

Sapientia Solomonis: Negotiating Early Modern Anglo-Swedish Relationships Through Court Drama



By
Francisca L. Stangel

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Abstract

In the year 1565 Cecilia of Baden, daughter to Gustav Vasa and sister to Erik XIV of Sweden, visited Elizabeth I's court. During her stay the Swedish princess took part in a number of official events and attended performances at court and elsewhere. The Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* offers a unique opportunity to study the political significance of court performance in negotiating Elizabeth's international relationships, as it took place in the midst of vitally important Anglo-Swedish marriage negotiations that had the potential to change the religious and political map of Europe, the development of liaisons with the Spanish superpower, and provides a new insight to the procedures and making of Tudor court drama. The Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, given before Elizabeth I, Cecilia of Baden, and the Elizabethan council, has been acknowledged in some scholarship on neo-Classical drama, early modern boy-companies, and Tudor iconography, but has only been the subject of one book-length study. Elizabeth R. Payne produced a critical edition of BL. Add. MS 20061, a performance copy of the play, as a part of her doctoral thesis in 1938. In the eighty years since Payne's study the performance event of *Sapientia Solomonis* has been largely ignored in scholarship. However, the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* offers a unique opportunity to study the way in which performance was used as a political tool in negotiating Elizabeth's relationships, and especially that with Cecilia, as it locates the English queen, the Swedish princess, and the Council at the same event. In this thesis I have analysed documents connected to the performance that have never before been studied, which enables this thesis to further our understanding of the significance of the performance event in negotiating Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship. This very topic also allows me to comment on wider relationships between the Westminster School, Cambridge University, the Continental printing houses, networks of Protestant exiles, and the Elizabethan court and its offices. This thesis combines archival studies, textual analysis

and theatre history, and brings together scholarship in English and Swedish, in order to further our understanding of the Westminster Performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and these relationships.

Chapter 1 presents the first comparative study of BL. Add. MS. 20061 and Folger V.a.212 – the latter of which has never received critical attention – which reveals the range of the manuscript production at Westminster School and that Folger V.a.212 was not intended as a presentation copy. As demonstrated by Payne, Westminster School's *Sapientia Solomonis* was an adaptation of Sixt Birck's drama with the same name, however by placing the event in its political and economic context this thesis is able to carry out a more thorough comparative study between the Westminster version and Sixt Birck's version, which shows that the adaptation laid its focus on spectacle and splendour, rather than the education of a new generation of humanist citizens, emphasising its function as a court performance. In Chapter 2, I employ a typological analysis to the parallels the Prologue and Epilogue of the play set up between the main character King Solomon and Elizabeth I, and between the character of the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia of Sweden. In the process of this thesis I have transcribed and translated hitherto unstudied epistolary records, which are analysed in Chapter 3. The letters reveal how Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship was developed in a wider political and economic framework of Anglo-Swedish relations that was intrinsically linked to Erik XIV's proposal to Elizabeth. The Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* used iconography of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba to negotiate Anglo-Swedish relations, and the performance took place in a complex system of patronage and gift-giving, designed to maintain and negotiate relationships between the court, the school, Cecilia, and the council, as shown in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents new manuscript evidence from Westminster Abbey Archive that I have transcribed during the course of this thesis. The records reveal that the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* was costlier and more elaborate than other

productions by the school on the 1560s, which demonstrates the political significance of the performance event. These records enable this thesis to make a valuable contribution to discussions around the production of Tudor court drama and enables us to ascertain that the main producer of the performance was the school itself and not, as has previously been argued, the Elizabethan court. By using the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* as a case study, I am able to develop our understanding of literary, political, and religious networks of early modern Europe, and contribute to the academic discussion of court drama as a diplomatic tool in negotiating Elizabeth's international relations. More generally, this thesis provides a new model for studying the role of performances in negotiating early modern diplomatic relations.

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Introduction

The powerful Queen of Sheba was delighted to enjoy the countenance of Solomon. The illustrious Princess Cecilia, enduring much by land and sea, now at long last gladly has looked upon her who is the rival of pious Solomon, and wishes to look upon her often. May Cecilia enjoy her light as long as she wishes; may her glittering radiance shine upon us increasingly, for a long time to come.

Extract from the Epilogue of *Sapientia
Solomonis*¹

In early September 1565, the heavily pregnant Swedish princess Cecilia Gustavsdotter Vasa, Margravine of Baden-Rodemachern (1540-1627), came ashore to the White Cliffs of Dover to fulfil her longstanding dream of visiting Elizabeth I. She was accompanied by her husband Christopher II, Margrave of Baden-Rodemachern (1537-1575), who was fulfilling his promise of taking her to England within one year of being married. In Dover they were met by an entourage fronted by Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and his wife, sent there by Elizabeth.² After passing through Canterbury and spending a night in Rochester, the train arrived in Gravesend where a relay consisting of Lord Hunsden, Cecil, and the Countess of Sussex took over as welcome committee. They escorted the Swedish party to Bedford House, where they arrived at two o'clock on September 11th. Bedford House had been furnished with the queen's hangings and served as Cecilia's accommodation during her stay. Cecilia was given three days to settle before the queen visited her upon the queen's return from Windsor on September 14th, 1565, and Cecilia was finally able to meet the one who, according to the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* quoted above, rivals Solomon: Elizabeth.

¹ Translated by Elizabeth Rogers Payne in Elizabeth Rogers Payne, *Sapientia Solomonis -acted before the Queen by the boys of Westminster School January 17, 1565/6*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 129-130.

² Domestic State Papers, August 26th, 1565. Lord Cobham was William Brooke (1527-1597), a close friend to Cecil. His wife, Frances (c. 1530-1592), was lady of the bedchamber at Elizabeth I's household and had a close relationship to the Queen. Julian Lock, 'Brooke, William, tenth Baron Cobham' <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/61735>> [accessed 21 November 2018] and Simon Adams, 'Brooke (né Newton), Frances, Lady Cobham' <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/92462>> [accessed 21 November 2018].

On January 17th, 1565/6, in celebration of Elizabeth's coronation, Cecilia, Elizabeth, and the Council attended a performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* at Westminster School, and this occasion provides a rare opportunity to investigate how early Elizabethan performances were used as a diplomatic tool in negotiating courtly relationships, because it locates Elizabeth and her guest at the same event. The performance took place at a pivotal point in Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship, as Cecilia's status at court had begun to shift. The relationship between the Queen and the Swedish princess, initiated by Cecilia, developed through the exchange of letters and flourished during Cecilia's first few months at the Elizabethan court. For example, when Cecilia gave birth to her first-born child on September 15th, Elizabeth visited the new mother and her child, and on the last day of the month at a christening held in the palace chapel where Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Duke of Norfolk stood as god-parents. The friendship seemingly continued amicably over the festive period, where they were invited to weddings, and enjoyed a performance by the St. Paul's boys organised for the Swedes at their lodgings. However, Cecilia and Christopher accumulated debts quickly and soon after the performance Cecilia's dream turned sour, as her and her husband's debts had become uncontrollable; courtiers and creditors came after them. Before leaving she had to settle a debt of c. 15,000 crowns and had to use possessions such as her lavish dresses, to cover the cost. On April 29th, 1566, Cecilia wrote to Elizabeth and told her that she planned to cross from Dover to Calais on the same day. In the letter Cecilia thanked the queen for 'all favours shown to us' and signs it 'your good and faithful Sister'. Cecilia's eventful visit to the Elizabethan court offers a unique insight into how the line between friendship and diplomacy was constantly blurred at the Tudor court and how court life was designed to manage Elizabeth's relationships through performances and their role in the complex system of patronage and gift-exchanges.

This thesis provides the first full examination of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in order to explore the ways in which it commented on and negotiated Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship. It also contributes to ongoing critical debates about Tudor court performance, indoor performance, and school performance. This thesis will further our understanding of diplomacy and early modern literary, religious, political, and economic networks. It will demonstrate that the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* functioned as a vehicle for negotiating Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship through the use of iconography, the framework of patronage and gift-giving, and the spectacle of the performance. The following introduction outlines the minimal amount of critical work that there has been on the play-text and the performance, before outlining how this thesis argues the political significance of the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in negotiating Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship.

0.1 Literature Review

Sapientia Solomonis in Scholarship

Elizabeth attended at least three performances given by the Westminster School, and the council attended at least four performances between 1564/5 and 1567/8. Although it is the only surviving text of a performance given before Elizabeth I at Westminster School, *Sapientia Solomonis* has not received any extensive critical attention. James O. Halliwell appears to be the first to acknowledge the existence of *Sapientia Solomonis* in his work *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, published in 1860. The short entry for the play reads: 'Sapientia Solomonis. A Latin tragi-comedy, written by an English hand of the time of Queen Elizabeth. It was sold in the auction of the Bright collection of manuscripts, No. 225'.³ *Sapientia Solomonis* features in a few reference works published in the late-nineteenth and

³ James O. Halliwell, *Dictionary of Old English Plays* (London: John Russell Smith, 1860), p. 220.

early- twentieth centuries, where it is wrongly categorised as a university performance, or a performance given by the children of St. Pauls.⁴ Frederick S. Boas was the first to establish that the Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was based on the German playwright Sixt Birck's drama, and he does so in a footnote to his mention of a performance with the same name acted at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1559/60.⁵ Figuring merely as a small portion of a large survey on university drama, Boas only alludes to the fact that the Trinity performance might be the same adaption of Birck's drama as was performed at Westminster School in 1565/6, and does not acknowledge the existing connections between the Cambridge College and Westminster School. This thesis studies the close connection between the two institutions and the network of individuals associated with them, in order to explore how the play might have made its way from one to the other, and to demonstrate the social networks that underpinned the circulation of early modern play-texts. Boas briefly comments on the performance event in *An Introduction to Tudor Drama*, but it is clear that he has not studied the play or the surviving lists of expenses for the Westminster School Play, as he mistakes an expense for a haddock that was acquired for a performance of *Rudens* on February 6th, 1566, to be associated with *Sapientia Solomonis*.⁶ E. K. Chambers is aware of the performance before Elizabeth and Cecilia in *The Elizabethan Stage* but is uncertain where the performance took place and, because of the wide scope of the work, he does not go into any great detail on the event.⁷ This thesis will demonstrate that the Westminster School performance of

⁴ Frederick G. Fleay categorises the play as an anonymous university play in *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), and William C. Hazlitt revised Halliwell's entry and added Add. MS. B.M. 28, 061 as well as references Corser's catalogue for details on the Bright sale in *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1892). Michael F. J. McDonnell claimed that the play was performed by the children at St. Paul's in *History of St. Paul's School* (London: Champan and Hall, 1909), and George C. Smith includes the Cambridge performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in his list of Cambridge plays with a note saying the play might be based on Birck's play. George C. Smith, *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923).

⁵ Fredrick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), p. 21.

⁶ Frederick S. Boas, *An Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 19.

⁷ Edmund K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, I-IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923-1974).

Sapientia Solomonis took place in the Westminster School's College Hall, and was produced by the School itself.

The performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* figures briefly in introductions to work on another document connected to Cecilia's visit to Elizabeth. In *A Narrative of the Journey of Cecilia, Princess of Sweden, to the court of Queen Elizabeth* (Royal 17 C xxix), James Bell describes Cecilia's travels to England as a hazardous journey through stormy weathers and dangerous waters, but one that is followed through because of Cecilia's love and admiration for Queen Elizabeth. The manuscript has been transcribed twice, first by Margaret Morison in 1898 and second by Ethel Seaton in 1926.⁸ In her article, Morison includes transcriptions of some epistolary records attributed to or addressed to Elizabeth, different ambassadors, and from Cecilia herself, but does not discuss them at all. By studying records presented by Morison, alongside records that have never been studied before, this thesis is able to go further in understanding Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship, prior to, during, and after Cecilia's visit. I will suggest that Cecilia and Elizabeth developed a personal and intimate relationship through their letter-exchange, which took place in the years leading up to Cecilia's visit. Their relationship advanced in first months of Cecilia's visit through meetings, events, and gifts, however, the relationship changed during the course of Cecilia's stay, and by the time she left England, she was ridiculed at court.

Seaton dates Bell's account to 1565-6, which would mean that it was written during the Cecilia's stay in England, but not printed until after she had left.⁹ Seaton contextualizes the text in an introduction that theorizes on Cecilia's stay and its purpose and links a letter of complaint made by Cecilia of Baden addressed to her brother, King

⁸ Margaret Morison and James Bell, 'A Narrative of the Journey of Cecilia, Princess of Sweden, to the court of Queen Elizabeth', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (1898), pp. 181-224 and Ethel Seaton, *Queen Elizabeth & a Swedish Princess* (London: Haslewood Books, 1926).

⁹ Seaton, p. 5.

Eric of Sweden, to a performance during her stay in England. In the letter, Cecilia complains about a comedy she saw in England and how one of the characters made fun of her husband, and Seaton questions whether the complaint refers to the Westminster School performance or if the princess confused the occasion with another performance event that took place at the Savoy. Seaton leaves her questions unanswered, but her question illustrates the importance of court performances in negotiating international relations for the English court. This thesis is able to answer this question and carry out an extensive analysis of the performance event as politically significant for Elizabeth's relations. In his account, Bell likens Elizabeth to King Solomon, and Cecilia to the Queen of Sheba, in a similar way to how the Epilogue of *Sapientia Solomonis* draws parallels between the two women and the biblical figures. I will study Bell's account alongside the play and the performance event in Chapter 4, as it informs discussions of the iconography of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as Elizabeth and Cecilia.

Only one study of the performance copy BL. Add. MS. 20061 exists: Rogers Payne transcribed the manuscript and translated the Latin text into English in her book *Sapientia Solomonis – acted before the Queen by the boys of Westminster School January 17, 1565/6* (1938), as part of her of doctoral studies at Yale University.¹⁰ Rogers Payne spends some time analysing the source material for Birck's text, which she determines is mainly drawn from the Vulgate and from Josephus, in the Greek.¹¹ Rogers Payne crossreferences the manuscript with Birck's version of the play to provide an account of the changes and additions by the unknown adapter. In addition, Rogers Payne provides us with the never before printed 'The Bill for the Westminster Performance', WAM 54000, which details the costs for the performance, and she uses it to discuss some of the practicalities around the performance in her introduction to her transcription and translation of the drama,

¹⁰ Rogers Payne.

¹¹ Rogers Payne, pp. 15-20.

and yet she does not explore the political significance of the performance. Newly uncovered archival material presented in this thesis enable us to revisit BL. Add. MS. 20061 and WAM 54000, in order to provide a more thorough analysis of the performance. I have discovered an additional copy of the performance text, Folger V.a.212, and several accounts of Westminster performances given in the 1560s, which I have transcribed during the course of this thesis; I use these to give a new insight into various issues in the study of early modern court theatre and performance culture, indoor performances, patronage, and the role of court performances in negotiating Elizabeth's international relations.

Aside from these much older scholarly works, the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* appears briefly in some works on early modern playing. In *Biblical Drama Under the Tudors*, Ruth H. Blackburn provides passing comments on the Trinity College and Westminster School performances of the play, and reiterates Rogers Payne's argument that Birck's source material is the Vulgate and Josephus.¹² Michael Shapiro mentions the performance briefly in his survey work on the Children of the Revels and boy companies of Shakespeare's time but does not carry out any analysis of the performance.¹³ Shapiro does, however, grant the performance more attention in his article 'Early (Pre-1590) Boy Companies and their Acting Venues', where he argues that boy actors are leading examples of early modern performance being simultaneously ceremonial as well as political, and he writes: 'like many court plays, *Sapientia Solomonis* was at once both part of a ceremonial exchange of gifts and a vehicle for political statement'.¹⁴ According to Shapiro, the Westminster School offers Elizabeth the performance in order to pay homage to their royal patron. In addition, Shapiro acknowledges the performance event

¹² Ruth H. Blackburn, *Biblical Drama Under the Tudors* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

¹³ Michael Shapiro, *Children of the Revels – the Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and Their Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

¹⁴ Michael Shapiro, 'Early (Pre-1590) Boy Companies and their Acting Venues', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, Dutton, Richard (Ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 124.

as an important device for international politics in that it functioned as a display of power of one realm to another and, more importantly, as a diplomatic tool in negotiating Anglo-Scandinavian relationships. According to Shapiro, the links set up in the Epilogue of the play-text between Princess Cecilia and the Queen of Sheba had diplomatic implications since King Eric XIV's goodwill was important for Elizabeth's attempts to break into the Baltic shipping trade as well as create alliances with Protestant countries.¹⁵ Shapiro's analysis of the performance is a small reference in a short book chapter, whereas this thesis is the first full analysis of the diplomatic meaning of the performance. While agreeing with Shapiro's notion that the performance is a diplomatic tool for Anglo-Swedish relationships, this thesis is able to provide a more detailed study of the ways in which the event is created as such through studying the performance from three different critical perspectives: iconography, patronage, and performance production. I will demonstrate that the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* not only paid homage to the Queen, but presented an ideal ruler in the form of the pious King Solomon for her to model herself on, and that the production used iconography, scenes displaying court-culture, and spectacle to reinforce the hierarchical relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia.

The Westminster School adaptation of *Sapientia Solomonis* is interesting not only for its performance context, but for its content too. In his article 'Solomon, Gender, and Empire in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*', William Tate draws links between the drama and the international politics that Elizabeth led and the Princess of Sweden was a part of. He writes in reference to a scene between the King of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the play that:

The performance of the scene before Queen Elizabeth and Princess Cecilia implies, therefore, that Cecilia's visit pays a figurative tribute,

¹⁵ Shapiro, 'Early (Pre-1590) Boy Companies and their Acting Venues', p. 123.

suggesting Sweden's recognition of England's political and mercantile leadership.¹⁶

Tate offers a political reading of the play-text and the performance event in order to introduce King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as symbols that go beyond the boundaries of the play itself. He proceeds to explore medieval ideas of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as demonic entities, as represented in Marlowe's play *Doctor Faustus*. He argues that the play

will admit an understanding of Elizabeth's Solmonic desire for imperial power which finds such desire culpable and, at the same time, an understanding of her feminine rule which finds it, like the queen of Sheba's, politically threatening.¹⁷

Tate thus argues that the links between the representations of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in *Doctor Faustus* are inherently complex and contain many possible readings. As the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* only features as an introduction to Tate's analysis of *Doctor Faustus*, he does not extend this reading of the representations of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the play. This thesis is the first to carry out a focused study of the political significance of the links set up between Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, Elizabeth, and Cecilia. It will argue that, in line with Tate's observation concerning the representations of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in *Dr Faustus*, when the play linked Elizabeth to King Solomon and Cecilia to the Queen of Sheba, it problematized the relationship between the two women. Furthermore, I will argue that the performance urges Cecilia to submit to Elizabeth's magnificence, and implied, therefore, that Sweden is inferior to England. After considering literature on the play, I will now move on to examine literature on early modern Anglo-Swedish connections through performance, literature and politics.

¹⁶ William Tate, 'Solomon, Gender, and Empire Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*', in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 37 (1997), pp. 257-276, p. 258.

¹⁷ Tate, p. 272.

Anglo-Swedish Relations

English-language scholarship has been interested in early modern court theatre as a platform for Anglo-European relations, however, the focus of these studies has been on the years 1590-1670, and the work mainly concentrates on English travelling players on the continent as part of studies of the interregnum, Restoration theatre and performance. For example, English travelling players are mentioned in Chambers, and Bentley felt the need to explicitly tell his readers that he will not consider actors traveling in Germany as a part of his *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (1941).¹⁸ Both Leslie Hotson and Jerzy Limon use George Jolly, an actor and a company director who travelled and performed in Continental and Northern Europe during the 1640s and 50s, as a case study for understanding European court performance and its influence on travelling players and the Restoration theatre.¹⁹ Both Hotson and Limon ground their work on early modern theatres and performance practices in Anglo-European connections, however they do not include studies of North Europe to any great extent and therefore neglect Scandinavia as a part of the history of early modern Anglo-European relations through drama and performance. This thesis brings early modern Anglo-Swedish relations to the forefront of our consciousness as it informs our understanding of court drama as a vehicle for Anglo-European relations in an earlier period than has been considered in scholarship to date.

There is a small corpus of work that has put Anglo-Swedish literary relations at the forefront of their study, however, it too covers a later period. In 1936, Ethel Seaton's *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* was published, and is the first work to consider Anglo-Scandinavian literary relations to any great extent. Seaton positions her survey of early modern English knowledge of Scandinavia in a larger

¹⁸ Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Vol. 1: Dramatic companies and players* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941) p. v.

¹⁹ Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, (Russel & Russel Inc: New York, 1962) and Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

framework of Anglo-Scandinavian political, economic, and religious relations. Covering a breadth of topics such as: trade and travel, political ties between Great Britain with Sweden and Denmark, and the visits and works of scholars and antiquarians, Seaton highlights the important role the socio-political and economic landscape of nations play when investigating early modern international literary relations. For example, English interest in Anglo-Scandinavian trade and European warfare generated literature such as Westminster School-educated Richard Hakluyt's (1552?-1616) work *The Principall Navigations*, which presented the Elizabethans with the importance of trade between England and the Scandinavian countries during the Middle Ages.²⁰ Seaton argues that the English knowledge of Scandinavia gradually developed from ignorance because of authors such as George North (d.1581), Samuel Purchas (d. 1626) and Hakluyt in the seventeenth century.²¹ Seaton also acknowledges the impact of Erik XIV's proposal to Elizabeth in creating Anglo-Swedish literary and personal relations. For example, she gives an account of Duke John of Finland's, brother to Cecilia and Erik XIV, presence at the English court where he championed his brother's proposal to Elizabeth, and made mention of Cecilia's visit too. Whereas Seaton only devotes a small portion of what is a large study to drama, this thesis will further our understanding of Anglo-Swedish relations mediated through drama and performance by considering the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* as a case study. This study reveals that Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship was actively commented on and that by linking the two women to the characters of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the play, it superimposed a hierarchical structure on their relationship.

In the monograph *Elizabethan Players in Sweden 1591-92* Erik Wikland forwarded the view that Swedish drama was influenced by English drama. He argues that some

²⁰ Ethel Seaton, *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 25.

²¹ Seaton, p. 24-26.

Swedish dramatists had been inspired whilst studying abroad, or through family members, and writes:

Although, the English company had no immediate effect on Swedish drama, the possibility remains that Dr. Homodei [and his interest in the English stage] may have inspired his brother-in-law Messenius while they were both in Danzig; Asteropherus, perhaps indirectly, may also have had his attention draw to English playwrights in this way.²²

Without any further evidence than the records of visitations abroad and of the Swedish playwright Johannes Messenius's (1579-1636), family tree, Wikland's argument remains vague.²³ The monograph was published in 1962 and is the first detailed study of English players in Sweden. He studies a group of English players that came directly from London to play at the future Charles IX's court in the central provinces of Sweden. It is still not known if these players would have performed music only, or whether they had also engaged in theatrical performances.

Shakespeare in Sweden is the focus of Gunnar Sorelius's article 'The Rise of Shakespeare "Idolatry" in Sweden', which was published in English in *Literature and its Cults – an anthropological approach* (1994). Sorelius draws on the discoveries of Shakespearean plays in Swedish possession, Swedish literary criticism, doctoral theses, performance records, and translations in his survey of the rising Swedish interest in Shakespeare in the eighteenth century.²⁴ He argues that Sweden's rich source of Nordic

²² Erik Wikland, *Elizabethan Players in Sweden 1591-1592* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962), p. 111.

²³ Gustaf Ljunggren's (1823-1905) work focuses Swedish Drama up until the end of the seventeenth century. Ljunggren argues that the humanist movement from Germany heavily influenced Sweden's native drama produced in the 1500s. Furthermore, he draws on nineteenth century scholar Albert Cohn's work on the reciprocal impact English and German Comedians had on each other's dramatists; he argues that German drama was influenced, in turn, by English traveling acting groups and that Swedish scholars would bring these influences with them back to Sweden after their studies at German universities. However, he stands in opposition to Swedish author Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785-1827) who linked Swedish university professor and playwright Messenius to William Shakespeare, and says that it is not probable that Messenius would take after the English bard since he probably never had heard of him. Ljunggren continues and says that such a comparison would be anything but good for Messenius, but who would not look bad in the light of Shakespeare's geniality? Ljunggren, *Svenska Dramat intill Slutet av Sjuttondet Århundrandet*, (Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1864), pp. 299-300.

²⁴ Gunnar Sorelius, 'The Rise of Shakespeare "Idolatry" in Sweden', in *Literature and its Cults – an anthropological approach*, edited by Péter Dávidházi and Judit Karafiáth (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994), pp. 67-80.

myths and lore enabled Swedish scholars, translators, and students of Shakespeare to appreciate the romantic aspects of his work that were more difficult for others to access.

He writes:

They were able to accept at an early stage the mystic and magical sides of Shakespeare as represented, for example, by the witches in *Macbeth*; in other words to appreciate Shakespeare's specifically romantic aspects and to incorporate them into their own amalgamation of Nordic, Celtic and classical myth and history.²⁵

Sorelius reveals how Shakespeare, paired with Nordic myths and sagas, became important for Swedish Romanticism, and later played a part in the creation of a Swedish national stage.²⁶ Sorelius's article serves as an excellent introduction to Anglo-Swedish literary relations as he prefaces his main argument with an overview of the period from c. 1590 to modern day.

Gunilla Dahlberg's monograph *Kommediantteatern i 1600-talets Stockholm* studies English traveling companies, players, and their performance spaces in Sweden as a part of her larger study on theatre in Stockholm during the seventeenth century. Dahlberg's work is based on an extensive archival research containing the years 1632-1699, thus starting at the time when Stockholm was appointed to be the administrative centre for power and ending with the French troupe Rosidor's monopoly of the Stockholm theatre scene. Dahlberg sets out to answer three questions:

- 1) What foreign players appeared at the Swedish royal courts and for the general public in the Vasa and Caroline periods?
- 2) What were their technical resources?
- 3) What were the main elements of their repertory?

Dahlberg's sources necessitate the broad questions and allow her to create groundbreaking work on Swedish theatre history that had never been done to such an extent before. Dahlberg successfully redresses existing scholarship including

²⁵ Sorelius, p. 80.

²⁶ Sorelius, p. 69 and p.73.

misconceptions of an archetype of early modern traveling players, their theatres, and drama; and she informs her arguments with new findings from her extensive work in Swedish archives. Dahlberg contests earlier Swedish scholarship by showing that there is no direct evidence of English influences on Swedish drama. First, she criticizes previous scholarship for not acknowledging the fundamental difference in early modern Swedish drama to that of English drama. Swedish drama was not written for a commercial theatre in the way that English drama was. During this period, drama in Sweden would mainly be used at universities in the teaching according to a humanist curriculum, whereas English drama would mainly be used to draw audiences to the public playhouses. Second, Dahlberg contests the idea that all travelling players would keep within one repertory. Instead she argues that ‘it is more likely that some categories of traveling companies would have performed similar performances, that would have differentiated them from other categories of companies or from the plays at the playhouses’.²⁷ Because the players would have a varying repertory, one for which we have no evidence, it is impossible to detect to what extent Swedish drama was influenced by English traveling players. Third, by looking into the source used by Cohn and the Swedish scholars, *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* (1620), she claims that the arguments of previous scholars are unstable. The publication was a collection of plays based on English drama by, for example, Kyd, Marlowe, and Shakespeare, all written in prose German. Dahlberg writes:

It is not enough to question how representative the German publications of *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* during the 1600s are for the Dutch and German Comedians, or for all the English traveling companies on the continent for that matter. It is not certain the publications are representative for any traveling companies at all!²⁸

²⁷ Gunilla Dahlberg, *Komediantteatern i 1600-talets Stockholm*, (Stockholm: Stockholmsmonografier utgivna av Stockholms Stad: 1992), p. 337.

²⁸ Dahlberg, pp. 335-6.

In other words, we cannot trust *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* to be a true source of information regarding the repertory of traveling players. Moreover, because there is no evidence that the English players did in fact perform plays represented in *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* we have to reassess not only the drama that would be performed by the traveling players, but also Swedish drama during the period too. Dahlberg thus destabilizes the nineteenth century scholars' source and problematizes the idea that Shakespeare would have had any influence on Swedish drama.

The prevalent scholarship on Elizabethan foreign policy is Ibero-centric, and divided into a period before and after the Spanish Armada in 1588. Although not considering Anglo-Swedish relationships to any extent, Richard B. Wernham's work on Elizabethan policy provides a foundation for our understanding of the close connection between Elizabethan foreign policy and Elizabeth's marital status:

For foreign policy was not only vitally concerned with England's independence and security; it was also of vital concern to Elizabeth personally. She was the unmarried Queen of a realm whose fate could decisively affect the destinies of all Europe. Her choice of a husband might, as Mary had so recently proved, ruin her popularity at home and by tempting foreign interventions make the British Isles the battleground of Europe. Equally it could upset the delicate balance between Habsburg and Valois and tilt the scales decisively between Catholicism and Protestantism abroad.²⁹

Erik XIV's proposal to Elizabeth therefore carried vast implications of religious, economic, and political magnitude that affected the whole of Europe, and Cecilia's visit and the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* took place during these marriage negotiations, which sparked interest among courtiers and other foreign visitors

²⁹ Richard B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: the growth of English foreign policy 1485-1588* (London: Cape, 1966), p. 235. This claim is repeated in Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy 1558-1603* (London: University of California Press, 1980), p. 4, where he writes: 'During at least the first twenty or twenty-five years of her reign, it so often became entangled with the question of her own marriage and the question of the succession to her throne – the first a matter of some personal concern to herself; the second a matter of no less close concern to her subjects, who would still be there to rejoice or suffer after she herself was gone'.

alike. Furthermore, Cecilia and her husband developed relationships with the Spanish ambassador, the earl of Arundel, and others that had their own political agendas at the Elizabethan court. Studying Cecilia's visit and this performance event allows this thesis to contribute to discussions of Elizabethan foreign policy and inform our understanding of performance as a vehicle for negotiating international relations. I will suggest that the performance reinforced Elizabeth's magnificence and superiority and worked to undermine Cecilia's status at court.

The existing scholarship on Anglo-Swedish relations during the early modern period is mainly in Swedish and focuses on the various men that travelled between the two courts because of Erik XIV's proposal to Elizabeth. In his study of Erik XIV's English negotiations Ingvar Andersson provides a detailed chronological account of Erik XIV's proposal to Elizabeth, and the several people who travelled between the two nations as a result of it, which he bases on archival studies, especially epistolary records.³⁰ In the course of this thesis I have transcribed several letters that have not been studied until now (see Appendices 4,5,6, and 7), which enables this thesis to go further in analyzing Anglo-Swedish relationships.

One important English study of the history of Sweden during the sixteenth century is Michael Roberts's *The Early Vasas – a history of Sweden 1523-1611* (1968), which sets out to provide 'an elementary introduction to the subject'.³¹ The starting date of Roberts's study is the year when Sweden, under the leadership of the rebel Gustav Vasa (1496-1560), broke the Union with Denmark and Norway and became an independent nation. Roberts then proceeds with studies of Erik XIV, Johan III, Sigismund, and ends his book with Karl IX, who was the last of Gustav Vasa's sons on the Swedish throne.

³⁰ Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar – studier i svenske diplomati och handelspolitik* (Lund: Gleerup, 1935).

³¹ Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas – a history of Sweden 1523-1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p.

Missing from his study are the many women who were central to the Vasa House; Gustav Vasa had five daughters besides his four sons. The Vasa women are somewhat more represented in Herman Lindqvist's work on Swedish history and the Vasa family, however only a small portion of his studies are focused on Cecilia and her stay in England.³²

There is one study of Cecilia Vasa, who was the second oldest sister, written by Fridolf Ödberg and published in 1896.³³ Ödberg's study is based on an archival study of Swedish records however in the 122 years since its publication the discovery of many new records make it necessary to revise our knowledge of Cecilia and her stay at Elizabeth's court. The five Vasa daughters are the central focus of a Swedish biography called *Vasadöttrarna*, by Karin Tegenborg Falkdalen.³⁴ She outlines the lives of each of Gustav Vasa's daughters, Katarina, Cecilia, Anna, Sofia, and Elizabeth, in an attempt to redress the inattention to women by many studies of history. This thesis builds on Falkdalen's work and by concentrating on Cecilia and her relationship to Elizabeth it is able to carry out a more detailed and thorough study of a Vasa woman than has previously been achieved, and demonstrate that Anglo-Swedish relations were less male-centric than present scholarship suggests.

Networks

In addition to informing our understanding of Anglo-Swedish literary and political, the study of *Sapientia Solomonis* enables me to further our knowledge of Early Modern Anglo-Continental literary, scholarly, Protestant, and epistolary networks. It is evident from existing scholarship on early modern networks that Humanism and religious affiliation forged many of the links across nations as well as institutions. Literary and scholarly

³² Herman Lindqvist, *Historien om Sverige – Gustav Vasa och hans söner och döttrar* (Stockholm: Norstedts Förlag, 1993, 2000). Lindqvist, *De Vilda Vasarna, en våldsam historia* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2016).

³³ Fridolf Ödberg, *Om prinsessan Cecilia af Baden-Rodenmachern – Anteckningar* (Stockholm: C.E. Fritzes Kungl. Hofbokhandel, 1896).

³⁴ Karin Tegenborg Falkdalen, *Vasadöttrarna* (Lund: Historiska Media, 2010).

networks are closely tied to Protestant and Humanist networks, and at their centre were the printing houses on the continent. In the following section I will outline relevant critical work on early modern Anglo-German literary relations, Protestant, exile and scholastic networks, as well as letter-networks in order to provide an overview of how my thesis are engaging with these scholarly discussions.

Charles H. Herford published the first comprehensive study of early modern Anglo-German literary relations in 1886.³⁵ Herford studied lyrical poems, Latin drama, and groups of literature that he divided into four categories: *Faustus*, *Ulen Spiegel*, *Narrenschiff* and *Grobianus*, in order to examine their influence upon English literature and found that for the most part, English literature followed in the German humanists' footsteps. The section on *Ulen Spiegel*, work containing a prankster from the early sixteenth century, includes an extensive study of a character in the same tradition called Markolf. The character Markolf appears alongside King Solomon in medieval and early modern literature, and is figured in *Sapientia Solomonis* as Marcolph. Herford provides a foundation of knowledge of the variations of the character; however, he does not include *Sapientia Solomonis* in his discussion. In fact, Sixt Birck is mentioned in the section on Latin drama. Herford does not examine *Sapientia Solomonis* or explore the links between Oporinus' printing house, where Birck's drama was printed, and Cambridge University or Westminster School. By focusing on *Sapientia Solomonis* and carrying out a comparative literary analysis of Birck's version and Westminster School's adaptation, I am able to provide an in-depth study of the drama. Furthermore, studying the networks of people around the printing houses on the Continent, and their links to Cambridge University and Westminster School, I will demonstrate that it is most likely that an English Protestant exile working at Oporinus's printing house brought *Sapientia Solomonis* over to England.

³⁵ Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxon: Cambridge University Press, 1886, 1966, 2005).

English exiles on the continent during Mary Tudor's reign created and spread Protestant propaganda with the help of the printing houses. Christina H. Garrett argues in *The Marian Exiles – A study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* that the exile became a way for the English Protestant gentry to 'organize themselves into a formidable 'opposition'. Through misfortune they had gained solidarity as a party; and in the comparative security of Germany they soon developed a political technique which employed every 'slogan' to the party 'press'.³⁶ The press was the printing houses in which many of the exiles, such as John Bale and John Foxe, worked. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein forwards the argument and writes that Protestantism 'surely was the first fully to exploit its potential as a mass medium'.³⁷ However, Winthrop S. Hudson points out in *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan settlement of 1559*, that to view the Marian exiles as the *raison d'être* of established Elizabethan Protestant networks, is to misconstrue the reality of early modern Protestant groups. Hudson examines a network called the Athenians, which started as a group of young scholars at Cambridge, brought together by their conviction to study the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek.³⁸ According to Hudson, it did not matter that not all members of the group went into exile: "Ties were maintained between those who went into exile, such as Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Edwin Sandys, Anthony Cooke, and Francis Knollys, and those who did not, such as Matthew Parker, William Bill, Nicholas Bacon, and William Cecil".³⁹ While Garrett positions the Protestant network in the exile community on the Continent, Hudson claims an earlier origin for it at the University of Cambridge and emphasises the close connection of Protestant networks and scholarly networks. Furthermore, as both Garrett and Eisenstein

³⁶ Christina H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles – A study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938, reprinted 1966), p. 43.

³⁷ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 304.

³⁸ Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan settlement of 1559* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1980), p. 3.

³⁹ Hudson, p. 6.

argue, the printing houses became essential to successfully disseminate Protestant propaganda, and humanist ideals, and so propelled the spreading of humanist ideals in literature. Building on Garrett and Hudson's work, this study examines the networks connecting Cambridge, the Protestant exile community around the printing presses on the Continent, Westminster School, and the court, in order to uncover how the adapted version of *Sapientia Solomonis* came to be performed at Westminster School. The network of people who had been in exile, the scholarly networks surrounding Cambridge and the Westminster School, and the network of significant individuals connected with Elizabeth's court overlapped to such a degree that it is most likely that the Westminster School version of *Sapientia Solomonis* came from Basle, via the performance at Cambridge.

Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert have also focused on Protestant networks in their examination of early modern epistolary records.⁴⁰ By carrying out a quantitative network analysis, they are able to map the main players of the Protestant letter networks during the reign of Mary Tudor. Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert argue that 'early modern correspondence provides a unique textual witness to social relations and structures' and that letters 'can tell modern scholars about the working of specific social groups: who its members were, and how they related to one another'.⁴¹ I am employing these ideas in my study of the letter exchange that took place between Elizabeth, Cecilia, and other individuals close to them, prior to Cecilia's visit to England, in order to suggest that Cecilia made use of the network of people that formed around Eric XIV's proposal to Elizabeth, to further her relationship with the English Queen.

A vast number of Elizabeth's letters have been compiled by George B. Harrison, who concludes that 'In her letters, as in her life, she was always Queen of England'.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian e. Ahnert, 'Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach', in *ELH: journal of English literary history*, 82, (2015), p. 1-33.

⁴¹ Ahnert and Ahnert, pp. 2,3.

⁴² Elizabeth I, Queen of England, *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by George B. Harrison (London: Cassell and Company, 1935), p. xvi.

Harrison edited collection is mainly male-centric, and the few letters addressed to women are expressions of condolences for deceased family members (often male), or reprimands. The collection demonstrates a professional, who allowed little room for expressions of personal emotion. Harrison writes:

The Queen wrote to command, to exhort, to censure, to persuade, and sometimes to prevaricate: but she has no familiar confidant, man or woman. It was this loneliness which gave her strength but prevented her from opening her heart to anyone.⁴³

On the basis of Harrison's collection, the letter exchange between Elizabeth and Cecilia appears to have been an anomaly, which provides an exciting new insight to Elizabeth's letter writing. Elizabeth's letter to Cecilia does not comply with the description Harrison provides above, instead, it actively seeks to further a personal relationship. In this thesis I have transcribed letters and examined letters that have never been studied before, and they present an opportunity to study the development of a relationship through letter-writing.

James Daybell's extensive work on early modern letter-writing in England lays the foundation for analysing epistolary records in this thesis. In *Women letter-writers in Tudor England* (2006) Daybell puts forward the argument that letters of petition, which constituted near one-third of the letters women produced during the sixteenth century, differed little from those written by men. Daybell writes:

The importance of this reading lies in the confidence and self-assurance that it attributes to women dealing with patronage matters; indeed, [...] many women demonstrated in their letters an easy familiarity in using a language of patronage, favour, and 'political friendship' – a language viewed as predominantly male.

Women were thus able to operate on the same political level as men in the writing of letters of petition. This understanding informs my analysis of Cecilia's letters to Elizabeth, wherein Cecilia is able to request Elizabeth's friendship and her blessing to

⁴³ Harrison, p. Xiv.

visit the English court, in petition letters. Furthermore, in *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (2012), Daybell reveal the process of letter-writing to be ‘a complex (often collaborative rather than solitary) activity. It was a social transaction that could involve layers of secretarial input at different stages of the epistolary process’.⁴⁴ Letters were dictated, drafted, re-drafted, and depended upon yet more hands to deliver them to their addressees. As we shall see, Elizabeth and Cecilia’s letters were produced just so, and their exchange involved a network of people connected to both the English and the Swedish court. I will demonstrate in this thesis that Elizabeth and Cecilia’s letter exchange was not only a material exchange, it depended upon and helped develop a network of people who facilitated their relationship at the beginning too -a network that also injured their relationship during Cecilia’s stay at Elizabeth’s court.

Iconography

This section considers scholarship on iconography and typology in order to provide the necessary foundation for discussions on their use in the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* to comment on and negotiate Elizabeth and Cecilia’s relationship. The Westminster School adaptation of *Sapientia Solomonis* included a Prologue and Epilogue that were specifically written for the performance before the English queen and the Swedish princess. Both the Prologue and the Epilogue compare Elizabeth to Solomon, and the Epilogue compares Cecilia to the Queen of Sheba. In doing so the performance made use of the iconography of an Old Testament king who ruled by divine right to reinforce Elizabeth’s superiority over the Swedish princess, who like the Queen of Sheba had travelled far to visit the court of a famous monarch. Some scholars have alluded to the fact that there is an iconographical link between the characters of King

⁴⁴ James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), p. 10.

Solomon and the Queen of Sheba to the two royal women in the audience, but have not considered the typological link between them. Studying the Westminster School performance from the perspectives of iconography and typology unlocks a network of references used to modify the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia. This thesis is the first to apply a typological study to the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and with this analysis, I am able to consider the extent to which the performance commented on and negotiated Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship in a more detailed way than previous scholars have done. In this way, I argue, iconography as embodied in the performance is crucial to understanding Anglo-Swedish political relationships.

Iconography, the branch of history of art that allows us to study the meaning of a work of art that lies beyond its construction, is, according to Erwin Panofsky, concerned 'with the subject matter of meaning of works of art, as opposed to their forms'.⁴⁵ Panofsky developed a three-levelled system for the interpretation of a work of art: 1) pre-iconographical description, 2) iconographical analysis, and 3) iconographical interpretation in a deeper sense.⁴⁶ This system poses some problems in that the three levels are not sufficient enough for analysing iconography in the play *Sapientia Solomonis*. The first level deals with the '*primary or natural* subject matter', which recognises an image in its most basic form, without any previous knowledge of it. At this level, we could interpret the two characters King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in Scene 5.6 of *Sapientia Solomonis*, where the Queen of Sheba arrives at the court of King Solomon, as a man and a woman. The lines spoken in the play, however, already put us at level two, thus making the pre-iconographical description redundant for our study. The second level concerns the '*Secondary or conventional* subject matter' which requires familiarity with literary sources. At this level the two characters from the scene are recognised as a king and a

⁴⁵ Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939 and Oxford: Harper Torchbook, 1962), p. 1.

⁴⁶ Panofsky, p. 14.

queen, and with the addition of their lines, potentially even as a king and queen from the Bible. The third level is consequently concerned with everything else that is needed for interpreting the meaning of the two characters in the scene, their relationship to the rest of the play, and the context of the performance event. Although Panofsky's system is problematic as a method for interpreting iconography, it does point out that it is important, when interpreting iconography, to be aware of the 'history of *cultural symptoms* or '*symbols*' in general (insight into the manner which, under varying historical conditions, *essential tendencies of the human mind* were expressed by specific *themes* and *concepts*'.⁴⁷ Therefore, there is direct link between a greater understanding of the early modern worldview and the study of contemporary cultural symbols conveyed in iconography. Which is why, I am analysing the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* from an iconographical perspective.

Iconography was employed by the Tudors as a way of dynastic self-promotion. According to John N. King, Henry VII laid the foundation for Tudor Royal iconography when the king created his self-image upon an orthodox devotion to Christ, to the Virgin Mary, to St. George, and to Henry VI as a "saint and martyr".⁴⁸ After Henry VII, Tudor Royal iconography became an important part of a king or a queen's image-making, and artists and playwrights turned to typology when producing it. King examines the use of King Solomon in Tudor iconography to project exemplary rulership by divine right, and makes a reference to the Westminster School's performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and the links set up between the Old Testament figures of King Solomon and Elizabeth, and the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia. However, he does not fully consider the impact of a typological interpretation of the iconography presented in the play, nor does he examine the play in any great detail. Susan Doran only briefly refers to the parallels between

⁴⁷ Panofsky, p. 15.

⁴⁸ John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. xv.

Elizabeth and King Solomon put forward by the play and suggests that King Solomon worked as a model of kingship for the Queen to follow, she does not consider the parallel set up by the play between the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia.⁴⁹

Existing scholarship on Elizabethan iconography is concentrated upon the development of the image of Elizabeth as a Virgin queen, where parallels were drawn between Virgin Mary and the English Queen. Roy Strong explains the phenomenon as ‘a new secular mythology’ and writes:

The cult of Gloriana was skilfully created to buttress public order and, even more, deliberately to replace the pre-Reformation externals of religion, the cult of the Virgin and saints with their attendant images, processions, ceremonies and secular rejoicing. So instead of the many aspects of the cult of Our Lady, we have the ‘several loves’ of the Virgin Queen; instead of the rituals and festivities of Corpus Christi, Easter or Ascensiontide, we have the new fêtes of Elizabeth’s Accession Day and birthday.⁵⁰

Mainly concentrating on portraiture, Strong argues that a cult image of the Queen developed during her reign, which projected a carefully curated image to its beholder.⁵¹

Kevin Sharpe similarly argues in *Selling the Tudors: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (2009) that ‘the Tudor theatricalisation of monarchy’ was consciously used by Elizabeth and her councillors to create a connection between the Queen and England.⁵²

Helen Hackett furthered Strong’s work in *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen – Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1995) and pointed out that the iconography used typology as a way to reinforce Elizabeth’s divine claim to the English throne.⁵³ However, Hackett claims that ‘the identifications of Elizabeth with the Virgin which occur in such typology operate not to supplant Mary, but to use her and her sanctity as a touchstone by which to claim

⁴⁹ Susan Doran in ‘Elizabeth 1: An Old Testament King’, in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. by Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 95-110, p. 97.

⁵⁰ Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth – Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 16.

⁵¹ Roy Strong, *Gloriana – The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987).

⁵² Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudors: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009), p. 62.

⁵³ Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen – Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 10.

divine endorsement for Elizabeth's own rule'.⁵⁴ According to Hackett then, there was not a transference of devotion from the Virgin Mary to Elizabeth, as previously argued by scholars, instead, the typology in iconography of Virgin Mary as Elizabeth was used to emphasise Elizabeth's position as a divinely-ordained monarch. In this thesis I am examining some early modern examples where King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba are employed as figural representations, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the many meanings these two figures held, and I will apply this understanding to my analysis of King Solomon as a representation of Elizabeth and the Queen of Sheba as a representation of Cecilia.

