil d'Arras*



Source: <https://tudorhistory.org/henry7/gallery.html>

27. A. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1968): p. 172.

28. L. Campbell, "The Authorship of the *Recueil d'Arras*" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977).

29. J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1971), p.14.

Classical mythology accumulated a great diversity of narratives depicting various aspects of apple signification. Suffice it to mention the golden apples of Hesperides as love gifts, the Apple of Discord (Paris Judgment), or the wooing of Atalanta, a swift-footed maiden who lost the race because she stopped to pick up golden apples thrown by Hippomenes, in order to distract her attention from the race. Many unearthed statues of Aphrodite had an apple in her left hand, which substantiated the idea that the fruit owed its sacred character to its being an emblem of the goddess, the omnipotent goddess of love.<sup>30</sup> All in all, Antony Littlewood on the basis of his analysis of Greek and Roman texts distinguished forty-four symbolic meanings of the apple. Geometres, a tenth century Byzantine poet, one of the main literary figures of the Macedonian Renaissance, compared the apple to the Universe and called it 'the Orb of Dominion'. Geometres stated that the apple was the symbol of power and mentions the mythological characters who held the apple in their hands (Heracles, Julius César, and Zeus).<sup>31</sup>

In the *Chanson de Roland*, Roland gave his uncle a red apple that would help him to keep his crown:

Tenant en main une pomme vermeille :  
 – "Sire, dit-il, je prétends, avec elle, mettre"  
 "à vos pieds tous les sceptres des rois."<sup>32</sup>  
 [Holding in his hand an apple red and round,  
 – "Sire, said he, I propose, with it to lay  
 at your feet scepters of all earth's kings."]

Early Christians adopted the symbol and infused narratives with new ideational content. A Christian myth tells how Melchior, one of the Biblical Magi, gave the Babe Christ a round apple of gold as big as the Savior could hold in his hand. It had once belonged to Alexander the Great and was made of small particles, which the emperor had gathered as tribute from all over the world and that apple of gold he bore always in his hand. When it was given to Christ, it dissolved into powder. So Christ got all that was in heaven and on earth in his power and at his will.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the orb signifies the ultimate state of having attained power, whereas the apple in Henry's hand emblemizes his aspirations to dominate the world, a desire that was finally fulfilled by his granddaughter Elizabeth.

---

30. B. Foster, "Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 10 (1899): p. 55.

31. Littlewood, p, 171.

32. J. Fabre, *La Chanson de Roland: Traduction nouvelle et complète* (Paris: Belin, 1906), p. 109.

33. J. Hildesheim, *The three kings of Cologne*. An early English translation of the "Historia trium regum" (London, Published for the Early English text society by N. Trübner & co, 1886), pp. 79 – 80.

## Unique Dynastic Symbols

Sean Cunningham considers that "Of all the contenders for the English crown between 1455 and 1485, Henry Tudor's background, and apparent abilities surely made him among the least likely to have established a secure throne and a thriving dynasty."<sup>34</sup> Henry VII needed to work out a clear policy that would ensure his superiority, legitimacy, and the stability of his dynasty. In addition to repressive and financial measures to keep nobility under control, he developed a paradigm of historical imagery – the emblems for the royal Princes representing their political genius in formulating and pursuing national purposes. Sydney Anglo considers that Henry made himself and his dynasty easily recognizable. "The distinctive signs which indicated the Tudor dynasty were all established at the outset of Henry VII's reign and remained constant thereafter."<sup>35</sup> The very first and most important dynastic symbol designed by Henry VII – the Tudor rose – has its roots in the Wars of the Roses, (1455–85), a series of wars between the houses of Lancaster and York for the English throne. The wars were named for the emblems of the two houses, the white rose of York and the red of Lancaster.

### The "Rose of England" and the Double Rose of the Tudors

The first ballad devoted to the first Tudor king – *The Rose of England* – tells the story of his coming to power. It is a unique ballad with fabular imagery. Indicatively, the leading symbol is the red Lancastrian rose, which symbolizes Henry VII.

In the midst of a garden there sprang a tree,  
And there vppon sprang the rose soe redd,...  
This rose was faire, fresh to behold,  
Springing with many a royall lance;  
A crowned king, with a crowne of gold,  
Ouer England, Ireland, and of France.<sup>36</sup>

In order to reconcile the two houses, Henry married Elizabeth of York and designed the red-and-white rose, a floral heraldic emblem of the conciliation of the two warring houses. "If the flower of English history was cross-fertilized out of the red and white rose, the gardener who planted and cultivated and watered that flower was Henry VII."<sup>37</sup> It is a red cinquefoil superimposed with a white five leaf. The

---

34. S. Cunningham, "Loyalty and the Usurper: Recognizances, the Council and Allegiance under Henry VII" *Historical Research* 82(217) (August 2009): p. 459.

35. S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), pp. 4 - 5.

36. F. Child (ed.), "The Rose of England" in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. (Boston: Little, Brown and company, 1860), p. 405.

37. H. White, "The English Solomon: Francis Bacon on Henry VII" *Social Research*, 24(4) (1957): p. 461.

flower was present on all the coins minted in the Tudor time and in all royal portraits. Henry VII preferred it for his "negotiation portrait," which he commissioned in 1505 after his wife's death to be sent to a prospective bride. The sovereign is depicted holding the rose in his right hand. In portraits of female monarchs, the rose may decorate their hairdos as in the miniature of young Elizabeth I, the red and white roses adorn her gold hair net.

Henry VIII called himself "*Rosa Sine Spina*" [a rose without a thorn]; his daughter Mary I in the ballad written by John Heywood on the occasion of her wedding is symbolized by the Tudor "rose, both red and whight".

The eagle's bird<sup>38</sup> hath spread his wings,  
And from far off hath taken flight,...  
Till on the rose, both red and white,  
He lighteth now most lovingly.<sup>39</sup>

"The union rose remained precisely what it had always been: a double flower, celebrating the peace which had come to England through the marriage of York and Lancaster. It was the symbol *par excellence* of the Tudor dynasty's historical mission."<sup>40</sup>

### The Greyhound and the Dragon

Thomas Mayer points out that "in the hands of early-Tudor propagandists, English national history could be written as Tudor dynastic history with a purpose, and in the making of the myth of Tudor legitimacy."<sup>41</sup> The first Tudor king was aware of the power of ancestor cults and claimed direct lineage to the last ancient king of the Britons, Cadwalader (655 – 682); he revived or reinvented the old legend of Merlin's high-toned prophecy that one day Cadwalader's seed would reign in England again. This messianic prophesy got its expression in a poem devoted to the accession of Henry VII.

Cadwallader's blood lineally descending,  
Long hath be told of such a prince coming.  
Wherefore friends, if that I shall not lie,  
This same is the fulfiller of the prophesy<sup>42</sup>.

---

38. Philip, symbolized by the Spanish imperial eagle.

39. J. Heywood, *The Proverbs, Epigrams, and Miscellanies*. J. Farmer (ed.) (London: Early English Drama Society, 1906), p. 315.

40. Anglo, p. 97.

41. T. Mayer, Introduction In: *Tudor political culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 8.

42. H. Dobin, *Merlin's Disciples: Prophecy, Poetry, and Power in Renaissance England* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 51.

To justify his legitimacy, Henry VII sought endorsement from his ancestors; he stressed his Welsh descent through his grandfather, Owen Tudor, to Llewellyn, prince of Wales, and as far back as Cadwalader. Such lineage provided historical stability of the dynasty. In 1490, Henry VII appointed a commission to examine the pedigree of Owen Tudor, his grandfather. "From Brytish or Welsh bookes of petigrees, they [the commission] drew his perfect genelogie from the ancient kings of Brytaine and the Princes of Wales."<sup>43</sup> There is a most interesting document described by Sydney Anglo relating to Henry's British ancestry – a roll chronicle summarizing the British history starting with the coming of Brutus.

"The land had been called the Rede Dragon or else Brutane. In Cadwalader's time, the British had been expelled for their sins and, according to an angelic prophecy, would not again inherit the land until the Saxon invaders had sinned in the same way. The name of the returning conqueror would be Rubius Draco (Red Dragon) and he would be the true heir to England, Scotland and Wales, since the three kingdoms had originally been one."<sup>44</sup>

Henry VII revived old symbols – the greyhound and dragon. The white hound was Henry's badge at the battle of Bosworth; he flew the red dragon flag believed to have been the ensign of Cadwalader during his invasion of England. Henry's adoption of Cadwalader's dragon connected him to British history in a deep way. These symbols endured throughout the Tudor period. Henry VIII placed the greyhound and the red dragon on his first armorial as supporting animals. (Later, he replaced the hound with the lion to enhance the image of strength and power of the king). His daughter Elizabeth I named the first ship going on a mission to India 'The Red Dragon'. "The 'red dragon dreadful' (emitting flame) of Cadwalader was appropriated as a central emblem for the Tudor dynasty and was deployed in the banners and badges of Henry VII."<sup>45</sup>

In search of the meaning of the dragon through historical analysis, we analyzed many cultures of the world, in the majority of them this fabulous animal is considered aggressive and dangerous, the primordial enemy, later associated with the devil to be slain. The red dragon of the Bible with seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads is "the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world" and who wants "to devour a child that was born to rule all nations."<sup>46</sup> He was cast out of heaven and his angels were cast out with him. However, in the Chinese and Celtic cultures, it becomes an emblem of imperial power and is almost deified. It is strong and vigilant, it has exceptionally keen eyesight. Hence it was given the function of guarding temples and treasures. In esoteric Chinese thought, the red

---

43. Anglo, p. 47.

44. *ibid.*, p. 45.

45. H. Carey, "Henry VII's Book of Astrology and the Tudor Renaissance" *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65(3) (2012): p. 667.

