‘To Register her vertues, I should spend / An age of time’: Political Echoes in Thomas Heywood’s Ages Pentalogy

C. Renwick

PhD

2021

‘To Register her vertues, I should spend / An age of time’: Political Echoes in Thomas Heywood’s Ages Pentalogy

Chloe Renwick

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the Faculty of Arts, Design & Social Sciences

October 2021

Abstract

This thesis reads Thomas Heywood's Ages pentalogy in relation to their political contexts – chiefly in relation to the 1590s – to argue for their value to understanding more about how the stage was satirising English political representation and propaganda in these years. In my reading, what emerges is an obsessive use of mythology to think about the iconography, person, and court of Elizabeth I. The plays have suffered critical neglect due to their fragmentary narratives, showy special effects, and uncertain dating. This thesis argues that we should, however, recognise the value of these texts by reconceiving the terms upon which they are studied. Popular in their time, the Ages pentalogy use classical narratives and legacies as smokescreens for barbed critique of the English political system, reaching time and again for the spectacular as a vehicle of politicised meaning.

Contents

Acknowledgements

I am immensely thankful to my supervisors Dr Paul Frazer and Dr Adam Hansen whose expertise, dedication and patience have made this thesis possible.

I am also grateful to Northumbria University for providing the funding to allow me to undertake this research and I would like to thank Funds for Women Graduates for awarding me a grant to ensure I could complete my study.

Finally, I must thank the staff at Northumbria University library and the Inter Library Loans team for being endlessly helpful and fulfilling my many requests.

Declaration

Declaration I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this commentary has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted through the Researcher's submission to Northumbria University's Ethics Online System on 08/01/2018.

I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 90,804 words

Name: Chloe Renwick

Signature:

Date: 26/10/2021

Introduction: 'the Flower of all his Plays'

Thomas Heywood's Ages pentalogy brackets a series of plays entitled *The Golden Age, The Silver Age, The Brazen Age* and *The Iron Age I* & *II*. Their narratives follow the Ages of Man cycles from Hesiod's *Works and Days* and the opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – that is, Saturn's loss of the Cretan throne to his son Jupiter and the life and trials of Hercules through the battle, siege, and aftermath of Troy. The Ages plays thus retold some of the major Greek and Roman myths from a variety of classical and medieval writers; and they did so spectacularly, with some of the most elaborate and concentrated uses of special effects and stage directions in any plays of the period. Such commitment to spectacular translations of ancient narratives was a clear selling point of the plays; yet, the Ages have been too often marginalised to a popular (and, for some, gratuitous) curiosity of the early modern literary canon. This thesis argues that part of what made the Ages so popular was precisely their interest in political satire, where the often sordid intrigues of classical characters and narratives yielded irresistible subject matter for the politically-charged arena of the late-Elizabethan stage. This argument necessitates a return to the question of when the plays were written and first performed, which I address as part of a wider literature review of the dating debate.

Part of what has contributed to the Ages' critical neglect is that the series was not published until the Jacobean period and was not issued as a coherent whole. *The Golden Age* was first printed in 1611, *The Brazen* and *The Silver Age* in 1613, and both parts of *The Iron Age* were not published until 1632.[1] As chapter one illustrates, these editions seem likely to postdate the original writing and performance dates by quite some time; and we should instead consider them to be revisions of 1590s plays, written by Heywood close to the beginning of his career (when he was around twenty years old). The at times fractured and jarring nature of the Ages' writing style were products of an ambitious young playwright deeply influenced by the topicality of his peers (most centrally, Christopher Marlowe); and within the plays we can learn much about the relationship between the late Tudor stage and the Crown in these turbulent years.

[1] I discuss possible reasons for the publication delay in my Appendix.

For the Ages are utterly fascinated by politics of legacy, marital lineage and sexuality (especially female sexuality) in ways that speak repeatedly and, at times, obsessively, to the political context of a late-Elizabethan composition. We know that Heywood was fascinated by Elizabeth I's iconography and biography because he produced a range of works about her in the years after her death, including the popular two-part dramatic biography *If you know not me, You know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (1605).[2] Indeed in Heywood's compendious account of British history, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (1609), he stated that 'To Register her vertues, I should spend / An age of time' in a possible allusion to what was attempted in the Ages plays.[3] While the Queen was still alive, however, comments about her had to be more oblique. And, just as texts like Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (*c*.1589) had proved, narratives of classical mythology yielded fruitful political adjacencies with the Tudor English court and its fractious political pasts and presents. Because it makes sense to do so, then, this thesis reads the Ages plays politically, paying especial attention to their satirical treatment of Elizabeth and the Tudor bloodline.

To outline the parameters and approach of my reading, this introduction begins by foregrounding some of the more spectacular aspects of the plays – aspects which, though integral to their success in their own time, have certainly since contributed to the Ages' critical neglect. Through an illustrative example of spectacle from *The Golden Age*, I outline how, far from dumbing down these ancient narratives, the action sequences in these plays often enrich them by inviting topical readings. In a similar vein, I proceed to discuss how the myth of Heywood as a hack writer has also contributed to the marginalisation of these plays, despite the emerging awareness that Heywood was a sophisticated writer deeply interested in politics of the past, present and future. It is, specifically, elite representation (especially Elizabeth's), propaganda, contemporary affairs and the attitudes and themes pertaining to

[2] Thomas Heywood, *If you know not me, you know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) I, pp.189-248; *If you know not me, you know no body: The second part*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) I, pp.249-344. Between 1605 and 1639, *Part I* was printed eight times and *Part II* five times, with each edition featuring an engraving of Elizabeth on the title page. For more on the plays, see Teresa Grant, 'Drama Queen: Staging Elizabeth in *If you know not me you know nobody*', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.120-142. Heywood also compiled a prose account of her life: *Englands Elizabeth her life and troubles* (1631); see Heywood, *Englands Elizabeth*, ed. by Philip R. Rider (London: Garland Publishing, 1982). Heywood includes two memorials for Elizabeth in *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history Concerninge women* (London: 1624; STC 13326), pp.123, 398. In 1640, Heywood also celebrated Elizabeth as one of the Christian worthies in *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world. Three Jewes. Three gentiles. Three Christians* (London; STC 13316, pp.182-212). The work also featured another engraving of the monarch, by the artist George Glover (p.182).

[3] Heywood, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (London: 1609; STC 13366), p.465.

these, that this thesis considers as its 'political' focus. By placing the Ages in (and therefore reactive to) the 1590s, their engagement with late Tudor political scandal and intrigue is more apparent. Heywood's political interests often required him to employ mythology as a smokescreen for critique; but this was not an unusual approach. Thus I demonstrate how the Ages – despite their distinctive style – were in-keeping with many mythological texts of the period. My introduction then shows how all these elements combine, framing the subsequent case studies which follow.

I. Political Spectacle

Beyond the works for which he is mainly remembered – *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, *Troia Britanica* and *An Apology for Actors* – the long life and career of Thomas Heywood (*c*.1573-1641) are seldom afforded more than passing critical consideration. Yet, throughout the approximately 47 years that he wrote for the stage, Heywood claimed to have contributed to 220 plays, and he seems to have worked for a number of London's most notable playing companies.[4] His plays were performed at the Rose, Cockpit, Fortune, Curtain, Phoenix, Red Bull, Globe and at court.[5] In contrast to jobbing playwrights and poets like Thomas Dekker, Heywood not only carved a living, but was one of the most successful playwrights and theatrical shareholders of his generation.[6] Even early in his career Heywood received praise, when in 1598 Francis Meres celebrated him among 'the best for Comedy' alongside John Lyly, George Gascoigne and William Shakespeare.[7] This accolade came in the same year that the early incarnations of *The Silver* and *The Brazen Age* seem to have been revived at the

[4] In *The English Traveller* (1633), Heywood tells the reader that the play was 'one reserved amongst two hundred and twenty in which I have had either an entire hand or at the least a main finger'. Heywood, *The English Traveller,* in *A Woman Killed with Kindness and Other Domestic Plays,* ed. by Martin Wiggins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.283.

[5] On the location of performances of Heywood plays, see Grace Ioppolo, 'Thomas Heywood, Script-Doctor', in *Shakespeare Without Boundaries: Essays in Honor of Dieter Mehl*, ed. by Christa Jansohn, Lena Cowen Orlin and Stanley Wells (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2011), p.47.

[6] For Kathleen E. McLuskie, it is the range of theatres that Heywood wrote for which qualify him as a 'professional' dramatist alongside Thomas Dekker; see McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p.9. Grace Ioppolo notes that Heywood had shares in Worcester's Men, Queen Anne's Men, the King's Men and Queen Henrietta's Men. Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, authority and the playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006), p.13. Andrew Gurr explains that a 'share in the Admiral's Men, with ten sharers, in 1597 or 1602, was worth £50; in its successor in 1613 with twelve sharers [one being Heywood] it was worth £70. A Queen Anne's share in 1612 was valued at £80'. Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642,* 4th edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.87.

[7] Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury* (London: 1598; STC 17834), sig.2O3v.

Rose by the Admiral's Men; and, given their popularity, Meres' words suggest that the Ages plays were among the corpus of works which invited and merited Heywood's acclaim.

Originally from Lincolnshire, Heywood had arrived in London by 1593 after leaving Cambridge University – likely due to financial reasons following the death of his father that year.[8] The earliest evidence of Heywood's career are his potential additions to *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (1592), in which 'Hand B' might well have been his.[9] During the plague closures that lasted for the majority of his first year in London, Heywood likely worked on his *Oenone and Paris* – published in 1594 and a close imitation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593). In 1596, Heywood is first named in *Henslowe's Diary* in a record of a payment of thirty shillings 'for hawodes bocke'.[10] Two years later, Henslowe contracted Heywood as an actor and restricted him not to 'play any wher publicke a bowt London […] but in my howsse', i.e. the Rose playhouse.[11] As early as the Christmas of 1601/2, records show that Heywood was paid for court performances, which suggests he was already a share-holder in Worcester's Men by this point. Evidently, it did not take Heywood long to secure for himself a name as one of the most prolific new talents of the London literary scene. He came to occupy a position rivalling Shakespeare's, and a degree of financial stability that eluded so many of his contemporaries.[12] Heywood was not, then, only popular with play-going audiences, he also received praise from his fellow authors, yet never (as far as is known) provoking the kinds of rivalries seen between playwrights and their companies elsewhere. Overshadowed for posterity by the works of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Jonson, Heywood's wider corpus has much to teach us about this distinctive literary context – in particular, the relationship between literature and political scrutiny.

Where they have been read and studied, the Ages plays have been recalled primarily for their special effects – perceived adornments which contributed to the commercial success of these plays. *Henslowe's Diary* shows that when the plays (or, early versions of these plays) debuted at the Rose from 1595-6, they were by far the highest grossing plays of the month.[13]

---

[8] Richard Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre, 1599-1639: Locations, Translations, and Conflict* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), p.1.

[9] See ibid and Thomas Merriam, 'Was Hand B in *Sir Thomas More* Heywood's Autograph?', *Notes and Queries*, 35 (1988), 455-8.

[10] Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.50. All references to *Henslowe's Diary* are from this edition unless stated otherwise.

[11] Ibid, p.241.

[12] McLuskie contrasts Heywood's secure and prosperous career to Dekker's 'free-floating career' (p.2).

[13] For their first performances, the first part of the play *hercolas* generated £3 13s, the second part £3 10s, while *Troy* generated £3 9s. In contrast, a performance of *Tamburlaine I* in the same month as *hercolas I* generated

And when Henslowe's records contain a 1598 inventory of props and costumes that featured in the Ages, such as a rainbow, dragon and golden fleece, we might speculate that extravagant material investment reflects their benefactor's confidence in receiving lucrative returns.[14] On occasion, Heywood even had the opportunity to choose specific costume items for his characters – evident in the record in *Henslowe's Diary*, which shows Heywood was reimbursed the grand sum of £6 13s by Henslowe in 1602/3, for a payment made to a tailor.[15] The supernatural creatures and divine entities of the Ages present the most frequent effects of the plays, and were likely constructed with the pasteboard figures, props, and costumes that were a 'staple of the Rose of the 1590s'.[16] Pyrotechnic events also frequently feature, with at least eleven across all five plays – most often to indicate the power of the supernatural and divine.[17] The Ages were, then, among the most spectacular plays of the period. But Heywood was not the first to use such special effects, and the Ages imitate two of Heywood's predecessors: Christopher Marlowe and Robert Greene.[18] For example, Heywood's use of

---

only 22s. *Henslowe's Diary*, pp.28-9, 47. I discuss Henslowe's records and Heywood's plays in chapter one; see pp.41-46.

[14] In chapter one I discuss the Henslowe's props used in the Ages; see pp.47-48.

[15] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.223.

[16] David Mann, 'Heywood's *Silver Age*: A Flight Too Far?', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 26 (2013), 184-203 (p.188). In Henslowe's 1598 prop inventory, there is an entry for a 'dragon in fostes' and it is likely that this same pasteboard prop is also the dragon which guards the Golden Fleece in *The Brazen Age*. Henslowe's inventory also includes: a bull's head, which could have been one of the two bulls which guarded the Fleece alongside the dragon; a boar's head, likely used during the Calydonian Boar hunt in *The Brazen Age*; Cerberus's three heads, present in *The Silver Age* when Hercules defeats the beast to rescue Proserpine from the underworld; and a lion, lion's skin and two lion heads, which possibly feature when Hercules fights and conquers the Nemean lion in *The Silver Age*. See Philip Henslowe, 'Appendix 2', in *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.319-321.

[17] There are many pyrotechnic events indicated by stage directions throughout the Ages. The first is during *The Golden Age* finale, when Jupiter is given his pyrotechnic '*thunder-bolt*' (*SD*.78) and Pluto is given a '*burning Roabe*' and *'burning crowne*' (*SD*.79). In *The Silver Age*, thunder and lightning effects are often called for (98, 122, 154), including when Jupiter enters the stage with his '*Thunderbolt burning*' (*SD*.154) and Semele's bed catches fire (155). There are also '*Flashes of fire*' and fireworks when Hercules descends to Hades to meet Pluto, who is adorned with a '*club of fire, a burning crowne*' and accompanied by a group of devils '*all with burning weapons*' (*SD*.159). In *The Brazen Age*, when Hercules beats Achelous who is in the shape of a dragon, '*a Fury*' enters, with '*all fire-workes*' (*SD*.175). In the same play, Althea lights and extinguishes a fire brand (*SD*.199); two burning bulls accompanied by fireworks guard the Golden Fleece (*SD*.217); and Hercules burns his belongings on a pyre before stepping into it himself and subsequently being struck by Jupiter's thunderbolt (253-4). Although there are fewer instances of pyrotechnics in the final two Age plays, in *The Iron Age I*, the Trojans enter with 'burning staves and fire-bals' (*SD*.314); and while there are no stage directions indicating pyrotechnics in *The Iron Age II*, Aeneas's reports of 'inflamed Turrets burne' (382) and 'flames, and furies' (383) during the siege of Troy suggests there could have been pyrotechnics. All quotes are from: Heywood, *The Golden Age*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) III, pp.1-79; *The Silver Age*, in ibid, pp.80-164; *The Brazen Age*, in ibid, pp.165-256, *The First Part of The Iron Age*, in ibid, pp.257-345; *The Second Part of The Iron Age*, in ibid, pp.346-431. All subsequent quotes throughout this thesis will be referenced in text with page numbers in brackets.

[18] Tom Rutter explains that Marlowe's works contributed to the 'distinctive quality' of the Admiral's Men, one of the earliest troupes associated with Heywood. Rutter, *Shakespeare and the Admiral's Men: Reading Across Repertories on the London Stage, 1594-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.197. Marlowe plays performed by the Admiral's Men included: *Tamburlaine I* & *II* (*c*.1587-89), *The Jew of Malta* (1589?), *The Massacre at Paris* (1593) and *Doctor Faustus* (1592). The Admiral's Men also performed popular Greene

pyrotechnics echoes the use of fire in conjunction with the diabolic in both Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1594) and Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England* (*c*.1588).[19] Furthermore, a mechanical lift device features at least eight times throughout the first three Ages plays. This allowed the gods to descend and ascend to the stage, echoing Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (*c*.1587) which also featured flying gods (and was likely revived at the Rose in the 1590s).[20] Heywood took these effects to another level, merging them into mythological plays to create scenes with a physicality that audiences would rarely have experienced before.

The long theatrical residency of the plays is of course testament to their iconic status and popularity among Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences. After their initial runs at the Rose in the 1590s, the Ages were likely also performed at the Red Bull, Cockpit, Curtain and Fortune theatres.[21] But the plays had not only attracted large audiences on the public stages: their apparent splendour had also been recognised at court when in 1612, *The Silver Age* and

---

plays *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1589) and *Orlando Furioso* (1589), contributing to the troupe's flair for spectacle and bombastic drama.

[19] Heywood's dramatisation of Pluto's rape of Proserpine in *The Silver Age* echoes these two plays more closely, by using fire effects to construct a hellish setting on stage. Additionally, in *The Silver Age*, Heywood's Hercules '*sinkes himselfe*: [with] *Flashes of fire*' (*SD*.159), which echoes Greene's play *A Looking Glass for London and England*, when sinners are taken down to Hell by devils with fireworks. For instance, '*a flame of fire appeareth from beneath* [the stage], *and* Radagon *is swallowed*' (line 1360). Greene, *A Looking-Glasse for London and England*, in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 15 vols., ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964) XIV, p.62. Heywood's stage direction also describes '*Divels* [that] *appeare at every corner of the stage with severall fire-workes*' (*SD*.159), sharing imagery with *Doctor Faustus*, especially the B-text which often features stage directions that call for devils and pyrotechnics – see for example, 1.3.1.*SD*; 4.1.105.*SD*. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus, B-Text*, in *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.193, 227. For more on the stage directions in *Faustus*, see Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.146-149.

[20] The lift is first used in the finale of *The Golden Age* when 'Iris *descends*' and 'Jupiter *first ascends upon the Eagle*' (*SD*.78). In *The Silver Age* the lift is likely used when Jupiter descends in a cloud to Amphitryon's palace (98) and Juno and Iris '*descend from the heavens*' shortly after (*SD*.121); possibly when Jupiter makes his second entry to Amphitryon's palace (119), though it may have already been in use to bring the rainbow down onto the stage instead; when Juno and Iris are '*above in a cloud*' (*SD*.130); when Jupiter descends to Semele and then ascends after she has been incinerated (154-5); when Ceres is met with '*Mercury* [who] *flies from above*' (*SD*.138); and in the final scene when Jupiter, '*the Gods and Planets ascend to heaven*' (*SD*.164). The lift was likely also used during *The Brazen Age* finale, when '*from the heavens discends a hand in a cloud, that from the place where Hercules was burnt, brings up a starre, and fixeth it in the firmament*' (*SD*.254); and earlier in the play when Medea 'hangs […] in the Aire' (*SD*.217) above the Golden Fleece. As well as the flying device, *Alphonsus, King of Aragon* shares with the Ages the use of various properties listed in *Henslowe's Diary*. For more on the stage properties in Greene's play, see Matthew Dimmock, 'Materialising Islam on the Early Modern English Stage', in *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures*, ed. by Sabine Schülting, Sabine Luca Müller and Ralf Hertel (London: Routledge, 2012), p.130.

[21] Gurr elaborates on the possible theatres, explaining that Christopher Beeston (manager of the Queen Anne's Men) and Heywood began transferring the Red Bull repertoire over to the Cockpit, and *The Iron Age I* is a strong contender for material repeated at the latter venue. Gurr suggests the Curtain because it housed the Queen Anne's Men from 1603 and other Heywood plays were performed there. See Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.204. The Fortune is another possibility due to its affinity with Henslowe, of whom Heywood was, of course, an associate (see Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, pp.47-65).

another Heywood play, *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608), were performed at Greenwich Palace before Queen Anne of Denmark and Prince Henry, in a rare double-troupe performance by Queen Anne's and the King's Men.[22] The popularity of the Ages appears to have endured, too, as the plays were celebrated long after Heywood's death. For example, in 1671, Francis Kirkman recounted how Heywood had composed many of his plays in taverns, on the back of napkins, which he claimed 'occasions them to be so mean', before admitting that 'except his *Loves Mistress* [(1636)], and, next to that, his *Ages*, I have but small esteem for any others'.[23] It is more probable that Heywood wrote these plays at a table engulfed by copies of his many source texts, adapting mythological narratives for the stage and imagining his labours as comically deific, like the frontispiece of his *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (1635) – where a sleeping Jacob is pictured in relation to the author.[24] Not long after Kirkman, in 1691 Gerard Langbaine admired Heywood's Ages, and catalogued them first among his works, calling them 'the Flower of all his Plays'.[25] The later reputation of the Ages was not focused on their unsophisticated spectacular adornments; rather, on their exhibition of Heywood's scholarly knowledge and use of classical literature.[26]

While the spectacle of the plays must have contributed to their initial popularity, it has led to modern disparagement; the Ages have received similar derision to Greene's fantastical plays, whereby 'visual effects' are often read 'merely [as] substitute for a good script.'[27] However, spectacular drama can be read as serving a different purpose. Discussing Greene's use of spectacle, Jenny Sager claims that

> given the expense of theatrical special effects, it seems more than a little naïve to assume that spectacle was merely a frivolous way of entertaining the groundlings.

[22] The Revel Accounts for 12 and 13 January 1612 record: 'By the Queens players and the Kings Men. The Sunday following [Twelfth Night] at grinwidg before the Queen and the Prince was playd the Silver Aiedg: and ye next night following Lucrecia.' E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1974) IV, p.178.

[23] Kirkman, *A true, perfect, and exact catalogue* (London: 1671; Wing K637A), p.16. In Heywood's *Love's Mistress, or The Queen's Masque* (1636) he dramatises the myth of Cupid and Psyche, which, perhaps, suggests Kirkman appreciated Heywood's dramatic mythology.

[24] Arthur Melville Clark explains that in the engraving by Thomas Cecil, 'the figure of Jacob asleep in the left corner may be meant as a representation of Heywood.' Clark, *Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), p.144 n.

[25] Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford: 1691; Wing L373), p.258.

[26] Langbaine lists a number of Heywood's classical sources during his account of the plays: pp.259-260. After these accounts of Heywood, into the eighteenth century and beyond, Heywood was most typically remembered for his classicism. See David Erskine Baker, *Companion to the Play-House* (London: T.Becket et al, 1764), sigs.Q4-Q4v; Charles Dibdin, *A Complete History of the Stage*, 5 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1800) III, pp.105-6; Charles Lamb features various excerpts from a variety of Heywood plays in *Specimens of Dramatic Poets*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1808) I, pp.108-134, 163, 173-5, 194-99.

[27] Jenny Sager, *The Aesthetics of Spectacle in Early Modern Drama and Modern Cinema* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.2.

> Spectacle was not just a decorative bauble designed to dazzle the ignorant, there was also an intellectual 'strategy' behind these 'cunning shows'.[28]

It makes sense that the elaborate action sequences carried meaning; and their artistry should probably not, then, be confused with more modern conflations of special effects and lazy (or otherwise simplistic) writing. Action carries meaning, even when it is spectacular; and, for Heywood, the elaborate spectacles of antiquity held politically subversive potential.

We can see how special effects guide topical readings of these plays if we approach the Ages in light of Bertolt Brecht's theory of Epic Theatre. This centres on the relationship between a performance and its audience; specifically, Brecht recognised that performances can employ techniques to distance audiences from the action, rendering them critical observers of both the narrative and issues outside of the performance.[29] Special effects like pyrotechnics or mechanical lifts can achieve the type of distancing effect discussed by Brecht, as they diminish realism and prevent an audience from being too passive or emotionally invested in the narrative. Such a position could, in Brecht's view, 'make the spectator adopt an attitude of inquiry and criticism' and encourage audiences to 'criticize constructively from a social point of view.'[30] Brecht theorises how performance can do more than just hook an audience through emotive content; they open up an interpretive space which calls into question the realities beyond the individual and the performance. Cultural materialists have aligned Brecht with Elizabethan drama because of his recognition that performance results in political reflection. Alan Sinfield explicitly pointed out that Elizabethan literature could 'produce a critical perspective' in its audience, as it – particularly drama – often 'open[ed] the workings of power and ideology to scrutiny and contest'.[31] In a similar vein, Brecht wrote that, in theatre, 'the puzzles of the world are not solved but shown'.[32] Elizabethan dramatists often brought to the stage complexities of their inner and outer worlds, albeit opaquely; when it came to politics and political topicality, such matters

---

[28] Sager, p.24. Quotes from *John of Bordeaux* (*c.*1590-4). Pascal Drouet corroborates with Sager, explaining that spectacle 'magnetically solicits the eyes and – in the early modern times – ears with an intensity propitious to imaginary extensions, but also to critical reactions.' Pascale Drouet, 'Introduction', in *The Spectacular in and Around Shakespeare*, ed. by Drouet (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), p.x.

[29] Mark Bayer has already discussed aspects of the Ages in light of Epic Theatre but Bayer's focus is on the plays' performances at the Red Bull. Moreover, despite Bayer briefly acknowledging that a Brechtian reading of drama can 'recover the social and political energies latent' in the plays, he does not elaborate further upon what these could be. See Bayer, 'Heywood's Epic Theater', *Comparative Drama,* 40.4 (2014), 371-391 (p.387).

[30] Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, trans. and ed. by John Willett (London: Methuen, 1978), pp.136, 125.

[31] Sinfield, *Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp.94, 92.

[32] Brecht, translated in (and by): Peter Brooker, *Bertolt Brecht: Dialectics, Poetry, Politics* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), p.83.

raised questions through allusions – always plural and deniable, in accordance with censorship.[33] Indeed, it was the propensity for topical drama that led Jonathan Dollimore to claim that 'Elizabethan drama anticipated epic theatre', and Michael Hattaway to consider Brecht as 'the missing link between Jacobean drama and the contemporary materialist criticism'.[34] This is because elements of Elizabethan theatre so closely resemble those that Brecht described. Here we should consider the Ages to be no exception.

To induce the type of active and critical audience of Epic Theatre, performances feature techniques that distance spectators from the action. Brecht called these '*Verfremdungseffekte*', or 'alienation' effects (A-effects). These features disrupt the action, eradicate realism and discourage an audience from passive or (individualistic) cathartic responses. Brecht considered Chinese acting an exemplar of these techniques and appreciated how their 'audience was hindered from simply identifying itself with the characters in the play.'[35] It was the disregard of the fourth wall that Brecht considered the key way in which Chinese actors distanced their audience.[36] Other features were the use of symbolism within props and costume, and a reliance on gestural acting. For instance, Brecht praised Mei Lan-fang, an actor who was famous for roles that required cross-dressing. The style celebrated by Brecht would encourage an audience's response to 'take place on a conscious plane, instead of, hitherto, in the audience's subconscious'.[37] In other words, audiences can be prompted to think more actively and critically, rather being immersed in or swept along by the narrative unfolding on the stage. And though an audience who are not entirely captivated or emotional could become passive, the rambunctious action of the Ages would certainly attract attention. Dazzling features like pyrotechnics, machinery, bombastic dialogue and gestural acting not only pique the interest of spectators but are some of the elements Mark Bayer identifies in the Ages that achieve the specific type of effect Brecht outlines.[38]

---

[33] For more on censorship, see Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991); Janet Clare, *'Art made tongue-tied by authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship*, 2nd edn. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). I discuss issues of censorship more in Chapter 1 (pp.59-61) and Conclusion (pp.194-97).

[34] Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, 3rd edn. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.63, 53. Michael Hattaway claims that 'Brecht's technique is like Marlowe's technique'. Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London: Routledge, 1982), p.96.

[35] Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre*, p.90.

[36] Ibid, p.91.

[37] Ibid.

[38] The features in the Ages that Bayer discusses in light of Epic Theatre are: their episodic structure ('Heywood's Epic Theater', p.377); unnatural character portrayal and gestural acting (ibid, pp.378-382);

In his better known prose tract, *An Apology for Actors* (1612), Heywood demonstrates his belief in the possibility for drama to affect its audience, politically, through active critical spectatorship. Heywood compares drama with portraiture, claiming the latter 'can neither show action, passion, motion, or any other gesture, to move the spirits of the beholder'.[39] In contrast, Heywood recounts an Hamletian moment when a woman in the audience of a lost Sussex's Men play, *The History of Friar Francis*, was compelled to admit she had murdered her husband after seeing such an act represented on stage – a hyperbolic example that demonstrates the possibility of active spectatorship.[40] To further illustrate the point, Heywood calls upon classical and political precedent. He recounts the story of how Aristotle had the siege of Troy performed before Alexander the Great, explaining that it had 'imprest the hart of *Alexander*, in so much that all his succeeding actions were meerely shaped after that patterne, and it may be imagine had *Achilles* never lived, *Alexander* had never conquered the whole world.'[41] Heywood continues the genealogy of influence and explains that Achilles had tried to imitate Theseus; Theseus, Hercules; and Hercules, his father Jupiter.[42] Responding to this line of succession, Heywood then questions: 'Why should not the lives of these worthies, presented in these our dayes, effect the like wonders in the Princes of our times.'[43] This statement demonstrates that Heywood was thinking about classical figures in tandem with the political figures of his day, and that he (like many of his contemporaries) was more than aware of the shortcomings of the latter. It is drama and performance that provide Heywood with a link between the classical past and contemporary politics. And Heywood had a long tradition of political drama to draw from, especially during Elizabeth's reign, which from the beginning saw plays like Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's *Gorboduc* (1561) attempt to instruct the Queen on her own conduct.[44]

In the Ages, it is often the performance of spectacle that guides audiences toward political readings. Such spectacle not only resembles Brecht's Epic Theatre, but it was also particularly useful for political satire in Heywood's time due to its distinct – and, for a time, unique – place within Tudor royal ceremony. Throughout the Tudor period, royal entries,

---

doubling and cross-dressing (ibid, pp.382-383); music (ibid, p.384); and Homer's direct addresses to the audience (ibid, pp.386-7).

[39] Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: 1612; STC 13309*)*, sig.B4v.

[40] Ibid, sig.G2v. For more on *Friar Francis*, see Ceri Sullivan, 'Armin, Shakespeare, and Heywood on Dramatic Empathy', *Notes and Queries*, 62.4 (2015), 560-562.

[41] Ibid, sig.B3r.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] See Henry James and Greg Walker, 'The Politics of *Gorboduc*', *The English Historical Review*, 110.435 (1995), 109-121; and Norman Jones and Paul Whitfield White, '*Gorboduc* and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer's Report of the Premiere Performance', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26.1 (1996), 3-16.

processions, and coronations used spectacular sequences of drama, fireworks and elaborate acrobatic displays to glorify and praise the royal family. With especial concentration in Elizabeth's reign, events such as her coronation procession or the 1575 Kenilworth entertainments, offered remarkably dazzling shows and pageants – often drawing heavily from classical sources – as assertions and celebrations of Tudor political capital. Such was the association of royalty and these kinds of performances that, in his account of Elizabeth's coronation event, Richard Mulcaster described the city of London as a 'stage wherein was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted princesse'; and in the midst of her reign, Elizabeth reminded the commons 'We princes, I tell you, are set on stages'.[45] However, it is not just spectacular theatrics that tie the Ages and the royal show; for mythology is one of the recurring and popular elements within what Sydney Anglo has called the 'multivocal imagery' of royal shows.[46] The royal and popular stages were the only places where audiences would have seen such spectacles. Thus, in a very literal sense, the Ages recollect the kind of thing that was a staple for the spectacular royal entertainments – entertainments that not only entertained public audiences, but also asserted and exaggerated the monarch's authority through a range of discursive registers, including especially classical ideas, narratives and characters from mythology.

The grandeur of spectacle was, of course, an assertion of power for both the host and Queen. David Moore Bergeron explains that 'the theme that binds all the pageants, whether progress shows or royal entries, together is the celebration of Elizabeth's power, her spiritual, mystical, transforming power'.[47] Simultaneously, 'trusted ministers and old friends had their privileged position marked by frequent or lavish royal visits'.[48] However, royal shows and entertainments could also indicate limitations to Elizabeth's actual control, because, for example, the Queen would find herself impelled to participate in progresses to garner allegiance from 'neglected province[s] and a chance for winning additional loyalty and

[45] Mulcaster, '*The Quenes majesties passage through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion*', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) I, p.118. Elizabeth I, 'Queen Elizabeth's First Reply to the Parliamentary Petitions Urging the Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, November 12, 1586: Version 2', in in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p.194.
[46] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.81.
[47] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p.11.
[48] Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), p.2. On the impact of entertainments and progresses on their hosts, see also Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: D.S.Brewer, 1980), pp.38-40; and William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp.58-9.

support'.[49] Moreover, Mary Hill Cole points out that royal shows themselves often carried encoded messages about political allegiance and 'could reveal […] subjects' venom as well as their esteem.'[50] The royal pageant and performance generated complex meanings and implications for a wide spectrum of subjects (with varying affinities, loyalties, priorities), so it makes patent sense that they become not only ambiguous sites of representation but also opportunities for coded critique. When the Ages mirror elements present in royal entertainments, they reproduce both the glorifying and subversive messages embedded within the events.

Throughout the Ages, fluid movements from veneration to subversion (and back again) occur across many moments of spectacle that clearly call to mind royal entertainments. Perhaps none is more evocative (and obvious) than the finale of *The Golden Age*, in which Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto are crowned as rulers of their respective realms, in a scene which is narrated by Homer himself. As an indicative example, this is worth quoting in full:

> *Sound a dumbe shew. Enter the three fatall sisters, with a rocke, a threed, and a paire of sheeres; bringing in a Gloabe, in which they put three lots.* Jupiter *drawes heaven*: *at which* Iris *descends and presents him with his Eagle, Crowne and Scepter, and his thunder-bolt*. Jupiter *first ascends upon the Eagle, and after him* Ganimed.
>
> [HOMER.] To *Jupiter* doth High *Olimpus* fall,
> Who thunder and the [tri-fork] lightning beares.
> Dreaded of all the rest in generall:
> He on a Princely Eagle mounts the Spheares.
>
> *Sound.* Neptune *drawes the Sea, is mounted upon a sea-horse, a Roabe and Trident, with a crowne are given him by the Fates*.
>
> [HOMER.] *Neptune* is made the Lord of all the Seas,
> His Mace a Trident, and his habite blew.
> Hee can make Tempests, or the waves appease,
> And unto him the Sea-men are still true.

[49] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, p.9.
[50] Cole, 'Monarchy in Motion: An Overview of Elizabethan Progresses', in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.42.

Sound, Thunder and Tempest. *Enter at 4 severall corners the 4 winds*: Neptune *riseth disturb'd*: *the Fates bring the 4 winds in a chaine, & present them to Aeolus, as their King*.

[HOMER.] And for the winds, these brothers that still warre,
Should not disturbe his Empire, the three Fates
Bring them to *Aeolus*, chain'd as they are,
To be inclos'd in caves with brazen gates.

Sound. Pluto *drawes hell*: *the Fates put upon him a burning Roabe, and present him with a Mace, and burning crowne*.

[HOMER.] *Pluto's* made Emperour of the Ghosts below.
Where with his black guard he in darknes raignes.
[…]
But leaving these: to your judiciall spirits
I must appeale, and to your wonted grace,
To know from you what ey-lesse *Homer* merits,
Whom you have power to banish from this place,
But if you send me hence uncheckt with feare,
Once more I'l dare upon this Stage t'appeare. (78-79)

If we think about a spectacular sequence like this in relation to the chorus-character's connection to the audience, the Brechtian spirit of the 'Epic' alienation effect is in full force. The Gods ascend and descend, moving elaborate costumes and props around the stage – all framed by the chorus commentary. So, we have potential audience alienation within the action of the sequence on stage (where the narrative is repeatedly overawed by the scale and frequency of overtly representational devices), and we have it alongside Homer ignoring the fourth wall. In these moments, moreover, Homer's metatextual status insists upon the sequence's textuality – we are never allowed to become immersed within the narrative because we are held at a distance from any concerns that operate at individual levels. And then, when Homer appeals to the 'judiciall spirits' of his audience, he places them as critics of his artistry. But the line also captures something of the spectators' observance of political spectacle. Homer's audience witnesses the gods' coronations, and the audience become critics of that too. It is a sharpened perspective, and when what is happening on stage is parodying

real royal performance (both political and pageant), this creates a potentially dynamically subversive representational space and audience connection.

We can take this slightly further by thinking about some of the details of the scene. Whilst it is difficult to imagine what a performance of this extract might have actually looked (and sounded) like, we can be sure that it could have evoked memories of actual coronation ceremonies, not least those of Elizabeth herself. A useful and appropriate comparison here is Heywood's dramatisation of her coronation in *If you know not me* from 1605, in which he closely follows Richard Mulcaster's account. Like the deification of Jupiter and his brothers, Elizabeth's coronation is the finale of the play with similar choreography detailed in the stage directions:

> *A Sennet. Enter foure Trumpeters*: *after them Sergeant Trumpeter, with a mace; after him Purse-bearer.* Sussex, *with the Crowne*; Howard *the Scepter*; *Constable, with the Cap of Maintenance*; Shandoyse, *with the Sword*; Tame, *with the Collar and a George. Foure Gentlemen bearing the Canopy over the Queene*; *two Gentlewomen, bearing up her traine*: *six Gentlemen Pentioners. The Queene takes state.*[51]

Read in comparison to the coronation scene of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, the sequences clearly echo each other, whether deliberately or not. In the Ages, the gift-bearing nobles are replaced by the Fates, who bring the crowns and mace.[52] The royal sceptre and orb are replaced with thunderbolt and globe, and Neptune and Pluto's robes mimic Elizabeth's robes of state. The Ages scene also features the use of pyrotechnics (Jupiter's thunderbolt and Pluto's costume), vertical winch machinery required for vertical elevation, and avian imagery in Jupiter's eagle-ascent, which were all connected to (Tudor) royal performances, coronations, and extravagant displays of wealth and authority. The audience is confronted with the bestowal of royal authority, with simultaneously deific and diabolic incarnations. This is not action for the sake of spectacle; the play is recalling real political events *through action*, within the security of classical narrative.

Elizabeth's coronation was embedded within a tradition of royal performance that called upon mythology and special effects but the event was still dogged by anxiety and ambiguity. Anne Boleyn's coronation ceremony was the first to employ classical mythology,

[51] Heywood, *If you know not me*, p.244. See also p.239 which includes some of the royal props.
[52] These items are also depicted in Elizabeth's *c.*1600 Coronation Portrait: Unknown, *Queen Elizabeth I, c.*1600, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London.

and it had a profound influence on Elizabeth's own representation throughout her life as she was ceaselessly compared to various deities and classical figures. Helen Hackett points out that 'several goddesses could be used in a single text to represent [Elizabeth's] different qualities'; and Heywood does exactly this in his *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history. Concerninge women inscribed by ye names of ye nine Muses* (1624), when he celebrates Elizabeth as six different mythical women.[53] Theatrical machinery also featured in Boleyn's coronation ceremony and had a political legacy stretching back to Richard II's royal entry in 1392.[54] However, Boleyn's coronation had also failed in its intention of glorifying her as the new queen: it was reported that 'the crowd stood mute' and 'not even the king' could get spectators to cheer.[55] Pyrotechnics, too, did not always ensure a successful show, despite being an even more prevalent assertion of wealth and power. The most expensive and spectacular fireworks display in the period was at Kenilworth in 1575, where Robert Dudley tried to dazzle Elizabeth into a marriage proposal. Kenilworth entertainments also contained mythological pageants with characters that feature in Heywood's Ages and who interacted with the Queen directly.[56] Yet despite the magnificence of Dudley's pyrotechnics and theatre, this event was a political failure. The plan to dazzle Elizabeth into marriage was, of course, unsuccessful; indeed, Elizabeth had to, at one point, put a stop to the shows and halted a masque about the nymph Zabeta which (too) overtly asserted Dudley's proposal.[57] Boleyn's coronation and the Kenilworth entertainments – just two instances of many others – demonstrate how royal events were liable to disaster and could exhibit faultlines within royal

[53] Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p.164. Heywood describes the Queen as 'celebrated Princesse, *Elizabeth* of late memory, Queene of England: She that was a *Saba* for her wisedome, an *Harpalice* for her magnanimitie (witnesse the Campe at Tilburie) a *Cleopatra* for her bountie, a *Camilla* for her chastitie, an *Amalasuntha* for her temperance, a *Zenobia* for her learning and skill in language' (*Gynaikeion*, p.123 emphasis in original).

[54] For more on theatrical machinery and royal pageantry, see Janet Dillon, 'Chariots and Cloud Machines: Gods and Godesses on Early English Stages', in *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, ed. by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren and Martine van Elk (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), pp.111-129.

[55] Leahy, p.39.

[56] Ceres is one example of such an interaction. For my discussion of Ceres at Kenilworth and the 1591 Elvetham entertainments, see pp.86-7.

[57] Robert Langham and George Gascoigne (author of the masque) claim the show was cancelled because of adverse weather but it is more likely it was due to Elizabeth's aversion to being instructed in matters of marriage. See Gascoigne, 'The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.322; Langham, 'A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.253. Susan Frye explains that 'Elizabeth's move to censor' Gascoigne's masque was 'inevitable', as she had 'declared her dislike' to a similar masque in 1565. Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.70. For more on this masque, see Frye, ibid pp.70-72; Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, pp.88-90; Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.67-69. I discuss Elizabeth's censorship of the show more on pp.129-30.

representation and propaganda, rather than deliver intended messages of glorification and power. Thus, when features like mythology, machinery and pyrotechnics appear on the popular stage, they can operate palimpsestically, reminding audiences of royal events and their assertions of power or even challenges to that power.

Evidently, spectacle can be approached as more than just a mind-numbing event to dazzle an audience and guarantee commercial success. Rather, features in the Ages that are usually cast aside as mere adornments could function in complex and unexpected ways. When viewed through the lens of Epic Theatre, we can acknowledge the possible effects spectacle has on an audience and see how spectators can be positioned in a way that frames their reading of the action. Specifically, an audience can become active spectators who acquire a critical gaze which is geared towards politics due to the connotations of Heywood's special effects. The audience can then view the various themes throughout the Ages – issues like inheritance, succession, marriage, lineage and reproduction – with an eye to their real political adjacencies. Given that the process of bringing these classical narratives (a traditional reserve of the elite) to the popular stage was in itself a political act, we might think about the types of readings that they open up in relation to concepts of high and low, more broadly and socially defined. What we can (and perhaps should) see in the Ages, then, is a democratisation of knowledge which seems pointedly aware of its capacity to connect politically-astute audiences with a language of satirical critique, through mythology.

II. Heywood the Hack: A Critical Myth

Given their popularity, the Ages seem to have contributed to the success and reputation Heywood secured during the early years of his long career. Yet despite the significance and evidence pertaining to Heywood's formative writing period, it is his later works and, particularly, the sheer amount of works he produced over almost five decades, for which he has been most remembered. Besides his twenty-four surviving plays, Heywood also wrote masques, pageants, pamphlets, and lengthy pieces of prose and poetry. *Henslowe's Diary* records many lost Heywood plays that had been performed by the Admiral's or Worcester's

Men, which demonstrates that the playwright's industrious output started early in his career.[58] Indeed, as early as 1612, Heywood's mass of works was recognised by John Webster who praised his 'happy and copious industry' alongside Shakespeare in *The White Devil*.[59] This is how Heywood came to be remembered: he was 'laborious *Heywood*' who 'hast writ much'; he was 'admir[e]d' and had 'gain'd applause', well known for producing copious works but, notably, works which were popular.[60] For instance, *An Apology for Actors* begins with six endearing dedications to Heywood from contemporary figures including John Webster, Richard Perkins, Christopher Beeston and John Taylor.[61] The multiple editions of works printed during his career also affirm Heywood's popularity and success: *If you know not me* went through eight editions between 1605 and 1639; *Edward IV* (1599) went through six editions between 1599 and 1626. Heywood implies the Ages were a hit too, when in the preface of *The Iron Age I*, he explains the plays had been 'often (and not with the least applause,) Publickely Acted and […] at sundry times thronged three severall Theaters' (264). However, while his works were once popular and spoke to audiences for some time, Heywood's reputation did not last; for he, and especially the Ages plays, were relegated to the shadows of modern scholarship.

Following the Restoration, Heywood's popularity waned and the celebration of his industry ceased.[62] In likely attempts to distance themselves from the old and crude drama of the past, late-seventeenth-century critics set a dismissive tone towards Heywood which persisted long into posterity. For example, in 1667 Samuel Pepys reported seeing a revival of Heywood's *If you know not me* but he denounced the play as 'merely a show' and 'the most

[58] Friedrich Mowbray Velte lists ten possible plays from *Henslowe's Diary*; see Velte, *The Bourgeois Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood* (New York: Haskell House, 1966), pp.17-18. Hugh Craig summarises: 'at the most generous estimate we have records of only forty-two […] and surviving copies of only twenty-five', but Craig does not include Heywood's Jacobean and Caroline pageants. Craig, 'Authorship', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.23.

[59] Webster, *The White Devil*, ed. by Christina Luckyj (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), p.6.