Typology is, according to the OED, 'the study of symbolic representation, especially of the origin and meaning of Scripture types', where type is 'that which something is symbolized or figured; anything having a symbolical signification; a symbol, emblem' especially 'in Theology a person, object, or event of Old Testament history, prefiguring some person or thing in the new dispensation'. In other words, 'typology' refers to the making of the link between types. The OED lists 1850 as the first occurrence of 'typology' in England, and 'type' is recorded in use in c. 1500. However, the idea of 'typology' was established much earlier, by the Church Fathers. The two words 'type' and 'typology' derive from the Greek τύπος and have the Latin counterpart: *figura* that is used in 'figural interpretation'. The history of the semantics of *figura* informs my analysis of *Sapientia Solomonis*, as it furthers my understanding of early modern concepts of the world. Erich Auerbach's seminal study of the semantics of *figura* presents the development of the word's complex meaning and usage from its first occurrence in c. 160 B.C to the Church Fathers.⁵⁵ First employed to mean 'form' by Terence, the term *figura* underwent a change and by the time of Saint Augustine it was the 'Latin word used for historic

⁵⁴ Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, p. 10.

⁵⁵ Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1973), pp. 11-76.

prefiguration'. Historical prefiguration takes place when historical people or events from the Old Testament foreshadows the future.⁵⁶

Alongside the spread of Christianity, however, came a wish to distance oneself from the Old Testament. Instead of a 'book of laws and a history of the people of Israel', the Old Testament started to be considered as 'a series of figures of Christ and the Redemption'.⁵⁷ The figures from the Old Testament were no longer real but only representations of what they prefigured, which in turn were considered real. After the Reformation there was a change in thought again; the Europeans viewed the Old Testament as Jewish history and Jewish law, and so giving them a sense of history.⁵⁸ Figural interpretation has now come to signify what we mean with typology. Auerbach writes:

Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfils the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life.⁵⁹

To illustrate, when the Queen of Sheba brings gifts to the King of Solomon in the Old Testament (1 Kings 10 and II Chronicles), it is in itself a meaningful event, but it is also a prefiguration of the Magi presenting their gifts to the newly born Saviour; the Nativity completes the prefiguration by being the very thing it points to. The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the Magi's visit to Jesus, thus, were each believed to be anchored in a historic reality; they were real, distinct in time, but typologically linked together by one being the type prefiguring the other. The understanding of prefiguration is important for my analysis of *Sapientia Solomonis* as it provides an insight to how the early modern Europeans viewed the world in which they lived.

⁵⁶ Auerbach, pp. 11 and 47.

⁵⁷ Auerbach, p. 52.

⁵⁸ Auerbach, p. 53.

⁵⁹ Auerbach, p. 53.

The example above is from the Bible, but is typology applicable to works of art too? Auerbach does flag up a potential uncertainty about whether or not other sources than the Bible can offer a *figura*. He writes: 'It is not quite clear to me how far aesthetic ideas were determined by figural conceptions – to what extent the work of art was viewed as the *figura* of a still unattainable fulfilment in reality'.⁶⁰ In other words, it is uncertain if works of art, such as the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis*, could perform prefiguration. In place of prefigurations, the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* contains suggestions formed both visually and textually. Therefore, I am not arguing that the production set out to perform a prefiguration, instead, I argue that the production made use of the early modern framework of prefiguration in order to comment on Elizabeth's queenship and her relationship with Cecilia.

To approach the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* through the lenses of early modern iconography and typology, is to access the network of cultural references that were employed in the performance to create meaning. Clifford Davidson argues that when staging early English drama, it is necessary to consider dramatic texts within the framework of their performed context. He writes:

Working with a text alone apart from the iconographic and visual context of the drama- a practice that is all too frequent in modern productions – will therefore be insufficient as a dramaturgical method designed to uncover the secrets of the visual structure implied in the language of dialogue. The effects thus achieved will hardly of necessity be consistent with the effects that pertained in the early performance of the drama.⁶¹

Although Davidson refers to the staging of texts, the methodology of considering play-texts within their visual framework, I argue, is necessary in any analysis of drama in order to unlock meaning. It is instrumental to consider the production's layers of meaning since its social and political commentary of the production are complex in that attempts made

⁶⁰ Auerbach, p. 62.

⁶¹ Clifford Davidson, 'Positional Symbolism and English Medieval Drama', in *Comparative Drama*, 1, (1991), pp. 66-76, p. 68.

in public ceremony to persuade often reveal of the very limits of the act of persuasion. In this thesis, I am considering the visual context of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* alongside the play-text in order to re-imagine the iconography created in the production, and the typology reinforced by the iconography, in order to unravel the many cultural references in the performance which commented on Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship.

Patronage and Early Modern Gift Culture

Gift-exchanges and patronage were crucial to the Elizabethan court and played a part in forming, negotiating, and maintaining relationships between Elizabeth and the people around her. In *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (1966), John Nichols presents a comprehensive study of court accounts that reveal the importance of the tradition of the New Year Gifts in upholding the relationship between the Queen and her subjects.⁶² Nichols' work has provided a foundation for succeeding work on the role of gift-exchanges in early modern court culture. Jane A. Lawson for example, furthered our understanding of the New Year Gifts in *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559-1603* (2013), and Felicity Heal makes the link between early modern gifts and the exercise of power explicit in *The Power of Gifts* (2014).⁶³ As we will see, gift-exchanges framed Cecilia's and Elizabeth's relationship, as tokens were sent via letters before the visit, favours were shown during the visit, and parting gifts were given as Cecilia left England. In his seminal work on gifts and gift exchanges called *The Gift* (1967), Marcel Mauss studies archaic societies and found that gift exchange has three obligatory actions: to give, to receive, and to repay. Upholding or breaking this structure could have vast implications

⁶² John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, I* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1966).

⁶³ Jane A. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges 1559-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

on the relationship of the exchangers. In this thesis I am applying this structure of gift exchange to my analysis of the gifts and favours that passed between Cecilia and Elizabeth, as a new approach in examining their relationship.

Gifts and favours were also a part of the complex system of patronage at the Elizabethan court, where the patron as well as the patronized were expected to engage in the exchanges to maintain and negotiate the relationship. John Sargeaunt's *Annals of the Westminster School* (1898), and Lawrence E. Tanner's *Westminster School a History* (1934) provide the only comprehensive histories of the Westminster School and its organisation to date.⁶⁴ From their work it is evident that Elizabeth's role as a patron for the school was not clearly defined, sometimes it would be in name only, whereas other times she would exercise her power to the benefit of the school. Studying the performance event of *Sapientia Solomonis* while considering its role in the relationship between the court and the school make it possible for me to shed more light on early modern court patronage in this thesis. For example, the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* has been argued by Shapiro to perform a role as a gift from the school to their patron.⁶⁵ However, a more thorough study of practicalities around the performance event and the relationship between the court and the school enables me to provide a more complex reading of the performance's role in this relationship.

Court Performance

Because the performance was given at the Westminster School before the court, the event provides an opportunity to study the organisation of theatrical activities at court and for the court during Elizabeth's reign in a way that has not been done before. The process of

⁶⁴ John Sargeaunt, *Annals of Westminster School* (London: Methuen & Co, 1898) and Lawrence Tanner, *Westminster School a History* (London: Country Life, 1934).

⁶⁵ Michael Shapiro, 'Early (Pre-1590) Boy Companies and their Acting Venues' in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, Ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

producing the School performance was different than if it had been presented at court. The Master of the Revels and the Revels Office were integral in the organisation of theatrical activities at court, and so scholarship on the organisation of Elizabethan court performance and the Master of the Revels are often overlapping. Richard Dutton presented the first full length study of the role of the Master of the Revels and the Revels Office when he published *Mastering the Revels* in 1991. However, his account of the Master of the Revels during the first part of Elizabeth's reign, Thomas Benger, is limited, because at the time of writing: 'Our knowledge of plays performed at court during Benger's time is very slight, beyond a few titles'.⁶⁶ Much of our knowledge of the inner workings and physical conditions of early modern court theatre is indebted to John Astington, who in *English Court Theatre, 1558-1642* (1999) provides a thorough study of the physical and aesthetical conditions under which performances were given before royalty, nobility, and their household at places of performance at court.⁶⁷ The longer time-frame of Astington's study enabled him to provide an overview of the changes to the role of the Master of the Revels that took place from 1558 to 1642. At first, the Master of the Revels was closely connected to court, holding the responsibility 'for organising and administrating the theatrical activities at court', but would later become 'more concerned with the profit making part of their job, which was the reading and licensing of plays for court performances', and this led to their separation from court.⁶⁸ William R. Streitberger's *The Master of the Revels and Elizabeth I's Court revels*, furthers our understanding of the Masters under Elizabeth's reign and provides a more detailed account of Benger's work.⁶⁹ However, having only studied a few of the Westminster Abbey Muniment documents,

⁶⁶ Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), p. 35.

⁶⁷ Richard Dutton, p. 35.

⁶⁸ John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 17.

⁶⁹ William R. Streitberger, *The Master of the Revels and Elizabeth I's Court revels* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Streitberger presents a simplified relationship between the Revels Office, the court, and the Westminster School, which does not adequately represent the reality of the production. This thesis will demonstrate that the many tasks of putting up the production that would fall to the Chamber, or the Revels Office, was the responsibility of the School for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*.

Although a significant political event, the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* has not received any extensive critical attention, and has been absent from most scholarship on court drama, performance, and theatre. A few references have been made to the performance, however, because the performance took place at Westminster School before the court, and not at court, there has been some debate regarding its status as a court play. Astington includes *Sapientia Solomonis*, as well as other Westminster Plays, in an appendix listing court plays, however, he has wrongfully assigned Whitehall as the location for some of these performances. Had he known that they were performed at Westminster School these plays might have not been included in his list. Shapiro does not consider *Sapientia Solomonis* to have been a court performance as it was performed at a school and not at court.⁷⁰ Streitberger, on the other hand, claims that the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was produced by the court, and should therefore be considered a court play.⁷¹ Being both a court performance and a school performance, *Sapientia Solomonis* has fallen between critical categories and has been left out of critical debates in present scholarship. In this thesis I examine archival material connected to the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* as well as other Westminster School performances during the 1560s, which enables me to further scholarly debate on the complex relationship between the court and its offices, the Master of the Revels, and the

⁷⁰ Shapiro, p. 2.

⁷¹ Streitberger, p. 82.

Westminster School, and argue that although the Master of the Revels was involved in the performance, the main producer was the Westminster School itself.

Many have acknowledged the performative nature of early modern court culture, where movements of the monarch and the arrangement of individuals in space were carefully choreographed and carried meaning. Janette Dillon argues for the political significance of spatial arrangement in *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (2010), where she writes: 'How a person sits, stands or otherwise occupies a given space, how he or she moves into, around, or through that space is meaningful; it speaks of social and political status, relationship and agenda'.⁷² When applied to a performance event, this notion results in that the performance space and its relationship to the audience carried hierarchical and political meaning. Astington also stresses that although entertainment was put on for recreational purposes, the presence of the whole court in one location 'naturally lent such occasions a hierarchical meaning'. He continues:

The presence of the enthroned monarch in the audience complicated the relationships between the observers and the performers; various literary manifestations in the texts of some plays and, markedly, of masques bear witness to the complex theatricality which would have been in the air at all court shows.⁷³

Although studying the performance text from an event can, as Astington says, provide an idea of the 'complex theatricality in the air' of a performance at court, it is equally important to consider the performance space and the arrangement of performers and audience members in it, in order to understand the interplay of hierarchical meaning created by the nature of the court, and what is staged before it in the performance. In this thesis, I am building on Astington's notion that court performances inherently carried hierarchical meaning, and I am applying Dillon's notion that the organisation and engagement with space carried and created political meaning, to the performance of

⁷² Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 17.

⁷³ Astington, p. 3.

Sapientia Solomonis in order to examine how the event negotiated Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship. I will argue that organisation of the performance space in the College Hall, reinforced the hierarchical structures in the audience. I also argue that the audience's spatial relationship to the performer's bodies further commented on Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship.

In their *Imagining Spectatorship: From the Mysteries to the Shakespearean Stage* (2016), John J. McGavin and Greg Walker explore the impact of audience and performance relationships in order to investigate how meaning was created in medieval and early modern performance. They, too, emphasize the importance of space to our experience of it, and write: 'where one sits or stands, and how one sees and hears a production, profoundly influence what a play means in performance and how one responds to that performance as a thinking, feeling witness'.⁷⁴ When considering early modern performance, we have to interrogate not only the dramatic text, but its original context also. This approach is the through-line of Greg Walker's work on early performances' political significance. In *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (1998), he writes that the aim of his work:

is to suggest not only that the interlude drama was a sophisticated, flexible, and immensely powerful dramatic form worthy of study in its own right, but that in its original contexts in the courts and great households of Renaissance Britain, it was also an intensely and inevitably politicised form whose study has considerable implications for our understanding of Renaissance culture in general.⁷⁵

Studying the original context of an early dramatic text such as *Sapientia Solomonis* will not only shed light on the performance, but will further our understanding of the culture within it was performed too. In this study, I will therefore analyse the play-text of *Sapientia*

⁷⁴ John J. McGavin and Greg Walker, *Imagining Spectatorship: From the Mysteries to the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 6.

⁷⁵ Greg Walker, *Politics of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 5. See also Walker, *Plays of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Solomonis alongside accounts for the performance, and the architecture of the College Hall in order to demonstrate the political significance of the Westminster School production of the play.

0.3 Thesis Overview

In the introduction above I have examined the six areas of criticism that will underpin the chapters that follow. By focusing in on the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia and the performance event of *Sapientia Solomonis* I am able to go further in analysing the event's political significance, the practicalities surrounding the production of the performance, and the relationships between Elizabeth and her Swedish guest, as well as between the court and the school. Studying this performance event allows me to comment on pre-Shakespearean drama, Tudor indoor performance practices, the organisation of court entertainment, as well as the role of school performances in Elizabethan England.

Chapter 1 presents the first comparative study of BL. Add. MS. 20061 and Folger V.a.212 – the latter of which has never received critical attention – which reveals the range of the manuscript production at Westminster School and that Folger V.a.212 was not intended as a presentation copy. As demonstrated by Rogers Payne, Westminster School's *Sapientia Solomonis* was an adaptation of Sixt Birck's drama with the same name. However, by placing the event in its political and economic context I offer here a more thorough comparative study between the Westminster version and Sixt Birck's version, which demonstrates that the adaptation laid its focus on spectacle and splendour, rather than the education of a new generation of humanist citizens, emphasising its function as a court performance.

Having fully examined the existing texts, the thesis turn to examine several different critical perspectives. In Chapter 2, I argue that the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* used iconography of King Solomon and the Queen of

Sheba to negotiate Anglo-Swedish relations, and that a typological reading of this iconography unveils a complex system of references, which worked to inspire and instruct Elizabeth, whilst undermining Cecilia's position. Chapter 3 examines the role the performance and the gift-copies of the play-text played in the complex system of patronage and gift-giving between the School and their patron Elizabeth and how courtly conduct and gift-exchanges were pertinent to Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship. Here I also situate the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* within the wider context of Elizabeth's and Cecilia's relationship. In the process of this thesis I have transcribed and translated hitherto unstudied epistolary records, and the letters reveal how Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship was carefully developed into an intimate friendship prior to Cecilia's visit to Elizabeth. Early meetings between the English Queen and the Swedish Princess, as reported on by the Spanish ambassador, demonstrate that this friendship was strengthened in the first months of Cecilia's visit. Here I argue that the way *Sapientia Solomonis* portrays their relationship works to reinforce a hierarchical structure; certain scenes on courtly conduct and gift-exchanges in the play problematize and pervert the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia, and comment on Cecilia's character by linking her to the Queen of Sheba.

Chapter 4 explores the performance of the play and argues that in contrast to what previously scholarship has stated, the producer of *Sapientia Solomonis* was the Westminster School. Chapter 4 presents new manuscript evidence from Westminster Abbey Archive that I have transcribed during the course of this thesis. The records reveal that the Westminster production of *Sapientia Solomonis* was costlier and more elaborate than other productions by the school in the 1560s, which demonstrates the political significance of the performance event. These records enable this thesis to make a valuable contribution to discussions around the production of Tudor court drama and enable us to ascertain that the main producer of the performance was the school itself and not, as

has previously been argued, the Elizabethan court. By using the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* as a case study, I am able to develop our understanding of literary, political, and religious networks of early modern Europe, and contribute to the academic discussion of court drama as a diplomatic tool in negotiating Elizabeth's international relations. Overall, this thesis uses *Sapientia Solomonis* to demonstrate that performance was a key tool in negotiating early modern diplomatic relations.

Chapter 1

Sapientia Solomonis: The Performance Copies

Introduction

A play entitled *Sapientia Solomonis*, written by Sixt Birck, was published in *Dramata Sacra*, a collection of neo-Latin religious dramas, by Johannes Oporinus's printing house in Basle, in 1547.⁷⁶ This play was the main source-text for the adapted version of the play that was performed by Westminster School in 1565/6 before Elizabeth, her Council, and her guest Cecilia of Baden. Also, Birck's play could have been the performance text, or the source, for the Cambridge production of *Sapientia Solomonis* in 1560, for which there is no surviving play-text.⁷⁷ Five documents detailing the financial records of seven Westminster School performances during the 1560s have survived, and two of these documents make notes of payments concerning the preparation of copies of the play-text performed.⁷⁸ There are no surviving manuscripts of the play-texts for any other performance than that of *Sapientia Solomonis*, and what is extraordinary is that out of the five manuscripts that were produced, not one, but two manuscripts containing the play-text have survived: BL Add MS 20061 and Folger MS V.a. 212.

As noted earlier, BL Add MS 20061 has been in scholars' consciousness for some time, although Rogers Payne's critical edition of the play-text, published in 1938, is the only focused study until now. Rogers Payne was aware of another possible manuscript containing the play-text connected to the performance in 1565/6, but was not able to locate it.⁷⁹ Excitingly, in the almost eighty years since Rogers Payne's publication another

⁷⁶ Sixt Birck, *Sapientia Solomonis* in *Dramata Sacra* (Basle: Johannes Oporinus, 1547).

⁷⁷ Alan H. Nelson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge 2*, 2 vols (London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), II, p. 208.

⁷⁸ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2; WAM 54000, see Appendix 1; WAM 38544, WAM 32543, and WAM 38805 (the latter has been reproduced in David Blewitt, *Tudor Drama in Tudor Education*, PhD-thesis, University of Bristol, 1986).

⁷⁹ Rogers Payne, p. 9.

manuscript has been identified as the Westminster School play-text of *Sapientia Solomonis* in Folger MS V.a. 212, and this thesis is the first to carry out study of it. Through a comparative study of BL Add MS 20061 and the never before studied Folger MS V.a. 212, this thesis is able to go further in answering questions around the intended recipients of the Westminster School manuscripts produced alongside the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, the manuscript production at Westminster School, and the manuscripts as part of the gift-exchange culture at the Elizabethan court.

This chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first part of the chapter, I offer a comparative manuscript and literary analysis of BL Add MS 20061 and Folger MS V.a. 212, which will from now on be referred to as the BL copy and the Folger copy. In section two, I examine the network of Elizabeth's council members in order to inform an understanding of the intended recipients of the five manuscripts that were issued for the performance. The third part of the chapter shifts focus to the main source of the play-text for *Sapientia Solomonis*: Sixt Birck's play with the same name. Here, I explore the networks of English Protestant exiles in Basle, and of scholastic and courtly networks in England in order to understand the way in which the adapted play-text came to be performed at Westminster School in 1565/6, and I present an overview of a literary comparison between Sixt Birck's version of the play with the Westminster School version, in order to establish the contributions of the anonymous adapter, which lays the necessary foundation for further literary analyses in subsequent chapters.

In addition, to make necessary ground work for ensuing chapters, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the significance of the Westminster School's performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* as a significant political event that engaged with international and national courtly networks. Also, the two Westminster School manuscripts, and their relationship to their main source text, provide a case study that enables me to shed light on literary relationships between neo-Latin humanist drama created on the Continent and

English court drama, and early modern Humanist, Protestant, Scholastic, and courtly networks, as well as on later antiquarian networks.

1.1 A Comparative Analysis of BL Add MS 20061 and Folger MS

V.a.212.

The first two entries on the list of ‘expenses for the furniture and setting forthe Of A plaie entytled *Sapientia Solomonis*’ detail the cost for ‘three quiar of fyne pap(er) for three copies of the saide Enterlude’ at eighteen pence, and ‘for twoo other quiar of meane pap(er) for twoo other copies of the sayed enterlude’ at eight pence.⁸⁰ Five copies of the play-text were thus produced of two different paper qualities, in conjunction with the production. Although containing the same play-text, the physical differences between the BL copy and the Folger copy are many and point to the fact that the BL copy is of a higher quality than the Folger one. In this section, I provide the first comparative study of the BL and Folger copies. This study will establish the relationship between the two manuscripts, and provide a better understanding of the range of quality of the five manuscripts. This analysis will inform an understanding of the function and intended recipients of the MSS in subsequent sections of the chapter. For the basis of this comparison I am working from the physical copy of the BL copy, and Photostats of the Folger copy.

Several physical aspects of the BL copy points to the fact that the copy was intended as a gift for Elizabeth. The neat presentation of the manuscript evidences that much care and effort went into producing it, the use of different coloured ink and the binding indicate the cost of producing it. The BL copy is a quarto in its original binding and measures 21.5 cm high and 16 across. The manuscript consists of 34 paper leaves,

⁸⁰ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

with a leaf left blank by the scribe at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript. Apart from the blank leaves, each folio has been ruled with fine black lines, so that a wide border appears between the main text and the edge of the folio. The horizontal part of the border, above the main text, is sometimes used to announce characters or parts of the play such as 'Prologus' (folio 3_r), or 'Argumentum' (4_r), for which red ink is used. At times, this part of the border is also used to announce a new act or scene, such as: 'Act. 2. Sce. 4' (11_v), for which black ink is used. The vertical part of the border to the left of the main text is used to indicate the name of whose line it is, here red ink is used. Occasionally, names of characters whose turn it is to speak appear in the running text, in which case red ink is also used. The bill of the performance specifies the cost of eight pence for vermillion, commonly used to make red ink, and four pence for black ink, which indicates that the use of red ink in a manuscript was a costly detail. The catchwords are written in black ink and aligned to the right on the horizontal part of the border that runs underneath the main text.⁸¹ On 32_v, the border starts in the same place as on other folios, but instead of continuing straight above the catchword, it dips and includes the catchwords in the inner square with the main text. The catchword here is 'Epilogus' and perhaps the border is drawn so in order to signify that the Epilogue is the last part of the play, alternatively, it might only be a flourish introduced by the scribe. One other folio includes a variation of the borderline, it is 33_r and it contains the beginning of the Epilogue. Here, the border above the main text is drawn to give more space to the initial letter of the line, which is 'N', before it dips down to the height it is drawn on other folios, representing a print factotum. The first word here is 'nobis' and the entire word is capitalized: 'NOBIS'. This is the only whole word that is capitalized in the play-text. On some leaves, faint dots run

⁸¹ The scribe only goes beyond this wide border once, on 3_r, where a Latin inscription is written: *Nulla dies sine linea*, more about this line and other anomalies in the section below.

vertically down the inner line, marking the line spacing for the scribe. Each side of a leaf is divided into 23 lines.

More significantly, the BL copy of the play-text is bound in vellum and the front cover bears Elizabeth I's arms, on each side of the arms is a letter: 'E' (for Elizabeth) on the left side and 'R' (for Regina) on the right side (See Figure 1 below). The list of expenses for the production of *Sapientia Solomonis* details that two shillings are to be paid for the binding of one copy in vellum and that it should be adorned 'with the Queenes ma(ies)tie hir armes & sylke ribben stringes'.⁸² Not far from the right-hand edge of the cover are two small slashes, with similar slashes also appearing in the same spot on the back cover, probable remains of the holes for the 'sylke ribben stringes' that are now lost. The binding of the manuscript corresponds with the instruction on the bill, and is most definitely the copy that it describes. It is the only copy that is distinguished in the bill to have Elizabeth's arms on the cover. Elizabeth's initials are displayed on three more folios in the manuscript. Two shields feature on the title page of the play-text (2_r), one on the left that contains the letter 'E', and another on the right that contains the letter 'R'. Next is on folio 2_v, where the letters 'E' and 'R' are framing a geometrical floral pattern that takes up five line spaces in height (see Figure 3 below). Following the end of the *Prologus* on 3_v is the largest decoration in the manuscript, a geometrical floral pattern with one faint black rectangle around it, and one larger rectangle in red ink around that. On the left-hand side, a black triangular shape is jutting out and inside it is an 'E' in red ink. On the right-hand side there is a similar black triangular shape and inside it is an 'R' in red ink. This decoration takes up seven line spaces.

⁸² WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.



Figure 1, BL Add. MS. 20061, photo is author's own.

The many decorations, the use of space in the manuscript, the use of several different coloured inks, and the use of gold leaf also suggest that the BL copy was intended as a gift. The title page is beautifully adorned with gold leaf, red, blue, and black ink (see Figure 2 below). The image takes up most of the page and depicts the title of the play with two pillars on each side of it that hold up a dome. The pillars stand on a border of white, underneath is a geometrical image of foliage. The foliage is depicted in white with black lines running diagonally through them, on a blue background. Above the dome are the two shields, the left containing the letter 'E', and the right containing the letter 'R'. Underneath the title, which runs over two lines, are three black stars. This is all framed by a white rectangle, inside a blue rectangle, which in turn is framed by a blue rectangle on a background of gold leaf with red and white foliage wrapped around it. Framing it all is another blue rectangle. Each individual element of the illustration has a black outline, making them distinct from one another. This black outline of the image was most likely marked out first by the decorator, and then filled in with gold foil, red, and blue ink.



Figure 2, BL Add. MS. 20061 f2r, photo is author's own.

In addition to the two decorations already noted above, there are smaller decorations, around a line space in height, which occur on five folios. The decorations vary in motif; on 4r there is a geometrical floral pattern with four stars in each corner in black ink, there is a sun with two flowers on each side in black ink on 10v, whereas the facing folio (11r) has three suns and two stars in black ink, the pattern on 10v is echoed on 13r but this time the two flowers are in red ink, and there are three black suns on 32r. The decorations occur on folios where a line has been left empty of text at the bottom of the folio. The exemptions for this are 11v, 20r, 32r, and 33v, where the space has been left empty. There are no visible clues to indicate why the space has not been decorated on 11v. The undecorated line on 20r could prepare the reader for the hymn that starts on 20v, like a visual cue that something different begins on the new folio. The empty space on 32v could emphasise the end of the play, and give focus to the character of Wisdom's last speech. In a similar way, the empty space on 33v emphasises the two last words: *Finis* and *Amen*. The vellum binding, title page, the several decorations, the colours used, the ruling of the paper, and the use of borders are each evidence that a high level of care and work went into the preparation of the BL copy of the play-text, making it fit for a royal gift.

Compared to the BL copy, the Folger copy is much plainer and more economically produced. The re-binding of the Folger copy by Birdsall & Son, Northampton, probably resulted in the fact that the manuscript measures slightly smaller than the BL copy, at 19.2 cm tall and 14.7 cm across. The Folger copy comprises 30 leaves and there is only one blank folio, 3v. The blank folio appears after the *Argumentu(m)* and before the play-text begins. Although the lines are neat, there does not appear to be any ruling of the folios, which means that the Folger copy it is not as neatly presented as the BL copy. There are, however, wide margins around the text. The number of lines on each folio is inconsistent and the majority of lines ranges between twenty-one and twenty-seven. Similar to the BL copy, the catchword is written beneath the main text and aligned to the right. In contrast to the other manuscript, the decorations are sparse and do not begin until 15v; after that however, they appear more frequently. All in all, there are decorations on seventeen out of the thirty folios. The decorations are small, and of the same design, a squiggle of ink, perhaps representing some foliage, and they are mostly used as a way to punctuate the end of a page. They are placed inconsistently, for example, on 21r the decoration is placed on the same line as the catchword, but aligned just to the left of the middle, whereas on 21v the decoration is placed beneath the catchword. There are two decorations on each of the folios 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 18r, and 27r, there are three decorations on the two folios 18v, and 30v. Whereas the folio preceding the hymn in the BL copy was granted an empty line, in the Folger copy the corresponding folio is one of the decorated ones. The largest decorations appear on 30v, which is the ultimate folio in the manuscript. One is drawn in a diagonal direction to the left, one is towards the middle of the folio just above the word 'Finis' and the largest is drawn underneath the last words 'Finis' and 'Amen'.

Small flowers in the margin indicate when a character's speech begins mid-line. They are not considered as decorations in this manuscript description, as they have a clear

purpose in the manuscript. The appearance of these flowers suggests that the scribe used the same colour ink throughout this manuscript. As noted, in the BL copy, red coloured ink was used for a character's name that started their speech in the middle of a line. The change of colour in the BL manuscript is a clear cue for the change of the character speaking and no other visual indication is needed. In the Folger copy the name, or a shortened version of the character's name, is written within the line, and the flower in the margin provides a visual cue to where this is happening.

Another difference between the two manuscripts is that they are written in different scripts. The bill of the Westminster School's performance states that 'It(em) geuen to m(r) Allen his sonne att thappointement / of m(r) Deane, for wrytinge twoo copies of the saide / entrelude thone in text, theother in romane hande'.⁸³ Allen's son was thus paid to write two of the five copies, one in roman hand, and another in what is called 'text'. This information is misinterpreted by Rogers Payne who writes:

The Second Master's son, young Allen, was appointed by the Dean (Gabriel Goodman) to write – for six shillings! - two of the five copies, one "in text" and the other "in romane hand." Since no scribe was paid for writing the other three, it would seem that the Queen's copy would be one of the two which were specifically not Elizabethan script of any variety. It is beautifully printed in large, clear letters in a way which can be described as an imitation of the printing press or, still better as "text".⁸⁴

Rogers Payne suggests that the imitation of a printed book would best be described as 'text', when in fact the printing press would in turn be inspired by the Roman style type. This means that 'Romane hand' would more likely describe the hand in the BL copy than the term 'text'. I can thus with more certainty claim that the BL copy is the copy made by the young Allen in a 'romane hand', where each letter is clearly defined and straight (see Figure 3 below). In contrast, it is not certain that the Folger copy was written by Allen's son. The script is a standardized secretary hand, which, on the one hand, would

⁸³ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

⁸⁴ Rogers Payne, p. 6.

not have to be further described than by the word ‘text’. On the other hand, as it was such a common hand it would not have to be distinguished to be written by Allen’s son at all. A standardized secretary hand was an efficient choice of script as most of the letters in each word are joined up. It would have taken a considerable shorter time to write the Folger copy than the BL copy.

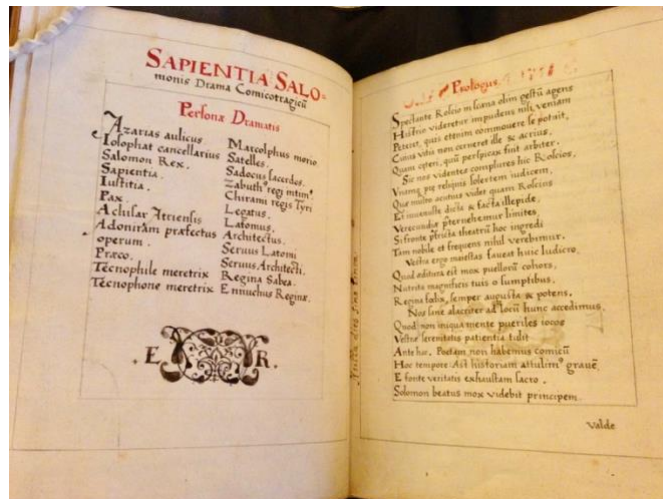


Figure 3, BL Add. MS. 20061, folios 2_v and 3_r, photo is author’s own.

The two manuscripts present two different qualities, where the colourful and neatly written BL copy is the more luxurious of the two. As noted at the beginning of this section, three copies were to be made with paper of better quality than the other two copies. Both copies of the play-text are made of good paper quality, however the watermarks on the paper of the two copies differ from each other. The watermarks on the folios in the BL copy are of a crown on top of two twisted scrolls with a banner underneath, spelling EDWONDENIBET (Edwon from Nibet), whereas the watermarks on the folios in the Folger copy are of a pitcher or a vase. The bill of the performance does not specify that the three copies were to be made out of the same fine paper, which means that although the Folger copy is made of a different paper, it might not be one of the ‘meane’ copies. However, since the paper used for the Folger copy is of an inferior quality to the BL copy, it is ‘meaner’ in the OED’s sense of the word: ‘poor in quality or condition, of little value;

inferior'.⁸⁵ If the Folger copy is in fact a copy made with cheaper paper, it demonstrates that the quality of the MSS produced alongside the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was not wide-ranging and that the recipients of the two copies made with less expensive quires of paper were also fit as gifts for people of high social status. I will now turn to a literary comparison of the two MSS, which will further highlight the differences and similarities in quality.

When comparing the BL copy and the Folger copy, it soon becomes clear that they contain the same play-text. Whereas the main text is the same, there are a few variations between the two manuscripts that suggest the number of scribes involved in the production of the manuscripts, and the recipients of the manuscripts. Having two manuscript copies of the play-text also provides us with two points of references, each corroborating or contradicting information provided by the other.

Apart from variations in abbreviations in the manuscripts, there are at least four variations between the BL copy and the Folger copy. Three are corrections of errors, whereas one is a marginal note in Latin. First, in the BL copy there is an insertion of the line 'Nulli satis mortaliû per cognita' on fol. 27v. The line is written in the margin and preceded by a mark, shaped similarly to the Greek letter π , this mark is replicated in the main text, and indicates where the line is meant to be. In the Folger copy, this line reads 'Nulli satis mortalium percognita' and can be found on folio 25v. Because there are more lines to a folio in this manuscript, as discussed earlier, the text does not appear on corresponding folios in the two manuscripts. The line in the Folger copy confirms that that the line was meant to be there in the BL copy also, but that the scribe must have made an error when writing down the text and has written it in the margin instead.

⁸⁵ OED, 3.a.

<<http://www.oed.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/view/Entry/115438?rkey=wTCU80&result=9&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 19 March 2019].

Another correction occurs in the Folger copy: the word ‘tuam’ is written in the right-hand margin on fol. 4v. A small mark, a caret, is drawn before the word in the margin, and again within the line ‘sententiam quam semper plurimi’, indicating that ‘tuam’ should be inserted after ‘sententiam’. In the BL copy, the line is complete: ‘sententiam tuam quam semper plurimi’, which verifies that the scribe of the Folger copy has correctly rectified the line. Third, a peculiar difference between the manuscripts is that the BL copy assigns the line ‘Conferre de rebus statuque publico’ (fol. 5v) to the character Azarias, but the Folger copy assigns the line to Iosaphat (fol. 4v). The line was originally assigned to Iosaphat in the BL copy too, however, a manicule drawn in black ink in the margin points the character’s name to the subsequent line: ‘Nemo bonus, nisi summus atque maximus’. In Sixt Birck’s play, the line ‘Conferre de rebus statuque publico’ is assigned to Azarias, while Iosaphat’s line begins with ‘Nemo bonus, nisi summus atque maximus’.⁸⁶ The same mistake of assigning the first line to Iosaphat was thus made in both manuscripts, and it was only corrected in the BL copy, which suggests that there was a greater concern that the BL copy of the play-text would be correct, than the Folger copy.

The fourth variation between the two manuscripts is a marginal note in the BL copy, which does not exist in the Folger copy. The line is written in black ink, and placed vertical to the main text, inside the inner margin, close to the binding of the manuscript. The line reads: ‘Nulla dies sine linea’ (fol. 3r) and is a Latin proverb, which has been traced back to Pliny’s *Natural History*.⁸⁷ Pliny attributed the proverb to the painter Appelles, who is thought not to have let one day pass without having drawn something.⁸⁸ The proverb links to education, as it is a reference to a Classical author. It also suggests an awareness

⁸⁶ Birck, p. 9.

⁸⁷ Eugene S. McCartney, “The Classical Journal” in *The Classical Journal*, 35 (1939), pp. 168–171, p. 171, <www.jstor.org/stable/3290998> [accessed 23 February 2017].

⁸⁸ Laura Gibbs, *Bestiaria Latina: Audio Latin Proverbs: Nulla dies sine linea*, December 13, 2007, <<http://audiolatinproverbs.blogspot.co.uk/2007/12/nulla-dies-sine-linea.html>> [accessed 23 February 2017].

of the importance of diligence, which is quality necessary of a student. As discussed, the physical aspects of the manuscript, such as the colours used, the decorations, and the binding, set the BL copy apart from the Folger copy, and the former is clearly customized for Elizabeth. The line 'Nulla dies sine linea' is a means to further personalise the manuscript. Because Elizabeth was the patron of the Westminster School, and the BL copy was produced for her, this marginal note might be a personalised message from Mr Allen's son to the Queen, a testament of his hard work and aspirations. It is uncertain whether or not Mr Allen's son was a student at Westminster School, nevertheless, the line becomes a message from the School to Elizabeth, from the students to their patron. There are no such messages in the Folger copy, which suggests that there were not the same aspirations to personalise the copy, as there were when producing the BL copy.

The variations listed above evidence the possibility that each manuscript was written by a different scribe. The marginal note 'Nulla dies sine linea', might appear in the BL copy as a personalised message to Queen Elizabeth I, which may explain why the same note does not occur in the Folger copy. However, the other variations in the manuscripts suggest that two different scribes produced them. The difference between the two marks that signal the corrections and insertions of lines in the manuscripts, for example, implies that two different scribes made them. Moreover, the disparity in the manuscripts of what line belongs to Iosaphat or Azarius, signify two different scribes as well. On the other hand, we cannot know for certain. The mark employed may depend on the hand used in the manuscript, and the inconsistency in assigning the line might be evidence of human error.

Five copies of *Sapientia Solomonis* were produced alongside the performance of the play and it is highly probable that the Folger copy as well as the BL MS was prepared for this performance. Although the Folger copy was more economically produced than the far more luxurious BL copy, the neat script, the wide margins, the paper quality, and the

vellum binding with silk ribbons specified in the bill of the performance, all indicate that the manuscript was intended to be a gift commemorating the performance. The bill of the performance states that the performance was given before the Council, and the Prologue and Epilogue of the play make it clear that Elizabeth and Cecilia were present at the performance too. In the next section I will explore who might have been the recipient of the Folger copy, by studying the network of people involved on the Council, and by looking at bills for other performances given by the Westminster School in the 1560s. I will also investigate the provenances of the BL copy and the Folger copy, in order to fill in the gaps of knowledge concerning their survival and arrival at the British Library and the Folger library respectively.

1.2 The Performance Copies

The decorated BL copy was made for Elizabeth I, whereas the plainer Folger copy was made with someone else in mind. For whom were Folger copy and the other unidentified three copies produced? How were these copies to be used? What happened to the five copies in the time between the performance and today? I will now attempt to answer these questions, as their answers will deepen our understanding of the political importance of the Westminster School performance, and the intricate network of people that were involved in it. I am approaching this analysis from two different angles: first, the bill of the performance offers a lead to who might have received the copies; second, the provenances of the BL copy and the Folger copy offer an opportunity to trace the history of the copies.

The Westminster School performance was a part of a system of gift giving that operated to maintain and negotiate Elizabeth I's relationships with the Westminster School, her Council, and Cecilia of Sweden. I will carry out a more detailed study of the event's part in this gift-giving system in, Chapter 3, but for the purpose of understanding

the function of the performance copies it is necessary to recognize that they were a part of this system. The fact that the performance copies were designed as gifts by Westminster School indicates to whom they were given. As noted in the previous sections, the title of the bill of the performance make it clear whom the performance was intended for, it reads: ‘Expenses for the furniture and setting forthe of A plaie entytled, Sapientia Solomonis, plaied of the children of the grammer schoole before the counsell’.⁸⁹ It is important to note here that the title does not mention Cecilia of Sweden, either because the school did not know that she was accompanying Elizabeth I at the time of issuing the bill, or because the Swedish princess was not considered as important to the school as the council. Neither does the title mention Elizabeth I, but as I have demonstrated, the bill itself lists many expenses that directly concern the Queen, which underlines that the school valued her highly. Knowing that Elizabeth I and Cecilia of Sweden were there, it is most likely that the *counsell* mentioned in the bill refers to Elizabeth I’s Privy Council.⁹⁰ The Westminster Play was thus a gift from the Westminster School to the Queen and her council, and the performance copies were part of that gift.

The number of council members fluctuated thorough Elizabeth I’s reign. MacCaffrey claims that the number of members varied ‘from twelve to fourteen in the early years of the reign to twenty-six in 1584 and twenty-three two years later’.⁹¹ Studying the meetings that took place between October and December 1565, however, reveals a more detailed image of the attendees to the Privy Council meetings at a time near the Westminster Performance.⁹² In the fifteen meetings that took place between the 2nd of November and the 20th of December, where a detailed record of attendance is noted, the

⁸⁹ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

⁹⁰ The Elizabethan Privy Council had two main functions: it was the ‘principal executive branch of government’; and it was ‘a body of advisers to the only maker of decisions, the queen’. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, ‘Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4983>> [accessed 3 July 2017].

⁹¹ MacCaffrey, ‘Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21–1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4983>> [accessed 3 July 2017]

⁹² Acts of the Privy Council, 1542-1631, New Series. VII, A.D. 1558-1579, National Archives, England.

highest number of attendees is fifteen (on 8th November), and the lowest number of attendees is 5 (11th December). A count of all attendees that went to the Council meeting at least once results in a number of seventeen attendees, this is three more members than MacCaffrey estimated. If the additional four performance copies were intended for the Council, only four of the seventeen members would receive one. Through studying the record of attendance I can narrow down the number of Council members to a core group. When looking at who frequented the meetings more than 66 per cent of the times, the same group of seven people are found to be attending: Mr. Secretary, Mr. Vice Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Keeper, the Comptroller, Mr. Cave, and the Earl of Leicester. Moreover, the record of the meeting with the least amount of councilors present suggests who were indispensable for a council meeting to take place. The five councilors present at the meeting on December 11th, 1565, were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Vice Chamberlain, the Comptroller, the Lord Admiral, and the Lord Keeper. Thus, these five men appear to have been the core group of the council: William Cecil (1520/1-1598) was the Secretary⁹³, Edward Fiennes de Clinton (1512-1585) the Lord Admiral⁹⁴, and Nicholas Bacon (1510-1579)⁹⁵ was the Lord Keeper, the Comptroller was Edward Rogers (1498-1568)⁹⁶, and the Vice Chamberlain was Francis Knollys (1511/12-1596).⁹⁷

Could any of these five men have been one of the four to receive a presentation copy? The previous year, in 1564/5, the Westminster School performed *Miles Gloriosus* for the Queen and members of the nobility, and the bill for the two Westminster School

⁹³ MacCaffrey, 'Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21-1598)'.

⁹⁴ Anne Duffin, 'Clinton, Edward Fiennes de, first earl of Lincoln (1512-1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5679>> [accessed 14 July 2017]

⁹⁵ Robert Tittler, 'Bacon, Sir Nicholas (1510-1579)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1002>> [accessed 14 July 2017]

⁹⁶ John E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her parliaments 1559-1581* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953), p. 97.

⁹⁷ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Knollys, Sir Francis (1511/12-1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2015 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15755>> [accessed 14 July 2017]

productions that took place that year, lists an expense of twelve shillings ‘for one Plautus geuen to ye Queenes maiestie and / Fowre other vnto the nobilitie’.⁹⁸ This does not exclude the option that the four recipients of *Miles Gloriosus* were in fact councilors, as the members of the council were also members of the nobility. Shapiro, having not seen the bill of the performance and instead basing his argument on Chambers’ *The Elizabethan Stage*, suggests: ‘the play’s own status as a gift-offering was symbolically embodied in the specially prepared presentation volumes, ornate manuscripts of the text, similar to the copies of *Miles Gloriosus* presented the previous Christmas to the Queen and four of the nobility’.⁹⁹ Shapiro describes the presentation volumes as ‘ornate manuscripts of the text’, which were ‘specially prepared’ for the occasion. The presentation copies were indeed prepared exclusively for the Westminster performance event, however, were they very ornate? Shapiro is seemingly unaware of the Folger copy and appears to base his description of all the copies on the BL copy, a manuscript which is, as we discussed earlier, indeed highly ornate. As we established earlier, while containing a few decorations, the Folger copy is not nearly as illuminated as the BL copy. In addition, Shapiro does not refer to the bill of the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, a document that problematizes Shapiro’s comparison. Recalling the bill of the performance for *Sapientia Solomonis*, three copies were made with ‘fyne paper’, whereas two copies were made with ‘meane paper’. One of the finer copies was the BL copy, which means that two copies of higher quality were made in addition to the Queen’s copy. If four noblemen did indeed receive presentation copies of *Sapientia Solomonis*, it would mean that two of them would receive high quality copies, and the two others would receive copies of less quality. Although this scenario sounds unlikely, it is possible. Though the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was not a court performance, as it was not performed at court, its

⁹⁸ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

⁹⁹ Shapiro, p. 4, and Edmund K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 72.

function as a social platform for the Queen, her guest, and her subjects was the same as a performance at court. Astington writes:

Although court entertainment, to which admission was a sign of favour and privilege, certainly had political significance, their first function was social, as a common gathering point for people who might otherwise have held differing views in the context of the Privy Council, to show common allegiance to the monarch and to uphold national pride.¹⁰⁰

Thus, the act of giving performance copies to four of the members of the Privy Council would be an act of reinforcing the bond between the council and its monarch, and their duty to their country. Even though Astington is emphasising the notion of the social aspects of the court performance, I argue that this act would be a political action of significance. Giving performance gifts to the Queen and her council, and not Cecilia, a foreign royal guest, would be an action that signalled strongly that national pride is prioritised over an international relationship. In light of the Anglo-Swedish political relationships at the time and the marriage negotiations between Elizabeth I and Cecilia's brother, Erik XIV, this action would be of political import to the Anglo-Swedish relationship. However, four copies could have been made where the tree meaner copies were intended for the council, the BL copy for the Queen, and the other finer copy for Cecilia. The only evidence for Cecilia's presence at the performance is the Epilogue of the play-text, which refers to her by name, it is therefore not certain that the school knew that she was attending the performance at the time they issued payments for the copies of the text, which means that they could have issued four customary copies for the council to disseminate. Although, we cannot know for sure whom the recipients of the other performance copies were, they were a part of reinforcing relationships within the intricate network of people associated to the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*.

¹⁰⁰ Astington, p. 165.

1.3 *Sapientia Solomonis* and *Dramata Sacra*, the source text

The Westminster School version of *Sapientia Solomonis* performed in 1565/6 was an adapted version of Sixt Birck's drama with the same name. In 1560, a play called *Sapientia Solomonis* was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge.¹⁰¹ Was the play adapted especially for the royal performance, or had it been performed in a modified state before? Albeit it is uncertain whether that play was Birck's Play, or the Westminster Play, or another play altogether, studying the networks between Basle and Cambridge, as well as between Cambridge and Westminster School, will go some way to explain how *Sapientia Solomonis* made its way to England. This study is the first to explore these networks to any greater extent to uncover the ways in which the play might have come to England. I argue that the Protestant network formed in exile is the reason for the play appearing in England. In the second part of this section I will carry out a literary comparison between the Westminster version and the main source text by Sixt Birck in order to provide an overview of the similarities and differences between the two versions of the play. This analysis will, in turn, form a foundation on which subsequent Chapters build, as the anonymous adapter's contributions are of political significance to Elizabeth, Cecilia of Baden, and the Council. I argue that the Westminster School version of the drama *Sapientia Solomonis* was especially adapted from Sixt Birck's drama to suit a royal audience.