46. The King James Version of the Holy Bible (KJV), Revelation 12: 3–10 (London: John Norton & Robert Barker, 1611), p. 717.

dragon is the guardian of higher science; the white dragon is a lunar dragon. In the Celtic culture, The red dragon symbolizes the original Britons (the Welsh), and the white dragon the Saxons.

The oldest known dragon is *Agathodémon*, Egyptian diety, mentioned in a papyrus of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. "Le ciel est la tête, l'éther ton corps, la terre tes pieds, et l'eau t'environne; tu es l'Océan qui engendre tout bien et nourrit la terre habitée."<sup>47</sup> [The sky is your head, the air is your body, the earth is your feet, the water is your habitat; you are the Ocean that gives birth to all good things and feeds inhabited lands]. The dragon is a polymorphic divinity whose function was to protect against fire, famine, and disasters. It was adopted by Greek and Roman cultures as a 'noble spirit'. The Welsh red dragon protected Wales and then became a guarding *genius* of the Tudors. In armorial and political ideology, the red dragon became an acknowledged symbol of the British History, especially the return of British dominion over the Saxons. These fabulous animals (the hound and dragon) continued to guard the Kingdom under Henry VIII as depicted in his Motet book (Fig. 2) designed by Petrus de Opitiis, a Flemish merchant.

**Figure 2.** *A Fragment of Allegorical Miniature from the Motet Book*



Source: King Henry VIII Motets, 1516.

The miniature features the walled garden of England, in the middle of which is a bush of the Tudor rose with a scroll reading "Salve, radix varios produciens germine ramos, / Quos inter ramus super eminent altior unus" [Hail, the root producing various branches by the sprout, / Which among the branches a higher one rises]. The garden is surrounded by the sea with ships sailing to different directions. The gateway inscribed with words "salve felix Anglia" [God save happy England] is guarded by Henry's supporters, the red dragon and the white greyhound and protected by the portcullis with a lion.

47. M. Berthelot, *Introduction à l'étude de la chimie, des anciens et du moyenâge* (Paris: G. Steinheil, 1889), p. 18.

## Portcullis and the Lion

The introduction of these symbols is not accidental. In primitive cultures, the lion corresponded to gold and to the sun. This symbolism persisted into the Middle Ages and found its way into Christian symbolism – the lion came to be associated with St. Mark. "The lion, the 'king of beasts', symbolizes the 'natural lord and master' – or the possessor of strength and of the masculine principle."<sup>48</sup> Both qualities were combined in the personality of Henry VIII.

The portcullis was a symbol of the Beauforts (Henry VII's mother was a Beaufort), descendants from King Edward III of England (1312–1377). It became the heraldic badge of the House of Beauforts and the first Tudor king, Henry VII. In medieval Europe, the portcullis was a symbol of security. This heavy gate, which could be swiftly drawn down or raised at the entrance to a castle or a town, functioned as a protective barrier. When raised, it signified welcome, but when lowered, it showed that access was denied. There was an interesting historical incident reflected in ballads related to Henry VII's (at that time the Earl of Richmond) invasion of England. Henry decided to enter England through Wales to recruit Welsh lords to join him against Richard III. Many Welshmen joined him. The army marched on to Shrewsbury and wanted to spend the night within the walls of the town, but one Master Mitton, bailiff of Shrewsbury, refused to let Richmond enter. So the army had to spend the night in the open field. "Att these gates no man enter shall," he explained, "I know no king, But Richard now, that weares the crowne."<sup>49</sup> He said he would be as true to Richmond if he became the king. Henry appreciated his loyalty and forgave him.

Henry VII laid the foundation for Tudor royal iconography and started to construct his political image as a peace-maker based on piety and loyalty to Rome but at the same time advancing an idea of an independent English Church. The four symbols described above served one historical purpose – Henry's need to legitimize and popularize his dynasty. But the major paradigm of Tudor symbols originated in the iconography of royal portraiture produced by artists (and writers) in an intensive ideological and political program orchestrated by high-ranking courtiers, close associates of the princes.

## The Defender of the Faith' Symbols

The most important event in the Tudor reign after Henry VII's death was the break with Rome. In the early-Tudor political culture, up to the revolution of the 1530s, the loyalty to Rome and the papacy had been the key to success in home and European policies. In 1488, the first Tudor king Henry VII was awarded by the pope

---

48. J. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, p. 190.

49. Child., p, 406.

the honorary title of the "Defender of the Faith" and was bestowed the symbolic sword and cap of maintenance. In his political conduct, Henry VII was governed not so much by piety as political expediency. At the beginning, Henry VIII followed in the footsteps of his father accepting the supremacy of the pope. Cherishing claims to the French throne, Henry VIII personally led the war of 1513 against Louis XII in defense of pope Julius II. However, in the conquered territory of Tournay, Henry started encroaching on the rights of the pope. In the treaty of capitulation, Henry was recognized as 'natural et souverain Seigneur'. Though the wording is completely feudal, T. Mayer considers that Henry's idea of sovereignty was more than feudal. Henry was also called 'supremus rex'. "Thus from the beginning Henry claimed that all the inhabitants of the territory of Tournai, both clerical and lay, were equally subordinate to him as the ultimate authority."<sup>50</sup> In 1515, Henry VIII proclaimed:

"We are, by the sufferance of God, King of England, and the Kings of England in times past never had any superior but God; know, therefore, that we will maintain the rights of the crown in this matter like our progenitors have done."<sup>51</sup>

In the 20s, Henry VIII still continued to display caution and fealty to Rome. In 1521, he wrote a treatise against Luther and was conferred the long hoped-for title *Defensor Fidei* [the Defender of the Faith], an award that acknowledged his equality with his father. In addition to the sword and cap, he was given the golden rose. Henry VIII finally achieved recognition as a peer to the rival rulers of France and Spain, who had already received the papal titles of 'Most Christian King', 'Most Catholic King' and 'Protector of the Holy See.' J. King points out, "Although his [Henry's] quest for papal recognition was orthodox in the extreme, Henry pursued his claims with unusual vigor in order to attain personal and dynastic legitimacy."<sup>52</sup>

## The Gauntlet

However, by the 1530s, the sentiment had changed. Unfavorable economic conditions (the country's financial system was all in shreds, so Henry needed to get full access to the Church revenues), failure to assert his royal sovereignty over Tournai (the administration of the see was given back to the French), abrasive relations with the pope, mild threats of disobedience, personal marital crisis and new matrimonial plans, – all these factors formed the immediate context of the coming revolution and precipitated the schism.

The ideas of independence from Rome were solidified by Clement Armstrong, an economist, who wrote several religious pamphlets in defense of the establishment

---

50. T. Mayer, p. 14.

51. J. Brewer (ed.), "Henry VIII: December 1515, 21-25" *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 2, part 1, 1515-1518 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green. 1864), p. 353.

52. J. King, *Royal iconography*, p. 44.

of the Church of England and proved himself a sophisticated theologian; his radical ideas were in circulation during the early Reformation and were taken seriously by intellectuals and part of the elite. In a series of tracts written before 1533, according to Ethan Shagan, "Armstrong produced what may be the most comprehensive and radical justifications for the royal supremacy over the Church ever written in England."<sup>53</sup> His ideas combined anti-Catholicism with the assertion of authoritative rule of the English king and unquestionable royal supremacy over the Church. The Pope's ideas ran counter to such radicalism: he envisioned western Europe a theocratic state under his rule and demanded unequivocal submission of the temporal powers to Rome. Henry's divorce was only a pretext to break from Rome and assert his sovereignty; he had far-reaching political plans to preserve the Tudor dynasty and provide for the social cohesion of his realm through religion. It was a complicated mixture of diplomatic, religious, military, and personal considerations. As Shagan put it, "We can only conclude, then, that even before the royal divorce was completed, Armstrong had linked in his mind the king's assumption of ecclesiastical authority with the spiritual rebirth of the English people."<sup>54</sup> Whatever his motifs, backed by Parliament, Henry established in the famous *Act of Supremacy* of 1534 the legal basis for the assumption by the English monarchs of the title and powers of 'the Supreme Head of the Church of England.' The Act read:

"The king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; ... and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts and enormities ... which ought or may lawfully be reformed to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm."<sup>55</sup>

Henry VIII's royal image underwent a dramatic change during the Reformation, which was initiated during his reign. "Henry VIII altered the political hierarchy by combining the roles of king and head of the church, necessitating a completely new regal style."<sup>56</sup> Approximately at this time, in the Tudor iconography, there appeared a symbol which signified devotion to and readiness to defend the true faith – the tan gauntlet. For the first time the artifact was depicted in the mural commissioned by Henry VIII in 1537 for the Whitehall Palace. It was in this mural that Hans Holbein's

---

53. E. Shagan, "Clement Armstrong and the godly commonwealth: radical religion in early Tudor England." In: P. Marshall and A. Rypie (eds.) *The beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press 2002), pp. 60 - 61.

54. *ibid.*, p. 63.

55. V. Milton, *The great documents of Western civilization*. (New York/Toronto/London: Bantam Books, 1967), p. 94.

56. J. King, *Royal iconography*, p. xvi.

artistic genius introduced Henry VIII's famous power-stance that became his hallmark and a template for future artists, which still impresses us today. The portrait features Henry standing legs slightly apart without any formal insignia of royalty, one of his hands clutching a glove, the other resting on a jeweled sword. The artist succeeded in conveying Henry's overpowering personality and charisma, his bursting energy and hot spurred temperament. "Henry fascinates because he was a man seemingly larger than life. We see a thick-set and powerful figure richly dressed, every inch a king. In short, Henry was the very model of a Renaissance prince."<sup>57</sup>

The appearance of the symbol in the mural was not fortuitous. The gauntlet is an item of God's armor given to those who go on a pilgrimage to the city of Jerusalem to protect them from evil: "Thou must also put on these gauntlets, for should thy hands be wounded, thou wouldest be altogether maimed."<sup>58</sup> The gauntlet is a symbol of protection or defense, but besides being literally a protective armor in war, the gauntlet in the Tudor iconography, acquired a religious connotation a "hand of war for the true faith." The Latin inscription on the plinth in the mural lauds Henry VIII for having "restored the true faith to the nation"<sup>59</sup> and gained supremacy over the English Church. Since that time, the tan glove had been present in the portraits of the Tudor princes until the end of the dynasty. Thus, in the oil on panel portrait of queen Mary I by Anthonis Mor (1554), a famous Netherlandish portrait painter (Figure 3), in the famous portrait by Hans Eworth of 1554 and in the portraits where she is with her husband Philip, in a dynastic gesture, Mary holds the rose in one hand and the glove in the other.