[60] Anon., 'AN ELEGY Upon the Death of Sr WILLIAM DAVENANT [1668]', in *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, ed. by Leslie Hotson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), p.224; George Herbert, *Wits recreations. Selected from the finest fancies of moderne muses* (London 1640; STC 25870), sig.C2v. In the *Elegy*, Heywood is mentioned alongside Richard Brome, Richard Rowley, George Chapman and Robert Cowley. In 1646, Samuel Sheppard celebrated Heywood's output as 'lines unparaled [sic]' by the most eminent literary figures of his day. Sheppard, *The times displayed in six sestiads* (London: 1646; Wing S3170), p.23. For more posthumous references to Heywood, see Clark, *Thomas Heywood*, p.201 n.1.

[61] Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, sigs.a1r-a4v. There is also an anonymous dedication and another from English diplomat, Arthur Hopton.

[62] In 1812, Thomas Dunham Whitaker recounted the history of playing in Craven, North Yorkshire, claiming that 'within the recollection of old persons with whom I have conversed, one of their favourite performances was "The Iron Age", by Heywood'. Whitaker, though, does point out that Heywood's work had 'long since become scarce, and almost forgotten'. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London: J.Nichols and Son, 1812), p.470.

ridiculous that sure ever came upon the stage'.[63] In his poem *Mac Flecknoe* (*c*.1678), John Dryden had even insulted Thomas Shadwell by comparing him to Heywood.[64] A figure once celebrated for his industry had now been relegated to the position of a hack: the volume of Heywood's works was no longer a medal of honour but a badge of shame. As Charles Dibdin put it in 1795: 'the prodigious quantity [Heywood] wrote, for which he ransacked the ancients without mercy, whatever might have been his real merit had he taken time to correct and polish his works, rendered it impossible for him to turn any thing out of hand likely to secure him a solid reputation'.[65] In other words, Heywood produced so many works, in such quick succession, that he had no time to refine them. Heywood became regarded as one of the 'Poets of the second Magnitude', who produced 'hack-work' because he was 'compelled by poverty to pander to the vulgar' audiences of the popular theatres.[66] The Ages have since been viewed in light of this belief, discussed mainly in terms of their performance at the rowdy Red Bull, where it is believed they simply dazzled lowly audiences.

Indeed, despite his works being performed at court before royals, it is for performances at theatres like the Red Bull that Heywood was remembered. By 1675, Heywood was described as 'a great Benefactor no doubt to the Red Bull'; and this is where his reputation has largely remained.[67] The Red Bull was built in around 1604-5 and 'is often stereotyped as the low-status home of low-brow entertainment'.[68] Heywood joined the theatre in 1605, when his troupe, Worcester's Men (formally the Admiral's men), moved there from the Rose after they merged with Oxford's Men. Cheap admission at the Red Bull meant that even the poorest in society could attend, which has led to the belief that its performances

[63] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, (London: G.Bell and Sons, 1974) VIII, p.388.
[64] Dryden writes: '*Heywood* and *Shirley* were but Types of thee'. Dryden, *Mac Flecknoe*, in *John Dryden: Selected Poems*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and David Bywaters (London: Penguin, 2001), p.99. Shadwell had considered himself a disciple of Ben Jonson but Dryden instead aligns him with Heywood, who had opposed much of the authorial principles (like the preference for print over performance) that Jonson had stood for.
[65] Dibdin, p.106. Dibdin also points out that Heywood 'seems to have derived all his merit from the number instead of the quality of his dramatic works' (p.105).
[66] Langbaine, p.428. Arthur Melville Clark, 'Thomas Heywood as a Critic', *Modern Language Notes*, 37.4 (1922), 217-223 (p.221). Langbaine groups Heywood with Thomas Middleton, John Day and John Webster (p.428).
[67] Edward Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum, or, A compleat collection of the poets especially the most eminent, of all ages* (London: 1675; Wing P2075), p.176.
[68] Lucy Munro, 'Governing the Pen to the Capacity of the Stage: Reading the Red Bull and Clerkenwell', *Early Theatre*, 9.2 (2006), 99-113 (p.100). On the Red Bull, see Eva Griffith, *A Jacobean Company and its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605-1619)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.58-70.

were unsophisticated and dumbed down for uneducated audiences.[69] When Webster's *The White Devil* debuted at the Red Bull it was a flop, apparently because of, according to Webster, the 'uncapable multitude' and 'ignorant asses' who made up the audience.[70] In light of the amount of works Heywood produced and because the Ages are often believed to be 'designed to impress the Red Bull's citizen audiences', they have been tarnished by the belief that they are no more than hack offerings to an audience with poor taste.[71]

However, while it is true that they were one of the Red Bull's signature offerings, this was just one stage in the life cycle of the Ages; and, by neglecting other moments, their Red Bull residency has overshadowed and oversimplified scholarship on the Ages. As early as 1675, Edward Phillips described the Ages as 'vulgar comedies', with an attitude that would come to eclipse and influence many scholarly attitudes towards them.[72] In 1918, Robert Grant Martin reduced *The Golden* and *The Iron Age* as 'positively slavish'; and, in 1937, L. C Knights claimed that the Ages were 'inept' – a tone echoed by Eugene M. Waith when he dismissed the Ages because 'they are spectacle rather than coherent dramatizations'.[73] More recently, scholars have compared the final two Ages to Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1602?) to reinforce prejudices towards Heywood's plays. Ernest Schanzer, for example, uses the supposed inferiority of the Ages as a reason to refute their earlier composition date, insisting that Heywood's plays merely plagiarise *Troilus and Cressida*.[74] Bayer, meanwhile, claims that while *Troilus and Cressida* offers 'experimental rehearsal of competing political ideologies, psychological portraits, or scholastic disputes' for its more 'coterie audience', Heywood merely 'uses Trojan history and the Troynovant legend to entertain and foster traditional values for the tradesmen and apprentices who thronged to the Red Bull'.[75] This oversimplifies the Red Bull repertoire – and, in any case, the plays were not only performed

[69] Gurr points out 'that the single penny which gained an apprentice admission to the Bel Savage or the Theatre in the 1570s was still the basic price at the Fortune, the Red Bull and the Globe in 1642' (*The Shakespearean Stage*, p.21).
[70] Webster, pp.5, 6.
[71] Angus Vine, 'Myth and Legend', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (London: Ashgate: 2014), p.110.
[72] Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum*, p.176. Phillips only mentions *The Brazen Age* and the two parts of *The Iron Age* specifically (pp.176-7).
[73] Knights, *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1937), pp.256, 248; Eugene M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962), p.210 n.10. Knights also claims the Ages were 'incapable of exploring […] effectively the mortality of the age' (p.248-9). Waith dismisses the Ages in his discussion of the herculean hero despite admitting that Heywood's plays 'give us the only extant major treatment of Hercules on the Elizabethan stage' (p.210).
[74] See Schanzer, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Shakespeare', *The Review of English Studies*, 11.41 (1960), 18-28.
[75] Bayer, 'Popular classical drama: the case of Heywood's *Ages*', in *The Routledge Research Companion to Shakespeare and Classical Literature*, ed. by Sean Keilen and Nick Moschovakis (London: Routledge, 2017), p.233.

there – and overlooks the fact that any evocation of the Troynovant myth was clearly engaged with a keystone of Tudor propaganda.

By focusing too stringently on the Ages' residency at the Red Bull, scholars fail to address the fact that Heywood had engaged in deeper debates; and, while doing so, he had pulled against the elite reserve of classical learning. Indeed, contrasts between the Ages and *Troilus and Cressida* testify to Heywood's own complex approach to authorship, professionalism and classical drama. When *Troilus and Cressida* came to print, it had aimed to exclude audiences like those perceived to be drawn to the Red Bull, and instead relied upon elitism for its marketing – as evident from the prologue to the 1609 quarto.[76] In contrast, 'rather than constructing authorship out of the elite rejection of audiences and actors, Heywood grounds his work in their commercial successes'.[77] Charlotte Coffin even argues that *The Iron Age I* could have been a 'dramatic response' to George Chapman's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, printed serially between 1598 and 1616.[78] Nowhere is Heywood's rejection of elitism more explicit than in the reader address of *The Iron Age II*. Heywood reveals that he intended to publish a *'handsome Volumne'* of the Ages, which would include '*Explanation of all the difficulties, and an Historicall Comment of every hard name* […] *to such as are not frequent in Poetry'* (352). Similarly, in *The Silver Age*, the choric Homer, perhaps speaking for Heywood, explains he will *'unlocke the Casket* […] *Of which none but the learned keepe the key*' (85).[79]

Despite Heywood's anticipation of an annotated volume in the above quotation, his anti-elitism may well have impeded the publication of his works and, as a result, bolstered dismissive critical attitudes toward much of his writing. When Heywood writes about the intention to publish the Ages it is fairly unusual, given that throughout most of his career he maintained a 'singular commitment to the theatre', and his works were never collected into a coherent edition.[80] Since their initial prints, the Ages pentalogy has not been published apart

[76] The prologue in the 1609 quarto advertises the play to elite readers by revealing the play 'never stal'd with the Stage, [and was] never clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulgar'. Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*, in *William Shakespeare: Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2007), p.1534.
[77] Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.123.
[78] Coffin, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Chapman's Homer: nothing in common?', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9.1 (2017), 55-78 (p.56).
[79] Coffin believes Homer was used by Chapman and Heywood for 'self-fashioning purposes' (ibid, p.69).
[80] Brooks, p.212.

from reprints in John Pearson's complete volumes of Heywood's plays in 1874.[81] No scholarly editions of the Ages exist apart from Arlene W. Weiner's 1979 edition of *The Iron Age*.[82] Thus Heywood's 'corpus was condemned to remain […] unmonumentalized, dismembered, and dispersed'.[83] Survival rates from the period also contribute to this reputation, as, according to Heywood himself, 'many of them [the plays], by shifting and change of Companies, have been negligently lost; others of them are still retained in the hands of some Actors'.[84] The loss of Heywood's works was exacerbated by his hesitant relationship with print, especially with regards to the Ages sequence. For, throughout his career, Heywood had a distinct aversion to publishing: in his *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608) – which Allan Holaday claimed could have emerged as early as 1594 – Heywood claimed it 'hath beene no custome in mee […] to commit my plaies to the presse'; over twenty years later, in *The English Traveller* (1633), he still insisted that 'it never was any great ambition in me to be in this kind voluminously read.'[85] In fact, the Ages contain some of Heywood's most telling typo-phobic prefatory matter. In *The Golden Age*, for example, Heywood admits he had been compelled to publish the play only because it had arrived 'accidentally to the Presse' (3). And in *The Brazen Age*, Heywood discusses some translations of Ovid which he makes clear he had 'no purpose of publishing' (168). Perhaps Heywood was a luddite, but we can also consider more political reasons for his cautious attitude towards the Ages being circulated in print.

Increasingly, political undertones in Heywood's works are being recognised in modern scholarship. Although attention is usually focused on his more famous works, over the last four decades scholarship on Heywood has increased, with more in-depth analysis of his plays that recognises how they engage in contemporary political debates.[86] Following Arthur Melville Clark's 1931 book-length biography and study of Heywood and his works,

[81] However, *The Golden* and *The Silver Age* were included in John Payne Collier's 1851 edition: Heywood, *The Golden and Silver Ages: Two Plays by Thomas Heywood*, ed. by Collier, (London: Shakespeare Society, 1851).
[82] Heywood, *Thomas Heywood's The Iron Age*, ed. by Arlene W. Weiner (London: Garland Publishing, 1979).
[83] Brooks, p.202. Brooks uses terminology from Phillips, *Theatrum poetarum*, p.176.
[84] Heywood, *The English Traveller*, p.283. Brooks explains that 'no extant printed play published under Heywood's name survives from' around 1615-1630, a period when 'the Queen Anne's Men declined and disbanded, and [Heywood] was forced to sell his plays to a succession of unstable and short-lived playing companies' (p.217). For more on this quiet period in Heywood's career, see Appendix.
[85] Heywood, *The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. by Allan Holaday (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), p.46. Heywood, *The English Traveller*, p.283. On the earlier dating of *Lucrece*, see Holaday, 'Introduction', in *The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. by Holaday (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), p.19.
[86] On the increase of Heywood scholarship, see Grace Ioppolo, 'Thomas Heywood, Just in Time', *Early Theatre*, 17.2 (2014), 122-132. Ioppolo identifies a trend amongst Heywood scholarship: 'a kind of cyclical nature to an increase in Heywood publications, with 1986, 1994, 2000, 2002, 2005, and 2007 showing spikes upward, followed by some decline for a few years' (p.122).

there was not another book on Heywood's works until Barbara J. Baines's in 1984.[87] Baines discusses Heywood's dramatic output by genre, highlighting that he used history for the 'political and moral edification of his reader'.[88] (Baines does not explore the Ages in light of her claims over his history plays, though, and instead the attention she gives is fairly typical, focusing on what they can tell us about staging in public theatres.[89]) Kathleen E. McLuskie, however, does engage with the Ages beyond their spectacular dramaturgy and explores Heywood's authorship as a commercial and professional position. In contrast to Baines's belief that *Edward IV I* & *II* (1599) and *If you know not me I* & *II*, 'reinforce the Anglican Tudor-Stuart establishment', McLuskie claims that writing for the 'popular theatre' meant that Heywood was actually 'implicated in a politics of opposition.'[90] Richard Rowland also highlights Heywood's political interests across his works, focusing on how he often adapted classical works in order to speak about contemporary issues.[91] Notably, though, Rowland does not once engage with the Ages, focusing instead on Heywood's later career – the Jacobean plays and his Roman translations through to the Caroline pageants.

Heywood's deep interest in politics is, however, expressed across all his extant works, starting with his involvement in *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (1592). The annotations and different hands scrawled across this work reveal authorial concern 'not only with political events but with the ways in which different social groups responded to them.'[92] And similar interests in an audience's attitudes and reactions to contemporary political events can be read throughout the Ages. It is worth remembering that in the 1590s, drama became a 'crucial forum' for discussing the succession debate with 'its riddled identities, oblique relationship to

[87] Baines, *Thomas Heywood* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984). For a reference list of all Heywood scholarship before Baines, see Michael Wentworth, *Thomas Heywood: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986).
[88] Baines, p.8.
[89] There are a number of discussions on the Ages plays and their staging at various playhouses, see Ernest L. Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), pp.201-9; Griffith, *A Jacobean Company and Its Playhouse,* pp.103-5; Mann, pp.184-203; Bayer, 'Heywood's Epic Theater', pp.371-391; Douglas Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules: Tracking *1* and *2 Hercules* in Heywood's *Silver* and *Brazen Ages*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 17.1 (2014), 1-21; Arrell, 'Heywood, Shakespeare, and the Mystery of Troye', *Early Modern Literary Studies,* 19.1 (2016), 1-22; Margaret Kean, 'A Harmless Distemper: Accessing the Classical Underworld in Heywood's *The Silver Age*', in *Epic Performances from the Middle Ages into the Twenty-First Century,* ed. by Fiona Macintosh et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.181-193.
[90] Baines, p.156; Mcluskie, p.25.
[91] Rowland discusses Heywood's adaptation of Roman comedy in *The Captives; Or, The Lost Recovered* (1624), a play which speaks on the 'ethics of trade and international relations and, […] the dynamics of domestic subservience' (Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre*, p.176). Rowland also explains that *The English Traveller* speaks on 'contested areas of Caroline social policy' (ibid, p.212) and that *Loves Mistris, or The Queens Masque* (1636) was Heywood's 'funniest but most incisive critique of Caroline court culture' (p.234).
[92] McLuskie, p.27.

reality' and interest in 'kings, queens and questions of sovereignty in general.'[93] The Ages evoke all these elements through scenes of royal familial war, usurpation, debates about succession, rulership and intrigue – and the veil of classical narrative provided the perfect cover for escaping censorship.

As noted, the plays were first performed with the Admiral's Men, whose political allegiance has been linked with their patron Charles Howard's support for William Cecil and opposition to the Essex faction.[94] However, as Tom Rutter points out, even at a time when companies had royal patrons, it was claimed that an actor only 'pretends to have a royall Master or Mistresse', while 'his wages […] prove him to be the servant of the people'.[95] The assertion emerged after years of plays from Henslowe companies that spoke to 'citizen values' that were, according to Gurr, distinctly 'Protestant and Elizabethan'.[96] Rowland has recognised this as a standard feature of Heywood's works, given that within them 'the communities in which citizens lived and worked were privileged at the expense of the structures and strictures of subjecthood imposed by the crown'.[97] This can be read across the Ages plays, as they can be seen as criticizing the political elite, and obliquely giving voice to the disillusionment of Elizabethan subjects who became increasingly tense as their childless monarch grew older. Looking further ahead to his Caroline pageants, Heywood achieves the same effect when he uses 'mythological tropes and figures that have been appropriated by the poets and dramatists closest to the Caroline court, and reinterprets them in a way that contests the meanings with which they have been inscribed by the architects of and apologists for royal (and Laudian) policy.'[98] The Ages plays are an early example of how Heywood would come to respond to elite and political culture across his entire career. Clearly, scholars have recognised that a political flair pervades Heywood's later works. It makes little sense to consider the Ages as an exception to this trend, especially given that they dramatise classical mythology, one of the key vocabularies within political representation and critique.

---

[93] Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p.9.
[94] See Rutter, p.15. Rutter draws from Robert Boies Sharpe, *The Real War of the Theaters* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1935). In addition, Howard may also 'have been involved in the formation of the Queen's Men', a company who had staged 'plays that articulated a Tudor Protestant ideology' (Rutter, p.17).
[95] John Cocke, '*Description of a common player*', in John Stephens, *Essays and Characters: Ironicall, and Instructive* (London: 1615; STC 23250), pp.296-7. For Rutter's discussion, see Rutter, p.18.
[96] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p.179.
[97] Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre*, p.24. Rowland highlights this in a discussion of *Edward IV* (1599), another early Heywood play.
[98] Ibid, p.302.

III. Mythology and Politics

Throughout his career, Heywood had often turned to mythology, especially in texts that carry political interests. In the Ages, Heywood used classical material in a way that popularised mythology via the stage, and while doing so, simultaneously evoked uses of it within propaganda and iconography. Thus, through their subversion of the very myths, figures and narratives that the elite were using to assert their superiority, the Ages plays develop a language of resistance which inherently spoke to divisions between high and low. Of course, Heywood was not alone in doing this, as topical mythology was becoming a standard convention within theatrical writing more broadly conceived. However, the Ages show us the period's most prolonged example of mythology being used in such a manner, and an exploration of the plays reveals countless snapshots of contemporary attitudes and events that show the interaction between popular culture and political elite. Understanding more about the connections between English politics and classical mythology, and Heywood's interests in their interplay, can help us unpack these plays.

Read together, the Ages are, then, just one among many examples of their author interweaving 'texts and sources from different authors and different strata of cultural history'.[99] The amount of classical works Heywood utilised throughout his career implies the many influences at work in the Ages. In Heywood's *Gynaikeion* (1624), for instance, Robert Grant Martin lists a possible 48 classical sources, including works by Plutarch, Hesiod, Herodotus, Fulgentius and Ovid; for Heywood's 1630s pageant series, David Moore Bergeron includes in his 'partial list' 21 classical authors – such as Tacitus, Livy, Seneca, Claudian, Aristotle and Plato – who Heywood 'quoted or referred to'.[100] In the long title to *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas* (1637), Heywood admits the text is in debt to 'Lucian, Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, & etc', with Ovid being likely the most influential on Heywood – and

[99] Janice Valls-Russell, Agnès Lafont and Charlotte Coffin, 'Introduction: "Ariachne's broken woof"', in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his contemporaries*, ed. by Valls-Russell, Lafont and Coffin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p.2. 'The "overlapping" of texts and sources […] combines the activities of a weaver's (Arachne's production), with threads that suggest patterns and constitute guiding or teasing clews (Ariadne's) for the reader/spectator' (ibid).

[100] David Moore Bergeron, *Thomas Heywood's Pageants: A critical edition* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986), p.17. Martin, 'A Critical Study of Thomas Heywood's *Gunaikeion*', *Studies in Philology*, 20.2 (1923), 160-183 (pp.164-177). Martin categorises Heywood's sources as 'classical Greek, late Greek, classical and late Latin, medieval and Renaissance Latin' and also includes contemporary English, French and Italian sources. Regarding the Greek sources, Martin explains that 'references may have been picked up from intermediate sources' but that there is 'no reason to doubt Heywood's acquaintance with the original' (p.165). In total, Martin lists a possible 57 different sources that appear throughout the *Gynaikeion*: 19 classical-Latin sources; 18 medieval/early modern-Latin; 5 late-Greek; and 6 classical-Greek; the remainder from other contemporary languages.

his contemporaries – throughout his career (though the influence of Ovid seems to be more pronounced in Heywood's earlier classicism).[101] Despite his hack reputation and popularity with the public stage, by the end of his career Heywood was, clearly, an avid classicist with a vast knowledge of the ancient worlds he dramatised in the Ages.

However he may have developed in later years, classical adaptation and translation was where Heywood's literary career had begun. For his first published text was *Oenone and Paris* (1594), an epyllion based on Ovid's *Heroides* (V); and, in around 1600, Heywood translated Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* into English for the first time.[102] Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* (published in 1608 but potentially written as early as 1594) was based on the episode from Ovid's *Fasti* and Livy's *History of Rome*, as well as Shakespeare's narrative poem of the same name from 1594.[103] The year after *Lucrece* was published, so too was Heywood's translation of Sallust's *The Conspiracy of Catiline* and *The War of Jugurtha*, and his *Troia Britanica, or Great Britain's Troy*: Heywood's 'Universall Chronicle from the Creation, untill these present Times'.[104] *Troia* is another text that made use of Ovid, primarily the *Metamorphoses*, and it was also heavily reliant on *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (*c.*1475) – key sources for the Ages plays.[105]

As well as *Recuyell* and *Metamorphoses*, in the Ages Heywood incorporated styles and stories from a plethora of other authors of mythology, including Homer, Virgil, Seneca, Euripides, Fulgentius, Plautus, Chaucer, John Lydgate, Boccaccio, and various mythological reference books like Natalis Comes's *Mythologiae* (1567) and Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus*

[101] Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas* (London: 1637; STC 13358), frontispiece.
[102] In the reader address to *The Brazen Age* (167-8), Heywood writes a fiery account of one 'Austin' who had attempted to pirate Heywood's translations of Ovid and profit by publishing them. Heywood reveals that he had no intention of 'publishing, or further communicating them' (168).
[103] Heywood's *Lucrece* may have opened the Red Bull theatre in 1607 and was an immensely popular play, going through five reprints between 1609 and 1638. For more on Heywood's *Lucrece*, see Sarah Carter, *Ovidian Myth and Sexual Deviance in Early Modern English Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.61-65; Andrew Bretz, 'Sung Silence: Complicity, Dramaturgy, and Song in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 101-118. On the opening of the Red Bull, see Bayer, 'The Red Bull Playhouse', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.230.
[104] Heywood, *Troia Britanica*, frontispiece. Sallust, *The Two most worthy and Notable Histories which remaine unmained to Posterity* […], trans. by Thomas Heywood (London: 1608; STC 21625).
[105] Yves Peyré explains that William Caxton's *Recuyell* 'is divided into three books, the first of which narrates in forty-two chapters Saturn and Titan's war for Uranus' throne, Jupiter's loves and battles, Perseus' adventures, and several episodes in Hercules' story, from the hero's birth to his destroying Troy to take revenge on Laomedon's breach of promise after the hero had saved his daughter Hesione. The second book completes the Hercules cycle in twenty-nine chapters. The third book, based on Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* […] treats of the war of Troy and of the city's final destruction.' Peyré, 'Early Modern Mythological Texts: *Troia Britanica*, Library', *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Classical Mythology: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Peyré (2009), <www.shakmyth.org> [date accessed 5 July 2020].

Linguae Romanae et Britannicae (1565).[106] Such a range of sources and influences calls for what Charlotte Coffin terms an 'inclusive approach' to the Ages, which 'embraces the dynamic heterogeneity of Heywood's mythological material'.[107] Both the classical sources and their medieval mediations are important to the Ages, and examining Heywood's use of his sources often reveals purposeful adaptations in his own renditions of these myths.

Many of Heywood's appropriations of classical works attest to his interest in politics. Heywood's 1630s pageants explicitly called upon mythology to influence London's political figures; his translations of Sallust, for example, evidence a contribution to contemporary debates over monarchy and republicanism.[108] Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, too, was deeply topical, given its links to Shakespeare's poem of the same name which, as Andrew Hadfield has shown, read alongside *Venus and Adonis* creates a powerful political statement in response to Elizabeth.[109] The events that take place in both Shakespeare and Heywood's *Lucrece* (the replacement of the Roman monarchy with the Republic after the rape and death of Lucrece) are resonant with 'the possibility felt so keenly in the 1590s that England might undergo a political change' similar to this.[110] Given what we know about this decade's heightened civil and political unrest (and its resurgent interest in mythology), it makes sense to think about the vogue for mythological material in light of contemporary, topical concerns.[111] And evidently, away from the Ages Heywood had used mythology to participate in (or allude to) political debates; so it makes sense to recognise the impulse in these plays.

---

[106] Copies of Comes were in circulation in England by the time Heywood was writing the Ages: Chapman cites Comes in a gloss in his *The Shadow of Night* (1594); and in 1598, John Marston recounts how he will 'Reach me some Poets Index', namely that of '*Natales Comes*'. John Marston, '*The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres*', in *The Works of John Marston,* 3 vols., ed. by J. O. Halliwell (London: John Russell Smith, 1856) III, p.218. Barbara Elizabeth Carman notes how copies of Comes were owned by James VI/I and Richard Stonely, a teller of the Exchequer for Elizabeth I. See Carman, 'A Study Of Natalis Comes' Theory of Mythology and of its Influence in England, Together with an English Translation of Book I of the *Mythologia* and of the Introductions to the Other Books' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1966), p.49 (see also, pp.49-53). Cooper's work – which became commonly known as *Cooper's Dictionary* – was very popular with three more editions in 1573, 1578 and 1584, coming after its initial publication.

[107] Coffin, 'The not-so-classical tradition: mythographic complexities in *1 Iron Age*', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition,* ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.144, 157.

[108] For example, the 1631 pageant used the wise Ulysses to advise magistrates and it echoed many elements of the 1559 royal entry; in the 1635 pageant the *Judgement of Paris* was used to illustrate the virtues expected in a magistrate. See Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, pp.219-229. See also Bergeron, *Heywood's Pageants*, pp.71-88.

[109] Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.146.

[110] Ibid, p.150.

[111] Linda Woodbridge highlights that the presence of mythological figures peaked in drama during the 1560s and again in the 1580-90s. Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1984), p.125.

In contrast to, for example, Heywood's more explicit political statements in his pageants, the Ages depend upon thematic responses to Elizabeth and include more encoded or ambiguous reflections on politics, elite representation and propaganda. As such, the plays demonstrate the contemporary appreciation for classical mythology to speak to wider cultural forms. Mythology was easy to manipulate due to 'its inherent ambiguity, [in] the sense that it was always shadowed by alternative (often disruptive) meanings.'[112] Since the medieval period, mythology had been embedded in a tradition of allegory – evident in texts such as the anonymous fourteenth-century *Ovid Moralisié* that considers Ovid's myths as biblical parables. Myths have always been subject to allegorical readings, and characters would inevitably 'personify virtues, vices, states of mind, desires, and inclinations.'[113] In particular, there was 'historical (or topical) allegory [in which] a mythic figure would personify a real person, usually a contemporary.'[114] The point is not to read authorial intent as allegorical per se; but, rather, to read the texts in line with reflections of popular political figures and in light of contemporary attitudes that surround those figures. We can approach mythology in the Ages in this more general sense of allegory, described by George Puttenham as when 'we speake one thing and thinke another'.[115] Rather than offering a stable and prolonged metaphor, the fast-paced compilation of numerous myths in the Ages invites fluid readings, with various episodes open to multiple and fleeting interpretations to evoke a variety of contemporary events, figures and sentiments.

Such a figurative tradition meant that topical mythology in drama retained a degree of deniability, necessary to protect writers like Heywood from being accused of treasonous intent. Annabel Patterson describes such writing as a 'sophisticated system of oblique communication, of unwritten rules whereby writers could communicate with readers or audiences […] without producing a direct confrontation'.[116] Heywood offers a valuable vantage point, as the Ages contain a kaleidoscopic glimpse at a variety of contemporary attitudes towards Elizabethan politics that appealed to audiences in the 1590s and beyond. Furthermore, what is striking is Heywood's appeal to (and concern for) the uneducated.

---

[112] Jane Kingsley Smith, 'Mythology', in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, 2 vols., ed. by Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) I, p.141.
[113] David H. Brumble, 'Let Us Make Gods in Our Image: Greek Myth in Medieval and Renaissance Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.411.
[114] Ibid, p.413. Brumble discusses how Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* was allegorically read as Elizabeth's courting of Duke of Anjou.
[115] George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), p.270
[116] Patterson, p.45.

Unlike Spenser and Lyly before him, who used mythology to respond to their Queen with more elite audiences in mind, Heywood brings a similar approach to the masses, opening up new forums for political commentary.

The Ages plays would also have been read in light of the most prominent use of emblematic mythology in the period: royal representation. In a calculated move from both the Queen and her officials, Elizabeth was aligned with classical deities (as well as the Virgin Mary) 'to abate the intense criticism she faced for being a Protestant, unmarried, childless Queen.[117] Indeed, Roy Strong has attested to how the Queen's representation even formed a 'cult' of Elizabeth.[118] To make her seem less of an anomaly, Elizabeth was placed within a tradition of celebrated women of authority; she was imagined as (or compared to) a variety of mythological figures, divine and mortal, such as goddesses Diana, Venus and Juno; or queens Dido, Cleopatra, Omphale and Penthesilea. These women became short-hand for Elizabeth herself and they elevated the Queen from her mortal (female) body, aligning her with a supernatural divinity and power that helped her follow the figurative tradition of the sovereign's two bodies.[119] However, while these figures praise the Queen by associating her with their positive qualities, they also set unreachable expectations for Elizabeth. Furthermore, they can expose certain contradictions in and of themselves. For example, how can Elizabeth be both goddess of virginity and desire?

The issue of contradiction is a key element within what Strong terms 'Renaissance monarchical mythology', which, he explains, 'tries by the use of extreme forms of contrasting imagery […] to reconcile the dual nature of royalty, divine and human, soul and body, mind and passions'.[120] Mythical figurations were an attempt to bridge this gap; but many of them were dogged with duality, or were the opposite to the reality of Elizabeth, her rule and reputation. Thus, while they were symbols of glorification, mythical figures could – like royal entertainments – also be vulnerable to subversive readings. For instance, when Elizabeth was

[117] In Hackett's words: 'after it became clear that she would never marry, Elizabeth was an unprecedented and potentially disturbing figure. The iconography of panegyric had to do a lot of work of justification and naturalisation' (*Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, p.164).
[118] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1977). See also Frances A. Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947), 27–82.
[119] This tradition, of course, saw the Queen frequently 'acknowledge the frailty of her own female body natural, whilst indicating through images of masculinity her role as king in the body politic'. Lisa Hopkins and Annaliese Connolly, 'Introduction', in *Goddesses & Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Hopkins and Connolly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.4. On the concept, see especially Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, repr. 1997).
[120] Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, p.47.

rather crudely inserted into the Judgement of the Paris, Juno represented the qualities of 'providence' or majesty which Elizabeth is shown to trump.[121] On the other hand, early in Elizabeth's reign Juno was used to implore the Queen to marry, despite her proclamation she would remain a virgin. Therefore, Juno had the subversive potential to evoke instances when Elizabeth's authority and autonomy were challenged by the wishes of her court.[122] This is one example of how 'the works of art and literature through which the cult [of Elizabeth] was expressed were often created not by the Crown, but by, or at the behest of, individuals who glorified Elizabeth from a wide range of motives'.[123] When such representations were reproduced in literature and art, they had the potential to evoke some of these subversive connotations and implications. And, in the theatre, dramatic mythological figures reproduce the variety of motives that lurked behind Elizabeth's representation, along with the faultlines that her representation aimed to either mask and deflect, or highlight and critique.

Throughout the Ages plays, Heywood's adaptations of mythology contain many instances like these. The pentalogy is littered with Elizabeth-moments; that is, instances when themes, characters and/or narratives appear to be influenced by, or mock and satirise their appearances in, the Queen's iconography and wider representations. Bound up in these moments are also possible glances to Elizabeth that make recourse to rumours and criticism that she faced. Janice Valls-Russell and Tania Demetriou point out that 'women are often at the centre of Heywood's traffic with the classics'; and I argue that, within the Ages, Elizabeth is primary to these women.[124] Notably, though, Heywood's writing resists misogyny. It has been recognised that he created sympathetic portrayals of women in many of his works, which suggests that the critical representations of some women in the Ages are more than just

[121] The Queen's 1578 Norwich Progress featured the theme and Bernard Garter's account explains that the goddesses Juno, Venus and Minerva embodied the qualities of 'providence', 'learned' and 'beautie' respectively. Garter, '*The Joyfull Receyving of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie Into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.825.

[122] In 1565, Elizabeth viewed a debate between Juno and Diana on the topic of marriage and she told the Spanish Ambassador 'this is all against me' (Frye, *Competition for Representation*, p.38). Similarly, Juno was compared with Diana in George Gascgoine's 1575 Kenilworth entertainments to try to convince Elizabeth to choose marriage over chastity. For more on Juno in comparison with Diana, see Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 257-274.

[123] Thomas S. Freeman and Susan Doran, 'Introduction', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Doran and Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.4.

[124] Valls-Russell and Demetriou, 'Introduction: Thomas Heywood and the "antique world"', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p.4.

gendered attacks, opening another door for these politicised readings.[125] Sometimes Heywood reproduces the glorifying images of his monarch; sometimes he selectively appropriates narratives to produce more subversive reflections through mythical deities and Queens. Either way, the plays are deeply evocative of political representation, events and affairs, and the contemporary attitudes that orbited these.

IV. Signposting

The subversive potential of the Ages means that when reading these plays in light of political topics, speculation is unavoidable and necessary. There are, doubtlessly, other ways to read these plays. However, their interest in (and suitability for) prolonged political critique is, I argue, their most unifying aesthetic purpose; and my thesis is therefore immersed in political and topical allusions. When we consider the plays against what we know about Heywood and his influential contemporaries' other political preoccupations, what we find is a remarkably sustained intellectual enquiry into the many political intrigues of the day. As well as undertaking the most extensive consideration of a 1590s dating for these plays in my first chapter, after this initial literature review this thesis explores the plays through four chapter case-studies.

I thus begin in chapter one by overviewing (and contributing to) the debate regarding the dating of the Ages plays that relies upon evidence from both *Henslowe's Diary* and the surviving Ages playtexts. The chapter argues that the probability of the Ages being 1590s plays is strong and can be further strengthened by noting the frequency with which 1590s topical concerns are instanced and satirised. Such is their interest in late-Elizabethan concerns, the subsequent case studies should be understood as further interventions into this debate.

[125] Valls-Russell and Demetriou explain that Heywood's treatment of women from 'classical, biblical or historical sources […] gives prominence to those versions that enable him to recover, or invent, a voice for these women, even when the course of literary history may have silenced or relegated them to the margins' (p.5). M. L. Stapleton finds how in another of Heywood's early Ovidian works, *Loves Schoole* (1600), 'Heywood strove to present an Ovid relieved of his misogynist reputation'. Stapleton, 'Thomas Heywood's *Loves Schoole*: emulation, adaptation, and anachronism', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p.54. Marilyn L. Johnson explores how Heywood's works tend to offer an unusually 'sympathetic treatment of the erring women'. Johnson, *Images of Women in the Works of Thomas Heywood* (Salzburg: Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 1974), p.60. David Mann discusses 'Heywood's innocent adulteresses' and compares his treatment of Jane Shore to other contemporary treatments. See Mann, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2009), pp.144-49.

In chapter two, I begin by exploring instances of maternity in the Ages which I read in light of a key figuration from contemporary propaganda: Elizabeth as mother of her country. When Heywood begins the pentalogy he immediately links motherly love with royal authority, as *The Golden Age* opens with Queen Vesta taking control of the succession to the Cretan throne. The play also swiftly introduces Sibilla, mother of Jupiter, who uses her motherly love to assert agency against the demands of her husband, Saturn, in order to protect her son. By the end of the play, Sibilla has not only protected her child, but her nation too, when her actions ultimately defend Crete from invasion. These issues were of undeniable importance during the 1590s. In this sense, Vesta and Sibilla enact what many had hoped Elizabeth would: a legitimate, protective succession. Following this discussion, I read instances of filicide via the devious mothers Althea and Clytemnestra as inherently political; and the act of these mothers severing familial ties confronts Elizabeth's refusal to secure the succession. Chapter one ends with an analysis of images of infirmity and infertility, the issues that fuelled the tense depictions of maternity discussed earlier in the chapter. Security, posterity and strength are all achieved through progeny; and fertility is explored through pastoral scenes of peace and plenty which celebrate the goddess Ceres. In contrast, barrenness and infertility are evoked through repeated images of age, decay and dearth.

To excuse the fact that she was not a natural mother, Elizabeth and her advisors fabricated a rejuvenating and mythical virginity, which I discuss in chapter three. The Ages are beset by imageries of virginity and its saturation in the drama emphasises this key political issue. My chapter mirrors the tri-form of the key emblem of the Virgin Queen: the goddess Diana, who was also goddess of the hunt and the Moon. After highlighting functions and tensions inherent within the Virgin Queen persona, I first explore Heywood's dramatisation of Diana as leader of a band of virgins. Rather than recycling the glorifying momentum that lay behind the figure of Diana, Heywood interrupts the depiction of an authoritative woman with glances to elements of Elizabeth's life and persona that her representation had tried to mitigate and mask. Heywood's treatment of Diana, then, is markedly dualistic. The second part of chapter two looks to huntresses in the Ages who adapt the image of the cross-dressed Elizabeth at Tilbury and offer more subversive reflections on the Queen. Heywood's huntresses either enact a militant chastity (Atalanta, Penthesilea) or use the hunt as a love-chase (Jupiter, Venus), with a divide between panegyric and dissidence pervading Heywood's hunting scenes. My chapter ends with the most dualistic imagery of the Virgin Queen: lunar imagery, which surfaces most explicitly in Heywood's dramatisation of

the rape of Proserpine and the story of how she became the Moon. In this episode, Heywood interweaves images from Tudor propaganda with those of barrenness, to produce a web of allusions that is at once glorifying and critical. Heywood's treatments of the key emblems of the Virgin Queen contain conflicted allusions to Elizabeth, which adapts the inherently dualistic figuration to capture the contemporary feelings of her subjects. The fact that the plays present multiple, mutable forms of the Virgin Queen topos suggests that whilst we can read moments of political critique, the satire always maintains some political affection for the *person* of Elizabeth, if not for her status as *queen*.

My fourth chapter draws from Elizabeth's figuration as England's wife and the adulterous heritage of Britain. Elizabeth was commonly imagined within various dynamics involving her subjects, her courtiers and possible love interests, with each provoking anxieties towards the Queen's rule. These figurative relationships with the Queen sought to secure devotion but they could lead to deceit, as courtiers sought to hide their marriages and affairs from Elizabeth to escape her harsh punishments. In the first section, these elements collide as Heywood's treatment of the story of the affair between Venus and Mars and cuckolded Vulcan captures frustrations towards court factionalism and Elizabeth's inability to prevent secret marriages at court. I read Heywood's version of the Venus and Mars affair alongside its political application by Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex, *c.*1590 to speak to Elizabeth's failure to live up to her own ideal image of the all-seeing Phoebus. Such failure informs the second section of the chapter, which explores two instances of the crazed and forsaken wife Juno attempting to take revenge on her husband Jupiter's mistresses. Here the ruthless and desperate attempts of Juno parody Elizabeth's notoriously harsh reactions to adulterers at court, and how she consistently failed to control the love lives of her courtiers. In section three, I explore the narrative of Hercules's affair with Queen Omphale and the reaction of his forsaken wife, Deianeira, who Elizabeth herself had used to voice her own feelings about increasingly wayward conduct among her aristocracy. In this narrative, though, the Queen is not a fixture in just one character, she inhabits all three. With Hercules' long-established connection to monarchical celebration and growing empires, Heywood's fixation upon the hero's death and the catastrophe surrounding it hinges upon concern over the end of the Tudor line and the prospect of empiric collapse.

The anxieties towards the future beyond Elizabeth's reign form the backdrop to the case studies in my final chapter: Helen of Troy and Medea. This chapter explores how Heywood constructs these women with an eye to Elizabeth's past and present, ultimately

because of the succession crisis: its overshadowing of English politics in these years, and the tensions it created with Elizabeth's (imagined) private identity and her public personas. I begin by following Heywood's Helen through his narrative of Troy – a treatment of the story which is as interested in the person of Helen, especially her gradual loss of beauty, as it is in the fateful destruction of the Trojan city. The frailty of Helen's beauty brings her closer to the reality of the ageing Elizabeth whose country many feared could soon follow the steps of its mythical ancestor Troy. Another eventuality many imagined (and feared) for England's future was a resurgence of Catholicism with the accession of James VI/I. Thus, in the final half of the chapter, I discuss this fear that Heywood captures within Medea and the story of her meeting her lover, Jason; the episode containing many glances to the scandals of Mary, Queen of Scots and her tumultuous relationship with Elizabeth. In many ways, Helen and Medea are similar, as were Elizabeth and Mary, with all four women embedded within a web of beginnings and endings that are intertwined with empire and lineage.

Concluding my case-studies, I look forward to the Ages' post-Elizabethan political lives. Following the plays' initial performances during the 1590s, they seem to have disappeared for over a decade before being revived for both the Jacobean court and popular stage. I discuss the effects of censorship around the *fin-de siècle* as a possible explanation for the suppression of the Ages during these years, and how the trend for mythology and reanimating Elizabeth on stage may have influenced Heywood's revivals of the plays. When thinking about the effects of Stuart trends on the plays, I gesture towards possible future avenues of research and how the Ages still have so much to tell us about the period's interaction between politics and popular culture. My thesis closes with an appendix that offers some speculative theories around why the final two Age plays were not published until almost twenty years after the first three instalments.

1. Dating the Ages

Although published between 1611 and 1632, it is probable that Heywood's Ages emerged earlier, near the beginning of his career in the 1590s. Ambiguities surrounding the dates of composition, performance and revision for the Ages have certainly contributed to their critical neglect. More often than not, scholars accept that the Ages were composed shortly before the first instalment of their publication in 1611, and that this is also when they premiered, at the Red Bull playhouse. However, several critics have unsettled this supposition and explored the likelihood that the Ages were composed in the 1590s – suggesting that they could be lost plays referred to in *Henslowe's Diary*. Obviously, this is important, because acknowledging the possibility of an earlier dating enables us to more intimately and accurately understand the plays' topical allusions. Therefore, I will outline the three main avenues that contribute to ascribing the Ages to the earlier composition date: first, *Henslowe's Diary* contains records of lost play titles, props, costumes and machinery at the Rose that correlate with Heywood's plays; second, the extant printed editions of the Ages contain features that can evidence Heywood's possible revisions to earlier scripts; finally, the plays reflect the collaborative literary nexus around the turn of the seventeenth century, highlighting the shared interests among writers connected to Henslowe and the circulation of manuscripts between them.

Aside from the publication dates, there is little convincing evidence for a Jacobean genesis. We know that *The Golden Age* was entered into the Stationer's Register in 1611 and published the same year (with a title page advertising its performance at the Red Bull). The claim on the title page of *The Golden Age* has led to the acceptance that all of the other Ages were performed at the Red Bull, too – a view supported by the belief that the spectacular dramaturgy of the Ages could only have been performed at the lowly venue.[1] However, there are records of a court performance of *The Silver Age* in 1612 (the year before it was

[1] See Ernest Schanzer, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Shakespeare', *The Review of English Studies*, 11.41 (1960), 18-28; Barbara J. Baines, *Thomas Heywood* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984); Kathleen E. McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); Mark Bayer, *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2011); Eva Griffith, *A Jacobean Company and its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605-1619)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Charlotte Coffin, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Chapman's Homer: Nothing in Common?', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9.1 (2017), 55-78. I have listed some key Heywood publications but there are many others that do not challenge the later dating of the plays.

published) 'by the Queens players and the Kings Men.'[2] Although the Queen's Men did typically play at the Red Bull, the court performance was likely 'a joint-company performance and not simply a transfer from the Red Bull', as the payee was the King's Men player John Heminges.[3] Nonetheless, in *The Golden Age* reader address, Heywood admits that the play is 'the eldest brother of three Ages that have adventured the Stage' (3), which would seem to suggest the performance of the first three plays of the pentalogy. There are, though, no records at all for *The Brazen Age* and *The Iron Age I* & *II*. *The Brazen Age* was published alongside *The Silver Age* and the two final plays came to the press in 1632.[4] And while Heywood's words can be read as meaning that *The Iron Age I* & *II* were not yet written, the statement could just as well suggest that they were in existence but not yet planned to be part of the Ages series. For by the time that *The Silver Age* was published, Heywood tells his reader he intended 'by Gods grace, to end [the pentalogy] with *Iron*' (83). Whatever the case, it is clear that neither records nor Heywood's own accounts fully support a later date of composition for the plays.