Sixt Birck produced *Sapientia Solomonis* as a pedagogical tool according to the Humanist philosophy and, as discussed above, plays were being produced and performed in English schools in the same vein. The play *Sapientia Solomonis* came to England from Continental Europe and communities of English exiles played a large role in making this possible. The sixteenth century was a period of religious tumult in England, and especially

¹⁰¹ Alan H. Nelson, *Cambridge 2: Editorial Apparatus – Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 208.

tumultuous was the mid-sixteenth century, and many English Protestants sought exile in Continental Europe during Catholic Queen Mary's reign. According to Christina Garrett's study of the Marian exiles 'eight communities were organized during the five years of exile. But three of them, Basle, Geneva and Aarau, were later offshoots from the original five – Emden, Wesel, Zurich, Strasbourg and Frankfurt'.¹⁰² This English exodus enabled cultural exchanges between English exiles and the people at the places where they settled, therefore in order to trace *Sapientia Solomonis*'s way from Johannes Oporinus's printing press in Basle to England, I will now turn to the community of English exiles in Basle.

The link between the English exile community in Basle and the printing houses was mainly formed through Protestant, and specifically anti-Catholic, propaganda. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein has studied the impact of the arrival of the printing press and writes:

Although the anti-Turkish crusade was thus the 'first religious movement' to make use of print, Protestantism surely was the first fully to exploit its potential as a mass medium. It was also the first movement of any kind, religious or secular, to use the new presses for overt propaganda and agitation against an established institution. By pamphleteering directed at arousing popular support and aimed at readers who were unversed in Latin, the reformers unwittingly pioneered as revolutionaries and rabble rousers.¹⁰³

The sheer volume of work that the printing presses were able to produce in a short amount of time meant that propaganda was able to spread around Continental Europe quickly. The German nation saw the printing press as a sort of blessing that aided their break with Rome and '[t]he same theme', Eisenstein continues, 'was taken over by the Marian exiles and exploited in a manner that suited Elizabethan statecraft'.¹⁰⁴ Garret explains further:

¹⁰² Christina Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles – A study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938, reprinted 1966), p. 47.

¹⁰³ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 304.

¹⁰⁴ Eisenstein, p. 305.

The pamphlet literature of the period is enormous, and though theological in form is political by implication. All of it was to be disseminated in England for purposes of propaganda. English printers were thus suddenly thrust into a rôle of importance hitherto unknown to them. Three who became ardent servants of the Elizabethan reformation were probably among the exiles either at Strasbourg, Basle, or Geneva, and of these John Day, who, in the words of his epitaph, first ‘set a Fox to wright how Martyrs runne’; Richard Jugge, who became Elizabeth’s official printer; and probably Edward Whitchurch, who with Richard Grafton had published both the first and second Prayer Books of Edward VI, are to be reckoned the most important.¹⁰⁵

The printing houses not only enabled English exiles to spread their Protestant propaganda homewards, but they also became platforms for cultural exchanges between the English exiles and other Protestants on the continent. This network of individuals made it possible for a play like *Sapientia Solomonis* to reach England.

A study of the English exiles in Basle, and specific individuals to Oporinus’s printing house, reveal some plausible candidates for who might have brought Birk’s play over to England. From Garrett’s study it becomes clear that the English colonies were relatively small. She writes that after removing from the calculation individuals that went to other parts of Europe, we are left with ‘about 361 who may be definitely assigned to one or other of the English colonies in Germany, and to whom belonged the 100 wives and 146 children who left England with them’.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, out of these 361 individuals, thirty-seven were at the University of Basle in 1554-9.¹⁰⁷ Several of these individuals had been educated at Cambridge, where *Sapientia Solomonis* would be performed in 1560. Among them were: Anthony Gilby (c.1510–1585), religious writer and Church of England clergyman; Robert Horne (c. 1513 – 1579) bishop of Winchester; James Pilkington (1520-1576) bishop of Durham; and Francis Walsingham (c. 1532-1590).¹⁰⁸ I have been able to

¹⁰⁵ Hallowell Garrett, pp. 43-44.

¹⁰⁶ Hallowell Garrett, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ Hallowell Garrett, p. 357.

¹⁰⁸ Claire Cross, ‘Gilby, Anthony (c.1510–1585)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10709>> [accessed 13 June 2017], Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘Horne, Robert (1513x15–1579)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University

locate three of the individuals in the community of English exiles in Basle who can be connected to both Cambridge University and Oporinus's printing house. First, Laurence Humphrey (c. 1525-1589) appears to have enrolled at Christ College, Cambridge, in November 1544, but he left shortly after for Oxford University.¹⁰⁹ While in exile, Humphrey earned his living as a corrector and translator for Oporinus and for the late Johannes Froben's printing house. These two printing houses forged both professional as well as personal relationships, and provided a foundation for the sharing of ideas. Oporinus, for example, printed four of Humphrey's works, and Humphrey contributed to John Foxe's work, with whom he was working at both Froben's and Oporinus's printing houses, and John Bale, who was also at Oporinus's printing house.¹¹⁰ Humphrey's links to Cambridge, his position at Oporinus's, and his interest and contribution to Protestant polemical texts make him a possible candidate for having brought *Sapientia Solomonis* to England and Cambridge. Bale is another possible individual who brought the play to England. Bale (1495–1563), was an evangelical polemicist, historian, and playwright, who began his studies as a Carmelite at Cambridge in 1514.¹¹¹ During the 1530s, Bale started his conversion to Protestantism and by 1536 he had quit the Carmelite order and the life of a monk and got married.¹¹² Because of his newfound religion, his protestant preaching, and work, Bale and his wife went into exile twice; the first time was in the years c. 1539-1548, until Edward VI's accession, and the second time during the

Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13792>> [accessed 13 June 2017], David Marcombe, 'Pilkington, James (1520–1576)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22269> [accessed 20 June 2017], and Simon Adams and Alan Bryson and Mitchell Leimon, 'Walsingham, Sir Francis (c.1532–1590)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28624>> [accessed 19 June 2017].

¹⁰⁹ Thomas S. Freeman, 'Humphrey, Laurence (1525x7–1589)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14156>> [accessed 13 June 2017].

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ John N. King, 'Bale, John (1495–1563)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1175>> [accessed 21 June 2017].

¹¹² Ibid.

Marian reign.¹¹³ Bale spent his second period of exile working for Oporinus and producing work that Oporinus printed; for example, Bale's *Catalogus* was printed in five editions between 1557 and 1559 and his anti-papal work *Acta Romanorum pontificum* was published in 1558.¹¹⁴ During his lifetime Bale wrote at least twenty-four plays and led a troupe of actors that staged allegorical morality plays, 'which promoted protestant ideas and satirized Catholic beliefs by personifying the two sides as Virtues and Vices respectively'.¹¹⁵ For example, 'Bale and his fellows' performed in Canterbury in September, 1538.¹¹⁶ Five plays written by Bale have survived and they are all written in English. The best-known one is *Kyng Johan*, which Bale revised many times during his career.¹¹⁷ Bale's writing indicate an enduring interest in the Vice-character and its use of proverbs. According to Happé, proverbs make up a potent tool in creating a link between the play and everyday life. They are connected to the humanist tradition where 'proverbs allow fools to speak better than they know' and draws the parallel to Vice figures in that proverbs are 'also indispensable to the Vice'.¹¹⁸ Bale would have found an interesting character in Marcolph, Solomon's fool in Birck's play *Sapientia Solomonis*, because of Marcolph connection to proverbs. Since the medieval period Marcolph has appeared alongside Solomon in proverbial books.¹¹⁹ These books were constructed as a dialogue between Solomon and Marcolph and were printed in places such as Antwerp, Cologne, and Schleswig.¹²⁰ Just as Bale developed his Vice character in *Kyng Johan*, so too was the character of Marcolph developed into a larger role for the Westminster Play. It is therefore

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Stewart James Mottram, *Empire and Nation in Early English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: D.S Brewer, 2008), p. 139.

¹¹⁷ Peter Happé, *The Complete Plays of John Bale*, I (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Happé, pp. 16-17.

¹¹⁹ Rogers Payne, p. 15.

¹²⁰ Anon., *This is the dialogus or co(m)myng betwxt (sic) the wyse king Salomon and Marcolobus* (Antwerp: 1492) held at the Bodleian Library; Anon., *Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolphi* (Cologne: c. 1480) held at Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm; Anon., *Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolphi* (Schleswig: Stephanus Arndes, c. 1486) held at Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Uppsala.

tempting to hypothesize that Bale might have been not only the individual who brought the Protestant and humanist *Sapientia Solomonis* to England, but that he was the anonymous adapter too. Rogers Payne thinks both Bale, and Foxe, had opportunity to bring the play over to England. She writes that Bale

returned to England in the very year in which Oporinus's collection was issued, and both Foxe and Bale, a Cambridge graduate, returned again this time from Oporinus's very house in 1559, the year of the performance of the *Sapientia* at Trinity.¹²¹

Although Bale and Foxe had similar opportunities to bring the play over to England, Foxe might have a stronger case. Foxe (1516/17–1587), became a committed Protestant while studying at Oxford University, and like so many others, he went into exile during the Marian reign. Foxe had met Laurence Humphrey during his years at Oxford and, as already mentioned, they were reunited at Froben's and Oporinus's printing houses in Basle once Foxe arrived with his family in 1555.¹²² At Oporinus's printing house Foxe was also reunited with Bale, whom he met while exiled during Henry VIII's reign. Foxe, perhaps most famous for his *Acts and Monuments*, wrote several works including two plays, both written in Latin. The first play was written in 1544, during Foxe's time at Oxford, and was a comedy by the name of *Titus et Gesippus*, which is the first surviving work we have by him.¹²³ Oporinus printed Foxe's second play, *Christus Triumphans*, while Foxe was in exile and the play is an allegorical drama of the history of the church.¹²⁴ The five-act structure of the play with a chorus interspersed between scenes parallels the structure and use of chorus in *Sapientia Solomonis* (as discussed earlier). The fact that both dramas were written in Latin also indicates that Foxe may have been an advocate for *Sapientia Solomonis*

¹²¹ Rogers Payne, p. 25.

¹²² Thomas S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10050>> [accessed 22 June 2017].

¹²³ *ibid.*

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

in England. Furthermore, although Foxe was, unlike Bale, an Oxford man, his links to Cambridge are evident in the fact that *Christus Triumphans* was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1562/3.¹²⁵ Trinity College, Cambridge, is the very same college where *Sapientia Solomonis* was performed in 1560. However, when we turn to the accounts of the play performed at Cambridge, another candidate comes before us.

There was a thriving performance culture at Cambridge University, where students performed Classical plays as well as newly written dramas for their peers, superiors, and occasionally important guests such as ambassadors or royalty.¹²⁶ Amongst the 300 or so individual college performances that are known to us, is the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*.¹²⁷ In the *Trinity College Junior Bursar's Accounts 1* there is a payment relating to the play, which reads: 'Item to Mr Penny for Sapientia solomonis xij s v d'.¹²⁸ Mr Penny was most likely referring to Dr. Thomas Penny (c.1530–1589), a botanist and entomologist, who transferred from Queen's College to Trinity College in 1550.¹²⁹ He was elected a fellow in 1553 and became a senior bursar of the college in 1564, which means that he was at the college at the time of the performance.¹³⁰ Moreover, Garrett comes across a John Penteny in her census of Marian exiles, who she infers might be John Penny of Gressham, Lancaster, and father of Dr. Thomas Penny.¹³¹ John Penteny (Penny) was indeed in Frankfurt on December 21st, 1557, at which point he subscribed 'to the new discipline'.¹³² It is not unlikely that he brought a copy of the *Dramata Sacra* home to his son upon his return to England.

¹²⁵ Daniel Blank, 'Performing Exile: John Foxe's *Christus Triumphans* at Magdalen College, Oxford' in the *Journal of the Renaissance Studies*, 30 (2016) pp. 584-601, 2nd paragraph.

¹²⁶ Alan H. Nelson, *Cambridge 2: Editorial Apparatus – Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 709.

¹²⁷ Alan H. Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3.

¹²⁸ Nelson, *Cambridge 2: Editorial Apparatus – Records of Early English Drama*, p. 208.

¹²⁹ D. E. Allen, 'Penny, Thomas (c.1530–1589)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21883>> [accessed 22 June 2017].

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ Hallowell Garrett, p. 248.

¹³² Hallowell Garrett, p. 249.

Although it is impossible to determine who it was that brought the play over from Basle, or indeed whether it was one individual or a group of people, from this study it is clear that the network that was formed on the continent during the period of English exiles encouraged a cultural exchange and enabled a play such as *Sapientia Solomonis* to make its way to England. I will now turn my focus to the network of people between Cambridge University and Westminster School in order to shed light on the way in which the play might have arrived at Westminster School from Trinity College.

Two of the main individuals working at the Westminster School during the mid-sixteenth century were strongly connected to Cambridge University and it was perhaps through them that plays that had been performed at the University came to be performed at the Westminster School. First, the headmaster of Westminster School at the time of the Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was Thomas Browne. Browne (1535-1585) was a Church of England clergyman and headmaster of the school between 1564 and 1570.¹³³ Browne was a Cambridge man and took his BA and his MA from King's College, and graduated BTh in 1569. Browne's strong connection to Cambridge for such a long period of time offered him plenty of opportunity to be inspired to bring dramas he came across at Cambridge to his school. The annual Latin Play performed by the Westminster School to their patron Elizabeth I held a potent role in a system of gift giving and politics between Elizabeth I and her subjects, which we will discuss further in Chapter 3, and it was an important opportunity for Browne to impress the Queen. Perhaps he did succeed with the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* for Browne was in April 1566 presented 'by the queen to the first prebend of Westminster Abbey and was also appointed subdean of the diocese'.¹³⁴ This can only be conjecture because there is no direct evidence that Browne was involved in the Westminster performance. We do,

¹³³ Stephen Wright, 'Browne, Thomas (c.1535–1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3700>> [accessed 9 June 2017].

¹³⁴ Stephen Wright, 'Browne, Thomas (c.1535–1585).

however, have surviving evidence that another individual at the School was both a Cambridge man and directly involved with the Westminster Play.

Gabriel Goodman (1528-1601) was dean of the Westminster School at the time of the performance. Goodman had strong links to Cambridge University and studied at three of its colleges: he started his university studies at Jesus College, Cambridge, before he moved to Christ's from which he graduated BA in 1550 and completed a MA in 1553; he proceeded to DTh, from St. John's College in 1564.¹³⁵ Goodman was thus involved in university life at Cambridge at the time of the university performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and might have taken it up on himself to bring it to Westminster School. Moreover, the bill of the performance makes a direct mention of the dean in connection to the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*: the fourth item on the bill says that the 'Deane' appointed mr Allen's son to write two copies of the text.¹³⁶ Unfortunately the bill does not tell us how the play came to the School nor who might have adapted it into the Westminster Play, but the fact that it makes clear that the Dean was in charge of at least the copies invites us to hypothesize that it was Goodman who brought the play to the School.

Before the play was staged at the Westminster School, it had been adapted from Birck's version, and I will now carry out an intertextual analysis of the Westminster School version and Birck's version of *Sapientia Solomonis*, in order to demonstrate how the play-text was especially adapted from Sixt Birck's drama to suit a royal audience.

Although both dramas were written for students to perform, they had different agendas. Sixt Birck was born in Augsburg in 1500 and was educated in Basel. Birck worked as a schoolmaster first in Basel and later in Augsburg. As previously stated, some

¹³⁵ C. S. Knighton, 'Goodman, Gabriel (1528–1601)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2005 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10976>> [accessed 23 June 2017].

¹³⁶ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

of Birck's plays were published in *Dramata Sacra*, a collection of dramas based on the Old Testament, edited by Johannes Oporinus, in Basel in 1547, and among them was the play *Sapientia Solomonis*.¹³⁷ Influenced by ideas of Humanism and Protestantism that surrounded him in the two cities, Birck produced vernacular and Latin school dramas based on biblical stories for his students to perform and learn from. At the centre of the Humanist ideology was the idea that a human is able to better himself or herself through education. Classical drama was mined for examples of philosophy and rhetoric, and performing Classical as well as neo-Classical drama was a didactic tool for furthering, especially, rhetorical skills.¹³⁸ Kent Cartwright explains the link between acting and Humanist pedagogy: '[p]layacting, in particular, saturated humanist education because, as it occasioned learning in language, diction, gesture, attitude, and sententia, it modeled the "[m]imetic assimilation ... fundamental to all humanist pedagogy"'.¹³⁹ According to Charles H. Herford, the aim of Birck's plays was 'to train good citizens, to teach the ideals of citizenship, reverence for the parent and care for the child', which confirms that Birck was writing his plays in line with Humanist ideology.¹⁴⁰ Birck's aims are evident in the play *Sapientia Solomonis*, which follows the Bible account of Solomon, as laid out in 1 Kings. King Solomon judges a dispute between two women who both deny a dead child and claim maternity of the same, living child; he builds a temple in honour of God with the aid of his international contacts; and receives the Queen of Sheba, who arrives with a great entourage and luxurious gifts to praise Solomon's wisdom and just leadership.

¹³⁷ Sixt Birck, *Sapientia Solomonis* in *Dramata Sacra*, Comoedia atque Tragaediae aliquot è Veteri Testamento desumptae, etc. (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1547). The authors of the plays in the collection were: Sixt Birck, Hieronimo Ziegler, Cornelius Crocus, Andreas Diether, Jacobus Zovitius, Johannes Lorichius, and Thomas Naogeorg.

¹³⁸ Kent Cartwright, 'Introduction' in *Theatre and Humanism – English Drama in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 1-24, p. 13. (Cartwright quotes: Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, p. 34.)

¹³⁹ Cartwright, 'Introduction', pp. 13-14.

¹⁴⁰ Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxon: Cambridge University Press, 1886, 1966, 2005), p. 91.

English schools employed studying and performing drama as pedagogical tools for learning language, rhetoric, and good conduct also. As Lynn Enterline notes:

Schoolmasters thought both acting *and* declamation were good training in eloquence and the art of gentlemanly behaviour. In several ordinances, “declame” and “play” are virtual synonyms.¹⁴¹

In addition to being a pedagogical tool, performing drama at Westminster School in the 1560s had a further agenda to entertain and provide a platform for political negotiations for Elizabeth’s court.¹⁴² Elizabeth attended three performances given by the school, possibly more, the council attended at least four performances between 1564/5 and 1567/8, and the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in 1565/6 is the only Westminster School production, that we know of, where an international guest was invited to attend alongside the Queen and her council. Thus, even though Birck’s drama and the Westminster School version of the play were both intended for school students to perform, Birck’s *Sapientia Solomonis* functioned as a teaching tool whereas the Westminster Play had a political agenda.

The connection between the Westminster School version of the play and the earlier play by Birck has received some attention by primarily two scholars. Boas established the relationship between the two versions, and Rogers Payne developed this relationship in a detailed comparison of Birck’s play and the BL copy in her edition of the manuscript.¹⁴³ The Folger copy was unknown to both Boas and Rogers Payne, which impacted on the nature of their study of the play; this fact does not, however, detract from Rogers Payne’s textual comparison of the two versions. As already discussed, the

¹⁴¹ Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare’s Schoolroom – Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 41.

¹⁴² I will look closer at the relationship between Westminster School and the court in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

¹⁴³ Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, p. 21 and Rogers Payne, *Sapientia Solomonis - acted before the Queen by the boys of Westminster School January 17, 1565/6*.

textual content of the two manuscripts are near enough identical and will hereafter collectively be referred to as the Westminster Play.

Several differences between Birck's play and the Westminster Play are readily noticeable when comparing the character lists in the two plays. There are thirteen named characters in addition to the unquantifiable Satelles (attendants), in Birck's version of the play, whereas there are twenty-one named characters in the Westminster Play, other than the Satelles. The additional characters are indicative of the largest changes the adapter made to Birck's play. First, the three allegorical characters Sapientia, Justitia and Pax are added to the Westminster Play. In Birck's version a chorus prefixes Act One, punctuates Act 1, Act 2, and Act 4, Act 5, and concludes the play after the Epilogue. In the Westminster Play there is no chorus, instead some of the choruses' lines have been adapted to the three allegorical characters.

Wisdom, Justice, and Peace are introduced in scene 1.2, a scene that stays close to Birck's scene 3 up to line 19. In both versions of the play this scene begins with Solomon alone on stage, accounting for a dream he had in Gibeon. In Birck's version of the play Solomon continues to speak to the audience about how God has given him wisdom, wealth, and length of days since Solomon's return to Jerusalem. In the Westminster Play, Solomon calls for wisdom, or Wisdom, who then appears with the two characters Justice and Peace. Next, the four characters Latomus (Stonemason), Architectus (Architect), Seruus Latomi (servant to the Stonemason), and Seruus Architecti (servant to the Architect) have been added to the Westminster Play. These four characters appear in scene 5.2, and this scene, just as the characters in it, has been added to the Westminster Play. In Birck's version of the play Solomon merely says that he shall build a temple, whereas 5.2 takes place during the actual building of the temple. Scene 5.2 is a humorous episode wherein Marcolph is a mischief-maker and interrupts the Architect's servant and the Stonemason's servant work. The two servants outwit Marcolph and trick him into

pulling out one of his own teeth. Through this scene Marcolph was given a larger part in the Westminster Play than he had in Birck's drama. I will return to analyse these scenes in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

From a quantitative and qualitative study, Rogers Payne was able to provide an overview of the similarities and differences between the two versions of the play. According to Rogers Payne, '[t]he MS. contains a total of 1256 lines; Birck's play 1121. These totals include preliminary and concluding matter – prologue, argument, epilogue, etc'.¹⁴⁴ Rogers Payne continues and proposes that the relationship between the plays becomes clearer if we exclude the introductory and concluding material:

[o]n this basis, Birck's play contain 995 lines. The total number of scenes in the five acts is 26, the five choruses following the acts making 31 parts in all. The MS. contains 1174 lines divided into 32 scenes (in five acts) Birck's choruses have become scenes organic to the play.¹⁴⁵

This means that the Westminster Play contains 323 lines more than Birck's play. Rogers Payne's study reveals that whereas several of these lines are found dispersed through the play, the majority of the adapter's added lines are divided into three scenes and that '[a]ll of [the adapter's] other changes – rearrangement of lines and scenes, omissions, and other additions - taken together, are far less significant than these three scenes in affecting the fundamental nature of the play'.¹⁴⁶ The three scenes that Rogers Payne has identified as the adapter's largest contributions are the two scenes discussed above (1.2.19-85 and 5.2.), and the third is 3.4.4-96. Scene 3.4.4-96 contains Marcolph and the two characters Tecnophilia and Tecnophone. Earlier in the play, the two women come to Solomon with a dispute; they are accusing each other for stealing their own child when the other woman's child died. In scene 3.4.4-96, Solomon is away deliberating and the two women are waiting for his judgement when Marcolph approaches them and spurs their animosity

¹⁴⁴ Rogers Payne, p. 27.

¹⁴⁵ Rogers Payne, pp. 27-28.

¹⁴⁶ Rogers Payne, pp. 28-29.

on. In a similar way to scene 5.2, scene 3.4 elaborates upon Marcolph's character and presence in the play. Although, Rogers Payne's comparison of the two plays provides an extensive overview of the similarities and differences between Birck's play and the Westminster Play, it is not a completely comprehensive overview. For example, scene 5.6 in the Westminster Play is not discussed in regards to the adapter's elaboration of the Queen of Sheba's gifts to Solomon. In Birck's version of the play, King Solomon is given two gifts of gold and spices, whereas in the Westminster Play, five gifts are presented, each more luxurious than the previous one. I will return to analyse this scene in Chapter 3, because it provides an insight into the complexities surrounding international relationships that are at the centre of this study.

Conclusion

By studying and comparing the BL copy of the play-text to the Folger copy, it is clear that the BL copy was one of the more expensive copies that were produced alongside the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. Elizabeth's arms and initials on the vellum cover, the Queen's several other initials that can be found throughout the manuscript, and the aesthetical evidence of the care, effort, and money that went into producing the manuscript, all point to the fact that it was intended as a presentation copy of the play-text for the Queen. The fact that one copy of *Miles Gloriosus* was prepared by the School for Elizabeth the previous year serves to strengthen this claim. The Folger copy is a more economic copy of the play-text, however, the generous spacing around the text on the paper, the neatly written secretary hand, and the fact that the bill of the performance state that all copies were to be bound in vellum with silk strings, strongly suggest that this was also intended as a presentation copy, but for one of the council members in attendance. The high quality of both manuscripts, and the fact that they were given to two recipients of high social status are probably the reasons behind their survival to present day.

The analysis of the BL copy and the Folger copy provides a case study of Elizabethan court culture, and reveal some of the expectations placed upon courtly gifts. Both the BL copy and the Folger copy evidence that purely the play-text would not be enough as a courtly gift, it needed to be elaborately bound and neatly presented. The analysis of the BL copy and the references to it in WAM 54000, further show that it was important to set a royal gift apart from other gifts aesthetically through illuminations, different coloured ink, script, and paper quality. The presentation copies indicate the Westminster School's aspiration for an enduring engagement between the school and the recipients through their mementoes of the performance, a wish to extend the impact of the production on its audience beyond the fleeting moment of its performance. These findings are significant for my analysis of the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis*'s role in courtly gift-exchanges and networks of patronage in Chapter 3, as they point to the School's commitment to making the production an extravagant and prestigious event.

Studying the provenance of these two manuscripts and the way in which the adaptor might have come in contact with Sixt Birck's play, revealed close-knit groups of people who shared contact points in the exile community in Basle, the scholastic networks surrounding Cambridge and Westminster School, as well as the inner circle of court politics. I will build on this understanding of the network of people concerned with the event in subsequent chapters, as it provides an insight into the political significance of the production of *Sapientia Solomonis* at Westminster School.

Chapter 2 Critical Perspectives: Iconography

Introduction

Tudor Royal iconography was integral to building a monarch's public image, and is therefore an important area of study in order to understand how a monarch wanted to be portrayed. Scholars such as King and Strong have written extensively on Tudor iconography, demonstrating how word and image in art and performance forwarded the magnificence of a ruler.¹⁴⁷ Whereas the vast majority of existing scholarship on Elizabethan iconography focuses on the image-making of Elizabeth as a Virgin Queen and the use of the Virgin Mary in iconography later in her reign, this study covers Elizabeth's early years and the use of iconography of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba to forward the idea of a Protestant Queen with divine right to the throne. Furthermore, in the Tudor period, the belief that the Bible prefigured events that took place around them was wide spread. Biblical figures, and events were typologically linked with Tudor people and events. Typology was employed in the medieval and early modern period in royal iconography as a way for monarchs to present themselves to their subjects, and for subjects to praise their monarchs. Artists, dramatists, and writers constructed connections between their monarchs and Biblical figures as a way of building the royal image.

The play *Sapientia Solomonis* and the performance of it at Westminster School in 1565/6, partakes in Elizabeth I's image-making as a Protestant queen with divine authority as the Prologue and Epilogue of the play draw links between Elizabeth and the main character in the play, King Solomon. The Epilogue also draws links between Elizabeth's guest Cecilia of Sweden and Solomon's guest the Queen of Sheba, a

¹⁴⁷ See for example, King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, Strong, *Gloriana – The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, and *The Cult of Elizabeth – Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*.

comparison that is flattering to the Swedish Princess whilst simultaneously diminishing her status in relation to that of Elizabeth. By applying a typological study to the performance of the play, this chapter aims to explore the implication the typological connections between the characters in the play and the two royal women had.

In the first section I will apply a typological study to two case studies of early Tudor iconography of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, in order to uncover the framework of associations linked to these two figures as types. In the second section of this chapter I study early modern sermons where Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were used as types for Elizabeth. My aim with these sections are to show that King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were established figures in Tudor iconography, and they were used to argue for Elizabeth's divine right to the throne. This chapter's last section concentrates on an analysis of the play *Sapientia Solomonis*, and the way the play employs typology to negotiate the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia of Sweden. This study is the first to apply a typological study to the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and by doing so, I am able to consider the ways in which the production commented on and negotiated the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia in a more comprehensive way than has previously been done. Ultimately, I argue that by linking King Solomon to Elizabeth and the Queen of Sheba to Cecilia, the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* works to elevate Elizabeth's power, whilst simultaneously undermining Cecilia's status.

2.1 Tudor Iconography through a Typological Study

Henry VII's royal entry to the city of York and Hans Holbein the Younger's miniature *Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba* offer two examples of iconography where the King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba are employed as types for Tudor monarchs. These two pieces of Tudor iconography have been examined by King, however, he does not explore

ways in which typology works to create meaning. I will now consider how typology was used in Henry VII's entry and Holbein's miniature in order to reinforce Henry VII and Henry VIII's divine right to the throne.

In 1486, the City of York welcomed Henry VII with grand displays throughout the city. There are two surviving records of the event, the York Civic Records that detail the plans for the progression, and a herald's account of the event. The two records correspond for the most part but there are some differences, for example, there are changes in speech length and the order of the events. From the *REED* volume of York, it is clear that it was an elaborate affair that spanned large parts of the city.¹⁴⁸ After having been greeted by two sheriffs with twenty horses, two Aldermen with a further eleven horses, the Mayor and more Aldermen clad in long scarlet robes, the common council dressed in violet, inhabitants of York dressed in red, and 'a certaine nowmbre of Childrine', the victorious King Henry VII entered the city. Then he rode through streets covered in colourful fabric and encountered various displays, devices, and tableaux, designed in his honour. The designer, Sir Henrie Hudson, a parish priest of Spofford, filled the event with political significance, drawn from both secular and Biblical sources. After an elaborate display of red and white roses, created to celebrate the union of the York and Lancaster Houses, Henry VII was met by Ebrauk, the founder of York, who presented him with the keys to the city. Further on, at Ouse Bridge, Henry VII was presented with a tableau consisting of a royal throne, six historical crowned kings named Henry, and King Solomon. The last Henry in the line, Henry VI, handed King Solomon a sceptre that he in turn gave to Henry VII. In his study of this event, King says: 'The Figure of Solomon here symbolizes both regal wisdom and the political pragmatism that had led civic authorities to capitulate in the early months of the new regime'.¹⁴⁹ The City

¹⁴⁸ *REED: York*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 Vols., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), Vol. I: pp. 137-143.

¹⁴⁹ King, p. 28.

of York here recognises the Lancastrian Henry VII as the rightful king by presenting him with a tableau that placed him among his predecessors, all sharing his name. The tableau constructs a sense that Henry VII has a natural claim to the throne by lineage.

Building on King's observation and by applying a typological study to the tableau I will demonstrate how, through the figure of Solomon, Henry VII is also depicted having a divine right to the throne of England. The sceptre that Solomon passes to Henry VII links the Biblical figure to the Tudor king through the physical act of giving, by the words Solomon speaks as he gives it, and through the symbolism of the sceptre itself. According to the document presented in *REED*, Solomon 'shall yervpon taking that Ceptour and saying the words felowing vnto the king in prose yelde vnto him the saide Ceptour in tokining that in hym is wisdom and Iustice'.¹⁵⁰ The word 'tokining', from the noun 'token', is according to the OED a spelling variation of the modern word 'token', which is something that serves as a sign or symbol. The aim of the giving of the sceptre is to symbolise that the wisdom and justice of Solomon are now in Henry VII's ownership. When also considering the fact that Solomon is a Biblical figure, another meaning can be applied to the action. The OED lists a further meaning to the word 'tokining' in its theological use: 'An act serving to demonstrate divine power or authority'. The giving of the sceptre thus demonstrates that Henry VII is a king by divine authority. The words with which Solomon passes the sceptre to the king also point to it as a symbol that typologically link them one another. Solomon concludes: In Ich Iudiciall right this reame to be renewed/ ye be avisid most worthi by graciouse affluence / Submitting to your sufferaunt my septour of sapience'.¹⁵¹ By giving Henry VII his sceptre of wisdom, Solomon is saying that the king now holds the same wisdom as Solomon held, England will be improved upon as Solomon improved his country and England will experience

¹⁵⁰ *REED: York*, p.141.

¹⁵¹ *REED: York*, p.141.

abundance in riches just as Solomon experienced during his reign. Solomon becomes the type that prefigures Henry VII, which in turn gives Henry VII a divine right to the throne. This study consequently demonstrates that a typological study furthers the interpretation of Tudor iconography. Henry VII, the last king in England to win the title by force, is presented with a tableau that purposefully places him among his predecessors, all sharing his name, which constructs a sense that he has a claim to the throne because of his lineage. If we regard Solomon as a type for Henry VII, however, the Tudor king has an even greater claim to the throne through the ultimate power of God.

The second example of King Solomon in Tudor royal iconography is a miniature portrait in vellum by Hans Holbein the Younger that was produced during Henry VIII's reign.¹⁵² In his catalogue of the works of Hans Holbein the Younger, John Rowlands references the miniature as *Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba* and provides a technical description of the miniature.¹⁵³ According to Rowlands, it was created with 'silverpoint, pen and brush in various colours with grey wash and a blue background, with gold starts, heightened with white bodycolour and gold on vellum'.¹⁵⁴ The miniature depicts King Solomon sitting on a throne in the middle of the image. The king is framed by two pillars, which stand on either side of him, a dome above his head, and steps below him. Beside each of the pillars are groups of men, and below the stairs stands the Queen of Sheba with a train of women and a group of her gift bearers. The miniature provides insight not only into how recognizable King Solomon as a type was, but also into what the Queen of Sheba came to represent at the time of the Reformation.

As noted in the example with Solomon's speech in the York tableau, words can form an important part of iconography and inform our interpretation of it. King argues

¹⁵² Susan Foister, *Holbein and England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 154.

¹⁵³ Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Hans Holbein the younger, pen and brush in bistre and grey wash, black chalk on vellum, (c.1534-35), Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

¹⁵⁴ John Rowlands, *Holbein – the paintings of Hans Holbein the younger* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1985), p. 150.

that ‘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’.¹⁵⁵ Holbein included gold inscriptions in the image and this portrait demonstrates how text cannot be separated from the image as Holbein makes the words a part of the picture. The inscriptions are based on the Vulgate text 2 Chronicles 9: 6-8, and are attributed to the Queen of Sheba. The queen pays homage to the king in these inscriptions and it is worth spelling them out in their entirety. Firstly, what follows is the inscription on the blue coloured wall, where the ellipses indicate where Holbein has broken the text to leave space for the throne; BEATI VIRI TVI ... ET BEATI SERVI TVI / QVI ASSISTVNT CORAM TE ... OMNITPÊ ET AVDIVNT / SAPIENTIAM ... TVAM. This inscription is based on 2 Chronicles 9: 7, which in the King James Version reads: ‘Happy are thy men, and happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and hear thy wisdom.’ Secondly, the inscription on the canopy behind King Solomon reads: SIT DOMINVS DEVS TVVS BENEDICTVS, / CUI COMPLACIT IN TE, VT PONERET TE / SVPER THRONVM SVVM, VT ESSES REX / (CONSTITVTVS) DOMINO DEO TVO. King translates this inscription as: ‘Blessed be thy Lord thy God, which loved thee, to set thee on his throne as King’.¹⁵⁶ Here, the Queen of Sheba articulates the fact that Solomon is a king of divine right. The third inscription is located on the second and third step from King Solomon and reads: VICISTI FAMAM / VIRTVTIBVS TVIS. This text is taken from a part of 2 Chronicles 9: 6, and translates into English as: ‘You have won fame by your virtues’. The Queen of Sheba thus praises Solomon’s wisdom and court.

As established in the example from York above, Solomon became a powerful type for a king because he ruled with divine right; this aspect of King Solomon also made him

¹⁵⁵ King, p. 6.

¹⁵⁶ King, p. 83.

a useful type for a Reformation monarch, who does not answer to a pope but to God alone. The link between the miniature and the Reformation is made clearer as Holbein's depiction of Solomon resembles Henry VIII. Susan Foister writes in her study *Holbein and England* that 'the miniature appears to show Henry VIII in the guise of Solomon, and thus to be intended in some way to convey a compliment to him'.¹⁵⁷ Rowlands also acknowledges the resemblance and writes:

In the miniature, Solomon is readily recognizable as Henry, and the visit of the Queen of Sheba, to judge from a slightly doctored Latin quotation from the Old Testament (II Chronicles IX, 7-8), is intended to signify the Church's new subservience to the Crown.¹⁵⁸

It is only with the additional reading of the inscriptions that Rowlands is able to suggest the miniature's allusion to the Reformation. King shares Rowlands's view and writes that:

the Latin version of the Queen's salutation alludes to the Reformation Parliament's recent replacement of the pope with Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church of England; this text suggests that both Henry and Solomon are responsible to God alone and to no other worldly power.¹⁵⁹

Again, it is the inscription that completes the image for King and enables him to see its associations to the Reformation.

Both Rowlands and King point to the fact that Solomon is a type for a king of divine authority in the Holbein portrait, however neither discusses the miniature in relation to typology. By applying the figural interpretation, as described by Auerbach, to the reading of the miniature it is clear that a connection is set up between Solomon and Henry VIII. When the Tudor king is depicted as the king from the Scriptures, Solomon becomes a type for Henry VIII.¹⁶⁰ A link is also set up between the Queen of Sheba's praise of Solomon, and the submission of the Old Church to the new Church of England. As a result, if the Old Testament event depicted in the miniature signifies itself and Henry

¹⁵⁷ Foister, p. 154.

¹⁵⁸ Rowlands, p. 92.

¹⁵⁹ King, p. 83.

¹⁶⁰ Auerbach, p. 53.

VIII's Reformation, Henry VIII and the Reformation in turn fulfil the prefiguration in the Old Testament. The two events have come to share the same time and to some extent the same function in prefiguring the last kingdom. As Auerbach explains:

Figural prophecy implies the interpretation of one worldly event through another; the first signifies the second, the second fulfils the first. Both remain historical events; yet both, looked at in this way, have something provisional and incomplete about them; they point to one another and both point to something in the future, something still to come, which will be the actual, real, and definitive event.¹⁶¹

Solomon, King of Israel and son of David, prefigures Henry VIII, King of England and the Supreme Head of the Church of England; together they signify one another and also the ultimate kingdom of Heaven.

These two examples of Tudor royal iconography demonstrate that a typological study of art furthers our understanding of the meaning and impact of the artworks. As Panofsky and Davidson have pointed out, when conducting an iconographical study, it is necessary to have a sense of the culture we are studying; and by applying typology to the iconographic images we gain a further insight into the works we are studying. Through the typological links between Henry VII and Henry VIII to Solomon, the Tudor kings became interwoven in the prophecy shared by the Scripture, a belief widely established in the Reformed nation. In addition, in both the York tableau and Holbein's miniature word and image work together to construct meaning, and they need to be considered together when interpreting the works. The two examples above show that an iconographical analysis and a typological study can be applied to both a static image, such as the miniature, and a moving image, such as the York tableau, and consequently also to the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, as it combines words with images. An interesting observation is that Solomon was used by both Catholic and Reformist monarchs in their image-making. King points out, however, that although not distinctly "reformist"

¹⁶¹ Auerbach, p. 58.

symbols, works ‘that emphasize the status of David and Solomon as direct instruments of divine providence offer a powerful iconographical argument in support of the Protestant monarch’s disestablishment of the Roman church’.¹⁶² In the York Tableau, Solomon functioned to establish Henry VII’s right to the throne both by birthright and divine authority, whereas in the Holbein portrait Solomon demonstrated that Henry VIII was to rule directly under God, as Solomon himself did, rather than under the charge of the Pope. Solomon maintained his status as a type for a Reformist monarch during Elizabeth I’s reign and typology was used as a political tool in media such as sermons and performances.

2.2 Solomon, the Queen of Sheba and Elizabeth I

In 1585, Church of England clergyman and preacher John Prime (1549/50-1596) gave a sermon that illustrates how Solomon was used as a type and how typology was a vehicle for political propaganda during Elizabeth I’s reign. Prime had received his Doctor of Divinity from Oxford and the sermon was given at St Mary the Virgin, New College Oxford, on the 17th of November, the day celebrating Elizabeth I’s accession.¹⁶³ The sermon was titled: *Sermon Briefly Comparing the Estate of King Salomon and his Subjects with Queene Elizabeth and her People*, and printed in 1585.¹⁶⁴ In his sermon, Prime uses King Solomon and his reign alongside Tudor people and events to argue for Elizabeth as a Protestant Queen and against Catholicism and its advocates. He writes:

Treason against the Prince is no sinne against God, saith Euerard Hance, as you may reade in the wise and True report of the Arrainment and execution of the Popish Traitor. Our present storie, of the enthronizing of Salomon informeth

¹⁶² King, p. 56.

¹⁶³ Julian Lock, ‘Prime, John (1549/50–1596)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22792>> [accessed 21 April 2016].

¹⁶⁴ John Prime, *A sermon briefly comparing the estate of King Solomon and his subiectes together with the condition of Queene Elizabeth and her people*, (Oxford: Joseph Barnes printed to the University, 1585).

vs better, & teacheth vs a contrary lesson, and sheweth plainly, whence princely gouernment is deriued and doth depend.¹⁶⁵

For a Catholic such as Euerard Hance, the Pope was God's representative on Earth, not the monarch, which means that doing injury to a monarch is not offending to God. In contrast, Prime, and Protestants in general, believed that God appoints the monarch and, therefore, anyone who harmed a monarch also caused harm to God. Here, Solomon, recognized as a king with divine authority, served as an example, similarly to how he served as an example in Holbein's miniature, to teach us that 'princely gouernment' derives and depends on God. Euerard Hance, who had been executed at Tyborn in 1581, served as an exemplary warning against opposing Elizabeth I.¹⁶⁶

Prime's use of biblical parallels reflects his belief that his own time was a continuum of Biblical time, which is evident in his comparison of Bishop Stephen Gardiner to Abiathar and Achitophel. Abiathar was an Old Testament priest that King Solomon deposed because he supported the usurper Adonijah.¹⁶⁷ And Achitophel, or Ahitophel, was an Old Testament counselor to King David who deserted him and eventually hanged himself.¹⁶⁸ Prime writes:

THE time was, when *Steuen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* and *cancellor* of *England*, a wilier serpent than all his brethren, worse than *Abiathar*, and as bad as *Achitophel* laied his complot to preuent her preferment, and in deede vpon vaine surmises without all prooffe or legall caling to question most wrongfully brought her Grace to that heauy and doleful plight.¹⁶⁹

Gardiner, who had served Henry VIII, was imprisoned during Edward VI's reign for non-conformity and aided Mary I to restore Catholicism in England, had been the main force behind sending Elizabeth to the tower and worked towards declaring her a bastard so that

¹⁶⁵ Prime, Sig. a6r.

¹⁶⁶ Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or a General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, Vol. I: Authors A-H, (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company, 1824).

¹⁶⁷ King James Version, I Kings 2.26-27 and Hugh Chisholm, (ed.) 'Abiathar', in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* I, 11th ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 62.

¹⁶⁸ King James Version, Psalm 55:12-14, and Chisholm (ed.), p. 430.

¹⁶⁹ Prime, Sig. a3r.

she would not be able to become queen after Mary I.¹⁷⁰ According to Prime, Gardiner is to Elizabeth what Achitophel was to David, and he is worse than Abiathar was to Solomon. Prime viewed these men as a part of the same history, all traitors, and all sinners against God. Furthermore, the marriage between Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, and Henry VIII was nulled and voided in 1536 and Anne was executed for adultery and treason in May the same year.¹⁷¹ In Elizabeth's defense, Prime refers to Solomon as the son of a blemished mother who nevertheless was God's anointed.¹⁷² Solomon and his estate are, thus, used in constructing a sermon with a clear Protestant agenda. Prime's sermon is an example of how typology was interlinked with the world and the worldview of the Elizabethans and how readily available Solomon was as a type for a Protestant monarch.

During her reign, Elizabeth was not only compared to Solomon but also typologically linked to the Queen of Sheba. Although the Epilogue of *Sapientia Solomonis* explicitly links Solomon to Elizabeth I and the Queen of Sheba to Cecilia of Sweden, it is worth considering the Arabian queen as a figure for Elizabeth as it informs our understanding of the Queen of Sheba as a type. In 1599, Thomas Holland gave a sermon on 17th of November, and, just as Prime's sermon, it was given in celebration of Elizabeth I's accession.¹⁷³ In his sermon, Holland presents the Queen of Sheba as a type for the female monarch Elizabeth. Tate takes Holland's sermon as an example of a way of presenting a different reading of the Bible story of Solomon and the visit of the Queen of Sheba in comparison to the corrupted reading he argues is presented in *Doctor Faustus*.

¹⁷⁰ C. D. C. Armstrong, 'Gardiner, Stephen (c.1495x8–1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10364>> [accessed 21 April 2016].

¹⁷¹ E. W. Ives, 'Anne Boleyn', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/557>> [accessed 8 June 2020].

¹⁷² Prime, sig. a6v –a7r.

¹⁷³ Thomas Holland, *Panēguris D. Elizabethae, Dei gratiā Angliae Reginae* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1601).

Tate focuses on Holland's struggles to justify a female monarch and writes: 'Though he has trouble saying so directly, the example of the Queen of Sheba evidently helps Holland appreciate the merits of a regnant queen'.¹⁷⁴ In Holland's sermon, the Queen of Sheba is employed as a figure of a female monarch, a Biblical precedent used to rationalise the Tudor queen. Holland prefaces his sermon with Matthew 12:42, which reads: 'The Queene of the South shall rise in iudgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for shee came from the utmost partes of the earthe, to heare the wisdom of *Salomon*: and beholde. A greater then *Salomon* is heere'.¹⁷⁵ In his sermon, the prophecy signifies both the Queen of Sheba and Elizabeth. Holland explains the comparison with Elizabeth by saying:

The person in the Text by our Saviour commended is a woman; by birth, vocation, a descent a Queen, by consequente thereof, [...] a living image of God: and [...] a Mayden Queen. The Person for whom we doe the 17. of November according to the rule of the B[lessed] Apostle make supplication, praier, intercessions, & giuing thanks is by sexe a *woman*, by birth, auncient descent, vocation, title, right of inheritance, and regal investure a *Queene*; by honour, integrity of life, grace given by God almighty from above, a *Mayden Queene*.¹⁷⁶

By prefacing the comparison with the prophecy, Holland links the two women together typologically within it. Both the Queen of Sheba and Elizabeth I are women, Queens, and maidens, and the prophecy signifies the Queen of Sheba's rising as much as Elizabeth I's accession to the throne and restoration of the Protestant faith in England. Holland draws on the Queen of Sheba as a type for a female monarchy, and interwoven with that is her associations with the English Reformation, as established in Holbein's miniature of Henry VIII.

Although not linked together in the Epilogue of *Sapientia Solomonis*, the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon also carries these associations and the Queen of Sheba

¹⁷⁴ William Tate, 'Solomon, Gender, and Empire in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*', p. 261.

¹⁷⁵ Holland, Sig. ar.