**Figure 3.** Antonis Mor, *Mary I*; National Trust, Petworth House (1554)



Source: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/mary-i-15161558-219592>

Mary I was a zealous defender of the Catholic faith. When she came to power, she informed European Catholic kings and the Pope that she resolved to bring back Catholic worship, restore Mass, and convert Protestants to Catholicism. The first

57. D. Head, "If a Lion Knew His Own Strength": The Image of Henry VIII and His Historians *International Social Science Review*, 72(3/4) (1997): p. 94.

58. K. Cust, *A modern prose translation of the ancient poem of Guillaume de Guileville entitled, The pilgrimage of man* (London: B. M. Pickering, 1859), p. 21.

59. M. Horowitz, *Daring Dynasty: Custom, Conflict and Control in Early-Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), p, 319.

Parliament of Mary's reign met to consider the restoration of Catholic religion. Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy and other Acts passed during Edward's reign were repealed. More than anything else, Mary relished her royal image as a warrior queen (possibly she wanted to be like her Spanish grandmother Isabella). She suppressed several anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic plots and insurrections and participated in several wars. She enhanced her bellicose image by putting herself on the *Noble/Ryal* coin standing in the ship with the sword raised high, the letter M on the flag and the dynastic rose below. Her marriage to a Catholic prince enhanced the restoration of Catholicism; in order to enforce obedience, Catholicism took on a ferocious edge: heretics were to be burnt alive.<sup>60</sup> It is emblematic that in the canvass known as the *Allegory of the Tudor Succession* produced in 1572, long after Mary I's death, Mary Tudor and her husband Philip are depicted together with their hands tied and Philip holding the tan gauntlet. They are followed by Mars, a war god, to emphasize Mary I's warlike nature in the matters of religion. When Mary died, The Pope Paul IV wrote, "Today came the tidings of the death of the Queen of England. She had ever lived as became a Catholic, and had been the means of bringing England back to the obedience of the Holy Roman Church."<sup>61</sup>

When Elizabeth ascended the throne, the question of her legitimacy was raised again by the Pope, who wrote that being illegitimate, Elizabeth could not succeed. There was also a danger that the Pope would declare Mary Queen of Scots, who had a strong claim to the throne, the Queen of England. So in 1558, Elizabeth reinstated the Act of Supremacy declaring herself Supreme Governor of the Church of England, "An acte restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same."<sup>62</sup> The Act indicated,

"The queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal, and that no foreign prince, prelate or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."<sup>63</sup>

Anyone refusing to take the Oath could be charged with treason. The issue of Elizabeth in the role of a staunch defender of the faith is reflected in the legend on the coin (quarter angel) with a short phrase "*Queen of the Faith*". The last time the

---

60. A. Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's first queen* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), p. 261.

61. T. Booth, "Elizabeth I and Pope Paul IV: Reticence and Reformation" *Church History and Religious Culture*, 94(3), (2014): p. 317

62. W. Cawley, *The laws of Q. Elizabeth, K. James, and K. Charles* (London: Printed for John Wright and Richard Chiswell, 1680), p. 1.

63. *ibid.*, p. 9.

gauntlet appears in the *Rainbow portrait* of Elizabeth I as a broach pinned to the lacy ruff of the queen.

### *The Sword*

Another symbol of the defense of the true faith and punishment of apostates and all kinds of renegades is, undoubtedly, the sword. The symbol has a manifestly biblical origin and belongs to the Pauline Armor whose chief attribute was the sword of Spirit. The symbol was appropriated during the Reformation by the Tudor iconography from medieval texts and *Books of Hours* (prayer books) which contained devotional texts and magnificently executed miniatures of the lives of the saints and the Virgin Mary.

In the miniature (Fig. 4), the two figures propagating the evangelical faith are depicted with three important iconographic elements: the triad of the Key, the Book, and the Sword. St. Paul holds the Book and the sword, which during the Reformation was identified with the Bible: "[take] the sworde of the Spirit, which is the worde of God."<sup>64</sup>

**Figure 4.** *Master of Sir John Fastolf. Saints Peter and Paul (1450)*



Source: Getty Museum Collection

Back in the Middle Ages, despite the pronounced evangelical signification, there was a strong tendency to regard the sword as a symbol of secular authority. According to Guillaume de Deguileville, a French Cistercian and writer, the Sword of Righteousness was "made for an Emperour,/ And for every gouvernour,/ And al that heauen regencie above/ Therby to govern ether men/ And ther sogetys [subjects] in equyte [impartiality]."<sup>65</sup> And elsewhere, "If ye haue yowre swerd poynted and sharp, it is wel riht that ye haue justice in youre lond aboue allé vices."<sup>66</sup> The sword warns, punishes and sheds blood. It can be awarded only to those who can tell good from evil.

64. KJV, Ephesians 6:17 (Crosswire Bible Society. <http://www.davince.com/bible>, 2004), p. 675.

65. G. Deguileville, *The pilgrimage of the life of manhood* (London; New York: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press 1985), p. 56.

66. *ibid.*, p. 15

The evangelical sword became a symbol of Tudor regality. For the first time in Tudor iconography, the combination of the Sword and the Book was depicted by Hans Holbein on the title-page of the 1535 Coverdale Bible, the first publication of the scriptures in the vernacular, though not formally authorized by Henry VIII. At the base of the title page, the figure of Henry VIII holds the Sword and the Book as a manifestation of the fusion of temporal and spiritual power in the hands of the king, Christ's vicar on earth. This composite biblical symbol emphasized the direct relationship of the monarchs to God.

"Literary and artistic works offer a powerful iconographical argument in support of the Protestant monarchs' disestablishment of the Roman church, which allowed them to exercise authority over both church and state without the intercession of the pope or any other clerical intermediary."<sup>67</sup>

Practically at the same time, the motif 'Tudor triumph over the Pope' was being elaborated in pictorial art. Henry's achievement to have asserted his supremacy over the papacy and Rome is depicted in the allegorical, pattern-setting woodcut *King Henry VIII of England trampling on Pope Clement VII* (1532) produced during Henry's lifetime by an anonymous painter, which solemnizes Henry's triumph and fully reflects the spirit of the day. Henry is shown enthroned, sword of justice raised, trampling a bearded prostrate figure of Clement VII. The papal cross and pallium have fallen, and the tiara lies broken on the steps of the throne. The other painting developing the same motif is a small panel titled *Edward VI and the Pope* (1570) executed by an unknown artist portrays sword-bearing Edward and Henry VIII on his deathbed transferring power to his son. It is a posthumous painting commissioned by Elizabeth I to emphasize dynastic continuity and picture her brother as a true Protestant and an executor of their father's religious legacy.

The two pictures are characterized by complex symbolism which embraces similar elements: an enthroned king, a prostrate body of the fallen Pope; papal paraphernalia scattered on the ground, a sword and a book. In Henry's woodcut, the king hands over the book to Cranmer, the first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury. It symbolizes Protestant allegiance to the Scriptures and their vow to disseminate the true faith among the King's subjects. In the foreground of Edward's painting, the Book that has vanquished the pontiff commands attention of the beholder with a short text: "The worde of the Lorde Endureth For Ever." The sword in the king's hands is 'the sword of justice,' aimed at protecting the faith and "rendering vengeance" to its enemies.

### **The Recaption of the Keys**

The Coverdale Bible and the miniature from a pray book (Fig. 4) depict one more important Christian symbol – the Keys, granted by Christ to Peter or, as is

---

67. J. King, *Royal iconography*, p. 56.

evident from the Coverdale Bible, to all apostles who preach and disseminate the true faith – the "keys to the kingdom of heaven." (Fig. 5) According to the Protestant views, "both the Keys and the Sword function as evangelical symbols for the practice of "true gospel preaching."<sup>68</sup>

**Figure 5.** *A Fragment of the Title-page of Coverdale Bible*



Source: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1895-0122-871](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1895-0122-871)

The keys of St. Peter acquired the meaning of exclusive power in spiritual affairs. And as such, the symbol was appropriated by Rome making the pope an only intermediary between God and humanity. With this symbol the pope usurped "off God pleyn [full] power" to shut and open the gate of Paradise to the virtuous and proclaimed himself the inheritor of the keys of St. Peter. The papists tried to impress on people that the gate of Paradise was locked and opened by the strong hand of the Pontiff, which gave the Pope *imperium* [power] over European Catholic realms whereas it is explicitly stated in the Bible that Christ gave the keys of Heaven to Peter.

"And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."<sup>69</sup>

Being the keeper of the keys the pope with priests and friars were endowed with a special prerogative to absolve or condemn a sinner, a practice that received a severe rebuff from John Wycliffe, a fourteenth century translator of the Vulgate Bible into Middle English and an important predecessor to Protestantism: "Think not that God has given 'the keys' [to Heaven] to the Pope of Rome; think not that the friars carry heaven in their wallets, which they can sell for a piece of gold or silver."<sup>70</sup> These words are resonant with those of Guillaume de Deguileville that St. Peter passed this right to his "underlegatys (Cherubim), ther to stonde, /To kepe the passage and entre,

68. *ibid.*, p. 67.