Another keystone argument in support of a Jacobean composition tends to rest on the Ages plays' relationship with Heywood's long poem, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (1609). Many commentators propose that the Ages are deficient dramatisations of this more celebrated work. (A similar assumption surrounds the dynamic between the Ages and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1602?) too, with the consensus often being that the Bard could never have imitated the supposedly lesser Heywood).[5] Since Arthur Melville Clark in 1931 argued 'beyond the shadow of a doubt' that the Ages came after *Troia*, most scholars have left the issue unquestioned.[6] Indeed, most recently Janice Valls-Russell and Tania Demetriou have argued that Heywood's 'knack for drawing the dramatic potential out of stories and incidents' weakens the case for the Ages coming before *Troia*.[7] Valls-Russell and Demetriou also claim that 'arguments seeking to trace [the Ages'] writing to an earlier period of juvenilia may in part reflect discomfort with productions that unsettle generic

[2] The Revel Accounts for 12 and 13 January 1612 record: 'By the Queens players and the Kings Men. The Sunday following [Twelfth Night] at grinwidg before the Queen and the Prince was playd the Silver Aiedg: and ye next night following Lucrecia [*The Rape of Lucrece*].' E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1974) IV, p.178.
[3] David Mann, 'Heywood's *Silver Age*: A Flight Too Far?', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 26 (2013), 184-203 (p.199).
[4] For possible reasons on the delay in publication see Appendix.
[5] I discuss *Troilus and Cressida* and the Ages more on pp.55-7.
[6] Arthur Melville Clark, *Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), p.63.
[7] Janice Valls-Russell and Tania Demetriou, 'Introduction: Thomas Heywood and the "antique world"', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Demetriou and Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p.18.

categorisations' by mixing elements of tragedy and comedy.[8] However, there appears to be more scholarly discomfort in acknowledging that the Ages could be juvenilia, due to the perceived superiority of *Troia*. Many discussions dismiss the possibility of the poem 'elaborating on dramatic material, rather than inspiring the plays' condensed, tonally mixed dramatisations of rhetorically and visually effective passages from' *Troia*.[9] Elsewhere, though, Valls-Russell does acknowledge the potential to read Heywood's 'creative process in reverse, as a peeling back of the different versions to identify a core structure', highlighting one alternative view to support the plays being composed before *Troia*.[10]

Ultimately, aside from assumptions based on *The Golden Age*'s prefatory matter and the pentalogy's relationship to *Troia*, there is not much to consolidate the belief that the Ages emerged around 1611 and not in the 1590s. In recent years, though, a number of studies have resurrected the claim laid by Allan Holaday in 1946, that the Ages owe very little to *Troia* and that there are few echoes between the two (beyond select passages of *The Golden Age*).[11] In this chapter, I collate critical discussions which place the Ages earlier, in the 1590s. This discussion frames the subsequent case studies, which should be understood as interventions into this debate, in favour of the earlier dating hypotheses. A case for the early dating is most notably and convincingly made by Douglas Arrell across various astute publications, with the detail and complexity of Arrell's arguments necessitating some prolonged explanation and application for me to overview and develop the current debate. Of course, Arrell is well supplemented by other studies on Heywood, the Ages, and the 1590s more generally. What arises when we assess the dating of the Ages are possible stages of their composition: the first, when Heywood initially wrote the Henslowe plays that were performed in 1595-6 (and briefly revived in 1598); second, when these plays were revised by Heywood sometime before 1612 to become the Ages pentalogy; and their final forms published between 1611 and 1632.

The chapter is split into two parts that first explore evidence from *Henslowe's Diary* and then evidence from the Ages themselves. To begin, I will overview the titles in *Henslowe's Diary* that correlate to the Ages and how they do so, looking at their sequential

[8] Ibid, p.16.
[9] Ibid, p.18.
[10] Valls-Russell, 'Rescripting classical stories of rape from page to stage: Lucrece and Callisto', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p.75.
[11] See Holaday, 'Heywood's *Troia Britannica* and the *Ages*', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 45.4 (1946), 430-439. For others who ascribe to the belief, see fn.1 above.

performances and financial success. Henslowe also records the construction and introduction of machinery at the Rose theatre which may well have been used in the more spectacular scenes of the Ages. Furthermore, Henslowe's 1598 inventories contain a number of properties that specifically relate to scenes in the Ages plays and I outline these as well as addressing the main opposition to this evidence.[12] The second part of the chapter relies heavily on Arrell to outline the possible traces of revisions left behind in the surviving Ages plays. Such evidence points towards the second stage in the compositional history of the Ages. Features like the plays' unorthodox structural arrangements are viewed as evidence of revisions and deletions from the original Henslowe plays. Therefore, I propose some possible remnants of revisions in *The Golden Age* that reflect Arrell's findings in the rest of the Ages. Possible reasons for the revisions are addressed by recognising shifts in the personnel of the Admiral's Men and changes in audience tastes. The literary web of the 1590s further ties the Ages to this time, especially through Heywood's use of sources and echoes between contemporary plays. In particular, the presence of Christopher Marlowe's work in the Ages, and the Ages' own presence in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, all help to show that these plays must have surfaced earlier than is generally accepted. I end the chapter by discussing possible reasons for the ambiguous history of these plays, speculating that the Crown's censorship of printed matter may well have played a crucial, yet invisible, role.

I. Evidence from *Henslowe's Diary*

Henslowe's Diary contains a number of lost plays with titles that correlate with the subject matter of the Ages and could possibly be early incarnations of Heywood's plays. Arrell explains that this approach is an example of 'clumping', an act which aims to 'look at plays that are extant and seek to find in them evidence that they are wholly or in part identical with an earlier lost play.'[13] First, '*seleo & olempo*' is recorded as first performed on 5th March 1595; the title translates from Latin to 'heaven and olympus', which may reflect the Olympian protagonist Jupiter who is allocated his realm of heaven in the play's spectacular

[12] All quotes from the inventories are from Philip Henslowe, 'Appendix 2', in *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.317-321. All references to *Henslowe's Diary* are from this edition, unless stated otherwise.

[13] Douglas Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules: Tracking *1* and *2 Hercules* in Heywood's *Silver* and *Brazen Ages*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 17.1 (2014), p.1. Arrell adopts the term 'clumping' from Roslyn Knutson, who first used it during the '"Lost Plays" seminar at the 2013 Shakespeare Association of America conference' (ibid n.1).

finale.[14] The next title in the diary connected to the Ages is '*the firste pte of herculous*', first recorded 7th May 1595, which resembles *The Silver Age*, given that it dramatises Hercules's birth and early heroic feats. In the same month, '2 p of *hercolas*' debuted on the 23rd of May and was possibly a version of *The Brazen Age* – the play which follows Hercules's demise to his death.[15] Finally, '*troye*' is recorded as first performed on 22nd June 1596, and this could be a truncated version of Heywood's treatment of Troy, that constitutes both parts of *The Iron Age*.[16] The titles in *Henslowe's Diary* clearly correlate with the subject matter of the Ages and it is significant that they also emerge in the same order as the pentalogy. But these records also hold more information that is appropriate to the Ages.

The financial details in Henslowe's records of the lost plays seem to demonstrate their success and popularity. When each of the plays debuted, they earned the highest revenue for that month (*seleo & olempo* generated £3 on its initial performance in March 1595, when in the same month Marlowe's *Tamburlaine I* brought in only 30.s; the first and second parts of *hercolas* generated £3.13 and £3.10 respectively; and *troye* made £3.9). This was not a matter of novelty. For the apparent debut of '*the wise man of chester'* generated just 33s, and '*the frenshe Comodey*' 50.s. Evidently, new plays did not guarantee large audience returns. Aside from their initial financial success, the possible Heywood plays were also all frequently staged following their initial performances, with the *hercolas* plays revived a few years later after being repurchased in May 1598 by Martin Slater, a former sharer of the Admiral's Men.[17] In the reader address of *The Iron Age*, Heywood recalls the popularity of the Ages, claiming that the plays had been 'often (and not with the least applause) Publickely Acted and have at sundry times thronged three severall Theaters' (264). It is likely that the success Heywood recounts in *The Iron Age* would include the financial gains they generated when they debuted at the Rose. Additionally, Heywood's statement suggests that the plays had been performed at multiple theatres, which makes the incessant focus on the Ages' Red Bull residency problematic as it ignores other moments of the Ages theatrical lives, such as their initial performances at the Rose.[18]

It has long been suspected that Henslowe's lost plays could be the Ages, though this has been met with an air of caution and the case for some plays is stronger than others. The

[14] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.28.
[15] Ibid, pp.28, 29.
[16] Ibid, p.47.
[17] See ibid, p.89. In 1601 Henslowe also records a payment of 20s for a tailor for 'the playe of hercolas' (ibid, p.185).
[18] For the other possible locations of the plays, see p.13.

first documented suggestion of the theory is from 1891 when Frederick G. Fleay discussed the first three Ages.[19] Soon after, in 1908, Walter W. Greg developed the idea and suggested *Troye* was, in fact, a shorter version of both parts of *The Iron Age* – a claim corroborated by E.K. Chambers in 1923.[20] Greg, though, admitted apprehension over the alignment between the 'fantastic' title *seleo & olempo* and *The Golden Age*. However, Ernest L. Rhodes – who includes the Ages in his 'Repertory of Extant Plays of the Rose' – addresses Greg's issue by pointing out that 'Henslowe's titles in the *Diary* are often "fantastic"'.[21] Moreover, in the reader address of *The Golden Age*, Heywood reveals that prior to this edition, the play had been acquired by a printer without Heywood's knowledge and before he had even given it a title. It is likely that 'in the absence of a title on the original manuscript,' Henslowe named the play himself in his records.[22] Nonetheless, the association between this Henslowe record and *The Golden Age* is the most dubious of the pentalogy due to a lack of other evidence – as will be shown throughout this chapter. While all of the identifications between titles and plays are, of course, speculative, there is a plethora of other evidence in *Henslowe's Diary* that support these corroborations.

The spectacular dramaturgy of the flying gods in the Ages is another feature that ties them to the Rose in the 1590s, due to the winch machinery installed there. In 1592 and 1595, Henslowe recorded two expensive renovations to the playhouse that were likely the installation and modification of theatrical winch machinery. The first phase saw £105 of construction work in 1592, to enlarge the theatre and install a roof for the first time.[23] The roof provided space for 'the new stage technology – the "heavens"', which featured 'a hoisting device, which could "fly" in thrones, gods and anything else.'[24] The 1592 record does not specifically mention the heavens; but in 1595 there is an entry that records a £7.2s 'for carpenters worke & mackinge the throne In the hevenes', which suggests that the heavens already existed and was popular enough to warrant further development by installing

[19] Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of English Drama 1559-1642*, 2 vols. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891) I, pp.283-4.
[20] Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2 vols., ed. by Walter W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1908) II, pp.175, 180; Chambers, pp.344-5.
[21] Ernest L. Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), p.208-9. Rhodes follows George Fullmer Reynolds who categorised the first three Ages as those 'probably' performed at the theatre, see Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater 1605-1625* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p.20. For Greg's view on the titles see *Henslowe's Diary*, II, ed. by Greg, pp.175, 180.
[22] Rhodes, p.209.
[23] *Henslowe's Diary*, pp.9-13. See also Carol Rutter, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp.47-8; and Christine Eccles, *The Rose Playhouse* (London: Nick Hern Books, 1990), pp.28-9.
[24] Eccles, pp.28, 139.

a throne.[25] Although David Mann discusses mechanical flying on the Elizabethan stage cautiously, he concedes that Heywood's Ages and Henslowe's records about the 'heavens' are the only 'convincing evidence' for the technology, aligning the Ages with the Rose playhouse.[26] Heywood's first three Age plays seem to use the Rose's signature technology often: in the finale of *The Golden Age* a lift is required when 'Iris *descends*' and 'Jupiter *first ascends upon the Eagle*' (*SD*.78); *The Silver Age* uses a lift/winch even more frequently (at least four times, but possibly as many as eight times); and *The Brazen Age* definitely requires a hoisting device when Medea 'hangs above in the Aire' (*SD*.217) atop the Golden Fleece, and when Hercules is incinerated by Jupiter's thunderbolt and turned into a star.[27] These moments are not merely products of a new technology. As Rhodes explains, Heywood probably made use of the rudimentary heavens (installed in 1592 in time for *seleo & olempo*), and the popularity of these performances and others may well have led to the heavens' enhancements in 1595 – in turn, leading to the increased use of aerial ropework scenes in *hercolas 1*.[28] Not only does this signal the genesis of the pentalogy's dramaturgy but also suggests the significance of the plays in the evolution of the Rose playhouse itself.

As well as the most spectacular events in the Ages, some scholars have also recognised that props and costumes which may have featured in the plays are recorded by Henslowe in inventories from 1598. In 1946, Holaday offered the first in-depth study of the items listed by Henslowe and their possible uses in Heywood's Ages. Holaday flagged over twenty items listed by Henslowe, including: Neptune's suit, fork and garland; Hercules' 'limbs'; a golden fleece; and even a 'great horse with his leages'.[29] Rhodes developed

[25] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.7. This entry follows a list of expenses costing £108 19s for work done on the Rose possibly during the closure for Lent in spring of that year (ibid). Andrew Gurr explains that pillars discovered by archaeologists at the Rose 'may mean that part of the intention of the reconstruction in 1592 was to add supports for the stage heavens. That might of course mean that the 1587 Rose had no cover over the stage, and one was added in 1592.' Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 4th edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.159.

[26] Mann, p.197. For more on the Rose's winch machinery in the heavens, see Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London: Routledge, 1982), pp.32-4; Eccles, pp.28, 139; Janet Dillon, 'Chariots and Cloud Machines: Gods and Goddesses on Early English Stages', in *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, ed. by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren and Martine van Elk (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.111-130; Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, pp.140, 151. For those who question the presence of mechanical flight on Elizabethan stages, see T. J. King, *Shakespearean Staging, 1599-1642* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p.148; Glynne Wickham, 'Heavens, Machinery and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses', in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598*, ed. by Herbert Berry Herbert Berry (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), pp.1-15; John Orrell, *The Human Stage: English Theatre Design, 1557-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.61-5, 269-70.

[27] For possible instances of the lift machinery being used, see p.13 fn.20.

[28] See Rhodes, p.210.

[29] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.317 (Neptune's suit limbs), p.318 (fleece, Neptune's fork and garland), p.319 (horse) p.320. Holaday, 'Heywood's *Troia Britannica* and the *Ages*', pp.432-439. Holaday also highlights other

Holaday's list by adding Henslowe's 'senetores gowne', hood, and five 'senetores capes', claiming that this could be Henslowe's spelling for centaur and that the items might be the costumes for the six centaurs that appear during Act 3 of *The Silver Age*.[30] Mann goes as far as to claim that the golden fleece and the head/s of boar, bull and Cerberus makes this identification of *The Silver* and *Brazen Age* with the two *hercolas* plays 'almost certain.'[31] More recently, Arrell has identified another item in Henslowe's inventory that was potentially used in *The Brazen Age* (or the '2 p of *hercolas*'): the 2 'stepells', which may refer to Hercules's pillars – items that the hero carries onto the stage shortly before his death (247).[32] In *An Apology for Actors* (1612), Heywood recounts a time that he saw Hercules on stage with 'his high Pyramides' – an unusual detail which may well make reference to the pillars as obelisks, as per the *OED*'s (n.3.a) Tudor definition.[33] As Arrell has it, Heywood likely refers to the props 'more like what we would call obelisks' – tall and narrow structures with a pointed top that looked like a steeple.[34] These items are just the most recent of Henslowe's recorded props to be ascribed to Heywood's treatment of Hercules and Troy, adding further evidence to the notion Heywood's Ages were once the Henslowe plays. And while there are fewer items associated with *The Golden Age,* this in itself supports the earlier

properties in Henslowe's inventory, including: Iris's head and rainbow, a hell mouth, a bay tree, a little altar, 'the clothe of the Sone and Mone', a boar's head, Cerberus's three heads, a caduceus, a snake, Mercury's wings, an elm bowl, a chain of dragons, a bull's head, Juno's coat, a lion's skin and two lion heads, a bear's skin, and a rock ('Heywood's *Troia Britannica* and the *Ages*', p.436). For an explanation of where all the properties may feature in the Ages plays, see ibid, pp.436-437. Rhodes also offers a discussion of the items and where they could feature in the plays; see pp.202-206. Additionally, Mann points out where the props are used and even recycled within *The Silver* and *The Brazen Age*, see Mann, p.185. Hercules's limbs could refer to his armour but may also suggest prosthetic body parts, possibly featuring during his incineration at the end of *The Brazen Age*. On contemporary prosthetics, see Ian Smith, 'The Textile Black Body: Race and "shadowed livery" in *The Merchant of Venice*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment,* ed. by Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.179-80. The Golden Fleece features during Heywood's Medea and Jason episode (*The Brazen Age*, 217); and Henslowe's 'great horse' is likely the Trojan Horse, discovered by Aeneas in *The Second Part of the Iron Age* (372).

[30] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.317. Rhodes, p.207.

[31] Mann, p.185.

[32] The stage directions is as follows: '*Enter to the sacrifice two Priests to the Altar, sixe Princes with sixe of his labours, in the midst Hercules bearing his two brazen pillars, six other Princes, with the other six labours, Hercules staies them*' (*SD*.247).

[33] Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: 1612; STC 13309*),* sig.B4r. Arrell explains that having Hercules 'enter for his death scene carrying the pillars is unusual to say the least [and] it is certainly not found in any other version of the story' ('Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.5).

[34] Arrell, 'Hercules' Pillars: A New Identification of Properties in Henslowe's Inventory', *Notes and Queries,* 66.4 (2019), 519-521 (p.520). In his *Annales* (1625), William Camden describes the 'St. Paul's steeple as a '"most rare Piramide"'; John Florio in *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) defines a pyramid as ''a piramide, or steeple, broade at the low end and narrow at the upper end' (both cited in: Arrell, ibid).

dating for the play, as it reflects how *seleo & olempo* had not been revived in 1598 like the *hercolas* plays were.[35]

Despite the plausibility of these entries and their parallels with Heywood's plays, many scholars follow Ernest Schanzer's dismissal of the identification of the lost plays as the Ages.[36] Indeed, general scepticism surrounding Henslowe's records – especially regarding the heavens – contributes to an apprehension of identifying the lost plays as Heywood's, too. Nonetheless, Schanzer often remains the authoritative voice of opposition, with the main claim that the items in Henslowe's inventory would have been necessary for any Hercules play, not just Heywood's. To make his point, Schanzer outlines differences between the Ages and Heywood's account of a Hercules play in *Apology for Actors,* claiming that it reveals that there were multiple Hercules plays at the time. In the *Apology*, Heywood recounts seeing Hercules on stage complete labours that do not feature in the surviving Ages plays but which, according to Schanzer, had featured in a lost Hercules play. However, Mann points out that this would mean Henslowe's inventory would have 'contained supporting properties for all of the labors and not just those coincidentally needed in the *Silver* and *Brazen Ages*.'[37] Clearly, then, Schanzer's argument is debatable, and can, in fact, support the hypothesis of an earlier composition date, as the differences found between the account of Hercules in the *Apology* and the content of *The Silver* and *Brazen Age* could indicate that the later plays were revised versions of originals. We will return to the relationship between the two treatments of Hercules and Heywood's possible revisions in the next section, which follows Arrell's discussions of the issue.

Evidently, *Henslowe's Diary* includes records that can point us towards a possible earlier date of composition for the Ages. The lost play titles not only correlate with the subject matter of the Ages but they also appear in the same order as the Ages pentalogy. The financial success of the lost Henslowe plays, too, correlates with the Ages, which are known to have been very popular plays. Part of their popularity likely stemmed from their spectacular dramaturgy, which included the lift technology which had been installed and developed around the same time as the records for Henslowe's lost plays. The frequent and focal event of the lift technology in the Ages suggests that it had been written into the play

[35] The only Henslowe properties that could have appeared in *The Golden Age* would be those associated with Neptune, as well as a globe and elm bowl – though the latter two are rather generic items and not indicative of one particular play.
[36] Schanzer, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Shakespeare'.
[37] Mann, p.188. Mann highlights that the inventory would have contained props like the Hydra, Geryon and the Stymphalides (often confused with Harpies) but that Heywood chose the labours that were easier to dramatise.

when the technology was current and popular, to generate revenue that would ensure it was worth its cost to the Admiral's Men. Another draw of the Ages were the lavish props and costumes which are included in Henslowe's 1598 prop inventory, and, in some instances, are specified for characters who appear in the Ages. The records indicate that Heywood was making use of the resources available to him while beginning his career with the Admiral's Men at the Rose in the mid-1590s – at the behest of Henslowe. But in addition to *Henslowe's Diary*, we can also explore the surviving texts of the Ages plays themselves to find elements that imply an earlier composition date. While Schanzer insisted that Heywood's plays lack the Herculean material that would qualify them as the lost 1590s Hercules plays, others find that their absence in the Ages' surviving texts actually points towards their one time presence, due to traces of revision that remain.

II. Evidence from the Ages

Few studies of the Ages have considered them as late-Elizabethan plays and, as a result, much of their topicality has been overlooked. In addition, exploring the dating of the plays also sheds light on some of their stylistic peculiarities. The Ages plays are often characterised by their unusual structure, with their swift, haphazard scene progression that often entails awkward or disjointed speech. However, rather than just being a result of the author's poor taste or skill, some of these features may well be the result of revisions Heywood made to the plays later in his career.[38] Arlene W. Weiner emphasises that 'it is difficult to fix the date of a Heywood play [because] his early-printed plays are corrupt and dismembered, and later-printed ones may have undergone significant revision.'[39] Her comment is definitely applicable to the whole of the Ages pentalogy and is supported by studies by Douglas Arrell, who has identified a number of moments across the Ages that suggest revisions have been made. Arrell's findings can be supported with wider evidence, too. Therefore, I will now explore the surviving texts of the Ages and the traces of revisions within them. In doing so, I also discuss Heywood's use of certain source texts and the relationship of the Ages with some contemporary plays to further indicate the possibility of an earlier dating.

[38] My discussion of revisions in the Ages relies largely upon Arrell's 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules' and 'Heywood, Shakespeare, and the Mystery of Troye', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 19.1 (2016), 1-22.
[39] Weiner, 'Introduction', in *Thomas Heywood's The Iron Age* ed. by Weiner (London: Garland Publishing, 1979), p.xix.

It is possible that Heywood had revised *seleo & olempo* into *The Golden Age* sometime before it was published in 1611 (perhaps during the 1609 theatre closures); *hercolas 1* & *2* were likely revised into *The Silver* and *The Brazen Age* sometime after their revivals at the Rose in 1598 and probably before the performance of *The Silver Age* in 1612; and it seems as though by 1613 Heywood had intentions of possibly revising *troye* into *The Iron Age I* & *II*, as he admits in the reader address of *The Silver Age*: 'wee begunne with *Gold*, follow with *Silver*, proceede with *Brasse*, and purpose by Gods grace to end with *Iron*' (83). The statement implies that *The Iron Age* had not yet been completed, though there are passages potentially paraphrased from *The Iron Age II* in a manuscript book from before 1612.[40] Of course, we can never know for sure, but there are many reasons why Heywood may have returned and revised these plays for Jacobean audiences and stages.

As trends changed and new audiences demanded novel dramatic forms, Heywood likely modified and replaced some of the material in the lost plays from the Rose repertory. Heywood's recycling of the Henslowe plays to become the Ages is typical of his career, throughout which he adapted and repurposed material for a variety of playhouses and publications.[41] In the case of the Ages, Heywood likely replaced much of the hero-focused action in the two parts of *hercolas* with more divergent mythical material, to broaden their appeal. Arrell identifies several moments in *The Silver* and *The Brazen Age* that suggest that Heywood revised earlier versions of the plays. For example, both plays contain many incongruous references to events or creatures that do not appear on stage, which suggests that Heywood may have cut certain material from the original plays and missed the references when revising them into the Ages.[42] In addition to Arrell's moments, we can add Juno's despair at losing her servant Argus in *The Silver Age*, as Heywood dramatised Argus's murder in *Jupiter and Io*, a short drama printed in Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues and*

[40] See Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 9 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) VI, p.297. The book belonged to Edward Pudsey and 'contains some of the earliest manuscript excerpts from Shakespeare's plays'. David Kathman, 'Pudsey, Edward (bap.1573, d.1612/13)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online [accessed 28 Nov 2020].

[41] Kathleen E. McLuskie explains that Heywood was akin to his contemporary Thomas Dekker, as he displayed an 'eclecticism of a professional dramatist, taking raw materials where he found them and selling the product in different markets with possibly different effects' (p.14).

[42] For example, in *The Silver Age* Hercules recounts how 'Harpyes' and 'Buls' (146) were unworthy opponents but this is the first mention of the beasts. Similarly, after Hercules has defeated the lion sent by Juno, she says she will next send a boar (which she describes in great detail) and Hercules accepts the challenge; but despite the attention given to this prospective encounter, it is never dramatised and only briefly mentioned later in the play. Furthermore, a boar and bull's head are included in Henslowe's prop inventory but there does not seem to be a record relating to harpies (often confused with Stymphalian birds) – though this could be due to 'actors portraying bird-women'. Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.8. Arrell identifies a number of other incongruous references across *The Silver* and *The Brazen Age*; see ibid. pp.8-9.

Drammas (1637), possibly containing material excised from the original Henslowe plays.[43] If such revisions were made, this could of course result in the peculiar structure of the surviving texts of *The Silver* and *Brazen Age*, which combine 'a conventional hero-dominated plot-driven play' with 'some irrelevant one-act plays' – in contrast to the more unified plays of Heywood's contemporaries.[44]

When Heywood reduced the Hercules material it obviously minimized the hero's role, and Arrell suggests this was a response to the fact that the original part was written for Edward Alleyn, whose talents Heywood had lost when Alleyn retired from acting in 1604.[45] Richard Rowland explains that the lack of such an experienced and esteemed actor as Alleyn was the reason that 'Heywood bombarded his fellow players with such precise and complex instructions' through detailed stage directions – the Ages offering the most elaborate of them all.[46] The role of Hercules might have been adapted to become 'more suitable for someone like Burbage – leading player of the King's Men who differed in style to Alleyn, being Shakespeare's lead tragic actor who had more experience of performing at court.[47] When Alleyn retired, the vogue for his bombastic acting style had started to fade and Heywood would have had to modernise the role for the court performance of *The Silver Age* in 1612 by both the King's Men and Queen Anne's Men. (Heywood may have even had this performance in mind when he revised the plays, with the episodic structure and diverse myths being practical material to be split between two troupes to separately rehearse.)

As well as the *hercolas* plays, Arrell has claimed that *troye* was similarly revised, as Heywood adapted it from one very long play and added in material to expand it into the two parts of *The Iron Age*. Two characters in the plays are particularly telling. Arrell discusses how the character of Sinon suggests possible revisions, as he does not appear until *The Iron*

---

[43] For my discussion on this moment in *The Silver Age*, see pp.151-2. For *Jupiter and Io*, see *Jupiter and Io*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) VI, pp.257-280. Heywood follows Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I) which depicts Juno's loss of Argus when Mercury charms him and cuts off his head. While there is no performance history for *Jupiter and Io*, it does feature props that correlate to those in Henslowe's inventories and the style of the drama is certainly reminiscent of the Ages plays. For more on *Jupiter and Io* and Henslowe's props, see Matthew Steggle, 'Philip Henslowe's Artificial Cow', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 30 (2017), 65-75 (especially pp.69-71).

[44] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.7.

[45] See Susan P. Cerasano, 'Edward Alleyn's "Retirement" 1597-1600', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 10 (1998), 98-112 (p.100). Alleyn retired from the Admiral's Men for the first time around 1597/8 but had a brief comeback after the troupe relocated to the Fortune theatre in 1600.

[46] Richard Rowland, '"Speaking some words, but of no importance"? Stage Directions, Thomas Heywood, and *Edward IV*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 18 (2005), 104-122 (p.115). Rowland continues by adding that Heywood 'did not have among his colleagues the genius of a Burbage or a Lowin, and he knew it full well' (ibid).

[47] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.10. See Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, pp.137-9.

Age II, where he is given a prominent role. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Sinon holds a fairly small, though significant, role as he tricks the Trojans into accepting the great horse into the city. For Heywood, Sinon may have been a later addition to *troye*, in order to bulk out the single play into two. Thersites, too, is another character who could have been developed when Heywood revised *troye*.[48] Charlotte Coffin finds that Heywood's Thersites in *The Iron Age I* & *II* exhibits a physical condition and moral character exclusively lifted from the 1611 edition of George Chapman's translation of the *Iliad*, as it characterises him as a 'railer' more intensely than in the 1598 edition.[49] Like Sinon, Heywood potentially developed and lengthened Thersites' role when he came to revise *troye* sometime after the 1611 edition of the *Iliad*.

Heywood's revisions result in structural peculiarities which Arrell uses to detail specific claims about the possible content of the original plays. The two dumbshows that begin Act 2 of *The Silver Age* suggest that this section (Jupiter's seduction of Alcmena) had been the original starting point for the first *hercolas*, and the first act of *The Silver Age* (that concludes the Danae episode from the previous play) was 'grafted onto' *hercolas 1* to make it into the second Age play.[50] Additionally, if scenes that include Sinon in *The Iron Age I* & *II* – as well as the scene when Helen and Cressida meet during Troy's fall – are omitted, 'the play still makes complete sense and the total of approximately 1268 lines in acts 1-3 of *2 Iron Age* would be reduced to 745.'[51] The reduced acts could have originally been one very long act that ended *troye*. Ultimately, Arrell claims *troye* was likely constituted from acts 1-4 of *The Iron Age I* and the shortened version of acts 1-3 of *The Iron Age II*.

Arrell has much less to say about *The Golden Age* than other Ages plays but there are elements within that play similar to those which he points out in the others. For example, like those featuring Sinon or Helen and Cressida, the scene between the Nurse and Clown is fairly dispensable in terms of plot, as it is basically a recap of the preceding action.[52] There are jarring structural elements and shifts of narratives that are patched up by Homer's sweeping choric narration in moments such as the beginning of Act 4 with the change of narrative from the battle between Saturn and his sons, to Jupiter's seduction, and then later the shift again to

[48] On Thersites and Synon in *The Iron Age I* & *II*, see Arrell, 'Mystery of *Troye*', pp.7-8.
[49] Coffin, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Chapman's Homer', pp.63-64.
[50] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', pp.8-9.
[51] Arrell, 'Mystery of *Troye*', p.7. Following this, Arrell footnotes a list of lines he believes could have been cut from *The Iron Age II* in order to reconstruct *troye*.
[52] See *The Golden Age*, pp.10-11.

the deification of the brothers.[53] Furthermore, Homer's reference to the deification in Act 2 of *The Silver Age*, '*Of* Jupiter *now deifi'd and made / Supreme of all the Gods*' (97), sounds as though the event just happened; despite it appearing in the previous play and before the whole first act which completes the Danae story.

While some scholars dismiss the idea that *The Golden Age* emerged earlier than *Troia Britanica* due to shared content apparently signalling the influence of the poem, Mann has suggested that Heywood had actually used the first five cantos of *Troia* to revise *seleo & olempo*.[54] Heywood's use of *Troia* would support the idea that he had revised *seleo & olempo* during the theatre closures of 1609, ready for a performance in 1610 and its publication in 1611.[55] If Heywood had worked on *seleo & olempo* in 1609, this could, moreover, tie it to Shakespeare's *Pericles* (published in the same year). Indeed, 'a notable feature of *Pericles* is its deliberate archaism,' which suggests that 'dumb shows between the acts seem part of the play's evocation of a by-gone age of drama,' an age when Heywood first composed his Ages.[56] Despite these links, Schanzer argues for a later date of *The Golden Age* by claiming that the dumbshows in *Cymbeline* (1611) must have influenced Heywood; but this influence could, by all means, be the other way around. Thus, Arrell explores the similarities between *The Golden Age* and *Cymbeline* which both feature Jupiter flying on an eagle, as a possible example of Shakespeare wishing to bring some of the popularity of Heywood's play, to his own company.[57]

The influence of certain source texts in the Ages can also illuminate possible revisions and the history of the plays. Primarily, Heywood's engagement with William Caxton's *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy* (*c.*1475) is suggestive. The *Recuyell*'s general influence on Heywood was its 'weaving of disparate mythological threads into a coherent narrative', implemented when he replaced much of the *hercolas* material.[58] It is possible, though, to trace in *The Iron Age I* & *II* the closer influence of different versions of Caxton's translation which can help date the plays. Following the publication of the 1553 *Recuyell*, there was not another edition until 1596-7, which was possibly after Heywood had initially written the

[53] See Ibid, pp.52-3, 77-9. Danae is suddenly brought into the play when Neptune asks Jupiter if he has heard of her and upon learning of Danae, Jupiter decides he will go to find and seduce her (p.55).
[54] See Mann, p.200 n.10.
[55] Arrell does believe that the difference in Ganymede's characterisation in the first two Ages plays suggests that *The Golden Age* and first act of *The Silver Age* were written at a different time to the rest of *The Silver Age.* See Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.6.
[56] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.12.
[57] See Arrell, 'Jupiter's descent in *Cymbeline*: A Suggestion', *Notes and Queries*, 65.4 (2018), 543-546; and 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.12.
[58] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.18.

hercolas plays. Arrell argues that instead of Caxton, Heywood had first relied upon William Warner's *Albion's England* (1589), a shortened modernisation of Caxton that is closely echoed by Heywood in *The Brazen Age*.[59] It was not until later in his career that Heywood had used Caxton directly, when he composed *Troia*. If Heywood had initially written his Hercules scenes around this time, they would likely have shared with *Troia* the extent of Caxton's influence – but they do not, which supports the possibility that the plays were composed earlier. Notably, Caxton's influence can be traced in the first act of *The Silver Age*, a section that Arrell identified as one of the possible later additions to the script, meaning Heywood potentially revised them around the time he was writing *Troia*.[60]

Although *Troia* and the revised Ages plays emerged after the later reprint of Caxton, Yves Peyré argues that it is actually the 1553 version used by Heywood to compose *Troia* and likely *troye* too.[61] Peyré's finding leads Arrell to surmise that

> [a]fter the success of the Hercules plays, Heywood decided to continue the story with a play on the Trojan War. But this part of Caxton's narrative is skimmed over very briefly in *Albion's England*, which would no longer be adequate for Heywood's purpose. And so he was driven to obtain a copy of the 1553 edition of the *Recuyell*, which he continued to use in his later writings. The fact that he did not use the soon-to-be-easily-available 1597 text thus actually supports the idea that he wrote his first version of the Trojan War story in 1596, before the up-dated version was published.[62]

Understanding Heywood's use of Caxton helps to fix the date of the initial composition of the Ages around the early-mid 1590s. Another later play dealing with the matter of Troy, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, published in 1609, also makes use of Caxton, though using the 1597 print.[63] Understanding more about the interplay between the Ages and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* can also inform the dating discussion.

---

[59] Arrell's examples of Heywood's use of Warner include: when Warner describes how Hercules's 'verie Marrow fryde" (sig.G3r) and Heywood's Hercules declares 'my marrow fries' (249); both describe the river that Hercules must cross with Deianeira as Evenus's ford (Warner, sig.K4v; Heywood, 180); when Priam describes Laeomedon, both authors reference his borrowings from the priests of Neptune and Phoebus/Apollo (Warner, sig.B2r; Heywood, p.204). Warner, *The first and second parts of Albions England* (London: 1589; STC 25080). See Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', pp.16-7.

[60] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.18.

[61] Yves Peyré, 'Early Modern Mythological Texts: *Troia Britanica*, Library', *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Classical Mythology: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Peyré (2009-), <www.shakmyth.org> [accessed 12 July 2018].

[62] Arrell, 'Mystery of *Troye'*, p.4.

[63] Jonathan P. Lamb points out how evidence that Shakespeare had used the 1553 version is weak and that it is 'more likely, Shakespeare knew the 1597 version'. See Lamb, *Shakespeare in the Marketplace of Words*

Perhaps as early as 1602 people were recognising the similarities between these plays, as they may have been compared in *The Return from Parnassus*.[64] Several scholars have reasoned that *Troilus and Cressida* contains borrowings from *The Iron Age I* & *II*, as it contains details which seem strange in that play, compared to their original place in Heywood's.[65] However, in *The Iron Age II* when Sinon seduces Cressida (363-5) – a scene identified by Arrell as a later addition – the influence of *Troilus and Cressida* is evident; so too during the closet scene with Clytemnestra and Orestes we can see clear echoes of *Hamlet* (1601). Both instances suggest that *The Iron Age II* was revised after *Troilus and Cressida* and *Hamlet* but while these were still popular and relevant.[66] Nonetheless, *Troilus and Cressida* may even admit a debt to Heywood's *troye*, as Shakespeare's prologue conveys 'a contrast with others' treatment of similar material'.[67] Specifically, Shakespeare's opening lines could refer to Heywood's Troy plays:

> To tell you, fair beholders, that our play
>
> Leaps o'er the vaunt and firstlings of those broils,
>
> Beginning in the middle, starting thence away
>
> To what may be digested in a play. (Prologue.26-9)[68]

The lines, according to David Farley-Hills, imply a contrast to Heywood as it would not make sense for Shakespeare to 'draw attention to a change in his own dramaturgical allegiances', as opposed to a change from the prevalent trend of treatments of Troy.[69] Although *Henslowe's Diary* does contain references to Troy plays such as Thomas Dekker

---

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p.177 n.11, pp.177-178. Weiner discusses Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* in comparison to Heywood's *The Iron Age*, focusing on Shakespeare's 'medievalizing' which contrasts to Heywood's treatment; see pp.xxvii-xxx.

[64] See John S.P. Tatlock 'The Seige of Troy in Elizabeth Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood', *PMLA*, 30.4 (1915), 673-770 (p.711 n.35).

[65] Arrell, 'Mystery of *Troye*', p.17. For specific examples of content, see ibid, pp.14-15. Weiner similarly asserts that: 'Shakespeare is allusive where Heywood is straightforward, in a way that suggests that Shakespeare took for granted the situation given exposition by Heywood' (p.xxvii). For Weiner's full comparison of the two, see pp.xxiv-xxvii). David Farley-Hills also argues that 'Heywood's logical handling of the action should have preceded Shakespeare's illogicality, because the unexpectedness of Shakespeare's treatment gets part of its effect from an expectation of consequentiality: it is Heywood who asserts the convention that gives Shakespeare's unconventional treatment point'. Farley-Hills, *Shakespeare and the Rival Playwrights, 1600-1606* (London: Routledge, 1990), p.44.

[66] See Arrell, 'Mystery of *Troye*', p.19; Farley-Hills, p.42, p.44 n.57.

[67] Farley-Hills, p.43.

[68] Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*, in *William Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2007), p.1462.

[69] Farley-Hills, p.43.

and Henry Chettle's *Troyeles & Creasedaye* and *Agamemnon* (1599), these plays would have likely focused on particular moments towards the end of the war and not the 'firstlings of those broils' as does Heywood in *The Iron Age I* or *troye*.[70]

Distancing the play from rival treatments implies that a market surrounding the story of Troy had been established by the time *Troilus and Cressida* was written around 1600. Indeed, the lines that precede Farley-Hill's extract further suggest that the genre was established enough for audiences to generate expectations around it. The prologue states: 'Now expectation, tickling skittish spirits' (Prologue. 20), which alludes to more exciting treatments of Troy, such as Heywood's, or possibly even Shakespeare's own spectacular classical play *Titus Andronicus* – given that 'skittish' referred to 'frivolity or excessive liveliness' (*OED*, adj.1). In contrast to *Titus* or the Ages, *Troilus and Cressida* likely disappointed audiences who expected a lively and exciting play given its lengthy philosophical debates and sober treatment of the Trojan War. The prologue continues: 'On one and other side, Trojan and Greek, / Sets all on hazard' (21-2), which continues to stress the contrast between audience expectations and the reality of what they will receive, with the remark on opposing sides possibly even alluding to the Rose and Globe playhouses that formed the theatrical duopoly of the 1590s. Clearly, the echoes in *Troilus and Cressida* suggest that the Ages were popular and current enough to have been recycled by Shakespeare before they were the fully revised Ages.

Audience expectations were shaped by literary trends formed through the styles of various writers who influenced Heywood. Aside from exhibiting similarities to his own early works such as *The Four Prentices of London* (1594) – published by Nicholas Okes in 1632 like *The Iron Age I* & *II* – the Ages contain clear echoes of plays by Christopher Marlowe, including *Tamburlaine I* & *II, Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Jew of Malta*, three staple plays of the Admiral's Men.[71] Of course, echoes of these plays would suggest Heywood's pentalogy was composed while Marlowe's works were still popular and in vogue.[72] Furthermore, Heywood admits his admiration for Marlowe in the new prologue he wrote for the 1633 publication of *The Jew of Malta*, which praised Marlowe as 'the best of poets in that

[70] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.121.
[71] On the Ages and *The Four Prentices*, see Farley-Hills, pp.42-3. Additionally, Weiner (pp.ix-xl) discusses similarities between *The Iron Age* and Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (*c*.1587) and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598).
[72] *Tamburlaine I* & *II* were continuously performed at the Rose from 1594- 1595, while *The Jew of Malta* was performed from 1592-1596. See *Henslowe's Diary*, pp.23-29 (for *Tamburlaine I* & *II*); 16-26, 34-7 (for *Jew of Malta*).

age' and celebrated its original starring actor, Edward Alleyn, as 'the best of actors' who 'did gain / A lasting memory; in Tamburlaine' (Prologue.2-6).[73] Heywood's appreciation for Alleyn would also suggest that he had experience of his talent as an actor, possibly even for the *hercolas* plays, given that *Tamburlaine I* & *II* may have been a 'model for *1 and 2 Hercules*'.[74] Indeed, records in *Henslowe's Diary* suggest a possible correlation between *Tamburlaine I* & *II* and the *hercolas* plays, as in May 1595, *hercolas I* was performed on the 20th, before two days of the *Tamburlaine* plays, which preceded the debut of *hercolas 2* on the 23rd.[75]

There are many more general echoes of Marlowe across the Ages; but the politicised treatment of mythology is most clearly aping *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, which constantly glances to Elizabeth. *Dido* and *Tamburlaine I* & *II* were some of Marlowe's earliest works, likely written during and shortly after his time at Cambridge. Similarly, the Henslowe plays could be some of Heywood's earliest, after he too left Cambridge. This offers some explanation for why all these works are so heavily invested in mythology, as the young writers were influenced by their Humanist educations. The most famous political mythology of the period, though, was Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, which also emerged around the time of these works, initially in 1590, with the final publication in 1596. Spenser himself was likely heavily indebted to John Lyly, whose works are alluded to in the Ages – sometimes very closely, as when Venus imagines being on Endimion's bank in *The Brazen Age*.[76] It seems unlikely that Heywood would have included these echoes over twenty years after Lyly's works had emerged. The Ovidian themes throughout the Ages illustrate their debt to these early writers – as well as Shakespeare and George Chapman – and that the work would have been on trend in the early 1590s. Heywood was, after all, at this time translating Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*; and he had recently written *Oenone and Paris* which was published in

[73] Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, in *Christopher Marlowe The Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), p.247. All references to *The Jew of Malta* are taken from this edition. On Heywood and *The Jew of Malta*, see Richard Dutton, 'Thomas Heywood and the Publishing of *The Jew of Malta*', in *Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade*, ed. by Kirk Melnikoff and Roslyn L. Knutson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.182-194. Susan P. Cerasano notes that 'by the early 1590s Alleyn had already become well known for his depictions of the lead roles in Christopher Marlowe's plays, particularly Tamburlaine and Doctor Faustus.' Cerasano, 'Tamburlaine and Edward Alleyn's Ring', *Shakespeare Survey*, 47 (1994), 171-180 (p.171). This explains why in the prologue Heywood also describes Alleyn as 'being a man / Whom we may rank with (doing no one wrong) / Proteus for shapes' (Prologue.8-10).

[74] Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules', p.12. This is likely given the possibility that 'Tamburlaine was to some degree modelled on the Renaissance conception of Hercules' (ibid). For more on the similarities between Tamburlaine and Hercules, see Eugene M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962), pp.60-87.

[75] *Henslowe's Diary*, p.29.

[76] I discuss this on pp.123-5.