¹⁷⁶ Holland, Sigs. a2v- a3r.

is thus linked to Elizabeth. This reading further ties in with the performance's Protestant propaganda. King writes that *Sapientia Solomonis* is 'a play that dramatized both Solomon and the Arabian queen as figures for England's Protestant queen'.¹⁷⁷ Tate expands on King's notion and says that if the Arabian queen is linked with Elizabeth then Solomon is a representation of Christ, and 'the queen of Sheba's (or Elizabeth's) godliness appears in her submission'.¹⁷⁸ There are, then, at least two different readings that a typological link between the Queen of Sheba and Elizabeth I can offer us: a figure for the English Reformation, and a type for a female monarchy. Although different allegorical readings, they can both support the same laudatory political agenda. The performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, presents us with more options for reading the Queen of Sheba as a type. Neither King, nor Tate, acknowledge that the Epilogue sets up a typological link between the Biblical Queen and Cecilia of Sweden. This link has further impact on how we read the performance's political agenda and will provide us with an insight into how international courtly relationships were negotiated.

2.3 *Sapientia Solomonis*: A Typological Study

The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* took part in a Protestant agenda when employing Solomon as a type for Elizabeth I, and the Queen of Sheba as a type for Cecilia of Sweden. The Prologue and the Epilogue were specifically written for the occasion of the performance and by their explicit comparison of Elizabeth I to Solomon, Solomon becomes the archetype for Elizabeth I. First, the Prologue clearly states that Solomon is like Elizabeth I and uses specific words to make this typological connection. The section in question comes towards the end of the Prologue and what

¹⁷⁷ King, p. 255.

¹⁷⁸ Tate, p. 260.

follows is my transcription of it in the BL copy of the play-text. The long ‘ſ’ has been transcribed as ‘s’ and any expansions of abbreviations are spelled out in italics.

In the Prologue of *Sapientia Solomonis*, King Solomon and Queen Elizabeth are juxtaposed and made equal in dignity, power, and characters:

Blessed Solomon will see presently another ruler greatly blessed by the same tokens and the same good omens and likewise administering justice and the law to the people whom God gave her to rule over.

Not unwillingly like will see like; a queen will see a king, a prudent ruler will see a most prudent. Solomon with his wisdom will be here among us.¹⁷⁹

Solomon and Elizabeth are equally fortunèd and are equally judicious; in this play, the Prologue says, like will see like. The two words *auspiciis* and *omine* establish a typological link between the two rulers. According to the *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* from 1587, the Latin word *auspiciis*, from *auspicium*, *auspicii*, means ‘a sign or token’ and ‘of things [sic] to come: also fortune’.¹⁸⁰ King Solomon and Elizabeth are, thus, blessed (*beatus* and *beatam*) with the same prophetic sign and that ties them together. Similarly, according to the *Dictionarium*, the word *omine* means the ‘lucke or fortune of some thing to come’.¹⁸¹ Both these words in the Prologue of *Sapientia Solomonis* indicate that Solomon and Elizabeth share the fortune of things to come. As I have already established, according to typology, the type signifies itself as well as the thing it prefigures, the prefigured encompasses and fulfils the type, and together they point forward to the future. This pattern of thought is explicitly applied in this section of the Prologue. Just as Henry VIII became a part in the prefiguration of the Scriptures in Holbein’s miniature, Elizabeth too is made a part of the prophecy of the Bible.

¹⁷⁹ Payne has translated the play into English, the aim of the translation does not represent meter or form but ‘strives only to be clear’. Payne, p. 53.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas, *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (London: Richard Boyle, 1587), p. 53.

¹⁸¹ Thomas, p. 326.

However, the line following *'par videbit sibi parem'*, which completes the sentence, contradicts the equality suggested in the first part of the section: *'Regina regem prudens prudentissimum'*. The first two sets of words in the nominative and accusative (*par, regina* and *parem, regem*) suggest an equality between the one that will see and the one that will be seen, however, the last set of words sets up a hierarchy between the subject and the direct object; 'Prudent' Elizabeth will see the 'most prudent' Solomon. Here, King Solomon is presented as the better of the two rulers, and instead of being equal to Elizabeth I, he is something for her to aspire to. The Old Testament king becomes the prototype for a ruler on which Elizabeth I can model herself on. The next line translates into: 'Solomon will be present here with his wisdom', which emphasises his status as an archetype.

The performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* then goes on to reinforce Solomon as a model king through its use of characterisation, staging, and make-up. From around the eleventh century it was common to amalgamate what we know as 'type' or *figura* with allegories and symbolism. Auerbach writes:

In the high Middle Ages, the Sybils, Virgil, the characters of the *Aeneid*, and even those of the Breton legend cycle (e.g., Galahad in the quest for the Holy Grail) were drawn into the figural interpretation, and moreover there were all sorts of mixtures between figural, allegoric, and symbolic forms. ¹⁸²

This amalgamation of typology, analogy, and symbolism that took place in High Medieval Ages was also taking place later. In my earlier example of the York pageant presented to Henry VII, symbols such as the white and red rose, and mythological characters such as Ebrauk, were often used together with Biblical figures such as Solomon.¹⁸³ In *Sapientia Solomonis* the mischievous character Marcolph, the characters of Tecnophile and

¹⁸² Auerbach, p. 64.

¹⁸³ REED: *York*, pp. 137-143.

Tecnophone, as well as the allegorical characters Wisdom, Justice, and Peace serve to strengthen King Solomon's status as an ideal ruler.

The three characters Wisdom, Justice, and Peace are attributed to King Solomon in order to emphasise him as a divine ruler. The first time Solomon enters the performance space he is alone and from his prayer to God we learn that Solomon inherited his father's throne and that as a mere boy, the young king sees himself barely suitable to govern (Act 1.ii.11.16-19).¹⁸⁴ This is a moment of dramatic irony, as the performer playing the king is in fact merely a boy himself. The image of the young king in the performance emphasises the responsibility passed on to him as a young regent, which can be paralleled to the mammoth responsibility the young Elizabeth I, sitting in the audience, had in furthering her father's work. King Solomon continues his prayer by asking God to send him wisdom from heaven to be his companion, and next Wisdom enters with Justice and Peace. The allegorical characters Justice and Peace calls to mind the allegory for the four daughters of God, where:

Mercy and Peace, as two sisters, plead with their father, the King, on behalf of man who has offended Him; their sisters Justice and Truth insist that man be condemned. The four virtues are united when the Son of the King offers to satisfy the demands of each by becoming Himself the redeemer.¹⁸⁵

However, in *Sapientia Solomonis* Mercy and Truth has been replaced with something more important: Wisdom. As Rogers Payne says:

She is a far more important personage than any of the Four Daughters, for she is the namesake of the Sapientia who, in medieval drama, has been Christ [...] The Four Daughters represent the power and influence of God; hence Justice and Peace may bring *iudicium* and *opulentia* to Solomon. But only through Sapientia can the king, a mortal, know the very *consilium Dei* (I.ii.37).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Rogers Payne, pp. 58 and 60.

¹⁸⁵ Mary Immaculate, 'The Four Daughters of God in the Gesta Romanorum and the Court of Sapience' in *PMLA*, 57, (1942), pp. 951-965, p. 955 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/458870>> [accessed 6 July 2018].

¹⁸⁶ Rogers Payne, p.30.

Through Wisdom, Solomon will know God's will, which is the key to Solomon's successful kingship.

Wisdom's two companions, Justice and Peace, are suitable additions to King Solomon's court in a play which concerns itself with judgement and diplomacy. Whereas the first half of the play centres around Solomon's abilities to judge, the latter half of the play concentrates on building and maintaining international relationships. If Act 1 and 3 was an exhibit of excellent just kingship, Act 4 and 5 comprise a study of how to conduct peaceful diplomacy. At the start of Act 4, an ambassador of the Prince of Tyre arrives to Solomon's court. After an exchange of greetings between the Ambassador and Solomon's trusty advisors, Sadoc and Zabuth learn that the Ambassador has been sent to congratulate the king on his excellent kingship. In the next scene, Sadoc and Zabuth introduce the Ambassador to King Solomon who invites him to speak freely. The Ambassador says that his king was a friend of Solomon's father and is overjoyed to see Solomon ruling in his palace, the Tyrian king sends his regards, a sincere offer of friendship, and letters. The Ambassador's conduct pleases Solomon and he wishes to send his regards, his service, and letters to the king in return. This formalised behaviour and exchange of formalities would have been familiar to the members of the audience of the performance. The performed interaction between a foreign representative and the hosting monarch is a re-enactment of the rehearsed protocol that needed to be adhered to by early modern courts and their visitors. Solomon proceeds to say that he looks forward to the prospect of receiving Tyrian cedarwood and cypress so that he can build a temple in God's honour, that his father promised but was too occupied in war to accomplish. In contrast to his father, Solomon houses Peace and can, therefore, build fruitful relationships in peace that will bring his kingdom closer to God, which is manifested through the construction of the temple in God's honour in Act 5 Scene 2. Diplomacy is a fitting subject matter for a performance for a foreign visitor to Elizabeth's court.

The character Wisdom is modelled on Wisdom that figures in the Biblical proverbs, and just as her biblical counterpart, Wisdom is associated with her proximity to God in heaven. In Act 1 Scene 2, King Solomon asks God to: 'Emitte eam ex alto, de coelis sanctis tuis / A sede magnitudinis veniat tuae' (ll.28-29).¹⁸⁷ In other words, Wisdom is to be sent from above, from God's throne in his holy heavens. Bible Proverb 8 describes Wisdom: 'standeth in the top of the high places, by the way in the place of the paths. She crieth besides the gates before the city at the entry of the doors (Proverb 8.2-3).¹⁸⁸ In Wisdom's speech that concludes the play she also refers to herself on a height, saying: 'From the skies Wisdom cries out, 'If there is anyone who loves her well, he may direct his steps to me. Thus peacefully he may pass his days''.¹⁸⁹ As I will go on to discuss in Chapter 4, we do not know if a gallery existed in the Westminster School College Hall, where the production took place, at the time of the performance, but had there been one, it is most likely that Wisdom would deliver her last speech from the gallery, to emphasise her link to the biblical Wisdom.

In medieval and early modern drama, God-figures were traditionally presented with golden faces, either by a mask or gold face-paint. Twycross and Carpenter writes: 'The mask, or the gilded face, is clearly an emblem of divine radiance: God revealed in His Godhead. 'His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength' says Revelation 1:16.¹⁹⁰ The close link between Wisdom, Justice, and Peace to God makes it probable that they wore golden face-paint and we know from WAM 54000 that mr Usher was paid 'for colors & golde foyle bestowed in coloring the children face(s)'.¹⁹¹ This would have visually distinguished these three characters sent from God from the other mortal characters in

¹⁸⁷ Rogers Payne, p. 60.

¹⁸⁸ 1599 Geneva Bible

¹⁸⁹ Rogers Payne's translation.

¹⁹⁰ Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing ltd, 2002), p. 220-1.

¹⁹¹ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

the play. Furthermore, it is suggested in *Sapientia Solomonis* that King Solomon goes through a transformation after harbouring Wisdom, Justice, and Peace, and this was probably manifested in the colouring of Solomon's face. As already mentioned, at the start of the play Solomon refers to himself as merely a child, and Wisdom emphasises Solomon's status as a mortal upon arriving to his court (1.2.ll.16-19, and 37).¹⁹² The performer would, then, begin the play without a gilded face to underline the character's state before knowing Justice, Peace, and most importantly, Wisdom. However, a description of King Solomon in Act 3 draws on the imagery of the radiant Godhead as Tecnophile exclaims: 'Behold the King! like the radiance of the bright sun he appears' (3.2.ll.1-2).¹⁹³ A similar physical transformation to reveal the spiritual change of a character was made in the mid-sixteenth century play *Wit and Science* by John Redford. After having been seduced by Idleness, Wit does not recognise himself in the mirror: 'Ha! Gog's soul! What have we here – a devil? [...] Other this glass is shamefully spotted, or else I am shamefully blotted!'¹⁹⁴ Idleness and Ignorance appear to have disguised him for his face has been darkened to resemble a fool or a devil and his is wearing Ignorance's coat, a hood, and some ears.¹⁹⁵ Only when he recognises what he has become and turned his back on the Vices and joined with the Virtues of the play is he restored to Wit. The physical transformation of the appearance of King Solomon in *Sapientia Solomonis* emphasises the fact that Solomon now, through Wisdom, knows the counsel of God.

The characters Marcolph, Tecnophone, and Tecnophile function to strengthen the image of Solomon as a model king in *Sapientia Solomonis*. The two women who seek Solomon's judgement in Kings 1, are merely referred to by their gender and profession. In the Latin Vulgate they are known as *mulieres meretrices* (women prostitutes), and in the

¹⁹² Rogers Payne, pp. 58 and 60.

¹⁹³ Rogers Payne, p. 77.

¹⁹⁴ John Redford, *Wit and Science* in Christina M. Fitzgerald and John T. Sebastian (eds.), *Broadview Anthology of Medieval Drama* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2013), pp.478-495, p. 490, ll. 746-751.

¹⁹⁵ John Redford, p. 490, l. 757.

1599 Geneva Bible, they are referred to as ‘harlots’.¹⁹⁶ When writing *Sapientia Solomonis*, Sixt Birck gave these two women names, which allegorized them: Tecnophone and Tecnophile. In the *Personae Dramatis* the Westminster School drama lists the two characters as ‘Tecnophile meretrix’ and ‘Tecnophone meretrix’. The initial part of their names is shared between the two characters, and could derive from the Greek word τέκνω, which means child, an appropriate reading of the word since the two characters are mothers and their plot centres around a dispute in discerning what child belongs to what mother. The Latin meaning of the word is also fitting as *tecno* means ‘to produce’ or ‘to exhibit’.¹⁹⁷ The second halves of their names reveal the two women’s difference characters. *Phile* means ‘lover of’ whereas *Phone* could refer to ‘voice’ or ‘sound’ or derive from the Greek φονεύω which means ‘I kill’.¹⁹⁸ The names of the characters signal their true natures, where Tecnophile, the producer of love, is the rightful mother. On the one hand, Tecnophone behaves as if her name suggests sound, especially in Act 3 Scene 3 where she causes a violent cacophony. In the scene, Tecnophone warns Marcolph and says that he will mock her as he did Tecnophile: ‘ganneo, plagis & verberibus onerabo te. / Vsque ad necem cruciabo, si sis insolens!’ (ll. 46-7). She will not only snarl but give him real blows and lashes. Tecnophone realises the threat and gets into a physical fight with Marcolph. The shouting and the fight with its thumps and exclamations, cause a raucous worthy of Tecnophone’s name. Sound without meaning or truth is just noise, and as the producer of sound, and not love, Tecnophone’s words are false and sinful. On the other hand, ‘I kill’ would be an apt second part of Tecnophone’s name as her rightful child is dead and she encourages the killing of the living child. In 3.5, King Solomon gives Tecnophone and Tecnophile the choice of having the living child cut in two so that each woman can have equal parts of it. In response, Tecnophone says that she would rather

¹⁹⁶ 1599 Geneva Bible, 1 Kings. 3.16.

¹⁹⁷ *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, ed. R.E Latham (London: The Oxford University Press), p. 477.

¹⁹⁸ Φονεύω, [https://moderngreekverbs.com/foneuo.html, accessed 11 July 2020].

see her son cut in half than let him grow up with the wrong mother. As the son is not hers, the statement is untrue, moreover, it is lacking the maternal love for the child that would preserve its life. The love is instead displayed by Tecnohphile, who would rather see her son alive with a foster-mother, than dead with her. In the juxtaposing of Tecnohphile, the child lover, with Tecnohphone, the child killer a pattern is set up of the concern about violence as opposed to peace, which, as I will go on to demonstrate later in this chapter, is reinforced again and again in the character's use of performance space.

The characters' physical appearances reinforce the two women's inner truths. There was a longstanding tradition of thought that physical appearance mirrors inner truth, which can be seen in artwork and drama throughout the medieval and early modern period. In artwork devils are often shown with enlarged noses, fangs, and exaggerated facial expressions, appearances that clearly reflect their inner sinful nature. For example, stone carvings around the West entrance to Canterbury Cathedral and pillars in the crypt of the Cathedral, show devils with animalistic and abnormal features. Tecnohphile and Tecnohphone both reflect the state of their souls, deformed by their sinful profession as prostitutes and their living arrangement in a house of lust, death, and chaos, where children's identities are mistaken and accusations fly. In drama, a sinful and corrupted character would often be presented in a mask with exaggerated and deformed facial expressions. As Twycross and Carpenter writes:

Moral qualities are often symbolised by strange and distorted heads: transferred to the stage these would be re-created as masks. Most commonly such emblems present simply ugly, deformed, or caricatured face that symbolise moral corruption. Such deformity rests on the traditional assumption that appearance mirrors inner truth.¹⁹⁹

For example, the Mercer's indenture for the York Play *The Last Judgement* lists 'vj deuelles faces in iij Vesernes'.²⁰⁰ Also, in the Morality Play *Mankind* (c.1465-70), the devil Titivillus,

¹⁹⁹ Twycross and Carpenter, p. 235.

²⁰⁰ *Mercer's Indenture* in *REED: York*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 Vols., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), I, p. 55.

who appears on stage with his net, is referred to as having a head with great omnipotence, suggesting a mask that greatly oversizes the performer's head and presents a type of caricatured face that reveals the character's sinful self.²⁰¹ In Ancient theatre, masks were not only used for corrupted characters, instead all characters would wear them. Although schools and universities during the early modern period were concerned with historical accuracy in their performances of Classical texts, the records of these performances 'rarely suggest masks'.²⁰² There is no mention of masks in any of the accounts of the plays I have studied, and so it is unlikely that the students performing *Tecnophile* and *Tecnophone* would wear masks. As noted above, the bill of the performance for *Sapientia Solomonis* do, however, list a fee paid for colours and gold foil to colour the children's faces.²⁰³ Some of these colours were used for painting the faces of the children performing *Tecnophone* and *Tecnophile*. In a slandering match between Marcolph and the two women, Marcolph juxtaposes the women's appearances to the child's, exclaiming: *Capillis consitum flauis caput / Puer habet; hoc fuco seniles tu detegis / Rugas* (3.3.ll. 57-59), in other words: 'This baby has a head covered with flaxen hair; you conceal your wrinkles under your paint'.²⁰⁴ Moments later, Marcolph compares the complexion of the women to that of the child's, saying that the baby is pale but that the women's faces are only pale by the help of the painter (ll. 64-65).²⁰⁵ The baby's golden hair and pale complexion reflect the innocence and purity of the child, whereas the painted faces of the women indicate that they are hiding their true faces, the paint deforms their facial expressions like a mask, mirroring their corrupted selves. Nashe warns women, in *Christs Teares over Ierusalem*, 'that howe euer you disguise your bodies, you lay not on your colours so thick that they sincke into your soules. That

²⁰¹ Unknown, *Mankind* in Christina M. Fitzgerald and John T. Sebastian (eds.), *Broadview Anthology of Medieval Drama* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2013), pp. 357-375, l. 460.

²⁰² Twycross and Carpenter, p. 294.

²⁰³ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

²⁰⁴ Rogers Payne's translation in Rogers Payne, p. 63.

²⁰⁵ *Puer his est pallidus; /Pictoris ope uenustas tua pallorem habet* (ll. 64-65). BL Add. MS. 20061.

your skinnes being too white without, your soules be not al black within”.²⁰⁶ No amount of white face paint, then, will purify Tecnophile and Tecnophone’s souls. St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) wrote on adornments, make-up, and apparel in his *Summa Theologiae*, where he says that reading the words of the Apostles, ‘we are given to understand that women are not forbidden to adorn themselves soberly and moderately but to do so excessively, shamelessly, and immodestly’.²⁰⁷ As a woman you were therefore permitted to beautify yourself as long as it was done discreetly, and not to the extent that Tecnophone and Tecnophile evidently have. Furthermore, according to Aquinas, whether or not the use of make-up is a sin depends on the marital status of the woman using it and her intention behind it:

Wherefore if a married woman adorn herself in order to please her husband she can do this without sin. But those women who have no husband nor wish to have one, or who are in a state of life inconsistent with marriage, cannot without sin desire to give lustful pleasure to those men who see them, because this is to incite them to sin. And if indeed they adorn themselves with this intention of provoking others to lust, they sin mortally; whereas if they do so from frivolity, or from vanity for the sake of ostentation, it is not always mortal, but sometimes venial.²⁰⁸

Therefore, as unmarried women working as prostitutes, Tecnophone and Tecnophile commit mortal sin in the act of painting their faces. Tecnophone and Tecnophile’s painted faces thus express and reinforce their morally corrupted selves. Only Tecnophile’s complexion is referred to as anything else but derogatory. As Tecnophile approaches Josophat in 2.4, Josophat asks her: *Quid Palles?* (l. 5) Here, Tecnophile’s pale complexion is that of the appearance of a distraught parent, which signposts that she is the rightful mother to the living child. Internal direction is thus able to change the meaning of a stage

²⁰⁶ Annette Drew-Bear, *Painted Faces on the Renaissance Stage* (London: Associated University Presses, 1994), p. 17.

²⁰⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas* <<http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3169.htm#article2>> [accessed 24 July 2018].

²⁰⁸ Aquinas, *The Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas*.

appearance for an audience: Tecnohphile's meretricious paleness turns into paleness which reveals positive qualities, which is part of the play's revelatory nature.

Annette Drew-Bears argues that the colour combination of white and red was used by Renaissance moralists in face-painting to symbolise sin and lust in drama. She writes:

Renaissance moralists help define what some of these conventions were for face-painting. Reacting to the popularity of face-paint in courtly circles, Renaissance moralists used red and white face-coloring symbolically and dramatists exploited these associations in their plays. Abstractions such as pride, lust, deceit, and devilish temptation are repeatedly expressed visually by the painted face.²⁰⁹

In 3.3 the colour combination of white and red is verbally evoked several times, and visually displayed too. As I have already suggested, Tecnohphile and Tecnohphone's pale complexions are established verbally by Marcolph and visually by face paint.

Marcolph also appears to have a pale complexion because Tecnohphone threatens to change that: 'I'll soon bring plenty of blood to this fool's face. You will not be pale long if my nails can scratch some color into you!'²¹⁰ Tecnohphone is verbally painting Marcolph's white face red, assigning connotations of pride, lust, and deceit to his appearance and linking him closer to sin. The interaction between Marcolph and Tecnohphone after their physical altercation indicates that Marcolph's face had been painted with actual red colour:

Mar. I am lost! Again this woman tears me with her claws. What shall I do?
Tecnohphone Isn't your face red enough yet?²¹¹

Marcolph's messy face is further emphasized in the next scene (3.5) when Solomon says: 'Go fool, wash your dirty face'.²¹² Somehow Marcolph's facial appearance has been altered during the fight. Perhaps the student performing Tecnohphone had prepped his hands

²⁰⁹ Annette Drew-Bear, p. 17.

²¹⁰ Rogers Payne's translation in Rogers Payne, p. 85.

²¹¹ Rogers Payne's translation in Rogers Payne, p. 87.

²¹² Rogers Payne's translation in Rogers Payne, p. 89.

with red paint so that upon touching Marcolph's face, the boy's stained fingers would leave marks on his fellow performer. Either way, the combination of red and white paint on Marcolph's face reinforces his character as immoral and deceitful. By painting Marcolph's face red, Tecnohone is performing an act of revealing Marcolph's true self, whilst at the same time performing the immoral act of fighting and becoming a part of the visual sign of sin. Moreover, Marcolph's transformed dirty face recalls King Solomon's transformed gilded face earlier in the play, which emphasis Marcolph as King Solomon's opposite. Instead of becoming Godlike, as King Solomon, Marcolph's face become devil-like, just like Wit's blotted face did in *Wit and Science* discussed above. With their crooked noses and thick face paint, Tecnohone and Tecnohile wear their inner truths externally. However, as Tecnohile is pale because of the distraught brought on by the concern for her stolen child, the play depicts her as morally better than Tecnohone. The use of make-up and how it is used on stage to reveal characters' true selves created a delightful visual spectacle for the audience and an opportunity to marvel at the production's clever stage craft, while also visually communicate the contrast of the immoral characters of Marcolph, Tecnohone and Tecnohile, to the morally sound characters such as King Solomon, Wisdom, Justice, and Peace.

Furthermore, the performance space, and Tecnohone and Tecnohile's engagement with it, work allegorically to emphasize Solomon's virtue, and in extension the virtue of Elizabeth I. As I will go on to discuss in more detail in Chapter 4, there would have been two structures in the performance space, making up King Solomon's palace and Tecnohile and Tecnohone's house. Juxtaposed with Solomon's palace, the two women's house reinforces the king's palace as a symbol for virtue. In early modern England, 'the basic unit of society was the household',²¹³ and 'contemporary writers

²¹³ Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers – Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 22.

constructed a household that was a microcosm of the whole kingdom, hierarchically ordered by bonds of obedience'.²¹⁴ The ideal household, then, was a structured entity with a father or husband at the top of the hierarchy. In *Sapientia Solomonis*, Solomon's household, as well as Tecnophone and Tecnophile's, are represented by the two houses. On the one hand we have King Solomon's household, with the respected king ruling justly. On the other hand, we have Tecnophone and Tecnophile's household which subverts and perverts the ideal household. Proverb 7 teaches that a house where there is no resident male is a house of temptation where the wicked women entices you, saying:

Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning: let us take our pleasure in dalliance. For *mine* husband is not at home: he is gone a journey far off. He hath taken with him a bag of silver, *and* will come home at the day appointed.²¹⁵

Masterless, Tecnophone and Tecnophile's household is without structure, and instead of a father or a husband the only male present is a powerless baby, whose destiny is ruled by the two prostitutes. This chaotic, topsy-turvy house reinforces Solomon's palace as a polar opposite, a calm and ordered household of a virtuous king, where Wisdom, Justice, and Peace reside.

Without a head of the house, the two women are free to roam and to sin, which is shown in the way the performers interact with the space. When we encounter Tecnophile and Tecnophone for the first time in Act 2, Tecnophile stands in the street before their house and accuses Tecnophone, who stands in the doorway, for stealing her child. The openings of a house, such as windows and doorways, were problematic spaces for women to occupy. Displaying themselves to the rest of the world, women in windows and doorways occupy a liminal space on the border between the structured microcosm

²¹⁴ Gowing, p. 24

²¹⁵ 1599 Geneva Bible, Proverb 7.19-20.

that is their household, and the sinful world that is outside it. Proverb 9 locates wicked women specifically in doorways:

A foolish woman *is* troublesome; she *is* ignorant and knoweth nothing. But she sitteth at the door of her house on a seat in the high places of the city, To call them that pass by the way, that go right on their way, *saying*, Who so is simple let him come hither, and to him that is destitute of wisdom, she saith also, Stolen waters are sweet, and hid bread is pleasant. But he knoweth not, that the dead *are* there, *and that* her guests *are* in the depth of hell.²¹⁶

Tecnophone standing in the doorways to the prostitutes' house exemplifies the foolish woman at the entrance of a wicked house filled with deceit, lust, and death. Furthermore, Laura Gowing's work on legal disputes between early modern women and Clare Egan's work on women and the performance of libel show that just doorways were a common place for incidents that caused legal disputes to take place.²¹⁷ The first scene between Tecnophone and Tecnophile, where Tecnophile accuses Tecnophone, parallels actual early modern legal disputes between women. The Jacobean dispute between Jane Lilham and Alice Rochester, although some sixty years after the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, serves as an example of a cultural phenomenon of the way in which women are reported to interact in these legal disputes. Jane Lilham accused her neighbour Alice Rochester of slander, and the incident reportedly took place while standing in the doorways of their own two houses. Witnesses to legal disputes such as the one between Rochester and Lilham were often women standing in neighbouring doorways. Another example point to the fact that doorways are also a place where slanders by others can be affixed: Alice Reade was in 1611 accused of impious behaviour after she was seen with a

²¹⁶ 1599 Geneva Bible, Proverb 9.13-18.

²¹⁷ Gowing, *Domestic Dangers – Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), Clare Egan, 'Women and the Performance of Libel in Early-Modern Devon', *Medieval English Theatre*, 38 (2016), pp. 145-62 and "'Now fearing neither friend nor foe,/ To the worldes viewe these verses goe": mapping libel performance in early-modern Devon', in *Medieval English Theatre*, 36 (2014), pp. 70-103.

man in the entrance of her house with the door half shut while her husband was away.²¹⁸ The doorway was therefore a place exposing women as subjects to crime, but also to opportunities for committing crime. On the doorstep you are exiting the ordered household of obedience and entering the world where everyone is exposed to sin. Tecnohone standing in the doorway to the two women's house therefore occupies a dangerous, liminal space, where she is neither at home or abroad and does not belong to a recognisable unit of society.

Tecnohone's engagement with the space is very different to that of King Solomon and his entourage, who are either outside the palace, or firmly placed within it. There is not one exit in the play where it is not clear that Solomon exits into the palace. Throughout the play, Solomon invites, calls, or orders people to enter his palace, which creates a clear distinction between inside and outside, and emphasises his ownership over it.²¹⁹ For example, Solomon's first exit is prompted by him saying: 'Come you all, I pray, into this my dwelling place. In our royal house we shall this day dedicate a feast of God'.²²⁰ Side by side, the house of Tecnohone and Tecnohile and the palace of Solomon emphasise each other's differences. The chaos of the two women's household contrasts to the structured court of Solomon. Tecnohone's interaction with the space offers a dangerous opposite to Solomon's clearly defined movement between being inside and outside of the house. Because a household was viewed as a microcosm of a kingdom, Solomon's household becomes the symbol for his whole kingdom.

The Prologue of *Sapientia Solomonis* establishes King Solomon as a type for Elizabeth I and the performances goes on to reinforce Solomon as a model king. The presentation of other characters and the staging work to emphasise Solomon's excellency.

²¹⁸ Clare Egan, 'Women and the Performance of Libel in Early-Modern Devon', p. 147.

²¹⁹ Solomon's exit in 4.5 is explained in 4.4, where Solomon indicates that they should all go into the palace to entertain the guests. In 4.5 Solomon instructs Adoniram to supply him with skilled workmen, to which Adoniram answers that a proclamation has already gone out asking for the same.

²²⁰ Rogers Payne's translation in Rogers Payne, p. 63.

The Epilogue of the performance makes it explicit that the play serves as a compliment to Elizabeth. In the same way that the Prologue explicitly links Solomon and Elizabeth typologically, the Epilogue furthers this connection by comparing Solomon's main actions in the play to those of Elizabeth and uses a specific word to make the link clearer. Firstly, whereas the Prologue establishes a typological connection by following the thought pattern of figural prophecy, the Epilogue says that Solomon is a type by using the word *typus*. The Epilogue starts with the following lines: '*Nobis ob oculos ponitur hoc in ludicro/ Regis typus sapientis, et iusti & pii?*', and Rogers Payne translates the lines as: 'The model of a wise king, both just and righteous, is placed before our eyes in this play'.²²¹ On the one hand, this translation emphasises King Solomon's status as prototype for Elizabeth I in ruling wisely, judiciously, and righteously. On the other hand, by translating '*typus*' into 'model', although not incorrect, Rogers Payne does not account for the typological connotation that the word *typus* carries. In the *Dictionarium* we learn that *typus*, *typi* mean: 'a type, a figure, an example, a forme, a likeness, a shadow of a thing; a paterne, mould, or sample whereby a maker or mason [?] his stone and maketh his brasse'.²²² According to Auerbach's semantic study of *figura*, *typus* holds many of the same meanings that *figura* do, such as 'type', 'figure', 'a forme', and 'a shadow of a thing'.²²³ This suggests that the Epilogue says not only that Solomon is an example to follow, but that he is in fact a type that prefigures Elizabeth I.

The middle part of the Epilogue makes connections between Solomon's main actions in the play and Elizabeth's actions as Queen. The first connection that is made is this: as Solomon restored the living child to its true parent and gave the dead child to the impious mother, Elizabeth restored her sons to the true church.²²⁴ Next, a link is created

²²¹ Rogers Payne, p 129.

²²² Thomas Thomas, p. 494.

²²³ Erich Auerbach, pp. 11-76.

²²⁴ 'Verae parenti rex prolem viuam dedit / Et mortua^m matri impiae nimium solers / Adiudicauit: haec restituit filios / Ecclesiae verae suos', Bl. Add. MS. 20061.

between Solomon building a holy temple to God and that Elizabeth's first priority as a Queen was to quickly revive the rites of worship.²²⁵ The third main connection is made between the visit of the Queen of Sheba to the court of Solomon, and the visit of the Swedish Princess Cecilia to Elizabeth I's court.²²⁶

Just as it was noted in the case of Holbein's portrait, the iconographical trope of the visit from the Queen of Sheba to Solomon bears references to the Reformation. This iconography is reinforced in *Sapientia Solomonis* by the fact that Sweden was a Protestant country at the time of Cecilia's visit. In the Epilogue, the major events in the play are presented with links to the Reformation. King writes:

The iconographical link between the submission of the Queen of Sheba and the English Reformation, which was established soon after Henry VIII's assumption of ecclesiastical authority as Supreme Head of Church [...], is extended in this play to both the Judgment of Solomon (1 Kings 3:16-28) and his erection of the Temple in Jerusalem.²²⁷

This also means that in addition to an iconographical link between King Solomon, his Judgment, and Temple to that of Elizabeth and her restoration of Protestantism, there is a typological link. The play *Sapientia Solomonis* presents King Solomon and these events as a prefiguration of Elizabeth I and her reign. The play is using typology to flatter the Queen, and at times also to urge her to follow in Solomon's footsteps so that she will fulfill the prefiguration. Praise and instruction become part of the performance's political agenda. A parallel example to this can be found in a masque that was performed for James I and his brother-in-law, Christian IV of Denmark, in July 1606. The masque, now lost, was about the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon, was organized by Robert Cecil,

²²⁵ 'Templum sacrum Solomon extruxit Deo / Haec nil prius habuit in animo quam dirutum / Renouare celeriter sacri cultus ritum', Bl. Add. MS. 20061.

²²⁶ 'Solomontis aspectu Sabea prepotens / Domina frui gaudebat. hanc nostrum pij / Solomontis aemulam, multa per terram & mare / Perpressa, nunc tandem libens vidit inclita / Princeps Cecilia, et saepe videsse expetit', Bl. Add. MS. 20061.

²²⁷ King, p. 255.

and was performed at Theobalds House.²²⁸ In his study of James I and the Queen of Sheba, William Tate argues:

In order for the court or kingdom adequately to match its image in the ideal world of the masque; James must actually be like Solomon. Such identity goes beyond simply linking the name of a masque with the king's. A masque's presentation of a character could emphasize one or another attribute of that character or balance several attributes against each other. The author's choice of emphasis would be his most ready means for encouraging specific political goals.²²⁹

In other words, it is not the link itself between a character and a monarch that is political but the way the author manipulates what aspects of the character come into play. Tate builds on this and presents a brief study of Solomon and the visit of the Queen of Sheba in iconography of Elizabeth as an introduction to his analysis of *Doctor Faustus*, where the protagonist is identified with a corrupted Solomon.²³⁰ Tate argues that: 'As attractive as the combined vision of Solomonic empire and feminine government might be to Elizabeth's supporters, however, its political deployment required a selective reading of the biblical account of Solomon's life'.²³¹ The same Biblical figures can generate two readings in opposition to each other. On the one hand, we see a pious, wise King Solomon, who is presented as a model for Tudor monarchs. On the other hand, we see a king ruled by demons and his own carnal desires, who Marlowe identifies Faustus with.²³² The choices the author makes, then, manipulates our reading of what is presented to us. The Prologue and Epilogue of *Sapientia Solomonis* direct us to see the exemplary aspects of Solomon's life and through the link made between them, these aspects are also attributed to Elizabeth.

²²⁸ William Tate, 'King James I and the Queen of Sheba', in *English Literary Renaissance*, 26, (1996), pp. 561-585, pp. 563, 546.

²²⁹ Tate, p. 577.

²³⁰ Tate, 'Solomon, Gender, and Empire in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus'.

²³¹ Tate, 'Solomon, Gender, and Empire in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus', p. 261.

²³² Tate, 'Solomon, Gender, and Empire in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus', p. 262.

The performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, presents us with more options for reading the Queen of Sheba as a type. Neither King, nor Tate, acknowledges that the Epilogue sets up a typological link between the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia of Sweden. This link has further impact on how we read the performance's political agenda and will provide us with an insight into how international courtly relationships were negotiated. The Epilogue draws parallels between Princess Cecilia and the Queen of Sheba as well as the relationship between Solomon and the Queen with Elizabeth and Cecilia:

The powerful Queen of Sheba was delighted to enjoy the countenance of Solomon. The illustrious Princess Cecilia, enduring much by land and sea, now at long last gladly, has looked upon her who is the rival of pious Solomon, and wishes to look upon her often. May Cecilia enjoy her light as long as she wishes; may her glittering radiance shine upon us increasingly, for a long time.²³³

The Epilogue defines the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia, and the language used asserts Elizabeth's power over Cecilia as much as the analogy between the two women and the characters of the play does. It places Elizabeth in a pre-eminent position and acknowledges that the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia is not based on equality but is completely on Elizabeth's terms. In the Bible the queen makes the journey to the king in order to test his reputed wisdom. Kings 10:1 says: '[a]nd when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions'. In the play this takes the form of a verbal duel of who should sit down first in 5.6, at the end of which Solomon submits and takes his seat before the queen (I will carry out a more detailed analysis of this scene in the next Chapter). The Biblical tradition can be problematic because the relationship between Queen of Sheba and King Solomon challenges power dynamics (as I will go on to discuss further in this thesis), however it is apparent that plays selected key elements of the tradition that were less controversial and also did not feel bound by fidelity or accuracy; instead such plays

²³³ Rogers Payne, pp. 129-130.

felt free to alter as they saw fit. The relationship between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the Bible thus begins with the queen challenging the king, in the same way that the character of the queen challenges Solomon's authority in the play. Moreover, alternative stories of the king and the queen circulated alongside the Bible story and in them their relationship grew more complex with time. Jacob Lassner presents a study of the Queen of Sheba in postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam in his book *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba* (1993). He writes:

By the Middle Ages, the main focus of the queen's visit had shifted from international to sexual politics and from diplomatic relations to the more complicated relations between men and women. That is, in its postbiblical and Islamic versions, the queen's joust with Solomon was portrayed as a dangerous attempt to subvert time-honored rules of gender.²³⁴

As we can see, the relationship between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in Biblical, postbiblical, and Islamic stories is intrinsically complex and problematizes the hierarchy between a ruler and another ruler, a monarch and its subject, a host and his guest, and a man and a woman. They also represent the Queen of Sheba as dubious and to some extent corrupt. Because the play *Sapientia Solomonis* links itself with Elizabeth I and her guest the Swedish Princess Cecilia of Baden, it problematizes their relationship too.

The visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon's court is a testament to Solomon's fame and excellency, and this motif is employed in *Sapientia Solomonis* to make Cecilia the exotic visitor to Elizabeth's court, that the Queen of Sheba is to Solomon's. The audience were to hear a description of the Queen and her entourage before she appeared in the performance space. Sadoc describes them to Zabuth: *Satellites nigri videntur & comis / Crispantibus. Vncti Sabei sunt, siue / Arabes odorati.* (5.4.11.1-3). He comments on their dark skin colour and curly hair, and says that they must be oiled

²³⁴ Jacob Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 1.

Shebans or scented Arabs. He then relates how the queen dismounts her chariot and he describes her headdress, which is adorned with gold. Sadoc's descriptions highlight the queen and her court as exciting and exotic. The fact that the Queen has travelled far to meet the famous king is made explicit in her first speech wherein she says that 'Inspired by the report of his marvelous wisdom, we have undertaken a journey which is the longest we have ever made and longer than my woman's constitution may well bear'.²³⁵ The Queen of Sheba's exoticness is emphasised verbally and visually in order to demonstrate Solomon's allure. By drawing a parallel between the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia of Sweden, the Epilogue is using Cecilia in a similar way to show Elizabeth's excellency.

The Swedish princess was from the moment she appeared at the English court viewed as exotic. A similar description to that of the Queen of Sheba and her entourage was made of Cecilia of Sweden by the Spanish ambassador Guzman de Silva in a letter dated September 17, 1565, to Philip of Spain:

On the 11th inst. The King of Sweden's sister entered London at two o'clock in the afternoon. She was dressed in a black velvet robe with a mantel of black cloth of silver, and wore on her head a golden crown. As this seemed to me a new style of dress, I venture to relate these trifles to your Majesty. She had with her six ladies dressed in crimson taffety, with mantles of the same.²³⁶

The novelty of Cecilia of Sweden's apparel distinguished her as different from anything de Silva had seen before, and paints her as someone interesting and distinctive. Furthermore, the analogy between Cecilia's visit to the English queen and Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon's court can be found elsewhere too. The quarto Royal MS 17 C XXIX, narrated by James Bell (d.1606), is thought to have been produced shortly after Cecilia's arrival in England.²³⁷ Bell paints Cecilia to be a remarkable woman, wholly

²³⁵ Rogers Payne, p. 117.

²³⁶ Morison, p. 209.

²³⁷ Edward A. Malone, 'Bell, James', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/2008>> [accessed 1 Sep. 18].

devoted to the English queen. He too makes parallels between Cecilia and the Queen of Sheba, as well as Elizabeth and King Solomon, in an attempt to flatter them both:

for yf the Quene of Saba deserved to be chronycled with praise in sacred Byble, for that (enflamed wth love of wisdom), she travailed in comparisone a shorte iourneye to visytte the Courte of Salomon, there to enioye the presence of so wyse a Kynge; whie this your Princes (yours I saye synce wholie she yealdeth to be yours) takinge no lesse, yea muche greater enterprise for lyke cause, shoulde not be also Registered in the treasure of memorie, I see nothinge to the contrarie, for as neither your highness in vertue, neither her grace in affecōne, maye seeme in oughte to geave place to those Princes Salomon and Saba: so am I sure in estate, Renowme, and in effectuall acte, youe are in all respectes their equall.²³⁸

Bell also describes how Cecilia had listened to her brother's reports of the English queen and she was 'no lesse moved with the Reporte of your noble vertues, then the Quene of Saba was with the fame of Salomones wisdom'.²³⁹ In his account, Bell includes a table detailing all the places Cecilia visited before reaching her destination in England, and lists the miles the Swedish princess travelled between each place. The table illustrates the length to which Cecilia went in order to visit the English court, and serves to praise Elizabeth. This narration, as well as *Sapientia Solomonis*, cast London as the new Jerusalem and Cecilia of Sweden as the foreign visitor, whose visit illustrates the fame and virtue of the English queen. When the Epilogue explicitly parallels the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia of Sweden, the scenes that have played before the audience are politicised. When King Solomon sits before the Queen of Sheba in the play, Holbein's image is re-cast to signify how an established Protestant country submits to Elizabeth I's power.

Conclusion

Studying the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* through the lens of iconography, and the use of typology within it, provides a theoretical framework for

²³⁸ Morison, p. 185.

²³⁹ Morison, p. 188.

considering the meaning created in the links drawn between the characters of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba to Elizabeth and Cecilia in the audience. Both Panofsky and Davidson advance the importance of acknowledging the culture surrounding iconography, and a typological study of Tudor iconography provides an insight to how Christians in the early modern period viewed the world and time they lived in. For example, Prime's sermon demonstrates the widespread belief held by Tudors that their own time was a continuum of Biblical time. It is clear from the typological analysis of the iconography in Henry VII's entry to York and Holbein's miniature that a typological study furthers the reading of Tudor iconography, and that it was used in royal propaganda to forward the idea of a monarch with a divine right to the throne.

The performance's iconography of *Sapientia Solomonis* has been discussed by scholars such as King and Tate, however, this thesis is the first to apply a typological study to the production. This study has uncovered the wide set of associations that King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba had, and this network of references worked to problematize, comment on, and negotiate the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia in the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. After the Reformation, King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were used as types for a Reformist monarch, reinforcing the monarch's claim to power by way of divine right. The brilliance of King Solomon is emphasized in the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* through his association with the three deific characters Wisdom, Justice, and Peace, as well as by the juxtaposition between him and the chaotic and worldly characters of Tecnophone, Tecnophile, and Marcolph. King Solomon is presented as a type for Elizabeth in the performance, and the framework of typology is on the one hand used to praise the Queen, but on the other hand it encouraged Elizabeth to take a stronger stand in the question of religion in order to fulfil the prefiguration. Furthermore, in Biblical, postbiblical, and Islamic stories, King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba's relationship is hierarchically complex, and the Queen of Sheba

is often represented as exotic, dubious, and to a degree corrupt. Because King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba are typologically linked to Elizabeth and Cecilia in the performance, it problematizes their relationship, and Cecilia's character is questioned through the linkage with the Queen of Sheba in the performance. When considering the early modern understanding that events in the Bible prefigured events in the early modern period, it is evident that the typological link set up in the Prologue and Epilogue of *Sapientia Solomonis* suggested to the audience that the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon's court in the Bible, was a prefiguration of Cecilia's visit to Elizabeth. Thus, the performance promotes the idea of Elizabeth as a ruler aligned with King Solomon, and London as the new Jerusalem, and suggests that Cecilia, and the kingdom of Sweden, are inferior to Elizabeth and England, and should therefore submit to her magnificence. This was a pertinent messaging for Cecilia and Elizabeth because, as I will go on to demonstrate in the next chapter, the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* took place at a point of change in Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship.

Chapter 3

Critical Perspectives: Patronage

Introduction

The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was part of an intricate system of patronage between the school, the court, and the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia of Sweden. Courtly relationships often adhered to systems of patronage, and gift-exchanges worked to maintain and negotiate those relationships. Patronage is itself an exchange where the patron contributes towards someone or something, and the benefitted offer a service in turn. During Elizabeth I's reign, patronage could take many different forms. Simon Adams argues that in Elizabethan court politics, patronage was not political in inspiration; instead, it was a reward of service and consisted of a monetary award, a portion of the crown's land, peerage, or a combination of the three.²⁴⁰ This assessment contrasts with that of scholarship on early modern patronage for the arts, which advances the claim that patronage carried a political incentive for the patron, and was given in anticipation of a service. For example, Suzan Westfall argues that 'theatre became, for the Tudor nobleman, a means to secure the loyalty of his domestic army, a loyalty that both reflected and reinforced the patron's political and economical power'.²⁴¹ Through their players, a patron was able to spread their interests to the households they visited, and to showcase their power. Patronage of the arts were also employed by the court to display their grandeur and further their political agenda. As Astington claims it 'was therefore part of a quite deliberate programme of royal propaganda, and those arts which advertised royal magnificence more obliquely, or were less utilitarian, were less

²⁴⁰ Simon Adams, 'The Patronage of the crown in Elizabethan politics: the 1590s in perspective' in J. Guy (Ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 20-45, pp. 24-26.

²⁴¹ Suzanne R. Westfall, *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 11.

favoured'.²⁴² The visual spectacle of performance was an excellent way of affecting a large body of people at once, and offered many opportunities to showcase wealth and skill. The players patronized by the court, a nobleman or indeed a noblewoman, provided a service to their benefactor, but the nature of patronage was intrinsically political. In return for displaying their patron's magnificence, forwarding their political or religious views, the players received 'necessities for their trade such as costumes, properties, and protection from the law' as well as more opportunities for performing where they could earn money through donations.²⁴³ The players thus depended on their patrons to exercise their craft, and the patrons depended on their players to build and maintain their status in the country's elite, and to impress upon it their political views.