69. KJV, *Matthew 16: 18,19*, p. 734.

70. J. Wylie, *The history of Protestantism* (London; New York: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1870), p. 88.

but never to the Pope because He who holds the sword naked, and the keys unbound, haueth [has] pley[n] [full] power."<sup>71</sup>

The reformers revised the Catholic iconography of the keys. A most interesting variant of the symbolic triumph over the Pope – "broken keys" – is found in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, a work of Protestant history and martyrology, which was placed in many cathedrals and churches performing the function of propaganda. It is the woodcut of the ornamented capital letter 'C', a notional letter because such words as Christ, Cross, Christian begin with it (Fig. 6).

**Figure 6.** *Queen Elizabeth, I depicted in a capital 'C'*



Source: John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the perfect Arte of Navigation*, 1577, p.69.

The Queen is placed within the letter holding the sword of justice and trampling triumphantly on the vanquished Pope entwined with serpents, who clasps broken keys. The design denotes the Pope's loss of "the power of the keys," which he had usurped. The iconography of the Tudor kings humiliated the self-proclaimed heirs of St. Peter. The broken keys in the woodcut in addition to the Sword of Righteousness symbolize the defeat of Catholicism by Queen Elizabeth as a reformist monarch. The symbols may be interpreted in terms of the Protestant conception of holy warfare.

The sword is not frequently used in Elizabethan iconography because she wanted to present herself as a peace maker desiring to put an end to the religious discord and be a nourisher of her people. I have found only two portraits with the sword: *The Ermine portrait* where the animal is sitting on the queen's left arm next to the state sword; and *Elizabeth Regina* from a pray book in which the sword is lying in the floor while the queen is saying her prayers. However, the sword is mentioned in a sonnet written by Elizabeth in 1569, at a precarious moment when she had to grapple with the conspiracy of Mary Stuart and many dignitaries of her own nobility. In her sonnet, she reminds that the sword of war had been put to rest, but He (she treats the weapon as an animate person) is ready to serve the country if it is threatened with disunity. The sonnet shows that Elizabeth is capable of iron-handed action.

No forreine bannisht wight  
Shall ancre in this port; ...  
Our rusty sworde with rest

---

71. Deguileville, p. 81.

Shall first his edge employ,  
 To poll the toppes, that seeke such change,  
 Or gape for such like joy<sup>72</sup>

[No foreign banished man or woman/ shall cast anchor in this port... Our rusty sword  
 after rest/ for the first time shall his edge employ,/ to cut off the heads that seek such  
 change/ or look for such joy.]

John King considers that "royal iconography filled the vacuum left by iconoclastic attacks"<sup>73</sup> when many images of the Virgin and Child, of saints and other cult objects had been destroyed. He stresses that the symbols when applied to the Tudor monarchs formed a multifaceted and intricate paradigm. "The portrayal of Protestant Tudor monarchs is more complicated and ambiguous, however, because they are presented as both recipients and disseminators of the scriptures, thus uniting secular and religious authority."<sup>74</sup>

### Elizabethan Unique Symbols

It is only to be expected that the bulk of iconographic research is devoted to Elizabeth I, a queen of unique personality and accomplishments. Roy Strong in his book *The cult of Elizabeth* convincingly shows how the multiple images of the Queen are brought together to establish a way of thinking about a monarch in society on the pattern of a religious cult<sup>75</sup>. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), a leading figure in natural philosophy in the period of transition from the Renaissance to the early modern era, is credited with the introduction of the notion 'body politic', which is scattered throughout his writings. When describing different capacities of the King, Bacon proposes that a king has one natural body but several 'bodies politic':

"Although his body politic of King of England, and his body politic of King of Scotland, be several and distinct, yet nevertheless his natural person, which is one, has an operation upon both, and createth a privity between them. ... There is in the king not a body natural alone, nor a body politic alone, but a body natural and politic together."<sup>76</sup>

And elsewhere: "His body in law shall be said to be immortal; for there is no death of the king in law."<sup>77</sup> Long before Bacon formulated his concept of 'body

---

72. T. Percy (ed.), *Reliques of ancient English poetry: consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets* (London: J. Templeman, 1840), p 140.

73. King, *Royal iconography*, p. 17.

74. *ibid.*, p. 13.

75. R. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 16.

76. F. Bacon, *The works of Francis Bacon, lord chancellor of England*, Volume 2 (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1841), p. 177.

77. *ibid.*, p. 178.

politic', young Elizabeth enunciated the same idea that herself as a private person and herself "charged with governing the Kingdom" had different duties and cares. As a result, we have multiple historically specific representations of Elizabeth's identities in literature and pictorial art: the Virgin queen, the governor of the Anglican Church, The Queen of the Sea, Justitia, Urania, the Empress of the Universe, etc. In the Elizabethan age, every ideologically important sphere was personified and emblemized.

The queen's propagandists accepted this division and made ample use of its possibilities. Elizabeth, a woman, may fall in love, be weak, and grow old, whereas Elizabeth-body politic, cannot. The Elizabethan regime became much concerned with the quality of her regal portraits as the queen began to betray signs of aging. In 1563, a proclamation was drafted that all visual representations of the queen should conform to a single approved model. It was required by the "policy of rejuvenation which overtakes the Queen's portraits in the closing years of the reign, when the poetical fancy of a Hilliard could transform the ageing countenance of majesty into one of ethereal beauty"<sup>78</sup> that it should be unequivocally followed. The "Mask of Youth" emblemized a victory over nature's tendency to age over time, and had an additional political meaning – an unquenchable driving force of the country's successes.

### **Symbols of the Cult of Elizabeth as a Virgin Queen**

The issue of gender has become a category for historical and iconographical analysis. Royal iconography was intended to reaffirm the maidenly virtue of the Queen. In 1559, in her response to Parliament urging her to marry, Elizabeth pronounced the words that asserted her status as the Virgin Queen wedded to her Kingdom. This is how William Camden, the author of the *Annales*, the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I, describes this epoch-making moment:

"I am already bound vnto an Husband which is the Kingdome of England, and that may suffice you: and this makes me wonder, that you forget your selves the pledge of this alliance which I have made with my Kingdome. (With these words she showed them the Ring with which she was inaugurated to her Kingdom in expresse and solemn terms). ... This may be sufficient both for my memory and honour of my Name, if when I have expired my last breath, this may be inscribed vpon my Tombe: Here lyes interr'd Elizabeth, A Virgin pure vntil her Death."<sup>79</sup>

Frances Yates, expressed an opinion that the "virginity of the queen was used as a powerful political weapon all through her reign," and that her "unmarried state

---

78. Strong, *Portraits*, p. 18.

79. W. Camden, *Annales. The true and royall history of the famous empresse Elizabeth, queene of England, France and Ireland &c.* (London: Printed for Beniamin Fisher, 1625), pp. 28-29.

was exalted into a symbol of the imperial virgin Astraea which filled the universe."<sup>80</sup> The view is supported by John King, who considers that Elizabeth's gender helped the queen to hold out in the overwhelmingly masculine world<sup>81</sup>, and by Louis Montrose, who comes to a conclusion that Elizabethan political culture was highly gendered<sup>82</sup>. In his work *Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I*, Montrose articulates the idea during the Elizabethan reign the "political iconography made a strength of the Queen's gender."<sup>83</sup> Elizabeth's womanly virtue became an aspect of iconography and a "source of her regal state craft."<sup>84</sup>

## The Sieve

When it became clear that Elizabeth would never marry and bear a successor to the throne and poets began to eulogize virginal chastity trying to emulate each other, pictorial art responded with a series of the so called "Sieve" portraits painted by various artists between 1579 and the early 1580s, among which the painting by George Gower is very interesting (Fig. 7). To counter Catholic propaganda defaming the queen, artists reaffirmed Elizabeth's chastity by comparing her to Vestal Virgin Tuccia. Elizabeth I occupies most of the portrait's space. Her right hand holds the traditional glove, while her left hand holds a gold sieve, an object that gave the name to the portraits. The sieve is attached to the bodice of her dress with a cord. In this portrait, the queen wears a red dress embroidered with gold and silver, whereas in the other portraits of this series she is dressed in her favorite black and white.

**Figure 7.** George Gower. *The Plimpton Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I* (1579)



Source: [https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/The\\_Plimpton\\_\"Sieve\"\\_portrait\\_of\\_Queen Elizabeth I](https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/The_Plimpton_\)

80. F. Yates, *Astraea: the imperial theme in the sixteenth century* (London/ Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975), p. 86.

81. J. King, "Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen" *Renaissance Quarterly* 43(1) (January 1990).

82. L. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

83. *ibid.*, p. 143.

84. *ibid.*, p. 146.