1594 and heavily influenced by Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593). Like the echoes of Lyly in the Ages, instances when Heywood is 'recalling' *Oenone and Paris* in *The Iron Age* would also attest to an earlier date, rather than Heywood calling upon this earlier work over thirty years later.[77]

III. Conclusion

All of this evidence begs questions of why the plays were not originally published when they were written and first performed, and indeed why they were revived over a decade later? One answer could be that among the various reasons why Heywood and many of his contemporaries turned to mythology, was that its expressive potential (and emphases on issues of power, lineage and territory) lent itself quite usefully to bypassing censorship. Throughout the 1590s – a decade fraught with civil unrest, riots, dearth and the threat of rebellion – political satire remained popular on the stage, and works similar to the Ages continued to emerge, as well as those that were more provocative and explicit than Heywood's. By 1596 (the year *troye* premiered), there were calls to the Privy Council for 'her Majesty to thrust those Players out of the Citty'; and in 1597 the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London petitioned to the Privy Council for playhouses to be eradicated, likely in response to *The Isle of Dogs* (1597), which landed Gabriel Spenser, Robert Shaa, and Ben Jonson in prison.[78] Around this time, Shakespeare had also been involved in a (albeit much less severe) controversy, due to Lord Cobham taking offence to the dramatisation of his ancestor, Sir John Oldcastle, in *1 Henry IV*.[79] Tensions between popular satirical works and the state continued towards the close of the century, with the Bishops' Ban in 1599 attempting to put a stop to the perceived increase in literary political critique.[80] It was against this tense backdrop that Heywood's Ages plays may have been first performed.

---

[77] Katherine Heavey, 'Intertextuality and Thomas Heywood's early Ovid: *Oenone and Paris*', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p.50 n.37.

[78] Chambers, p.360. See Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p.107 and pp.115-6. For my discussion of the controversy, see pp.194-5.

[79] On the controversy, see Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, pp.102-110.

[80] See William R. Jones, 'The Bishops' Ban of 1599 and the Ideology of English Satire', *Literature Compass*, 7.5 (2010), 332-46.

After seeing his contemporaries grapple with increasingly strict censorship, Heywood may have wished to avoid becoming embroiled in controversy, especially as he was in a fragile financial position at the beginning of his career (following his withdrawal from Cambridge that was possibly due to a lack of funds after his father's death). Perhaps Heywood thought that a way to dodge controversy was to avoid a paper trail and not have his name firmly tied to potentially subversive plays – he had, after all, sold *hercolas* in 1598. Indeed, the increasing tensions around drama in the late 1590s alone could have altered the way his plays were read, whatever the author's intent. Such concerns, therefore, offer a possible explanation for Heywood's anti-publication stance; he might have felt he had greater control of political allusions and interpretations with the immediacy of performance – in which mistakes were fleeting or he could make last minute omissions, in contrast to the permanent inaccuracies from scribes or printers.[81] Nonetheless, after the revivals in 1598 the plays seem to have disappeared until their Jacobean performances, likely due to the Essex crisis, the death of Elizabeth and the subsequent reorganisation of acting troupes and plague closures in 1603/4.

Richard Dutton points out that around the end of the century, the role of the Master of the Revels was impacted upon by the increasing factionalism due to the Essex uprising, and 'a normal balance was not restored until several years after James came to the throne' – likely the time Heywood revised his Henslowe plays for performance around 1610.[82] This was also a time when 'writers began to use representations of Elizabeth to criticize the new king', which certainly could have provoked Heywood to recycle his earlier political reflections.[83] The revival appears in line with Heywood's other activity, as around this time he may have revised his *The Rape of Lucrece* (printed in 1608), which also could have emerged in the 1590s.[84] Ultimately, the complexities associated with dating the plays are another way to highlight that the Ages were engaged with contemporary politics. The possible effects of censorship on the plays, aside from providing one – albeit speculative – explanation for their disjunctive dating, supports the notion that Heywood's Ages were topical plays.

---

[81] On Heywood's attitude towards publication, see pp.27-8. Benedict Scott Robinson explains that Heywood, 'in the prologue to the revived *If You Know Not Me*, printed in 1637 […] claims that the play has been pirated from the theater by a stenographer and put into print "scarce one word trew." For Heywood, the performed play is "trew", while the printed text is a distortion'. Robinson, 'Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 42.2 (2002), 361-380 (p.365).

[82] Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, p.110.

[83] Elizabeth H. Hageman, 'Introduction', in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), p.20.

[84] On *The Rape of Lucrece*, see Holaday, 'Introduction', in *The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. by Holaday (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), pp.1-34.

This chapter has collated and reviewed scholarship on the earlier dating of Heywood's Ages plays so we can better understand where the debate on their publication stands today. The aim was to provide a backdrop for the subsequent four chapters, which explore the Ages plays in light of the final years of Elizabeth's reign. It seems as though there is a wealth of evidence to support an earlier date for the Ages; whereas the publication dates of the plays, Heywood's statement in *The Golden Age* and similarities to *Troia Britanica* are the only reasons the Ages are thought to be purely Jacobean. In comparison, Henslowe's records reveal that in the mid-1590s there were plays that covered the same subject matter as Heywood's Ages and that, like the Ages, these were popular and successful on the stage. Aside from the dramaturgy of the Ages, the scripts that survive to us are also telling. The unorthodox structure of the plays and strange or incongruous details may reveal possible revisions made to earlier plays. A close analysis of Heywood's source texts and echoes between contemporary texts further tie the Ages to an earlier date. This wealth of evidence supports the idea that the Ages went through different phases, the first being the initial composition for the Rose, second their revised versions for Jacobean performances, and their final forms for publication from 1611-1632. Of course, points raised throughout this debate are often conjectural and we cannot say for certain when Heywood had first written the Ages; but it is important to recognise the possibility that they began as late-Elizabethan plays. If we are open to a probability of this composition date, it can help to unpack the Ages in a number of ways, as this thesis demonstrates. It may not be possible to claim a definitive or final answer to the issue of when the Ages were first performed, but surveying the arguments thus far provides a critical model for future research of the five plays. It is from this standpoint that the subsequent case studies should be read and understood: as contributing to the 1590s-composition-thesis, in light of their political-topical concerns.

2. '[O]ur faire mother Queene': Political Maternity, Barrenness and Succession[1]

In *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world*, published nearly forty years after Elizabeth I's death, the 67 year-old Heywood described Elizabeth as 'a Mother / Potent by Land', and in so doing evokes one of the key elements within Elizabeth's political representations.[2] The Queen was often figured as mother to England in an attempt to naturalise and mystify her anomalous position as an unmarried and childless female monarch. During Parliament in 1563, Elizabeth had herself declared that she would prove 'a good mother of my Contreye', and, in her response to the first petition that she marry, she reminded her council: 'you shall never have any a more mother than I mean to be unto you all.'[3] These statements marked the beginning of a long propaganda campaign in which 'the figure of the mother was a figure of authority' within Elizabeth's speeches and wider iconographies.[4] When it became obvious that Elizabeth would not have children, her public representation sought to 'divert attention from the sexual and maternal potential of her biology and to subordinate the meanings of her body natural'.[5] In an attempt to abate tensions regarding the reality of her barrenness, Elizabeth adopted the role of loving mother to her dependent subjects. This was, of course, political theatre par excellence.

When it came to the actual theatre itself, staging maternity was popular and assumed various forms.[6] By the time that Heywood seems to have written his Ages plays, there was a variety of dramatic mother figures to draw from. Classical drama – particularly that of Seneca – had 'offered novel, if alarming models for mothers in dramatic narratives', which were

[1] Heywood, *The Golden Age*, p.7.
[2] Heywood, *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world. Three Jewes. Three gentiles. Three Christians* (London: 1640; STC 13316), p.182. Heywood also writes that Elizabeth was 'to her friends a mother, her foes a terror' (ibid).
[3] Cambridge University Library, MS.Gg.III.34, fols.199-201. National Archives, SP.12/27, fols.143r-144v.
[4] Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p.77.
[5] Felicity Dunworth, *Mothers and Meaning on the Early Modern English Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p.41.
[6] For maternity on stage see Dunworth, *Mothers and Meaning*; Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson (eds.) *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2007); Chris Laoutaris, *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008); Mary Beth Rose, *Plotting Motherhood in Medieval, Early Modern and Modern Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.73-104.

useful figures in constructing dramatic 'response[s] to anxieties about the Elizabethan succession' and for 'persuading the queen of the need for a secure future.'[7] Such interests had influenced texts like Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's *Gorboduc* (1561), which not only emphasised Britain as a 'motherland' and with a succession crisis, but contained the original dramatic political mother, Queen Videna.[8] Even Videna's name signals a debt to mythological models of maternity given that it is an anagram of 'devina' (i.e. divine) – byword for the Madonna, and common term used to describe Elizabeth. *Gorboduc* had spoken directly to Elizabeth regarding the importance of her marriage; and it therefore established a tradition that associated theatrical maternity (and filicide) with Elizabeth and the succession. The Ages demonstrate how Videna's role 'pioneers a pattern that recurs in later Elizabethan plays concerned with the welfare of the nation', as *Gorboduc* clearly influenced Heywood when he composed his own political mothers in the pentalogy.[9] The parallels between domineering mothers, a succession crisis, brothers at war, and infanticide, that are present in the Ages, must have been affected by Heywood's interest in plays like Sackville and Norton's original political tragedy.

For Heywood, political maternity was an irresistible source of satire. And because classical mythology contained so many paradigms of the political mother trope, it provided a perfect vehicle for critique of the English regime. In the Ages, maternity is explored through three main avenues: maternal authority; filicide and lineage; and images of infirmity and infertility. Therefore, I orientate my discussion in this chapter around these concepts, with notable focus on succession, lineage and posterity throughout – issues which were deeply pertinent to the final years of Elizabeth's reign. I first discuss the issue of succession and maternal authority in *The Golden Age*, when the mother queens Vesta and Sibilla use their love as tools to control the accession to the Cretan throne. The two queens echo the figurative dynamic of maternal love that Elizabeth had employed throughout her reign as a way to assert her authority. In contrast to motherly love, the Ages also fixate upon unloving mothers and filicidal events (on- and off-stage, failed and successful) which demonstrate the destructive power mothers could have upon lineage and the health of a nation. In the second

[7] Dunworth, *Mothers and Meaning*, p.52. Seneca's mothers include Clytemnestra in *Agamemnon* and Medea in the eponymous play. Dunworth highlights political relevance across all the plays she explores in relation to classical influences (see pp.52-78).

[8] On Britain and the motherland see Jacqueline Vanhoutte, 'Community, Authority, and the Motherland in Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 40.2 (2000), 227-239. See also Vanhoutte, *Strange Communion: Motherland and Masculinity in Tudor Plays, Pamphlets, and Politics* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003).

[9] Vanhoutte, 'Community, Authority, and the Motherland', p.237.

section, I explore moments of severed familial ties and how they can be read against contemporary rumours about Elizabeth's illicit offspring, as well as the Queen's own concern over the conduct of her issue and subjects. I conclude the chapter by examining the recurrent images of fertility and infirmity that are juxtaposed throughout the plays – images which remind the audience of Elizabeth's actual maternal failure. Heywood contrasts instances of fertility and reproduction with old and infertile figures that evoke Elizabeth's natural body and the reality of England during the end of her reign. In sum, I argue that Heywood used these plays to meditate upon and pastiche what was one of the most integral elements of Elizabeth's political representation. Beyond illustrating the political nature of these plays in particular, the frequency and depth of interest that they hold in the concept of maternity also has much to teach us about the nature and focus of political satire on the public stage in these years.

I. What mum says, goes: Maternal Love and Authority in *The Golden Age*

Elizabeth expressed and enforced her authority in relation to motherly love and filial obedience throughout her reign. In this way, a distinctly feminine and maternal royal 'Love' was peddled by her regime to 'define connections with her subjects', who were rendered as dependent children owing her their obedience.[10] The motherly love that Elizabeth claimed to have for her subjects was a manipulation of the 'archetypal maternal virtues of mercy and loving care' that demonstrated she still held these 'natural' qualities despite not having her own natural children.[11] Elizabeth was figured as mother of England who promised 'constant, self-sacrificing love and implicitly demand[ed] in return, her subjects' affectionate respect.'[12] Due to its political application, the presence of maternal love in the Ages demands a reading alert to its adjacencies in, and critiques of, Elizabeth's representation.

In the beginning of the Ages, *The Golden Age* presents an authoritative mother queen, Vesta, whose love is purely strategic. The play opens following the death of King Uranus of Crete, who is Vesta's husband and the father of her sons Titan and (the younger) Saturn.

[10] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.114.
[11] Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, p.78. John Aylmer in 1559 described Elizabeth as a 'loving Quene and mother to raigne over us', whose subjects should 'obey her, honour her, and love her'. John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects* (London: 1565; STC 1005), sigs.Q3v, R1v.
[12] Christine Coch, '"Mother of my Contreye": Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26.3 (1996), 423-450 (p.424).

Heywood follows William Caxton's, *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (*c.*1475), which adapts their traditional characterisations from classical mythology; and Heywood's decision to include Vesta as the mother of Saturn – which differs from her usual characterisation in the period – is significant, given the clear and direct relevance to Elizabeth.[13] Uranus's death leads to the brothers competing for the throne of Crete but Vesta swiftly takes control of the succession and supports Saturn's accession – despite the challenge his claim poses to hereditary monarchy. Titan reluctantly agrees on one condition, that Saturn will not have any sons who would inherit the throne, allowing Titan's issue instead to succeed. However, Saturn's wife Sibilla soon gives birth to their son Jupiter (and eventually Neptune and Pluto too) and she and Vesta cannot bring themselves to sacrifice the child. Instead, they secretly send him off to live abroad where he can escape the oath made by Saturn. However, Titan eventually learns that Saturn has a son and this leads to a long war between the two brothers that only ends when Jupiter saves Crete from invasion, defies Titan and expels Saturn, who has turned into a tyrant king (who still wants his son dead).

When writing his own dramatic Vesta, Heywood must have had Elizabeth in mind. In and of itself, the name Vesta evokes the Vestal Virgins of Rome who were often associated with Elizabeth, the most famous instance being in the Sieve Portraits (1579-83), which drew upon the myth of the Vestal, Tuccia.[14] Almost forty years after her death, Heywood calls Elizabeth 'a Vestall for virginitie' in the ending of his *The exemplary lives* (1640), which contains accounts of nine women who constitute Heywood's female worthies, with Elizabeth being his third and final Christian worthy.[15] In *The Golden Age*, Heywood introduces Vesta

[13] Caxton points out that Uranus is also known as 'Celion', likely referring to Caelus, the Roman equivalent of Uranus who was the father to Saturn (Greek Cronus). Caxton explains that Uranus married his sister, Vesta, and adapts her traditional Roman identity as Saturn's daughter and goddess of home and family. For Caxton and Heywood, Vesta is Saturn's mother and replaces the traditional Tellus (Greek Gaia), who was Mother Earth. Caxton highlights that Uranus was father to Titan, Saturn and Sibilla; the latter two siblings married and had three sons. See Raoul Lefèvre, *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, 2 vols., trans. by William Caxton, ed. by Oskar Sommer (London: David Nutt, 1894) I, pp.9-10. All quotes from *Recuyell* are from this edition unless stated otherwise.

[14] Louis A. Montrose explains that the sieve in these images is in an 'analogical relationship both to her own female anatomy and to the globe' in the background of the image, which links the sieve to 'the Queen's sexuality and to England's imperial destiny.' Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), p.125.

[15] Heywood, *The exemplary lives*, p.212. Heywood may echo John Lyly who, in *Euphues and his England* (1580), had similarly described Elizabeth as 'adorned with singular beauty and chastity, excelling in the one *Venus*, in the other *Vesta*.' Lyly, *Euphues and His England*, in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and his England*, ed. by Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.336.
The two other Christian worthies in *The exemplary lives* are: Princess Elpheda, a niece of Alfred the Great (pp.130-151) and 'Margaret Queene of England' (Margaret of Anjou) (pp.152-180). The work also features three 'heathen' or mythological worthies: Queen Boudica (pp.68-93), Penthesilea Queen of the Amazonian women (pp.94-109) and ancient Greek Queen Artemisia I of Caria (pp.110-129). Heywood also includes three 'Old Testament' worthies: Deborah (pp.12-19), Judith (pp.20-43) and Esther (pp.44-67).

after drawing his mythological setting closer to common concerns within England. Opening act one of *The Golden Age*, Heywood emphasises the issue of succession by adapting the episode's main narrative source, Caxton's *Recuyell,* to make it the central issue. In the beginning of *Recuyell*, it is noted that following his death, Uranus' wife and children harboured 'great and bitter sorrow' and conducted his funeral 'reverently.'[16] However, in *The Golden Age*, Uranus is mentioned only a handful of times in passing and none of the characters ever exhibit any woe over his demise. Instead, the primary concern for all is the succession. By cutting out Caxton's emphasis on the emotional impact of Uranus's death and the events of his funeral, Heywood jumps straight into the succession issue and ensures that it is the primary focus. Furthermore, to connect the event to England, the location of the play is withheld by Heywood in the initial moments, inviting the audience to reflect on the drama as if it were early modern London itself. It is not until Vesta declares 'The Cretan people, with shrill acclamations / Pronounce thee soveraigne ore their lands and lives [sic]' (7) do we know where the play is set.

Following Homer's choric introduction to the play, the narrative begins when two lords overview Uranus's death and the succession. The first lord explains that '*Titan* is the eldest, / And should succeed by the true right of birth' but the second lord retorts that 'Saturn hath the hearts of al the people, / The Kingdomes high applause [and] his mothers love' (6) to support his claim to the throne. Before we even see Vesta, we learn that she enacts the fantasy of what many wished that Elizabeth would do. She names the heir to the throne, Saturn, but in doing so defies Titan's primogenitural right. (This is an obvious reversal of the decision of *Gorboduc*'s mother Queen, Videna, who opposes her husband's decision to deprive the elder son of his hereditary right, which leads to him ultimately exacting vengeance upon the usurping younger brother.[17]) Vesta's unnatural support of Saturn's claim to the throne is, as we might expect, expressed in terms of her love. Saturn and Vesta enter the stage following the lords' overview of the situation and Saturn reminds everyone that he has the 'election' (7) of his mother. The first lord admits their 'hearts ad-here with *Vestaes*' (7), and Saturn admits twice that he accepts 'love' (6, 7). When Titan enters, furious at the decision to allow Saturn the throne, Vesta tells him that 'Saturn here shall stand, / Immoveable; upheld by *Vestaes* hand' (7) and Titan remarks she has forgotten her love for

[16] Caxton, p.11. Likewise, in *Troia Britanica* Heywood reports that: 'After a few sad funerall sighes and teares / By *Vesta*, o're her husbands body shed.' Heywood, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (London: 1609; STC 13366), p.7.
[17] See Vanhoutte, 'Community, Authority, and the Motherland, p.230.

him (8). The contrast between Vesta's active control over the Cretan succession and Elizabeth's refusal to publicly guide hers is palpable.

Elizabeth's attitude towards the succession had been envisioned in relation to semantics of love and affection since early parliamentary debates: in 1566, a speech proposed that if Elizabeth elected an heir she could 'declare herself to be a deare mother and tender nource', but if she did not, she would 'coole the heate of love'.[18] The speech aligned expected instances of motherly love and a monarch electing an heir, which suggests that if Elizabeth failed to do so, then she would not be performing her role as mother who loves and nurses her children. If Elizabeth failed to display motherly love, she would lose allegiance and authority and instead, be scorned as an unnatural, unloving, unmarried, childless mother. In this sense, then, the neglected Titan reflects some aspects of these tensions and the place of political maternity within them. When Titan enters, he fires a series of questions to his mother:

> Am I a bastard, that my heritage
>
> Is wrested from me by a yonger birth?
>
> Hath *Vesta* plaid th' adulteresse with some stranger?
>
> If I be eldest from *Uranus* loynes,
>
> Your maiden Issue, why am I debar'd
>
> The law of Nations? am I *Vestaes* sonne?
>
> Why doth not *Vesta* then appeare a mother? (8)

The tension over Vesta's lack of love (for him) may recall barbed responses to Elizabeth supporting an unpopular heir – an inevitably controversial decision. Without the love and election of Vesta, Titan questions his own position; and in doing so, he evokes one of the most severe criticisms of Elizabeth. The term 'bastard' and the doubt over Vesta's fidelity could well align Titan with Elizabeth, given that she was bastardised by her father and by Rome. While Vesta's lack of love for Titan is unnatural in terms of maternal instincts, Saturn is figured as unnatural as his rise to the throne challenges primogeniture. Ultimately, Titan recognises that his lack of power goes alongside the fact that 'my Mother / Forget the love she owes' (8).

[18] Terence E. Hartley, *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I,* 3 vols. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981) I, p.138.

Saturn recognises this fact, too, and confidently dismisses Titan's rant:

> *Titan* we both acknowledge thee a brother,
> And *Vestaes* sonne, which wee'le expresse in love.
> But since for many vertues growing in me
> That have no life in you, the Queene, the Peeres,
> And all the people, with lowd suffrages,
> Have shrild their Auees high above the clouds,
> And stil'd me King, we should forget their loves
> Not to maintaine their strange election. (8)

While Titan highlights tensions associated with political maternity, Saturn simply insists upon the unrealistic, harmonious relations that political maternity attempted to fabricate. Saturn's words paint a picture of a rabble of loving supporters cheering and shouting their 'ayes' in agreement with his election. And while 'Auees' echoes assents given in Parliament, the ambiguous spelling of the word suggests an aural duplicity in the term which may also allude to the 'eyes' of the audience. Heywood wants the audience to look at the victorious and confident moment on stage which parodies the reality of Elizabeth's precarious and controversial position in the 1590s.

That Saturn is 'styled' a king also conveys an artificial and temporary adoption of the position, reflecting the inherently unstable nature of public favour. Public favour is imagined as a costume which can be removed and used for disguise – in this case it disguises Saturn's lack of hereditary right. Titan also conveys this when he enters the scene and describes Saturn as 'trickt up in stoln weeds / Deckt in usurped state' (7). Throughout their row, both Saturn and Titan frequently refer to the 'Crown' too, which is potentially a reference to the actual item, given that it appears in a stage direction later in the play when Jupiter first defeats his father and '*seiseth his crowne*' (*SD*.53) – after which Homer reports that 'the Lords kneele at [Jupiter's] feete' (53). The alignment of royalty or public favour with costuming foregrounds its fragility and the use of costume in literary constructions of rule is comparable to the first scene featuring Tamburlaine in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine I*. Tamburlaine styles himself a king when he announces: 'Lie here, ye weeds that I disdain to wear!' (1.2.41), 'removes his

shepherd's cloak' (1.2.*SD*), and after insists that 'This complete armour and this curtle-axe / Are adjuncts more beseeming Tamburlaine' (1.2.42-3).[19] Marlowe's play was deeply invested in 'spectacular and relentless assault on received values' and likely influences Heywood's treatment of a succession crisis wherein royalty is coupled with fragility and disguise.[20]

The two brothers' claims to the throne reflect contemporary political tracts which discuss different models of government, with the potential to destabilise not just the monarch's authority but the whole system it presides over. While Titan 'is the eldest, / And should succeed by the true right of birth,' Saturn 'hath the hearts of al the people, / The Kingdomes high applause, [and] his mothers love' (6). Saturn's public favour is arguably suggestive of republican sentiment, in contrast to his elder brother who insists upon his hereditary right. According to Andrew Hadfield, the presence of these republican ideas on the English stage is a result of a renewed interest in Tacitus and Sallust, who influenced writers that 'wished to forge a means of political analysis […] that enabled them to criticize assumptions of the status quo.'[21] One such writer was George Buchanan, himself immensely influential, whose *De jure regni apud Scotos* (1579) – dedicated to a young James VI – suggested 'nervousness within the government of the regency about its legitimacy […] kept alive by continuing plots to assassinate Elizabeth I'.[22] Marlowe's works are deeply interested in such debates and clearly influenced Heywood who not only dramatises a succession crisis, but echoes contemporary debates over the legitimacy of the whole system of government.[23]

---

[19] All quotes from *Tamburlaine I* are from: Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part One*, in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.69-153.

[20] Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.61.

[21] Ibid, p.45. Heywood's translations of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum* were published in 1608 (STC 21625). In *Englands Elizabeth her life and troubles*, Heywood states in his address to the reader: 'Were I able to write this little Historicall Tractate with the Pen of *Tacitus*, the Inke of *Curtius*, and set downe every line and letter by *Epictetus* his Candle; yet can I see no possibilitie to avoid the Criticks of this age.' Heywood, *Englands Elizabeth*, ed. by Philip R. Rider (London: Garland Publishing, 1982), p.6. Heywood's statement demonstrates the growing awareness of the republican tracts that were emerging earlier in his career. Thomas Smith discusses three models of government, monarchy, oligarchy and democracy and finds that they cannot be neatly distinguished, *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England* (London: 1583; STC 22857). Charles Merbury and Thomas Floyd make the case for hereditary monarchy. Merbury, *A breife discourse of royall monarchie, as of the best common weale* (London: 1581; STC 17823). Floyd, *The Picture of a perfit Common wealth* (London: 1601; STC 11119).

[22] Francis Oakley, 'Christian obedience and authority, 1520-1550', in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought: 1450-1700*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.216.

[23] See Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Republican Authorship: Lucan, Liberty, and the Sublime* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Chloe Kathleen Preedy, '(De)Valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine*, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and *Edward II*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 54.2 (2014), 259-77.

Saturn and Titan's sibling rivalry certainly recalled the tensions between Elizabeth and her cousin Mary Queen of Scots (as *Gorboduc* had done), not to mention the tumultuous relationship between Elizabeth and her sister Mary.[24] Alongside the quarrelling brothers is the image of a mother queen decisively electing an heir to the throne, which is related in terms of her love. Elizabeth was using comparably politicised lexes of love to garner loyalty from her subjects in the likely context of the Ages' composition. As late as 1601, in her 'Golden Speech' Elizabeth insisted: 'there is no prince that loveth his subjects better or whose love can countervail our love'.[25] However, Vesta is not constant in her love and she shows little maternal care for her son Titan. While this could be a response to the changeability of Elizabeth's love and favour more generally, it can also be read in light of the belief that the Queen was neglecting her duties and subjects by not electing an heir. Running contrary to what many imagined or hoped would happen if an heir to the English throne was named, though, Vesta's decision does not ensure peace and suggests that successional strife is inevitable, even when an heir has been elected. The very first woman we see in the Ages is a mother queen who simultaneously reflects an idealised figuration of Elizabeth while drawing attention to her (and her government's) failures and criticisms. She is neither a wholly glorifying or critical figure and, ultimately, Heywood's depiction of Vesta sets the tone for the whole pentalogy, with its kaleidoscope of Elizabeths and the attitudes which shaped her public images.

Not long after the audience are introduced to Vesta, they encounter another mother queen: Sibilla. Heywood appears to have considered the characters of Vesta and Sibilla to be interchangeable, as in *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history* he claims: '*Cibele* is likewise called *Vesta*', and describes them both as 'the mother of the gods.'[26] The figures are also aligned in the Ages through their connection to Elizabeth by way of maternal love. Sibilla's name evokes wider contemporary political representation, too; as she echoes the Sibyls, mythological prophetesses who were utilised for a variety of political functions in the period, even appearing in royal entertainments such as Kenilworth and Woodstock in 1575. Given that 'Sibylline imagery participated in the dialogue concerning complexities of female

[24] The image of two brothers at odds for the throne is also resonant of Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford's two sons who were possible heirs to Elizabeth, especially considering it was their younger son who 'pursued the claim more vigorously'. Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), p.4.
[25] Elizabeth I, 'Elizabeth's Golden Speech, November 30, 1601: Version 1', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p.337.
[26] Heywood, *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history Concerninge women* (London: 1624; STC 13326), pp.7, 8.

monarchy', Heywood's Sibilla had the potential to evoke an 'extreme distrust of uncontrolled female authority and agency', echoing the arguments like John Knox's in *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (1558).[27] However, Sibilla's defiance against Saturn actually ends up protecting the realm, as we see it leads her to protect her son who goes on to defend the island of Crete.

We first hear of Sibilla in *The Golden Age* during a conversation between the Nurse and Clown. (Appearing alongside the two mother queens, the nurse evoked another of Elizabeth's personas as nurse of the Church.[28]) The Nurse reflects upon how Sibilla 'is now a Queene', and the Clown reveals that 'she is greater then [sic] many Queenes are: for though you may thinke she is with ancient folkes: yet I can assure you she is with childe' (10). Although the Clown obviously refers to Sibilla's size during pregnancy, his words suggest that Sibilla has obtained greatness by becoming pregnant, in contrast to 'many queens', like Elizabeth or Mary.

Similar to Vesta, Sibilla's motherly love is used as a way to assert authority but her love is considerably more emotive than Vesta's. Heywood draws upon how Elizabeth's motherly persona utilised 'tender loving care, and as such could be used by subjects to lay claims to rights and privileges.'[29] Subject to her husband/king Saturn, Sibilla asserts her right as a mother to protect her child, by emphasising her maternal love and defying Saturn's command to kill his son. Such is her association with maternity that we first witness Sibilla '*lying in child-bed, with her child lying by her*' (*SD*.16) after she has given birth to Jupiter. Sibilla anxiously awaits Vesta's return from Saturn and the report of whether he will stand by the oath made to Titan (in which he vowed to kill his male offspring to prevent him producing an heir).[30] It is in the face of Saturn's oath that Sibilla's love is emphasised. The mother fawns over her baby, calling him 'sweet babe', 'Sweet Lad' and says she will 'kill thee with my kisses' (16); but the tender moment is soon cut short when Vesta returns with news that the baby will not be spared.

---

[27] Jessica L. Malay, *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance: Shakespeare's Sibyls* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.2. Knox claimed that women having 'authority over men, repugneth the will of God' and it is 'repugnant to nature'. Knox, 'The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women (1558)', in *The Political Writings of John Knox*, ed. by Marvin A. Breslow (New York: Associated University Presses, 1985), pp.63, 62.

[28] On this persona, see Paul Strauss, 'The Virgin Queen as Nurse of the Church: Manipulating an Image of Elizabeth I in Court Sermons', in *Scholars and Poets Talk about Queens*, ed. by Carol Levin and Christine Stewart-Nuñez (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.185-202. See also Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth*, pp.85-87.

[29] Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, p.77.

[30] Titan proposed that his own 'warlike issue may succeed thee [Saturn]' and 'to deprive al future enmity / In our succeeding Issue, thy male children / Thou in their Cradle strangle' (9).

When Sibilla finds out that 'The boy must dye' (17), she refuses to comply with Saturn's demand and instead instructs a lord to 'Go tell the King hees mine as well as his, / And I'le not kill my part', before she assures Jupiter: 'Ile hide thee in my bed, my bosome, brest' (17). Overcome with grief, Vesta, Sibilla, and the Nurse decide they will save the child by deceiving Saturn and sending Jupiter to the court of King Melliseus where he can live safely in exile. When the narrative fast-forwards to Saturn's discovery of his wife's deceit (revealing the son that he thought was dead), he confronts Sibilla and she fiercely defends her actions by asserting her agency and maternal authority:

> Let *Saturne* know, I am a Woman then,
> And more, I am a Mother: would you have me
> A monster, to exceed in cruelty
> The savadgest of Savadges? Beares, Tygers, Wolves,
> All feed their yong: would *Saturne* have his Queene
> More fierce then these? (39-40)[31]

To a politically attuned audience, a sequence like this evokes more than a mere personation of the monarch. Firstly, Sibilla clearly uses the language and rhetoric of queenly maternity, so familiar to Heywood's subjects – and does so alongside Vesta, who was a namesake for Elizabeth in her later years. But the scene also evokes the origins story of Rome, where Amulius orders the infants Romulus and Remus drowned in the River Tiber – the mother of the children had also been a Vestal Virgin. Sibilla's allusion to the wolves feeding their young must then invoke the she-wolf Lupa's rescue and nurture of Romulus and Remus. Such a reference in turn relates to the theme of England's emerging empire which appears throughout all of the Ages; and it is highlighted in Sibilla's next appearance where she is the actual protector of Crete.

Elizabeth's figuration as mother incorporated an international role as Protestant defender, as England became a place of refuge for many persecuted European reformers.[32]

[31] Heywood echoes Caxton's language which also contains a focus on her motherly love: 'Sire hast thou no shame that will be husband of a woman murdering her own child I require of mercy and grace. Beseeching thee to have regard that I am thy wife and have the heart of a woman and not of a tyrant or a murderer' […] 'knowest not thou that I am a woman and by proper and singular inclination I have a very love to small children' (*Recuyell*, p.24-5).

Indeed, Heywood himself emphasised 'Elizabeth's triumph over her Catholic adversaries in almost every possible literary genre.'[33] But there are also allusions to Elizabeth's own origin story here. For not only does Sibilla echo lines spoken by the Nurse in John Phillip's *The Commodye of pacient and meeke Grissil* (1565)[34] – a play about the tyranny of a husband – the figuration of Jupiter as Henry VIII had also been established by John Heywood's 1533 *Play of the Weather*.[35] These are meaningful analogues in a scene which signals what is a characteristic ambivalence: the play at once seems to celebrate Elizabeth's maternal authority, yet also lambasts her failure to secure the succession. Furthermore, the image of a hidden, illegitimate son could well recall the fanciful stories of Elizabeth's own bastards (fathered by Sir Robert Dudley) who had been sent to live abroad in secret – in 1580 a man reported seeing two children of Elizabeth's 'shipped out at Rye in two of the queen's best ships.'[36] Or perhaps it evoked spectres of the Englishman arrested in Spain in 1587 who claimed he was Arthur Dudley, son of Elizabeth and Robert Dudley, and had only learned of his royal parentage as an adult.[37] Overall, where we find political maternity being celebrated within some of Heywood's narratives, it often conceals pointed references to Elizabeth's own lineage, and of course of the monarch's failure to become a literal mother. The latter, for many, jeopardized England's spiritual and political future. We will now see how mothers could violently shun their maternal role with irreversible consequences for their respective empires.

---

[32] See Thomas S. Freeman and Susan Doran, 'Introduction', in *The Myth of Elizabeth* ed. by Doran and Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.16-9.

[33] John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.36.

[34] The story of Griselda stems from a variety of medieval sources including Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The narrative follows Griselda being tested by her husband for her obedience. He tells her their children must be killed to which she submits to her husband's wishes, believing her children to be killed, though in reality, they were sent abroad and raised in Bologna. Felicity Dunworth explains that in Philip's play 'the Nurse first appeals to Christian precepts quoting the commandment against murder, followed by an appeal to what is "natural" behaviour by reference to wild animals; tigers, lions and bears which instinctively protect and nurture their young'. The infanticide in Phillip's play, though, is feigned, just like Sibilla's murder of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto. Dunworth, 'A "bosom burnt up with desires": The Trials of Patient Griselda on the Elizabethan Stage', *Paragraph*, 21.3 (1998), 330-353 (p.338).

[35] See David M. Bevington, 'Is John Heywood's *Play of the Weather* really about the weather?', *Renaissance Drama*, 7 (1964), 11-19; and Eleanor Rycroft, 'Staging Kingship in Scotland and England, 1532-1560', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 10 (2019), <https://www.northernrenaissance.org/staging-kingship-in-scotland-and-england-1532-1560/> [accessed 16 July 2020].

[36] Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p.83. Writing after Elizabeth's death, Francis Osbourne (though himself sceptical of the rumour) reported the claim that Elizabeth 'had a son bred in the state of Venice, and a daughter, I know not where nor when' (ibid, p.85).

[37] See ibid, pp.81-2.

II. Severing Ties: Filicide in *The Golden*, *The Brazen* and *The Iron Age II*

As long as Elizabeth had not secured England's succession, the future of the Tudor line was in question. English citizens undoubtedly wondered about the future of England, imagining what could have been and what some believed Elizabeth had denied them. Indeed, despite public discussion of the succession being outlawed, in 1602 John Harington wrote that 'the people as I heare, specially Northwarde, talke broadly of it'.[38] Many were critical of the Queen for not naming a successor, and some spread rumours that she had hidden and even murdered her illegitimate offspring.[39] Such rumours inescapably 'involved a questioning of – if not a direct attack upon – her image, and indeed the legitimacy of her whole regime.'[40] The individuals who are recorded to have spread the rumours were commonly Catholic and relentlessly critical of the Queen and her antipathy to marriage. In 1588, Cardinal William Allen in *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England* wrote that, as well as Robert Dudley, with 'divers others, [Elizabeth] hath abused her bodie against Gods lawes,' and she never married 'because she cannot confine herself to one man.'[41] However, the focus in many of the rumours was 'less on the alleged sexual misbehaviour itself than on the consequences of the alleged sex – namely, alleged children.'[42] Levin notes a variety of rumours about Elizabeth's secret children from throughout the period; but it is later in Elizabeth's reign when rumours concerned with Elizabeth's offspring were 'often coupled with the suggestion that these children had also been destroyed'.[43] Only when it became evident that the Queen would never reproduce did people begin to imagine possible drastic and violent measures that could have led to the possible succession crisis.

---

[38] Sir John Harington, *A Treatise on the Succession to the Crown (AD 1602)*, ed. by Clements R. Markham (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1880), p.51.

[39] For a detailed account of rumours surrounding Elizabeth's sexual behaviour, see Levin, *Heart and Stomach of a King*, pp.66-90; also Levin, '"We shall never have a merry world while the Queene lyveth": Gender, Monarchy, and the Power of Seditious Words', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp.77-95 (esp. pp.78-9, 88-91).

[40] Robert Shephard, 'Sexual Rumours in English Politics: The Cases of Elizabeth I and James I', in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p.103. Shephard explains: 'rumours and gossip frequently reflect people's underlying anxieties and most deeply held assumptions, as shaped by their particular historical circumstances' (p.102).

[41] Allen quoted in: John Lingard, *The History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688*, 10 vols. (London: J.C.Nimmo and Bain, 1883) VI, p.707.

[42] Shephard, p.105.

[43] Levin, *Heart and Stomach of a King*, p.83. A widow from the country, Dionisia Deryck, not only claimed Elizabeth had children but that their supposed father, Dudley, 'wrapped them up in the embers which was in the chamber where they were born.' Deryck cited in: Levin, *Heart and Stomach of a King*, p.83. Levin also notes a country dweller, Robert Gardner, with a similar claim that Elizabeth and Dudley 'had four children […] three were daughters alive, and the fourth a son that was burnt' (ibid).

Rumours that cast Elizabeth in this light transform her maternal figuration from a loving mother to a ruthless woman determined to mask her biological maternity at any cost. Detractors argued that Elizabeth had 'not only dishonored herself by being a whore, but had destroyed, literally burned up, her succession.'[44] These seditious rumours combined 'religious heterodoxy and a skeptical and materialist attitude towards the authorizing fictions of power with a venerable tradition of misogyny.'[45] In other words, not everyone was convinced by Elizabeth's persona of the loving mother protecting her nation, and the figuration had failed to ameliorate her lack of an heir and tensions that this caused. Heywood evokes these attitudes towards Elizabeth in instances of filicide throughout the Ages, which not only echo the rumours but show women actively and violently shunning their motherhoods.

The first instance of filicide in the Ages is the threat of Saturn's oath that his sons be killed to prevent him producing an heir to the throne. Although Jupiter is saved, the Nurse reveals that before him, 'one lovely boy / Hath felt the rigor of that strict decree' (10). The victim was Saturn and Sibilla's first son, whom Heywood names Ops, despite his classical identity actually being analogous with Sibilla, as the mythological Ops was Saturn's wife and a goddess of fertility.[46] The emphasis on Ops' (offstage) murder is largely an addition from Heywood, in Caxton's *Recuyell* the murder of a child before Jupiter is only briefly mentioned.[47] Although details of the child's death are never divulged, many of Heywood's characters make frequent reference to the event and the impact of the lost successor.[48] During Titan's attack on Crete, Saturn even believes that 'The heavens have for our barbarous cruelty / Done in the murther of our first borne *Ops*, / Powr'd on our head this vengeance' (41), suggesting that the loss of the successor has damaged the kingdom of Crete. The very

[44] Ibid, p.84.
[45] Montrose, 'The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text', in *Literary theory / Renaissance texts*, ed. by Patricia Parker and David Quint (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1986), p.312.
[46] In *Gynaikeion*, Heywood demonstrates his awareness of the standard characterisation of Ops when he describes Ceres as 'daughter to *Saturne* and *Ops*' (p.17). This characterisation is also in *Troia Britanica*: '*Saturnus* was the first father of the Goddes, who begatte *Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Pluto,* and *Glauca,* by his wife *Ops,* otherwise cald Sybilla' (p.25). Nora Johnson discusses some of the differences between the episodes in *The Golden Age* and *Troia*; see Johnson, *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.136-139. Johnson explains that in the poem, Saturn and Sibilla 'are very different figures, poised in a very different relation to one another' and that *Troia* 'presents Saturn as far less culpable' (p.138).
[47] Caxton writes: 'When saturne knewe that his wife was with child the second time. the death of his first sone cam[e] to fore him and said in him self that he wold that his wife had been baraine' (p.20).
[48] Reflecting on the birth of Jupiter, Saturn tells Vesta: 'spare the lad: I did offend too much / To kill the first, tell *Sibill* be shall live' (14). Sibilla remarks that 'the King hath slaine his first borne son' (16). Later, Saturn laments the murder of Ops: 'I am all sadnesse, / All horrour and afrightment, since the slaughter / And tragick murder of my first borne *Ops*' (38). Before he flees from Crete, Saturn admits: 'My Crowne I first bought with my infants bloud' (75).

first instance of filicide in the Ages haunts the focus on maternity and authority throughout the play, tying the elements that reappear throughout the pentalogy closer to a focus on successors and broken lineage.

It is not until *The Brazen Age* that the audience witness filicide, when Althea, Queen of Calydon, murders her son, Prince Meleager – a narrative that dramatises Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (VIII). The story begins in the opening of *The Brazen Age*, when Meleager asks his mother about the strange circumstances of his birth and learns that the Fates gave Althea a wooden brand which represented his life and if it were burned, his life would end. The narrative then shifts when Hercules arrives to compete for the hand of Meleager's sister. Meleager's story continues in act two which dramatises the hunt of the Calydonian Boar, the beast that was sent to Calydon by Diana, after the king, Oeneus, forgot to honour her in his annual sacrifices.[49] Among the various heroes who attend the hunt is the huntress Atalanta, who is the first to wound the beast. For this, Meleager awards her with the spoils (the boar's head and hide); but his two uncles strongly oppose the decision and in '*A strange and confused fray*' (*SD.*196), Meleager murders them. When Althea hears what her son has done, she decides that she will use the brand and kill her son in revenge for her brothers' deaths.

The Brazen Age opens with the chorus of Homer, who informs the audience that sins '*great are growne*' (172) and the Ages are now in a time '*not so pure*' (171). One 'sin' mentioned by Homer is '*Mothers against their children discontent*' (171), which underscores the significance of maternity in the play. However, the start of the first act contrasts with Homer's words and introduces the Calydonian royal family idyllically, as they insist they are successful, harmonious and strong. King Oeneus begins, painting a positive picture of his family:

> Thus midst our brothers, daughter,
>
> Queene and sonne,
>
> Sits *Oeneus* crown'd in fertill *Calidon*
>
> Whose ripe age and weaknesse is supported only,
>
> In those ripe joyes that I receive from you. (172)

[49] Heywood conflates a variety of mythological boar hunts into one episode here, as evidenced by Adonis's death, which classically was the result of a different boar. For my discussion of the boar hunt, see pp.117-25.

Oeneus admits he is old and weak but that he is supported through his queen Althea's 'ripe joys' – his successors. The picture is of a thriving family who support one another, with royal status and fertile lands. Such a scene clearly contrasts to that of childless and ageing Elizabeth, whose rather more than 'ripe' old age was dominating public opinions and attitudes about her during the end of her reign. Calidon may, moreover, allude to Caledonia, home to Elizabeth's most likely successor, James VI, who in 1594 – only a year before the Ages first appear in *Henslowe's Diary* – had provided his country with a male heir, following the birth of his first son, Prince Henry (though Henry would die in 1612). The terms 'ripe' and 'fertile' make the references to offspring clear and they are supported by Althea's description of her brothers: 'They are of our line, / Of which no branch did ever perish yet, / By Cankers, blastings, or dry barrennesse' (172). Althea emphasises the fertility and health of her family by contrasting it with the possibility of decay, disease and infertility, all issues that had afflicted the Tudors – especially during the decade of poor harvests and economic stagnation that rounded off their reign – unlike their northern Stuart cousins.

Yet the Calydonian royal line is not as secure as Heywood first suggests, given its reliance on Meleager, whose life hangs on the balance of a wooden brand. All Meleager's life, Althea has protected this brand: she explains that she 'keepe[s] it in a casket, lock't as safe / As in thy bosome thou maintainst thy heart' (173), which again demonstrates a mother's love as protective force, as it was for Sibilla. Sibilla's love had, of course, led to her assertion of maternal authority to protect Jupiter. In contrast, though, Althea's authority arises in her decision to murder her son. During the banquet celebrating the defeat of the boar, Althea enters '*with a brand*' (*SD.*199) and calls for divine assistance:

> Assist my rage you sterne *Eumenides,*
>
> To you this blacke deed will I consecrate.
>
> Pitty away, hence thou consanguine love,
>
> Maternall zeale, parentall piety.
>
> All cares, loves, duties, offices, affections,
>
> That grow 'tweene sonnes and mothers, leave this place;
>
> Let none but furies, murders, paracides,
>
> Be my assistants in this dam'd attempt (199)

Althea's reference to paternal piety and maternal zeal reference the type of behaviour exhibited by Sibilla, while the words 'duties' and 'offices' describe maternal 'loves' with political terms. *Eumenides* refers to the Furies, the mythological deities of vengeance who, Heywood explains in his *Gynaikeion*, 'spur on rage and malice' and to whom 'blacke vertues' were 'sacrificed'.[50] The *Eumenides* is also the third instalment of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, the trilogy that recounts Clytemnestra's murder of her husband Agamemnon, and their son Orestes' vengeful murder of his mother (which I discuss below). In *Eumenides,* Orestes is on the verge of insanity and tries to justify his actions to the gods by denying the familial bond between him and his mother, just like Althea does. Althea's evocation of this ancient Greek tragedy, alongside her call to other parricides and murders stresses her place within a tradition or murderous mothers.