At court, the giving of gifts was a central part of the relationship between the patron and the patronized. Each New Year, for example, the monarch received gifts from her subjects, from corporations and individuals, from the rich as well as the poor. These gifts were painstakingly recorded in rolls that held entries regarding all gifts given and received by the court each year. John Nichols's study of the rolls concerning Elizabeth's Jewellery and Wardrobe, reveals that a tremendous amount of gifts were received at court each year.²⁴⁴ Jane A. Lawson builds on Nichols's work and argues that the rolls were records of the New Year gift ritual as a link between the subjects and their ruler. She writes:

The upgraded format of the gift exchange records from paper to the more expensive vellum no later than 1552 underscores the importance of these court rituals in maintaining close personal ties between subjects and their sovereign.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Astington, p. 5.

²⁴³ Westfall, p. 140.

²⁴⁴ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, I*, (New York: Burt Frankling, 1966), p. xxxiv.

²⁴⁵ Lawson, p. 7.

This upgrade to keep records in a more durable material during Edward IV's reign demonstrated the important role that gift-exchanges took in forming, maintaining, and negotiating the monarch's relationship to its subjects; a role that gift-exchanges were still playing at the Elizabethan court. The rolls are political rather than personal and they served not only as financial records and stock-taking of the court possessions but functioned as a way of keeping track of the status of Elizabeth's relationships.

Gift-exchanges were not limited to the New Year festivities nor to Elizabeth and her subjects, they took part in building and negotiating political and economic relationships between other monarchs throughout the year too. In *The Power of Gifts* (2014), Felicity Heal presents a survey of royal gift giving and gifts under the Tudors and early Stuarts. Her purpose in the book is:

To consider the nature and meaning of gifts in this culture, and to apply that understanding to the study of the exercise of power between the early years of the Tudor regime and the Restoration Period.²⁴⁶

Gift-exchanges were means to express and exercise power, where royal gifts are charged with politicised meaning and become important vehicles for the givers' ulterior motives, as well as the receiver's. In his seminal work on gifts and gift exchanges called *The Gift* (1967), Marcel Mauss studies archaic societies and finds that gift exchange has three obligatory actions: to give, to receive, and to repay. If you failed any part of the cycle you were at risk of losing face and this is also true for the Elizabethan court. Heal describes an event where Elizabeth showed her disappointment over the delay of the French's promised gifts. She writes:

Elizabeth embarrassed the French ambassador when the camels were delayed, by complaining to his Spanish counterpart that they would have to go out and find the animals, or she would never receive them.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Heal, p. 6.

²⁴⁷ Heal, p. 160.

As this episode of Elizabeth's impatience demonstrates, outstanding anticipated gifts could compromise the status of the expected giver. At the Elizabethan court, gift-exchanges were a given part of maintaining strong relationships, and one had to tread carefully to adhere to the intricate rules of these exchanges.

The Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* locates Cecilia of Sweden and Elizabeth I at the same event, and it offers a unique opportunity to examine dramatic performance as a diplomatic tool in negotiating Elizabeth's international relationships. A substantive part of the play is concerned with international relations, in the form of the relationship between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and it contains scenes where courtly conduct and gift-exchanges are used as ways to negotiate this relationship. The Epilogue of the play text, as found in the BL copy and the Folger copy discussed above, parallels the relationship between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, to that of Elizabeth and Cecilia, and sets up a link between the two characters and the two women in the audience. Moreover, the Epilogue of the play clearly defines the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia, where the hierarchy between the two women is set out firmly. This relationship differs greatly from the relationship negotiated between the two women in their letter exchange prior to Cecilia's visit to England.

This chapter approaches the relationship between Cecilia and Elizabeth, as well as the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* through the lens of patronage, court conduct, and gift-exchange. I argue that the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* took place at a pivotal point in Cecilia's stay in England and that it commented on their relationship. The first section makes clear the relationship between the school and their royal patron, Elizabeth. Here I argue that the school went beyond the obligation set out in the Statutes and provided Elizabeth with a tailored performance, and performance copies; they used the performances as opportunities to repay their patron. In the second section of this chapter I conduct an epistolary study of Elizabeth and

Cecilia's letter exchange in 1562 and 1563 to examine their relationship prior to Cecilia's visit to England, paying particular attention to genre, word choice and spacing. The relationship was vigilantly negotiated through carefully constructed letters, where the roles in the relationship were offered, cast, and recast. In the third section of this chapter I juxtapose accounts of Cecilia and Elizabeth's first encounters with the meeting of their dramatic analogues in *Sapientia Solomonis* in order to establish their relationship prior to the performance, and the significance of Cecilia's downfall. In the chapter's last section, I analyse the the Queen of Sheba's gift-giving in *Sapientia Solomonis* in light of contemporary customs of gift-exchanges and the Princess's own economic struggles caused by debt accumulated by Swedish emissaries as well as Cecilia and her husband. From this analysis it is clear that the performance problematizes the relationship between Cecilia and Elizabeth through Scene 5.6.

3.1 Patronage and the Gifting of *Sapientia Solomonis*

Patronizing a school was a political manoeuvre that gave the patron an opportunity to affect the future generations of the realm, and religious works as well as Classical drama were vehicles for political indoctrination as well as for building reverence for the patron. Westminster School was re-established in 1560 by Elizabeth, who according to Lawrence E. Tanner was 'determined that what Henry VI has been to Eton and William of Wykeham to Winchester, she would be to Westminster'.²⁴⁸ The Westminster School was founded by Henry VIII in 1540, although some sort of education had taken place at the precinct long before the Abbot and his twenty-four monks surrendered the Abbey to the reformist king, and the school continued under the rule of Edward IV and Mary Tudor.²⁴⁹ Elizabeth did not merely want to consolidate her father's work, she would herself become

²⁴⁸ Tanner, p. 6.

²⁴⁹ Sargeant, p. 2 and 4.

the “Foundress’ in a very real sense of a great School, a sister College to those two other great foundations’.²⁵⁰ New Statutes for the school were produced at the time of the re-establishment and they clearly set out that the aim of the school was to educate a pious generation beneficial for the state:

Therefore we strive, as far as human infirmity can see its way, to secure that in future the texts of Holy Writ, from which the pure waters of divine truth can and should be drawn as from limpid springs, and the sacraments of our saving redemption shall be purely administered that learning shall be pursued with sincerity, that the youth which is growing to manhood, as tender shoots in the wood of our state, shall be liberally instructed in good books to the greater honour of the state, that old age, destitute of strength, and especially those men who have served our person, or otherwise well honourably and faithfully conducted the public affairs of our realm shall be fittingly provided with the necessaries of life, that finally the giving of alms in Christ to the poor, widening roads, repairing of bridges and all other works of piety should thence be made known in all public places, and spread far and wide to the glory of Almighty God and to the common utility and happiness of our subjects, and that these things, as necessary as they are useful, should be put into proper effect as soon as possible.²⁵¹

The Statutes set forth the analogy of the state as a tree, where God’s word provides nourishment for the young scholars as water would the new branches of a tree. Patronising a school was a strategic move for Elizabeth, by which she could build simultaneously an image of being a graceful queen, and a network of support among the future governing class of England.

Elizabeth was a patron for Westminster School in name, as well as practice. Although the statutes make Elizabeth the ‘foundress’ of the school, it does not clarify what her role entails. First, the Statues are missing Elizabeth’s signature and were thus never ratified by her. The manuscript containing the new statutes, WAM 25122, appears therefore more like a draft than an official document. However, additions to the statutes dated to July 11th 1567 can be found on folio 44 and contain the signatures of the Dean

²⁵⁰ Tanner, p. 6.

²⁵¹ WAM 25122, A.D Hughes, *Translation of the Statutes printed in the First Report of the Cathedral Commission appointed in 1852*, (1963).

Gabriel Goodman, and the School Master, Thomas Browne, among others, which demonstrates that the document was held as an official document for the School and Abbey.²⁵² Although the absence of Elizabeth's signature might indicate her role as merely ceremonial rather than practical, there are instances where the Queen would negotiate on the behalf of the school, financially support it, or visit the school in person. In contrast to Winchester and Eton, Westminster School fundamentally belonged to the College and depended on the Chapter, and on occasion Elizabeth would step in and negotiate with the Chapter on the behalf of the School. For example, in 1594 she desired that the Head Master should have free commons, 'and the Chapter accordingly granted a patent for them to Camden'.²⁵³ The Queen took a real interest in the students' learning and introduced a prize for prose or verse exercises. It consisted of an annual grant of £2, and it was called Maunday money,²⁵⁴ and she would visit the school to see the students at work.²⁵⁵ Elizabeth visited the school at least twice to attend performance, in 1564/5 and in 1565/6; and in 1563 she contributed fifty marks towards plays at Westminster and St. Paul's.²⁵⁶ I will discuss the financial complexities around the Westminster performance further below and in Chapter 4, however, for now it is clear that Elizabeth did on occasion perform her role as a patron in a practical way rather than ceremonial.

Although the performances that Elizabeth attended in 1564/5 and 1565/6 were a part of the educational program at Westminster School, they were also an integral part of the court's entertainment program for the festive season. Upon Elizabeth's accession there was no royal company 'to emphasize her stature and patronage in her own revels'.²⁵⁷

²⁵² There are two more copies of the statutes, WAM 32445 and WAM 25723 containing altered statutes for the school but they are undated and not signed, which makes it difficult to say to what extent they were impacting the running of the school in practice. A more thorough comparison between the manuscript needs to be undertaken in order to highlight the differences between them.

²⁵³ Sargeant, p. 17.

²⁵⁴ Sargeant, p. 25.

²⁵⁵ Tanner, p. 7.

²⁵⁶ Sargeant, p. 50.

²⁵⁷ Streitberger, p. 80.

Elizabeth attended at least three performances given by the school, and the Privy Council attended at least four performances between 1564/5 and 1567/8. The section in the Statutes that sets out the premise for the annual performances reveals the importance laid on them. Unfortunately, the folio containing the section on performances at Christmas is missing from WAM 25122. The manuscript has been rebound and trimmed, and the page might have been lost on this occasion. Sargeaunt and Tanner appear to have worked with the manuscript before its refurbishments as they both refer to the section on comedies and plays at Christmas.²⁵⁸ A translation of the Statutes presented in WAM 25122 was made in 1852, and it does include the section ‘De Comaediis et Ludis in Natali Domini exhibendis’ and A.D Hughes provides a translation of it. As this section is integral to my discussion of the Westminster performance I have included it in full here:

In order that the boys may celebrate Christmastide with greater benefit, and may better accustom themselves to orderly action and elocution, we ordain that every year within the 12 days after the feast of the Nativity of Christ, or later if the Dean so decides, the Headmaster and the Assistant Master shall provide for the performance by their scholars, either privately in hall, or publicly, of a comedy or tragedy in Latin; the Master if the Choristers shall provide for a similar performance by the Choristers in English. If this is not done, each one who negligence has caused this omission shall be fined ten shillings.²⁵⁹

The section in the Statutes on the Christmas plays performed by the scholars and the choristers expresses one of the very few clearly set out expectations of the exchange that the Queen’s patronage entailed: the school had to provide annual plays.²⁶⁰ Both scholars and choristers were to perform in at least one production each year, and the fine of 10s underlines the importance that was put on these productions. The cost of the scholars’ annual production ranged between 22s and £2 13s 10d, and on at least two years the

²⁵⁸ Sargeaunt, p. 49 and Tanner, p. 58.

²⁵⁹ Hughes, WAM 25122, p. 61.

²⁶⁰ In addition to the performances,

On the Saturday at the end of each term, at 8 o’clock, commemoration shall be made of the most noble Queen Elizabeth, the foundress of this great college, and of other Kings, her ancestors and benefactors of this college, by whose beneficence this collegiate church has been enriched. The form of prayers for the commemoration of the foundress shall be expressively laid down. WAM 25122.

scholars would put on two productions, which amounted to £2 17s 2d (1564/5) and £3 15s 10d (1565/6). The productions were a far larger expense for the school each year than the fine, which was, therefore, not a severe financial penalty for the school. Although the fine appears merely symbolically punitive, its very existence is also indicative of the court's anxiety that the school would provide productions annually. It is clear that the productions were not merely for educational purposes, as the school was to provide performances publicly as well as privately. The Westminster School productions were not only an educational tool, but were an integral part of the festive entertainment programme for the court at a time where there were no adult companies attached to it.

Besides the relationship set out between the Westminster School and their royal patron in the Statutes, the Westminster School was closely interlinked with William Cecil at the time of the *Sapientia Solomonis* performance. According to Julia F. Merritt, Cecil had built up 'informal links of patronage at almost every level within the town', which made it possible for him to assume the role of High Steward.²⁶¹ The role of High Steward was one of the few offices Westminster could offer, and the position 'potentially represented an extension of royal authority into this important area surrounding the court'.²⁶² Therefore it is possible to see that the position as High Steward was a strategic move that strengthened Cecil's political presence and influence. Pauline Croft argues that the Cecils' 'patronage was not haphazard, but carefully designed to serve the central purpose of reinforcing, stabilising and underlining their political power, while their cultural and intellectual activities at the same time enhanced their social dominance at court'.²⁶³ The Cecils came to form 'the vital centre of a network of cultural, artistic, economic and

²⁶¹ Julia F. Merritt, 'The Cecils and Westminster 1558-1612: The Development of an Urban Power Base' in Pauline Croft (Ed.), *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 231-246, p. 233.

²⁶² Merritt, p. 233.

²⁶³ Croft, 'introduction', *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. ix.

intellectual patronage unequalled in England in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries'.²⁶⁴ Westminster School formed a part of this network and the Dean of Westminster, Gabriel Goodman, was a dedicated friend of Cecil. Goodman and Cecil's relationship stretched from Mary's reign, when Goodman was schoolmaster in the Cecil household, to Cecil's death when Goodman acted 'as one of two executors of his will'.²⁶⁵ According to Sargeant, 'Cecil was a patron and benefactor of the School, and has even been credited with the design of making it the nucleus of a university'.²⁶⁶ Cecil's prominent role in the City of Westminster and his personal relationship with Dean Goodman, tied Cecil closely to the school.

Furthermore, it is plausible that Cecil had a direct say in the subject matter of the performances at Westminster School. The performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* fits neatly in with the state-sponsored drama of the early 1560s, which Cecil promoted. The state-sponsored drama was Protestant, with a Calvinist world-view, and an emphasis on a sworn allegiance to the Queen as Supreme Governor of the Church.²⁶⁷ Paul Whitfield White writes:

Cecil's programme of propaganda may not have been as comprehensive as that of Cromwell during the late 1530s, but the evidence is persuasive that he directed anti-Catholic stage propaganda at Court and in the capital at least during 1559 and probably favoured it in subsequent years.²⁶⁸

For example, Cecil approved a performance of Nicholas Udall's *Ezekias* at Cambridge at Elizabeth's visit in 1564.²⁶⁹ Udall made the reforming king of ancient Israel, Hezekiah, into an analogy of Henry VIII, and to perform it at the royal visit was designed to flatter

²⁶⁴ Croft, pp. ix-xxi.

²⁶⁵ Meritt, p. 236.

²⁶⁶ Sargeant, p. 11.

²⁶⁷ Paul Whitfield White, 'Patronage, Protestantism, and Stage Propaganda in Early Elizabethan England', in *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), pp. 39-52, p. 39.

²⁶⁸ Whitfield White, p. 39.

²⁶⁹ Whitfield White, p. 42.

the queen.²⁷⁰ The parallels to the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* are evident, as the Westminster play too is centred around an Old Testament king made into an analogy of a Tudor regent and the school praised the queen through its performance. Because of the similarities between the type of performance promoted by Cecil and the content of *Sapientia Solomonis*, it is tempting to assume that he had a hand in choosing the drama for the performance before Elizabeth and her guest, Cecilia.

The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was part of an economic system of patronage between the school and the court. According to Tanner, the students ‘repaid their Sovereign’s kindly interest by presenting her with copies of verses on her birthday and upon other appropriate occasions’.²⁷¹ Another way of displaying the school’s gratitude was through the annual performances. Although the performance fulfilled an obligation set out in the Statutes, the school took this obligation as an opportunity to give thanks to and impress their royal patron. As discussed in Chapter 2, a new Prologue and Epilogue were written especially for the performance, and as discussed in Chapter 1, five performance copies of the text were issued alongside the performance. The customised performance and the manuscripts that were given alongside it, were produced to repay Elizabeth for her patronage.

There was a concern around the appropriate exchange for the Queen’s patronage, which can be seen in the fact that the Westminster School went beyond the obligation of setting forth a production as outlined in the Statutes, and instead personalised the gift by adapting the play-text especially and producing the elaborate copies of the drama. This concern around the value of an exchange of patronage was shared among benefactors of literary patronage in the early modern period. Catherine Bates writes: ‘Indeed, the sixteenth-century patronage system promoted an intense preoccupation with what poetry

²⁷⁰ John D. Cox, *Shakespeare and the Dramaturgy of Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 55 and Streitberger, p. 85.

²⁷¹ Tanner, p. 8.

was worth. What exactly did the poet have to “bestow” upon a patron and what precisely was the value of the cultural capital at his disposal?²⁷² A similar worry is discernible in the performance event and accompanying gifts of *Sapientia Solomonis*: to put forward one production as set out in the Statutes was not deemed enough in the exchange of the Queen’s patronage. Another example of this worry around the exchange of patronage is materialised in Ben Jonson’s gift of the autograph manuscript of *The Masque of Queenes* that he gave James I in commemoration of the King’s son Henry’s death, in 1612. The masque was given on Henry’s sixteenth birthday in 1609, and Queen Anne and her ladies-in-waiting performed the roles of virtuous queens in the House of Fame.²⁷³ The manuscript, Royal MS 18 A XLV, does not only contain the performance text and music by Alfonso Ferrabosco, but is filled with performance notes by Jonson, and on most pages these annotations even supersede the performance text. For example, 5r only contains eight words of performed text and five lines of stage directions, but thirty-one full lines where Jonson accounts for the classical writers’ literary treatment of witches and witchcraft. As I demonstrated in Chapter 1, the two manuscript copies of *Sapientia Solomonis* reveal that there was a significant difference between the two, and that the BL copy, made as a gift to Elizabeth, was the most personalised and expensive copy of the two. As with Jonson’s autograph manuscript, simply to gift the performance text was not enough for the school. Instead a lot of care and effort went into producing an aesthetically pleasing manuscript, which was highly tailored to the queen with her initials, decorations, and a personalised line written in the margin. The specially adapted performance and the elaborated performance copy evidence the Westminster School’s keen interest in maintaining and nurturing their relationship with their queen and foundress.

²⁷² Catherine Bates, ‘Poetry, patronage, and the court’ in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600*, Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 90-103, p. 95.

²⁷³ <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/autograph-manuscript-of-ben-jonsons-the-masque-of-queens-1609#>> [accessed 15 May 2019].

As I have demonstrated in this section, Elizabeth's patronage of the Westminster School was inherently a system of exchange. Elizabeth's role as a patron was ceremonial and practical, as she would visit the school and its students, and sometimes step in and further the school's interests. In exchange, the school had an obligation to pay tribute to the Queen and to provide the court with entertainment. The school saw the performances as an opportunity to nurture their relationship with their royal patron and would go beyond the required effort set out in the Statutes. The tailored drama and the elaborate performance copies produced as gifts alongside the performance reveal that there was an anxiety around the appropriate repayment for the queen's patronage and that there was an implicit expectation of the court for something more significant than originally set out in the Statutes. The court and the school were closely linked, as we have seen in Chapter 1, and it is very possible indeed that Cecil had a guiding hand in the choice of performance material for the performance occasion attended by Elizabeth and Cecilia of Sweden in 1565/6. The Westminster School performances were instrumental for the court as they provided entertainment for the festive season, and could thus be used as platforms for negotiating political relationship. The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* not only negotiated the relationship between Elizabeth and the school, but also offered the court a platform for the political relationships between Elizabeth and her council, and more importantly the court's relationship with Cecilia. In the next section I will demonstrate how Elizabeth and Cecilia developed their relationship into an affectionate friendship through letter writing, prior to Cecilia's visit.

3.2 Constructing Relationships: An epistolary study of Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship prior to 1565

This section concentrates on the letter exchange that took place between Cecilia and Elizabeth before Cecilia set off on her journey to England in 1565. Three letters sent by

Cecilia to the English queen survive, in contrast, only one letter, a drafted letter, survives that was aimed for Cecilia from the queen. Together these four documents give an insight into Cecilia and Elizabeth's early relationship. By focusing on this early letter exchange, this study is able to explore how Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship was initiated, established, and developed through letter writing. Cecilia and Elizabeth's epistolary exchange show that letter-writing was a complex process that involved more people than the two of them. Letter exchanges during the early modern period were collaborative efforts that involved several individuals and not just the sender or addressee. James Daybell writes:

[L]etter-writing emerges as a complex (often collaborative rather than solitary) activity. It was a social transaction that could involve layers of secretarial input at different stages of the epistolary process. Letters passed through multiple hands (which complicates our understanding of a single letter-bearer); and functioned as a part of a series of texts, enclosures and documents.²⁷⁴

All four letters were scribal and not autograph, which means that they were written by secretaries and not by the senders' own hands.²⁷⁵ The drafted letter aimed to Cecilia was written in Cecil's hand and the three letters sent by Cecilia addressed to Elizabeth were written by a secretary. As Daybell writes, letters often changed hands multiple times before reaching their destination and both Cecilia and Elizabeth made use of a network of noblemen that grew out of Eric XIV's pursuit of Elizabeth's hand in marriage. Relying on several individuals was not always efficacious, and did at times result in the letters remaining unanswered. Several people were thus involved in constructing the letters and delivering the letters to each addressee. I argue that although each letter involved several people before it reached its addressee, this complex letter-writing process and the use of personal networks enabled Cecilia and Elizabeth to develop their relationship from being impersonal and business-like to something that resembled friendship.

²⁷⁴ Daybell, p. 10.

²⁷⁵ Daybell, p. 86.

It was, however, not a straightforward process, and Cecilia made two attempts to initiate the letter-exchange before she received a response from Elizabeth. Cecilia and Elizabeth relied on a network of people that grew from Eric XIV's suit for Elizabeth's hand, to carry the letters from one court to the other, and this proved to be detrimental to Cecilia's initial attempts to contact the English queen. Cecilia sent her first letter, which is now lost, with the English nobleman John Keyle, who visited the Swedish court in 1562, but it was never answered. Keyle and a merchant called John Dymock (who we will return to later in this chapter), went to Sweden to profit from the marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and Eric, but fell into Elizabeth's disfavour. Keyle and Dymock were associated with a group of individuals at the Elizabethan court who favoured the Swedish suit and meddled with the negotiations by feeding the Swedish king with encouraging rumours of Elizabeth's disposition towards him. Elizabeth's own chief gentlewoman of the Bedchamber, Katherine Ashley, her husband, and Dorothy, worked with Keyle, Dymock, and a few others to send optimistic news to Gyllenstierna, and to Sweden, in which they encouraged Eric to travel to England in person.²⁷⁶ The letters were intercepted by Cecil and an investigation into the plot begun. Keyle and Dymock were accused of sending letters containing rumours and of spreading information that misrepresented the Queen's intentions towards Eric.²⁷⁷ Keyle must have made a good impression on the Swedish princess because in her second letter, dated November 9th, she testifies on behalf of Keyle and says that he was friendly and helpful towards her.²⁷⁸ However, it is clear from Cecilia's third letter that neither her first, nor second letter to the Queen was responded to:

Hit may please your excellente maiestie that I have befo[re]
this tyme wryten vnto your grace Twoo Severall Lres. And althou [ghe]

²⁷⁶ Doran, p. 34, and Anna Whitelock, *Elizabethan Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 62.

²⁷⁷ SP 70/40 fol.77, Interrogatories ministered to John Keyle, & His Answer to Same, Calendar of State Papers Foreign, August 6 1562.

²⁷⁸ SP 70/44/102 The Princess Cecilia to the Queen, November 9th 1562, see Appendix 4.

I never had answeere of any of them, yet having nowe a Sute of my
owne vnto your highnes, and (as it were) constraigned to wryte agay[ne]
vnto your grace²⁷⁹

Her two first attempts to reach out to the queen were unsuccessful, however, now having a suite of her own, Cecilia felt compelled to write again, and as already demonstrated the petition letter successfully furthered the relationship between the two women and was the first letter Elizabeth answered. One possible reason that Cecilia's first letter remained unanswered is the accusations against Keyle, and that it did not seem fitting to answer a letter carried forth by an accused person, another reason could be that the letter got lost in the interception of other letters or got lost in the interrogations. Cecilia's second letter was also tainted with sentiments concerning Keyle and it was most likely therefore never responded to. Cecilia's first two efforts to connect with the English queen thus suffered from the suspicions directed towards Keyle.

However, using a network familiar with both courts, such as the one that formed from Eric XIV's marriage negotiations with Elizabeth, proved beneficial for the letter exchange. In her third letter, dated January 18th, 1563, Cecilia asks Elizabeth to write a letter to Eric requesting that he licence Cecilia to visit the English queen, and that Elizabeth would send her 'favorable Letter, by Some of these noble men w[hic]h / kept most Company with my brother Duke John as his beinge there / or by any other whom your grace shall thinke good'.²⁸⁰ John, Duke of Finland, arrived in England in 1599 and was sent to assist Denis Burrey, (c. 1507-1567), the first Swedish legate to present Eric of Sweden's proposal to Elizabeth, to convince Elizabeth to marry Eric.²⁸¹ While in London, John was often seen at court and was complemented on his Latin and noble conduct; he

²⁷⁹ SP 70/49/37 The Lady Cecilia to the Queen, January 18th 1563, Appendix 5.

²⁸⁰ SP 70/49/37 The Lady Cecilia to the Queen, January 18th 1563, see Appendix 5.

²⁸¹ Also known by his Latin name Dionysius Beurraeus. Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, p. 24 and Magnus Karlsson, 'Three Letters of Proposal from Erik XIV of Sweden to Elizabeth I of England: Edited with introduction', in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 58 (2009), pp. 81-101, p. 85.

would engage in ball sports with English noblemen and became famous for his lavish parties and generous gifts.²⁸² John was surrounded by both English and Swedish noblemen who would travel between the English and Swedish courts and could thus facilitate the letter exchange. The drafted response does not give a clue if Elizabeth chose to send her response with one of John's acquaintances, or chose another person altogether. However, a later letter containing the important invitation to Cecilia and her husband to Elizabeth's court, was sent by George North (?-1581), an individual well-known to the Swedish legates in England.²⁸³ North, a translator and writer, had taken service with John, Count of Tenzcin, whose brother had at one point been in marriage negotiations with Gustav Vasa over Cecilia's hand in marriage. Upon the death of his brother in 1563, John sent North to Cecilia in Sweden to forward his condolences.²⁸⁴ North had found a supportive contact in Burrey's successor Nils Gyllenstierna, after dedicating a presentation copy of his work *The Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland*, and came to the King of Sweden with a letter of recommendation written by Gyllenstierna. Upon meeting Cecilia, North delivered the significant letter in which Elizabeth invited Cecilia to her court.²⁸⁵ It is not certain whether the English court gave North the letter directly, or he picked it up along the way from another person, but what is clear is that the letter exchange depended upon the network of people that grew around the marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and Eric, and made it possible for the two women to develop a connection. North was instrumental in Cecilia's bitter end to her visit to England as he was one of the men who pursued Cecilia for the debt of Burrey, Gyllenstierna, and that she and her husband had accumulated during their stays in

²⁸² Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: the courtships of Elizabeth I* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 30; Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, p. 26.

²⁸³ Ross Kennedy, 'George North' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/20306>> [accessed 30 July 2019].

²⁸⁴ North, p. xvi.

²⁸⁵ Ödberg, p. 57.

England, which I will discuss in detail further on in this chapter. I will now turn to an analysis of the content of the letters to demonstrate how this connection was initiated and furthered through the use of language, space on the paper, and the positioning of text.

In her study of Erasmus's letters, Lisa Jardine demonstrates Erasmus's familiar letters and writings about epistemology developed 'a technology of affect to fabricate intimacy', which contributed to 'the Renaissance's construction of letter writing and reading as emotionally charged events'.²⁸⁶ Jardine writes:

Three key concepts structure early sixteenth-century, Erasmian thinking about familiar letters. These are friendship, effective transmission of feeling, and absence made presence. All three are incorporated in the definition of the *epistola* which Erasmus gives in his *De conscribendis epistolis*. Letters should be 'intimate conversations between friends' ('amicorum inter ipsos confabulatione') [...].²⁸⁷

This suggests that in order to construct familiar letters there must already be a mutual sense of friendship between the sender and the addressee. Jonathan Gibson argues that familiar letters also came to inspire more formal correspondence during the early modern period: 'In the renaissance [sic] its force was felt not just in private letters but also in business correspondence between patrons and clients'.²⁸⁸ The four letters that are the focus of this study cannot be categorised as familiar letters. However, I am building on the idea that writing technologies can be employed to fabricate intimacy, not only in familiar letters, but in more formal letters. This fabricated intimacy did, in turn, facilitate the development of a personal friendship between Cecilia and Elizabeth. Both Cecilia and Elizabeth's letters make use of letter-writing techniques to negotiate their relationship. More specifically, their use of language and different languages, as well as letter genres

²⁸⁶ Lisa Jardine, *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).

²⁸⁷ Jardine, p. 77.

²⁸⁸ Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant Space in Manuscript Letters' in *The Seventeenth Century*, 12 (1997) pp. 1-9, p. 6.

and blank space on the letter page, construct a sense of friendship between the two royal women.

The earliest letter in our study is the before mentioned letter to Elizabeth, dated November 9th 1562; it is held by The National Archives and registered as SP 70/44/102. The letter is written on one single sheet of paper that was folded up with the message on one side and the address to Elizabeth I on the other side, which was used as the letter's cover. It is a highly formalised letter written in Latin, appropriate for a letter addressed to a monarch. According to Daybell:

The more formal the occasion of writing, the more closely letters followed templates of protocol, since not to do so would be considered inappropriate, a social affront. Thus, royal letters, letters of petition and recommendation, condolence letters and legal correspondence and other sub-genres of officialdom, rigidly conform to the rules of rhetoric in terms of uniform structure and content.²⁸⁹

The templates of protocol had been developed throughout the medieval period and were discussed during the sixteenth century in epistolary handbooks such as William Fulwood's *The Enimie of Idleness* (London, 1568), and Angel Day's *The English Secretorie* (London, 1586).²⁹⁰ The manuals instructed on everything from how to address your recipient to where you should place your text and use the space on the letter page, all according to the status of the recipient and sender. The etiquette of addressing your recipient with honorific titles stretches back to before the twelfth century, and the titles needed to be 'carefully chosen according to the respective ranks of the sender and recipient of the letter'.²⁹¹ Gibson also emphasizes the social significance of adequate address and writes that '[d]ifferent epithets are suitable for different classes of recipient' and that these

²⁸⁹ Daybell, p. 69.

²⁹⁰ For a more detail discussion on Fulwood and Day see James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England*, Gibson, pp. 1-10; or Judith Rice Henderson, 'Defining the Genre of the Letter Juan Luis Vives' 'De Conscribendis Epistolis'" in *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance Et Réforme*, 7.2, (1983), pp. 89–105. *New Series / Nouvelle Série*, <www.jstor.org/stable/43444409> [accessed 11 December 2016].

²⁹¹ Henderson, p. 91.

conventions are ‘the epistolary equivalent of the bow or the bared head’.²⁹² Because the recipient of letter of November 9th was a queen and because a princess sent it, it was important to employ the appropriate honorific titles. The address on the cover reads: ‘Serenissimae atq Illustrissima Principi, Dominæ Elizabethæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hybernia Regina defensori fide, sorori Dominæ ac consanguineæ / nostræ charissimæ’.²⁹³ This address is nearly replicated verbatim at the beginning of the letter text on the other side but instead of *nostræ charissimæ* it reads: ‘suæ charissimæ, / Cecilia Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalorum, etc Princeps Salutem, ualetudinem optimam’.²⁹⁴ Both addressee and sender have thus been given the adequate honorific titles to honor their respective rank, precisely according to the etiquette.

The spacing and positioning of the letter-text on the page also shows that the letter of November 9th was a highly structured and formal letter aimed towards someone superior in status to that of the sender. Gibson argues that there is a correlation between the use of blank space in a letter and the status of the recipient, he writes: ‘[a]ll these epistolographies recommend that letter writers leave blank space in proportion to the social status of the addressee’.²⁹⁵ The letter-text of the November 9th letter is positioned off-centre, which results in more space to the left than to the right edge of the paper. The text does not start at the top of the page but a fraction down, which gives the initial ‘S’ plenty of space to stand taller than any of the other letters. In *Enimie of Idleness*, Fulwood instructed his readers to position their writing according to the rank of their addressee:

For to our superiors wee must write at the right side in the neither end of the paper, saying: By your most humble and obedient sonne, or seruauant, &c. Or, yours to commaund, &c. And to our equals we must write towards the middest of the paper, saying: By your faithfull friends for euer,

²⁹² Gibson, p. 6.

²⁹³ To the Serene and illustrious Princess, lady Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, & Ireland defender of faith, our most dear sister, Lady and kinswoman’, (my translation). See Appendix 6 for transcription.

²⁹⁴ To her own most dear Princess Cecilia, of Sweden, Gotland, and Wemden, greetings and the best health’, (my translation). See Appendix 6 for transcription.

²⁹⁵ Gibson, p. 4.

&c. Or, yours assured, &c. To our inferiours wee may write on high at the left hand, saying: By yours, &c.²⁹⁶

By placing the writing at the right side suggests, an acknowledgement of Elizabeth as superior in social rank to Cecilia, and the placement creates space, which is adequate for a royal letter, again acknowledging the queen's higher status. Space is also created at the bottom of the page as the text finishes a two-thirds down of the paper. Two subscriptions are written underneath the main body of text, both placed on the right-hand side, with the one furthest down located furthest to the right. There is a large blank space on the left of the subscriptions and under the main body of the text that it is made conspicuous by a large square. The square is perhaps evidence of a restoration of the original paper, and it might mend a breakage made by the removal of a seal, for example. The wide margins around the main body of the text suggest that care was taken to create blank space around the letter text. The letter, then, makes use of space, the positioning of the writing, and the repetition of epithets to acknowledge Elizabeth's superiority.

The January 18th letter uses space in a similar way to the November 9th letter: the writing is positioned to the right side, which creates a wide margin of blank space at the left side; the text begins even further down the page than the earlier letter, which leaves even more space above the text; and the main body of text finishes just half way down the *verso*. However, the January 18th letter differs from the November 9th letter in that it is written in English, and that it is longer; the main text spans over one folio, with the cover and address being on another folio. It is also structured differently and contains a supplication, which enable us to categorize this letter as a petition letter. Daybell writes that '[t]he letter of petition was a distinct genre where letter-writers closely followed the precepts outlined by writers such as Angel Day'.²⁹⁷ Accordingly, a petition letter should commence by praising the recipient of the letters so that he or she would look favourably

²⁹⁶ Reproduced in Daybell, p. 91.

²⁹⁷ Daybell, p. 70.

on the sender, then the sender should emphasize the relationship with the addressee so that the addressee would have reason to grant the request. The request needed to be honest and within the powers of the recipient to carry out. The letter-writer should explain how the request might be carried out, and lastly, the letter-writer should express their gratitude towards the addressee for acknowledging the request and for the favour.²⁹⁸ The letter of January 18th follows this structure closely. Cecilia starts with praising Elizabeth and then she draws the queen's attention to their relationship wherein Cecilia has written to her previously: 'Hit may please your excellent maiestie that I have befo[re] / this tyme wryten vnto your grace 'Twoo Severall Lres'.²⁹⁹ She continues to say that although Elizabeth never answered her two first letters, Cecilia is compelled to write again as she has a petition of her own: to commend Elizabeth's dealings with Scotland, and to request that the queen would send Cecilia's brother, Erik XIV, a letter to ask him to grant Cecilia's wish to travel to England and serve the queen. In appraising Elizabeth's doings in Scotland, Cecilia puts herself forward as a Protestant ally and a supporter of the Protestants in Scotland who stood against the Catholic supporters of Mary Queen of Scots. Furthermore, Cecilia declares that she will not 'mary in this Lande. Nether any where el[se] vntill I have Sene [Elizabeth's] grace and realme', and explains that a suitor from Poland who wanted to marry Cecilia for political reasons.³⁰⁰ Cecilia is appealing to Elizabeth who might sympathize with someone who had not wanted to marry a suitor for political attempts. Cecilia is perhaps suggesting a parallel to Elizabeth's reluctance to marry at the time. Notably the Queen did not give in to political pressures to marry, for example she ignored the oblique messaging of the court play *Gorboduc*, which was interpreted by an eyewitness to the 1562 performance to be putting forward a case against

²⁹⁸ Daybell, p. 70.

²⁹⁹ SP 70/49/37, see Appendix 5.

³⁰⁰ SP 70/49/37, see Appendix 5.

Elizabeth marrying Eric of Sweden.³⁰¹ It is not only the petition in itself that demand a closer relationship between the Cecilia and Elizabeth, but the structure of the letter allows Cecilia to build on their relationship. The structure enables Cecilia to establish the fact that they have a relationship and common ground in order for her to justify her writing with a request.

The letter of January 18th, 1563, also sets out to further this relationship through its use of epithets. As already mentioned, epithets were chosen according to their appropriateness in relation to the hierarchical relationship between the sender of the letter and the addressee. As we saw in the letter of November 9th, 1562, Cecilia employed honorific titles to acknowledge Elizabeth's superiority. In the letter of January 18th, Cecilia offers an opportunity to develop their relationship by introducing more adjectives to describe their relation. She writes:

Prayinge youre [?] / Longe to Contynewe your maiestie in all Suche your
godly proce[?]/ and to Sende you most prosperous Successe in the same
allw[?]/ thinges to put me in good hope to come vnto the thinge whiche
I hav[e]/ alwayes Desyred that is to honor your grace as a mother of
vert[ue]/ to Love you as my deare Syster and to Serve you as my [?] /
whithe in harte and mynde I do /

Cecilia wishes to honour Elizabeth as a mother of virtue, to love her as a sister, and to serve her. Although Cecilia used the epithet *sorori* in the letter of November 9th, the word 'sister' carries more affection here. Whereas *sorori* occurred among other titles such as: *Principi*, *Domina*, *Regina*, and *defensori fidae*, in the earlier letter, 'sister' is here used, not as a title, but as an invitation to develop their relationship. In a similar way, in the act of requesting to honour the queen as a mother of virtue, Cecilia is asking to further relation. Whilst *defensori fidae*, defender of faith, is a title, Cecilia expresses her wish to actively honour Elizabeth as a mother of virtue. Moreover, by wishing to serve the English queen,

³⁰¹ Alice Hunt, 'Dumb Politics in *Gorboduc*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 547-65 (especially pp. 550-51).

Cecilia is expressing her wish to actively serve her, which would make their relationship more personal. In fact, as already suggested, the very act of petitioning to the queen is an active effort to develop their connection.

The letter of January 18th was successful in that it was the first letter that Elizabeth responded to, and I will return to the reasons why below. We do only have a draft of this letter, but we know from another letter sent by Cecilia that a response did reach the Swedish princess.³⁰² The draft is, as before mentioned, written in Cecil's hand, and bears the mark of many corrections and alternations. It also evidences a part of the early modern process of letter-writing. Daybell writes that '[t]he task of composition was in many cases layered, involving planning, drafting and redrafting, and might involve the production of a fair copy for sending, and copying for records'.³⁰³ Although we cannot know the exact wording of the response that reached Cecilia, we can study some of the techniques that Cecil and Elizabeth employed in negotiating Elizabeth's relationships. Cecilia's comment on Elizabeth's handling of Scotland is picked up from the January 18th letter, and in the draft we see how two attempts are being made to compliment Cecilia on her judgement to let the Scotland affair lead her desire to visit Elizabeth's court. The first attempt has been crossed out: 'yow good Judgment [...] of our doynge', and Cecilia is instead complimented on how 'w[ith] other such com[m]e[n]dable act[es] which yow doo / well Judge of hath moved yow go desyre to be come hyt[h]er / to us, and here to co[n]tynew as as a doughter a sister or / a s[er]vant'. Here we also see that Elizabeth accepted Cecilia offer to build their relationship by inviting the Swedish princess to England and allowing her to continue as Elizabeth's daughter, sister, or servant. In the act of repeating the analogy of the mother-daughter-, sister-, or servant and mistress relationship Elizabeth acknowledged Cecilia's wish, word for word. Moreover, further into the drafted letter we

³⁰² SP 70/52/135, see Appendix 6; Cecilia's response to Elizabeth's letter: SP 70/49/39, see Appendix 7.

³⁰³ Daybell, p. 53.

see that Elizabeth continued to build their relationship by equalizing their relationship: ‘ye shall fynd in us a dispos[ition] / toward[es] yow, more lyke a good fre[n]d or sister tha[n]/ lyke a mastress’. By emphasizing friendship or kinship as preferred over a master and servant relationship, Elizabeth’s letter writer does in fact subtly re-instate the legitimacy of this hierarchical power dynamic. The draft makes it clear that Cecilia’s request that Elizabeth would write to the Swedish king would not be granted, however, it mentions an enclosed gift to ensure Cecilia of Elizabeth’s friendship:

And this for / for [sic] this present we have thought is sufficie[n]t to assure / yow by theis o[ur] lres, not onely of o[ur] good Co[n]tentatu[re] to have you / here in our Court, but also of our allowa[n]ce, and good/acceptains of [this], your fre[n]dly desyre and so we Com[m]e[n]d your good/ sister to almighty God.

Cecilia’s petition letter of January 18th introduced a new set of parameters for the relationship between the Swedish princess and the English queen for them to operate within. The drafted response of March 16th suggests that Elizabeth not only approved of these but also developed upon them by repeating them and introducing a gift in order to consolidate their friendship. The gift is significant as a gesture to consolidate their friendship, and I will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter. By assuring Cecilia that they have a more intimate relationship than a master-servant association with words and the gift, Elizabeth built on their relationship.

In the last letter in our study, dated May 22nd 1563, Elizabeth’s response is dated to the 16th March (which is the date that the National Archives has given the drafted letter).³⁰⁴ In the letter, Cecilia thanked Elizabeth for her letter and for the gift bestowed upon her. She then reiterated the language used in Elizabeth’s response: ‘Assuring me, that ye make accompt to take / me, rather as a good frende or syster, then as a Sarvante’. This repetition consolidated their relationship according to the parameters offered by

³⁰⁴ SP 70-49-39 Cecilia to Elizabeth, May 22nd 1563, see Appendix 7.

Elizabeth in her previous letter. Furthermore, Cecilia signs the May letter with: ‘your graces Loving Cousin / and Syster and Sarwante’. While Cecilia politely reinstates the master/servant relationship in her reply, the familial words are used to describe Cecilia’s connection to Elizabeth, confirming their close relationship one last time in the letter.

Although others were involved in the letter-writing process, and in the transaction of letters from one court to the other, what evolved through this letter-exchange was something that resembled a familiar or even familial relationship. In all four letter manuscripts, we have seen how repetition is used as a way to fabricate, and establish, an intimacy that did not exist between the two royal women at the beginning of their letter exchange. The first letter was carefully constructed to acknowledge Elizabeth’s superiority over Cecilia and to initiate a connection without affronting the English queen. The petition letter, although strictly keeping to an epistolary rigid format, allowed Cecilia to be more personal and direct. The nature of the petition made it easy for Cecilia to show her affection towards Elizabeth, whilst still acknowledging the queen’s superiority. The change of writing in English instead of Latin made it clear that Cecilia was willing to communicate in a way that would give Elizabeth the upper hand. The use of space in both letters also acknowledged Elizabeth’s social status. Although the fact that three out of the four letters were aimed to Elizabeth suggest that Cecilia and Elizabeth’s relationship was one-sided, the drafted letter and the gift it contained reveal Elizabeth’s willingness to further their relationship. The response to Cecilia’s letter revealed that Elizabeth was willing to accept Cecilia’s offer to further their relationship and that she actively wanted to develop it. In the drafted response it is clear that the aim was to recast the roles of the two women so that they were more equal as sisters. We have thus seen how the relationship between Cecilia and Elizabeth was developed from an initial contact to an affectionate friendship, through the use of letters. By the time Cecilia reached London,

many more notes had passed between the two women, which made it natural for them to meet in an affectionate embrace the first time they met personally.

3.3 Defining relationships: Cecilia and Elizabeth's First Meetings

Cecilia and Elizabeth I's relationship was different to that of the Swedish embassies previously sent to England, and the queen, in that it had been carefully constructed through a letter-exchange, as demonstrated above. The intimacy of their relationship is evident in accounts of their first meetings. The Swedish Princess and Elizabeth's movements were observed with a high political interest by foreign ambassadors at the English court, such as Guzman da Silva. In this section I explore these accounts in order to analyse how courtly conduct negotiated their relationship in the beginning of Cecilia's visit to England. Good conduct was immensely important for negotiating the hierarchies within the court and would earn you respect among the members of the court you attended. Dillon writes that ambassadorial receptions perform functions that can be described by a variety of verbs, 'some of them mutually contradictory: it can assert, affirm, appropriate, compete, reassure, compliment, insult, fix or transform'.³⁰⁵ These functions are helpful when thinking about how Cecilia and Elizabeth strengthened their relationship through gatherings at the beginning of Cecilia's stay.

The play *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, challenges courtly conduct and the power structures themselves as the characters in the play manipulate the rules of courtly conduct to construct an order of power in their new international relations. In Chapter 2 of this thesis I argued that play creates an analogy between Cecilia, Elizabeth, and the characters of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. This analogy means that the play is not only commenting on courtly conducts in general but on Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship

³⁰⁵ Dillon, p. 100.

specifically. In this section I suggest that courtly conduct was immensely important for asserting, reassuring, and complimenting Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship in the first months of Cecilia's visit, whereas the play *Sapientia Solomonis* problematizes their relationship by having King Solomon winning over the Queen of Sheba in a humorous stand-off concerning appropriate protocol of courtly conduct. The play, as we shall see, is simultaneously complimenting both women and insulting Cecilia.

Good conduct was crucial for creating new or strengthening existing diplomatic or courtly relationships and this was as important for the world of the play as the world immediate outside it. For example, a grave misstep in courtly conduct harmed the Anglo-Swedish marriage negotiations in 1558. Burrey, sent by the Swedish court to present Eric XIV proposal to Elizabeth, brought two credentials, one from Gustav Vasa to Queen Mary, the other from Eric to Princess Elizabeth with him to England. On April twentieth Burrey made the mistake of presenting himself to the princess before he approached the queen. According to Michael Roberts, this faux-pas 'angered Mary and caused her to reject the proposal', whereas Doran maintains that 'clearly the queen's rage was less of a reaction to the Swede's unwitting breach of etiquette than the result of her fear that Elizabeth might be tempted to encourage Eric's suit and so come under the protection of a Lutheran king'.³⁰⁶ Regardless of the true origins of Mary's ire and rejection, this episode demonstrates the importance laid on adhering to the protocol of sections of precedence, as this courtly misconduct was enough to warrant a rejection of the proposal. King Solomon judges the character of the foreign queen from her behaviour as the courtiers at the English court would judge a foreign guest in early modern England. The play uses scenes of courtly conduct and a discussion about seating arrangement to problematize the

³⁰⁶ Roberts, p. 159; Doran, p. 20.

relationship between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba because they were familiar settings for the Tudors.