The portrait incorporates the symbol of virginity related to the story of the ancient Roman Vestal Virgin Tuccia (3rd-century BC). She is known for an incident in which her chastity was questioned by a preposterous accusation. To prove her innocence and unblemished reputation, she carried water from the Tiber to her Temple in a flat perforated basket without spilling a drop of water to the ground. The sieve had become an esoteric symbol of virginity, and the cord in the painting performs the function of *chorda umbilicalis*. The inscription around the sieve's rim reads: "*To earth the good, bad remains in the saddle*."<sup>85</sup> The suggested interpretation is that the queen ensures that only the good reaches her people. Strong considers that "the casting of Elizabeth as a Roman Vestal must have been quite new in 1579 and finds an extended echo a year later in John Lyly's eulogy of her in his *Euphues and his England*."<sup>86</sup>

"If virginity have such force then what hath this chaste virgin Elizabeth done, who by the space of twenty and odd years with continual peace against all policies, with sundry miracles contrary to all hope, hath governed that noble island? Against whom neither foreign force nor civil fraud, neither discord at home nor conspiracies abroad could prevail. ... This is the only miracle that virginity ever wrought: for a little island environed round about with wars to stand in peace. This is the blessing that Christ always gave to His people, *peace*."<sup>87</sup>

### **Symbols of Imperialist Aspirations: Ships, Maps, and the Globe**

The aim of this part is to integrate the history of the British Empire with the history of Elizabethan symbolism. The origins of British imperial ideology are to be found in England's desire to become a maritime power. In 1496, Henry VII laid down the foundations for the future colonialist policy by granting John Cabot, the first Tudor Atlantic adventurer, a patent to sail to all parts of the eastern, western, and northern seas as southern seas were dominated by Spain, and England tried to avoid a conflict. The patent granted Cabot, his sons and heirs the right for transatlantic discovery. The king conferred unto Cabot

"full and free authority to find, discover and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world placed, which before this time were unknown to all Christian. [They have been] given license to set up our banners and ensigns in any town, city, castle, island or mainland... [They] may conquer, occupy and possess whatsoever such towns, castles, cities and islands by them

---

85. W. Pressly, *A catalogue of paintings in the Folger Shakespeare Library: "as imagination bodies forth"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 330.

86. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 96.

87. J. Lyly, *Euphues and his England* (London: G. Routledge & sons, ltd., 1916), pp. 439-440.

thus discovered as our vassals, acquiring for us the dominion, title and jurisdiction of the same towns, castles, cities, islands and main lands so discovered."<sup>88</sup>

Cabot successfully reached the coast of North America in 1497, the region of Newfoundland. These early developments formed a backbone of future British Atlantic Empire though interest in the Americas was reignited only under Elizabeth I, who furthered her grandfather's legacy. Henry VIII's imperial aspirations did not go beyond Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and France, England's natural enemy. Henry believed in his right and title to France. His ambitions were to restore *Angevin empire* established by Henry II of England in the 12th century which included an area covering roughly all England, half of France, and parts of Ireland and Wales. In 1513, Henry laid the foundation of a truly British Empire when he seized Théroutanne and Tournai, a piecemeal of Calais and defeated Scotland in Flodden Field. Henry treated Scotland in imperial terms, "I am the very owner of Scotland and he [King James] holdeth it of me by homage, and in so much he beinge my vassall."<sup>89</sup> In the 1530s, Henry VIII's parliamentary Acts of Union asserted England's authority over Wales and Ireland and later Scotland. Henry's policy may be described as Eurocentric; he refused to sponsor New World expeditions.

Richard Hakluyt, who is considered the "architect, of the English Empire," and who provided a theoretical foundation for a new economic theory of mercantilism and advocated the establishment of overseas colonies, wrote in his famous book *A discourse concerning western planting*, to a great extent inspired by Sir Walter Raleigh, "in 1584, the English, after a long slumber, were just beginning to awake to a sense of the value of these 'Western Discoveries' and of the importance of occupying them with people of their own race."<sup>90</sup> After analyzing the precarious state of the economy at home, Hakluyt pushed the idea of extensive colonization of America.

"Hakluyt's work is mainly the monument of the great English navigators and maritime adventurers of his own time, who overthrew the Spanish colossus that bestrode the ocean, established that naval supremacy on which after-ages reared the fabric of the British Empire, and prepared the way for the founders of the great Anglo-American nation."<sup>91</sup>

According to Hakluyt, the English were to settle (plant) in America and exploit its resources instead of buying them from their European rivals as the trade with

---

88. H. Biggar (ed.), *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534. A Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 9.

89. J. Hower, *Tudor Imperialism: Exploration, Expansion, and Experimentation in the Sixteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Washington DC.: Georgetown University Press, 2013), p. 91.

90. R. Hakluyt, *A discourse concerning western planting* (Cambridge [Mass.]: Press of J. Wilson, 1877), p. xxvi.

91. E. Payne (ed.), *Voyages of the Elizabethan seamen to America; select narratives from the "Principal navigations" of Hakluyt* (Oxford: The Clarendon press, 1893), p. viii.

Europe was impeded by many factors: pirates, heavy taxes, the withdrawal of the favors, etc. The Kings of Spain, robbed English ships, killed or turned English sailors to slaves, or even subjected their crews to the Inquisition. The conditions existing in England's foreign trade also made it urgent to "seeke some newe and better trade."<sup>92</sup> This trade was centered in "newe westerne discoverye."

"The contries of America where unto we have just title, as beinge firste discovered by Sebastian Cabote, at the coste of that prudente prince Kinge Henry the Seayenth [seventh], may presently or within a shorte space afforde unto us, for little or nothinge, and with moche more safetie, eyther all or a greate parte of the comodities which the contries of Europe, Affrica and Asia do yelde us at a very dere hande and with manifolde daungers."<sup>93</sup>

Socially, colonization will be profitable for England as it will create jobs within the realm, so "there nede not one poore creature to steale, to starve, or to begge as they doe."<sup>94</sup> The main gauge of economic success from the point of view of mercantilist doctrine is the country's balance of trade. If England exports manufactured goods [wroughte things] and brings in raw materials [unwroughte things], "wee may sett our people, infinitely on worke."<sup>95</sup> Hakluyt urges the Queen not to delay the settlement of new lands as her Majesty's title to all the West Indies is more lawful than that of the Spaniards, or any other Christian Princes.

"Yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge, our enemyes or doubtfull frendes will depriue us of that goodd lande which now we have discovered and take from us all succours, and inriche themselves under our noses."<sup>96</sup>

Hakluyt looked upon any colony as a source of supply for English manufacturers of gold, silver, timber, etc., and new markets for England's surplus, which will reinforce the country's economic independence from European nations. Sir Walter Raleigh also urged Elizabeth to commit herself to an imperialist policy of expansion overseas. He had already earned his reputation as the founder of the transatlantic colonies of Great Britain. In 1584, he landed on the Island of Wocoken, and took possession of the country for the Queen of England. Raleigh gave to this region the name "Virginia" and made several attempts to plant a colony there. Moreover, the name appeared on the maps published in 1587, "the name that remained, and superseded all others."<sup>97</sup>

Under Elizabeth, England achieved naval supremacy, which led to a more intensive colonization of overseas territories. In addition, the ordinary commercial

---

92. Hakluyt, p. 16.

93. *ibid.*, p. 19.

94. *ibid.*, p. 43.

95. *ibid.*, p. 44.

96. *ibid.*, p. 103.

97. *ibid.*, p. 193.

views were interwoven with political interests and religious mission of disseminating Protestantism. In the fourth year of Elizabeth's reign (1561), Camden in his chronicles calls Elizabeth "The Queen of the Sea, the North Star." Commenting on the queen's cult as a patroness of the so-called 'sea dogs', privateers, corsairs, and explorers, Albert Labriola writes, "hers is the celestial body on which explorers direct their compasses or other navigational instruments as they travel uncharted lands and seas and then return home."<sup>98</sup>

The language of imperial symbolism was enriched by several significative symbols: ships, maps, and the globe

## The Ship

The ship is not a new symbol. It first appeared on a coin (the gold *Noble*) in the reign of Edward III in 1354 to commemorate his naval victory over the French at Sluys in 1340 and to emblemize England's maritime valor. The coin featured King standing in ship with upright sword and quartered shield. A poem *The Libelle [treatise] of Englyshe Polycye* was devoted to this event, in which the king is called "Master and lord environ of the sea."<sup>99</sup> A hundred years later the coin was discontinued and reinstated by Henry VIII in the 16th century when the issue of naval supremacy for England once again became most urgent. His both daughters continued to use the ship symbolism but with different connotations, though. As far back as the 14th century, Guillaume de Deguileville in his *Pilgrimage of the life of manhood* introduced the ship as a symbol of true faith. The mast of the ship called religion is "the cros of jhesu Crist and the wynd is the holi gost which lede the ship to hauen."<sup>100</sup> Mary I used this symbolic meaning on *Gold Ryal* placing herself on a ship with a sword raised high, making it clear that she was determined to propagate Catholicism *ferro et igni* [with fire and sword]. Elizabeth I's *Ship Ryal* produced in the years 1584-1586 presented her standing in ship sailing to the left, holding orb and scepter. The symbolic coin demonstrated England's superior naval power and aspirations to colonize America. The same image of the queen in ship appears on the frontispiece, an elaborate allegorical drawing (Fig. 8), to John Dee's *Rare and General Memorials* (1577 - 1578), the work by the author recognized as one of the "major innovatory forces in the Elizabethan age". The treatise was designed to urge Queen Elizabeth to pursue the colonization of North America. R. Strong assesses the symbolic import of this illumination in the following way:

---

98. A. Labriola, "Painting and Poetry of the Cult of Elizabeth I: The Ditchley Portrait and Donne's 'Elegie: Going to Bed'" *Studies in Philology* 93(1) (Winter 1996): p. 46.

99. G. Warner (ed.), *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, a poem on the use of sea-power (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1926), p. 44.

100. G. Deguileville, p. 162.

"In 1579 appears the first of the long series of portraits of Elizabeth that introduce a heavy symbolic overlay in terms of imperial pretensions stemming from maritime power and from a reassertion of dominion based both on the imperial descent of the Tudors from Brutus and on the conquests of Arthur."<sup>101</sup>

**Figure 8.** *John Dee's front piece to General and Rare Memorials*



Source: <https://americaneldritch.tumblr.com/post/148901256808/a-coloring-of-john-dees-hie-roglyphicon>

In the woodcut, Elizabeth is in ship accompanied by nobles and Europa and Zeus in the guise of a white bull. On the shore, a woman on her knees, whom Dee describes as *Respublica Britannica*, pleads (in Greek?!) "the most Excellent Royall Majesty, sitting at the helm of this Imperiall Monarchy: or, rather, at the Helm of the imperiall ship, of the most parte of Christendome"<sup>102</sup> to "send forth a sailing expedition," and the banner to her left asks to build a steadfast watch-post.