Eventually, after some faltering, Althea '*fires the brand*' (*SD.*199), and following some final moments of agony, Meleager dies. Althea's filicide echoes Videna's murder of Porrex (in *Gorboduc*) after the killing of his brother Ferrex. Videna's act is stressed in the play in terms of laws of 'kind' and 'nature', which are alluded to in Heywood's play when Althea commands: 'you Gods above, abject your eyes / From this unnaturall act' (199); and the dying Meleager condemns 'you *Althea,* whom I would call mother / But that my genius prompts me th'art unkind' (201).[51] The danger of an injurious issue was flagged by Elizabeth herself in her 1559 first speech to Parliament on the topic of marriage, when she highlighted her issue may 'grow out of kind and become, perhaps, ungracious.'[52] Indeed, the population of England was Elizabeth's issue when she was figured as their authoritative mother, and by the end of her reign, many people were not only ungracious but bitter towards the elderly queen – as evident in the rumours about her filicidal acts.

It is possible that Heywood intended the narrative to underline a contrast between Scotland and its heir, and England's lack thereof. The episode begins with the glorified image of the Calydonian royal family who may be imagined as the Stuarts; but the end of the

[50] Heywood, *Gynaikeion,* p.47 (for his full biography of the Furies see pp.46-8).
[51] When Meleager calls out to his mother as he perishes, Heywood echoes *Gorboduc* when Marcella reports that as Porrex was dying he 'call[ed] the wretched name / Of mother, and to cry to her for Aid' (4.2.1264-5). Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, '*Gorboduc*', in *Two Tudor Tragedies,* ed. by William Tydeman (London: Penguin, 1992), pp.47-126.
[52] Elizabeth I, 'Queen Elizabeth's First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Version 1', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p.58. In William Camden's version of the speech (translated from Latin into English) printed in 1615, he includes the line: 'the posterity of good princes doth oftentimes degenerate'. Elizabeth I, 'Queen Elizabeth's First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Version 2', in ibid, p.59.

narrative depicts a family who have endured violent conflict and become more akin to the Tudors. By the time *The Brazen Age* was revived and published in 1613, though, Prince Henry had just died, inviting readings of the play that could respond to new anxieties, and open up the allusions to both the Tudors and the Stuarts. The echoes of *Gorboduc* serve to underline tensions between Scotland and England, given that play is about two northern invasions. And, ultimately, when Althea commits suicide she leaves Calydon in a situation many feared might afflict England: an heirless country with a deceased queen.[53]

Filicide haunts the Ages from the very beginning – through the evocation of the murdered Ops in *The Golden Age* – to the end, when in *The Iron Age II*, Heywood dramatises the story of Clytemnestra's plot to murder Orestes. Closing the pentalogy, Heywood returns to the *Oresteia* to follow King Agamemnon's return from Troy and Clytemnestra's ruthless attempts to continue her affair with Aegisthus – after killing her husband, she only fails to murder her son because he kills her first. Heywood's treatment of the myth combines Aeschylus with a variety of other sources, including Euripides, Seneca, Caxton and John Pickering's *Horestes*. Pickering dramatised the myth in 1566 and it was performed at court before the Queen for Christmas-Shrovetide in 1567-8.[54] Lisa Hopkins highlights the potential that 'any suggestion of a debt to this play' would signal 'participation in Elizabethan political discourse', and Heywood's account is no exception.[55] Thus, the image of a mother queen abusing her power and trying to suppress her children can be read against Elizabeth's maternal figuration.

Robert S. Miola claims that Heywood adapted his sources in order to 'multiply the intrigues and expand the action,' as well as 'flatten Clytemnestra into a villain and Aegisthus into a tyrant.'[56] And, while the pair do live up to these characterisations, Clytemnestra is not just a villain but an adulteress and a violent mother. Alongside the narrative's general links to Elizabeth's maternal figuration, the myth also had a tradition of association with the fall of Mary, Queen of Scots. Pickering's *Orestes* responded to the scandal surrounding Mary's

[53] Althea '*kils herselfe with Meleagers sword*' (*SD*.202).
[54] On the performance of *Horestes* see Michael Shapiro, 'John Pikeryng's *Horestes*: Auspices and Theatricality', in *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition: Essays in Honor of S. F. Johnson*, ed. by William R. Elton and William B. Long (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), pp.211-227; and Allyna E. Ward, *Women and Tudor Tragedy: Feminizing Counsel and Representing Gender* (Plymouth: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013), pp.130-8.
[55] Hopkins, *Writing Renaissance Queens: Texts by and about Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), p.95.
[56] Miola, 'Representing Orestes' Revenge', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9.1 (2017), 144-165 (pp.153, 154). Miola explains that Heywood's version is particularly indebted to Seneca's *Agamemnon* and Caxton's *Recuyell*, while it also 'condenses the myths as they appear in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* […] and Euripides' *Andromache*' (p.153).

rumoured involvement in the murder of Henry Stuart (Lord Darnley) in February 1567.[57] Darnley was believed to have been assassinated so that Mary could continue her adulterous relationship with the Earl of Bothwell, paralleling the mythic infidelity of Clytemnestra. Indeed, *The Iron Age II* contains clear allusions to the controversy when, while dying, Agamemnon remarks: 'tis fit when Monarches fall by Treason' (412); and when Ulysses reflects on the death he believes that 'Tis not possible / A Queene of her high birth and parentage / Should have such base hand in her husbands death' (415). Orestes also evokes the Queen of Scots scandal when he later rages at his mother and calls her an: 'Incestuous strumpet, whose adulteries, / When Treason could not hide, thou thoughtst to cover, / With most unhumane murder' (423). For a late-Elizabethan audience whose most likely successor was James I, the allusions to Mary become even more controversial, as Heywood includes a consistent focus upon maternal inheritance throughout the Clytemnestra narrative.

Following Agamemnon's murder, Aegisthus raises concern to Clytemnestra over the possibility of Orestes seeking revenge on the pair. Initially, Clytemnestra believed 'Hee's our sonne, / The filiall duty that's hereditary / Unto a mother's name prevents these feares' (418), insisting to Aegisthus that Orestes would not try to harm them in revenge, as she is his mother. The political term 'duty' echoes Althea's earlier use of it; and the belief that Orestes would not harm his mother reverses the concern about an issue growing unkind. However, Aegisthus's paranoia convinces Clytemnestra it is not worth risking and she decides she will kill her son. Heywood then dramatises the moment that Althea may imagine when she evokes the *Eumenides*, as Orestes and Clytemnestra deny the familial bonds between them. Clytemnestra calls Orestes a 'Bastard' and questions: 'Thou a sonne?', to which he replies 'The name I am asham'd of' (421) before calling his mother a 'whore' (422) – both insults Elizabeth had faced from Rome. After he stabs his mother, Orestes remarks: 'Being no wife, *Orestes* is no sonne', and when Pylades (his cousin) arrives and says 'I hope no sonnes hand' was involved in her murder, Orestes tells him '*Orestes* did it, / The other title's lost' (424). As well as completely rejecting his mother, Orestes blames her for everything, including his own actions:

[57] See Karen Robertson, 'The Body Natural of a Queen: Mary, James, *Horestes*', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 14.1 (1990), 25-36. The alignment between Mary and Clytemnestra also featured in writings produced to influence Elizabeth's stance on her cousin, such as various translations of Huguenot Nicholas Barnaud's *Le reveille-matin des François, et de levr voisines* which Cathy Shrank explains was aware of 'the power of […] reading histories to fashion opinion and to help formulate sound policy.' Cathy Shrank, '"This fatall Medea," "this Clytemnestra": Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 523-541 (p.529). Shrank quotes the Barnaud text which 'castigates Mary as "this furie," "this deadlie & mischeuous Clytemnestra"' (p.531). Shrank also finds Mary compared to Clytemnestra in 'Ane Ballat declaring the Nobill and Gude inclination of our King,' and George Buchanan's *De Maria Scotorum regina*.

> Then, monster, thou didst first instruct mine hand,
> How to write blood, when being a Wife and Queene,
> Thou kildst a King and husband, and hast taught
> Mee being a sonne, how to destroy a mother. (423)

Read against the wider interest in the actions (and political consequences of) of an adulterous, treasonous, queen, the words 'hand' and 'write' here bear strong relevance to the Casket letters, the series of missives that Mary had sent to Bothwell, in which she was imagined as a variety of classical women – some even infanticides (like Medea).[58] The letters are potentially also evoked earlier, when Clytemnestra receives a disingenuous letter from Menelaus stating that he does not suspect her. Ultimately, Orestes highlights the dangerous impact and influence that the mother can have on the son.

All of these narratives generate clear and plausible echoes of personas that invite and repay political readings given their relevance to contemporary concerns. Heywood depicts the bonds between mother and son as strained, or even severed, foregrounding the threat to lineage and succession upon which so many English subjects were fixated. When Heywood's mothers willingly and violently reject their maternal role, it not only conveys a fragility of maternity – and so, Elizabeth's representation – but captures the widespread scepticism towards Elizabeth's fulfilment of her role. In bringing this scepticism to light, Heywood discloses the Queen's powerlessness, evident in her inability to control subversive representations of herself or ensure obedience and respect from her disillusioned subjects.

III. Myth vs. Reality: Unmasking Infirmity and Infertility in *The Golden* and *The Silver Age*

Another way in which Elizabeth's powerlessness was emphasised in the Ages was through a focus on her natural body. For late-Elizabethan subjects, the weakened physiology of the Queen was a stark reminder of not only the government many had grown tired of, but also of the looming succession crisis. For in the 1590s, 'the political pressures caused by war,

[58] I discuss Medea in relation to Mary in my final chapter, pp.182-91.

poverty and disease continued to focus critical attention on the queen's decrepit body which came to be regarded as the living symbol of her exhausted government.'[59] The Ages themselves relate such contexts to Elizabeth's real and natural bodies as they juxtapose descriptions of aged, postmenopausal bodies alongside the fertile and impregnating amours of Jupiter. Heywood's reflections of the real, ageing Elizabeth are met with contrasting images that imagine what could have been, or what the queen was considered to have wasted. As it became certain that Elizabeth would not have children, 'natural, pastoral imagery, instead of receding, became ever more prominent and prevalent.'[60] On the other hand, images of old and childless women throughout the Ages reflect the real Elizabeth and challenge her body politic. Elizabeth was not, in Edmund Plowden's words from 1561, 'utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects', despite her attempts to mask this fact.[61] The government took great pains to prevent the image of an aged Elizabeth circulating; in 1596 there was a 'proclamation ordered that any "unseemly and improper" portraits of the queen, in other words, any that showed her age and facial imperfections, were to be destroyed.'[62] Heywood's plays contained controversial figures which reminded the audience of, and alluded to, what some considered to be the failures of Elizabeth, failures her government sought to eradicate.

Fertility is prevalent from the outset of the Ages with Sibilla nursing her baby Jupiter, while his return to Crete as an adult highlights the strength and security gained through progeny. Jupiter himself becomes motivated by a concern for lineage and a desire to produce offspring, which first becomes evident when he attempts to seduce Calisto after defeating her father Lycaon and meeting her in his palace. However, Calisto consistently rejects Jupiter's advances and reveals to him that her desire is to become a nun and join Diana's virgin crew, which she does – only for Jupiter to infiltrate the group and eventually rape Calisto. After Calisto first refuses his advances, Jupiter implores her to consider the benefits of conceiving a child:

Oh thinke faire creature, that you had a mother,

[59] Anna Whitelock, 'The Queen's Two Bodies: The Image and Reality of the Body of Elizabeth I', in *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by. Sean McGlynn and Elena Woodacre (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p.220.
[60] Hackett, 'The rhetoric of (in)fertility: Shifting responses to Elizabeth I's childlessness', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (London: Routledge, 2007), p.164.
[61] Edmund Plowden, *Commentaries or Reports* (London: S.Brooke, 1816), p.212a-213.
[62] Whitelock, p.216.

> One that bore you, that you might beare another:
>
> Be you as she was, of an Infant glad,
>
> Since you from her, have all things that she had.
>
> Should all affect the strict life you desire,
>
> The world it selfe should end when we expire.
>
> Posterity is all, heavens number fill,
>
> Which by your helpe may be increased still (26)

As with the opening of *The Golden Age*, Heywood again adapts Caxton's *Recuyell* to create a specific focus: here, progeny and lineage. Where the *Recuyell* poses 'arguments about the primary importance of marriage and motherhood for the fulfilled woman', Heywood clearly changes the focus to the benefits of producing offspring.[63] Jupiter's sleazy advances, then, satirise fears surrounding the succession, because he echoes writings that had aimed to influence Elizabeth to marry and produce an heir to prolong the Tudor line. For example, during Elizabeth's 1565 summer progress, 'the Recorder of Coventry greeted her with an oration which included the wish that "like as you are a mother to your kingdom […] be a natural mother, and, having blest issue of your princely body, may live to see your children's children unto the third and fourth generation."'[64] When this message was first delivered to Elizabeth, it was one of encouragement and expectation but Heywood recalls these words decades later when it was clear this would never happen. Evoking Calisto's mother and the notion of genealogical lineage, Jupiter also echoes Sir Thomas Challoner's text in praise of Henry VIII, *In laudem Henrici Octavi* (1560). Challoner called to Elizabeth 'to bestow the bonds of your modesty on a husband […] For then a little Henry will play in the palace for us'.[65] By the time *The Golden Age* was performed, this echo would be a reminder of England's abject lack of a 'little Henry' who could regain the throne for the Tudor line.

Heywood continues to evoke Elizabeth's aged body when Jupiter reminds Calisto that there is only a limited amount of time for her to conceive; and he warns that her situation could mirror Elizabeth's:

---

[63] Kathleen Wall, *The Callisto Myth From Ovid to Atwood: Initiation and Rape in Literature* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p.30-1.
[64] Cited in: Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.3.
[65] Challoner, *In Laudem Henrici Octavi*, ed. by J.B. Gabe and C.A. Schlam (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1979).

> This flower will wither, not being cropt in time,
>
> Age is too late, then do not loose your prime,
>
> Sport whil'st you may, before your youth be past.
>
> […]
>
> Leave to the world your like for face and stature,
>
> That the next age may praise your gifts of nature. (26)

Jupiter suggests that if Calisto does not produce offspring, she will fail future generations by not bestowing upon them 'gifts of nature'. Heywood calls upon pastoral imagery but challenges the typical associations of fecundity with the threat of infertility. The reference to crops being in time also brings to mind the many failed harvests that afflicted the 1590s. Jupiter's warning to Calisto presents a stark criticism of the childless Elizabeth who has become exactly what he discourages.

After Calisto leaves to join Diana, Jupiter continues his quest for progeny and moves onto his next amour, Danae. The myth of Danae involves a prophecy that she will give birth to a son who will kill her father (Acrisius), so Acrisius locks his daughter in a tower to prevent the oracle coming true. Classically, Jupiter transforms into a shower of golden rain to infiltrate the tower; but, Heywood, following *Recuyell*, literalises this story and has Jupiter gain entry by bribing her matrons with jewels.[66] Golden raindrops were perhaps a bridge too far for the stage's dramaturgical limits, but Danae's entry to Jupiter is still striking, as she is '*in state*' (*SD*.62) and accompanied by her beldams, evoking a royal entry (Heywood's innovation). Throughout the episode, though, the beauty of Danae is juxtaposed against the beldams' aged appearances, which undercuts the magisterial image that introduces the scene.

Heywood departs from his source to incorporate the role of the Clown who distracts the beldams with various cosmetics that mask their ageing, while Jupiter sneaks into Danae's chamber. The Clown tells the beldams:

[66] In the play, Danae herself rationalises the story, too, when she confronts her father and explains that the oracle's words 'turn to stone' simply meant that her son would 'beare you to your grave' (59), not commit murder. Julie Sanders finds that this 'highly secularised reading of the Danae story' began in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and points out that Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1606) also depicts a version of the myth with no shower of gold but a bribed guards instead. Sanders, '"Powdered with Golden Rain": The Myth of Danae in Early Modern Drama', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 8.2 (2002), 1-23 (p.1; see also pp.8-9).

> […] heer's a silver bodkin, this is to remove dandriffe, and digge about the roots of your silver-hair'd furre. This is a tooth-picker, but you having no teeth, heere is for you a corrall to rub your gums. This is cal'd a Maske. (64)

An impressed beldam replies: 'Gramarcy for this, this is good to hide my wrinckles' (64). Here, the Clown creates a caricature of an aged Elizabeth and highlights the measures the Queen herself took to hide her aged appearance. The offer of the mask to the beldams could, moreover, mock Elizabeth's 'mask of youth' which, in the later years of her reign, saw every portrait feature the same unrealistic face of a young princess.[67] The jest about the beldams' toothlessness is also striking as Elizabeth's dental hygiene had cropped up in varying accounts of her as she aged.[68] Elizabeth had, of course, concealed her grey hair until the end of her life. The scene captures the extent to which Elizabeth's outward appearance was scrutinised across her long life, wherein every mark of old age could be seen to represent something negative, troublesome and toxic to the realm.

After Jupiter thanks the beldams for letting him stay the night, he describes his gold in terms that allude to the idealised image that Elizabeth and her regime had sought to promote throughout her reign:

> Gold and reward, thou art mighty, and hast power
> O're aged, yong, the foolish, and the wise,
> The chaste, and wanton, fowle and beautifull:
> Thou art a God on earth, and canst all things. (67)

The words create a satirical critique as they are juxtaposed against the beldams, whose bodies reflected the reality of Elizabeth and her waning power as she drew nearer to the end of her reign and life. In response to Jupiter, the Clown points out that the power of gold is not infallible, as Jupiter suggested: 'Not all things, by your leave. / All the gold in Creete cannot get one of yon old Crones with childe' (67). The beldams' inability to conceive clearly

[67] Whitelock points out: '[Federico] Zuccaro's blanched, mask-like face pattern was […] inserted on portraits of every size throughout the 1580s and early 1590s' (p.214). For more on the 'mask of youth' in Elizabeth's later portraits, see Ronnie Mirkin, 'The Mask of Power: Elizabeth I and the Mask of Youth', *Assaph: Studies in the Theatre*, 9 (1993), 75-88.

[68] For example, in 1597 the French Ambassador gave a vivid description of aged Elizabeth and commented on her teeth saying: 'Many of them are missing so that one cannot understand her easily when she speaks quickly' (cited in: Whitelock, p.221).

responds to Elizabeth and contrasts with Danae who fulfils the oracle that she will have a son. In the Calisto story, Jupiter encapsulates the fears and hopes surrounding Elizabeth while it was still possible for her to conceive; but in the Danae episode, Heywood explicitly paints a picture analogous with the real and decrepit Elizabeth, reproducing the libellous images of the queen that conveyed her powerlessness.

Another episode which juxtaposes images of fertility and infirmity is the myth of Proserpine's abduction by Pluto to Hades, and her mother Ceres's subsequent search for her. Heywood dramatises the account of the story from Ovid and Claudian (both of which he directs his reader to in *Gynaikeion*) and infuses these with the medieval adaptations of the myth in *Recuyell* and *Ovid Moralisé*. Ceres had been a political figure since antiquity with a large cult following since ancient Greece.[69] In the Roman Empire 'the iconography of Ceres legitimized the most prominent women in Roman society as symbols of prosperity, female virtues, and the unity and continuity of the Empire.'[70] She was also associated with rituals surrounding 'the establishment of peace after war […] and the punishment for those who attempted to overthrow the Republic.'[71] Indeed, a cult had emerged around Elizabeth and her own representation which also celebrated her as a figure of peace, for bringing reformed religion as well as defeating the Armada. Furthermore, throughout Elizabeth's reign Ceres was still a figure appropriated for political means; she featured in numerous royal entertainments and even sometimes interacted directly with the Queen herself. When, for example, Elizabeth arrived at Kenilworth in 1575, after being handed the keys to the estate she met with the Lady of the Lake, before crossing a bridge that had seven pairs of posts. On the third, Elizabeth was met with bowls of food as gifts from Ceres.[72] The goddess was also evoked in song at the Queen's reception at Norwich in 1578, painted on an arch for the Duke of Anjou's Antwerp entertainment in 1582, and appears during speeches to Elizabeth at the

[69] Their Greek identities, Demeter and Persephone, were worshipped in the famous annual cult rites called the Eleusinian Mysteries which drew off the different stages in the myth of the daughter's abduction: the loss, the search, and the ascent (to the Moon). For more on the Eleusinian Mysteries see Barbette Stanley Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), pp.17-30.

[70] Spaeth, p.123.

[71] Ibid, p.79. The goddess was used by the Senate to justify the killing of Tiberius Gracchus, a plebeian Roman tribune who had made controversial reforms to agrarian law, which led to the senate killing him after their accusations of tyranny. Spaeth highlights that this is a 'clear example of the political use of Ceres' liminal/normative aspect. The goddess serves in this incident as the protectress of the social and political equilibrium of the Roman state, which had been disrupted by Tiberius' actions' (p.78-9). Moreover, Tiberius's death was transformed into a ritualistic sacrifice to Ceres by the Senate (see ibid, pp.73-79). An account of Gracchus was included in Plutarch's *Lives* and his death was discussed by Cicero – both writers Heywood would have known.

[72] See Robert Langham, 'A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.270.

Bisham entertainment in 1592 where she sings a song that evokes the moon goddess Cynthia, before laying down her crown of grain at Elizabeth's feet.[73]

Clearly, Ceres had a well-established political history which not only involved direct contact with Elizabeth, but a cult that celebrated characteristics pertaining to Elizabeth's public image. When we first witness Heywood's Ceres, her entrance evokes a royal entry and exhibits the type of reception Elizabeth would have hoped for while she was on progress: she and Proserpine enter the stage '*with a company of Swaines, and country Wenches*' (*SD*.133) and Ceres is greeted with a song of praise. As discussed above, music can function as a Brechtian alienation device and Heywood often incorporates music and song into his plays. One particularly musical drama is *The Rape of Lucrece*, which may have emerged in the mid-1590s, and incorporates countless songs (as many as 22 are included in its final publication in 1638) that 'are central to the play's political message, as out of place as they may seem in a historical drama about rape, Romans, and republicanism' – interests, of course, analogous with the Ages.[74] Indeed, political echoes can be heard in the opening lines of the song that accompanies Ceres's entry:

> *With faire* Ceres *Queene of graine*
>
> *The reaped fields we rome, rome, rome,*
>
> *Each Countrey Peasant, Nimph and Swaine*
>
> *Sing their harvest home home home* (133)

Heywood recreates the Elizabethan history of Ceres as he echoes a royal entertainment and places the goddess within a pastoral scene. In the period, the pastoral form was employed as a 'symbolic mediation of social relationships' and these 'social relationships are, intrinsically, relationships of power.'[75] As such, the pastoral can be read as reflecting Elizabeth's maternal

[73] Ceres' words and song were compiled by Joseph Barnes in '*Speeches delivered to Her Majestie this last Progresse*', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) III, pp.601-616. After her song she announces: 'Greater then *Ceres*, receive *Ceres* Crowne, the ornament of my plenty, the honour of your peace, heere at your highnes feete, I lay downe my feined deity […]. To your Majesty whome the heavens have crowned with happines, the world with wonder, birth with dignitie, nature with perfection, we doe all Homage, accounting nothing ours but what comes from you' (ibid, p.608).

[74] Nora L. Corrigan, 'Song, Political Resistance, and Masculinity in Thomas Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*', in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, ed. by Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (London: Routledge, 2014), p.140.

[75] Louis A. Montrose, '"Eliza, Queene of shepheardes," and the Pastoral of Power', *English Literary Renaissance*, 10.2 (1980), 153-82 (p.153).

figuration which was also symbolic of power relations between the Queen and her subjects. Heywood's lyrics can be read specifically in light of Ceres's own song at Bisham in 1592, or the song during the 1591 Elvetham entertainments which 'celebrated [Elizabeth] as a kind of spring goddess'.[76] Furthermore, the term 'rome' could be a punning reference to Rome, and rhyming it to 'home' is suggestive of the traditionalist loyalties to Roman Catholicism that remained throughout England. Additionally, linking Rome and 'home,' may also be a subtle nod to Ceres's Roman heritage and her contemporary uses in Heywood's own life. Evidently, in the midst of a glorious song of praise, Heywood includes allusions to Elizabeth's strongest detractors.

Ceres demonstrates why she receives such high praise when she declares to the country people she will 'blesse your harvests, crowne your fields / With plenty and increase' (134) and goes on to describe a utopian rural setting of plenty and abundance.[77] It appears that the mother goddess's fertility is aligned to the health and prosperity of the land; and the image jars against the reality of barren Elizabeth and 1590s England where 'conditions over the last fifteen years or so of Elizabeth's reign were bad enough to create a continual undercurrent of adverse comment among the lower orders'.[78] Just one month after the probable first performance of *The Silver Age* in May 1595, 'London witnessed twelve instances of popular disturbances; apprentices instigated riots against the Lord Mayor, against food prices, and against imprisonment of their comrades.'[79] It is hard to escape the irony of Ceres's endearing term 'harmlesse swaines' and Proserpine's assertion that 'these swaines my mother merry-makes' (134). Ceres's emphasis on abundance and plenty clearly evokes these events and what caused them. The description of 'golden stalkes of wheat' (134) may

[76] Hackett, 'The rhetoric of (in)fertility', p.165. In Maurice Kyffin's *The Blessedness of Britain, or A Celebration of the Queen's Holiday* (London: 1587; STC 15096), he describes an Accession Day event that evokes a similar pastoral scene to Heywood's here, as it features 'country folk' who 'Loud carols sing, to celebrate this time; / Show signs of joy (as country manner yields), […] Each swain, and shepherd, sound his piping reed, / For joy enjoying fields, and flocks to feed' (sigs. B3v-B4r).

[77] Ceres tells her followers:

> […] golden stalkes of wheat to bend
> Below their laden riches: with full sickles
> You shall receive the usury of their seeds.
> […]
> From every furrow that your plow-shares raze
> Upon the plenteous earth, our sisters breast,
> You shall cast up aboundance for your gratitude' (134).

[78] Jim Sharpe, 'Social strain and social dislocation, 1585-1603', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. by John Alexander Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.199. Sharpe explains that in Elizabethan England there was 'something like a rural proletariat of agricultural labourers and poor rural industrial workers and their families' that constituted a 'substantial body of poor people who faced hunger and worsening of their already precarious way of life when harvest failed' (pp.197-8).

[79] Mihoko Suzuki, 'The London apprentice riots of the 1590s and the fiction of Thomas Deloney', *Criticism*, 38.2 (1996), 181-217 (p.182).

allude to the high prices put on grain in England, while the assurance that the swains will 'receive the *usury* of their seeds' evokes the reports of rich farmers who hoarded grain while the poor starved (134, emphasis added). Proserpine's assertion that 'The meades I rob, shall yeeld me greater store' (135) is another potentially topical allusion to the 'all-time low in real wages' during the end of Elizabeth's reign.[80] Clearly, Ceres's promises of plenty offer her followers a security made possible through her divine fecundity, directly contrasting to England while Heywood was first writing the Ages.

After Proserpine is abducted, the pastoral utopia is replaced with images that are closer to the reality of Elizabeth's aged body and her impoverished nation. Ceres searches for her daughter and seeks the help of a number of mythical figures, whose spectacular entries echo royal entries and street pageants.[81] The events punctuating the episode are another example of how audiences of the Ages are frequently positioned by Heywood in advance of political moments. The anthropomorphic Earth is the last to tell Ceres that they do not know Proserpine's whereabouts; and, while doing so, Earth describes herself in terms that reflect Elizabeth's aged body-natural through agrarian metaphor. A close reading of Earth's words is telling:

> Not in revenge faire *Ceres*
>
> That your remorslesse plowes have rak't my breast,
>
> Nor that your Iron-tooth'd harrowes print my face
>
> So full of wrinkles, that you digge my sides
>
> For marle and soyle, and make me bleed my springs
>
> Through all my open'd veins, to weaken me;
>
> Do I conceale your daughter: I have spread
>
> My armes from sea to sea, look't ore my mountaines,
>
> Examin'd all my pastures, groves, and plaines. (139)[82]

[80] Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p.50. Meades may be an aural pun implying both the alcoholic drink and also wages. 'Meed' in the *OED* (n.1) is defined as 'something given in return for labour or service; wages, hire'.

[81] '*Mercury flies from above*'; Tryton enters '*with his Trumpe, as from the sea*' (*SD.*138); the anthromorphic '*Earth riseth from under the stage*' as does '*The river Arethusa*' (*SD.*140).

[82] Marl (*OED*, n.1) is 'an earthy deposit […] consisting chiefly of clay mixed with calcium'.

The image echoes the earlier caricature of Elizabeth during the description of the beldams' aged faces and Heywood's satirical response to the Queen's mask of youth. The reference to bleeding and open veins evokes the ubiquitous treatment of blood-letting in the period, perhaps bringing to mind the ill health of Elizabeth – especially when we recall that the Queen's health had been a focus throughout her reign not just when she was elderly, stemming from fears when she contracted smallpox in 1562. When Earth recounts spreading her arms across the land, her words create the image of an aged figure spanning the Earth akin to the Ditchley Portrait, in which a large Elizabeth towers over a map of Britain.[83] Notably, this portrait also features one of the most aged faces of Elizabeth, alongside the Manteo Portrait (which is even more unforgiving in its depiction of Elizabeth's wrinkles).

Ceres's loss of Proserpine led to Earth describing her aged self, reflecting how Elizabeth's lack of children drew attention to her aged body. Just as Ceres is linked with the fertile land of the play, Elizabeth's aged body was linked with England. But England could not celebrate the generative achievements of their monarch, given the decade of failed harvests and Elizabeth's lack of children. Without her child, Ceres threatens to reverse the prosperity she had earlier promised, to instead replace it with barrenness and dearth: 'Il'e strike thee with a lasting barrennesse / No more shall plenty crowne thy fertill browes, / Il'e breake thy plowes, thy Oxen murren-strike' (140). When her role as a mother is taken from her, Ceres indicates her destructive potential; and Heywood once again highlights the dangers of barrenness, which reiterates the notion that Elizabeth's lack of biological children was harmful to the nation. Ultimately, the shifts from utopian pastoral imagery to decay and dearth following Proserpine's abduction reflect how Elizabeth's lack of children had resulted in attention focused on her real natural body and its failures – despite her maternal figuration aiming to mitigate tensions in response to it.

IV. Conclusion

The Ages clearly engage with maternity in a number of ways that make recourse to Elizabeth's political figuration in the face of the uncertain succession. The plays show how the maternal persona that was meant to excuse Elizabeth's lack of a biological heir actually emphasised this fact. From the outset of the pentalogy, motherhood is framed by political

[83] Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Queen Elizabeth I* ('The Ditchley portrait'), *c.*1592, oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery, London.

narratives concerning war and succession. Vesta and Sibilla reflect how maternal love was appropriated by Elizabeth as a means to assert authority and protect the nation. However, the maternal love of Vesta and Sibilla led them to fight for the protection of the heir to the throne, in contrast to Elizabeth who failed to grant England this same safety. The two mothers who begin the Ages set a precedent for the remainder of the maternal figures throughout the pentalogy to be read alongside Elizabeth and her failings. As a result, the images of violent mothers and instances of filicide can be read alongside contemporary rumours that the Queen had illicit children. The rumours themselves are a result of, or seize upon, contemporary anxieties of succession, evident in the plays as they are often mixed with a focus upon lineage and posterity. The tensions between Elizabeth and her subjects are mirrored by the scenes of strife between mothers and sons which highlight a disordered body politic. In the 1590s, Elizabeth was increasingly losing her grip over wayward courtiers and disgruntled subjects; her motherly authority was being challenged. When Heywood dramatises familial ties being severed, he presents an image on stage that would contribute to the ongoing debate over who would be the next reigning monarch, a discussion that was putting increasing pressure on the Queen and rising tensions throughout the reign.

Evidently, the figuration shines light on the complex (and often bitter) attitudes English subjects had towards Elizabeth because of her lack of real maternity. Mothers in the Ages demonstrate how Elizabeth's maternal figuration drew attention to tensions which challenged her authority, an authority which the figuration had aimed to ensure. Heywood uses maternity – along with mythology – as a way to safely voice the concerns of English citizens as their elderly Queen failed to elect an heir and alleviate concerns over succession and history repeating itself. The juxtaposed images of fertility and infirmity throughout the plays call upon this mixture of contemporary concerns: fertile imagery idyllically imagines what could have been and what Elizabeth wasted; while the aged bodies reflect the reality of the 1590s and the perceived powerlessness of the queen. By incorporating these images and allusions to tensions between Queen and subject, Heywood underlines criticism towards Elizabeth and draws attention to the fact she was not the protective mother of England but a ruler unable to maintain order, losing her grip on authority. The style of the Ages, with their spectacular dramaturgy and meta-dramatic narration continuously encouraged critical readings of dramatic mothers. Allusions to royal entertainments draw Heywood's dramatic mothers closer to real royal mothers through choreography. And just like the potential of

these entertainments to bring faultlines in Elizabeth's representation to the surface, so too do Heywood's plays.

Despite their swift episodic nature, the Ages contain some of the most prominent, sustained and developed maternal figures in all of Heywood's plays. Anne Frankford in *A Woman Killed with Kindness* is arguably Heywood's best known character, and indeed, she was a mother but that play focuses on her role as wife. In contrast, the Ages focus on these women in their role as mothers, with Heywood likely thinking about maternity in more political terms when he first wrote the plays. Ultimately, the Ages were written to entertain and draw in large paying audiences, and the frequent mother characters that feature in every single Age play suggest the popularity of the topic. That the attitudes towards Elizabeth can be read so frequently throughout also suggests that Heywood was attempting to appeal or respond to contemporary concerns and aimed to resonate with audiences who, however diverse their political or religious views, were united in the fact that they faced an uncertain succession.

Of course, performing motherhood was just one of Elizabeth's strategies to mask and mystify her precarious and controversial position. Sure enough, then, alongside Heywood's fertile imagery that can be found in the pastoral scenes, there is also a fixation upon chastity and virginity which marks another response to the political representation of Elizabeth throughout the Ages. The Virgin Queen persona also functioned to abate the criticism Elizabeth received for not marrying or producing an heir. Even more so than the motherly persona, the Virgin Queen was utilised towards the end of Elizabeth's reign when tensions over the succession were intensifying and the Queen's aged body was an emblem for the crisis many feared. Maternal love and devotion were figurative manifestations of Elizabeth's authority, and so too was Elizabeth's claim of chastity, as it defied expectations that she marry. While the motherly persona aimed to naturalise Elizabeth's unnatural position, the Virgin Queen persona, discussed in more detail in the next chapter, often removed Elizabeth from the natural realm and elevated her to a divine status. Such inflation, by all means, was met with scepticism and the Ages plays are just one example of the many texts that deflated Elizabeth's grand representation towards the end of her reign.

3. Diana Doubled: Virgin Queenship and Fantasies of Subjugation

A Virgin, a Virago, a Diana.

(John Taylor, 1630)

Taylor's description of Elizabeth as the tripartite figure of virginity, female masculinity and (divine) chastity succinctly demonstrates the enduring legacy (and complexity) of Elizabeth I's Virgin Queen persona.[1] One year later, Heywood's own prose biography of the monarch remembered her as the 'Royall Queene and Virgin'.[2] Elizabeth of course represented many things to her many subjects, but the most enduring and memorable was her cultivation of ageless female strength and authority, combined with the myth of her perfect sexual purity. For throughout Heywood's lifetime (*c*.1573-1641), Elizabeth had been depicted (to varying degrees) as the ageless virgin whose 'mask of youth' effaced signs of her mortality, mitigating the reality that she was an unmarried childless queen. In portraits she was pictured with long flowing hair, an uncovered bosom, and adorned with symbols of her prized virginity (such as pearls). Inevitably, however, this persona was met with satire and cynicism – especially in her later years – by outspoken subjects all too aware of the imperfections and contradictions that this glossy exterior sought to obscure.

Looking ahead to her own legacy in 1559, the newly crowned Elizabeth had asserted that it would 'be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin.'[3] This would become a political masterstroke: where it was accepted, the Virgin Queen persona transformed her aging, unmarried, childless

[1] John Taylor, *A memorial of all the English monarchs* (London:1630; STC 23774), sig.G2r. Taylor's *memorial* was also included in his collected works published the same year and Heywood was likely familiar with the work, as during 'In praise of Hemp-seed', he lauds Heywood as an example of a living poet who 'in paper their true worth display.' Taylor, *All the works of John Taylor the water-poet* (London: 1630; STC 23725), p.72.

[2] Heywood, *Englands Elizabeth*, ed. by Philip R. Rider (London: Garland Publishing, 1982), p.6. In *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world*, Heywood praises her as 'Virgin Soveraigne of our Maiden Isle' and 'Chaste Virgin, Royall Queene, belov'd and fear'd […] Single, and singular, (without another)' (London: 1640; STC 13316), p.182. In his compendious account of British history, *Troia Britanica*, Heywood also refers to Elizabeth as the 'Virgin Queene'. Heywood, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (London: 1609; STC 13366), p.465.

[3] Elizabeth I, 'Queen Elizabeth's First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Version 1', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p.58.

flaws into glorious mythologies of independence, continence, and purity, and a national mother fully devoted to subjects of her realm. In time, figures like John Lyly and Edmund Spenser would mobilise political commentary through mythic analogies and wider literary responses to the virginal iconography remained in vogue throughout Elizabeth's later years. The English regime had only fully embraced the Virgin Queen mythos when it became clear that there was little other choice, after the final collapse of the French marriage project in 1581. As a result, the virginal persona had 'its origins in a symbolic resistance to the royal will', and was in part formed 'as a coded assertion of opposition to the queen's marriage negotiations with the Duc d'Alençon'.[4] In this respect, like her maternal figuration, deploying the Virgin Queen trope on stage, in popular drama like Heywood's, was a powerful instance of Elizabethan propaganda that could be used to both praise and critique the monarch and monarchy.

In Heywood's Ages, when Diana and other virgin rulers feature, they draw upon a known and popular trope of political representation which had few creative parallels. Within these plays' many satirical moments, Heywood's representations of the mythic virtues of Elizabeth's virginity (and implications to the contrary) enabled – and perhaps demanded – political readings. This chapter explores some key moments from the plays that deal explicitly with the figure of the virginal queen in order to illustrate their fascination with Elizabeth. This not only opens up my reading of their overtly political dimensions, but also strengthens the case for reading these plays as late-Elizabethan. This chapter uses case studies from across the Ages plays where goddesses and/or mythical queens and princesses take to the stage under the guiding figure of Diana. I first discuss *The Golden Age*'s pastoral depiction of Diana and her virginal cult sequestered in a forest utopia which is soon infiltrated by a disguised Jupiter who rapes Calisto. Heywood's episode echoes various pastoral entertainments staged to impress the monarch but these also provoke subversive messages surrounding the Queen. In the second section, Jupiter, Penthesilea, Atalanta and Venus recall Diana the huntress and Elizabeth at Tilbury; but, rather than celebrate the Queen's martial victory, Heywood silences female agency and tempers independence to bring

[4] Louis A. Montrose, 'Spenser and the Elizabethan Political Imaginary', *ELH*, 69.4 (2002), 907-946 (p.917). Helen Hackett explains that the persona had only become 'one of the most common images of Elizabeth in the last fifteen years or so of her reign'. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p.174. Susan Doran also points out that: 'the image of the Virgin Queen […] appeared relatively late in Elizabeth's reign.' Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.10. For more on these marriage negotiations, see Natalie Mears, 'Love-making and Diplomacy: Elizabeth I and the Anjou Marriage Negotiations, *c*.1578-1582', *History*, 86.284 (2001), 442-466.

Elizabeth's most powerful qualities to their knees. My final section develops this as I show how Heywood also combined female subjugation and rape with lunar and centaur imagery, when Proserpine is abducted and sexually assaulted by Pluto and Hippodamia is nearly taken by the centaurs. By layering imageries that relate to Elizabeth and her association with Heywood's mythological characters, the Ages animate a prolonged fantasy of overpowering, raping, marrying, and silencing. Ultimately, Heywood presents a critique of false ideology that centres around (unmarried) female authority.

I. Like A Virgin: Diana the Disappointment in *The Golden Age*

The Virgin Queen persona was used to transform the image of a weakening female monarch into an immortal maiden whose beauty thrived alongside her power. Elizabeth's chastity 'allegorized her very real – although always conditional – control of the court and government'.[5] Similar to her figurative maternity, Elizabeth's chastity marked her authority as it asserted defiance against expectations that she marry and produce children. It also asserted authority because chastity became a way for the Queen to garner obedience and devotion from her ladies-in-waiting. If her ladies married, Elizabeth believed that they 'were in essence abandoning her' as 'theoretically their closest bond and loyalty would then belong to their husbands, rather than to the queen.'[6] Additionally, the sexual activity of those closest to Elizabeth would have, of course, impaired her own virginal image.[7] Attempts to control the chastity of those around her suggest that Elizabeth was aware that her image and authority were fragile and that her virginal representation could bolster these, even during times in which they were strained. As late as 1597, William Fenton reported that Elizabeth 'dothe still muche exhort all her women to remaine in virgin state as much as may be."'[8]

Among the classical emblems of this virginal persona, Diana, chaste goddess of the hunt, was foremost. Already prominent in earlier royal entertainments (some of which were written with the purpose of convincing the Queen to marry), by the 1590s the figure's political use had flourished. Diana's iconography was so integrated to the cult of the Virgin

[5] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.114.
[6] Johanna Rickman, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (London: Routledge, 2008), p.39.
[7] Rickman explains that Elizabeth believed 'illicit sex was more an issue of morality (that in turn could weaken her authority)' (ibid, p.42).
[8] William Fenton, 'Letter 45', in *Letters and epigrams of Sir John Harington: Together with The Prayse of Private Life*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), p.404.

Queen that her name became shorthand for Elizabeth across all forms of artistic representation. According to Louis A. Montrose, Diana's strengths served as 'compensation for the tangible political liabilities inhering in an unmarried female prince'.[9] Elizabeth's courtiers praised Diana in poetry. They hung pictures of her on their walls and she featured in their paintings – always shadowed by her links to Elizabeth, and therefore voicing political obedience and allegiance. Heywood does and does not contribute to this veneration, repeating images that were meant to glorify the Queen but in a way that satirises her representation and rule.

In *The Golden Age*, Diana clearly mirrors Elizabeth. For example, she too exerts authority over a group of female followers who must vow chastity to gain admittance to the sequestered retreat in the forest – mimicking the elite women who had exclusive access to Elizabeth's living quarters and shelter from most of society. Like Spenser and Lyly before him, in *The Golden Age* Heywood 'focused upon the space which the female monarch shared with other women, and from which the courtier who defined himself in terms of a phallic sexuality […] was excluded.'[10] For Heywood, this space is the forest – a fitting pastoral reminder of the many royal entertainments that took place in rural settings (and drew heavily upon the bucolic) throughout Elizabeth's reign. Before the audience actually meet Diana in the forest, Heywood appeals to their political faculties by connecting the all too familiar tropes of virginity, authority and control.

We first hear of Diana when Jupiter attempts to seduce Calisto, Princess of Arcadia, whom he encountered after defeating her father, King Lycaon, and raiding his palace. Princess Calisto informs Jupiter that she is not interested because she wishes to join Diana in the forest so she can live as 'a Nunne and profest maid' (25) and become 'a servant of [Diana's] traine' (26). After Calisto flees to 'pursue' '*Dianae's* Cloyster' (26), Jupiter intends to follow her and he questions who Diana is. A lord explains that

> She is the daughter of an ancient King,
>
> That swaid the Atticke scepter, who being tempted
>
> By many suiters, first began this vow:
>
> And leaving Court betooke her to the forrests.

[9] Montrose, 'Spenser and the Elizabethan Political Imaginary', p.921.
[10] Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.115.

Her beauteous traine are virgins of best ranke,

Daughters of Kings, and Princes, all devoted

To abandon men, and chuse virginity.