The very first meeting between Cecilia and Elizabeth took place on September 14th, 1565, and it presented their relationship as intimate and familial, just as it was developed in the letter-exchange, demonstrated above. According to Dillon, there were protocols of how to receive a socially superior individual in the early modern period: ‘How far the guest penetrated [the household], at what point he was met and how far he was escorted were all indicators of his status and the respect in which he was held (which could outweigh the strict order of precedence)’.³⁰⁷ In the Autumn of 1565 many were curious about Elizabeth I’s new guest at court, the Swedish Princess Cecilia of Baden, one of whom was the Spanish ambassador Guzman de Silva, and close attention was paid to her conduct, movements, and interactions with Elizabeth. Cecilia and her husband Christopher II, Margrave of Baden-Rodemachern (1537-1575) were of special interest to the Ambassador and his King, Philip of Spain, as the Margrave had served the Spanish army in the Netherlands from 1557 to 1561 and held land in Spanish Luxembourg.³⁰⁸ In a letter to King Philip dated 17th September, 1565, de Silva provides an account for the first meeting between Cecilia and Elizabeth:

On the 14th the Queen arrived from Windsor and descended at the lodgings of the Swedish Princess, who is called Cecilia. The latter received her Majesty at the door, where she embraced her warmly, and both went up to her apartments.³⁰⁹

For de Silva it is significant to relay where the two women met (at the door), the gestures upon meeting (with a warm embrace), and what happened next (they went inside the house to Cecilia’s personal apartments together), because these facts are indicative of their relationship. Cecilia meets her guest, Elizabeth, at the door of her household and escorts

³⁰⁷ Dillon, p. 76.

³⁰⁸ Johann Christian Sachs, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Marggrafschaft und des marggrävlichen altfürstlichen Hauses Baden*, III, (Carlsruhe: Johann Friedrich Cornelius Stern, 1769), pp. 265-6.

³⁰⁹ Reproduced in Morison and Bell, p. 209.

her through the house to her apartments, which is revealing of Elizabeth's status and the regard Cecilia held her in. It is also noteworthy that Elizabeth came to Cecilia's household, and not expecting her at court the first time they meet, which demonstrated the respect the queen had for Cecilia at this point in their relationship.

In addition, the warm embrace and the fact that the two women move deeper into the household were suggestive of their intimate relationship. When possible the court propelled the idea of the monarch as distinct and elevated, separate, and would so through the organisation of space and people within. Dillon writes that the recognition of 'the special vibrancy of the monarch's person [...] was translated into a set of protocols prescribing degrees of distance and other forms of deference affirming the monarch's apartness and specialness'.³¹⁰ The closeness of the embrace at the door of Cecilia's lodgings revealed a human connection and togetherness, and set Cecilia apart from others by including her in the elevated status of the monarch, simultaneously. This public display of affection performed a gesture to Cecilia in welcoming her to England. That they proceeded further inside Cecilia's household together also revealed their intimate relationship, and the status and respect they held for each other at this time.

In contrast, the first meeting between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in *Sapientia Solomonis* was more formalised. In the play, attention is drawn to the protocol of receiving guests by two characters who refer to King Solomon's custom of meeting guests. In Act 5.5, Sadoc reassures the waiting Queen of Sheba that King Solomon is on his way to meet her: 'Do not be vexed by this delay, most chaste Queen; in a moment the illustrious King will receive you according to his royal dignity, as is his custom'.³¹¹ A few lines later Solomon has arrived and says: 'We observed her just now from the citadel. I am proceeding to meet her so that I may receive her according to my custom'.³¹² King

³¹⁰ Dillon, p. 77.

³¹¹ Rogers Payne's translation in Rogers Payne, p. 119.

³¹² Ibid.

Solomon's custom, then, appear to be receiving his guests on a street in the city, before they reach his citadel. If we apply the early modern protocol of receiving guests, the fact that King Solomon meets his guest in the city of Jerusalem and accompanies her to his citadel shows the respect King Solomon has for the Queen of Sheba. The king and queen exchange pleasantries, but there is nothing that indicates an intimate relationship, which contrasts greatly to the first meeting between Cecilia and Elizabeth. Moreover, what follows in the scene, which I will analyse in detail below, problematizes their relationship.

De Silva accompanied Elizabeth to another visitation to Cecilia at her lodgings at Bedford House, which took place on October 7th, 1565, and in a letter to Philip of Spain, de Silva pays detailed attention to the sequence of precedence and to the conduct between the two royal women and himself and Cecilia. There was a set sequence of precedence during the early modern period that was similar to the rest of Europe, with the only exception being Catholic countries where the Pope ranked over all earthly rulers, where the ambassador as representatives of the very person of their monarchs, ranked very high.³¹³ As I suggested earlier in the case of Dymock's *faux pas*, how someone engaged with the sequence of precedence was paramount to their relations at court. What happens then, when someone is both a royal person and a representative of their own monarch like Cecilia of Sweden was? It could have provided a hierarchical challenge for the Anglo-Swedish relationship, as it did when Duke John met the two courtiers Elizabeth had sent to greet him, Francis Knollys (c. 1511-1596) and Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577).³¹⁴ The two Englishmen found themselves having to wait for over half an hour before the Swedish prince received them.³¹⁵ When they finally were allowed to see him, the Swedish

³¹³ Dillon, p. 80.

³¹⁴ Ian W. Archer, 'Smith, Sir Thomas (1513-1577)' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25906>> [accessed 15 November 2016] and Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Knollys, Sir Francis (1511/12-1596)' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15755>> [accessed 15 November 2016].

³¹⁵ Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, p. 25.

prince remained seated and extended his hand for Knollys and Smith to kiss. Knollys, however, was of the opinion that the home country's nobility had priority; he solved the issue of conduct by kissing his own hand, before kissing the hand of John.³¹⁶ This incident easily could have damaged the diplomatic relationship between Sweden and England, but John became popular among the English courtiers. He was generous, engaged in falconry and pheasant hunting, and so by the time John made his way to London, Smith found him very agreeable.³¹⁷ The confusion of precedence lay in the fact that John was a princely legate, himself a royal person, and saw himself not purely as an ambassador. In a similar way, Cecilia was herself a princess, and not just an ambassador representing Eric. However, according to de Silva's letter the meeting between Cecilia, Elizabeth, and himself proceeded much smoother.

De Silva took careful notice of the power hierarchies between himself, Cecilia and the queen, and his attention was focused closely on Cecilia's conduct. In the letter to Philip of Spain, de Silva writes:

[Queen Elizabeth] approached the Swedish Princess with great professions of affection and embraces, and I then went up to speak to her. They remained standing for a time until a stool had been brought for me, and continued with small talk and professions of attachment to each other, and the Swede paid me some compliments saying how great was the obligation of herself and her husband towards your Majesty for the grace and favour you had shown him. This with much modesty and fair words, and with so gracious a manner, that her high breeding is very apparent.³¹⁸

The sequence of precedence was indicative of the hierarchy in the room. As I noted above, according to the social protocol, as a monarch Elizabeth had precedence over all. We learn from the letter that the queen and Cecilia greeted each other before he was able access the Princess, which means that Cecilia was given precedence over de Silva too. In

³¹⁶ Andersson, p. 25.

³¹⁷ Andersson, p. 26.

³¹⁸ Reproduced in Morison and Bell, p. 210.

de Silva's description of their meeting, there is a sense of a development in the relationship between Cecilia and Elizabeth from their first meeting. On October 7th, they met and declared their fondness of each other, and there is not only one embrace as on September 14th, but several embraces. By the time of this October meeting the two women had built their relationship through gatherings such as the queen's visitation after the birth of Cecilia's son, and, more significantly, the christening of the same on September 30th (to which I will return in the last section of this chapter). The relationship was now more affectionate than before. It was with great interest de Silva reported on their relationship, as well as Cecilia's behaviour towards him. The meeting was important to Cecilia too, not only for her relationship to Elizabeth, but also because of the connections she had with Spain through her husband and good conduct became a means through which she could strengthen those connections. De Silva complimented Cecilia on her modesty, manners, and he was impressed by the way the Princess delivered her compliments to his master and communicated this to Philip of Spain. It is thus clear that de Silva saw her good conduct as evidence for her social background and position.

The seating arrangement was important as an expression of social hierarchy and de Silva takes care to account for the proceedings in the meeting in his letter. The fact that Elizabeth and Cecilia do not sit down until a seat is brought to de Silva was an act of paying him immense respect, because as Dillon observes: 'sitting down in the presence of others was itself a potential marker of status. Social inferiors did not sit in the presence of their superiors unless invited to do so or until the superior did so'.³¹⁹ Waiting for a seat to be fetched for de Silva was thus an power equalizing action. However, the type of seat he was provided with could be seen as a manifestation of his inferior status. Stools and benches were the most common forms of seating, whereas 'chairs generally spoke very

³¹⁹ Dillon, pp. 77-78.

clearly of its status'.³²⁰ Depending on the seats Cecilia and Elizabeth used, a stool would signify that he was socially inferior to the two royal women. Proceedings of seating arrangements were thus political manoeuvres that were implemented to reaffirm the social hierarchy, and the type of seat carried meaning as signifiers of status.

Courtly conduct was thus an important means through which Cecilia was able to build and strengthen her relationship with Elizabeth and others at the Elizabethan court. Sequence of precedence and protocols of seating were used to not only reaffirm social hierarchies, but to negotiate them too. As I will demonstrate, the de Silva's account of the October meeting reveals that the proceedings of the meeting were similar to those of the meeting between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in scene 5.6. However, the scene problematizes the relationship between the two characters, and in extension, the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia.

The beginning of scene 5.6 presents the intricate system of rules around courtly conduct in a humorous dispute between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba regarding who should take a seat first. King Solomon offers the Queen of Sheba to sit down to converse, she refuses and says: 'it is not fitting, O King, that a woman should take her seat before a man, much less that I should, who am only a young girl, awed by such great majesty.'³²¹ The queen disregards her own status as a royal leader and emphasizes her inferior position as a woman and she praises King Solomon's supremacy. The queen here demonstrates her good education in two ways as she manages to simultaneously show knowledge of a man's precedence over a woman and show the king courtesy. In fact, the very act of denying the privilege to take a seat before another person is in itself an act of respect of that person. King Solomon demonstrates his respect for the Queen of Sheba in return as he refuses her offer for him to sit before she does, but his answer reveals that

³²⁰ Dillon, p. 77.

³²¹ Rogers Payne's translation in Roger Payne, p. 121.

there are yet more rules to be applied to the situation. He says: '(i)f this had occurred at your home, I should have yielded to you, whatever your charming courtesy might direct. But it would hardly be civil, believe me, if I should do as you ask here.'³²² He refuses her offer because as the host he is required to invite her to sit down first. The king praises the queen's courtesy in the same sentence and it becomes apparent that behaving according to the rules of conduct is as important for your reception in a new court as the position you hold in society is.

As I suggested above, the seat on which one would sit was symbolic of one's status and the play specifies the seats to be used for King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. At the end of the previous scene, Act 5.5, Solomon asks for two royal curule chairs to be brought to himself and the queen: 'Sellae duae curules atq regiae huc afferantur'.³²³ As I already mentioned, chairs pointed to the sitter's high status, and curule chairs held a particular significance of regality. For example, in the Roman Republic, the curule seat was reserved especially for magistrates holding an imperium.³²⁴ The curule chair continued to symbolise royalty, as can be seen in Paul van Somer's oil painting where James I of England and VI of Scotland is portrayed in front of a curule chair furnished with gold-embroidered blue fabric and gilded ornaments, upon which a bejewelled and feathered cushion is laid.³²⁵ The two curule chairs brought for King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba symbolises their power and equalises their relationship.

The play, however, problematizes courtly conduct as both King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba refuse each other's offer to sit down. We find Solomon and the Queen of Sheba at a moment's standstill of mutual approbation. Neither one is willing to sit

³²² Rogers Payne, p. 121.

³²³ My translation: 'Meanwhile, bring two royal curule chairs to this place'.

³²⁴ "curule, adj." *OED Online, Oxford University Press* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/46206> [accessed 26 October 2019].

³²⁵ James I of England & IV of Scotland, by Paul van Somer, Oil on canvas, 196 x 120 cm, (1605), Museo del Prado, Madrid <<https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/jacobo-i-de-inglaterra/38259bc8-f186-4f81-af8b-c60959e93404>> [accessed 26 October 2019].

down at the risk of being the least courteous to the other. The king and the queen's expressions of respect for each other turn into a power struggle and whoever sits down first will affect the balance of their relationship. In scene 5.6 the system of rules around courtly conduct is being used to negotiate the hierarchy between the characters as they confront each other in a duel of good courtly conduct. The Queen of Sheba challenges Solomon's authority when she refuses his offer to sit. The king asserts his power and knowledge in his reply. As we have seen, he instructs her to trust him to know what the rules of conduct are in his own country ('it would hardly be civil, believe me, if I should do as you ask here'). King Solomon further asserts his power in his next line. He says: 'But notwithstanding, lest the whole day be spent only in these protestations, I will humor you. And it will be a charming sight, perchance, to see the male conquered by the female'³²⁶ Even though Solomon yields to the Queen of Sheba's wish for him to sit down, he comes out victoriously from the dispute. He asserts his authority as he takes control over the situation and ends the argument. In addition, he diminishes the queen's status and makes a joke on her behalf. He refers to the comedy in seeing a man being conquered by a woman because in all aspects of early modern life men had legal precedence over women. In saying that, the king reminds the queen that he has the upper hand in their relationship.

Moreover, as I demonstrated in Chapter 2, the story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba carries associations beyond those of diplomatic and political nature. In fact, the power struggle in the play *Sapientia Solomonis* around the seating arrangement references the inherent complexity around the relationship between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In the Bible the queen makes the journey to the king in order to test his reputed wisdom. Kings 10:1 says: '[a]nd when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of

³²⁶ Rogers Payne, p. 121.

Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions'. The relationship between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba thus begins with the queen challenging the king, in the same way the character of the queen challenges Solomon's authority in the play. In the early modern period, the relationship between the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon was seen as multifaceted and subversive of power hierarchies.

Because the play *Sapientia Solomonis* literally links itself with Queen Elizabeth and her guest the Swedish Princess Cecilia of Baden, it problematizes their relationship too. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, the Epilogue praises Elizabeth I by comparing her to Solomon; she is as just, merciful, wise and as excellent of a servant to God as Solomon is. The Epilogue also draws parallels between Princess Cecilia and the Queen of Sheba as well as the relationship between Solomon and the queen with Elizabeth and Cecilia. The Epilogue defines the relationship between Elizabeth I and Cecilia and the language used asserts Elizabeth I's power over Cecilia as much as the analogy between the two women and the characters of the play does. By saying that Cecilia looks 'upon' the Queen or wishes to 'look upon' her, the epilogue places Elizabeth I metaphorically in a higher physical position than Cecilia. The Epilogue also acknowledges that the relationship between Elizabeth I and Cecilia is not based on equality but is completely on Elizabeth I's terms. The Epilogue says that Cecilia 'wishes' to see the queen often, which means that it is not for certain she shall do so. It also says 'may Cecilia enjoy her light', which means that the privilege to access the queen is conditional upon Elizabeth I's will. The play thus defines the hierarchy in the relationship between Elizabeth I and Cecilia by first asserting Solomon's authority over the Queen of Sheba, as we have seen in Scene 5.6, and then comparing Elizabeth I and Cecilia to them as we have seen in the Epilogue.

Courtly conduct is at the heart of negotiating power structures in early modern England and aids the making of new diplomatic relations at court. The play *Sapientia*

Solomonis challenges courtly conduct and the power structures themselves as the characters in the play manipulate the rules of courtly conduct to construct an order of power in their new international relations. By defining the relationship of Elizabeth I and Cecilia of Baden as an analogy of the relationship between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, their relationship is problematized too and the play becomes an active part of the negotiations of Elizabeth I's and Cecilia's relationship. The play *Sapientia Solomonis* actively asserts Elizabeth's power as a queen and Cecilia is used in the play to reinforce her authority.

3.4 The Political Significance of Scenes of Gift-Exchange in

Sapientia Solomonis

Whereas the humorous seating scene in *Sapientia Solomonis* problematizes the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia by asserting the English Queen's power, the gift-giving in the play goes further in reinforcing the hierarchical relationship between the two women. As this chapter has demonstrated so far, Cecilia and Elizabeth had established, developed, and cultivated their relationship for several years, first through the letter-exchange leading up to Cecilia's visit, then through gatherings around court events and personal visitations. However, at the time of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* their relationship was at a turning point. The change in their relationship was brought on by the financial difficulties that Cecilia and her husband got themselves in while living a life of luxury at the Elizabethan court. As I argued in the first section of this chapter, gifts played a role in building and maintaining the relationship between a patron and the patronized, like the Westminster School, who eager to display their appreciation of their royal patron, went beyond the expectations of financial investment laid out in the Statutes when producing the Christmas performances. Gift exchanges framed the relationship between the English Queen and the Swedish Princess, and the fictional gift scene in *Sapientia Solomonis* is a historical testament to the concerns around early modern court

gifts, shared by the members of the court. However, as this section argues, the gift-giving scene in the school's version of *Sapientia Solomonis* makes it clear that Cecilia falls short of her dramatic analogue, the Queen of Sheba. Furthermore, the scene results in a symbolic submission of the Swedish crown to the English. This section will begin by demonstrating the significance of gifts and how they were used to further the relationship between Cecilia and Elizabeth, it will then proceed to an analysis of the gift-giving scene in *Sapientia Solomonis*, to show how the play comments on the relationship between the two royal women in the audience.

The letter-exchange between Cecilia and Elizabeth was carefully crafted to develop their relationship, as earlier in the chapter, and gifts accompanied some of these letters as tools to further the relationship. For example, the first letter from Cecilia to the queen had 'with a token in it' according to John Keyle who was trusted to carry it to the English court.³²⁷ What this token was is unknown but it was most likely sent to demonstrate the Cecilia's well-meaning towards Elizabeth. Another example is the table ruby set into a ring that accompanied a letter dated March 16th, 1563, sent from Elizabeth to Cecilia. Heal notes that jewels were intimate presents and writes: 'Exchanges of great jewels, for example, were best confined to familial gestures of affection, or to the specific circumstances of marriage'.³²⁸ The fact that the queen and the princess exchanged jewels is a demonstration of their close – or their aspirations to form – a close relationship. A third example are the presents that Cecilia and Christopher sent Elizabeth as they journeyed through Europe towards England. A letter in Latin, corrected by Cecil, dated 27th June 1565, thanks the couple for the gifts and states that the queen will be glad to see them whenever they come to England.³²⁹ Gifts that accompanied the letters

³²⁷ SP 70/40 fol. 77, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589*, August 6 1562

³²⁸ Heal, p. 160.

³²⁹ SP 70/78 fol. 204, *The Queen to the Marquis and Marchioness Of Baden, 1558-1589*.

functioned as symbols for affection and worked to bring the two women closer prior to their first meeting.

During Cecilia's stay in England, gifts worked to publicly display their close relationship. Heal says that Christenings where Elizabeth stood as godparent were also an opportunity for 'a grand prestation', something that Cecilia experienced at the Christening of her son. Elizabeth, who stood as godparent together with the Duke of Norfolk and the Archbishop of Canterbury, gave Cecilia's son expensive gifts. His gown was so heavy with all the jewels and embroideries received that two male courtiers were appointed to relieve the lady-in-waiting of the weight of the child if needed.³³⁰ The luxuriously decorated christening gown was a physical manifestation of the significance of the event and the fact that the child was Elizabeth's godson. According to Tengborg Falkdalen, Elizabeth gave the child his name: Edvard Fortunatus, Edvard after her late brother, Edvard VI, and Fortunatus to signify Cecilia's successful arrival to England and the child's successful delivery.³³¹ The occasion bound Cecilia and Elizabeth closer to each other and the gifts that accompanied the occasion further signified Elizabeth's well-meaning towards Cecilia. Lastly, upon the princess departure from England she brought with her: 'certaine gifts of the Queene's Majestie, amongst the which one was a cup of gold with a cover, weighing 133 ounces and an halfe'.³³² Gifts thus framed Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship and played a crucial part in the establishing, furthering, and maintaining of their relationship.

However, as the almost four kilo heavy gold cup exemplifies, the custom of courtly gift exchanges was an expensive business and could put a tremendous strain on the donor. The burden of the expectation of costly gifts and hospitality were strongly felt by the Swedes and would ultimately lead to Cecilia's ill-fame at the court and distressing

³³⁰ Tengborg Falkdalen, p. 126.

³³¹ Tengborg Falkdalen, p. 126.

³³² Nichols, p. 200.

departure from England. Next I will outline the development of the financial difficulties accumulated during Denis Burrey (the first Swedish legate to present Eric XIV's proposal to Elizabeth), Nils Gyllenstierna (ambassador to Sweden 1561-1562), and Cecilia's stays in England, in order to better understand the Swedish princess's economic situation at the time of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, and to inform my analysis of how it comments on her shortcomings as a guest.

The monetary problems begun with Burrey as he did his utmost to represent Sweden in a grand manner. The accounts for Burrey's stay in England reveal that he worked hard to grow his reputation and increase his influence at the English court by moving house and investing in things such as furnishings and silverware.³³³ For the first three months of 1561 he daily fed a household of 138 people.³³⁴ In addition to being hospitable, Burrey gifted Cecil with Johannes Magnus's *Historia Gothorum*, which the history of the Goths and the Swethes, and his brother, Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, the history of the Nordic poeple.³³⁵ Both works are substantial volumes, where *Historia Gothorum* (Rome, 1554) contains twenty-four books, and *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555) consists of 42 leaves, an engraved map, and several woodcuts.³³⁶ Burrey's generosity and expensive lifestyle drove him to take out loans, which would affect both Gyllenstierna and Cecilia.³³⁷

Upon his arrival to England, Gyllenstierna had to pay the expenses of his predecessor, while also being expected to take part in the expensive lifestyle at the Elizabethan court, which eventually drove him into deep debt. Burrey's debt turned out

³³³ Landberg, 'Dionysius Beurraeus'.

³³⁴ Landberg, 'Dionysius Beurraeus'.

³³⁵ Landberg, 'Dionysius Beurraeus'.

³³⁶ Johannes Magnus, *Goternas och Svearnas Historia* (tranl. Kurt Jihannesson)

<<https://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/JohannesMagnus/titlar/GoternasOchSvearnas/sida/I/faksimil>> [accessed 8 August 2019] and Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (J.M. de Vottis: Rome, 1555), The Wellcome Library, <London <https://search-proquest-com.chain.kent.ac.uk/emb/docview/2090359301/citation/37CE2B74FEE540DFPQ/1?accountid=7408>> [accessed 8 August 2019]

³³⁷ Landberg, 'Dionysius Beurraeus'.

to be more expansive than he first accounted for. When the discrepancy was discovered, Burrey claimed it to be interest and expenses added after his departure, and Gyllenstierna was expected to pay it all back.³³⁸ Furthermore, Gyllenstierna felt the burden of someone expected to give gifts, for in a letter to Eric XIV, dated 1561, Gyllenstierna complains about the expectations among Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting to be gifted gold robes, 'which is not of little cost'.³³⁹ Throughout his stay, Gyllenstierna accumulated a vast amount of debt, and borrowed means from men such as John Dymock and Lionel Duckett.³⁴⁰ Duckett (d. 1587) was a wealthy merchant and prominent figure in London with a close contact with the court, and together with a group of leading merchants, Duckett regularly lent money to the crown in the 1560s and 1570s.³⁴¹ Upon Gyllenstierna's departure from England, Sweden's debt to Dymock and Duckett had reached an amount of £12,000.³⁴² With the Swedish crown's promise to pay the debt, Gyllenstierna left England.³⁴³

There would be no Swedish delegate in England until Cecilia's visit but in the interim, the Swedish debt brought the English merchant John Dymock back to Sweden (his first visit being with John Keyle in 1562) and soon Cecilia and her husband Christopher would also owe him, and other Englishmen money. Dymock and another English merchant by the surname Westlin spent parts of 1563 in Sweden attempting to collect Gyllenstierna's debt.³⁴⁴ Westlin also claimed that Cecilia had borrowed 1,500 thaler from him,³⁴⁵ a debt which Dymock had taken over.³⁴⁶ Furthermore, on their journey through Europe towards England, Cecilia and Christopher ran low on funds and borrowed money along the way, and on August 11, 1565, while they were in East

³³⁸Landberg, 'Dionysius Beurraeus'.

³³⁹Tengborg Falkdalen, p. 128.

³⁴⁰Ödberg, p. 64.

³⁴¹John C. Appelby, 'Duckett, Sir Lionel' <<https://doi-org.chain.kent.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/49749>> [accessed 11 August 2019]

³⁴²Appelby, 'Duckett, Sir Lionel',

³⁴³Andersson, 'Nils Gyllenstierna'.

³⁴⁴Ödberg, p. 50.

³⁴⁵Thaler, or dollar, were silver coins used in Eurpoe. See 'thaler', *OED*.

³⁴⁶Ödberg, p. 50.

Friesland, they tasked George North to travel to England and lend them £10,000 from Duckett. On their arrival in England, Cecilia and Christopher thus already owed Englishmen money.

Cecilia and Christopher's debt grew larger as the couple partook in the expensive life at the Elizabethan court, and would ultimately lead to many miserable events during their stay. By November, Christopher had left England to access funds from his dealings in Germany in order to ease the economic pressure, and Elizabeth helped the couple with a grant of 2000 crowns so that they could remain.³⁴⁷ Yet, Cecilia's situation did not improve and on March 19th, she complained to Elizabeth that one of her lenders had imprisoned her Secretary and spread malicious rumours that she was planning to leave England without paying her debts.³⁴⁸ Moreover, upon his return to England, Christopher visited his wife at the Earl of Arundel's house, and in an attempt to avoid their creditors he reputedly avoided court and disguised himself 'as a mean man with his beard cut'.³⁴⁹ On March 30th, when he was making his way back to Calais, he was captured and put in prison in Rochester for a debt of £5,000. The queen sent one of her men to restore him, but the rumours had started to spread and the pressure on the couple worsened. On April 4th, for example, several men wrote to the court and complained about the couple's outstanding debts which if not paid would mean that 'they, their poor wives, children and families be utterly undone, and all others discouraged for ever occupying as they have done to them the like favour unto any stranger'.³⁵⁰ On April 12th, Cecilia pawned jewels, silverware, and clothes for an amount of £2,500 as security for Dymock and others.³⁵¹ However, this was not enough for before Cecilia and her entourage were able to board

³⁴⁷ Tengberg Falkdalen, p. 129 and Morison and Bell, p. 214.

³⁴⁸ 'Cecilia to Elizabeth', Morison, p. 214.

³⁴⁹ 'John Dudley to his Master, the Earl of Leicester', Morison and Bell, p. 219.

³⁵⁰ 'To the Right Honourable the Lords and others of the Queen's Maj. Privy Council', Morison and Bell, p. 216.

³⁵¹ Ödberg, p. 71.

their ship, Dymock and North seized both the ship and fourteen chests of Cecilia's belongings, as well as ten or twelve chests belonging to her maids as security for her and the Swedish crown's debts.³⁵² Burrey, Gyllenstierna, Cecilia and Christopher accumulated a debt which culminated in the confiscation of Cecilia's belongings on her departure. By the time of the Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in January 1565/6, then, the Cecilia was still taking part in the Elizabethan court life, but had begun to feel the economic pressure building. The performance event thus took place at a pivotal moment of Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship, when Cecilia was struggling to maintain her respected status at court, and the city of London. I will now turn to analyse Scene 5.6 of *Sapientia Solomonis* in order to show how the scene comments on Cecilia and her shortcomings as a guest.

The gift-giving scene in the school's version of the *Sapientia Solomonis* makes it clear that Cecilia falls short of her dramatic analog. There are significant differences between the gift-giving scene in Westminster School's version of *Sapientia Solomonis* and that of Sixt Birck's version, and although it is possible that these alterations were made for the 1560 performance at Cambridge, I wish to suggest that the visual spectacle created by the changes make it more plausible that they were specifically tailored for the royal performance in 1565/6. Furthermore, it is likely that the scene was written for the Westminster School performance because it served to politicise the performance before the queen and Cecilia, a changing of focus from instructional civility to a glittering visual marvel that comments on Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship.

The focus of Birck's version of the drama is on the human exchange and pleasantries, rather than the gifts themselves. At the beginning of Act 5.4, in Birck's version of the play, a short stage direction outlines the scene: Sabae doat regi munera,

³⁵² Ödberg, 73.

miratur eius aedificia, famulitium. Et hinc colligit, sapientiam eius opinion maiorem esse.

Itur postea ad conuiuium.³⁵³ Further on the scene we see the following exchange:

RE. [...] O Rex serene. Verum eunuche nunc tuum
Fac manus: affer haec, ego quae tradidi.
EV. Auri talenta sunt hic, hic aromata.

The Queen of Sheba asks the Eunuch to give the king the gifts she has brought for him and the Eunuch presents the king with talents of gold and spices. The Queen of Sheba gives King Solomon only the essence of what the Queen of Sheba in the Bible does. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* Kings 1:10 reads: dedit ergo regi centum viginti talenta auri et aromata multa nimis et gemmas pretiosas non sunt adlata ultra aromata tam multa quam ea quae dedit regina Saba regi Salomoni. In the Bible version of the scenario the Queen of Sheba gives Solomon gold, spices and stones. More importantly, each gift is qualified either by a number or an adjective, which modifies its value; there are *one hundred and twenty* talents of gold, *many* spices, and *precious* stones. These words emphasize the multiplicity of the gifts and their lavishness. The Bible also states that the spices exceeded anything that ever came to King Solomon since the Queen of Sheba's visit, and again makes clear that the Queen of Sheba's gifts were luxurious and made an everlasting impression on King Solomon. In contrary to this Bible account, Birck refrains from specifying how many talents of gold the Queen of Sheba gives, or from referencing the excess of spices that is given. Birck's focus lies not with the lavishness of the gifts but on the act of giving and on the further symbolic meaning of the gifts. The line exchange between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba following the gift-giving concern itself more with the customs of gift exchanges rather than the gifts themselves. The Queen of Sheba addresses the custom that you should not praise 'a royal personage without first seeking favor by a pleasing

³⁵³ 'Sheba presents rich gifts to the king. She marvels at his palace [and] household servants, which impress her with his superior wisdom. Then she goes into the banquet.'

gift'.³⁵⁴ Solomon first objects mildly and says that 'I know not whether it is fitting that those who 'have less should give to those who are already rich'.³⁵⁵ He then proceeds to express his appreciation of the gifts. Birck devotes more lines and consequently more time to discussing customs than to describing the gifts and thus lays the focus on the civilized act of giving rather than on the luxurious objects that are given.

By stripping the 'gold' and 'spices' of any premodifiers that the words carry in their Biblical counterparts, the Eunuch's line in Birck's drama may well have drawn early modern spectators' mind to the gold and spices that were given to Christ at the beginning of his life in the Bible. These words reinforce the typological link between the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, and that of the Magi to Jesus. At the birth of Jesus the Magi come to greet the new born with gifts. Mattheus 2:11 (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*) reads: Et intrantes domum invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius et procidentibus adiuverunt eum et apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera aurum tus et murrum.³⁵⁶ The gold (aurum) given by the Queen of Sheba recall the gold given by the Magi, and the spices in the Solomon story is linked to the frankincense (tus) and myrrah (murrum) at the scene of the Nativity. As discussed in Chapter 2, there were typological links between the narrative of the Queen of Sheba's gift-giving, and the Magi's offering of gifts at the Nativity. As we shall see, the scene of the gift giving in Westminster School's performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* generates a complete different set of associations.

In the Westminster School version as presented in the BL copy of the play-text, more focus is given on the gifts themselves. Here, the Eunuch shares his first line with

³⁵⁴ Rogers Payne, p. 123.

Scio receptum passim more gentium, / Ne quis salutet regium temerè caput, / Quin hoc prius placet uenusto munere'. Birck, p. 42.

³⁵⁵ Rogers Payne, p. 123.

'Mos est quidem, sed nescio an probabilis, / Vt qui minus habent, diuitioribus addant: sed interim quiesce paululum'. Birck, p. 42.

³⁵⁶ On entering the house they saw the child with Mary his mother, and falling down they adored him: and opening their treasures, they offered him gifts; gold, frankincense and myrrh.

the Eunuch in Birck's version of the drama, however in the adapted text he is given five more lines:

EUN. Auri talenta sunt hic, hic aromata.
Hic palla signis diues & auro rigens,
Monile collo nobile, eccum, region.
En, hic velamen textum Acantho croceo, hic
Corona gemmis Arabumque auro fulgida,
Diadema, rex, hoc est capite dignum tuo.

In contrast to Birck's drama that only lists two gifts, the BL copy lists six gifts that the Queen of Sheba gives Solomon through the Eunuch: talents of gold, spices, a garment stiff with gold embroidery, a noble necklace, a veil woven with saffron coloured acanthus, a crown made with gems and Arabian gold. Because the lines of the Eunuch are expanded upon, the gifts take a more prominent role in the adapted text and the objects given link this scene to Elizabeth and Cecilia. The gifts establish Elizabeth's authority over Cecilia, and put pressure on the Swedish Princess's economic situation. As the Eunuch delivers his lines the gifts would have been paraded on stage, perhaps carried by the Queen of Sheba's soldiers, and displayed to the audience. The gifts increase in value one by one and the ultimate gift is the bejewelled crown. In the light of the torches that lit the hall, the gold, the bejewelled necklace, and bejewelled crown would have glittered and sent off colourful reflections all over the hall. In turn, the garment with the rich embroidery and the saffron coloured veil would have taken on a golden sheen that would have competed with the fabric worn by the significant audience members. The six gifts would have created a colourful, glittering spectacle, something that the two gifts in Birck's drama would struggle to achieve.

When the jewellery and fabrics are put together they form a royal attire for King Solomon, one, which also resembled the ensemble that Elizabeth I wore at her own coronation in 1559. The National Portrait Gallery, London, holds an oil painting called 'The Coronation Portrait' that depicts Elizabeth I in her coronation gown (See Figure 4

below). In the painting we see Elizabeth clad in a golden silk gown with patterns in silver; running down from her shoulders is the State mantle, also of a golden fabric, with embroideries of Tudor Roses, leaves, and fleur-de-lis.³⁵⁷



Figure 4: Queen Elizabeth I, Unknown English Artist, Oil on Panel, (c. 1600), National Portrait Gallery, London.

The saffron coloured floral patterned veil and the garment with gold embroideries that the Queen of Sheba offers to Solomon reference the gold fabric in Elizabeth's gown and the State mantle that were covered in flowers and foliage. It is also worth noting that the word the Eunuch uses, 'palla', refers to a woman's garment. The entry for 'palla' in Thomas's *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587), reads: '*A womans gowne, robe or garment: a short garment like a shorte cloke with sleeues, called a pallecoate*'.³⁵⁸ Rogers Payne translates the word into 'mantle', which to some extent is correct, but not specific enough

³⁵⁷ The portrait itself is thought to be a copy from a now lost original from circa 1559. National Portrait Gallery, 'Queen Elizabeth I', <<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02070/Queen-Elizabeth-I?LinkID=mp01452&search=sas&sText=Elizabeth+I&OConly=true&role=sit&rNo=12>> [accessed 14 December 2015].

³⁵⁸ Thomas, image 336 of 517 in *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/chain.kent.ac.uk/search/full_rec?EboId=99839248&ACTION=ByID&SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ID=99839248&FILE=.%2Fsession%2F1450192521_21539&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&VID=3652&PAGENO=336&ZOOM=150&VIEWPORT=&CENTREPOS=&RESULTCLICK=&GOTOPAGENO=&ZOOMLIST=150&ZOOMTEXTBOX=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR> [accessed 15 December 2015].

for our purposes.³⁵⁹ As a word, ‘mantle’ has changed meaning throughout history and OED says:

The word was formerly applied indiscriminately to the outer garments of men, women, and children; at times it referred to various specific pieces of clothing. Its application is now chiefly restricted to long cloaks worn by women and to the robes worn by royal, ecclesiastical, and other dignitaries on ceremonial occasions.

As such, it is a gender-neutral word that does not carry the same associations as ‘palla’ does. The appearance of the garment is close to that of Elizabeth’s coronation gown depicted in ‘The Coronation Portrait’ and the fact that the word ‘palla’ refers to a women’s garment emphasize the link between the two garments. The jewellery described by the Eunuch would further the link to Elizabeth I’s coronation attire. In the painting we see a carcanet around Elizabeth’s shoulders and a crown upon her head, both set with rubies, sapphires, pearls, and diamonds. The necklace for Solomon’s noble neck (*collo nobile*) would have been a splendid affair and represents the carcanet Elizabeth wears in the portrait. The ultimate gift is the crown, made with exotic gold and gems it is in itself a glittering (*fulgida*) spectacle. The coronation attire is now complete.

When the Queen of Sheba presents the attire to Solomon she recognizes him as a true king and acknowledges his superiority over her. The inscribed link between Cecilia and the Queen of Sheba in the play means that Cecilia metaphorically acknowledges Elizabeth as the true queen and this compromises Cecilia’s royal status. Ascribing Elizabeth to Solomon in the play is also to ascribe his attributes as the wisest and most powerful ruler in the world onto her, and by letting the foreign monarch submit to him is to render that foreign monarch less powerful. Cecilia, princess of Sweden and sister to King Eric XIV of Sweden serves the interests of Sweden but by letting her counterpart in the play acknowledge another ruler as her ruler, it also suggests that Cecilia is, or should

³⁵⁹ Rogers Payne, p. 121.

be, Elizabeth's subject. The play is thus using Cecilia to emphasize Elizabeth's significance.

Furthermore, the gifts in the Westminster School version of *Sapientia Solomonis*, as presented in the BL copy, echo Aeneas's gifts to Dido in Virgil's *The Aeneid*. Aeneas gift five items to Dido and four of these are identical to the gifts the Queen of Sheba gives to King Solomon in *Sapientia Solomonis*. In the *Aeneid* the four gifts are described as follows:

pallam signis auroque rigentem,
et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,
ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
extulerat, matris Ladae mirabile donum:
[...] colloque monile
bacatum, et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.³⁶⁰

Although the pedigree of the gifts is more elaborated in *The Aeneid*, the physical description of the objects very similar in the BL copy, where only a few variations occur; the mantle is stiff with gold embroidery in both stories, however necklace is beaded in *The Aeneid*, the mantle is woven, not fringed, with saffron-coloured acanthus in the BL copy, and there is a double circlet of jewelled gold in *The Aeneid*, whereas the queen gifts a crown made with gems and Arabian gold in *Sapientia Solomonis*.

As the gift-giving scene was most likely made especially for the Westminster School performance, this literary call back to *The Aeneid* worked to comment on Cecilia's untrustworthiness. Later in Elizabeth's reign, she was compared to Dido in order to praise her as a politically powerful unmarried female monarch in works such as Christopher Marlowe's and Thomas Nashe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage*, dated to somewhere between 1585 and 1588.³⁶¹ Here, the links between the Aeneas, the Queen of Sheba, and Cecilia are important, all three are foreigners, having travelled far and wide to reach their

³⁶⁰ The Aeneid of Virgil, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22456/22456-h/22456-h.htm#BOOK_FIRST> [accessed 26 October 2019].

³⁶¹ Deanne Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', in *ELH*, 73 (2006), pp. 31-59, p. 31.

respective royal host. As I noted above, the Queen of Sheba carried associations of subverted power and was therefore a challenging character. Aeneas was likewise problematical in that he abandoned Dido soon after she developed her love for him, which sent her into such grave despair that she took her own life and cursed him. These are two devious characters that the Westminster School production parallels to Cecilia, who is already known for being in economic troubles and not trusted with her own creditors. The play is thus suggesting that Cecilia is as deceitful as the Queen of Sheba and Aeneas.

There is evidence that court entertainment that commented on Cecilia and Christopher's difficulties made a lasting impression on Cecilia. In a list of complaints made by Cecilia, dated November 30th, 1571, she details grievances against her that she experienced during her stay in England. Among the injuries listed is a comedy performed at court:

an other tyme she beinge bydden to see a *commodye* plaued, there was a blackeman brought in, and as he was of an evill favored countenance, so was he in like *manner* full of leawde, spitfull and skournefull wordes *which* she said dyd represent the *marques* her husband.³⁶²

The experience of having her husband scornfully represented publicly had such a lasting impact that Cecilia remembered it six years afterwards. In addition, on February 25th, 1565/6, her friend, the Earl of Arundel, advised her to not visit the queen because he had seen a comedy acted at court that portrayed Cecilia's struggles for all to laugh at.³⁶³ Only a month after the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis*, Cecilia and Christopher's situation had become so controversial that performance was used to ostracise them from court. Ethel Seaton hypothesises that Cecilia probably was referring to this comedy in her list of complaints, or alternatively, to *Sapientia Solomonis*:

it seems possible that Cecilia, already perhaps a little irritated by the Sheba comparison which, hinted at in the subject of the play, is explicitly

³⁶² SP 70/121 fol. 32, 'The Lady Cecilia of Baden'.

³⁶³ Seaton, *Queen Elizabeth & a Swedish Princess*, pp. 21-22 and Tegenborg Falkdalen, p. 129.

expressed in the epilogue, too hastily assumed that the comic clown Marcolphus, who abuses the workmen and their insolence, was meant for her husband the Margrave.³⁶⁴

Seaton, then, does not read Marcolph as a representation of Christopher, but believed that Cecilia finds injury where there is none intended. Because of the lack of further evidence, it is impossible to ascertain whether Cecilia is referring to the character of Marcolph, the comedy she was told about in February, or another performance altogether, however, what these examples demonstrate is that court performance played a role in putting pressure on Cecilia and Christopher, and that a performance such as *Sapientia Solomonis* could have been one that made a lasting impression on the Swedish princess.

Gifts were a central part of early modern court life and Elizabeth and Cecilia sent gifts with their letters as tokens for their affection towards each other, which consolidated their relationship. However, the expectations surrounding gift-exchanges and hospitality drove Denis Burrey, Nils Gyllenstierna, Cecilia and Christopher deep into debt, and so by the time Cecilia arrived in England, she was already closely observed by English creditors such as John Dymock, George North, and Lionel Duckett. The performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* took place at a pivotal time in Cecilia's stay in England, as the court had begun to turn against her and her husband. The gift-giving episode of *Sapientia Solomonis* was most probably written especially for the Westminster School performance and make multiple comments on Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship, and on Cecilia in particular. As the drama draws a link between Cecilia and the Queen of Sheba, *Sapientia Solomonis* comments on Cecilia's failures as a guest by displaying the generosity of the fictional guest. When the Queen of Sheba offers King Solomon an ensemble that represents Elizabeth's coronation attire, the drama suggests the submission of Sweden to England. Furthermore, the majority of gifts in the Westminster School version of *Sapientia Solomonis* resemble

³⁶⁴ Seaton, *Queen Elizabeth & a Swedish Princess*, pp. 21-22.

those that Aeneas gave to Dido in Virgil's *The Aeneid*. The production thus drew connections between Aeneas, the Queen of Sheba, and Cecilia as a way of alluding to Cecilia's untrustworthiness.

Conclusion

The official relationship between the Westminster School and the court was centred around Elizabeth's patronage of the School. The patronage was mutually beneficial for both parties, as the School had the protection and interest of the queen and the court was catered with entertainment. Using the lens of patronage and gift-exchange in looking at Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship and the political significance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, reveals that the school succeeded with what Cecilia did not, it successfully repaid their patron. In this chapter I have demonstrated the way in which Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship was formed through a letter-exchange, gift-exchanges, and meetings. In the Autumn of 1565, contemporary accounts reveal an affectionate and intense relationship. However, by the time of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* Cecilia's status at court had changed. At a time when creditors were breathing down Cecilia's neck for debt that had been accumulated through over five years, by several different people, the display of the Queen of Sheba's gift to King Solomon paraded on stage and her submission to him make it clear that Cecilia was not the ideal guest as portrayed by the Queen of Sheba. The production thus took place during a crucial change in Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship. This is yet another example of how the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* problematizes the relationship between the two women. So far, I have analysed scenes from the play either within the context of the larger historical context, or within the framework of theories of iconography. In the next chapter I examine the drama from the perspective of text in performance. Performance space, props, and costuming were all instrumental components in creating a visual

spectacle worthy of a royal performance, and will further demonstrate how the event negotiated Cecilia and Elizabeth's relationship.

Chapter 4

Critical Perspectives: Performance

Introduction

It is January 17th, 1565/6, and the College Hall of Westminster School is ready for performance: twelve torches shed light on the performance space, where a beautiful backdrop of Jerusalem, especially made for the performance, hangs to set the scene, and two tiring houses frame the performance space.³⁶⁵ As the distinguished audience members enter the space, Elizabeth I, Princess Cecilia of Sweden, and the queen's council, they become surrounded by the fragrance of perfume and see the glimmer and glow of the gold foiled letters of the title of the performance in the light.³⁶⁶ The Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* is about to begin.

This performance, however, was not only provided for entertainment, *Sapientia Solomonis* played an instrumental role in negotiating relationships between the school and their royal patron, as discussed in Chapter 3, the court and their queen, as discussed in Chapter 1 and 3, as well as that between Elizabeth and Cecilia, as argued throughout this thesis. This chapter builds on previous chapters and argues that contrary to what many scholars have previously believed, the producer of *Sapientia Solomonis* was not the court, but the Westminster School. It will further demonstrate that more effort and time went into producing the performance than any other Westminster School production in the 1560s, which strongly suggests that there was a concern to provide an adequate spectacle for the occasion and that much weight was laid on the political significance of the event. Staging, lighting, make-up, music, and the actor-audience relationship were all part of the

³⁶⁵ Rogers Payne, p. 43 and WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

³⁶⁶ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

performance spectacle, and in this chapter I argue that this spectacle was used to negotiate Elizabeth's relationship with her council, and her distinguished guest, Cecilia.

Accounts detailing the costs of several performances in the 1560s provide necessary information regarding the practice for putting on plays at the Westminster School and informs our understanding of the relationship between the school and the Revels Office. Some of these documents have been published elsewhere, and discussed to some extent; for example, a transcription of WAM 43049, was reproduced in *Athenaeum* (1903) and the first leaf of WAM 54000 has been reproduced in Tanner and Rogers Payne, the latter who also provided a transcription of it.³⁶⁷ In his PhD thesis *Tudor Drama in Tudor Education*, David Blewitt, produced transcriptions of six accounts. Blewitt's transcriptions can be used to give an idea of the content and payments of the productions they refer to, however, misinterpretations such as 'Benger' for 'Denyer', and sugar for 'finger' mean that it was necessary to produce fresh transcriptions. In order to gain a fresh perspective and revise the earlier work on WAM 43049, WAM 54000, WAM 38544 and WAM 38543, I have transcribed them anew. These transcriptions, as well as my transcriptions of the other documents, are provided in appendices, and will I reference them as needed below. Studying these documents alongside several hitherto unseen documents enables me to provide a new and recent perspective on this play, and provide a unique insight into the process of putting on productions at Westminster School.