The front piece was designed a decade before the epoch-making debacle of the Spanish Armada, but it already carries a strong message that any pretensions to Imperial British Monarchy are possible if she has a mighty navy. The five ships in the so-named John Dee River (actually, Narragansett Bay) represent Elizabeth's naval force. Below the ships, new colonies prosper with trade, guarded by watchmen. In the skies above, we see the conventional celestial bodies: stars, the Sun and the Moon. But there is one more radiant sphere emanating bountiful rays on Elizabeth with Hebrew letters YHWH (the sacred four letter name of God) meaning Yahweh, the principal creator-god of all the earth, the patron god of the Judean state. This symbol is indicative of the growing influence of Judeocentric piety in England in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. English Protestants looked to the new Jewish Christianity hoping that it would prove truer and more vital than any form achieved so far. "Jewish Christianity would achieve a new spiritual insight far

101. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 91

102. *ibid.*, p. 91.

superior to anything found even in the most advanced Protestant churches."<sup>103</sup> Some militant Protestants tried to use the name Yahweh in place of the 'Lord', but it met with much criticism and rejection on the part of adherents to Christ centric spirituality.

The archangel Michael (also labeled in Hebrew) flies overhead with sword and shield, to protect the undertaking or, probably showing the way to the proposed colony. Below Michael, stands a statue of Lady Occasion (a British female equivalent of the Greek Caerus, the youngest son of Zeus, the personification of opportunity, luck and favorable moments always shown with only one lock of hair) with a laurelled wreath extended towards Queen Elizabeth. Strong reads the signs scattered in the picture as "The mixture of favorable religious and astrological portents, which implies that Elizabeth has a sacred obligation to implement Britannia's entreaties and that no forces on earth can thwart her if she undertakes the task."<sup>104</sup>

Ships appear in the famous *Armada portrait* (1588) by George Gower, an allegorical panel painting depicting the defeat of the "Invincible Spanish Armada." The background shows two different pictures of the fight. On the left, English fire ships drift towards the Spanish fleet in the sunlit clear sea, and on the right the Spanish ships are driven onto a rocky coast amid the tumultuous seas. A most interesting employment of the symbol is in the *Ditchley Portrait*, in which Elizabeth is standing on the terrestrial globe. Her feet are on the map of England, and ships in the bottom right-hand corner sail towards England with puffed sails signifying favorable winds bring riches to the queen; the departing vessels are sent on discovery missions.

The symbol is fraught with a multitude of meanings encoding different political ideas: the figure of the king/ queen in a ship symbolizes the power of England exerted on the sea; its preponderance over strong enemies; the necessity to maintain complete command of the sea and naval supremacy in the world; a vehicle of Christendom carrying and disseminating the true faith; vindication of the new imperial expansionist policy and so on.

## Maps

In the 1980s, Brian Harley, a renowned map historian, began establishing theoretical foundations for a new cartographic philosophy. For him, "maps are never neutral or value-free images."<sup>105</sup> He advanced an idea that geographical maps in medieval and early modern England had "ideological contours" and were used to mediate different views of the world exerting political influence on society. He borrowed Panofsky's theory of iconology and applied it to maps:

---

103. A. Williamson, "Roman Past, Jewish Future: Prophecy, Poetry, and the End of Empire" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 83(3) (2020): p. 579.

104. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 92.

105. B. Harley, *The new nature of maps: essays in the history of cartography* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 37.

"For maps, iconology can be used to identify not only a "surface" or literal level of meaning but also a "deeper" level, usually associated with the symbolic dimension in the act of sending or receiving a message. ... It is often on this symbolic level that political power is most effectively reproduced, communicated, and experienced through maps."<sup>106</sup>

Thus, he interprets Elizabeth I standing on the map of England in the *Ditchley Portrait* as a symbol of her power over the country as a whole. Ronda Sanford sees a more close, metonymic, relationship between the monarch and her country: "Elizabeth the monarch overshadows and dominates the map itself and seems not just to stand on but to stand in for or to become Britain, the country and the island."<sup>107</sup> Paul Harvey, whose research interests also lie in the history of cartography, points out that in the sixteenth century, maps became potent symbols of a fusion of a country and its society, and that they had "more than one level of meaning, more than one message."<sup>108</sup> At a time of emergent imperialist agenda, maps became the weapons of imperialism, "lands were claimed on paper before they were effectively occupied, maps anticipated empire. ... Maps were used to legitimize the reality of conquest and empire."<sup>109</sup>

Beginning in the fourteen century, European culture produced a specific cartographic language – the anthropomorphic maps, representing countries and continents in the human form. Allegorical maps based on anthropomorphic analogy fostered a new way of thinking, a new system of symbolism and new implications of representation. Early modern cartographers produced a number of maps called *Europa regina*, which depicted the European continent as a queen and suggested a novel vision of the world. Among such maps is an anonymous Dutch engraving which presented Elizabeth I as Europe and England as a hegemonic power (Fig. 9).

**Figure 9.** *Elizabeth I as Europa* (1598)



Source: Ashmolean Museum, Sutherland coll. (C. II— 91)

106. *ibid.*, p. 54.

107. R. Sanford, *Maps and memory in early modern England: a sense of place* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 57.

108. P. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: Public Record Office: British Library, 1993), p. 24.

109. Harley, *The new nature*, p. 57.

Carmen Nocentelli considers, "Elizabeth as Europa symbolically subsumes under Tudor rule key Habsburg possessions and all papal domains."<sup>110</sup> Iconography of the map allows of several readings, but, nevertheless, makes the symbolic level of paramount importance. The geographical imagery depicts the queen as a one-breasted Amazon warrior, whose power and authority go beyond England's national borders. The queen's head with the imperial crown (oriented to the West) overlays the Iberian Peninsula; her right arm with the orb covers Italy; Spain and Portugal constitute her face; France and Germany make up her body; her feet are planted in Poland. Sanford states, "Juxtaposed on several countries, Elizabeth's body might be seen as a symbol of power or dominion over these countries."<sup>111</sup> The queen's left arm covering England and Scotland bears a naked sword raised high either to protect Europe from the triple Headed Pope, who approaches Europe riding in a boat escorted by a fleet of his allies, or to appease the war-torn continent: across Elizabeth's chest, three horsemen race in the direction of a man with a sword, which may mean a war between Huguenots and Catholics in France. The battle scene above Europa's left shoulder described as the "Downfall of the Spanish Fleet" denotes the victory of 1588 over the Spanish Armada, which made England's dominance in the world beyond the reach of other maritime powers. I contend that the map being a political conceit, sends a message that Elizabeth is a sole protectrix of European Protestantism. Europe is in need of a sovereign, who could bring peace to all, do away with religious strife, and unite all European nations against false religion. Two historical events recorded in the map – the Armada debacle and England's triumph over papacy – suggest enough evidence that England and her sovereign answer these expectations.

## The Globe

In the articulation of power, globes become popular in art as emblems of sovereignty over the world. Harley makes a note of its significance as a common attribute of the emperors since antiquity.

"By the sixteenth century, globes were now shown as part of the regalia of authority in portraits of kings, ambassadors, statesmen, and nobles. But now they were primarily intended to convey the extent of the territorial powers, ambitions, and enterprises of their bearers. These paintings proclaimed the divine right of political control, the emblem of the globe indicating the worldwide scale on which it could be exercised and for which it was desired."<sup>112</sup>

In the *Sieve* painting discussed above, we find the globe radiant with light over the queen's right shoulder. In Strong's opinion, the *Sieve* portrait "makes an initial

---

110. C. Nocentelli, "Rereading Elizabeth I as Europa" *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 138(2) (2023): p. 323.

111. Sanford, p. 55.

112. Harley, p 72.

statement on the theme of England's imperial mission."<sup>113</sup> William Pressly agrees that the *Sieve Portrait* is the "first visual expression of Elizabeth's emergence as the orchestrator of imperial expansion."<sup>114</sup> England's imperial aspirations are confirmed by the inscription over the globe: *Tutto vedo et multo manca* [I see everything and much is lacking] denoting Elizabeth's insatiable desire to build an empire on a global scale. In the new symbol, Strong sees a new trend in Elizabethan iconography, "In the 'Sieve' portrait of 1579 we witness John Dee's vision of a British Empire founded on sea power made part of the iconography of monarchy."<sup>115</sup> The iconographic popularity of the globe was growing with Elizabethan artists, given that the political context was favorable and resonant with the numerous symbolic meanings of the notable object. As Kristen Lippincott remarked, "The image of the globe-carrying emperor remains a consistent feature in the personal iconography of any ruler with imperial claims or pretensions."<sup>116</sup>

One more painting developing further Elizabeth's claims to world supremacy modestly expressed through the globe in the background in the *Sieve Portrait* is, no doubt, the *Armada Portrait* by an unknown artist (1588), a celebratory painting of the victory over the Spanish fleet. The globe in the *Armada Portrait* takes pride of place in the picture's composition with Elizabeth's hand resting on the terrestrial globe, her fingers covering the Americas. Additional symbols are the imperial crown to the right of the queen and a massive gold figure behind the queen emblemizing riches of colonies that England may partake of.

To conclude, the handling of the globe and cartography added a new dimension to the symbolism of geopolitical domination and exploitation of England. As Labriola writes, "In sum, the Ditchley painting idealizes and exalts the queen in several ways: her royal presence encourages expansion of the kingdom through her rovers, her macrocosmic image generates biblical significance."<sup>117</sup>

### Cosmic Symbols of Elizabeth's Queenship

A central theme of absolutist ideology was the assertion of the divinity of monarchical power sanctioned by God, who also endowed a Prince with absolute power over the natural world, a theme that got its iconographic visualization in the *Ditchley* and *Armada Portraits*. Elizabeth's divine powers are represented metaphorically. The background of both canvasses is divided into two parts: the calm vs. the stormy sea (*Armada*), the stormy sky with the clouds parting to reveal sunshine vs. masses of

---

113. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 99.