All these being first to her strict orders sworne,

Acknowledge her their Queene and Empresse. (27)

In moments like these, it is difficult to imagine a politically-aware audience not reading Diana as an (idealised) image of their queen. Diana's 'vow' of virginity echoes Elizabeth's, including how her 'self-mastery and mastery of others were enhanced by an elaboration of her maidenhood into a cult of virginity.'[11] The vow of virginity is, moreover, described by the Lord as 'strict orders' – a probable allusion to Elizabeth's often shrewish control over marriage and chastity at court. The Queen, for example, had Maid of Honour Elizabeth Throckmorton and Sir Walter Raleigh banished from court and imprisoned in the Tower, after she learned of their secret marriage and child.[12]

When the audience first catch a glimpse of Diana she enters the play in great pomp, like a monarch in royal procession. In this sequence, Diana is accompanied by various creatures, singing and dancing to the music, in what, on the surface, appears as an ostentatious moment of celebration. But this glorious depiction is fleeting, and a closer inspection of Heywood's lyrics reveals a darker response to the Virgin Queen persona. The entry is one of the most dazzling moments of the entire play, and worth quoting in full:

Enter with musicke (*before* Diana) *sixe Satires, after them all their Nimphs, garlands on their heads, and javelings in their hands, their Bowes and Quivers*: *the Satyrs sing.*

Haile beauteous Dian*, Queene of shades,*
That dwels beneath these shadowie glades,
Mistresse of all those beauteous maids,

[11] Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', *Representations*, 2 (1983), 61-94 (p.79). Montrose highlights an instance when Elizabeth learned one of her maids had hoped to marry someday and in response to this, the Queen 'threatened her vestal with the prospect of living a barren sister all her life' (ibid). For my discussion of this instance, see pp.141-2.

[12] See Doran, *Elizabeth I and her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.207. Elizabeth also had Henry Wriothesley sent to Fleet Prison after it was discovered he secretly wed Elizabeth Vernon after she fell pregnant (see ibid, p.211). Instances like these can be seen as affronts to the Queen's authority and will be discussed more in the next chapter (see especially pp.135-7,141-52).

That are by her allowed.
Virginitie we all professe,
Abjure the worldlie vaine excesse,
And will to Dyan *yeeld no lesse*
Then we to her have vowed.

The Shepheards, Satirs, Nimphs, and Fawnes,
For thee will trippe it ore the lawnes.

Come to the Forrest let us goe,
And trip it like the barren Doe,
The Fawnes and Satirs still do so,
And freelie thus they may do.
The Fairies daunce, and Satirs sing,
And on the grasse tread manie a ring,
And to their caves their ven'son bring,
And we will do as they do.
The Shepheards, &c. […]

Our food is honie from the Bees,
And mellow fruits that drop from trees,
In chace we clime the high degrees
Of everie steepie mountaine,
And when the wearie day is past,
We at the evening hie us fast,
And after this our field repast,
We drinke the pleasant fountaine.
The Shepheards, &c. […] (27-8)

The bucolic music here of course suggests harmonious relations between Diana and her followers just as it had in George Peele's pastoral play, *The Arraignment of Paris* (*c*.1581), which 'employed music as a means to distinguish between the ordered paradise of the chaste kingdoms of Diana and Eliza [her nymph], and the unhappiness brought by the rule of

unchecked passions'.[13] Peele's play had praised the Queen's chastity and contrasted it with Paris's destructive desire that caused the Trojan War. However, Peele's hyperbole also 'presented visions of ideals and challenged the recipient to live up to them'.[14] Elsewhere, too, in Heywood's musical play, *The Rape of Lucrece* (an adaptation of Shakespeare's 1594 poem), he foregrounded Elizabeth's chastity for scrutiny using a classical political parallel.[15] But here, like Peele, Heywood uses music and dance to evoke ideals of peace, plenty and freedom, ideals which England was sorely lacking. The song's combination of dance, peace, and nature also evokes another potentially political text, John Davies's *Orchestra* (1594), a poem which envisions dance as a force of order across the universe.[16] Davies adapts Homer's *Odyssey* to mould Penelope's suitor Antinous into a 'satiric portrait of Essex' in light of his rivalry with Robert Cecil.[17] Here, though, Heywood's satire is aimed at Elizabeth, who is mocked for being depicted as Diana against the contemporary backdrop of civil unrest and wavering support.

When the verse closes, it does so with more layers of imagery that pertained to Elizabeth's bucolic entertainments. Both of Sir Henry Lee's entertainments in 1575 (Woodstock) and 1592 (Ditchley) used fairy imagery as ploys for 'a studied reflection of Lee's own perceptions of the workings of power at the Elizabethan court'.[18] However, Heywood's procession quoted above is most evocative of the 1591 royal entry at the Elvetham Entertainments, given that this was a famously musical event.[19] When Elizabeth arrived at Elvetham, she was greeted by six virgins who sang the madrigal 'With Fragrant Flowers We Strew the Way', which contained the refrain 'Beauteous Queen of Second Troy'.[20] Yet in Diana's entrance to *The Golden Age* she is described as 'Dian, *Queene of Shades*, / *That dwels beneath these shadowie glades*' (27) – a marked contrast to the fawning

[13] Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Oxford: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), p.102.
[14] Butler, p.103.
[15] Andrew Hadfield points out that Shakespeare's Lucrece alludes to Elizabeth because she 'is seen purely in terms of her chastity'. Furthermore, Lucrece is contrasted to Elizabeth as her 'actions benefit her fellow citizens', whereas Elizabeth's 'failure to complete the sex act places [her] realm in danger'. Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.137, 136-7.
[16] See Sarah Thesiger, 'The *Orchestra* of Sir John Davies and the Image of the Dance', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 227-304; R.J. Manning, 'Rule and order strange: A Reading of Sir John Davies' *Orchestra*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 15.2 (1985), 175-194.
[17] Manning, p.192.
[18] Matthew Woodcock, 'The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments', in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free* Woman, ed. by Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p.113.
[19] Butler explains that 'the author of the printed accounts of the entertainment was unusually descriptive when recording the musical aspects of the occasion', and that 'almost all of the songs sing Elizabeth's praises' (p.148, 149). For more on Elvetham, see Butler, pp.145-51.
[20] See Butler, p.149.

we see elsewhere. Various lines throughout the song also evoke another infamous, and potentially subversive, musical tribute to Elizabeth: Thomas Morley's *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601) – particularly madrigals I, II, V, VI, VII and XX.[21] Though printed in 1601, *The Triumphs* adapted and contained a number of popular Italian and English madrigals and canzonets from throughout the 1590s.[22] (By 1601, there had, in fact, been fourteen English madrigal books printed, conveying their popularity and the possibility that Heywood was aware of musical trends.[23]) Here Heywood's song enacts and echoes the famous refrain used throughout Morley's collection of madrigals: 'Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana: / Long live fair Oriana'.[24] On the surface, Morley's *Triumphs* praised Elizabeth, but through clever satire they simultaneously evoked figures and events that explicitly challenged her authority and person.[25] In a similar vein, Heywood's song praises Diana but this praise is always tempered by the capacity for imageries like this to provoke scathing critique. If, as seems likely, Heywood's song echoes the *Triumph*'s refrain, it surely adds depth to the critique of Elizabeth and her handling of the succession.

Subversiveness is evident in other lines that also recall and rewrite *The Triumphs*. The first lines of Heywood's second verse, for example, allude to the promiscuous behaviour that Elizabeth was often accused of, especially by Catholic polemicists.[26] To '*trip it like the barren Doe*' (27) is a zoomorphic allusion to what Gordon Williams explains had negative sexual connotations of whorishness: a 'barren doe is one who fails to bear, and is therefore fit for culling.'[27] Williams also notes that 'the free-ranging aspect of the barren doe is appropriately stressed in applications to [the] whore or promiscuous wife.'[28] When we

[21] Thomas Morley, *The Triumphes of Oriana* (London: 1601; STC 18130). On *The Triumphes*, see Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), pp.193-209.
[22] Heywood's opening line echoes Thomas Wotson's 1590 madrigal, 'O beauteous Queen of second Troy' (ibid). Heywood seems to also echo one earlier madrigal in particular, Giovanni Croce's 'Hard by a Christiall fountaine', originally an Italian piece from 1592 translated by Nicholas Yonge in *Musica transalpine, the second booke* (1597). Croce's madrigal sings of Oriana sleeping by a fountain upon a mountain, aspects evoked in Heywood's final stanza; see Yonge, *Musica transalpine, the second booke* (London: 1597; STC 26095), sig.D6v.
[23] See Kerman, p.194.
[24] The refrain has origins in the 1592 Italian madrigal collection translated by Yonge in his *Musica transalpine.*
[25] Jeremy L. Smith explains that Oriana may also allude to Anne of Denmark, and that *The Triumphs* 'reflected a shared goal among Essexians and Catholics to promote James VI' as Elizabeth's successor. Jeremy L. Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58.3 (2005), 507-558 (p.511).
[26] The lines echo madrigals I, V and X from *The Triumphs,* which are, respectively: '*Oriana* shining, with nimble foote she tripped o're hils, and mountaines' (Morley, sig.Br); 'faire *Oriana*, beauties Queene, Tripped a long the verdant greene' (B4v); 'The Faunes and Satirs tripping, With lively Nymphes' (ibid, sig.C3v).
[27] Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols. (London: The Athlone Press, 1994) I, p.399.
[28] Ibid.

consider that utopian pastoral imagery was also vulnerable to rumours of the Queen's actual rural travels, which many believed were undertaken to birth illegitimate children, the very setting enables a range of politicised misogynistic readings.[29] The satirical effect is further emphasised by the allusion to venison ('*And to their caves their ven'son bring*' (28)), the traditional English ambassadorial offering, bestowed to foreign diplomats visiting Elizabeth's court.[30] Visiting a barren doe, and receiving cuts of venison, is perhaps an ironic political parallel that Heywood could not resist.

This context of gift-giving brings us to the fairy imagery, and the related discourses of fairy queenship. In at least three royal entertainments (1575, 1578, and 1589) Elizabeth received lavish gifts from actors playing out the role of the fairy queen – the last of which, at Quarrendon, was a gold and stone Cupid. The tradition left such an impression that it endured after Elizabeth's death, forming part of the monarch's legacy. According to Marjorie Garber, when 'the new royal family entered England they were entertained by a masque at Althorp in which Mab, Queen of the Fairies, presented a jewel to Queen Anne'.[31] Elizabeth's playful characterisation as queen of the fairies was an offshoot of her wider pastoral iconography; however, even in its earliest manifestation, Lee's first entertainment 'establishe[d] the foundations for the more problematic – potentially negative – representations of Elizabeth as the fairy queen during the 1590s.'[32] The pastoral setting of Heywood's Diana sequence echoes Spenser's 'April eclogue' in *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), which had set 'a trend for the pastoral praise of Elizabeth'; but Heywood clearly follows more closely the 'dark conceit' of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) as his song is dualistic, with shadows cast below the spotlight on Elizabeth's iconography. Thus, the figure of the fairy queen in these years was always double-edged.

Whilst it might seem excessive to draw so much analysis from Diana's entrance, we should remember that she is the most obvious point of contact between Elizabeth's mythologies and the classical narratives that the Ages bring the stage. The pastoral setting of

[29] As early as 1564, Luis Roman, the former Spanish Ambassador's secretary, commented on Elizabeth's plans to go to the North of England and said: '"Some say she is pregnant and is going away to lie in."' Roman, cited in Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p.80. Similarly, in 1581 Henry Hawkins 'explained Elizabeth's frequent progresses throughout the countryside as a way for her to leave court and have her illegitimate children' (ibid, p.83).

[30] Simon Adams, '"The Queenes Majestie . . . is now become a great huntress": Elizabeth I and the Chase', *The Court Historian*, 18 (2013), 143-164 (p.158).

[31] Marjorie Swann, 'The Politics of Fairylore in Early Modern English Literature', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53.2 (2000), 449-473 (p.453).

[32] Woodcock, p.98.

the sequence participates in this satirical treatment. For, as we have seen, along with the music and fairy imagery, the pastoral setting is evocative of Elizabeth's royal entertainments and therefore her realpolitik. According to Montrose, 'pastoral analogy was a particularly apt ideological instrument for a government trying to subordinate the wills of all subjects to the will of their Queen.'[33] A key example of this involves the goddess herself, when Lord Lumley in the 1580s had built the Grove of Diana at Nonsuch Palace as a 'fulsome compliment and gesture of loyal submission' in the aftermath of his implication in the 1571 Ridolfi Plot.[34] Agnès Lafont explains that Nonsuch Gardens incorporated 'an avant-garde use of mythology', as the grove was not 'part of a carefully planned programme to celebrate royalty on a large scale' and instead offered much more ambiguous and emblematic lessons for its visitors.[35] One feature of the grove was, for example, a Diana statue, hidden in the depths of the garden, which the line '*beneath these shadowie glades*' (27) might well evoke. For the position of the statue was emblematic, and, according to Lafont, intended to be read as 'a warning to all those who would be tempted to intrude upon their sovereign's secrets.'[36] Another feature in the Nonsuch grove was a water fountain with a sculpture of the Diana and Actaeon myth which was also relevant to the warning against intrusion. (We might recall Marlowe's evocation of the Actaeon myth at the beginning of *Edward II*.) The fountain was a common symbol for Elizabeth and her ability to exude power and purity that can trickle down throughout the commonwealth. In Heywood's *If you know not me, You know no bodie* (1605), Elizabeth even 'implicitly identifies herself with the fountain' when she uses the term while praising the Protestant Bible.[37] In Heywood's songs, the creatures sing that they have drunk from the fountain after climbing to '*high degrees*', conveying the notion of courtly favour as they are only nourished from the fountain after they have ascended up through the ranks. Clearly then, the song that introduces Diana and her realm is not what it seems because it contains many allusions to the adversities Elizabeth faced from Catholics or dissenting

[33] Montrose, '"Eliza, Queene of shepheardes," and the Pastoral of Power', *English Literary Renaissance,* 10.2 (1980), 153-82 (pp.156, 164).
[34] Montrose, 'Elizabethan Political Imaginary', p.920. A visitor to the Grove in 1600 remarked that: 'Nature is imitated with so much skill that you would dare to swear that the original Grove of the real Diana herself was hardly more delightful'. Baron Waldstein, cited in ibid.
[35] Lafont, 'Political Uses of Erotic Power in an Elizabethan Mythological Programme: Dangerous Interactions with Diana in Hardwick Hall', in *Shakespeare's Erotic Mythology and Ovidian Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Lafont (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), p.46.
[36] Ibid, p.47.
[37] Hester Lees-Jeffries, 'Location as Metaphor in Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Entry (1559): *Veritas Temporis Filia*', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.85. See Heywood, *If you know not me, you know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) I, pp.246-7.

courtiers. Reflecting how the Virgin Queen persona often worked to Elizabeth's detriment, Diana is a surface-level adornment who can never fully mask the imperfections within her realm.

The implausibility of the utopia is most clearly shown when Jupiter infiltrates and rapes Calisto; but, before this takes place, Diana welcomes Calisto to her bucolic paradise:

> *Pan* the great God of Shepheards, and the Nymphes
> Of Meades and Fountaines, that inhabite here,
> All give you welcome, with their Rurrall sports,
> These Satyrs are our neighbours, and live here,
> With whom we have confirm'd a friendly league
> And dwell in peace. Here is no City-craft.
> Here's no Court-flattery: Simplenesse and sooth
> The harmlesse Chace, and strict Virginity
> Is all our practice. (28)

Diana believes her utopia is immune from courtly and urban corruptions. The evocation of the fountain before insisting there is no 'City-craft' or 'Court-flattery' heightens the allusion to plotting and courtly advancement that we can infer from the song. We can read Diana's criticism of corruption embedded within the praise of Diana's realm as analogous to Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst' (1616), a poem that figures the country house as an idealised sanctuary cut off from the evils of outside.[38] However, Raymond Williams recognised in the poem Jonson's 'double-edge[d]' praise, a feature present here in the Ages, too; for the celebration of the peace Diana and her followers share with their neighbours, clearly contrasts to the tensions between England and Ireland and the suffering of the Nine Years' War. Affirming that the 'harmless chase' and 'strict virginity' characterise Diana's realm, Heywood's final line is the most preposterous, given Calisto's rape and, as I discuss later, the other disasters that hunting can cause (like Adonis's death and familial strife).[39] Furthermore,

[38] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.29. On Jonson's poem, see also Lynn S. Meskill, *Ben Jonson and Envy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.112-118.
[39] On hunting, see pp.117-25.

Pan's background-presence in the scene foreshadows the actual sexual licentiousness that Jupiter will soon enact, and was used elsewhere to allude to the lust of Elizabeth's father Henry. The commentary to Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), explains that in the 'April eclogue', Pan was a figure for Henry VIII's reputation for sexual excess and the subsequent disorder it caused the realm.[40] Unlike in Spenser, where Elizabeth is the chaste nymph Syrinx, here Diana is aligning her realm with Pan's, and via Henry, Heywood evokes notions of succession and degradation – which, of course, inform the whole cycle of the Ages.

The Calisto story is loaded with other political adjacencies. For example, we are introduced to Calisto as a vulnerable princess alone in a palace, after Jupiter has defeated her father (King Lycaon of Arcadia) following his attempt to feed Jupiter human flesh. While Jupiter and his men storm the palace, he stumbles across Calisto and forgets about his pursuit in the face of her beauty. Here follows a lengthy series of Elizabeth-moments, beginning with:

JUPITER. Oh *Love*, till now I never felt thy dart:
But now her painted eye hath pierc'd my heart.
Faire, can you love?

CALISTO. To be alone I can.

JUPITER. Women, faire Queene, are nothing without men:
You are but cyphers, empty roomes to fill. (24-25)

Beyond strengthening her resemblance to Elizabeth, for Jupiter to refer to Calisto as a queen makes little sense here – she is, after all, a princess; and, the bawdy reference to the cypher is followed several lines later by the warning that 'To live a maid, what ist? 'tis to live nothing' (26) and Calisto's admission 'I am of my selfe, / Nothing without your soft compassionate love' (25).[41] These claims, alongside Calisto's desire to be alone (and subsequent determination to join Diana's train), are allusions to Elizabeth's own use of the word 'nothing' in the glass engraving at Woodstock Castle during her imprisonment in 1554-5 – an event echoed by Jupiter's frustrated 'And there all beauty shall be kept in jaile' (26).

[40] Edmund Spenser, '*The Shepheardes Calendar*', in *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999), p.68.
[41] Later when Jupiter deliberates whether to infiltrate Diana's cloister in the forest, he remarks: 'the hazzard is nothing' (30).

Heywood includes the event in both his dramatic account of Elizabeth's life, *If you know not me* (1605) and his prose biography *Englands Elizabeth her life and troubles* (1631).[42] All of this is shadowed by Elizabeth's motto, *'Video et Taceo* (I see and say nothing)', words that emphasised her 'silent judgement', a quality 'suitable for a woman'.[43] The motto is another example of Elizabeth adapting an idealised feminine trait, like virginity, in order to underline her authority and power.

Despite Jupiter's attempts to convince her otherwise, Calisto is resolute in her rejection of him and her desire to join Diana. Other allusions to Elizabeth come thick and fast here, and in the wake of the play's overall figuration of King Lycaon as tyrant (just like Elizabeth's father was), it renders Jupiter's comments about chastity in a familiar light:

> Her [i.e. Diana's] order is meere heresie, her sect
> A schisme, 'mongst maids not worthy your respect.
> Men were got to get; you borne others to beare.
> Wrong not the world so much: (nay sweet your eare)
> This flower will wither, not being cropt in time,
> Age is too late, then do not loose your prime,
> Sport whil'st you may, before your youth be past.
> Loose not this mowld that may such faire ones cast,
> Leave to the world your like for face and stature,
> That the next age may praise your gifts of nature. (26)

Describing Diana's order as heresy and her sect a schism, Heywood employs politicised terms to precede Jupiter's prolonged attack on Calisto's chastity, which has palpable links

[42] The engraving read:
Much suspected by me,
Nothing proved can be.
Quod Elizabeth
Prisoner.
It is quoted in Heywood's *Englands Elizabeth* when Heywood reports that 'shee wrote these two Verses with her Diamond in a glasse window' (p.94). In *If you know not me*, instead of being engraved on a window, it is written in an English Bible (p.228).

[43] Mary Thomas Crane, '"Video et Taceo": Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel', *SEL*, 28.1 (1988), 1-15 (p.2).

with the Virgin Queen mythos. Because the consequences of Diana-like chastity belong to 'the next age', this is, moreover, a matter of legacy. Jupiter implores Calisto not to make the same mistake that Queen Elizabeth did: to lose her prime years of fertility. The point is also stressed when Jupiter laments:

> Ther's but one jewell that I value hye,
>
> And that (unkinde) you will not let me buy:
>
> […]
>
> 'Tis like a covetous man to hoord up treasure,
>
> Bar'd from your owne use, and from others pleasure. (26)

Calisto's refusal to have sex (and produce an heir) is compared to the miserly hoarding of a jewel, echoing imagery used in Elizabeth's Armada Portrait – wherein jewels 'represented Elizabeth's chastity in the bow and single dangling pearl – her "jewel" […] hanging directly over the genital area.'[44] A similar image is present in the Rainbow Portrait (*c.*1600-3) where 'the string of pearls looped suggestively around Elizabeth's genital area.'[45] Heywood's own *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world* (1640) also includes an engraving of Elizabeth by George Glover which depicts pearls placed in a manner that accentuate her breasts and tiny waist.[46] Despite the allusions to Elizabeth's chastity, the portraits eroticise the Queen's body; and this juxtaposition between virginity and eroticism is emphasised by Heywood within Diana's realm before Jupiter rapes Calisto, underlining fissures within the Queen's representation.

Pulling Calisto back to rest with him, Jupiter tells her: 'I love thee, come let's kisse and play […] So a woman with a woman may' (33). Calisto tells Jupiter that he 'kisse[s] too wantonly' and 'I do not like this kissing' but he is undeterred and replies: 'by thy soft paps let my hand descend' (33).[47] Jupiter wishes that 'the Gods would shape [Calisto] to a boy, / Or

[44] Susan Frye, 'Of Chastity and Violence: Elizabeth I and Edmund Spenser in the House of Busirane', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 20.1 (1994), 49-78 (p.49). Unknown, *Queen Elizabeth I, c.*1588, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London.

[45] Daniel Fischlin, 'Political Allegory, Absolutist Ideology, and the "Rainbow Portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.1 (1997), 175-206 (p.185). Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (*attrib.*), *Elizabeth I, c.*1600-03, oil on canvas, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

[46] Heywood, *The exemplary lives*, p.183.

[47] Calisto declines his advances asking 'Nay fye what meane you?' (33) but Jupiter persists and reveals: 'Your foot I oft have prais'd, / Ey and your legge: (nay let your skirt be rais'd)' (34). Calisto replies: 'You are too

me into a man' (33) and asks Calisto to imagine he 'were a man' (34). The attempted seduction recalls John Lyly's *Gallathea*, a play performed before Elizabeth at Greenwich Palace on New Years Day 1588. *Gallathea* follows the story of two virginal women who are disguised as boys to avoid being sacrificed; while cross-dressed they fall in love, and the play is resolved when Venus transforms one of them into a man.[48] Both Diana and her nymphs feature in this play, too, but 'they represent a decidedly problematical concept of virginity' and the same-sex relation discloses the paradoxically eroticised nature of the Virgin Queen, and how despite her rumoured libidinous behaviour she never produced an heir.[49] In *The Golden Age*, Heywood also depicts virginity as problematic, exposing its vulnerability through Calisto's rape which deflates the glorious image of the Virgin Queen.

Heywood replaces the magical gender change in Lyly's play with a more literal moment when Jupiter reveals to Calisto he is not a nymph but '*Pelagias* King' (34) before he '*carries her away in his armes*' (*SD*.35) and rapes her. The event echoes Book III of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, which presented 'a figure of Elizabeth that is simultaneously imprisoned, entertained with spectacle and poetry, and raped.'[50] Homer opens Act 3 with his narration which describes the aftermath of Calisto's rape:

> Yong *Jupiter* doth force this beauteous maid,
>
> And after would have made her his bright Queene.
>
> But discontent she in the Forrest staid,
>
> Loath of *Diana's* virgins to be seene.
>
> Oft did he write, oft send, but all in vaine,
>
> She never will return to Court againe.
>
> Eight moones are fild & wain'd when she grows great
>
> And yong *Joves* issue in her wombe doth spring.

---

wanton, and your hand to free [sic]' (34). Jupiter continues to ignore Calisto and maintains his attempts to touch her.

[48] On *Gallathea*, see Berry, *Chastity and Power*, pp.127-128. See also Ellen M. Caldwell, 'John Lyly's *Gallathea*: A New Rhetoric of Love for the Virgin Queen', *English Literary Renaissance*, 17.1 (1987), 22-40; and Christopher Wixson, 'Cross-Dressing and John Lyly's *Gallathea*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 41.2 (2001), 241-256.

[49] Theodora A. Jankowski, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery, and John Lyly's Court Plays and Entertainments* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), p.71.

[50] Frye, *Competition for Representation*, pp.114-6.

This day *Diana* doth her Nimphs intreat,

Unto a solemne bathing, where they bring

Deflowr'd *Calisto,* note how she would hide

That which time found, and great *Diana* spide. (35)

Heywood accompanies Homer's final lines with a dumbshow that depicts the revelation of Calisto's pregnancy.[51] Pieter van der Hayden infamously adapted Calisto's humiliation from Titian's portrait into an engraving (*c.*1584-5) for 'religio-political satire', picturing Elizabeth as Diana and Pope Gregory XIII as the shamed Calisto.[52] But here, Heywood uses the image to debase Diana's world and thus, Elizabeth's figurative virginity. Heywood chooses to use lunar terms to describe the passage of time, clearly evoking the main symbolism of the Virgin Queen. The immediacy of the anachronistic term 'court' and Calisto's withdrawal to the forest clearly call to mind rumours like those that Elizabeth retreated to the countryside to birth her illegitimate children.[53] Moreover, as chastity embodied so much of Elizabeth's political persona, 'penetrating that chastity attained enormous value.'[54] Calisto's rape suggests the fragility of Elizabeth's Virgin Queen persona by showing the destruction of the chastity on which it lay and the most powerful depiction of a lack of autonomy.

Despite seeking refuge in Diana's train, Calisto is of course destined to be tricked and raped by Jupiter, and to carry and birth another one of his many heirs. But the words that he speaks in the above sequence express the kinds of sentiments that many felt about Elizabeth's actions over the course of her long reign. That we see them expressed so boldly here, in the context of a princess (whom he calls a queen) unwilling to offer her body's reproductive capacity while praying for deliverance from the goddess of fertility (i.e. Diana), is significant. For *The Golden Age* presents its audience with the perhaps jaded fantasy of an unruly daughter of a tyrant, who desires chastity, being forced to reproduce against her will. This is almost at the beginning of the first play, in what would become a sequence of five, and her

[51] The dumbshow is as follows: '*Enter* Diana *and all her Nimphs to bathe them*: *shee makes them survey the place. They unlace themselves, and unlose their buskins: only* Calisto *refuseth to make her ready*. Diana *sends* Atlanta *to her, who perforce unlacing her, finds her great belly, and shewes it to Diana, who turnes her out of her society, and leaves her*' (*SD*.35).

[52] Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), p.140. Pieter van der Heyden, *Queen Elizabeth and Pope Gregory XIII as Diana and Callisto*, *c.*1584-85, engraving, 1850,1109.7, The British Museum, London. The engraving was a parody of the 1559 painting 'Diana and Calisto' by Titian. Titian, *Diana and Callisto*, *c.*1556-59, oil on canvas, The National Gallery London / The National Galleries of Scotland, London/Edinburgh.

[53] See p.101 fn.29.

[54] Frye, *Competition for Representation*, p.98.

resemblance with Elizabeth is certainly being emphasised. This sets in motion some of the troubling misogyny in these plays, almost always animated through a figuration of Elizabeth which seems to be praising her. In the sections which follow, I continue to note and explore other traces of Diana, beginning with her more masculine or huntress representations, Penthesilea, Atalanta and Venus, before looking to the use of lunar imageries. What we find again and again, is a surface-list of female virtues barely concealing the suspected sins, inadequacies and frailties of Heywood's and England's Queen.

II. Double-edged Swords: Viragos and Huntresses in *The Golden*, *The Brazen* and *The Iron Age II*

Diana's relevance to Elizabeth extended beyond virginity to the hunt – a favourite activity of the English queen and another domain of which Diana was the divinity. Elizabeth as huntress could, of course, be glorifying, as it aligned her more closely with Diana, while the princely activity also contributed to the blurring of female frailty. As with his treatment of Diana, Heywood's huntresses and militant women invite critique: they display martial prowess and independence, qualities intended to glorify Elizabeth, but, in the Ages, they draw attention to her failures through a misogynistic lens. They touch upon frustrations and anxieties surrounding Elizabeth's authority, her refusal to marry, and her adoption of typically masculine qualities.

Elizabeth's passion for hunting was not placed prominently in her iconography because it 'might have evoked connotations of a virginal power too aggressive and deadly to be promoted by Elizabeth or to be happily endorsed by her courtiers', not to mention the time that this hobby demanded away from royal duties.[55] In contrast, Heywood's huntresses do exhibit aggressive chastity through their refusal to submit to love or reproduce, favouring instead the more masculine feats of hunting and war. Despite the potentially damaging connotations for Elizabeth, there are instances when she was celebrated as Diana while hunting: in Robert Langham's account of the Kenilworth entertainments, he remarked that 'Diana her selfe might have deigned thear well enough too raunge for her pastime',

[55] Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.32. Simon Adams finds that 'there are numerous casual references to [Elizabeth] hunting in correspondence, both diplomatic and internal, but few supply much detail' ('Elizabeth I and the Chase', p.156). Adams includes a number of these reports which range from 1560 to 1602 (ibid, pp.143-4, 159).

suggesting that Elizabeth had exceeded even the goddess's skill; and in 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh wrote to Robert Cecil and described Elizabeth as 'hunting like Diana, walking like Venus'.[56] Even before she became Queen, Elizabeth was known to enjoy hunting and was 'an accomplished horsewoman and huntress from adolescence.'[57] Many courtiers thus incorporated it into entertainments to impress her and elevate their standing. At Kenilworth in 1575, Robert Dudley ensured hunting was 'a key motif of the entertainment' which had aimed to dazzle Elizabeth into marriage.[58] During the beginning of these entertainments, George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (1575) was published and it included three woodcuts of Elizabeth in hunt scenes.[59] At other progress visits Elizabeth had participated in hunting too, and she had apparently even joined the hunt during the last summer of her life.[60] Given that the Ages contain frequent echoes of royal entertainments, the instances of women participating in hunting or militant affairs can also recall stories of the huntress Queen for their audiences.

As in the Ages, royal entertainments often saw the virginal and huntress personas collide. In the 1578 Norwich entertainments – the first to draw upon the Virgin Queen persona – Diana the huntress herself appeared to Elizabeth and praised her for choosing chastity and 'handed her Cupid's bow.'[61] The bow may have represented Elizabeth's own autonomy, as Diana instructed the Queen 'to shoot with as she pleased, since "none would wound her highness's heart."'[62] However, these words can criticize Elizabeth despite the surface praise. At Cowdray in 1591, Diana again appeared in a hunting pageant, during a ditty which 'celebrated [Elizabeth] as an eroticised Diana [when she] received the gift of a crossbow.'[63] Heywood echoes this choreography in *The Golden Age* when Jupiter is inducted

---

[56] Langham, 'A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty, at Killingwoorth Castl', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.242. Raleigh, cited in: Stephen Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p.24.

[57] Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), p.119-20. In 1560, Robert Dudley wrote to the Earl of Sussex and reported that Elizabeth 'is now become a great huntress, and doth follow it daily from morning till night.' Dudley, cited in Adams, 'Elizabeth I and the Chase', p.143.

[58] Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, p.101. Berry notes that 'Elizabeth hunted three times during her stay' at Kenilworth (ibid).

[59] George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (London: 1575; STC 24328).

[60] See Adams, 'Elizabeth I and the Chase', pp.160-163. Adams mentions various progresses from 1566-1597. Elizabeth's final participation in hunting was at Harefield in 1602 (see ibid, p.144).

[61] Patrick Collinson, 'Pulling the Strings: Religion and Politics in the Progress of 1578', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*', ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.138.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, p.52. In the account of the Cowdray entertainment, it is reported that a bower was prepared 'under which were her Highnesse Musicians placed, and a Crossebowe by a Nimph, with a

into Diana's group and his oath of virginity *'is given on* Dianaes *bow*' (*SD*.31). As with the entertainments, the bow is a focal point and involves direct interaction between the Queen and the mythical characters. These entertainments, though, are double-edged just like Heywood's huntresses; they criticise Elizabeth and strip her virginal image of its purity.

Hunting was a display of royal power for centuries before Elizabeth and over this time it acquired 'powerfully masculine connotations.'[64] While Diana had provided compensation for Elizabeth's anomalous position, being a huntress gave her an opportunity to transform herself and adopt masculine or princely qualities. As I have outlined, Elizabeth had been recognised as a huntress throughout her life, but in the years after the Armada victory and when she adopted the Virgin Queen persona, she was specifically described as a virago.[65] The term refers to 'man-like' (*OED*, n.2) warrior women, who, Heywood explains: 'attempt[ed] those brave and Martial Enterprises, which belong to the honour of men'.[66] Celebrating the Queen after her death, in 1603-4 Crispin van de Passe created an engraving of Elizabeth with a Latin inscription 'calling Elizabeth a *divina virago,* whose countenance and carriage are those of a virgin, though she excels her sex in her "manly" spirit.'[67] The most notorious instance of Elizabeth blurring gender boundaries was, of course, her purported address to the troops at Tilbury in 1588, in which she proclaimed 'I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too.'[68] In this instance, Elizabeth emphasised her princely body politic to justify her position not only in the martial realm but also as monarch. Embodying mother and warrior, Elizabeth's androgyny was a powerful political tool and yet a familiar locus for satire.

How does this manifest in Heywood's Ages plays? At the outset of *The Golden Age* (analysed above), in the Jupiter-Calisto sequence when Jupiter enters Diana's realm, he is disguised as '*a Nimph, or a Virago*' (*SD*.29); as he approaches, he attempts to refine his gait and his smile and, regarding his stature, he remarks how he 'may passe for a *bona Roba,* a

---

sweet song, delivered to her hands, to shoote at the deere'. Thomas Scarlet, 'The Honorable Entertainment given to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) III, p.553.

[64] Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, p.31.

[65] Winfried Schleiner points out that after 1588, 'the next half-century saw a number of allusions to her as an Amazon.' Schleiner, '*Divina virago*: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon', *Studies in Philology*, 75.2 (1978), 163-180 (p.164).

[66] Heywood, *The exemplary lives*, p.96. The full *OED* (n.2) definition is: 'man-like, vigorous, and heroic woman; a female warrior; an amazon'.

[67] Schleiner, pp.167-8, 171.

[68] Elizabeth I, 'Queen Elizabeth's Armada Speech to the Troops at Tilbury, August 9, 1588', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p.326. In the speech Elizabeth also says she will 'assure you in the word of a prince' (ibid).

Rounceval, a *Virago*, or a good manly Lasse' (30).[69] When Diana meets Jupiter, she is fooled and impressed by his form, calling him 'A manly Lasse [and] a stout Virago' (30). Jupiter's martial cross-dressing is a clear Heywoodian moment, as in the chief source-text, *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (*c.*1475), he had dressed up like a nun.[70] Elsewhere, too, Heywood had drawn upon Elizabeth's blurring of gender in a combative context: in his *The Fair Maid of the West I* (likely written around 1597-1604), the protagonist, Bess Bridges – known for her 'virtue and chastity' – is a rather overt Elizabeth.[71] Bess mimics Elizabeth when she cross-dresses as '*a page with a sword*' (2.3.*SD*) and asserts: 'I have a manly spirit in me / In this man's habit' (2.3.5-6), before she beats the troublemaker, Roughman.[72] But in *The Golden Age* the image is much less admirable. In his costume, Jupiter embodies both the figures William Gager used to describe Elizabeth while he terrorises Diana's realm and hunts Calisto, who he eventually rapes.[73] When Jupiter disguises himself as the virago, the assault upon Calisto's chastity is coloured by the competing representations of the monarch's many flaws.

Then, in the final instalment of the Ages pentalogy, *The Iron Age Part II*, Heywood draws upon the most overt depiction of the virago, through the Amazonian sequence which centres upon Queen Penthesilea. In his later *The exemplary lives* (1640), Heywood writes of 'Heroyicke Ladies […] generally called *Viragoes*, which is derived of Masculine Spirits'; and, similarly, in the *Gynaikeion*, Heywood notes that the Amazons were women 'famous either for Valour, or for Beautie' and acknowledges their 'masculine Vertue and courage'.[74] Such qualities were bestowed on Elizabeth when, after the Armada, she was celebrated by comparing her to Penthesilea.[75] Montrose explains that Elizabeth 'transformed' the image of

[69] A 'bona roba' (n.1) is 'a wench; "a showy wanton" ([Ben] Johnson)'; a 'rouncival' is a 'large, boisterous, or masculine woman' (*OED*, n.4). As he enters the stage, Jupiter narrates his action: 'There I strid woo wide. That step was too large', and he comments that he will 'have to counterfeit this woman, to lispe, (*forsooth*) to simper and set my face like a sweet Gentlewomans made out of ginger-bread' (29).

[70] Caxton writes: 'he concluded on a day in him self that he wold putte him in the habite of a religiouse woman & wold go in to the clistre of dame diane'. Raoul Lefèvre, *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, 2 vols., trans. by William Caxton, ed. by Oskar Sommer (London: David Nutt, 1894) I, p.53.

[71] Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I*, in *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II*, ed. by Robert K. Turner Jr (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp.1-90. On the dating, see Robert K. Turner Jr, 'Introduction', in ibid (pp.xi-xiv).

[72] Ibid, (2.3.*SD*, 5-6).

[73] Gager's Latin verses to Elizabeth from the mid-1580s advised Elizabeth to 'be not so much a virgin as an Amazon: say farewell to female terrors'. Gager translated in: Tucker Brooke, 'William Gager to Queen Elizabeth', *Studies in Philology*, 29.2 (1932), 160-175 (p.168).

[74] Heywood, *The exemplary lives*, p.96. Heywood, *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history Concerninge women* (London: 1624; STC 13326), pp.215, 449.

[75] James Aske in his *Elizabetha triumphans* reported that Elizabeth 'Come marching towards this her marching fight, In nought unlike the AmaZonian Queene'. Aske, *Elizabetha triumphans* (London: 1588; STC 847), p.23. In the collection of 1589 Latin and Greek poems *Triumphalia de victoriis Elizabethae*, Schleiner finds 'a

the Amazon 'to suit her purposes, representing herself as an androgynous martial maiden.'[76] At Tilbury, though, it was not only Elizabeth's blurring of gender that captured the imagination of succeeding generations. Accounts of the address 'became more and more precise as the Tilbury event receded into the past' and increasingly fabricated Elizabeth's persona, drawing on the Amazonian connotations that surrounded her martial androgyny.[77] Indeed, in *The exemplary lives* Heywood offered one of the most detailed reports, which recounted that Elizabeth, the 'royall virago', had appeared 'in the head of her Troopes, and incouraging her Souldiers, habited like an *Amazonian* Queene, Buskind and plumed, having a golden Truncheon, Gantlet and Gorget.'[78] However, there is 'no evidence of a suit of armour ever being made for Mary [Tudor] or for Elizabeth,' which suggests that the Amazonian image of Elizabeth was much like the Virgin Queen persona, a mythical and fantastical representation in itself.[79] And like his responses to the Virgin Queen, Heywood's dramatisation of Penthesilea embeds a critique of Elizabeth in a figure that had often praised her.

At the beginning of *The Iron Age II,* Penthesilea arrives to the battle of Troy to assist the Trojans and avenge Hector's death, after he was killed by Achilles and his Myrmidons in *The Iron Age I* (322). When she arrives, she meets Pyrrhus, Achilles's son, who has come to avenge his father's death following his dishonourable murder by Paris during a parley. The pair soon meet again on the battlefield and while the Amazons put up a good fight, they are defeated when Pyrrhus decapitates their queen.[80] The story of Penthesilea's arrival to Troy featured in the *Aeneid* and it gained popularity throughout the Middle Ages in texts like John Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1420), which imagined that Penthesilea had loved Hector. In Heywood's play, Penthesilea declares upon arrival to Troy that she and the Amazons 'came

---

reference to Penthesilea [which] heads the list of conventional comparisons with Deborah, Judith, and Esther' (Schleiner, p.170); and the poem *Angla virago,* from the same volume, compares Elizabeth to the Amazonian queen Penthesilea, commending for 'expos[ing] her breast to dangers' (ibid, p.171).

[76] Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies", p.77.

[77] Schleiner, p.175. Schleiner highlights numerous excerpts that mention Elizabeth's attire: 'an anonymous poem of 1600 addressing her as "Thou that rangest battayles in fieldes / And bearest harnesse, speare, and shielde"' (p.174); Thomas Deloney's ballad *Thomas Reading and Three Ballads on the Spanish Armada* (1600) 'reports her "tossing up her plume of feathers," which could suggest a plumed helmet, characteristic of the Amazons' (ibid, p.175); 'van Dans in his panegyric *Eliza* (1619) pictured her as the virgin daughter of Mars, who [was] "adorned with an Amazonian outfit"' (ibid).

[78] Heywood, *The exemplary lives,* pp.201, 211.

[79] Anna Whitelock, '"Woman, Warrior, Queen?" Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth,* ed. by Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.174.

[80] In the classical tradition, Penthesilea was killed by Achilles but Heywood follows his medieval sources (*Recuyell* and John Lydgate's *Troy Book*) which drew off Dares Phrygius who reported that Penthesilea's death was at the hands of Achilles's son Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus.

for love of *Hector* to the field' (360). But, in *The exemplary lives*, Heywood explains that Penthesilea was a 'friend' to Hector and had love for 'the fame of *Hector*', suggesting that Heywood considered it not a romantic interest but a heroic one.[81] Given the contemporary preference for Trojans over Greeks, Penthesilea's motivation to come to Troy to avenge Hector casts her in a more sympathetic or admirable light – very much in contrast to the more typical conceptions of the Amazons.[82] However, while Penthesilea had been used to praise Elizabeth's martial bravery, it was far from a straightforwardly flattering depiction. Thus, in *The Iron Age II* Heywood's Amazon queen personates Elizabeth to enable a form of analogous critique in relation to lineage.

In the narrative of the play, Penthesilea comes to the aid of Hector, the most celebrated Trojan. Given that 'Troy is associated with ancestry and cultural transmission', Hector's presence on the stage clearly evokes the mythological bloodline that the Tudors had co-opted into their family legacy.[83] We might, then, note Pyrrhus' accusation, as Achilles' son, that the Amazons did not legitimately inherit their land:

PENTH. Scorn not proud *Pyrhus*
Our presence in the field; I tell thee Prince,
I am a Queene, the Queene of *Amazons*,
A warlike Nation disciplin'd in Armes.

PYRRHUS. Are you those Harlots famous through the world,
That have usurpt a Kingdome to your selves,
And pent your sweete hearts in a barren isle
Where your adulterate sportes are exercis'd.

PENTH. Curbe thy irregular tong: we are those women
That practise armes, by which we purchase fame.
[…]
if we have issue male,
Wee nurse them up, them send them to their Fathers.

[81] Heywoood, *The exemplary lives*, p.102. In *Gynaikeion*, Heywood acknowledges the Middle Age rendition of the story when he explains: 'shee [Penthesilea] that in the aid of *Priam* (or as some say, for the love of *Hector*) came to the siege of Troy' (p.222).
[82] Lisa Hopkins explains that 'Trojans are true and Greeks are duplicitous' and that Greece was associated with 'cuckoldry and broken bloodlines', while Britain had claimed ancestry from Troy. Hopkins, *Greeks and Trojans on the Early Modern Stage* (Boston: de Gruyter, 2020), pp.7, 6.
[83] Ibid, p.6.

If females, we then keepe them (360)

To Pyrrhus, the Amazons are harlots and usurpers. Penthesilea's first speech, though, ties her to Elizabeth as it echoes Tilbury ('I am a Queene, the Queene of Amazons'), and the exchange heightens the scene's relevance to the debates about lineage. This is significant in light of the plays' wider fascination with Elizabeth's mythic personas and the imaginative connections between her reproductive failures and the nation's political future. Moreover, Montrose explains: 'Amazonian mythology seems symbolically to embody and to control a collective anxiety about the power of the female not only to dominate or reject the male but to create and destroy him.'[84] When, however, in *The Iron Age II*, Heywood softens the Amazonian queen (she does not murder her sons, she sends them to their fathers) and makes no allusion to their 'disdain to marry' (a phrase he uses elsewhere), he presents them in a way that renders Elizabeth's failures as all the more negative – for even the barbarous Amazons can reproduce.[85]

The episode's critical response to Elizabeth is most extreme in Pyrrhus's act of regicide when he kills Penthesilea. After Pyrrhus and Penthesilea are '*both wounded*' (*SD*.361), the armies part them before Pyrrhus kills Paris and there is a retreat. When we next see Pyrrhus, he enters in victory and informs the Greeks: 'on my Launces point / Sits pearcht the *Amazonians* lopt off head, / Upon my warlike sword her bleeding arme' (368).[86] This is worth reflecting on. For here Heywood adapts accounts of Penthesilea's death from his sources: in *Recuyell* she was knocked from her horse and killed when Pyrrhus ripped her arm from her body; in Lydgate's *Troy Book* her death echoed Hector's, as she was surrounded by the Greeks and dismembered; only in Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) – which is not known to be one of Heywood's sources – is Penthesilea struck forcefully on the head when she is surrounded (as in Lydgate's account).[87] However,

[84] Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies"', p.66 (for Montrose's discussion on the Amazons, see pp.65-78). William Painter's 'Novel of the Amazones' in *The Palace of Pleasure* (1567) explains that the Amazons 'murdred certaine of their husbands' and that if they gave birth to males, 'they sent them to their fathers, and if by chaunce they kept any backe, they murdred them, or else brake their armes and legs in sutch wise as they had no power to beare weapons'. William Painter, *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (London: 1567; STC 19124), p.2.