In the first section of this chapter I analyse never before discussed Westminster Abbey Muniment records of performances put on by the Westminster School in the 1560s. These records allow me to situate the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* within a Westminster School performance tradition in a way that has not been done before, and enables me to comment on the political significance of the performance of *Sapientia*

³⁶⁷ *The Athenaeum* Feb. 14, 1903; Tanner; and Rogers Payne, inserted leaves between pp. 40-41.

Solomonis in comparison to other productions put on by the school. Also, through analysing these records I am here able to discern the role which the Revels Office and the Master of the Revels had in these productions and challenge assumptions made by past scholars.

Fortunately, the original performance space of *Sapientia Solomonis* still exists today: Westminster School College Hall. In the second section I use the architecture of the College Hall to imagine the organisation of the performance space, and to explore not only actor-audience relationships but the relationship between individual audience members. Early modern halls were inherently hierarchical spaces. These spaces were symbolically organised, and I argue that the hierarchical structure of the hall and the positioning of the performance space worked to negotiate the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia.

The Westminster Abbey Muniment records offer a unique insight to performance details of the Westminster School productions in the 1560s, such as costuming, lights, make-up, scenography, music, and props. In the third section of this chapter I examine these documents alongside the play-text in order to explore how the spectacle of *Sapientia Solomonis* was designed to negotiate Elizabeth's relationships with her council and Cecilia. In this section I argue that the cost of the production demonstrates that both school and court viewed the event as politically significant for Anglo-Swedish relations.

4.1 Producing the Westminster School Performance

The Westminster School performances were performed at the school before the court, and not at court, which has resulted in a debate regarding its status as a 'court' play. On the one hand, Michael Shapiro writes that '[a]lthough *Sapientia Solomonis* is listed in many reference works as a court play, strictly speaking it is not: it was not performed at one of

the royal palaces in or near London but on the grounds of Westminster Abbey'.³⁶⁸

According to Shapiro, a court play must be staged at a royal building. On the other hand, Streitberger claims that the court was not a place but

an *event* that was created each time the queen and her high-ranking courtiers congregated, as they did on progress during summers. The audience for *Sapientia* included the queen, her councillors, and Cecilia, and the occasion had both dynastic and state magnificence.³⁶⁹

The performance event of *Sapientia Solomonis*, according to Streitberger, was therefore a court play. Astington includes *Sapientia Solomonis*, as well as other Westminster performances, in his list of court plays. However, he has wrongfully assigned Whitehall as the location for some of these performances; perhaps had he known that they were performed at Westminster School, these plays might have not been included in his list. The contradicting categorisations of *Sapientia Solomonis* underline the fact that the performance was both a court performance and a school performance, despite the fact that scholars call it one or the other. To retrospectively categorise a performance as either a court or school production does not adequately reflect the complexities surrounding the productions in regards to whom is producing them, and their role in systems of patronage. *Sapientia Solomonis* was performed before the court but the fact that it was not performed in a court building was of consequence for the production of the play and made a difference in who were responsible for it. In this section, I argue that although the Master of the Revels played a part in the production, the Westminster School was the producer of *Sapientia Solomonis*.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, the Humanist programme of studies meant that Classical dramas were studied and performed as a part of the English school curriculum in the 1500s. In 1543, Alexander Nowell (c. 1516-1602) was made Master of the Westminster School and he adopted a more Humanist curriculum, instigating the

³⁶⁸ Shapiro, 'Early (Pre 1590) Boy Companies and their Acting Venues', p. 2.

³⁶⁹ Streitberger, p. 82.

study of Terence and Greek Biblical texts with the older scholars.³⁷⁰ In addition to playing a role in the children's education in developing skills in grammar, rhetoric, and writing skills insisting that they 'wright owt their parte(s)',³⁷¹ the performances were used to emphasise Elizabeth I's magnificence. In the early Tudor period entertainments at court were the responsibility of the Lord Chamberlain, and a Master of the Revels was employed when needed. According to Richard Dutton:

[t]he Master of the Revels, like so many royal officials, was one whose office had been created on an *ad hoc* basis, in this case under Henry VII to deal with the practical business of staging masques, disguisings and other courtly entertainments.³⁷²

As the importance of - and demand for - court entertainments increased during the reign of Henry VIII, 'it was found necessary to appoint a Master of the Revels full-time and for life, as a functionary in the Lord Chamberlain's office'.³⁷³ When Elizabeth came to power she brought with her staff members from her former household, such as Sir Thomas Parry (c. 1515-1560), Elizabeth I's coffer,³⁷⁴ and Sir Thomas Benger (?-1572). In 1560, Benger, former auditor in Elizabeth I's household at Hatfield, was appointed Master of the Revels and served as such until his death in 1572.³⁷⁵

The Revels Office was involved in all the Westminster School productions in the 1560s I have located accounts for, but he was not the producer. I have already discussed how the court made use of their relationship with the Westminster School to use their performances in the courts entertainment programme in lieu of an adult theatre company, in Chapter 3. According to Streitberger,

[Benger] responded to this situation mainly by producing plays by boy companies closely associated with the queen. The Children of the Chapel

³⁷⁰ Stanford Lehmborg, 'Alexander Nowell', <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/chain.kent.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20378?rskey=vvMyNg&result=2>> [accessed 3 May 2018].

³⁷¹ WAM 38544, see Appendix 1.

³⁷² Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, p. 32.

³⁷³ Richard Dutton, p. 32.

³⁷⁴ David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (London: B.T Batsford Ltd, 1986), p. 57.

³⁷⁵ Astington, p. 19.

Royal and of Windsor Chapel were part of the queen's household, and the Children of Paul's and the Children of Westminster were indebted to her for patronage.³⁷⁶

Streitberger also counts *Sapientia Solomonis* as one of two surviving children's plays produced by the Master of the Revels, but as I will demonstrate below this is inaccurate as *Sapientia Solomonis* was produced by the school.³⁷⁷ In fact, when we look into the accounts for the expenses of the performance it will show a far more complex production process than Streitberger indicated when he notes that Benger produced it. In fact, not only did the school have the ultimate responsibility for this play (as a result of its written Statutes), the accounts reveal that the school organised and paid for the majority of the elements in putting on the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*.

Accounts for Westminster School plays produced in the 1560s provide a unique insight to the production of the plays and through analysing these documents, I am able to reveal that the Revels Office did play a role in the productions of the performances, however, this role was varied. There are two explicit references to Benger in these accounts. First, at least one play was rehearsed before Benger. WAM 43049 lists expenses for two plays that were performed in 1564/5, *Miles Gloriosus*, written by the Roman playwright Plautus, and *Heautontimoroumenos*, by the Roman playwright Terence. The first payment in the list is of six pence for 'Imp(ri)mis att ye rehersing before Sir Thomas Benger for // pinnes & suger candee'.³⁷⁸ It was the Master of the Revels's responsibility to ensure that what was being performed before the queen was fitting for the occasion and that the subject matter of the performance was a suitable one. The Master could either read the playbook or watch a rehearsal prior to the performance, and he had the authority to edit and censor the performance as he saw fit.³⁷⁹ The pins in the entry probably refers

³⁷⁶ Streitberger, p. 80.

³⁷⁷ Streitberger, p. 80.

³⁷⁸ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

³⁷⁹ Dutton, p. 34.

to pins for the costumes, and as anyone who has been in long rehearsals can testify, candy is an excellent motivator and was perhaps given to the children, or perhaps to Benger. Benger was thus directly involved in the rehearsals of at least one play in 1564.

The play rehearsed before Benger was probably *Miles Gloriosus*, and not *Heutontimorumenos*, because *Miles Gloriosus* was performed ‘befor the Quenes maiestee’.³⁸⁰ It is not clear whether or not *Heutontimorumenos* was rehearsed before Benger or performed for the queen also. The description of the list of expenses reads:

The expences of twoo playes for Heautontimorumenos Terentij
And Miles gloriosus Plauti
Plaied by the children of the
gramer schoole in the college
of westminster & before the
Queenes maieste a 1564

This description is either saying that *Heutontimorumenos* and *Miles Gloriosus* were both performed before Elizabeth I, or that the expenses are for *Heutontimorumenos* and also for *Miles Gloriosus*, the latter of which was performed before the queen. Following the entry for ‘rehering before Sir Thomas Benger’ is a cost for ‘the second tyme att the playing of heautonti. /for pinnes half A thowsand’. Again we see a cost for pins, but there is no mention of Benger, rehearsal, or sugar candy, which might indicate that this entry refers to a performance of the play rather than a rehearsal of it. This reference to *Heutontimorumenos* is the only explicit mention of that play in the list of expenses. In fact, there are several more specific references to *Miles Gloriosus* and ‘one Plautus’ than to *Heutontimorumenos*, suggesting the urge to distinguish the performance event of *Miles Gloriosus* with its royal audience from the other play, which might not have had a royal audience. Among the surviving Westminster Abbey Muniment documents, the list of expenses for 1564/5 is the only document that explicitly states that a play was rehearsed before Benger. The Master of the Revels is mentioned by name in one other record:

³⁸⁰ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

‘The expences of A comedie of Plautus, vr Rudens’ performed for the Council on February sixth, in 1566/7.³⁸¹ The payment is not given to Bengier himself, but to ‘his man for his paines / in going to the Revell(es) w(ith) a warrante from his maister / for to haue attyre for the plaires’. Bengier was thus responsible for authorising the lending of costumes from the Revels Office for the play in 1566/7.

Although no other Westminster Abbey Document directly refers to Bengier, the Revels Office had a hand in all performances we have documents for. The lists of expenses for all six plays contain payments towards boat hire for transporting costumes from the Revels Office to the Westminster School, and back again.³⁸² That the cost of transporting costumes fell to the school sets the Westminster school performances apart from other court plays. The Revels Office was located in the Blackfriars at the beginning of Elizabeth I’s reign but moved in 1560 to ‘the north-west edge of the city of London, in Clerkenwell, north of Smithfield: the Priory of St John of Jerusalem, the gatehouse to which still stands’.³⁸³ Because of its location, transport was essential in moving goods to and from the Revels Office and ‘one constant budget item in the accounts was for the cost of transport, by waggon and barge, of the “Revels Stuff”, as it was commonly called, to the palaces where it was needed’.³⁸⁴ For drama taking place at court the Revels Office appears to have had the responsibility for the ‘Revels Stuff’ moving between the Office and the place of performance, whereas for the Westminster School Play the school footed the transport bill.

³⁸¹ WAM 38544, see Appendix 3.

³⁸² The price for the boat hire varies, for example, there are two expenses for boat hire in the year *Miles Gloriosus* and *Heautontimoroumenos* were performed, one for four pence, the other for six pence. Another payment of six pence towards boat hire is made in 1566 (7), whereas in 1565 (6), the year of *Sapientia Solomonis*, there are again two expenses for boat hire, each at a price of twenty-one pence. The list of expenses for the performance at Putney contains a payment of merely two shillings, perhaps because of its location in relation to the Revels Office.

³⁸³ Astington, p. 13.

³⁸⁴ Astington, p. 12.

The school was responsible for fitting the costumes on the child players and they would pay someone for the task. In 1564/5, two payments were made towards the fitting of the costumes: one of twelve pence for ‘A woman attiring y^e children’; the other for four pence ‘bestowed vppon three gentlewomen that did attyre / the childrene.³⁸⁵ For the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* two shillings are ‘geuen to A taylor for making fytt the childrene(s) / attyre attending vppon them one hole daye’, and for the performance of *Menaechmi* before the council the same year twelve pence are ‘geuen to A taylor working one hole daye in / making fytt the childrene attyre’. The following year, the school performed ‘A comedie of Plautus, vr Rudens’ for the council and two payments are made towards attiring the players: three shillings are ‘geuen to two tailers for making thattyre fit / for the plaiers’; and thirteen pence are ‘geuen vnto two of m(aster) Perin(es) maides for / attyring the children’.³⁸⁶ The most common procedure was to hire women or tailors to costume the children for the performances. However, for the performance in Putney, in 1567 (8), before the ‘L. of London & others’, a servant of the Revels is paid five shillings for: attending vppon / Thattyre att Puttene & healping to make / The same fytt for y^e children.³⁸⁷ A possible explanation for this anomaly is that out of the six performances given by the Westminster School in the years 1564 (5)- 1567 (8), the Putney performance is the only performance stated to have been staged in another place than the school. Perhaps it was more convenient to hire a servant of the Revels for attiring the children, since the costumes were transported there from the Revels. For most performances and for *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, the practicalities around fitting the costumes were the responsibility of the school.

Other expenses related to the Revels Office are payments to different representatives. A Mr Holt is mentioned several times, and according to the list of

³⁸⁵ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

³⁸⁶ WAM 38544, see Appendix 3.

³⁸⁷ WAM 38543

expenses for the plays performed in 1564/5, he is a 'yeoman of the reuells'.³⁸⁸ At times the payment is directly directed to Holt, such as the two payments in 1564/5. Other times, payments are made to his men, for example, two payments in 1564/5, one payment in 1566/7, and two payments in 1567/8. As a yeoman Holt would be ranked higher than his men, something that is also evidenced in his fee of ten shillings, compared to the payments of three shillings, 4 pence to his men, in 1564/5.³⁸⁹ In the list of expenses for *Sapientia Solomonis* Holt is not mentioned, however there is a payment 'geuen to thofficers of the revelles', which amounts to thirteen shillings, four pence. Because the payment corresponds that of the sum of Holt's fee in addition to that of his men, it is probably that the expense refers to Holt, or an other yeoman, and his men. A similar payment of thirteen shillings, four pence is paid out to 'theofficers in the revelle.s' for *Menaechmi*, which suggests another block-payment for a yeomen of the Revels and his men. In the next year, in 1566/7, the list of expenses is more detailed in its descriptions of payments to the revels. As already mentioned, 'Sir Thomas Benger his man' is paid two pence for his trouble in bringing a warrant to the Revels from his master, who presumably at this point is at the school. In addition, a payment of six shillings, eight pence is 'geuen to the Clerke comptroller of the reuell(es)', and a payment of eleven shillings is 'geuen to other vnder officers there'.³⁹⁰ This list of expenses provides a deeper understanding of the various degrees of officers from the Revels that were involved in the performances by Westminster School in the 1560s. If comptrollers and different under officers were employed for the production in 1566/7, there is a possibility that they made up what the list of expenses for *Sapientia Solomonis* merely itemise as officers of the revels. It is not altogether clear what function these officers of the Revels were carrying out in these productions, but by studying the list of expenses further we will be able to establish with

³⁸⁸ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

³⁸⁹ WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

³⁹⁰ WAM 38544, see Appendix 1.

more certainty the different areas of responsibility for the officers of the Revels and for the school.

The lists of expenses for the plays discussed above suggest that most costumes were borrowed from the Revels Office, however, the school did not depend on the Revels to provide the full set of costumes for the productions, instead several items were sourced elsewhere or made by the school itself. For the production of *Sapientia Solomonis*, twelve pence was paid by the school towards ‘two yards of brode saye for the Quene of Saba hir heade’.³⁹¹ The ‘saye’ for the Queen of Sheba’s headdress was a light-twilled wool and silk mixed fabric and it was thus acquired by the school.³⁹² It was most likely gold decorated, because in Act 5 scene 4, the character Sadoc describes her turban as being painted gold: ‘Mitrata, & auro picta’.³⁹³ Another entry in the list of expenses shows that the Prologue would either wear, or be surrounded by, garlands decorated with gold: seven pence was geuen to m^r Vssher for colors & golde foyle / bestowed in coloring the children face(s) & in gylting / the garlande for the p(ro)loge’.³⁹⁴ The garland was most likely made of cord, or packthread, that was sourced by the school for the play, and later productions itemise it in the list of expenses. For example, the expenses for the performance of *Rudens* the year after, in 1566/7, lists a cost for ‘packthrede’, and the expenses for the play at Putney, in 1567/8, lists a cost for ‘packthredd to make whreathes & / garland of yvie’.³⁹⁵ The gold adorned headdress for the Queen of Sheba and the gilded garlands were custom made for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, which indicate the importance this event held for the school.³⁹⁶ The school took extra care to ensure that the performance of *Miles*

³⁹¹ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

³⁹² The OED entry for say, n.1 and adj. reads: ‘a light, twilled woollen fabric resembling serge, used for aprons, bedding, curtains, etc., and (from the 17th cent.) commonly green in colour. In early use perhaps a heavier fabric, its characteristics light weight originating in the 16th cent. from the common (but temporary) practice of using wool mixed with silk in making the cloth’.

³⁹³ BL. Add. MS. 20061.

³⁹⁴ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1. A discussion of the allegorical significance of colours and gold for the children’s faces, and for the costumes will follow later in this chapter.

³⁹⁵ WAM 38543, and WAM 38544, see Appendix 3.

³⁹⁶ A discussion of the interplay of gold and light will follow later in this chapter.

Gloriosus stood out also. Twelve pence were paid to ‘Mr Secretairie his armorer to furbush againe certaine armer borrowed of him’. The armour was used in the performance about the vainglorious knight (‘miles gloriosus’) Pyrgopolynices and not in *Heutontimorumenos*, the plot of which centres around a wealthy farmer. The willingness to pay especially for borrowing armour for *Miles Gloriosus* and for the Queen of Sheba’s headdress, indicate that the school viewed the two plays as significant events, because they were performed for the queen and the nobility. On the basis of these documents, the Revels Office did not produce the Westminster School productions, instead, its main function was to provide the costumes for the performers. This contrasts to Streitberger’s claim that Benger produced the royal entertainment given by the school.

For the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, Westminster School was also in charge of the scenography, which sets this event apart from other court performances. The production of most other court performances was the result of a shared effort between the Revels Office and the Chamber. Astington writes that the Master of the Revels was ‘originally charged with the management of plays and similar shows’.³⁹⁷ Whereas the Master of the Revels was still the authority without which the play would not be performed, the day-to-day management fell on the school itself. For other court plays, the process of putting on the performance was a collaboration between the Revels Office and the Chamber:

The Revels Office staff arrived immediately before the show, to set up scenery, tiring house, and lighting, but they did not ever, even in their most expansive phase of existence, carry out all the physical preparation required. ‘Making ready’, as it was frequently called in contemporary documents, was carried out by the staff of the Chamber, with their ranks of ushers, grooms, and porters, who prepared royal apartments for any use.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ Astington, p. 20.

³⁹⁸ Astington, p. 14.

Included in the tasks were decorating and painting jobs, for which the Sergeant Painter and his staff of assistants were paid by the Revels in the early years, and thereafter by the Works, to carry out.³⁹⁹ In the instance of the production of *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, neither the Revels Office nor the Office of the Works were tasked with these preparatory jobs. As I have demonstrated, the Statutes of the school required the school to provide performances in exchange for the queen's patronage, which means that the organisation of the royal performances at Westminster School followed a different practice than other court productions. It was a convenient arrangement for the court, as the expenses and the organisational jobs fell to the School itself. For example, the bill of the performance lists a payment of five shillings 'geuen to a painter for drawing the cytee & temple /of Jerusalem, & for paynting towres'.⁴⁰⁰ The fee for paintjobs, normally the responsibility of the Revels or the Works, was in this instance paid for by the School. This expense sets the performance of *Sapientia Solominis* apart from the other Westminster School plays in the 1560s also, as no other list of expenses reference a backdrop. We will discuss the backdrop's function in the performance further in the next section, but it is important to note that the fact that the school made one especially for the performance evidences the fact that the event held more importance than the other productions, because it was not only performed for Elizabeth I and her council, but for Cecilia of Baden too.

Furthermore, the preparing of a place for performance, in the case of a performance at a royal household a task for the Chamber, was also the responsibility of the Westminster School, and the school paid more for perfuming the performance space for the production of *Sapientia Solomonis*, than they spent for any other production in the 1560s. The previous year two entries for frankincense at a price of one penny are listed, presumably used for the two performances of *Miles Gloriosus* and *Heautontimoroumenos*. The

³⁹⁹ Astington, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁰ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

same amount is spent on frankincense in 1567 (8) at the performance at Putney, which indicates that regardless of where the productions were taken place, the responsibility of scenting the performance space was the school's. In comparison, eight pence was paid 'for perfumes for the chambre', for the production of *Sapientis Solomonis*.⁴⁰¹ The huge increase of expenditure on perfumes for the performance emphasizes the significance of the performance event of *Sapientia Solomonis* and its unique audience.

Overseeing rehearsals, lending costumes, transporting attire to and from the Westminster School, and fitting costumes to the players were some of the tasks the Master of the Revels and the Revels Office were paid for. While the payments issued by the Westminster School make it clear that the School had the ultimate responsibility for the organising of the Westminster Play, they emphasise that the Master of the Revels was directly involved in a few of the performances, and that the Revels Office were significantly involved in all plays we have documents for in the 1560s. These plays were not merely school plays, but considered important events in court culture. They provided entertainment for the council and Elizabeth I, and functioned as a way to showcase the queen's magnificence to international guests such as Cecilia of Baden. Moreover, from the list of expenses it is clear that areas of responsibility that would fall on the Revels Office for productions taking place at a royal palace were the Westminster School's responsibility. It is also clear from the surviving documents, that expenses for scenography and perfumes for the production of *Sapientia Solomonis* set it apart from other Westminster performances in the 1560s. The Westminster School recognised that the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* before the queen, the council, and her international guest, was a significant event. They needed to make it a splendid occasion.

⁴⁰¹ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

4.2 Staging *Sapientia Solomonis* in the College Hall

The list of expenses for two plays in 1564/5 locate the performances at ‘the College / of westm(inister)’ in ‘m^r Deanes / howse’, and this is also the most probable location for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in 1565/6.⁴⁰² The College Hall, now used by the Westminster School students as a dining hall, was originally built by Abbot Nicholas Lilyngton and dates back to the 1370s (see Figures 5 and 6 below).⁴⁰³ It was supposedly designed by the master mason John Palterton, who also built some of the cloisters in the 1360s.⁴⁰⁴ Traces of the Abbot’s hand in the building can be found in the hall still; an angel corbel supporting the roof timbers holds Litlyngton’s arms on a shield, and there are fragments of the original glass with the initials N and L in the tracery of the west windows. There are many uncertainties surrounding the features of the hall that are remaining to the present day, and any description of what the hall might have looked like at the time of the Westminster Performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* can only be conjectural. However, surviving architectural features of the College Hall give some indication to how the hall was used for the performance, and what it would have looked at. This section will study the features of the original place of performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in order to provide the necessary foundation for my discussion of how the space was organised. I argue that the inherently hierarchical space of the College Hall was used in order to further reinforce the hierarchical structure of the audience and strengthen the link between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the performance to Elizabeth and Cecilia in the audience.

There are several original features of the hall, which contribute to my understanding of what the space might have looked like for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, there are other features that might or might not have been present

⁴⁰² WAM 43049, see Appendix 2.

⁴⁰³ College Hall Leaflet.

⁴⁰⁴ College Hall Leaflet.

during the event. I will now outline the features of the hall in order to clarify what features are original and would have been extant during the performance, and what features are unknown to have been there at that time. The school paid for glazing 29 feet of windows in 1566, but it is not clear whether this payment covered any windows in the hall.⁴⁰⁵ However, the windows would probably have been glazed at the time of the performance, because, as noted above, stained glass originating from Litlington's time as an Abbott is still present. Each of the five beams holding up the roof is attributed with an angel on both sides, which means that there are ten angels in the hall. To someone standing in the hall the angel closest to the kitchens is obscured by a screen with two doorways and a gallery on top of it. The gallery at the south end of the hall dates from the mid seventeenth century, but it might have replaced an earlier screen and gallery.⁴⁰⁶



Figure 5 and 6, College Hall, 31st August 2017, photo is author's own.

There are five trusses holding up the roof and 'although it was somewhat restored by Wren, it remains in essentials unaltered'.⁴⁰⁷ The long oak tables are Elizabethan and are thought to have been made from the wood of the Spanish Armada.⁴⁰⁸ We do know,

⁴⁰⁵ WAM 38545.

⁴⁰⁶ Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 'The Jerusalem Chamber, Cheyneygates, College Hall' <<http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/jerusalem-chamber>> [accessed 20 May 2018].

⁴⁰⁷ Tanner, p. 83.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

however, that a fire place was located in the middle of the hall, and we can see the louver as a reminiscence of this still today. The open fire was on a raised hearth, and was replaced only in 1847 by a central stove, which means that it was ‘one of the last of these open fireplaces to remain in use’.⁴⁰⁹ There is now dark wooden panelling around the length of the wall, and at the end opposite the kitchens. The panelling was first installed in 1733 and renewed in the 1970s.⁴¹⁰ The walls are painted white with a few framed paintings dotted around and several heraldries are painted on the short end of the hall (See Figure 6 below). The three largest crests are positioned highest up. The middle of the three is the crest of Westminster School, on its left is the crest of Trinity College, Cambridge, and on its right is the crest of Christ College, Oxford, displaying the close relationship between the universities and the school as we discussed in Chapter 1. From a list of ‘Expenses laid owt for thinges necessarie’ dated 1566, two shillings were ‘geven to the painter for painting tharmes of the / colledge in the schoole’.⁴¹¹ It is not specified where in school the arms of the college were painted, or if there had been a painting like it before, but it is plausible that the college arms were displayed in the hall at the time of the *Sapientia Solomonis* performance.

The hall can be entered directly from the Deanery Court Yard (See Figure 7 below) from which you can see Westminster Abbey towering in the north-east. The entrance from the court-yard leads to the space between the screen and an entrance to the kitchens.

⁴⁰⁹ Tanner, p. 83.

⁴¹⁰ Dean and Chapter of Westminster, ‘The Jerusalem Chamber, Cheyneygates, College Hall’ <<http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/jerusalem-chamber>> [accessed 20 May 2018].

⁴¹¹ WAM 38534.



Figure 7, 31st August 2017, photo is author's own.

At the north-east corner of the hall a sixteenth-century door leads the way to the Jericho Parlour, built by John Islip who was Abbot in the early sixteenth century, which in turn leads to the Jerusalem Chamber.⁴¹² The hall itself is c. 14.20 meters long, and 8.20 meters wide.⁴¹³ The space between the screen and the wall adjoining the kitchens is approximately 1.5 meters wide. It runs the width of the hall and contains a staircase up to the Musician's Gallery. Even on a summer's day the hall feels dark and intimate. But what would it have been like on the day of the performance, January 17th, 1565/6?

The most plausible organisation of the hall for the production of *Sapientia Solomonis* situates the performance space at the lower end. The College Hall, from its first use as Abbot Litlington's State Dining hall in the 1370s and as a school dining hall in the 1560s, was a social space where social hierarchy determined where you entered the space, and where you sat in the space, which in turn influenced how a space was organised. There is no direct evidence for how the College Hall was organised as a performance space, where the audience sat, or performance space was located and so a number of possible set ups are available for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. Scholars divide the Tudor hall spaces into a 'lower end' and a 'upper end', and these nominations indicate

⁴¹² Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 'The Jerusalem Chamber, Cheyneygates, College Hall', <<http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/jerusalem-chamber>> [accessed 20 May 2018].

⁴¹³ Measurements are the author's own, taken upon visiting the hall on August 31st 2017. According to Tanner the hall 'is some 50ft. by 25 ft.,' which converts to 15.24 meters by 7.62 meters. Tanner might have included the screen passage in his measurements.

the contrasting status of the two ends of the hall.⁴¹⁴ The lower end was the end of the hall nearer the kitchens, where servants would enter and exit during meals, whereas the upper end of the hall was the opposite end, where the dais was positioned. When the hall was used as a performance space, the social hierarchy was expressed through the positioning of audience members. McGavin and Walker write that

Whether they were arranged on benches in a 'U' shape or in simple rows running along the length of the hall away from the dais, on specially built stages or scaffolds on one or either sides, or simply on the dais itself, the elite spectators were almost always seated to witness a performance, with the focal point of the seating provided by the patron and his or her party, and with the other guests seated in order of importance in the seats stretching from close to the dais to those down the hall nearer the screen's end.⁴¹⁵

Although we do not know for certain if the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was staged at the lower end, the lay-out of the hall lends itself to placing the staging of the performance there. The audience would most probably have entered from the Jerusalem Chamber via the Jericho Parlour, rather than through the entrance next to the kitchens. Alan H. Nelson has demonstrated in *Early Cambridge Theatres* that performance spaces were located in various places within a hall or a chapel. For example, at Elizabeth I's visit to King's College Chapel, Cambridge, placed the stage near the centre of the chapel, and the queen onstage.⁴¹⁶ This would not have been a likely set up for performances in the Westminster College Hall because of the fireplace situated at the very heart of the room. Another possibility was to stage the play at the upper end of the hall, however, even if Elizabeth I was seated onstage, most of the audience would have to cross the stage to take their seats. Although plausible, the most logical position of the performance area

⁴¹⁴ See for example, Alan Nelson, 'The Universities and the Inns of Court', in Richard Dutton (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 280-291, p. 282 and McGavin and Walker, p. 53.

⁴¹⁵ McGavin, Greg Walker, p. 54.

⁴¹⁶ Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres*, p. 11.

would at the lower end, where the backdrop could be hung in front of or in the space between the entrances and exits towards the kitchens.

The evidence suggests that there were two structures onstage, one representing Solomon's royal palace, the other the house where Tecnophone and Tecnophile live. The character of Solomon is given line upon line where he refers to his palace. For example, in Act 1 scene 2 Solomon invites Wisdom, Justice, and Peace to his house where they shall have a fest for God (ll.79-81),⁴¹⁷ and in Act 3 scene 5 Solomon withdraws to his palace to deliberate on matters of state (ll. 85-86).⁴¹⁸ Tecnophile comments on Tecnophone standing in a doorway: 'Sed, en, scelesta stat domus sub ianua', (l. 7), which suggests a structure where Tecophone would stand. Tecnophone is also referencing a house when she says that her baby is safe in the house where he belongs.⁴¹⁹ A structure with an opening through which Tecnophone could enter and exit would facilitate her fast exit in preparation for the next scene where Tecnophile appears onstage alone. Furthermore, the list of the expenses for *Sapientia Solomonis* contains the payment to a painter to paint 'towses', which suggests that there were indeed houses in the performance and that they were painted. Many Classical plays such as *Sapientia Solomonis*, and *Menaechmi*, demand two houses onstage and according to Foakes, 'the use of 'houses' ('mansions' or 'domus') was common in Court productions'.⁴²⁰ The houses would either be made by structures built for the purpose, or employ a pre-existing chapel.⁴²¹ According to Nelson, the structures could be built of lath, pasteboard, and coarse cloth or canvas'.⁴²² The list of charges for the Westminster School performance of *Mostellaria*, in 1569, includes a payment for 'paintyng so muche câvesse as couered An howse & for olde clothe for the

⁴¹⁷ 'Omnes, precor, succedite hijs tectis meis. / In regia domo nostra hunc celebremus diem / Domino solemne', 1.ii.ll.79-81, BL. Add. MS. 20061.

⁴¹⁸ 'Ast in regiam nunc ibimus / Deliberaturi de publico statu', 3.v.85-86, BL. Add. MS. 20061.

⁴¹⁹ 'Mecum meus saluus probe est in aedibus'. Act 2.ii.l.9, Add. MS. 20061.

⁴²⁰ William Shakespeare, *Comedy of Errors* edited by R. A. Foakes (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1962), p. Xxxv.

⁴²¹ Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres*, p. 108.

⁴²² Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres*, p. 108.

same purpose'.⁴²³ It is therefore probable that old cloth and canvas were used for the houses in the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. The houses were most likely purpose built and then dismantled once the performance was over, in order to return the use of the hall to the everyday running of the Westminster School.

The seating arrangement of the audience emphasized Elizabeth's superiority over Cecilia and the other members of the audience. If the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* took place at the lower end of the hall, the audience member of highest importance, Elizabeth I, could be seated at the upper end of the hall. Near to her Cecilia of Baden would presumably sit, and the council. As discussed above, the space of a Tudor hall was inherently hierarchical. The research project *Staging the Henrician Court* found that 'the [hall] space gives drama and supports the status and ranks of people', which means that how the space is organised highly impacts how individuals would be seen and experienced by others.⁴²⁴ On official events it was customary that Elizabeth I would sit on the throne of state, a seat 'elaborately decorated with a hanging embroidered backcloth and a suspended upholstered canopy, and it was set up and taken down as need dictated'.⁴²⁵ According to Dillon, there would have been a significant empty space around Elizabeth designated by the design of the state, she writes: 'As royal household ordinances made clear, no one but the monarch was entitled to encroach upon the area around the chair of state'. Dillon cites an ordinance: 'no man of whatsoever degree he be of be so hardye to come nigh the kings chayre nor stand under the clothe of estate'.⁴²⁶ This canopy might have been produced by the Westminster School for this occasion as the list of expenses contains a payment of 3 pence paid 'for pines to pinne vpp the canapee'.⁴²⁷ However, this might also

⁴²³ WAM 38805, transcribed by Blewitt in Blewitt, p. 397.

⁴²⁴ Hampton Court Palace's building Curator Kent Rawlinson in an interview with Dr. Eleanor Rycroft, <http://stagingthehenriciancourt.brookes.ac.uk/research/the_great_hall.html> [accessed 24 July 2020].

⁴²⁵ Astington, p. 29.

⁴²⁶ Dillon, p. 85.

⁴²⁷ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

have been a canopy used for the staging of *Sapientia Solomonis*, and hung above Solomons's chair. Nevertheless, the elaborate and isolated seating would have emphasised Elizabeth I's position as the focal point of the performance, and her status as superior to others in the room. Astington argues that it was customary for the monarch to be seated 'directly fac[ing] the stage, and hence both state and stage were aligned on the central axis of the chamber'.⁴²⁸ When applied to the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, this direct alignment creates a mirror image of the characters Solomon and the Queen of Sheba seated on stage with Elizabeth I and Cecilia of Baden seated on the other side of the hall. The direct alignment connects Elizabeth I with the young ruler on stage and Cecilia of Baden with the Queen of Sheba. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, there was a typological link between Solomon and Elizabeth and The Queen of Sheba and Cecilia, and the staging and the seating arrangement in relation to the stage reinforced the idea of Solomon as a type for Elizabeth I and the Queen of Sheba for the Swedish princess.

The queen's position did not only give her the best view of the performance, but put her in view of rest of the audience. The audience was thus conditioned to observe her, as much as they were encouraged to watch the performance. This split focus reinforced the performative nature of court culture. Astington writes that '[t]he seating, turned towards the royal seat as much as to the stage, reflected a double spectatorial function, though in effect display and observation at court assemblies must have been complex and many-layered'.⁴²⁹ The rest of the audience were expected to watch Elizabeth I watch the performance, and so she became a part of the performance event. McGavin and Walker write that '[o]ne's reaction to a scene, a line, a gesture, would inevitably have been conditioned by an awareness that one was visible, see to be reacting in public by a

⁴²⁸ Astington, p. 95.

⁴²⁹ Astington, p. 95.

cross-section of one's peers, social superiors, and inferiors'.⁴³⁰ The audience's focus on the queen meant that the queen was on display and her actions and reactions to the performance were highlighted to the rest of the audience. The Council and Cecilia of Baden were invited to not only to watch a performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* but to watch a performance of the queen. The placement of the audience within the hall and displacement of focus negotiated Elizabeth's courtly relationship by using the hierarchical structures of the hall to emphasise the hierarchical structures of these courtly relationships. The performance thus functioned as a way to demonstrate Elizabeth's superiority, and to negotiate her courtly relationships.

Depending on where Cecilia of Baden was situated she would have been displayed in a similar way. However, although Cecilia would have been in view of the rest of the audience, her position would always be in reference to that of Elizabeth I. Thus, instead of highlighting her status as a princess it would emphasize her position as Elizabeth I's royal guest, always inferior to Elizabeth I. Dillon puts forward the argument: 'How a person sits, stands or otherwise occupies a given space, how he or she moves into, around, or through that space is meaningful; it speaks of social and political status, relationship and agenda'.⁴³¹ Positioning Cecilia near Elizabeth I invited the audience to reflect on her role as a guest, and observe how she interacts with the queen, just as she was closely observed in their early meetings by da Silva (as discussed in Chapter 3). The seating arrangement places the members of the audience according to their status and so firmly categorised them in order of importance. The hierarchical structures of the court were emphasized. The arrangement of the audience is one example of how space was used to create meaning in Tudor hall performances.

⁴³⁰ McGavin, and Walker, p. 36.

⁴³¹ Dillon, p. 17.

Seating arrangement in Tudor halls, then, were intrinsically ordered according to status where people of significance was placed at the high end, and others were seated in a descending order of importance towards the high end. The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was staged in the College Hall of the Westminster School, and the performance space was most probably located at the low end of the hall. Evidence such as several in-text references and the strong performance tradition of staging Classical, neo-Classical, and Tudor plays in the Early Modern period with two houses, strongly suggest that two structures were purpose-built for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, one representing King Solomon's palace and the other representing the two prostitutes' house. Inherent connotations of hierarchically organised space in the hall and the organisation of the space worked together to emphasize Elizabeth's superiority. Elizabeth's positioning would have created a dual focus for the audience, where the queen was to be watched alongside the performance. Cecilia's positioning would always be inferior to that of Elizabeth's, which consolidated her inferior status. Their relationship was thus conditioned by the organisation of the space in the College Hall. This performance event was of political significance to the school and the court. In a similar way to the amount of care and effort that went into creating the performance copies of the play-text, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, the production of *Sapientia Solomonis* was the costliest and carefully produced performance of the Westminster School Productions in the 1560s. In the next section I will further analyse how spectacle was created through the use of costume and light, music, props, and make-up, and how these aspects of the production created meaning of political significance to Elizabeth, her council, and Cecilia.

4.3 A Royal Spectacle

The spectacle of the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* functioned as a way for the School to demonstrate their skills to their royal patron, but more importantly, to showcase Elizabeth's magnificence to Cecilia. Here, I argue that artificial lights played a large role in emphasizing the extravagant materials in the performance, as well as the hierarchy of the audience, and that the use of artificial lights worked together with costumes, props, and make up to create meaning in the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, which was then projected on to the audience. I also argue that music was integral to the performance and that the large sum of money paid towards a trumpeter sets this performance apart from other performance events at the Westminster School. The expenses paid towards light, properties, scenography, and music, as I will go on to demonstrate, point to the fact that this performance event was important because of its royal audience.

Through transcribing and analysing a never before discussed document, WAM 38556, I provide a more nuanced understanding of the artificial lights used for the performances at Westminster School than Rogers Payne was able to provide. Although there is no exact date for the document, it is Elizabethan and provides an inventory of the consumption of lights at Westminster for a whole academic year. There are several entries for lights purchased around Christmas and one of these is a payment of ten shillings for torches for a performance. One chandler's bill for 1554/5 and another for 1565/6 led Payne to believe that 'twelve was, apparently, the usual number required for lighting a performance'.⁴³² The document WAM 38544, however, lists only 'x torchys for ye playe', which contradicts Rogers Payne's assumption of twelve torches being the usual number.⁴³³ Furthermore, ten torches would have easily been evenly distributed on the walls between each of the five beams in the college hall of the school. Contrary to Rogers

⁴³² Rogers Payne, p. 44.

⁴³³ WAM 38556.

Payne's assumption, I argue that twelve torches was an unusual amount for the performances at the school, and that the anomalies for 1564/5 and 1565/6 point to the significance of those events. As discussed in section one of this chapter, Elizabeth attended at least two of the Westminster school performances: *Miles Gloriosus* in 1564/5 and *Sapientia Solomonis* in 1565/6, and it is most likely that the two charges for the twelve torches are to accommodate these two royal performances. Furthermore, at twelve shillings the expenditure for lights for the performances in 1564/5 and 1565/6 is more than the cost of ten shillings spent according to WAM 38556. As demonstrated above, the performance events for *Miles Gloriosus* and *Sapientia Solomonis* were costlier than any other performance given by the school in the 1560s, and *Sapientia Solomonis* was the most expensive of all. Therefore, spending more money on lights for these two events follows the same pattern as for other expenses for these two event.

For the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, the lighting design would have lain in the decision of performance time and in the choice of artificial lights. We do not know the exact time for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* on January 17th, 1565/6, however as anyone who has spent a January day in London would testify, there is not much daylight. If the performance took place during the hours of daylight, only some natural light would have entered through the stained glass windows, casting colour on the furnishings of the hall. If performed after sunset, the light would have been completely dependent on the twelve torches purchased for the event. The terminology of early modern artificial lights was unstable. Will Tosh makes a distinction between 'torches and candle torches (a stave supporting two or three candles with a brass reflector)'.⁴³⁴ According to Martin White, a torch for outdoor use could mean a tar-soaked rope or cotton wadding, and for indoor use 'might also have referred to a cluster of candles bound

⁴³⁴ Will Tosh, *Playing Indoors – Staging Early Modern Drama in the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2019), p. 93.

together, described in George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* as 'torches of virgin wax, whose staves were great canes all over gilded'.⁴³⁵ As the Westminster School performance took place indoors it is possible that the torches referred to in WAM 38544 are similar to the clusters of candles on gilded staves in Chapman's masque with or without the brass reflectors described by Tosh. Regardless of the exact moment of the performance, the purchase of torches for the play demonstrates that significance was laid on artificial light for the performance event. From experiments in early modern artificial lighting practises for indoor theatres, White found that 'one of the reasons that live candles are superior to electric imitations (despite real advances in technology) is that the uneven flicker of the burning wicks of dozens of candles plays with the surfaces on which the light falls, softening them giving life and texture'.⁴³⁶ At the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, the light of the torches would have hit walls, costumes, properties, and scenography, making vibrant visuals for the performance. In a similar way, Ravelhofer made the conclusion that in Stuart 'masques, artificial lighting must have turned the stage into a dynamic venue, when the general sparkle of torches and candles made glittering costumes almost move'.⁴³⁷ I will now consider how the live flames of the torches worked together with the audience's clothing, and the makeup, costumes, props, and scenography to create meaning in the performance.

The increase of artificial lights for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was to acknowledge the significance of the event and its audience, and was employed to emphasise the hierarchical structures in the audience. Artificial light is a powerful performance tool because if used consciously it has the ability to manipulate the gaze of the audience. Italian stage designers like Leone Di Somi explored artificial lighting and its

⁴³⁵ Martin White, 'When torchlight made an artificial moon', in Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (eds.), *Moving Shakespeare Indoors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 115-136, p. 127.

⁴³⁶ White, p. 129.

⁴³⁷ Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque – Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 166.

advantages in the fifteenth century. They played with the idea that ‘the less light there is, the more you see onstage’, and would ‘turn down the lighting in the auditorium to focus the audience’s attention entirely on the stage’.⁴³⁸ In his discussion of how lighting technology was employed in the indoor theatres, White writes: ‘the key point here is that the impact of artificial lighting in the playhouse lies precisely in the relationship between the darkness and the light’.⁴³⁹ For court entertainments, however, the lighting functioned to illuminate not only the performance, but to illuminate the monarch as well. White found that for court entertainments with scenery ‘the number of candles and torches used were often counted in staggeringly high numbers’.⁴⁴⁰ Ravelhofer considers the effects artificial lights have in an inherently socially structured performance space such as a hall, and writes that the light shed on ‘[t]he colours of floor and furniture coverings emphasized hierarchies’.⁴⁴¹ As discussed in section one of this chapter, the seating arrangement and the performance space in the College Hall conditioned a split focus for the audience, one focal point being the performance, and the other being Elizabeth I and her guest Cecilia. The positioning of artificial light for the performance, then, had to be arranged so that the lights covered both the performance and the audience. As the light hit the lavishly decorated throne of state where Elizabeth I was seated, it displayed her as the wealthiest and most powerful person in the hall. The increased artificial light thus confirmed and reaffirmed courtly relationships by literally highlighting the people of importance.

Artificial light was instrumental in emphasizing the material richness of the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and the additional two torches would have worked together with costume and props in the performance to create meaning in the interplay

⁴³⁸ Ravelhofer, p. 162.

⁴³⁹ White, p. 118.

⁴⁴⁰ White, p. 123.

⁴⁴¹ Ravelhofer, p. 163.

of performance and audience. We do not have specific details of all the costumes the students wore or props they used in performing *Sapientia Solomonis*, however, flicker of light upon the trumpet and the gold foil adorning the Queen of Sheba's headdress and the Prologue's garlands, would have created a similar effect to that Ravelhofer imagines at the Stuart Masques.⁴⁴² As already discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, in Act 5 Scene 6 the Queen of Sheba gives King Solomon's gifts of among other things: gold, a gold embroidered mantle, a necklace, a veil and a crown of gold and gems. The artificial light would have made these props sparkle and glow on stage, creating a visual spectacle of luxuriousness. Sarah Dustagheer's work reveals that a higher percentage of performances written and produced especially for the Blackfriars theatre contained jewellery than performances made for the Globe stage, because the more intimate and artificially lit indoor theatre lend it self to show off the small glittering objects, and because the performance needed to compete with the elite audience's luxurious attire.⁴⁴³ In a similar way, the artificial light became a way for the school to create an air of extravagance. The bill of the performance accounts for a payment 'geuen to mr Vssher for colors & golde foyle bestowed in coloring the children faces'.⁴⁴⁴ I discussed the allegorical significance of Sapientia, Iustitia, and Pax in Chapter 2, and perhaps the children playing these allegorical figures were adorned with golden faces to visually demonstrate their affiliation with God. The artificial light would have illuminated the gold foil on their faces and further separated these characters from the other - mortal - characters. Makeup and light therefore worked together to create meaning in the performance.

Whereas most of the costumes were provided by the Revels Office, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the properties were sourced elsewhere by the school, and they

⁴⁴² WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

⁴⁴³ Sarah Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's Two Playhouses – Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars, 1599-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 134-135.

⁴⁴⁴ WAM 54000, see Appendix 1.

would add to the spectacle of the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. The bill of the performance lists an item of four pence 'geuen for an instruemente called A payre of peaces occupied of one of the plaiers'. Pliers are made up by a jaw of two pincers and might be the 'payre of peaces' mentioned here. The player referred to in the bill was most likely the student playing the part of Marcolph, the Fool, whose intermeddling with the other characters provided comedy. In Act 5 scene ii, Marcolph comes across a Stonecutter, an Architect, and their two servants, building Solomon's Temple to God. After interrupting their work and being told off by the Stonecutter and the Architect and the two exit the stage, Marcolph gets into a physical fight with the Stonecutter's servant. Marcolph is in pain and the Architect's servant, set out to play a trick on him, tells him that he is in fact a physician and offers Marcolph to ease his pain by curing his jaws with a two-edged weapon. Comedy ensues when Marcolph first declines the servant's offer by saying that he does not in fact have any pain in his jaws. Presumably the servant turns away because Marcolph asks him to stay and prove his physician's skills on Marcolph's molar tooth instead. Almost escaping the servant's trick, Marcolph sets himself up for what is to come. Marcolph agrees to having his tooth pulled out by the servant, who does so accordingly. The prop would add to the ridiculousness of the scene at the same time as it added to the illusion of the action taking place in reality. Perhaps the pliers were used by the servants in construction work of the Temple and repurposed as a tool for the impromptu dentistry work. Having the performer acting out the physical action of pulling Marcolph's tooth out with tool would create a near-realistic moment of theatre. The props specifically sourced for the performance played a part in creating a visual spectacle and the fact that the school was willing to put down a payment for the spectacle tells us two things: that the theatrical moment was important enough to the performance that the school wanted invest in a prop specifically for the performance; secondly, by acquiring the prop uniquely for the performance, demonstrates that the Westminster School did

not create performances according to what they had in storage to repurpose, but that they were special events.