114. Pressly, p. 330.

115. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 99.

116. K. Lippincott, "Power and Politics: The Use of the Globe in Renaissance Portraiture" *Globe Studies*, no. 49/50 (2002): p. 122.

117. Labriola, p. 49.

pure, blue water illuminated by the Sun (*Ditchley*). The portraits associate the monarch with cosmic control of the elements: she harmonizes and bends to her will all natural disasters. The iconography of Elizabeth I, starting from her early reign and especially in her last years, aligned her with deities through a complex system of symbols borrowed from the ancient Greek theology and Christianity – the Virgin Mary and Christ himself. This part of the article explores the ways in which various emblems related to the cosmic order were incorporated into Elizabeth's iconography embedding her within the cosmic universe.

### The Armillary as a Regal Symbol

The armillary sphere is, perhaps, the most mysterious of the imperial symbols associated with Elizabeth and her mother Anne Boleyn. In the *Ditchley Portrait*, Elizabeth's left earring is designed as an armillary, an astronomical instrument modeling the Ptolemaic cosmic system through a series of rings denoting the orbits of the planets and stars around the earth. A close association of the armillary sphere with Elizabeth I seems to have been formed at an early date. The first known occurrence is a drawing of an armillary sphere in the queen's own prayer book when she was a princess. In the Queen's portrait of the early 1580s the sleeves of her dress are embroidered with the spheres; in some portraits she wears the armillary as a pendant. In the *Rainbow portrait* the serpent on her sleeve is crowned with the armillary.

The armillary was a common motif during the Renaissance, very popular with artists, who used it in the English visual culture of the period. In early modern cosmology, the armillary denoted a celestial globe, and the bearer of it was thought to be ushering in celestial light and be in full symbolic possession of the world. Strong, however, suggests that this symbol "had a fundamentally religious connotation, the maintenance of the reformed faith (Protestantism)."<sup>118</sup>

### The Crescent

Many symbols, sometimes controversial, combining both paganism and Christianity, contributed to the aura of divinity surrounding Elizabeth. Philippa Berry studying the 16th century literature, comes to a conclusion that "the moon had become the dominant planetary symbol in Elizabeth's cult."<sup>119</sup> For decades, England's intellectual and artistic life was imbued with the veneration of the night luminary, its grace-filled light and deification of Elizabeth as the Moon goddess, hence her names Diana and Cynthia, popularized and disseminated by E. Spenser, J. Lily, but mainly by W. Raleigh in his elegy *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*. "The moon that embodied the *corpus*

---

118. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 141.

119. P. Berry, *Of chastity and power: Elizabethan literature and the unmarried queen* (London; New York: Routledge, 1989), p.108.

*mysticum* (mystical body) of the state signified the queen's aspirations to universal power."<sup>120</sup>

The earliest reference to the cult of Elizabeth as the Moon goddess, occurs in the portrait of young Elizabeth by Frans Floris of 1560, who depicted her as Diana the huntress with a bow and arrows and crowned with a diamond half-moon. Diana/Cynthia's prime influences were over waters: rivers, seas, and oceans. Strong points out that "the moon goddess role as Diana or Cynthia assigned to the monarch, for the first time, cosmological power of the cosmic control of the elements."<sup>121</sup> The crescent is one of the symbols that aligned Elizabeth with the Virgin Mary, the comparison that is fundamental for the Renaissance thought. Devotional imagery of the period often depicted the Virgin standing on the crescent surrounded by radiant light around her body. The King James Bible thus describes the miracle of the appearance of Madonna, "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."<sup>122</sup> The appropriation of Marian symbols established a mystical kinship between Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary and brought her closer to the status of *regina uniuersi*.

## The Sun

By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the symbol of the Sun was incorporated into her iconography. The assimilation of the empress and the Sun began after the demise of papacy in England. The symbol that had been appropriated by the pope now returned to its rightful holder. The Sun theme was begun by the sonnet in the cartouche of the *Ditchley Portrait*: "the Sun, the prince of light, is less glorious than Elizabeth, the most resplendent luminary in the firmament and the mediatrix between earth and heaven"<sup>123</sup>. George Puttenham attributes "that most excellent figure, for his incomparable beauty and light, to the person of our Soueraigne lady" because she, like this celestial body, *Soli nunquan deficiente*, [the Sun never fails]. "To her only whose glorie and good fortune may never decay or wane, ...or suffer eclipse."<sup>124</sup> The theme was reiterated in the *Rainbow Portrait*, where Elizabeth is the Sun (Fig. 10).

---

120. *ibid.*, p. 41.

121. Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 128.

122. KJV, *Rev. 12: 1*, p. 717.

123. Labriola, p. 47.

124. G. Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: A. Murray & son, 1869), p. 116.

**Figure 10.** *Elizabeth the First, Rainbow Portrait (1600)*

Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.kr/pin/395050198534806354/>

The queen is holding a colorless rainbow – a symbol of peace and covenant with God. The inscription tells the viewer *NON SINE SOLE IRIS* (no rainbow without the Sun). The color palette of the portrait – the queen's red hair and her flaming orange dress, with abundance of shining precious stones and the cosmic darkness of the background – presents Elizabeth as otherworldly, as a divinity emanating light, or as Jeffrey Knapp put it, "allows God to shine through her".<sup>125</sup> On her head, Elizabeth wears an imperial crown with a crescent moon dangling from it; the many pearls symbolize virginity; wild flowers on her bodice signify eternal spring. In this portrait, we see a definite shift from the lunar to the solar culture. In sum, the painting is cosmological legitimating of Elizabeth's power: the sun, moon, stars and rainbow make her a deity with cosmic power.

#### *Elizabeth as Salvatrix mundi*

The politico-religious developments after 1588, when the Spanish Armada was defeated, caused ideologists to construct a compelling Christocentric piety for Elizabeth. Her significance was amplified by equating her with Christ. The same year, John Case published his *Sphaera Civitatis* [The Sphere of State], a treatise articulating the political philosophy of Elizabeth's reign, whose famous front piece depicted Queen Elizabeth occupying the place of God, embracing the Ptolemaic universe (Fig.11).

---

125. J. Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 69.

**Figure 11.** John Case. *Sphaera Civitatis*. 1588

Source: <https://publications.newberry.org/elizabeth/exhibit/elizabeththequeen/2.08.html>

Case's universe illustrates Aristotle's statement that "*oportere optimam civitatem de virtute maxime esse sollicitam*"<sup>126</sup> [it is necessary for the best state to be most concerned about virtue]. In the universe that Elizabeth embraces, each sphere is assigned an astronomical symbol representing a celestial body, which eponymizes a virtue on which the governance of England under Elizabeth was supposed to be based, an attempt to combine moral principles with statecraft. The moon is Prosperity, Mercury is Eloquence, Venus can be the royal Mercy. Piety (religion) is the Sun. Fortitude is Mars, Prudence belongs to Jove, and Majesty is Saturn. The eighth sphere is the Starry Chamber (heaven), defended by noble heroes and pious councilors. The unchangeable center is "Immovable Justice," the concept analyzed in minute detail by F. Yates. The outermost circle, which is above the Starry Chamber, declares that the queen is *regina and defensatrix* of her realm. Her protective posture over the universe makes her equal with Christ. Meryl Bailey offers a detailed study of borrowings from the iconography of Christ transferred to Elizabethan pictorial symbolism. She explores the ways in which two concepts – the pelican and the phoenix, symbols which are traditionally associated with Christ, – established Elizabeth's conjunction with God the Son. Bailey insists that Christological symbolism "served to project an aura of sacred kingship and divinely sanctioned power."<sup>127</sup>

Possible sources of the woodcut, may be found in the Middle Ages. Case's *Sphaera* is the continuation of the medieval genre of world maps, or *mappaemundi*, adopted by the Christian church. They were schematic in character, as David Woodward remarked, "Sometimes the whole map is presented as a symbol of Christian truths rather than recording precise locations."<sup>128</sup>

126. J. Case, *Sphaera civitatis* (Oxoniae: Excudebat I. Barnesius, 1588), p. 1.

127. *ibid.*, p. 177.

128. D. Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi." In *The History of Cartography*. Volume I. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and Mediterranean (The University of Chicago Press: 1987): p. 334.

The motif of the Savior of the world was a popular theme in devotional paintings of Christ during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance and was manifestly expressed in *mappaemundi*. Case's *Sphaera* has an immediate predecessor – Johannes de Sacrobosco's *De sphaera* (1230), a textbook of cosmography, whose earth-centered diagrams of the solar system were still popular in the sixteenth century. Very often these maps represented the world as the body of Christ. Sometimes, the Holy Face of Jesus was placed above the map, his hand raised in a gesture of benediction. Queen Elizabeth's shielding position over the earthly world marks her as *Salvatrix Mundi*. Case declares, "I understand by its prime and immutable mover our leader, or rather God in our leader."<sup>129</sup> Bailey makes a similar point in her assessment of the role of Elizabeth:

"The sphere over which she hovers represents both the cosmos and the state, suggesting that the queen's protection extends beyond her earthly realm to the entire universe. ... In the *Sphaera Civitatis*, the state, the cosmos, and the queen are one. ... The Queen came to be perceived, adored, and indeed almost worshipped as savior, a salvatrix of Protestant England."<sup>130</sup>

## Conclusion

The diversity of Tudor symbols is impressive. On the face of it, the symbolic paradigm may seem a collection of disparate emblems, but when put in a definite historical context, it is far from being spontaneous and haphazard. An iconographical approach allowed us to establish a potent fusion of symbols with the current ideology, politics, religion, aesthetics, and creative imagination. In visual art, the use of a concrete physical object or a person makes tangible a more general conceptual level of abstract ideas: kingly power, political and religious doctrines, or vices and virtues. The representation of such ideas in terms of flora and fauna, celestial bodies, mythological personalities or divinities refers us to the cognitive foundations of symbolism. Old symbols were incorporated into a new historical context and attached new meanings. Various sources continuously informed the Tudor symbolic paradigm: prehistoric symbols (dragon), universal accoutrements of power (the orb), Catholic emblems (the sieve), characters from Greek mythology (Diana, Cynthia), Biblical sacraments (apple, sword), and celestial bodies (Moon, Sun). Most important were the symbols that asserted a sovereign's status as God's representative on earth aligning a monarch with the Virgin Mary or Christ (crescent, *mappaemundi*).