[85] In his *Gynaikeion*, Heywood explains that the Amazons 'disdained to marry […] calling it rather a servitude than Wedlock' (p.220).

[86] Although not specified in the stage directions, it would have been possible for a head and arm to be attached to Pyrrhus's lance and sword as there are multiple entries in inventories from *Henslowe's Diary* for these body parts, see Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.318-9.

[87] In *Recuyell*, Caxton does note that 'her helme [was] broken' but recounts that it was when Pyrrhus delivered 'so grete a stroke wyth his swerde that he cutte her Arme of by the body'. Raoul Lefèvre, *The Recuyell of the*

Penthesilea's decapitation and Pyrrhus' parading of her body parts is purely Heywood's invention. It recalls the state punishment for high treason, with the guilty being hanged, drawn and quartered, and how the heads of traitors were placed on pikes along places like Tower Bridge.[88] Regardless of how far we can push the resemblance to England's Queen, the punishment for gynocentric agency could hardly be more brutally exacted and blatantly paraded. A strong, independent queen is disposed of as a treasonous enemy of the state. Like the rape of Calisto, these moments are fantasies of political subjugation of independent female characters.

The more literal patriarchal control of the female through marriage is another prominent way we see one of Heywood's huntresses being subjugated. Atalanta, for example, first appears in *The Golden Age* as Diana's most prominent virginal follower who inducts Calisto and Jupiter, and later exposes Calisto's pregnancy. In *The Brazen Age*, she then appears during the Calydonian Boar hunt where she is the first (amongst all the heroes) to injure to boar. Here, a fellow hunter, Meleager the Prince of Calydon, falls in love with and eventually marries her. In ancient mythology there were two figures named Atalanta but, in the Ages, Heywood follows the line of the Arcadian heroine who becomes one of Diana's virgins and was a skilled huntress.[89] In his *Gynaikeion*, though, Heywood conflates the two figures during the section on 'Amazons and warlike Women' and cannot resist a tongue-in-cheek comparison to Elizabeth, describing Atalanta as 'increasing in beautie as she did in yeares'.[90] Heywood then names Atalanta a 'virago', one who 'being growne to mature age, notwithstanding she was solicited by many suitors, tooke upon her the strict vowe of

---

Historyes of Troye, 2 vols., trans. by William Caxton, ed. by Oskar Sommer (London: David Nutt, 1894) II, p.649. For John Lydgate's account, see Lydgate, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, 2 vols., ed. by Henry Bergen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908) II, pp.690-691. For Christine de Pizan's brief account, see de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, ed. by and trans. by Rosalind Brown-Grant (London: Penguin, 1999), pp.45-6.

[88] Heywood's scene also brings to mind the death of another Amazonian figure: Spenser's Radigund, from Book V of *The Faerie Queene*. Like Penthesilea, Radigund also responds to concerns over gynocentric rule, and her death at the hands of Britomart – another figure for Elizabeth and who represents chastity – symbolises the reinstatement of patriarchal rule. Spenser writes of the 'crueltie of womenkind, / When they have shaken off the shamefast bind' that positions them in 'base humilitie' (5.5.25). Spenser, *Spenser: The Faerie Queene*, 2nd edn., ed. by A.C. Hamilton (New York: Routledge, 2013) [all quotes from *The Faerie Queene* are from this edition]. Radigund's similarity to Elizabeth is primarily her 'role as an unnatural woman', a theme which repeatedly surfaces in Heywood's treatment of huntresses throughout the Ages. Mary Villeponteaux, '"Not as women wonted be": Spenser's Amazon Queen', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker, (London: Duke University Press, 1998), p.212.

[89] The other Atalanta is the Boeotian who was an esteemed runner loved by Hippomenes. For more, see Ioannis Ziogas, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.156.

[90] Heywood, *Gynaikeion*, p.227.

Virginitie.'[91] In *The Brazen Age*, the rendering of Atalanta is also similar to Elizabeth's unique iconography through her androgyny, which is stressed in light of her participation in martial feats. And though we first witness her as Diana's obedient assistant, Atalanta does not remain faithful to Diana as she eventually marries Meleager, another event that highlights the goddess's fallible authority and the tempering of a chaste female.

When Atalanta arrives at the boar hunt she acknowledges that her participation may be problematic due to her gender; but, nonetheless, she defiantly asserts her position: 'Haile princes, let it not offend this troop, / That I a Princes[s] and *Atlanta* cald, / A virgin Huntresse, presse into the field' (189). Outside of Diana's realm, Atalanta is bold, independent and assertive, whilst being mindful of her gender perception within the male-dominated hunt. Therefore, her words can be read as another impersonation of the Tilbury speech, especially when they comically echo Elizabeth's vow to 'vent[ure]' and appear 'in the field'.[92] Upon Atalanta's arrival, Meleager is struck by her beauty and he strengthens the Tilbury allusion yet again when he adapts a line from *Metamorphoses* (VIII.321) and describes her as: '*Virgineam in puero, puerilem in virgine vultum. / Aspicio* (her features in a boy / You'd think a girl's and in a girl a boy's)' (189).

This obvious layering of Elizabeth's more positive reputation as a military leader builds up to yet another fantasy of her subjugation, this time through marriage. For though Meleager continues expressing his desire for Atalanta, she ultimately rejects his advances:

MELEAGER. Oh you Gods! or make her mine,
Stated with us the *Calidonian* Queene,
Or let this monstrous beast confound me quite,
And in his vast wombe bury all my fate.
Beauteous *Atlanta* welcome, grace her princes
For *Meleagers* honour.
[…]
Time and my bashfull love
Admits no courtship, Lady ranke with us.
Il'e be this day your guardian, and a shield

[91] Ibid. Heywood continues: 'and arming her selfe after the manner of *Diana,* solely devoted her selfe to hunting and the chace'.
[92] Elizabeth I, 'Queen Elizabeth's Armada Speech to the Troops at Tilbury, August 9, 1588', p.326. In the *Cabala* version (a 1623 letter from likely eyewitness Dr. Leonel Sharpe) it reads 'take up arms' instead of 'venter'. (see ibid n.6).

Betweene you and all danger.

ATALANTA. We are free,
And in the chace will our owne guardian be.
Shals to the field, my Javelin and these shafts,
Pointed with death, shall with the formost flye,
And by a womans hand the beast shall dye. (189)

Meleager labels Atalanta a queen and imagines her in state, wishing that he would possess her. The 'beast' may, of course, refer to the Calydonian Boar but the androgyny of 'his vast womb' shifts and extends the focus to Atalanta and her monstrous duality.[93] Nonetheless, Meleager makes his desire clear and it is further conveyed through the boar itself, as well as the phallic puns in Atlanta's rejection.[94] Meleager may try to allay his sexual desire through the chivalric offer to be Atalanta's 'guardian', a term that carries connotations of control and ownership. Elsewhere, Heywood proposes a similar notion when in *Troia Britanica* he recounts how 'to his nuptiall bed this Queene *constrain'd*.'[95] The oppressive potential of marriage was exactly the danger that Elizabeth, in the minds of many, had sought to avoid. Like Atalanta, Elizabeth had clearly valued her independence.

Within the scene, what we then observe is Meleager's pursuit of Atalanta in parallel to the boar hunt – and both allude to a fantasy of subjugating Elizabeth. For, according to Edward Berry, the aesthetics of the hunt scene in visual artforms inevitably evoked the poetic conventions of the love chase.[96] And because it was Diana who sent the beast, the hunting of the boar can be read as a conquest of chastity, mirrored through Meleager's conquest of Atalanta through marriage.[97] But Heywood also shows how marriage has neutralised Atalanta's monstrousness by transforming her into a wife and Queen. For after the hunt, when the boar has been defeated, Atalanta changes markedly from the confident, androgynous huntress loyal to Diana, to an essentially silenced, submissive wife. The final time Atalanta speaks in the hunt episode is after she is the first to strike the boar and she

[93] On possible interpretations of the boar, see Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, p.47; Karen Raber, 'The Tusked Hog: Richard III's Boarish Identity', in *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, ed. by Pia F. Cuneo (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), pp.191-208, especially pp.194-6.
[94] Raber explains that the boar's 'tusks have a particular importance. They are both phallic identifiers of its sexual excess, and instruments of its vicious temper' (p.196).
[95] *Troia Britanica*, p.46 (emphasis added).
[96] Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, p.33.
[97] Telamon, one of the hunters, calls the boar '*Diana's* wrath' (190) and Venus suspects it was Diana who 'sent this fielde to ruin love (193).

enthusiastically re-joins the chase; indeed, she never even agrees to Meleager's assertion that 'bright *Atalanta* […] wee'le make our Queene' (196). Atalanta's final appearance in the play is then in the following scene, when Meleager and Jason propose a toast to Hercules, in which she duly participates; and, shortly after, when Queen Althea fires the brand to kill Meleager, her son, Atalanta merely remarks 'My Lord' (199) and asks 'How cheeres the warlike Prince of *Calidon*?' (200). These restrained remarks are the opposite of Atalanta's assertive past. Atalanta's initial characterisation echoed Elizabeth's bold claim to virginity, her appearance at Tilbury or skill in hunting; but, by the end, she appears more akin to the motto *video et taceo*. Ultimately, her final appearances in the play enact what Elizabeth had aimed to avoid: taming at the hand of a husband.

The boar hunt also plays out an even less flattering representation of another of Elizabeth's mythical foils, in the form of Venus and her pursuit of the young hunter Adonis. Venus is overtly and desperately sexual and defies the expectations not only of her gender but her age too. Heywood conflates the myth of Adonis's death by the boar with the Calydonian Boar hunt; and, while doing so, parodies Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593) – a work which had influenced Heywood when he wrote *Oenone and Paris* (1594).[98] Despite the fact that Venus's inherent eroticism was problematic for the Virgin Queen persona, she was often a popular and prevalent political symbol for Elizabeth.[99] During a pageant at Norwich in 1578, for instance, the goddess even called Elizabeth '"an other VENUS"'.[100] And, in 1593, the soldier and pamphleteer William Reynolds explicitly aligned Shakespeare's Venus with Elizabeth in a letter to Lord Burghley.[101] In *The Arraignment of Paris*, George Peele abated the threat of Venus's eroticism by having Venus as a symbol for beauty which Elizabeth exceeded. But for Shakespeare and Heywood, Venus is a figure for the aging Elizabeth who loses her beauty, and she becomes a way to mock the Queen's marriage negotiations with the younger Duke of Anjou.[102]

To focus his topical allusion, Heywood follows Shakespeare in departing from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X) to have Adonis fervently reject Venus who desperately begs for his

[98] I discuss Venus's adultery at length in the next chapter, see pp.137-41.
[99] For more on Venus, see Catherine Belsey, 'The Myth of Venus in Early Modern Culture', *English Literary Renaissance*, 42.2 (2012), 179-202; Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism*, pp.130-153.
[100] Bernard Garter, '*The Joyfull Receyving of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie Into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.812.
[101] See Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Much Ado with Red and White: The Earliest Readers of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593)', *The Review of English Studies*, 44.176 (1993), 479-501 (especially pp.486-490).
[102] Hadfield explains that Shakespeare's Venus is 'spared few indignities in the representation of her aggressive wooing of Adonis' and is a critical 'figure of the ageing queen' (*Shakespeare and Republicanism*, p.131).

love.[103] The episode in *The Brazen Age* reproduces the dynamic between Venus and Adonis which highlights the realities that the Virgin Queen persona had tried to avoid. Before Atalanta, Meleager and the Greek heroes arrive, Heywood begins the hunt episode when Venus enters '*like a Huntresse, with* Adonis' (184). The moment echoes the goddess's appearance in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, when she wears a leopard-skin and, in an aside, admits 'now is the time for me to play my part' (1.1.182) – a moment which 'recalls Elizabeth's enthusiastic participation in dramatizations of her own iconography'.[104] *Dido* contained countless allusions and ruminations on Elizabeth, not only through the title character but Venus, too, who echoed a number of aspects of Elizabeth's life and representation.[105] Heywood's Venus even evokes Elizabeth in her opening words, when the goddess questions: 'Why doth *Adonis* flye the Queene of love?' (184), a title she repeatedly calls herself throughout the scene. Elizabeth was, of course, recognised as the Queen of love herself, through the figurative maternal and courtly love she had for her subjects.[106]

Venus imagines the means by which she could gain Adonis's affections, highlighting her divine power and her other love affairs:

> To be thus scarft the dreadfull God of warre
> Would give me conquered kingdomes: For a kisse
> (But halfe like this) I could command the Sunne
> Rise 'fore his houre, to bed before his time:
> And (being love-sicke) change his golden beames,
> And make his face pale, as his sister Moone.
> Come, let us tumble on this violet banke:
> Pre'thee be wanton; let us toy and play,

[103] In *Metamorphoses* (X), Adonis 'does not object to love on principle as Shakespeare's does.' Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.57.
[104] Christopher Marlowe, '*Dido, Queen of Carthage*', in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.1-68 [all quotes from *Dido* are from this edition]. Deanne Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', *ELH*, 73.1 (2006), 31-59 (p.45).
[105] Deanne Williams finds a number of similarities between Venus and Elizabeth in Marlowe's play. For example, in the opening, Venus interrupts Jupiter's frolicking and echoes how 'Elizabeth was often forced to interrupt […] courtly dalliances when duty called and to send her men, as Venus sends Mercury, off to the "disquiet seas" to look after her interests abroad' (ibid, p.44). Additionally, Marlowe's 'Venus recalls the queen [Dido] as a single girl, implying that by avoiding marriage, Elizabeth has remained forever young' (ibid).
[106] For my discussion of Elizabeth's maternal love, see pp.62-4. On courtly love, see pp.135-7.

Thy Icy fingers warme betweene my breasts;

Looke on me *Adon* with a stedfast eye (184)

Venus begins by comparing Adonis to her lover, Mars, who *is* interested in her affections.[107] The term 'scarfed' comically conveys Venus's desperation by conjuring the image of her hanging from Adonis's neck in a more suffocating than comforting manner. The Sun and Moon were, obviously, common planetary figurations of Elizabeth; but Venus wants to control what Elizabeth could not: time. When Venus suggests she will command the Sun, it alludes to how Elizabeth attempted to control the effects of time on her body by adopting planetary figurations that would mask her weakening state. The image of the Sun setting 'before his time' brings to mind the Queen's own pale face and looming mortality, which her own transformation into the Moon had tried to deny.

Venus's overt sexual requests are, though, met with scorn from Adonis; and they certainly defy expectations over women's chastity in the period. Her outbursts lead Adonis to chide Venus for her forwardness, telling her:

Madame, you are not modest: I affect

The unseene beauty that adornes the minde.

This loosenesse makes you fowle in *Adons* eye:

If you will tempt me, let me in your face

Reade blushfulnesse, and feare; a modest blush

Would make your cheeke seeme much more beautifull.

If you will whisper pleasure in mine eare,

Praise chastity, or with your lowd voice shrill

The tunes of hornes, and hunting; they please best:

Il'e to the chase, and leave you to the rest. (184-185)

Instead of pandering to Venus's desire, Adonis admires qualities which were expected of women and had constituted the Virgin Queen persona. Adonis's insistence that modesty

[107] For my discussion on the affair between Venus and Mars, see pp.137-41.

would increase Venus's beauty may even allude to how the Virgin Queen was supposed to compensate for Elizabeth's elderly appearance. In Shakespeare's poem, Venus criticises Adonis's admiration of chastity, which, in turn, condemned Elizabeth 'for failing to see that the consequences of her virginity are more serious that she can possibly have imagined.'[108] Heywood's Venus, on the other hand, does not criticize chastity but the consequences of Adonis's chastity, specifically his decision to defy her and his attempt to 'instruct the Queene of love in love' (185). Indeed, Venus highlights the repercussions of his resistance in terms relevant to the Virgin Queen: the power of her 'love' is too weak to ensure devotion and loyalty.

The image of an older 'Queene' so invested in a younger man – whom she calls a 'boy' (186) and admits is 'not a man' (185) – would, in particular, have reminded its audiences of Elizabeth's interest in Duke of Anjou, who was almost half her age.[109] Notably, these marriage negotiations 'heightened the limitations of Elizabeth's authority', as, in 1579, the council *did* instruct their Queen in love, when they 'were able to prevent her from marrying Anjou.'[110] The failure of the Anjou negotiations was just one example of lost loyalty and a challenge to Elizabeth's authority; those who opposed the match reinforced the fact that her love would remain in the hands of her country, and she would be a subject to their wills. When Venus mentions '*Cupids* arrowes' and questions how Adonis is 'so like him, and yet canst not love' (185), she evokes the pageant at the 1578 Norwich entertainments which saw Elizabeth receive Cupid's bow while she was praised for her chastity, in an attempt to convince her not to marry Anjou.[111]

Finally, when Venus accepts that she cannot have Adonis, Heywood presents us with another instance of comic sympathy for the plight of older mythic women (who in some way resemble Elizabeth):

---

[108] Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism,* p.132.

[109] Adonis's rejection of Venus may have also spoken to Shakespeare's patron, Sir Henry Wriothesley, who, at the time Shakespeare was writing the poem, was unenthusiastically subject to a marriage agreement with the older Lady Elizabeth Vere.

[110] Natalie Mears, 'Love-making and Diplomacy: Elizabeth I and the Anjou Marriage Negotiations, *c.*1578-1582', *History*, 86.284 (2001), 442-466 (p.453). Mears explains that the council argued 'two main points: that the privy council acted as the main engine for counsel and policy formulation and that its members were willing and able to impose their advice on the queen' (pp.453-4). Mears draws from Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'The Anjou Match and the Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy', in *The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield*, ed. by Peter Clark, A. G. R. Smith and Nicholas Tyacke (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp.59-75; and Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561—1581', *Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 257-74. However, Mears approaches the negotiations 'from a careful reconstruction of policy-making […] to reassess these arguments' (p.454).

[111] See Doran, 'Juno versus Diana', p.272; and Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth,* p.88.

Il'e frowne on him (alas! My brow's so smooth

It will not beare a wrinkle :) hye thee hence

Unto the chace, and leave me: but not yet,

Il'e sleepe this night upon *Endimions* banke,

On which the Swaine was courted by the Moone.

Dare not to come, thou art in our disgrace;

(Yet if thou come I can affoord thee place.) (185-6)

Her inability to frown is another nod to Elizabeth's notorious mask of youth – and we are invited here to imagine the young Duke's negotiation of his betrothed's public and more intimate appearances. Moreover, when Venus describes the story of Endymion, Heywood harks back to the story John Lyly dramatised for the Queen at Greenwich Palace in 1588.[112]

Lyly's *Endymion* was one of the first to popularise the lunar image of Elizabeth as Cynthia, following the story of Endymion who, because of his love for Cynthia, was charmed into a forty-year-long slumber by the jealous Tellus. Endymion was awoken by Cynthia's kiss, and then shocked to find himself an old man before his youth was restored to him by the Moon goddess. As well as praising Elizabeth, Lyly's play reflected on various aspects of court life, in particular, the continued (and increasingly ludicrous) eroticised relationship between the aged Queen and courtiers. Jacqueline Vanhoutte explores the courtly dynamic in *Endymion* in relation to the older male courtiers, and Heywood appears to draw Elizabeth into a similar line of critique when Venus echoes the behaviour of Endymion.[113] Similar to Venus, 'Endymion continues to play the lover long after the role has ceased to be appropriate, moreover, a behaviour that makes him the theatrical equivalent of mutton dressed as lamb.'[114] In Heywood's play, Venus envisages herself in this position when she declares that she will essentially follow in Endymion's footsteps. Given the 'common association of sleep to lust',

[112] Hackett explains that this text was 'published [in] 1591, but possibly written in 1585' (*Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, p.174).
[113] See Jacqueline Vanhoutte, *Age in Love: Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Court* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), pp.33-76. Vanhoutte explains that 'sexual desire was such a degrading experience for older men [and] the continued commitment of the queen's courtiers to the lover's role rekindled anxieties expressed earlier in the reign by John Knox' (p.35).
[114] Ibid, p.33.

when Venus says she will sleep, she submits to her desire for Adonis.[115] Ultimately, where he could have praised Elizabeth for resisting the negotiations, Heywood instead mocks her, pouring scorn upon the entire premise of the match.

III. Dark Side of the Moon: Proserpine's Arraignment in *The Silver Age*

While Heywood's huntresses recall some of the glorious moments of Elizabeth's reign, they also display characteristics that had made Elizabeth's identification as a huntress formidable. However, the representation of Elizabeth that most emphatically captured the dualism of praise and critique was her lunar figuration, which responded to both her virginity and mortality. Though Diana was goddess of the Moon, Heywood's engagement with lunar symbolism appears most prevalently in *The Silver Age*, during the story of Pluto's rape of Proserpine. With this narrative, Heywood brings the destruction of chastity onto the stage again and foregrounds Elizabeth's vulnerable position as she aged. Lunar symbolism bestowed upon Elizabeth 'qualities of radiance, ethereality, mysticism and other-worldliness' that transformed the Queen's image from a weakened old dame to Diana's double.[116] And the Moon became a symbol to 'celebrate the Queen's longevity, and even to profess belief in her immortality.'[117] During the 1591 Elvetham entertainments, the association of the Moon with water and the ocean was 'used to assert English claims to imperial power'.[118] However, the Moon has a dark side; and the dualism of light and dark in lunar figurations made the symbol a useful one for subversive commentary as well. Elizabeth herself drew on the lunar conceit in her poem 'The Doubt of Future Foes', published by George Puttenham in *The Art of English Poesy* in 1589. In the poem, probably written in response to the threat of a Catholic uprising against her accession, Elizabeth recognised how 'falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth ebb', drawing upon the lunar control of tides.[119] The conceit became a widespread trend in literature throughout the 1590s, in works such as Lyly's *Endymion, The Faerie Queene*, Raleigh's 'The Ocean to Cynthia' (1592?), Chapman's 'The Shadow of Night' (1594), and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595). Heywood contributes to the lunar

[115] Ibid, p.67.
[116] Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, p.176.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Elizabeth I, 'The Doubt of Future Foes', in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p.133.

trend during the end of Elizabeth's reign and uses Proserpine to draw this figuration into fantasies of rape and the conquest of chastity.

In the classical tradition, Proserpine (Persephone) was known as the beautiful virgin daughter of Ceres who, after being abducted, became Queen of Hades. After Proserpine's disappearance, a devastated Ceres searched for her daughter and threatened the Earth with famine if they were not reunited. The threat meant that Jupiter had to intervene and demand that his brother Pluto return Proserpine; but she had eaten six pomegranate seeds in Hades, which meant she could only return to the Earth for six months a year. Heywood follows the anonymous medieval *Ovid moralisé*, which interprets Proserpina's 'cyclical descent as the descent of the moon'.[120] This conception follows the belief that Diana was a tri-form goddess, who controlled the Moon as well as the realms of Earth and Hell which it passed through.[121] Along with this medieval tradition, Heywood draws elements from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (V) and Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae* (both of whom he directs his reader to in his *Gynaikeion*).[122] But in following *Ovid moralisé* and figuring Proserpine as the Moon, Heywood strays from the most popular rendition of the *Metamorphoses* in the period, Arthur Golding's 1567 translation, as Golding 'does not permit himself these absurdities' (i.e. of Proserpine literally metamorphosing into the Moon).[123] This deviation suggests that Heywood appropriated his sources to bring together lunar and death conceits within Proserpine's narrative.

Heywood begins the story in *The Silver Age* when Pluto comes to Earth's surface to survey the land for fissures to Hades; and, whilst doing so, he spies the beautiful Proserpine who is picking flowers. From her initial appearance, Proserpine is aligned with Elizabeth as she is already '*attired like the Moone*' (*SD*.133) and Ceres describes her as chaste after explaining that she is 'mother to this beauteous childe the Moone' (134). Given that Ceres is goddess of fertility and the harvest, the mother and daughter reflect the 'iconographic fusion of both virginity and fertility as positive necessities for good ruler-ship'; but they are soon

[120] John Kerr, 'The Underworld of Chaucer's *House of Fame*', in *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, ed. by Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p.192. Heywood's title page of *The Silver Age* makes the alignment clear: 'The Rape of PROSERPINE. / *CONCLUDING*, / With the Arraignement of the Moone' (81). For more on *Ovid moralise*, see Carla Lord, 'Three Manuscripts of the *Ovid moralisé*', *The Art Bulletin*, 57.2 (1975), 161-175.
[121] Chaucer includes this characterisation of Diana in his *Knight's Tale* and *House of Fame*.
[122] See Heywood, *Gynaikeion*, p.421.
[123] John Frederick Nims, 'Introduction: Ovid, Golding, and the Craft of Poetry', in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. by Arthur Golding, ed. by Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2000), p.xix). Nims points out that in *Ovid moralise*, the myth was an allegory for straying souls (Proserpine) and the Church (Ceres) searching for them (p.xx).

separated when Ceres leaves to celebrate with her followers and Proserpine remains behind to construct a garland.[124] In Ovid and Claudian, Proserpine is in a 'garden' where 'continuall spring is all the yeare there founde' and there is an abundance of flowers for her garland.[125] In contrast, Heywood's meadow does not provide ample flora, and Proserpine complains:

> Oh! may these medowes ever barren be,
> That yeeld of flowers of no more variety.
> Here neither is the white nor sanguine Rose,
> The Straw-berry flower, the Paunce nor Violet:
> Me thinks I have too poore a medow chose,
> Going to begge, I am with a begger met
> That wants as much as I: I should do ill
> To take from them that need. Here grow no more,
> Then serve thine owne despoiled breast to fill,
> The meades I rob, shall yeeld me greater store.
> Thy flowers thou canst not spare, thy bosome lend,
> On which to rest whil'st *Phoebus* doth transcend.
>
> *She lyes downe*. (135)

Proserpine is disappointed with the flowers available to her. Alone, she laments her poor choice of meadow and is woeful of its barrenness. The language of destitution here is the opposite of Ceres's 'plenty and increase' (134) celebrated by her followers – a fusion of opposites that resembles the mother/maiden personas that Elizabeth employed. And, as I discussed in the previous chapter, Heywood also juxtaposes Ceres's bounty against the reality of England's dearth throughout the 1590s.[126] We can, then, read Heywood's use of the term 'mead' as a pun, as it not only refers to an alcoholic drink but also 'something given in return for labour or service; wages' (*OED*, n.1). Proserpine's assertion that 'The meades I rob, shall

[124] William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (London: Routledge, 2005), p.115-6.
[125] Ovid, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. by Arthur Golding, ed. by Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2000), p.126. Proserpine is said to be 'taking hir pastime, / In gathering either Violets blew, or Lillies white as Lime, / And while of Maidently desire she fillde hir Maund and Lap' (ibid).
[126] For my discussion during Ceres's entry, see pp.87-9.

yield me greater store' (135) can be read as a topical allusion to the 'all-time low in real wages' during the end of Elizabeth's reign.[127] Meanwhile, the image of a beggar meeting a beggar may be a jibe at Elizabeth and her government who continued to increase taxation throughout the 1590s, despite the coinciding increased grain prices and decrease in wages.[128] The term 'rob' certainly evokes tensions towards these events and the notion that Elizabeth was taking advantage. In contrast, Proserpine is considerate for doing 'ill' to those in need and is cautious of plundering the already lacking meadow.

Alongside Proserpine's complaints about barrenness Heywood evokes floral symbols of Tudor iconography. When Proserpine imagines her garland will 'crowne my temples' and 'decke my browes' (134), she invites a politicised reading of the items. The white and red roses most obviously evoke the Tudor rose, a conflation of Lancaster and York, and a symbol of peace and unification. This clearly supports the reading of the barren meadow associated with Elizabeth. The 'violet' and 'paunce' are both purple flowers, the colour reserved for royal attire, while a 'paunce' was also used in the medieval period to describe 'a piece of armour […] protecting the lower part of the body' (*OED*, n.1); as Proserpine is unable to find one, it may stress her vulnerability.[129] Furthermore, the strawberry had often featured in Marian imagery and came to represent a variety of contradictory characteristics, including 'abundance, chastity, fertility, humility, modesty, purity and paradise but [also] sensuality and eroticism.'[130] A strawberry also appeared in an anonymous portrait of Elizabeth in *c*.1590 where it hangs from her stomacher to draw on its connotations of fertility and chastity – drawing the male gaze, much like Heywood's scene, to the lower bodily strata.[131] The symbol reflects the conflicting values of fertility and virginity that were at play in the Virgin Queen persona, and with Proserpine too. As well as the strawberry's political symbolism, Proserpine refers to despoiled breasts and the Earth's bosom; therefore, when she lies down it evokes the

[127] Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p.50.
[128] M.J. Power explains that the years 1594 to 1597 saw 'an unprecedented level of national taxation to pay for the war'. Power, 'London and the Control of the "Crisis" of the 1590s', *History*, 70 (1985), 371-385 (p.382). While Mihoko Suzuki points out that in the same years, 'flour prices in London nearly tripled'. Suzuki, 'The London Apprentice Riots of the 1590s and the Fiction of Thomas Deloney', *Criticism*, 38.2 (1996), 181-217 (p.181).
[129] The *OED* includes the spelling 'paunce' and 'pawnce' in entries for the term 'pansy' (n.1), which is explained as 'originally: heartsease, *Viola tricolor*'.
[130] Vivian Thomas and Nicki Faircloth, *Shakespeare's Plants and Gardens: A Dictionary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p.4. Strawberries can evoke the Kenilworth entertainments as they were recorded by Robert Langham as amongst the fruits cultivated in the gardens (Langham, p.279).
[131] Unknown, *Portrait of Elizabeth I of England*, *c*.1590, oil on panel, Jesus College, Oxford. For more detail on the Marian symbolism see Lawrence J. Ross, 'The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 7 (1960), 225-240 (pp.234-237). See also Elisabeth Woodhouse, 'The Symbolic Garden Created by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth, Warwickshire', *Garden History*, 36.1 (2008), 94-113.

same erotic connotations as when Venus imagines herself lying on Endymion's bank (as discussed above). Furthermore, the repeated references to cleavage potentially bring to mind instances when Elizabeth had reportedly revealed her cleavage as 'a kind of erotic provocation'.[132] However, the notion of 'despoiled' breasts could conjure the image of being forcefully stripped naked (*OED*, v.1) and foreshadow Proserpine's subjugation to Pluto's lust, as he enters the scene following this.

Upon seeing Proserpine, Pluto is struck by her beauty and asks her: 'What are you, beauteous Goddesse?' and she replies with 'Nothing. Oh!' (136), in yet another example of a female character aligned with Elizabeth using this word.[133] Pluto then abducts Proserpine from the meadow and takes her down to Hades. This clash between pastoral imagery and sexual assault is, moreover, reminiscent of entertainments like the Earl of Hertford's (Elvetham) of 1591, which included lots of lunar imagery and a provocative ravishment scene. The scene evoked a scandal of thirty years before when Hertford was found guilty of the rape of Lady Catherine Grey, an event still relevant decades on given its 'impact not only on the fate of one aristocratic family, but also on the succession and hence the course of the entire nation.'[134] The rape of a beautiful maiden also formed part of the Lady of the Lake narrative at Dudley's 1575 Kenilworth entertainments.

The Kenilworth entertainments foregrounded how Elizabeth did not always take kindly to pageantry with weak and helpless female protagonists. Like Proserpine, the Lady was a beautiful maiden who was snatched by a villain ('Sir Bruse sans Pitie') and she was, in the words of Susan Frye, 'in many ways a figure of Elizabeth's younger, imprisoned self.'[135] In George Gascoigne's account of Kenilworth, he reveals that the original show, which was supposed to feature Dudley defeating Sir Bruse in a glorious skirmish, had been altered.[136] Though he does not give a reason why, it is likely because Elizabeth censored the original show because her reading of the scene was coloured by the potential for political parallel, as it 'place[d] Dudley in the central heroic role usually occupied by the queen' and, as a result,

[132] Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies"', p.64. Montrose draws upon an instance reported by a French Ambassador in 1597.
[133] See pp.104-5 for my discussion of the term.
[134] Curt Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45.1 (1992), 20-48 (p.27).
[135] Frye, *Competition for Representation*, p.87.
[136] Gascoigne insists that: 'if it had been executed according to the first invention, it had been a gallant shewe'. Gascoigne, 'The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.308.

'present[ed] the necessity of a male response to threat'.[137] In response, Elizabeth had the show altered before it was performed so that she was the Lady of the Lake's saviour – an act that underlined the Queen's authority and independence, not to mention her aversion to being subjugated and victimised by men. With Proserpine's abduction, then, Heywood subversively recreates the type of scene that Elizabeth herself had actively censored.

As the Proserpine narrative continues, Heywood's allusions to Dudley and some of Elizabeth's lowest moments become more overt. After Ceres discovers her daughter's abduction she goes to seek help from Hercules; and Heywood interrupts the Proserpine narrative with a vignette dramatising the hero at the wedding feast of Pirithous and Hippodamia. Here Heywood adapts the story recounted in *Metamorphoses* (XII), where the Centaurs consumed too much wine and, intoxicated, attempted to rape Hippodamia. The event triggers the famous Centauromachy: the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths. However, Heywood minimises the severity of the myth by turning it into a comical '*confused*' drunken brawl, '*with stooles cups & bowles*' (*SD*.142). On the surface, the Centaurs could well allude to Dudley and his position as Master of Horse (one of Elizabeth's first actions as Queen was to appoint Dudley to the royal household position); additionally, the Greek word for horse is 'χιππο (hippo)', meaning Hippodamia herself yields another equestrian connotation and link to Dudley in the scene. Centaur imagery had, of course, featured prominently in another political play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (likely written a year or two before *The Silver Age*), which also glances at Elizabeth's sexual relationship with Dudley through allusions to the Kenilworth entertainments.[138] And similar to Heywood's interest in female subjugation, Shakespeare's play is fascinated by fantasies surrounding 'male control over woman' in ways that implicate and instance Elizabeth's governance over the patriarchal English system.[139]

Heywood's episode opens when the heroes and Centaurs are '*At a banquet*' (*SD*.141) and Hercules informs Hippodamia that he has brought the Erymanthian boar to the feast – in another instance of the defeated boar as a symbol for sexual conquest. It is not long before wine is poured in celebration and the guests share a toast, with Hippodamia's only line in the scene politely offering health to her guests. Soon, the Centaur Antimachus says of

[137] Frye, *Competition for Representation*, pp.78, 79. In addition, because it voiced Dudley's desire for real military action in the Low Countries, the show was also 'unacceptable to Elizabeth's foreign policy and her concomitant iconography of autonomy' (ibid, p.82). For more on Dudley's messages regarding Elizabeth's foreign policy, see ibid, pp.78-86.
[138] See Maurice Hunt, 'A Speculative Political Allegory in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Comparative Drama*, 34.4 (2000), 423-453.
[139] Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies"', p.65.

Hippodamia: 'Shee's faire indeed, I love her: wine and love / Adde fire to fire' (141), adding 'I have an appetite to kisse the bride, / I and I will' (142). In *Metamorphoses* (XII), it was the Centaur Eurytus who led the assault on Hippodamia and Antimachus was a minor figure in the myth – he featured only when he is killed by Caeneus, a Lapith hero who was transformed from a woman into a man by Neptune after he raped her.[140] Heywood may have been unable here to resist drawing attention to another punning name alongside Hippodamia, as 'machus' translates from Greek to the noun 'battle', and in the play, he is not at all 'anti-battle' but actually causes the whole conflict. Heywood's decision to transform Antimachus from someone suffering at the hands of a gender-blurred figure, to someone who attempts to assault a woman, speaks to Heywood's wider interest in dramatising the subjugation of women. And that preoccupation in this scene is clear, given that Hippodamia's role is completely muted in favour of the male heroes who attempt to defend her from a male centaur.

In the build up to the fray, and in response to being challenged for his intention to force himself on Hippodamia, Antimachus doubles down on his intention and provokes the ire of Hercules:

ANTIM. Ha, ha, have I from the fierce Lyon torne her whelp?
Brought from the forrests she-Beares in my armes?
And dandled them like infants? plaid with them,
And shall I not then dare to kisse the bride?

HERCULES. Audacious Centaur, do but touch her skirt,
Prophane that garment *Hymen* hath put on;
Or with thy hideous shape once neere her cheeke,
Il'e lay so huge a ponder on thy skull,
As if the basses of the heaven should shrinke,
And whelme ore thee the marble firmament. (142)

Heywood's Antimachus fulfils an odd role in the scene, as we have observed – he is marginal in Ovid's version, and seemingly preferred by Heywood because of the wordplay of his name. When he evokes the 'whelp' of a 'fierce Lyon' he not only pre-empts Hercules's response, but draws a parallel with the whelps of Henry VIII – Henry had, of course, been

[140] Heywood discusses Caeneus in *Gynaikeion* (pp.367-8).

described as a lion in his own reign and Elizabeth reportedly even described herself as a lion's cub.[141] This is immediately followed by his allusion to another victim of sexual assault, and to another of Elizabeth's personas, because Calisto was transformed into a bear by Juno, upon the discovery of her sexual liaison with Jupiter. The subsequent use of 'dandled' also echoes the opening moments of Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* when Jupiter is seated '*dandling* Ganimed *upon his knee*', a scene also evoked earlier during the toast when Hercules mentions 'the golden cup / *Jove* quaffes in from the hand of *Ganimed*' (141).[142] The paedophilic relationship between Jupiter and Ganymede is echoed by the bestial one between Antimachus and Hippodamia; and, moreover, both may recall rumours of the perverse relationship between Elizabeth and Thomas Seymour (husband to her step-mother) during Elizabeth's youth.[143] One rumour in particular stemmed from the account of Katherine Ashley, one of Elizabeth's servants, who recalled an instance when Seymour (with Catherine Parr) cut Elizabeth's dress to pieces in the Hanworth manor garden.[144] Heywood's references to garments may recall this rumour, especially Antimachus's boast that he would have 'torn' Hippodamia from Pirithous. In his riposte, Hercules even refers to the marriage union as Hymen's garment, evoking the god of marriage who was used by medieval and Christian poets particularly 'if they wanted to suggest a certain marriage was right, lawful and propitious.'[145] Such a marriage was a fantasy many wished Elizabeth would fulfil during her reign, and was the opposite of the illicit relationship with Seymour – whose intention to marry Elizabeth became one of the reasons for his execution as a traitor.[146]

Returning to Heywood's rendering of the Proserpine narrative, we see that after fighting the Centaurs, the heroes are victorious and Perithous is grateful that they have 'restor'd a virgin and a bride' (144). Soon afterwards, Hercules insists to Ceres that he will

[141] Sir Thomas More described Henry as a lion in 1532, an allegory that Shakespeare included in his *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry VIII* (*c.*1612); see David M. Head, '"If a Lion Knew His Own Strength": The Image of Henry VIII and His Historians', *International Social Science Review*, 72.3/4 (1997), 94-109 (especially pp.92, 98-9, 106). Elizabeth had reportedly remarked to the French Ambassador in 1574 that 'I am a lion's cub, and inherit many of his qualities'. Frederick Chamberlin, *The Wit and Wisdom of Queen Bess* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1925), p.61. For more on Elizabeth as a lioness, see Samantha N. Snively, '*As You Like It*'s Political, Critical Animal Allusions', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 58.2 (2018), 331-352.

[142] In *Dido*, Ganimede recalls to Jupiter 'when I fild into your cups', and then Jupiter says he will bind Juno 'hand and foote with golden cordes, / As once I did for harming *Hercules*' (1.1.5.13-15).

[143] On the affair and its impact on Elizabeth, see Sheila Cavanagh, 'The Bad Seed: Princess Elizabeth and the Seymour Incident', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker (London: Duke University Press, 1998), pp.9-29.

[144] See ibid, p.23.

[145] David H. Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), pp.175-6

[146] Cavanagh explains: 'an unsanctioned marriage or even private marital negotiations would be unacceptable, and in fact: were legally forbidden' (p.17).

rescue Proserpine too, asserting that he 'Will undertake what neither *Jupiter*, / *Neptune*, nor all the Gods dare make their taske' (145). Hercules' words to Ceres indicate that he will even encroach upon the power of deities, daring to do what they could not; and his boast echoes the bravado of courtiers that Elizabeth found so threatening to her representation of power. Whether or not this scene makes tangible reference to Dudley, the overreaching behaviour of Hercules (in the wake of the layered imagery pertaining to Elizabeth) certainly brings to mind the archetype of the ambitious courtier. Sheila Cavanagh explains how the Seymour incident had made evident to Elizabeth early in her life 'the overdetermined role played by narrative in the ongoing shaping of Elizabeth's existence and status'.[147] And the Queen's censoring of the Lady of the Lake pageant demonstrates Elizabeth's own concern for narratives of victimised, female characters reliant on men to save them.

Ultimately, though, Hercules fails to fulfil his promise to Ceres. After a spectacular pyrotechnic descent, he is unable to retrieve Proserpine because Rhadamant, a judge of Hades, asserts that she cannot return to the surface. In contrast to Hippodamia, Proserpine will not be saved from her abductor. Here we see Proserpine's fate delivered as a legal judgement in a courtroom made up of various gods and leaders of Hades. As per the myth, the decision is that Proserpine could not be released if she had consumed food in Hades, and the demon orchardist reveals he saw her 'chaw the moist graines / Of a Pomegranate' (162), an act 'commonly moralized as improper sex'.[148] The transgressive act seals Proserpine's fate: she can only surface for half the year to appease Ceres and stop her striking the Earth with famine, and for the other half of the year Proserpine is confined to Hades as Queen of Shades. The raped virgin is condemned to the underworld, while Hippodamia, who remained 'Pure and untouch't' (144), leaves the play in cheer after being saved. Though the fates of the two women differ, they both dramatise female subjugation, whether through rape or marriage. Hippodamia's marriage, though, saves her from the hellish fate of Proserpine who is more adjacent to the Virgin Queen given her lunar figuration. In the context of the plays' wider fixation on narratives which repeatedly indulge in the forced sexual and/or marital subjugation of royal female bodies, the allusions here to equestrian lust and patriarchal judgement does seem to chime with wider controversies of Elizabeth and her dalliances with (and resistance of) male control. This feeds into a general pattern within Heywood's Ages:

[147] Cavanagh, p.11.

[148] John Gillies, 'Shakespeare's Virginian Masque', *ELH*, 53.4 (1986), 673-707 (p.694). Gillies notes the presence of this aspect in George Sandys' commentary on the *Metamorphoses*. See Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in Figures*, ed. by Karl K. Hulley and Stanley T. Vandersall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp.256-7.

Elizabeth is a point of fascination, and her body and stature as queen are fetishized through fantasies of what might have been.

IV. Conclusion

By exploring the Virgin Queen in the Ages through its chief emblem, Diana, we find many allusions to political representations pertaining to Elizabeth. Elizabeth's attempts to gain loyalty and devotion are echoed through Diana who controls her followers' chastity. The song that greets the goddess takes the form of praise but contains subversive reflections and echoes rumours that challenged the Virgin Queen mythos – not least through the legacy of Elizabeth's many royal entertainments, and the ambiguous forms of meaning that they could generate. Heywood not only engages here with the Virgin Queen's mythical double, but also female figures who themselves echo (or align themselves with) Diana through their hunting prowess and/or chastity. Through these figures, Heywood responds to Elizabeth's martial persona that emerged in light of the Armada victory and required or encouraged her to exploit her more masculine body politic profile. Yet the commitment to chastity is depicted as a monstrous threat to patriarchal order; and, read so, criticises Elizabeth's own decisions rather than glorifying them. The duality of praise and critique is also evident in Heywood's treatment of lunar iconography, as it evokes glorifying symbols while also highlighting Elizabeth's barrenness and the vulnerability of her virginal representation. More often than not, however, Heywood tips the balance into outright misogyny, and situates these narratives within an overarching obsession with disarming, overpowering and silencing the unruly and chaste female figure.

In Heywood's treatment of both Elizabeth's maternal and virginal representations there are key responses to the life and legacy of the English queen. Both look towards two different ways in which Elizabeth's authority was represented during her reign, and the reality that this authority was challenging for the Queen to uphold because it was so often mocked by critics and writers like Heywood. In his exploration of both the maternal Elizabeth and the Virgin Queen, Heywood comments – albeit often obliquely – on her failure to secure a line of succession and her ageing natural body. The Virgin Queen mythos aimed to mitigate and mystify the fact Elizabeth had not produced an heir, as cultivating her maternal persona sought to ensure she appeared a devoted mother to her subjects (as evinced

in the previous chapter). Both figurations invited deflation as Heywood alludes to contemporary rumours that envisioned Elizabeth as sexually promiscuous and as an infanticidal murderess who fatally compromised the succession. The next chapter explores in more detail how sexual desire was embedded within political representation, focussing particularly on illicit and adulterous desire. The figurative love triangles of which Elizabeth was part not only unsettled the construction of the Virgin Queen persona but Elizabeth's authority as a whole, as the queen struggled to maintain the devotion and loyalty of her court.