The second prop, or 'prop' (for reasons that shortly will be apparent), was significant in creating a spectacle, which worked to affect the audience visually and emotionally. The bill for the performance lists a payment of twelve pence 'to A woman that brought hir childe to the stadge, & there attended vppon itt'. The child was most likely none other than the living child in Act 3 scene 5. Early in the play we learn that Tecnophile and Tecnophone, two harlots living in the same house, gave birth to a son each but that one night one of the boys died. The two mothers accuse each other for having stolen the living child and unable to resolve the matter they turn to Solomon to get justice. In Act 3 scene 5, Solomon asks for the living child and the dead child to be put next to one another and for the guard to bring him a sharp-edged sword. The guard assures Solomon of the sharpness of the sword he brings forth. Solomon then commands him to cut each child in two and give Tecnophone and Tecnophile each a part of both children. Tecnophile exclaims that she would rather see her child alive but with a foster mother, than dead with her. In contrast, Tecnophone expresses her admiration for Solomon's ruling and says that she would rather see her son cut in half than letting him grow up with the wrong mother. After hearing the two women speak Solomon reveals that he has discovered the motive behind their speech and that the living child will be given to its rightful mother. The guard hands Tecnophile the living child and Solomon tells Tecnophone that she betrayed her lack of motherly feelings. From the bill we know that there was indeed a real child playing the part of the living son, however we do not know how the dead child was portrayed. Perhaps a doll was brought onstage, or perhaps it was merely a bundle of cloth arranged to look like it held a small child. Either way, juxtaposing the living child with the inanimate object of the dead child presents the severity of the two mothers' case and the potential atrocity of Solomon's ruling to kill the

live son. The vulnerability of the living child was further exposed in light of the sharp sword in the hands of the guard. The possibility of taking a child's life, albeit fictional, creates a moment of suspense in the performance, fuelled by the memory of another official event which had brought Elizabeth I and Cecilia of Baden together: the Christening of Cecilia's first-born and Elizabeth I's godson, Edwardus the Fortunate, which took place in the autumn of 1565. We do not know if Cecilia's motherly blood caused her to wince at the scene in Act 3, but having an actual child playing the part of the living son instead of having an inanimate object must have created a spectacle.

Curtains were often used in early modern drama as a device to signal the genre of the play, provide a focal point for specific scenes, or signal a specific location of a scene or a play. Mariko Ichikawa claims that whereas tragedies would call for a black curtain, curtains in 'non-tragic drama would have required a different visual impact. Surviving play texts of non-tragic drama confirms this impression: as well as being dyed a single colour, curtains frequently incorporated visual imagery of different kinds'.⁴⁴⁵ A backdrop of Jerusalem was created for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. Dustagheer notes that hangings in the Blackfriars was an intergral part of the visual spectacle of performance:

Undoubtedly, well before any actor came on stage, the visual aesthetic of the Blackfriars was a rich tapestry of colours and images: elaborately painted surfaces, hangings with classical narratives and images, and, of course, the well-dressed audience, all glittering under the candlelight.⁴⁴⁶

In a similar way, the painted backdrop of Jerusalem would have added to the splendour of the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. The list of expenses for the performance lists a payment of 10 pence 'geuen to a painter for drawing the cytes & temple of Jerusalem, & for paynting towses'. The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was created as a one-off event and the money spent on painting the city of Jerusalem onto a

⁴⁴⁵ Mariko Ichikawa, "What story is that painted VPON the cloth?": some descriptions of hangings and their use on early the modern stage' in *Theatre Notebook*, 70.1 (2016) p. 2-31, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁶ Dustagheer, p. 127.

cloth as a set piece for the performance evidence the luxuriousness of the performance. Ichikawa writes: 'Decorated curtains would have been both more time-consuming and more expensive to produce than plain ones'.⁴⁴⁷ Also, a painted curtain would not be as durable as a plain dyed curtain because of the fact that when painted cloth that was

bunched up for extended periods, concertina-fashion, they acquire vertical creases that become difficult to eliminate and the constant opening and closing of them would tend to loosen the paint and cause it sooner or later to flake off.⁴⁴⁸

Storing the curtain for extended periods of time would be difficult for these reasons and so the curtain used for *Sapientia Solomonis* was not expected to be used in many other performances, if any. It might have been repurposed for the performance of *Menaechmi* a month later, as the play setting is a street in Epidamnus, but as the list of expenses for *Sapientia Solomonis* specifies a motif of Jerusalem, it might not have been suitable. The curtain and its specific motive to the performance showcases the school's investment in the performance. The curtain would have remained up throughout the performance to signal Jerusalem as a setting for the play. The fact that the cloth remains there as a reminder of the setting, reinforces the link between Solomon and Elizabeth, and the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia, especially when taking into account the fact that they would have entered the college hall from a chamber known as the Jerusalem chamber.

As already discussed in this thesis, the queen's scholars, and not the choristers, were the main performers of *Sapientia Solomonis*. This did not mean that there was no emphasis put on music, on the contrary, music was integral to the performance. Writing about the move from the outdoor playhouse of the Globe to the indoor playhouse of the Blackfriars in the late sixteenth century, Sarah Dustagheer argues that music in the indoor playhouse 'became far more than just an incidental or discrete presence, a pre-show or

⁴⁴⁷ Ichikawa, p. 17.

⁴⁴⁸ Ichikawa, p. 9.

inter-act addition. Instead it was integral to the dramaturgy of many indoor plays as playwrights began to weave music into narrative and character development'.⁴⁴⁹ I too argue that the music in the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was essential to the dramaturgy of the production, as it signposted and punctuated significant scenes in the performance, and built the fictive world of King Solomon's splendid court to rival that of Elizabeth's, and making the iconographical and typological links between them stronger.

Music was prolific in the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* and the choir master at Westminster School was involved in the production. In the list of expenses for *Sapientia Solomonis*, for the plays that were performed in 1564/5, and the play at Putney there are references to 'm^r Taylor' or 'm^r Tailer', which should not to be confused with 'A taylor' who helped attire the children for the performance.⁴⁵⁰ M^r Taylor was John Taylor, choirmaster of the children of Westminster.⁴⁵¹ Taylor's man was paid for: going vpp & downe to diu(er)se / places in London, in 1564/5; for his bote hyre / to & fro, commeying his m(aster's) apparell and instru/ ment(es) fro(m) London vnto westminste(r) & for his paines / taken therein, in 1565/6; and 'for the co(n)ueiance of m^r Tailer / his attyre fro London to putneie / & from thence to London againe by / water' in 1567/8.⁴⁵² Taylor thus provided instruments and apparel for the performances.

The Hymn was most likely sung by the Choir Boys of the School, which worked to create a splendid spectacle and showcase the brilliance of the Westminster School to their royal patron, Elizabeth. Although the main performers of the production were the Scholars of the School, as stated above, textual and circumstantial evidence point to the fact that the Choir Boys also appeared in the performance, and that they sang the Hymn.

⁴⁴⁹ Dustagheer, p. 112.

⁴⁵⁰ WAM 43049, WAM 54000, and WAM 38543.

⁴⁵¹ Rogers Payne, p. 41.

⁴⁵² WAM 43049, WAM 54000, and WAM 38543.

The involvement of Choirmaster John Taylor, in the production, as demonstrated above, makes it very plausible that the Choir Boys were also participating in the performance. Wisdom introduces the hymn by saying: ‘Plebs canat himnos’ (20^r), thus encouraging the people to sing the hymn. The people, plebs, were most probably performed by the Choir Boys, their voices would have added an exquisite acoustic experience for the audience. Rogers Payne suggests that: ‘It seems possible that the Choir Boys represented the *populus* at the trial, thus providing definite dramatic motivation for the *Hymnus* at the end of the Judgement’.⁴⁵³ I do agree that it would be practical to have the Hymn appear soon after the Judgement, as the Choir Boys could appear in both. The Choir Boy’s participation in the production would have provided the School with an opportunity to showcase more of its accomplished students and contributed to the spectacle of the performance. However, for reasons I will now make clear, the repositioning of the Hymn served more purposes than being practical.

The Hymn in the Westminster School version of *Sapientia Solomonis* took a more prominent place, and played a part in the dramaturgy of the drama, than in Birck’s version of the play. The Hymn in both versions of the drama is based on Psalm 72, and lauds the justice of King Solomon’s rule.⁴⁵⁴ Although the Hymn is shorter in the School production than in Birck’s drama, it is given a more central role by its position in the play. Whereas the Hymn concludes Birck’s version of *Sapientia Solomonis*, it appears in the middle of the play, punctuating Act 3 in the Westminster School adaptation. In Act 3, King Solomon wisely judges that Tecnophile is the rightful mother, and so brings peace to the inhabitants of his kingdom. The Hymn in the School production functions as a celebration and

⁴⁵³ Rogers Payne, p. 45.

⁴⁵⁴ Birck, p. 47, and Psalm 72, 1599 Geneva Bible, <<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Psalm+72&version=GNV>> [accessed 3 November 2019].

manifestation of his ruling in Act 3.⁴⁵⁵ The king, who was only a boy, scarcely suited to rule, at the beginning of the performance ('qui sum puer vix dum regendis grellibus / Idoneus'), has by the close of Act 3 proven himself as a righteous, just, and wise ruler, and this transformation is underscored by the Hymn. In Birck's drama, the Hymn merely appears after the Epilogue, reiterating the greatness of King Solomon, but without furthering the plot. By positioning the Hymn after the ruling in Act 3, but before the visits of the Tyrian ambassador and the Queen of Sheba in the later Acts, the sung Hymn exemplifies the spread across the globe of the reputation of King Solomon's magnificence, which the Tyrian ambassador refers to in Scene 4.3 and the Queen of Sheba in Scene 5.4, when she says that King Solomon is famous in everywhere for being blessed thrice, with wisdom, devotion, and power.⁴⁵⁶ By adapting the Hymn and repositioning it, the Hymn, then, is given an important function in the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solmonis* to emphasise King Solomon's magnificence, and performing the role of spreading the king's fame. The Hymn propelled the image of the ideal ruler, which adds to the image of King Solomon as the ideal type for Elizabeth, which I discussed in Chapter 3.

The amount of money spent towards music for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was far greater than what the school paid for any other performance in the 1560s, and it indicates the importance of the event. Apart from the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, a couple of productions cost the school money for instruments or musicians. In 1564/5 twelve pence was paid to a drummer for the loan of his drum.⁴⁵⁷ The list of expenses for the performance at Putney in 1567 lists most payments for

⁴⁵⁵ Psalm 72, 1599 Geneva Bible, <<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Psalm+72&version=GNV>> [accessed 3 November 2019].

⁴⁵⁶ 'Prosecto rex Solomon mihi celebrandus est, qui ter beatus undique celenbratur hic Sapiens, piusque et prepotens haec fama fertur nunc ubique gentium', BL. Add. MS 20061, f. 29r.

⁴⁵⁷ WAM 43049.

musicians and instruments: two shillings were paid for a ‘trompeter’, twelve pence to a ‘baggpype plaiier’, and one penny was paid for ‘ij whistles’.⁴⁵⁸ Even so, the sum of three shillings one penny paid in 1567 does not amount to half of the seven shillings ‘geuen to A Trompeter’ for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. As the payment for a trumpeter for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was more than what the school paid for the same service a couple of years later, it demonstrates the need for excellency in the delivery of the fanfares for this special performance occasion.

The trumpeter was essential to the dramaturgy of *Sapientia Solomonis*, as it signalled and punctuated significant events in the performance. *Sapientia Solomonis* is set around King Solomon’s court, and the trumpeter is being called on frequently by Solomon’s herald. The first time being in Act 1.4, where Solomon asks Josaphat to secure a herald who will sound the trumpet and in the next scene (Scene 5) the said Herald appears and calls guests to Solomon’s feast. The Act concludes with the fanfare inviting people to a feast held to honour Wisdom, Justice, Peace, who arrived to Solomon’s side earlier in the Act, and the riches that he has been given. The fanfare thus marks the end of the introductory Act, and the beginning of a new era in the play where King Solomon, accompanied by Wisdom, Justice, and Peace, rules confidently. The herald appears again in Act 3 scene 1, to call the people to the royal tribunal where King Solomon demonstrates his wise and judicious kingship. There is no stage direction for the trumpet fanfare here, however, in Birck’s version of the play the stage direction for the same scene states that the Herald makes his proclamation first, then the horn signals, and thereafter the people flock.⁴⁵⁹ Furthermore, Birck writes out the sound of the trumpet in his stage direction: ‘tarantara’. The specific word-choice of ‘tarantara’ is significant as it denotes how the fanfare was to be played. According to the OED, the first use of ‘tarantara’ in English is

⁴⁵⁸ WAM 38543.

⁴⁵⁹ Birck, Act 3.1, p. 19.

from Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, published in 1553, six years after the publication of *Drama Sacra*. The entry reads: 'Or when one is lustye to saye Taratauntara, declaringe therby that he is as lustye, as a Trumpette is delitefull, and styringe'.⁴⁶⁰ This is an example of how the word tarantara expressed a sound aimed to be delightful and rousing. Birck intended the trumpet fanfare thus to signal the importance of the royal tribunal and it is most possible that the fanfare in the Westminster School performance was designed to be equally lovely and inspiring as in Birck's version of the play. To see the Choir Boys enter and join the Queen's Scholars at the call of the trumpet would certainly be a moment of amazement. The last time the trumpet is called upon is Act 5.6 to announce the herald's message from King Solomon to the people, and to conclude the play. As demonstrated, the trumpet sounded to punctuate or signal change in the play, and played a role in the dramatic structure of the performance.

The trumpeter contributed to the effect of Solomon's magnificent court, a court that would not only parallel that of Elizabeth's, but that was figuring as the ideal court for Elizabeth to strive for, as discussed in Chapter 2. Trumpeters were closely connected with court-culture; Miranda Kaufmann lists the many expected occasions that a trumpeter in Tudor England were part of:

Trumpeters played a vital part in royal entries, tournaments, funerals, executions, banquets, weddings, coronations, battles and sea-voyages, as well the annual grand festivities over Christmas and New Year. They were required to 'blow the court to supper' and to make music 'at the king's pleasure'. They heralded the King's arrival: 'The King's coming, I know by his (9) trumpets', Lavatch says in *All's Well That Ends Well*.⁴⁶¹

Axiomatic to early modern court-life, trumpeters would entertain, signal important events, and announce the magnificence of a person. Another example is when on October 8th, Johan progressed through Aldgate with a large entourage of noblemen in gold chains

⁴⁶⁰ OED [accessed 8 October 2019].

⁴⁶¹ Kaufmann, pp. 9-10.

and two hundred yeomen riding before and after the Swedish prince's entourage, all dressed black velvet, it was to the sound of trumpets.⁴⁶² Hence, the audience, consisting of Elizabeth, her council, and Cecilia, would have been very familiar with trumpets and it was important for the School that they provided a trumpeter that would elevate King Solomon's to a royal standard. Hiring an expensive trumpeter brought the quality that would, on the one hand, promote the Westminster School's greatness, and on the other hand, work towards propelling the idea of King Solomon as the ideal monarch.

As the trumpet was used to announce the magnificence of the monarch, spreading the sound far and wide, it was associated with well-meaning speech, compliments, and commendations, which is used in *Sapientia Solomonis* to emphasise the Queen of Sheba's praise of King Solomon. References to trumpets was used in drama as an analogy for accolades. For example, Macbeth used the idea of being 'trumpet-tongued' when referring to how Duncan's great rulership speaks for Macbeth not killing him: 'Besides, this Duncan hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been so clear in his great office, that his virtues will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against the deep damnation of his taking-off'.⁴⁶³ According to Shakespeare, then, to be trumpet-tongued is connected with speaking of virtues. In Act 5.6 the Queen of Sheba commend King Solomon on his wisdom that supersedes the reports she has hear, to which Solomon answers: 'Plusquam satis, regina, laudibus meis/Diserta buccinatrix es' (ll. 67-68). Accordingly, King Solomon says that she is an eloquent trumpeter of his praises. I have argued throughout this thesis that the Queen of Sheba lauds Solomon with action and words, and here is yet another example of how she surrenders to the great prudence of Solomon. As the Queen of Sheba is Cecilia's analogue in the play, Cecilia is encouraged to submit to Elizabeth's wisdom and greatness.

⁴⁶² Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, p. 26.

⁴⁶³ William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ll. 16-20.

The spending of large sums of money on lights, properties, scenography, and music indicated the significance of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*. In contrast to earlier belief, twelve torches were most likely not the usual amount of artificial light for a Westminster School production, instead the increase of light was to acknowledge the importance of the event, and was employed to emphasize and reinforce the hierarchical structures in the audience. The flickering of live flames made costumes and properties sparkle, which contributed to the spectacle and material richness of the performance. Properties such as the pair of pliers and the real child brought in to play Tecnophile's baby, were specifically sourced for the performance and added to the extraordinary event. The backdrop with the hand-painted motif of Jerusalem worked to reinforce the links between King Solomon and Elizabeth, and the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia. Music was integral to the performance as indicated by the involvement of the Westminster School choirmaster, the large sum spent on a trumpeter, in order to make the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* a marvellous occasion, fit for such a distinguished audience.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the most detailed discussion of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* to date, based on the accounts related to the Westminster School plays in the 1560s, some of which has never been discussed or published before this study. This study demonstrates the need to expand the notion of court drama, because the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* was, contrary to the suggestion from Streitberger, produced by the School, and not by the Master of the Revels, Thomas Benger. The study of the accounts has also contributed to the discussions of the Office of the Revels in early Elizabethan royal performances, and revealed that although the Office of the Revels had a hand in the performance and

provided most of the costumes for it, the preparing the College Hall for performance, a job that normally fell to the Chamber, and sourcing scenography, properties, makeup, and additional costumes were the responsibilities of the School.

These accounts make it clear that the efforts that went into creating an impressive and striking spectacle of the performance indicate that the occasion was of great importance to the school. The finances for the school production of *Sapientia Solomonis* exceeded those of any other school play in the 1560s, as shown with the customized backdrop and the fee for the trumpeter, for example. The artificial light played a significant role in creating stunning visuals for the performance, as the flickering lights would have made the gold in the Prologue's garlands, in the children's painted faces, in the Queen of Sheba's headdress, glimmer and glitter. In addition, the live flames would have made Queen of Sheba's bejewelled and gilded gifts in Act 5, into an eye-catching event, inviting the audience to focus on them, and further emphasized the queen's superiority as a guest in comparison to Cecilia.

Although the performance was produced by the school, the idea of the subject matter, as discussed in Chapter 3, would most likely have come from Cecil. Therefore, in addition to showcasing the brilliance of the Westminster School to their patron, the spectacle worked to comment on Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship and to reinforce a hierarchy between them. The organisation of space in the College Hall, and the artificial light, worked together to highlight people of importance, and the idea of King Solomon's ideal court was advanced with the help of music. As demonstrated in previous chapters, Cecilia and Elizabeth had cultivated an intimate and familial relationship early in their relationship, however the relationship structure between the two women as presented by their dramatic types in the performance, adhered to a strict hierarchy, where Cecilia was encouraged to submit to Elizabeth's superiority. By showing how the spectacle of *Sapientia Solomonis* worked to display Elizabeth's magnificence, this chapter furthers the argument

that the performance reinforced the hierarchical relationship between the Elizabeth and Cecilia, and commented on Cecilia's shortcomings as a guest.

Conclusion

The central focus of this thesis has been the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis*, because it offers a unique opportunity to study how early Elizabethan court performance was a vehicle for negotiating Elizabeth's Anglo-Swedish relationships. The performance event of the play locates the the queen and the Swedish princess Cecilia at the same event, and there is a performance text associated with it. The performance took place at a pivotal point in their relationship, as Cecilia and her husband Christopher had accumulated a vast amount of debt and started to become unpopular among some Londoners and courtiers. Court performance was a way in which the court commented on this relationship. For example, a month after the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, a close friend at Elizabeth's court advised Cecilia visiting Elizabeth as he had seen a comedy at court which ridiculed Cecilia's economic difficulties.⁴⁶⁴ Furthermore, in a letter of complaints made by Cecilia several years after her visit to England she lists an incident where, watching a comedy at court, a black performer was brought in to satirize her husband.⁴⁶⁵ Whereas there are no surviving play-texts connected to these instances, there are two surviving copies of the play-text for the performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, which makes this performance a rare chance to study early Elizabethan court drama as a political tool.

I used the Westminster performance of *Sapientia Solomonis* in this thesis as a prism through which I shed light on early modern printed books networks and manuscript production, systems of patronage and gift-exchanges, Tudor iconography, and early Elizabethan court performance. What transpires through the course of the thesis is that the school version of *Sapientia Solomonis* was the product of an intricate network of individuals. The school version of *Sapientia Solomonis* is an adaption of Sixt Birck's drama

⁴⁶⁴ Ethel Seaton, *Queen Elizabeth & a Swedish Princess*, pp. 21-22 and Tegenborg Falkdalen, p. 129.

⁴⁶⁵ SP 70/121 fol. 32, 'The Lady Cecilia of Baden'.

with the same name, and the knowledge of Birck's work in England was most likely due to the Protestant network of exiles working at Opirinus' printing press where Birck was published. One of these individuals might have even written the adaptation. A play called *Sapientia Solomons* was performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, and it is plausible that the connections between the College and Westminster School was the reason the play was considered for the performance before Elizabeth and Cecilia in 1565/6. The bibliography of the BL copy and the Folger copy of the play-text reveals a network of antiquarians and manuscript collectors who are the reason for these manuscripts still existing today. The study of the performance copies also informed the discussion of who might have been the recipients of the original four manuscripts that were produced as gifts alongside the performance. These gifts played a role in maintaining and furthering the relationship between the school and their royal patron, Elizabeth, as well as with the council. The school was closely linked to the court through its position in Westminster, the personal friendship between Dean Goodman and Cecil, and through the patronage of Elizabeth. Furthermore, the analysis of the production of the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomons* has unveiled the works of several individuals that were involved in the production. At the centre of the study, however, has been the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia.

I found that the Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomons* worked as a diplomatic tool in negotiating Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship through the use of iconography, the framework of patronage and gift-exchange, as well as by the spectacle of performance. These areas of study formed my critical perspectives in the thesis, which enabled me to analyse how the production commented and negotiated the relationship between the English queen and the Swedish princess. First, I approached the production from the critical perspective of iconography. The production explicitly drew parallels between the characters in the play, and the two royal women in the audience, in the

Prologue and Epilogue, and by doing so, it actively commented on their relationship and urged it to be as hierarchical as the one in the play. The production used the framework of typology to link Elizabeth's rulership to that of Solomon's in the play, and her kingdom to that of Jerusalem, the holiest of lands. The play therefore comments on Sweden's inferiority and urges Cecilia to submit to Elizabeth's magnificence, just as the Queen of Sheba submits to King Solomon in the performances. More importantly, the production formed a political statement that Elizabeth's kingdom is superior to the kingdom Cecilia represented: Sweden.

The second critical perspective concerned patronage, where I analysed exchanges of letters and gifts that framed the relationship between Elizabeth and Cecilia. Studying four never-before discussed or published letters that were part of the exchange prior to Cecilia's visit to England, demonstrated that the two women initiated and furthered their relationship through the letter-writing, to the point where it was a familial and intimate friendship. The gifts that accompanied these letters worked to actively advance their relationship. The first meetings between Elizabeth and Cecilia showed that their relationship was thriving and developed further at the beginning of Cecilia's visit in England. Situating the performance within the wider context of Elizabeth and Cecilia's relationship, showed that their relationship was in the process of changing at the time of the performance. The themes of the Westminster adaptation of *Sapientia Solomonis* of protocols of court conduct and gift-exchange were pertinent reminders that Cecilia was not the ideal guest as presented in the play by the Queen of Sheba. Laden with debt, courtiers began to turn against her soon after the performance, which I noted in the performance instances above. Furthermore, approaching the Westminster School production of *Sapientia Solomonis* through the critical perspective of patronage I have been able to clarify the relationship between the School and Elizabeth as their patron, where Elizabeth would frequently visit the School and at times work in the interest of the School

in negotiations with Westminster. The performance, and the gift copies, played a role to maintain and strengthen the School's relationship to their patron.

The last critical perspective focused on the practicalities around the staging of *Sapientia Solomonis*. I found that the Revels Office was involved in the production, but that the Master of the Revels, Thomas Benger, was not the producer of the performance. Instead, the Westminster School had the ultimate responsibility for the performance, and organised the performance space, sourced costumes and properties, as well as scenography – tasks that in other court performance would be the responsibility of the court. This study has been able to further the scholarly discussion on the Revels Office, Tudor court drama, and the Master of the Revels, conducted by scholars such as Richard Dutton, William R. Streitberger, and John Astington. From comparing accounts of Westminster School performances in the 1560s, it is clear that more money and effort went into the production of *Sapientia Solomonis* than any other School production. The performance occasion attended by not only Elizabeth and her council, but Cecilia too, was therefore considered far more significant than any other event produced by the school in that decade. It was an opportunity for the School to demonstrate their brilliance to their patron, and for the English court to display Elizabeth's magnificence to the foreign Cecilia.

My research study was conducted through an analysis of the play-texts, archival records such as accounts, and architecture. This methodology enabled me to situate the performance within its original performance context as far as possible. Tudor halls were inherently hierarchical structured spaces and I argue that the production positioned the audience in relation to each other and the performance space in a way that encouraged focus on Elizabeth as well as the performance, because that way, Elizabeth's magnificence was emphasized. In addition, if Cecilia sat near Elizabeth, they would mirror the positioning of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in Act 5.6, which

would reinforce the typological like between King Solomon and Elizabeth, as well as the Queen of Sheba and Cecilia. Furthermore, during the course of this thesis I uncovered the Folger copy of the play-text, which means that I was able to carry out an intertextual study of the manuscripts and Birck's version of the play-text. Through the comparative study of the BL copy and the Folger copy I found that the BL copy was the most expensive copy to produce. Scholars such as Rogers Payne and Tate have suggested that the BL copy was aimed for Elizabeth as a gift to go alongside the performance, which I have been able to confirm. By studying the two copies alongside each other, I was able to discuss the performance copies in a more nuanced way than has previously been done. Also, this comparative analysis revealed that the Folger copy was also one of the finer copies. Furthermore, this study provides another example of the practice of gifting copies of the play-text for some early modern court performance.

The findings in this thesis benefits anyone interested in early Tudor court performance and Elizabethan school performances, because it urges a reshaping of how we think about early court drama produced by schools and performed at schools. The Westminster School performance of *Sapientia Solomonis*, was neither a school production nor a court production but an event, simultaneously incorporating elements of both. As a result of my study, further research might well be conducted on Elizabethan school performances before the court, in order to build a more comprehensive picture of the performance culture of these productions. Also, staging the play-text of the Westminster version of *Sapientia Solomonis* in the Westminster School College Hall, informed by the research in this study, would further test the findings in this thesis and see how they work in practice. The staging of the Westminster School version of the play-text followed by Birck's version of the drama would test the practical impact of the adaptation. This thesis demonstrates that performances made by schools are a valid research topic for any one who wants to understand how early Elizabethan performance

connected with the court worked as political tools for maintaining, furthering, and negotiating courtly relationships.

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APPENDIX 1- Transcription of WAM 54000 – 1565/6

Expenses for the furniture and setting forthe
of A plaie entytled *Sapientia Solomonis*
plaied of the children of the gramm(ar) schoole
before the counsel. Januar: 17. 1565.

Imp(ri)mis for three quiar of fyne pap(er) for three copies of the sayde entrelude	xviiij d
Item for twoo other quiar of meane pap(er) for twoo other copies of the sayed enterlude	viii d
Item for paper otherwise bestowed in wryting owte the children(es) part(es)	xijd
Item geuen to m ^r . Allen his sonne, att thappointement of m ^r . Deane, for wryting twoo copies of the saide entrelude thone in text, thother in romane hande	vj s viij d
Item for the bynding of one copie in vellume wi th the Queenes ma ^{tie} hir arm(es) & sylke ribben string(es)	ij s
Item for the byndyng of fowre other copies in vellum wi th string(es) of sylke	viiid
Item for vermilon to make redd inke for intremingling the l(ett)res of the sayde copies therew(ith)	xiiij d
Item for blacke inke to wrighte the same	iiij d
Item geuen to m ^r . Smythe for paper, golde foyle, redd & blacke inke bestowed in drawing Lettres of the tittle of the sayde entrelude & the names of thowsen	xij d
Item geuen to m ^r . Vssher for colors & golde foyle bestowed in coloring the children fac(es) & in gylting the garland(es) for the p(ro)log(es)	vij d
Item geuen for an instrumente called A payre of peaces occupied of one the plaiers	iiij d
Item for twoo yard(es) of brode saye for the Quene of Saba hir heade	xij d
Item for pines to pinne vpp the canapee	iiij d

<i>Item</i> for perfumes for the chambre	viiij d
<i>Item</i> for greate pin(es) to pinne vpp the L(ett)res	ij d
<i>Item</i> for A thousand of small pinn(es)	vijd
<i>Item</i> for ii A boxes of Dredge to cleare the children	xvi d
<i>Item</i> geuen for botehie<r> for the conueiance of thapparell from the revull(es) vnto Westminst(e)r & fro(m) thence vnto the reuell(es) againe	xxj d
<i>Item</i> geuen to thofficers of the reuell(es)	xiiij s viiij d
>> PAGE BREAK <<	
<i>Item</i> geuen to A tayler for making fytt the children(es) attyre attending vppon them one hole daye	ij s
<i>Item</i> geuen to m ^r Tayler his man for his bote hyer to & fro, conueying his m(aster's) apparell and instru// ment(es) fro(m) London vnto westminste(r) & for his paines taken therein	xij d
<i>Item</i> geuen to A Trompeter	vij s
<i>Item</i> geuen to A woma(n) that brawght hir childe to the stadge & there attended vppo(n) itt	xij d
<i>Item</i> geuen to A painter for drawing the cytee & temple 466Of Jerusalem, & for paynting townes	v s
Sum(ma)	Lijs xd p(ai)d to m ^r Brown
Gabriel Goodman	

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Expenses for the setting forthe of A Comedie
of Plautus entytled Menchmi plaied of the
children of the gramm(ar) schoole before the
Counsell febr. 8. 1565.

Imp(ri)mis geuen to M^r Smythe for pap(er) redd & blacke inke

⁴⁶⁶ 52s 10d (Marginalia)

bestowed in drawing the tytle of the comedee & the names of thousen	xijd
<i>Item</i> geuen to m ^r Vssher for golde foyle and colors bestowed on the garland(es) & otherwyse	vijd
<i>Item</i> for paper geuen vnto the children to wryght owt theire part(es) therew(i)th	xijd
<i>Item</i> for A thowsand of pinn(es) for the children rep(re)senting weomen	vijd
<i>Item</i> for botcher to & fro in conueying thapparell fro(m) the reuell(es) and in performing the same againe thereunto	xxjd
<i>Item</i> geuen to A tayler working an hole daye in making fytt the children(es) attyre	xijd
<i>Item</i> geuen to theofficers in the reuell(es)	xiijs iiijd
<i>Item</i> paid for the blade of A raper & for the scabberd of vellett w(hi)ch) being borrowed of thearle of rutland was by euill happ broken in the plaie	vis viijd
<i>Item</i> geuen for A Comedie of Plautus bawght for thuse of the children	iiis iiijd

467	Sum(ma)	xxixs	iijd
		p(ai)d to m ^r	
	Gabriel Goodman		Browne/

And [Sum(m)a totalis_iiij [xiiija] ijs ijd]

xd	<i>Item</i> p(ai)d ? to hym for the making vpp agayne of ij copes for that were occupyid about the playes	iiis
	Sum(ma) Totali(s) iiij iijs jd	

467 29s 3d (marginalia)

APPENDIX 2 - WAM 43049 – 1564/5

The Expences of acting
two plays, in the College
of westm(inister);, before Queen
Elizabeth, 1564

The bill of charge(s) for
One interlude and
Comedys after mycs(?)

> PAGE BREAK >

The expences of twoo plays for Heautontimorumenos Terentij
And Miles gloriosus Plauti
Plaied by the children of the
gramer schoole in the college
of westminster & before the
Queenes maieste a 1564

Imp(ri)mis att ye rehersing before Sir Thomas Benger for
pinnes & suger candee

vjd

It(em) the second tyme att the playing of heautonti.
for pinnes half A thowsand

vjd

It(em) for A lynke to bring thapparell fro(m) the reuells

iiijd

It(em) bestowed vppon three gentlewomen that did attyre
the childrene

iiijd

It(em) att the playing of miles glor: in m_r Deanes
howse for the pinne(s) halfe A thowsand

vjd

It(em) for frankincense

jd

It(em) geuen the same tyme to W_m Bayly for pinns

ijd

It(em) geuen to m_r Secretarie his armorer to furbush againe
Certaine armor borrowed of him

vijd

It(em) to his man

ijd

It(em) for bote hyre to bring apparel fr(om) the reuells

iiijd

X It(em) for suger candee for the children

ijd

X It(em) geuen to m_r Holte yeoman of the reuells

xs

It(em) to his men

iijs iiijd

It(em) att the playing of miles gloriosus befor the
Quenes maiestee for pynns di: thowsand

vjd

It(em) for bote hyre to conveye apparel fr(om) ye reuells

vjd

It(em) for frankincense

jd

It(em) to M_r Smythe for ryall pap(er) inke, & colores for the

wrytung of greate Lettres, & for A box of comfette for the children	iijs iijd
It(em) to m _r Taylor his ma(n) for going vpp & downe to diu(er)se places in London	xijd
It(em) geuen to m _r Holte	xs
It(em) to his men	iijs iiijd
It(em) to A woman attiring y _e children	xijd
It(em) to m _r Secretatie his armorer	xijd
It(em) for ij calls w(hich) were loste	iijs iiijd
It(em) for butterd beere for y _e children being horse	xijd
It(em) for one Plautus geuen to y _e Queenes maiestie and Fowre other vnto the nobilitie	xjs
It(em) geuen to the drom(er) for y _e lone of his drome	xiJd
And to m _r Brown more	vijd
And for a blackjack	iijd
I(tem) geuen to twoo servants of Holte	xvid

<<cover>>

Serenissimæ atq(ue) Illustrissima Principi, Dominæ
Elizabethæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hÿbernia Regina
defensori fidei, Sorori Dominæ ac consanguineæ

nostræ charissimæ

<<page break>>

1. Serenissimæ, atq(ue) Illustrissimæ Principi, Dominæ ELIZABETHÆ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hijberniæ Regina, defensori fidei, Sorori ac consangúineæ súæ charissimæ,
2. Cecilia Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalorum, etc Princeps Salutem, ualetudinem optimam. Regnorum suorum foelicem statum e(t) incrementum, necnon prosperarum
3. rerum omnium fortunam cumulatissimam, e(t) si quid præterea amplius in rebus mortalibus beati Ves: Sereniss(im)ee: *M(ajes)tarai exoptari possit cupidissime e(t) officiosissime
4. precatur, inclitissima Regina, Domina, soror e(t) consanguinea charissima, Quamuis meunte æstate Nobili cuidam Regni uestri, nomine Mester Keel cum hinc
5. discederet negotium dedimus, ut nostro nomine Sereniss: V:Mtêm Salutare, atq(ue) simul nostra obsequia studia amica, e(t) perbenignam uoluntatem offerret ipsiq(?)
6. literis traditis eius rei fidem facientibus, addito quoque exiguo quodam munusculo, in testificationem e(t) euidentiùs testimonium propensissimi & obsequiosissimi
7. nostri animi, e(t) studij cupidissimi erga Sereniss:V:Mtêm; Nihilominus tamen iterum perscribendum duximus Sereniss:V: Mti ex eo quod nullum responsum ad
8. priores nostras literas datas accepimus, simul et cum ignoremus an predictus Nobilis uti promisit uoluntatem nostram executus sit. Quamobrem primo ut
9. debemus Serenissima Regina, Domina, Soror e(t) consanguinea charissima, nostram personam, et omnia quæ obsequentissimæ uoluntatis ergo a nobis prestari poterint
10. in gratiam Sa: V: Mâtis commendamus, cum amica petitione ut Sere: ues: Mâs non grauetur nos, & propensissimam nostram uoluntatem in suum fauorem
11. suscipere, quod nobis argumento e(t) certo inditio erit, si Sereniss: Sac: ues: Mtâs ad nostras literas nobis responderit qua in re nobis fecerit rem acceptatissimam,
12. et gratissimam, nec in minimo loco fortunæ nostræ ponendam Serenis: V:Mtis gratiam e(t) mutuam beneuolentiam erga nos ex literis uestris cognita habere.
13. Deinde Sereniss: Regina, soror e(t) consanguinea charissima silentio præterire non

possumus, quod a nonnullis nobis indicatum sit prenominatum Nobilem

14. in offensionem uest: Sac: Mtis incidissi, atq(ue) in uincula coniectum, Quamobrem
obnixè Serenis: Ves: Mtêm rogatam uolumus, siquid nostra intercessio e(t) preces-

15. ualeant, apud uest: Illustriss: Serenitatem, quod nobis plane pollicemur ut nostra causa
delicti si in aliquo peccauerit gratiam facere dignetur atq(ue) in

16. pristinam suam clementiam eum recipere, quod nobis non minus gratum futurum,
quam reliqua Sac: Ves: Mtâtis gratiæ e(t) fauoris sui erga nos inditia,

17. que nos omnibus obsequijs studijs e(t) benignissima semper uoluntate
recompensabimus, eam spem semper fouentes; fore Deo adiuuante, ut antequam

18. naturæ ordine in fata concedamus Sereniss: uest: Mtêni e(t) uideamus: e(t) coram
nostra obsequia offeramus: Hisce Deo optimo maximo Serenissima Regina

19. Domina, Soror, e(t) consanguinea charissima, Illustrissimam V: Mtêm incolumem,
cum florenti statu et perpetuo Regni uestri foeliti incremento, pros:

20. :perarum rerum omnium successu e(t) prouectu affluente in æternum commendatam
esse amicissime cupimus. Datæ Stockhom 9 Nouembris

21. Anno 1562

22. Sereniss: uest: Mtât

23. Soror & consanguinea

24: chariss:

25. Cecilia Suer corum, Gothorum

26. & Wandalorum Princeps.

27. manu propria (signature)

1. Right Highe and mightie Princes Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene
2. Englande France and Irelande Defender of the faythe, &, your maie(ste)s
3. Deare Syster Cecilia Prynces borne of Sweden, Gotland and Wandal <>
4. Wisshethe vnto your grace moste prosperous health, a Longe and
5. Tryumphante reigne, with fortunate Successes in all youre grac<..>
6. proceedinges. Hit may please your excellent maiestie that I have befo[re]
7. this tyme wryten vnto your grace Twoo Severall Lres. And althou [ghe]
8. I never had answeere of any of them, yet having nowe a Sute of my
9. owne vnto your highnes, am (as it were) constrayned to wryte agay[n]
10. Vnto your grace, not only for thobtayninge of my preasente Sute [But]
11. principally for the greate and worthy fame of your noble vertues, garni<...>
12. with Compassion full well declared and to all Christians manifest
13. by your graces Late Doinges in Scotlande who (althoughe they [have]
14. bene of a Longe tyme aunciente Enemyes vnto the Crowne if Engla[nde]
15. had bene broughte vnto vtter ruyne and Decay of your maesi<...>
16. had not Spedely provided for ther defence. And now of Late
17. by your graces willinge redynes in aydinge the poore faythefull f<...>
18. agaynste ther Crewell and raging Enemyes whiche without yr?
19. graces migthie helpe, are lyke to be Sore oppressed as by a boo<...>
20. for the by your maiestie (whiche we have here Seane) full well [app]
21. to the greate Comforte of faythefull Christians. Prayinge you-
22. Longe to Contynewe your maiestie in all Suche your godly proce[sses]
23. and to Sende you most prosperous Successes in the same all which
24. thinges do put me in good hope to come vnto the thinge whiche I hau[e]
25. alwayes Desyred that is to honor your grace as a mother of vert[ue]
26. to Love you as my deare Syster and to Sarve you as my [?]
27. whiche in harte and mynde I do, and have done, for your worthe
28. fame and pryncely vertues Sakes wherfore I humbly requ[est]
29. your maiestie to be So good and gracious vnto me, as to wr[ite]
30. vnto the kynge my brother your favourable Letter, that he will
31. Lycence me to go over in to englande for to Sarve your grace <>
32. cawse I do not mynde to mary in this Lande. Nether any where el[se]
33. vntill I have Sene your grace and realme. Because aboute a yere past

34. there came hether a noble man of polande. Called the Earle of Teyns<>
35. To treate of matters betweane the kynge my brother and the kinge
36. pole his m[aster]. At whiche tyme he also moved matter vnto the kyng
37. Brother for the mariage of me vnto whom his grace made a gran[t]
38. Contrary vnto my mynde or will. condicionally that he p[er]formed
39. Covenantes as they agreed vppon whiche in yhe ende was broken off
<< Page Break>>

1. by my Sayde Brother. So that now his grace wolde haue me to take
2. the Lantgrave of hessen his eldest Sonn whiche I will in no wyse
3. Concente nor agre vnto but will rather Sarve your grace and
4. contynewe vnmaryed vntill god dothe otherwyse appoynte. Wherefore
5. I moste humbly requyre your grace to tender this my request and
6. to Sende your favorable Letter, by Some of those noble men w<hi>ch
7. kept most Company withe my brother Duke John, at his beinge there
8. or by any other whom your grace shall thinke good. And that it
9. may be here if it were possible by easter next for abowte that
10. tyme the Lantgraves Sonne wilbe here. So that if your graces
11. Letter be not here before his Comynge, I shalbe mucche Troubled
12. to withstande my brothers requeste t in that behalfe. Thus
13. Leavinge to trouble your grace any moare at this tyme. I Commyt
14. you vnto the Tuic[i]on of Almightye god, who Sende youre
15. highnes (withe victory) to Tryvmphe over all your Enemiyes
16. and your hartes desyre in all thinges. From Stockholme the
17. xviiijth of January Ao 1563.
18. you[re] ma[jes]ties Lovinge Syster
19- to Commande
20. Ceicia manu propria
21. [Signature]

APPENDIX 6 - SP 70/52/135 The Queen to the Princess Cecilia of Sweden,
Corrected draft in Cecil's hand - March 16th 1563

1. R deare and clyerly beloved Cousi(n) and Sister we grete yow well
2. and where we have receved your lres wrythe in [...]
3. to vs, dated the xvijth of January by which
4. p[er]ceave your good Judgment concived off our doing(es) [that] y[our] report
5. and for good fame of our gov[er]na[n]ce at home and our
6. good dealy[n]g[es] w[ith] our neighbors [...] of Scotla(n)d and fra[n]ce ([wherein])
7. we fully thank almighty God for y[our] asista[n]ce of his grace
8. w[ith]out which we make no acco[m]pt any power) [year]
9. moovd w[ith] other such com[m]e[n]dable act[es] which yow doo
10. well Judge of hath moved yow go desyre to be come hyt[h]er
11. to us, and here to co[n]tynew as as a doughter a sistar or
12. a s[er]vant, for which your earnest good will favor and
13. inclynatio[n] to us, we thank yow, and thynk yow
14. to des[er]ve our favor in any thy[n]g wh[er]in we may gr[ant]
15. yow. and for your satisfacton we assure yow < [...]>
16. ye shall co[n]tynew in this my[n]d and shall purpoos to come
17. to this your realme, ye shall fynd in us a dispositio[n]
18. toward[es] yow, more lyke a good fre[n]d and or sister tha[n]
19. lyke a mastress. But for ye bryngy[n]g your desyre to
20. pass, ther be some causes, yet move vs to forbear to
21. Wryte to [ye] king your brother, which we have caused to
22. be declared to some of your frend[es] or s[er]va[n]t[es]. and this for
23. for this present we have thought it sufficie[n]t to assure
24. yow by theis o[ur] lres, not onely of o[ur] good Co[n]tentatio[n] to have you
25. here in our Court, but also of our allowa[n]ce, and good
26. acceptatio[n] of [yis], your fre[n]dly desyre and so we Com[m]e[n]d you good
27. sister to almighty God.

APPENDIX 7 - SP 70-49-39 Cecilia to Elizabeth - May 22nd 1563

1. Right highe and mightie Princes my Recommendac[i]ons beinge done
2. vnto your ma[jestie] in humble wyse. Hit may please you that I have
3. receyved your graces favorable and Lovinge letter. Dated the
4. xvjth of marche withe a Table rubye for whiche I do render vnto
5. your highnes moste hartie thanks whiche letter and ringe, I will
6. not only keepe but also esteme as my cheffeste jewelles. And
7. forasmoch as god (who is the only geveer of all goodnes, vnto those
8. whiche do put ther truste and Confidence in him) hathe put in
9. your maiesties good mynde, to accepte my requeste, made in my
10. Laste letter. Assuringe me, that ye make accompt to take
11. me, rather as a good frende or Syster, then as a Sarvante. And
12. not only contente to have me in your highnes Courte, but also
13. to geve me the allowans of your graces goodnes wherby I am
14. even Constrayned from henceforthe (lyke as heretofore I have
15. bene mynded) bothe to honor and Sarve your maiestie duringe
16. Lyte your noble offer to mewardes beinge on my parte vnde-
17. sarved neverthelesse I do render vnto god the glory, and vnto
18. your highnes most hartie thanks. And to assure your
19. ma[jes]tie that I contynewe constante in my former mynde and purpos
20. I have alrede made Sute vnto the kinge my brother, to licence
21. me to go over vnto your ma[jes]tie withe as moche spede as may be wh <.>
22. dothe not myslyke my requeste. And if it might Stande [in?]
23. your highnes faver, to vouchesalfe to wryte three or fower
24. Lynes in my behalfe vnto the kinge my brother I were (lyke a[s?]
25. alrede I am) moche bownde vnto your ma[jes]tie. And shulde therby wholly
26. accomplishe my desyre I do well consider the cawse that letted
27. your maiestie to wryte nowe of late vnto the kinge my brother
28. in my behalfe god forgeve these whiche from tyme to tyme have
29. bene thoccasioners therof and have Soughte alwates to hinder
30. my Brothers pretended vyage in to englande. And
31. thus I commyt your ma[jes]tie vnto the Tuic[i]on of almightie
32. god. Who Sende you longe and most Tryumphantly to
33. Reigne to thonour and prayse of god. And to the Consolac[i]on

34. and Comforte of all your graces faythefull frendes and
35. Subiectes of from Stockholme the xxiith of May Ao 1563
36. your graces Loving Cousin
37. and Syster and Sarwante
38. to command Ceiclia [signature]