Tudor symbolism emerged as a form of public image-making and cult creation to consolidate the legitimate status of the dynasty and provide for societal cohesion. Court artists produced iconic visual representations of ruling monarchs employing a whole array of symbols, both easily recognizable and those whose understanding

---

129. Case, p. 4.

130. Bailey, pp. 206 - 207.

might be achieved through erudite contemplation. Trying to avoid trite symbols, both Princes and artists devised a set of unhackneyed emblems which became a hallmark of the dynasty (double rose, white hound).

Politics and ideology at different times accorded different weight to various ideas, concocting symbols that were a means through which these ideas were imbedded in public conscience with the aim to create an unequivocal, intelligible picture of the world. The divine ancestry for Henry VII or virginity for Elizabeth I were potent political tools. Several phases can be roughly identified in this historical period. The permanent issue of the Tudor age was the disputable question of the dynasty's legitimacy. Hence iconic representations of kingly power involving old and new emblems. In the middle of the century, when the religious strife racked England, there appeared a special symbol that signified the defense of a true faith (the gauntlet) and the defeat of Catholicism (broken keys). After the debacle of the Spanish Armada, England's world expansion and imperialistic aspirations came to the fore entailing a new constellation of symbols: (ships, maps, and the globe).

Elizabeth's is a complex image created by ideologists, poets, and artists. It has a multi-faceted character reflecting the complexity of her diversified political activities. The most important aspect of symbolism and iconography throughout her reign was to liken her to the divine. By the end of the century, Elizabeth's representation as a bearer of absolute virtues and as a figure endowed with divine powers was incarnated in symbols, which suggested a direct connection with God (the rainbow, celestial spheres). She was represented not simply as a mediatrix between God and humanity but as a divine being.

Summing up, symbols provided for the legitimacy of Tudor sovereigns, supplied expressive means for religious and political doctrines, and played a crucial role in enhancing societal cohesion and molding national identity.

### Bibliography

- Alexander, J. *Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art. Studies in Iconography*, 15, 1–44, 1993.
- Anglo, S. *Images of Tudor Kingship*. Seaby, London, 1992.
- Bacon, F. *The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England*. Vol. 2. Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1841.
- Bailey, M. "Salvatrix Mundi": Representing Queen Elizabeth I as a Christ Type. *Studies in Iconography*, 29, 176–215, 2008.
- Bellah, R. *Emile Durkheim on Morality and Society*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1973.
- Berry, P. *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen*. Routledge, London & New York, 1989.
- Berthelot, M. *Introduction à l'étude de la chimie, des anciens et du moyen âge*. G. Steinheil, Paris, 1889.
- Biggar, H. (Ed.) *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497–1534: A Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada*. Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa, 1911.

- Booth, T. Elizabeth I and Pope Paul IV: Reticence and Reformation. *Church History and Religious Culture*, 94(3), 316–336, 2014.
- Brewer, J. (Ed.) Henry VIII: December 1515, 21–25. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. 2, Part 1 (1515–1518). Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, London, 1864.
- Camden, W. *Annales: The True and Royall History of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c.* Printed for Beniamin Fisher, London, 1625.
- Campbell, L. The Authorship of the *Recueil d'Arras*. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40, 1977.
- Carey, H. Henry VII's Book of Astrology and the Tudor Renaissance. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65(3), 661–710, 2012.
- Case, J. *Sphaera Civitatis*. Excudebat I. Barnesius, Oxoniae, 1588.
- Cassirer, E. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms: Volume One, Language*. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1980.
- Cawley, W. The Laws of Q. Elizabeth, K. James, and K. Charles. Printed for John Wright and Richard Chiswell, London, 1680.
- Child, F. (Ed.) *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1860.
- Cirlot, J. *A Dictionary of Symbols*. 2nd ed., trans. J. Sage. Routledge, London, 1971.
- Clark, T. *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second Republic, 1848–1851*. New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, CT, 1973.
- Cunningham, S. Loyalty and the Usurper: Recognizances, the Council and Allegiance under Henry VII. *Historical Research*, 82(217), 459–481, 2009.
- Cust, K. *A Modern Prose Translation of the Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville Entitled The Pilgrimage of Man*. B. M. Pickering, London, 1859.
- Dee, J. *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfecte Arte of Navigation*. 1577.
- Deguileville, G. *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Manhood*. Early English Text Society/Oxford University Press (edn), London & New York, 1985.
- Dobin, H. *Merlin's Disciples: Prophecy, Poetry, and Power in Renaissance England*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1990.
- Durkheim, E. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Free Press, New York, 1912.
- Durkheim, E. *The Division of Labor in Society*. Trans. W. Halls. Free Press, New York, 1984.
- Fabre, J. *La Chanson de Roland: Traduction Nouvelle et Complète*. Belin, Paris, 1906.
- Foster, B. Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 10, 39–55, 1899.
- Hakluyt, R. *A Discourse Concerning Western Planting*. Press of J. Wilson, Cambridge, MA, 1877.
- Harley, J. B. *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2001.
- Harvey, P. D. A. Maps in Tudor England. Public Record Office / British Library, London, 1993.
- Hasenmueller, C. Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 36(3), 289–301, 1978.
- Head, D. "If a Lion Knew His Own Strength": The Image of Henry VIII and His Historians. *International Social Science Review*, 72(3/4), 94–109, 1997.
- Heywood, J. *The Proverbs, Epigrams, and Miscellanies*. Ed. J. Farmer. Early English Drama Society, London, 1906.
- Hildesheim, J. The Three Kings of Cologne: An Early English Translation of the *Historia trium regum*. N. Trübner & Co., London, 1886.

- Horowitz, M. *Daring Dynasty: Custom, Conflict and Control in Early-Tudor England*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, 2018.
- Hower, J. *Tudor Imperialism: Exploration, Expansion, and Experimentation in the Sixteenth-Century British Atlantic World*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC, 2013.
- King, J. Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43(1), 30–74, 1990.
- King, J. *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1989.
- Knapp, J. *An Empire Nowhere*. University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford, 1991.
- Labriola, A. Painting and Poetry of the Cult of Elizabeth I: The Ditchley Portrait and Donne's "Elegie: Going to Bed." *Studies in Philology*, 93(1), 42–63, 1996.
- Lewes, I. *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-Cultural Studies in Symbolism*. Academic Press, London & New York, 1977.
- Lippincott, K. Power and Politics: The Use of the Globe in Renaissance Portraiture. *Globe Studies*, 49/50, 121–138, 2002.
- Littlewood, A. The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 72, 147–181, 1968.
- Lyly, J. *Euphues and His England*. G. Routledge & Sons, London, 1916.
- Manning, J. *The Emblem*. Reaktion Books, London, 2002.
- Mayer, T. Introduction. In *Tudor Political Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge & New York, 2002.
- Milton, V. *The Great Documents of Western Civilization*. Bantam Books, New York/Toronto/London, 1967.
- Montrose, L. The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2006.
- Moxey, K. Panofsky's Concept of "Iconology" and the Problem of Interpretation. *History of Art*, 17(2), 265–274, 1986.
- Nocentelli, C. Rereading Elizabeth I as Europa. *PMLA*, 138(2), 321–342, 2023.
- Panofsky, E. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. Harper & Row, New York, 1962.
- Payne, E. (Ed.) *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America: Select Narratives from the "Principal Navigations" of Hakluyt*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893.
- Percy, T. (Ed.) *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets*. J. Templeman, London, 1840.
- Pressly, W. *A Catalogue of Paintings in the Folger Shakespeare Library: "As Imagination Bodies Forth."* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1993.
- Proust, M. *Swann's Way*. Modern Library, New York, 1956.
- Puttenham, G. *The Arte of English Poesie*. A. Murray & Son, London, 1869.
- Rampley, M. Iconology of the Interval: Aby Warburg's Legacy. *Word & Image*, 17(4), 303–324, 2001.
- Sanford, R. *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place*. Palgrave, New York, 2002.
- Shagan, E. *Clement Armstrong and the Godly Commonwealth: Radical Religion in Early Tudor England*. In P. Marshall & A. Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, 60–84. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.

- Strong, R. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Thames & Hudson, London, 1987.
- Strong, R. *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963.
- Strong, R. *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1986.
- The King James Version of the Holy Bible (KJV). John Norton & Robert Barker, London, 1611.
- Warner, G. (Ed.) *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.
- White, H. The English Solomon: Francis Bacon on Henry VII. *Social Research*, 24(4), 457–481, 1957.
- Whitelock, A. *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen*. Bloomsbury, London & New York, 2010.
- Williamson, A. Roman Past, Jewish Future: Prophecy, Poetry, and the End of Empire. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 83(3), 567–590, 2020.
- Woodward, D. *Medieval Mappaemundi*. In *The History of Cartography, Vol. I: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and Mediterranean*, 286–370. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.
- Wylie, J. *The History of Protestantism*. Cassell, Petter & Galpin, London & New York, 1870.
- Yates, F. *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*. Routledge & K. Paul, London & Boston, 1975.