4. Political Love Triangles: Decay of Queen, Court and Empire

Marital infidelity was foundational to the real and imagined legacies of the Tudors. Elizabethans were always grappling with the consequences of the Reformation, which few could deny was a product of royal adultery. Elizabeth's status as the daughter of this uncoupling of England from Rome – the event an origin of radical political change – forever stained her reputation. And because the Trojan origins-story of the English nation that was so readily embraced by the Tudors provided another instance of foundational adultery (between Paris and Helen), the political bedrock of English history and politics was etched with illicit desire prompting political consequences.

In-keeping with this heritage, contemporary political discussion was often shaped around the notion of an adulterous relationship imagined between Elizabeth, her subjects and her suitors and/or courtiers. The view of Elizabeth in adulterous affairs was heightened by the rhetoric of courtly love in which 'male courtiers adopted the role of lover who served the queen of their heart'.[1] However, this dynamic placed all involved at the risk of being cuckolded. Fears of cuckoldry were rife among early moderns for its obvious threats to masculinity, reputation, familial wealth and holdings, and, of course, patriarchal power and control.[2] Furthermore, metaphorical relationships also invited challenges to Elizabeth's authority, as courtiers could (and often did) become unfaithful lovers. Because of this, the Queen's surveillance of her court took secrecy, deceit and hidden alliances gravely seriously. Nonetheless, instances of adultery and secret marriages 'became more numerous later in her reign', suggesting 'that many nobles were willing to risk her displeasure' in these years.[3]

[1] Johanna Rickman, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (London: Routledge, 2008), p.4.

[2] Additionally, Alison Sinclair explains: 'being cuckolded left a husband weakened as it was believed that having lost 'his wife, he is presumed to have "lost" his potency.' Alison Sinclair, *The Deceived Husband: A Kleinian Approach to the Literature of Infidelity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.15. Furthermore, Elizabeth A. Foyster highlights that 'it was believed that if a man had no sexual control over his wife all other control was subsequently lost'. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.104. See also Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[3] Rickman, p.43. Rickman discusses numerous instances from later in Elizabeth's reign that involve male courtiers and Elizabeth's ladies, including the affair and subsequent secret marriage of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Anne Vavasour in 1580; the various affairs of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex throughout the 1590s,

Illicit sexual activity in and of itself was also a moral issue that could debase courtly bodies and reputations at large.[4] It was due to these dynamics that cuckoldry became 'the romanticized expression of the socio-political anxiety that underlay Elizabethan courtiership'.[5]

The Queen's peculiar centrality to sexual scandal meant that rumour and intrigue were thus heightened in the years in which Heywood seems to have written the Ages. Heywood was clearly interested in adultery, as it features prominently and often thematically in most of his major plays: *Edward IV* (1599), *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1607), and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608) all foreground illicit liaisons within the playwright's characteristic domestic settings. Heywood's focus on adultery in the Ages precedes these plays, and when it comes to mythology, Heywood includes relationships that held clear political analogues and consequences. Therefore, this chapter argues that where the Ages focus upon moments of infidelity, they do so with an eye to the scandals of the Elizabethan court and the reactions these provoked from the Queen. Through this, the plays reflect on the vexed present to also look ahead to potentially turbulent (and bleak) political futures, with especial concern for England's imperial ambitions and stability after Elizabeth's death.

What unites all of the narratives discussed in this chapter is the spectre of the perceived powerlessness of England's 'wife' and Queen, exposed through repeated deceptions at court throughout her final decades. This image of Elizabeth underlies each of the case studies I read here, beginning with the love affair between Venus and Mars, and how this narrative was used at court to express the conflicts between, and the wounded pride of, Elizabeth's rival factions. Phoebus' surveillance and exposure of the affair serves as an obvious parody of the Queen's scrutiny of courtly intrigues (which were theorised as erotic infidelities, whether they were or not), whilst the discovery of Venus (entangled in the net of her husband Vulcan) carries simultaneous subversive connotations for the shame of the Queen laid bare. This focus on surveillance informs the second section's reading of Juno's actions across the Ages plays to monitor and retaliate against her husband's indiscretions.

---

including his secret child with Elizabeth Southwell and affair with Elizabeth Stanley; Sir Walter Raleigh's secret marriage in 1592 to Elizabeth Throckmorton, with whom he had a child; Bridget Manners and Robert Tyrwith married without Elizabeth's permission in 1594, as did Frances Vavasour and Thomas Sherley; Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon secretly married in 1598 before the birth of their child. See Rickman, pp.27-68 (especially, pp.29-43).

[4] I follow Rickman's focus on 'illicit sex' as 'heterosexual extramarital sex', which includes 'sexual encounters taking place outside of marriage, including pre-marital sex.' Rickman, p.7, ibid n.20.

[5] Stephen Cohen, '"No Assembly but Horn-Beast": The Politics of Cuckoldry in Shakespeare's Romantic Comedies', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 4.2 (2004), 5-34 (p.12).

Goddess of marriage, Juno had often been connected to Elizabeth. In the Ages plays, though, Heywood focuses on Juno's inability to prevent her husband Jupiter from pursuing extra-marital liaisons, with the goddess's actions against Semele (mother of Bacchus) and Alcmena (mother of Hercules) holding sharpened satirical potential for a range of reasons. In particular, Elizabeth was known for her draconian punishments for men and women of the court, often over petty errancies, enacted with especial frequency in her later years. Thus, through Juno, Heywood repeatedly raises the image of an inadequate queen's futile attempts to maintain control. As discussed in previous chapters, Elizabeth's presence in (and relevance to) these scenes is often multi-layered; and, when the plays focus upon the narrative of Hercules, it is in a similar vein that the love triangle that surrounds the hero's death is afforded much attention. Elizabeth is invoked in relation to the hero himself but she also inhabits the characters of Deianeira (wife) and Omphale (lover). This concentrated focus on the death of Hercules is significant because of its import to wider Tudor legacies of empire and the Trojan inheritance. Hercules' death prefaces the destruction not only of Troy, but also of a deeper legacy of heroism. Thus where we see both forsaken wife and lover resemble Elizabeth, the play's account of Hercules' death (poisoned by his wife) also anticipates a fraught political future.

I. Three's a Crowd: Venus, Mars, Vulcan and Court Rivalry in *The Brazen Age*

The love triangle between Venus, her lover Mars, and husband Vulcan (the divine blacksmith), is an example of how adulterous narratives spoke to relations at Elizabeth's court. Venus was, of course, a popular political symbol for Elizabeth and evokes the mythical heritage of England: 'the mother of Aeneas and great- grandmother of Brutus, Venus is Elizabeth's legendary ancestor.'[6] But even before Elizabeth became Queen, Venus' adultery had been utilised in Tudor political settings: Henry VIII had seven tapestries made for Whitehall Palace (purchased in the 1540s) which had told the story of Venus and Mars from Vulcan's point of view, and contained inscriptions about love and betrayal, potentially reminding viewers of Henry's ruthlessness towards his adulterous wives (including, of course, Elizabeth's mother); and the myth had also featured in the masque *The Triumph of*

[6] Deanne Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', *ELH*, 73.1 (2006), 31-59 (p.44).

Venus and Mars, by Sir George Howard, at the Christmas 1552 festivities for Edward VI.[7] The narrative stems from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (IV, 167-213) and was expanded in Heywood's translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (1600), colloquially retitled to *Loves School*.[8] The story follows Venus's seduction of Mars and how the pair were caught in the act by Vulcan, who ensnared them within a net. As well as Ovid, Heywood also likely draws from Lucian's *Gallus* to develop the story of their capture, which comes after Mars's right-hand man fails to keep watch for any possible witnesses and the pair are spied by Phoebus, the sun god, who informs the cuckolded husband.[9]

In the last chapter, we saw how, in *The Brazen Age*, Heywood used Venus to mock the ageing Elizabeth and her virginal persona to underscore her waning political control. Later in the same play, Heywood returns to Venus and alludes to the voice of discontent that emerged during later years at Elizabeth's court. Throughout the episode, Heywood echoes Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex's poem, 'Muses no more but mazes be your names' (*c.*1590), in which Essex used the myth of Venus's affair in response to factionalism and favouritism; specifically, Elizabeth directing her attention towards his rival, Sir Walter Raleigh.[10] In the poem, Essex casts himself as 'a Mars who has been displaced by his own victim, the cuckolded Vulcan/Raleigh.'[11] When Heywood introduces the narrative in *The Brazen Age*, he foregrounds competition as Mars begins by mentioning his rivals for Venus's affection, Adonis and Anchises (Aeneas's father):

> MARS. I knew loves Queene could not be long unkind,
> Though (whil'st I absent, to teach Armes in *Thrace*)
> You tooke th'advantage to forget your *Mars*,

[7] This masque was 'one of the most elaborate' productions for the entertainment, which suggests the popularity of the myth. John Isaac Owen, *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), p.125.

[8] Heywood's translation 'proved immensely popular during the Restoration.' M. L. Stapleton, 'Introduction: "We English Thus": *Loues Schoole*, Thomas Heywood's Translation of the *Ars Amatoria*', in *Thomas Heywood's Art of Love: The First Complete English Translation of Ovid's Ars Amatoria*, ed. by Stapleton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p.20. The translation went through six editions from 1662 to 1684, though these were unattributed to Heywood (see ibid pp.20-1). For more on the dating of Heywood's translation see ibid, pp.16-20.

[9] On *Gallus*, see Patricia Dorval, '*Troia Britanica Canto V*, Notes (1609)', in *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Classical Mythology: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Yves Peyré (2009-), <http://www.shakmyth.org> [accessed 13 March 2019].

[10] The poem could have been written after Essex's secret marriage to Sir Philip Sidney's widow was revealed by Raleigh in 1590. On the dating, see Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.86-7.

[11] Cohen, p.12.

To doate on *Adon*, and *Anchises* too;
Yet (those worne out) let us renue our loves,
And practise our first amorous dalliance.

VENUS. How can I hate, that am the Queene of love?
Or practise ought against my native power?
As I one day, playd with my *Cupids* shafts,
The wanton with his arrow raz'd my skin.
Trust me, at first I did neglect the smart:
At length it rankled, and it grew unsound,
Till he that now lies wounded, cur'd my wound. (226)

The double allusion to love's queen is as clear an allusion to Elizabeth as we might hope to find, with her 'native power' drawing similar attention to the royal bloodline (and its controversies) as we have elsewhere in the Ages. Allusions to Essex's specific and infamous fall from favour can also be read when Mars recounts Venus's 'unkind' treatment of him, and how rivals replaced him when he was absent for the sake of 'Armes'. Essex had, of course, withdrawn from court in February and March 1597, movements which were believed to be 'deliberate ploys by Essex to pressure Elizabeth over the wardenship of the Cinque Ports and his plans for a new expedition against Spain.'[12] Moreover, Essex had damaged his standing with the Queen when he defied her instructions to refrain from participating in the Armada or travelling to Cadiz. But Essex's most spectacular loss of favour was his decision in 1599 to call a truce with the Earl of Tyrone during the Nine Years' War; but he blamed the Queen's hostility towards his actions on his rivals Cecil and Raleigh.[13]

The final line that refers to wounds on both parties also evokes the intensified tensions between Essex and Elizabeth over Ireland earlier in 1598. (That Heywood may have added the line to Venus's speech later is suggested by the fact that without it Mars and Venus's words would have been mirrored, each speaking six lines with no rhyme.) Infuriated by Essex's bravado, Elizabeth had reportedly struck him around the head after he insolently turned his back to her, prompting the Earl to draw his sword – an event which had permanently wounded the Queen's trust of her once favourite. Furthermore, when Venus explains 'he that now lies wounded, cur'd my wound' she creates confusion between which

[12] Hammer, p.379. On Essex's attendance at court, see Hammer, pp.121-123.
[13] See James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (Harlow: Faber & Faber, 2005) pp.43-57.

of her lovers is referred to, mirroring 'the mutual paranoia of Raleigh and Essex and the reversibility of Essex's cuckoldry tropes.'[14] Raleigh had reason to be paranoid, given that his secret marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton in 1591 resulted in his imprisonment in the Tower; and, even after he was allowed to return to court in 1597, he 'was never fully able to regain the same high standing in Elizabeth's favor that he enjoyed before.'[15] Nonetheless, Heywood likely refers to paranoia focused among rival courtiers – and Venus's use of the term 'cur' could allude to Robert Dudley who she had described as 'my little dog' who she 'cannot do without.'[16] After all, Dudley was significantly the archetypal exemplar of Elizabeth's personal and political favour.

Soon after they meet, the lovers sneak off to a cave after Mars instructs Gallus to keep watch in case the Sun rises and exposes them. It does not take Gallus long to fall asleep and he fails to wake the pair before Phoebus '*spies Mars & Venus*' (*SD*.229). Phoebus' surveillance is highlighted several times and the audience are repeatedly reminded that '*the Sunne, /* […] *sees all things*' (226).[17] The Sun was, of course, another 'favourite image for Elizabeth' and a 'traditional image of monarchy.'[18] The Rainbow Portrait, for example, draws on the motif in the inscription, '*Non sine sole iris* (No rainbow without the sun)', and it depicts Elizabeth in a dress decorated with eyes and ears that 'echo the watchful gaze of the Queen' who 'watches and listens vigilantly.'[19] As this portrait was 'profoundly intertwined with the ideology of absolutist self-representation and self-affirmation', its allusion to Elizabeth's surveillance suggests such an act was an integral part of her representation.[20] However, the number of illicit relations, births and marriages that still happened at court prove this to be a fiction and a reality beyond Elizabeth's power to alter. Following the birth of the Earl of Oxford's illegitimate child in 1581, to prevent Elizabeth becoming 'greatly grieved' once again by similar occurrences, Sir Francis Walsingham had hoped for 'some

[14] Cohen, p.12.
[15] Rickman, p.33.
[16] Quoted in: Anka Muhlstein, *Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart: The Perils of Marriage* (London: Haus Publishing, 2007), p.103.
[17] Vulcan admits Phoebus 'seest all things in the world are done, / Men act by day-light, or the sight of Sunne' (233); and Phoebus rhetorically asks 'what see not I? (234). Phoebus admits he will expose the affair and inform Vulcan: 'By my light hee shall; I have seene, and I will tell, / The Sunne hates sinne but crownes them that do well' (230).
[18] Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p.81. See also pp.81-2.
[19] Daniel Fischlin, 'Political Allegory, Absolutist Ideology, and the "Rainbow Portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.1 (1997), 175-206 (pp.182, 183). Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (*attrib.*), *Elizabeth I, c.*1600-03, oil on canvas, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Fischlin finds a similar message in the 1579 Sieve Portrait inscription: '"Tutto vedo e molto mancha" [I see all and much is lacking]' (p.183). George Gower, *Plimpton Seive Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, 1579, oil on wood, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.
[20] Fischlin, p.205

order to be taken' but no measures appear to have been imposed.[21] Despite Heywood reproducing images designed to bolster and exaggerate representations of Elizabeth's authority, these moments underscore her failings to live up to her own lofty iconography.

Such failure left Elizabeth akin to the humiliated Venus who, alongside Mars, is captured in a net by Vulcan who then parades the lovers to the gods of Olympus. Outraged by her humiliation, Venus admits that she could 'cry for anger' and Juno reports she 'weeps for rage' (237). Affairs had, obviously, caused embarrassment for Elizabeth, as they tarnished the virginal image of her inner circle of ladies and revealed deceit and disobedience at court. Furthermore, while Essex had figured Elizabeth as the inconstant Venus, he himself was involved in various affairs throughout the 1590s – even after he had already angered the Queen by secretly marrying Frances Walsingham, the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, some time before 1590 when they could no longer hide Frances's pregnancy.[22] But Venus was not only mocked for being an adulteress: we have seen how she became subject to ridicule for her interest in the younger Adonis by writers in the period, and when Heywood introduces the narrative, he reminds the audience of Venus's encounter with Adonis when Mars names his rivals. Venus's humiliation here in the play due to Phoebus's intrusive and revealing gaze, may again echo how Elizabeth was mocked for gazing upon younger men like Anjou, or even Essex. Elizabeth could not successfully maintain a watchful eye on her court and her own wandering eye only compounded the embarrassment she increasingly faced as she aged, and when the rhetoric of courtly love became more ridiculous and untenable.

II. Secrecy, Surveillance and the Meddling Queen in *The Silver Age*

In attempts to prevent embarrassment caused by sex scandals at court, Elizabeth often intervened in the love-lives of her ladies-in-waiting. As late as 1602, Elizabeth's godson, Sir John Harington, recounted an instance when one of Elizabeth's maids of honour had admitted that she desired to marry, in accordance with her father's consent. The maid provoked a harsh reaction from Elizabeth, who condemned her '"foolishnesse"' and vowed: '"thou shalte […] but not to be a foole and marrye. I have his [her father's] consente given to me, and I vow

[21] Sir Francis Walsingham to the earl of Huntingdon, cited in Rickman, p.37.
[22] During this marriage, Essex would go on to have an illegitimate son in 1591 with the Queen's maid of honour, Elizabeth Southwell, and then an affair with Elizabeth Stanley in 1596-7.

thou shalte never get it into thy possession'.[23] The spitefulness with which Elizabeth is characterised in this account had been similarly discussed by Robert Dudley, in a letter he wrote to Lord Burghley after Dudley married Lettice Knollys in 1579. He recounts hearing that Elizabeth harnessed 'bitterness' and had 'grown into a very strange humour' towards him.[24] No one at court was spared what appeared to be the Virgin Queen's malice towards sex and marriage.

That she never married undoubtedly contributed to Elizabeth's attitude towards others' love lives at court. Ladies-in-waiting played their part in the Queen's virginal image, while male courtiers were figured as devotees of Elizabeth. Illicit sex on either part would, surely, harm the Queen's authoritative image, calling into question her virginity or her courtiers' devotion. Elizabeth's stern and defensive reactions to illicit sex were clear in her ruthless punishment of perpetrators. For example, when figures such as Anne Vavasour, lady of the bedchamber, or for that matter Sir Walter Raleigh, conducted affairs, they provoked harsh reactions – both were imprisoned in the Tower for their respective affairs in 1581 and 1592, with Anne never to return to court again. That imprisonments like these were '"during the queen's pleasure" […] meant that Elizabeth rather arbitrarily decided how long [perpetrators] would remain incarcerated, without following any particular legal procedure'.[25] Elizabeth's reactions, then, were active, personal, and unpredictable, which made extra-marital mis-steps at her court all the more perilous.

Given the frequency of Elizabeth allusions elsewhere in the Ages series, such dynamics invite a reading of Heywood's malevolent Juno in *The Silver* and *The Brazen Age* as a parody of Elizabeth's angry and vindictive responses to promiscuous courtiers. Elizabeth had been associated with Juno in art and performance throughout her reign, often through the Judgement of Paris motif wherein Elizabeth trumps the goddess who represented majesty and power.[26] In John Lyly's poem in praise of Elizabeth, 'Jovis Elizabeth' (1580), Jupiter himself

[23] Harington, 'Letter to Robert Markham', in *The Letters and epigrams of Sir John Harington: Together with The Prayse of Private Life*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), p.124. For more on the event, especially in relation to Elizabeth's cult of virginity, see Louis A. Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', *Representations*, 2 (1983), 61-94 (pp.78-80).

[24] Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.146.

[25] Rickman, p.29.

[26] The myth, with Juno, features in two paintings of Elizabeth: Hans Eworth, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569, oil on panel, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle; and Isaac Oliver (*attrib.*), *Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses*, *c.* 1590, watercolour and bodycolour on vellum, National Portrait Gallery, London. For more on these portraits, see Helen Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (2014), 234-256. The myth also features in: George Peele's

even declares: 'This nymph is Juno'.[27] However, Juno's appearances often had a subversive potential: she could be used to connect Elizabeth to her adulterous heritage, not least because the Judgement of Paris had featured in Anne Boleyn's coronation procession pageant in 1533; also Juno had often been used to urge Elizabeth to marry, thus challenging her autonomy.[28] In the Ages, Heywood maintains the association between Juno and marriage as it forms the basis of her character: her first speaking part is when she agrees to marry Jupiter in *The Golden Age* (51), and following this, throughout *The Silver Age* she is a furious wife seeking revenge on her adulterous husband and his mistresses.

In comparison to other figures like Vesta or Calisto, Juno was a frequently politicised figure in many late Elizabethan texts. And, given that the audience seem to have been primed to look for Elizabeth in the Ages plays' main narratives, why wouldn't they see her in the shrewish and jealous queen Juno? Before the audience are even properly introduced to Juno, Heywood alludes to Elizabeth through her: when Saturn laments the deaths of his sons he reflects that he 'is a King of *nothing* else, / But woes, vexations, sorrowes, and laments' (38, my emphasis). The term 'nothing' is – as we have seen elsewhere – connected to Elizabeth, and Saturn echoes Henry VIII who, of course, cursed his lack of sons, which may also make 'nothing' an allusion to the fact that Henry VIII declared Elizabeth a bastard.

Once Juno and Jupiter are married, it is not long before Jupiter begins several affairs, and Heywood dramatises those with Calisto, Danae, Alcmena, and the princess Semele. But it is only after Calisto and Danae, and during *The Silver Age*, that Juno becomes crazed with vengeance. Juno's final victim, Semele, suffers the most after she falls for Juno's schemes. Having learnt of her husband's affair, Juno decides to trick Semele into doubting Jupiter's true identity (for until this point she had only seen him in disguise). In disguise herself, Juno suggests to Semele that she request a sexual encounter with Jupiter in his true divine form, knowing this would kill her as Semele's mortal body is too weak to behold his divinity. Having played into Juno's hands, Semele perishes in a great fiery spectacle, while her unborn, illegitimate child, Bacchus, is saved by his father Jupiter. Semele's lustful persona stems from Fulgentius' *Mythologies* (II.12), in which she was a mortal Theban woman and

---

court drama *The Araygnement of Paris* (1584) which was performed before Elizabeth, Gabriel Harvey's collection of Latin verses, *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1578), which has Elizbeth as the subject of the second book; and in verses for Elizabeth's Norwich progress in 1578, Juno is used to celebrate providence.

[27] John Lyly, 'Iovis Elizabeth', in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England*, trans. and ed. by Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.343.

[28] For more on Anne's influence on Elizabeth's representation, see Hackett, 'Anne Boleyn's Legacy to Elizabeth I: Neoclassicism and the Iconography of Protestant Queenship', in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. by Anna Riehl Bertolet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.157-180.

one of the four followers of Bacchus (who were allegorical figures for the stages of intoxication: Semele was lust and the other three were excess, forgetfulness and madness).[29] Heywood's rendering of the episode also combines elements of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as Euripides's *Bacchae*.[30] The *Bacchae* follows an adult Bacchus/Dionysus, who opens the play with a speech that highlights illegitimacy and scepticism surrounding his conception and parentage.[31] It is possible that such a topic attracted Heywood for its relevance to the scepticism over Elizabeth's own parentage, and the taint of bastardy that always shadowed her.

Equally significant is the fact that Juno's schemes had also featured in *The Faerie Queene* when Britomart views Busirane's tapestries, which include a panel that depicts 'the *Thebane Semelee* / Deceivd of gealous *Iuno*' who 'with death bought her desire' (3.11.33). Busirane's tapestries, adorning the walls of his hall, depict Jupiter's various disguised seductions of mortal women including Alcmena (Hercules's mother), Leda (Helen of Troy's mother) and Danae – the latter two explicitly mentioned by Heywood's Semele when she recalls how she is now 'ranck't in equipage / With *Danae, Io, Leda*, and the rest' (148). With these deceptive encounters, the Hall of Busirane certainly resembles Henry VIII's Whitehall Palace tapestries that featured the adulterous affair between Venus and Mars. Furthermore, Rebecca Olson points out that Spenser's tapestries intended to 'resemble those used by Elizabeth to verify and extend her perceived power', and that they simultaneously remind readers of 'literary tapestries that were woven with the express purpose of contesting, rather

[29] See David H. Brumble, *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), p.46. Richard Rowland demonstrates Heywood's use of Fulgentius's *Mythologies* when he paraphrases the Latin author in *Loves Mistris, or The Queens Masque* (1636) (see Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre, 1599-1639: Locations, Translations, and Conflict* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), p.249). Robert Grant Martin also identifies Heywood's other uses of Fulgentius, see 'A Critical Study of Thomas Heywood's *Gynaikeion*', *Studies in Philology*, 20.2 (1923), 160-83 (p.169).

[30] Little has been written about the early modern reception of the *Bacchae* but Euripides' other plays such as *Andromache, Troades Medea, Orestes* were popular in the period, conveying a contemporary interest in female protagonists. To see the variety of Euripides' texts that were circulating throughout the period, see the Appendices tables in Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); for editions of plays in Greek, pp.232-241; in Latin pp.242-259; vernacular translations, pp.260-269; plays based on Greek authors: pp.270-277; and for extant Greek plays, pp.286-287.

[31] Bacchus announces:

> Because my mother's sisters
> […]
> claimed that I was *not* the son of Zeus,
> that Semele's lover was mortal,
> that my god-like birth was a trick
> thought up by Cadmus to save his daughter's name

Euripides, *Bacchae*, trans. and ed. by Robin Robertson, (London: Penguin, 2014), p.6 (emphasis in original).

than promoting, authority.'[32] Busirane's tapestries function, then, as allusions to deceitful and counterfeit courtly dynamics, particularly those involving love triangles and illicit relationships (involving or affecting the monarch). This is significant because Heywood taps into those same connotations throughout this episode, when he dramatises acts that Elizabeth perceived as affronts to her power and mocks her desperate attempts at preventing them.

The audience first see Semele during a dumbshow that Homer explains was in the '*groves'* before the stage directions: '*Enter* Semele *like a huntresse, with her traine*, Jupiter *like a wood-man in greene: he woes her, and winnes her*' (*SD*.146). Although the setting and her costume emulate Diana and her realm, Semele is very different to Heywood's other huntresses as she is emphatically sexualised and – reversing what we have seen elsewhere – she actively pursues her love interest. After a brief scene that reveals that Iris has tracked Jupiter down and can inform Juno of his adultery, Semele enters and recounts with glee an encounter she had with Jupiter, and that she now believes she is pregnant by him:

> Oh *Jupiter*! thy love makes me immortall,
> The high Cadmeian is in my grace,
> To that great God exalted, and my issue,
> When it takes life, shall be the seed of Gods;
> And I shall now be ranck't in equipage
> With *Danae, Io, Leda,* and the rest,
> That in his amours pleas'd the thunderer best.
> Me-thinkes since his imbraces fil'd my wombe,
> There is no earth in me, I am all divine (147-8)

Because of her resemblance to Diana, Semele's hopes of pregnancy and immortality could certainly be read as a gross parody of the lost hopes of a Tudor successor. When pregnant Semele is then described with glorifying terms like 'grace', 'exalted' and 'divine', the parody points to virtues attached incessantly to the monarch in royal panegyric, but perhaps (in light of the pregnancy) to more satirical effect. Semele denies her natural body and insists that she

[32] Olson, *Arras Hanging: The Textile that Determined Early Modern Literature and Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013), p.28.

is divine, as her pregnancy will – *un*like Elizabeth's body politic – allow her to live on through her progeny. (Jupiter had posed a similar argument to Calisto during his attempts to seduce her, when he encourages her to 'make your beauty live when you be dead' (26)). When Semele suggests the benefits that offspring can bring to a parent and commonwealth, her words can be read as a critical glance to Elizabeth. However, Semele fails to address the fact that that Jupiter's 'love' is adulterous and their 'issue' is illegitimate; she embodies the very threat to order at court that Elizabeth struggled to maintain.

While Semele's costume draws attention to her promiscuity through her contrasts to other huntresses in the pentalogy, Juno and Jupiter's costumes are also evocative. Juno soon enters the scene to exact her revenge '*in the shape of old Beroe*' (*SD*.148), Semele's nurse, which also evokes Elizabeth given she had, after all, been figured a nurse, too.[33] Juno sows the seeds of doubt by questioning the identity of Jupiter. She points out that had Semele been pregnant with a divinity, she would not have been 'sometimes ill' and 'subject to every imperfection still'; instead, Juno insists: 'strength, power, health, and joy, / The least of these could not your state annoy' (149). Of course, Elizabeth and her state perceived the attributes listed by Juno to be under threat towards the end of her reign. Juno also ironically reminded Semele that:

> Madame, there many fowle imposters be,
> That blinde the world with their inchastity:
> And in the name of Gods, being scarce good men,
> Juggle with Ladies, and corrupt their honors.
> Think you yon stripling that goes clad in greene,
> Is *Jupiter*? (148)

The words call to mind the womanising of male courtiers like Essex or Dudley and the effects it had on their (and their Queen's) image that Elizabeth had found so troubling. Meanwhile, the emphasis on blindness and deceit mocks the image of Elizabeth as the all-seeing Phoebus as per the Venus and Mars episode. But Juno's words are also provocative through their emphasis on Jupiter's costume.

[33] On the nurse figure, see p.71. Beroe is also an old woman in Virgil's *Aeneid* (V.620).

Heywood detailed Jupiter's green costume in the stage directions that open the episode and Juno's emphasis here attests to the costume's significance. Later, when Semele's attendants prepare her bed, they too describe Jupiter as 'the youth in green' (153). However, the stage directions also describe Jupiter '*like a wood-man*' (*SD*.146, 150), as does Iris when she tracks him down. A wood man is a hunter who occupies the forest but given Jupiter's eroticised role in this episode, Heywood may also be incorporating the medieval folklore figure of the wild man (or *wodewose*, or green man), who was associated with instinctual desire and lust.[34] Significantly, both the wood man and green man were conflated with Robin Hood through their shared appearance in aristocratic entertainments and performance.[35] Therefore, it is possible that Jupiter's disguise reminded the audience of Robin Hood, who had been particularly popular on stage during the 1590s, and who – *Henslowe's Diary* confirms – had also been costumed in green, and, indeed, had been since the medieval period.[36] These popular appearances of Robin Hood have been noted for their political interests in the succession, particularly the concern over governance and inheritance bound up with James VI/I.[37]

As well as the popular stage, Robin Hood had a history of featuring in aristocratic May Day entertainments as the Lord of May – a favourite role that Henry VIII himself had played.[38] For Heywood, though, the image of Robin Hood could have brought to mind Robert Dudley. Aside from the fact Elizabeth's pet name for Dudley was 'Robin', Heywood was likely aware of Sir Phillip Sidney's *The Lady of May*, a masque penned in 1574 to be performed before the Queen at Wanstead.[39] The masque was 'as much propaganda as

[34] See Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.95-6.
[35] Lorraine Kochanske Stock, 'Lords of the Wildwood: The Wild Man, the Green Man, and Robin Hood', in *Robin Hood in Popular Culture: Violence, Transgression, and Justice*, ed. by Thomas Hahn (Cambridge: D.S.Brewer, 2000), p.248.
[36] See Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.317. Alan C. Dessen points out that such green costumes were used interchangeably in the period, see Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.32-3. A.J. Pollard highlights that the description was present in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Pollard, *Imagining Robin Hood: The Late-medieval Stories in Historical Context* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.48. On the notoriety of Robin Hood's appearance in print and performance, see John Marshall, 'Picturing Robin Hood in Early Print and Performance: 1500-1590', in in *Images of Robin Hood: Medieval to Modern*, ed. by Lois Potter and Joshua Calhoun (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp.60-81.
[37] See Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), pp.57-74.
[38] Marie Axton, 'The Tudor mask and Elizabethan court drama', in *English Drama: Forms and Development*, ed. by Axton and Raymond Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp.25-6.
[39] The masque was published in 1598 alongside the *Arcadia*.

pageant', with the character Therion, a forester, 'intended as a persona for Leicester'.[40] Arthur F. Kinney explains how the 'implicit link' between Dudley and Robin Hood allowed Sidney to use his masque to 'defend his uncle [Dudley] as a suitor' and 'promote himself', too.[41] Rather than reinstating the political messages of Sidney's show, Heywood takes a more satirical approach, with the episode's ongoing dramatic irony demonstrating how comedy was often 'perceived as the essence of the contemporary Robin Hood'.[42] In particular, Heywood's episode may be intended to mock Dudley's scandalous past that included an illegitimate son with Douglas Sheffield in 1574, and many rumours of illegitimate offspring with the Queen herself.

Semele brings Dudley to mind again when she confronts Jupiter and questions his divinity. She begins by asking whether she really 'behold[s] such Majesty' (150) before leading her verbal attack:

> Thou bed with *Juno*?
>
> Base groome, thou art no better then thou seem'st,
>
> And thy impostures have deceived a Princesse
>
> Greater then ere descended from thy line.
>
> Hence from my sight thou earth, that hast profan'd
>
> The dreadfull thunderers name: what see I in thee
>
> More then a man, to prove thy selfe a God?
>
> Thou deifi'd? thy presence groome is poore,
>
> Thy 'haviour sleight, thy courtship triviall,
>
> Thou hast not a good face, what's in thee worth
>
> The favour and the grace of *Semele*?
>
> A God? alasse! thou art scarce a proper man. [sic] (151)

[40] Kinney, '*The Lady of May*: Sir Philip Sidney', in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*, ed. by Kinney (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p.135. Edward Berry, 'Sidney's May Game for the Queen', *Modern* Philology, 86.3 (1989), 252–64 (p.256). Berry explains that it was because of 'Therion's connections with Robin Hood' that he was a figure for Dudley.
[41] Kinney, pp.135, 136.
[42] Helen Phillips '"Merry" and "Greenwood": A History of Some Meanings', in *Images of Robin Hood: Medieval to Modern*, ed. by Lois Potter and Joshua Calhoun (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p.89.

When Semele calls Jupiter a 'base groome' and insists she is greater than his 'line', Heywood strengthens the connection to Dudley, given that his nobility was largely bestowed upon him by Elizabeth. That Semele describes their courtship as 'trivial' may also allude to the rumoured relationship between Elizabeth and Dudley, and how despite the gossip about their sexual behaviour, and proposals from Dudley, nothing official had ever come from the relationship. And though Elizabeth had refused to marry Dudley, she still responded negatively to his secret marriage to Lettice Knollys – an attitude present when Semele describes Jupiter's behaviour as 'sleight', and 'impostures' that have 'deceived' her. Elizabeth herself was deceived by many courtiers during the final decades of her reign, despite attempts to establish her image as an all-seeing authority. When Semele instructs Jupiter to leave her sight, she even echoes Elizabeth's own reaction when she had banned Dudley and his new wife, Lettice, from court, with Lettice never allowed to return.

Juno's plan comes together in the finale of the episode, after Jupiter reluctantly agrees to give Semele the 'boon' she wanted and prove himself to her. We see Semele '*drawne out in her bed*' (*SD.*154) to await Jupiter in his divine form. (Beds, of course, played an important role in 'major rites of passage' such as 'marriage, birth, and death,' all issues central to succession concerns that Heywood alludes to throughout the Ages.[43]) Soon after 'Jupiter *descends in his majesty, his Thunderbolt burning*' (*SD.*154), he '*toucheth the bed it fires, and all flyes up*' (*SD.*155) and Semele in her bed is burnt to cinders. The moment echoes the end of Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, when the queen – another woman who dies following their intense desire – commits suicide by placing herself in a fire. In her final moments, Dido imagines herself as 'ashes' and 'cinders' (5.1.301, 306); Jupiter similarly describes the incinerated Semele as 'Nothing but ashes now', and his comment that the 'earth [is] in barrennesse' (155) may also respond to Elizabeth's earthly, childless body. More specifically, the event could even evoke rumours that saw Elizabeth's illegitimate children thrown into fires and symbolised how the Queen 'had destroyed [and] literally burnt up, her succession.'[44] As Semele meets her grim fate after conceiving an illegitimate child, the event certainly captures how, for many other women, illegitimate children caused irreparable reputational damage.

[43] Sasha Roberts, '"Let me the curtains draw": the dramatic and symbolic properties of the bed in Shakespearean tragedy', in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama,* ed. by Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.155.
[44] Carol Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power,* 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p.84.

Turning to other narratives featuring Juno, her first victim Alcmena had not suffered Semele's fate but did also produce an illegitimate child with Jupiter: Hercules. Alcmena was afflicted by the angered goddess after she unknowingly shared a night with Jupiter who was disguised as her husband, Amphitryon. The story of Jupiter and Alcmena follows Plautus's *Amphitryon* and comprises the second act of *The Silver Age*, which follows the chaos caused by Jupiter and Ganymede disguised as Amphitryon and his right-hand man, Sosia.[45] The duality causes confusion, disorder and deceit which dominate the scene and order is only restored after Jupiter enters as himself and explains the situation. The story is another of the episodes that appear on Busirane's tapestries and Heywood may hint at Alcmena's Spenserian past when, before she and Jupiter meet, she asks her servants whether they have 'took down those hangings that were plac'd / to entertaine my Lord?' (109). As I discuss above, Spenser's tapestries subverted a mainstay of Elizabethan iconography as they reminded readers of literary tapestries that could contest power.[46] In Heywood's Alcmena episode, we can read a similar response to power through the comparison between Juno and Jupiter which foregrounds the failings of the Queen.

Towards the end of the episode, Amphitryon and Sosia fall asleep on stage just before 'Juno *and* Iris *descend from the heavens*' (*SD*.121) and Juno delivers a fiery speech about hunting down her adulterous husband:

> I have found th'adulterer now:
> Since *Mercury* faire *Ioe's* keeper slew,
> The hundred-eyed *Argus*, I have none
> To dogge and watch him when he leaves the heavens.
> No sooner did I misse him, but I fought
> Heaven, sea, and earth: I brib'd the sunne by day,
> And starres by night; but all their jealous eyes
> He with thicke mists hath blinded, and so scap't.
> *Iris* my Raine-bow threw her circle round,

[45] Heywood's play is the first English drama (as far as we know) to feature to Plautus's work so centrally. Prior to this, it was only imitated in the interlude *Jacke Juggler* (*c*.1550).
[46] Olson, p.28.

> If he had beene on earth, to have clasp't him in,
>
> And kept him in the circle of her armes
>
> Till she had cal'd for *Juno*: But her search
>
> He soone deluded in his slye trans-shapes. (121)

Heywood contrasts the image of the Phoebus-like, all-seeing Elizabeth with the reality of her powerlessness, evident through the continuous deception of courtiers. The repetition of terms pertaining to Juno's surveillance conveys a sense of the suffocating gaze of the Queen at court; and for later audiences, Juno's rainbow may have reminded them of Elizabeth's Rainbow Portrait which had underlined the Queen's dedication to surveillance.[47] However, Juno reveals that her searches for Jupiter had been impaired after the loss of her servant, Argus Panoptes, the hundred-eyed giant – a beast which also evokes the image of the Rainbow Portrait and Elizabeth's dress covered in eyes.[48] When Juno admits that she had even tried to use the meteorological elements to her favour, but this too had failed, Heywood again reflects Elizabeth's wider representation during her final decade.

Evident through her deficient surveillance, Juno's loss of power is further conveyed through her effect on those around her. Despite Juno's striking entrance and speech, the men on stage remain asleep with Sosia only confusedly stirring: 'Hey-ho, now I am dream'd of a scold' (122). The goddess's entry, then, can be read as echoing accounts of ineffective royal entries, given the lack of attention she gains from those on stage and the fact she featured in Anne Boleyn's 1533 coronation pageant. It had, after all, been reported during Boleyn's coronation ceremony that 'the crowd stood mute. When a servant of the Queen exhorted the spectators to cheer he was told that "no one could force the people's hearts, not even the king."'[49] The muted effect of Juno's entry is in stark contrast to that of her husband who wakes the whole palace:

> *Thunder and lightning*. *All the servants run out of the house affrighted, the two Captains and* Blepharo, Amphitrio, *and* Socia *amazedly awake*: Jupiter *appeares in his glory under a Raine-bow, to whom they all kneele*. (*SD*.122)

[47] On the painting , see also p.140.
[48] For more on this episode, see pp.151-2.
[49] William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (London: Routledge, 2005), p.39.

Jupiter stands under the rainbow as if beneath a triumphal arch, a key element of royal iconography that publicly asserts peace and harmony.[50] Since the classical period, rainbows had been symbols of peace and Jupiter brings this to the scene when he explains the confusion caused by his disguises and sexual escapades. Jupiter's request for forgiveness and his claim that he granted Amphitryon victory results in a harmonious celebration, as Amphitryon affirms the type of allegiance Elizabeth could only dream of during her final decade: '*Jove* is our patron, and his power our awe, / His majesty our wonder: will, our law' (122). Not only does Juno barely rouse the sleeping men but she does not bring peace either; rather, her vow for revenge on Jupiter and his mistress negates the peaceful resolution Jupiter had tried to bring. Inadequate, intrusive and underwhelming, Juno's actions mirror the ebbing control and authority witnessed at the Tudor court. And the illegitimate birth of the hero Hercules brings a narrative to the stage which again centres upon the dire political consequences of the love triangle.

III. Empire Destroyed: Hercules and Political Catastrophe in *The Brazen Age*

In *Troia Britanica* (1609), Heywood testifies to the notoriety of the myth of the love-triangle between Hercules, Omphale and Deianeira, when he glosses over it as 'tales too often told'.[51] Instead, Heywood gives the myth full attention in *The Brazen Age* and focuses exclusively on the destruction this love-triangle causes, as he dramatises its tragic outcome to bring the play to a close. The episode presents the most sustained focus on Hercules in the Ages, giving more time to Hercules's death than various heroic feats or his labours.[52] Within Heywood's treatment of Hercules, his wife, and his mistress, we can find diverse reflections of sentiments towards Elizabeth and her court during her final decades. Deianeira attempts to regain her husband's affections and sends him a gift of a shirt, which is stained in the blood of the Centaur Nessus, who had tricked her into believing his blood could regain the affections of a lost love, when, in reality, his blood would poison Hercules (in revenge for the

[50] See Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.244.
[51] Heywood, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (London: 1609; STC 13366), p.133.
[52] While Homer the chorus figure often glosses over Hercules's heroic feats, Heywood does include Hercules's fight with the Centaurs, the hero's descent to Hades and attempt to rescue Proserpine, and his defeat of a sea-monster and subsequent sack of Troy. However, these narratives are interrupted with various other myths and Hercules's appearance is more fragmented in comparison to this episode in *The Brazen Age*, that focuses solely on his affair and death.

battle of the Centaurs). And Nessus gets his revenge when Hercules decides to end his adulterous relationship and accept the gift, only to be driven insane through the pain and then kill Omphale and then himself, which leads Deianeira to suicide.

The forsaken wife, Calydonian Princess Deianeira, lost her husband's affections and devotion in analogous ways to how Elizabeth had lost her wayward courtiers' fidelity. Queen Omphale shows, though, how even a dominant and over-assertive authority cannot secure lasting devotion and favour. In this light, Heywood's Deianeira and Omphale can be read as two sides of the same coin: neither figure 'wins', and they both draw from a notion of hopelessness that Elizabeth herself expressed during her final decades. In this narrative, Hercules reflects more generally a fall from grace, and how difficult or unlikely it is for the elite (including the monarch) to recover favour or esteem. All of these figurations are overshadowed by the death of the characters – a tragic finale which more than glances to the contemporary preoccupation with Elizabeth's mortality.

There was a ready connection between the English Queen, her court, and the Hercules narrative. For, sometime around 1589, Elizabeth translated (at least a part of) *Hercules Oetaeus*, a play – originally thought to be Seneca's – that dramatised Hercules's death and followed the attempts of his wife, Princess Deianeira, to regain his affections while he maintained an affair with Omphale, Queen of Lydia.[53] The surviving fragment of Elizabeth's translation contains an unmistakable feeling of 'insecurity' as it presents 'an anxious queen speaking in her own voice' through the forsaken Deianeira.[54] Furthermore, Hercules's relationship with Deianeira had received considerable attention in the period, largely due to the popularity of the female complaint genre. For instance, Elizabeth's own translation mirrored the 'visceral sense of Deianira's suffering' that had featured in George Turberville's popular *Heroycall Epistles* (1567), to demonstrate that she was 'fully aware that men like Hercules could do infinite damage'.[55] Indeed, Richard Rowland explains how Hercules can be identified with the increasingly defiant courtiers who had begun 'flagrantly ignoring the political decisions of their monarch and devoting themselves to self-interested piracy'.[56] Hence the affair can also be read against the rhetoric of courtly love which 'made the illicit

[53] On the dating of Elizabeth's translation, see Rowland, *Killing Hercules: Deianira and the Politics of Domestic Violence, from Sophocles to the War on Terror* (London: Routledge, 2017), p.128. Many writers in the period conflated the figures of Iole and Omphale, and Heywood does so in both *Troia Britanica* (p.133) and *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history Concerninge women* (London: 1624; STC 13326), p.209.
[54] Rowland, *Killing Hercules*, pp.131, 132. Rowland also recognises the translation has 'extraordinary sense of claustrophobic intensity' (p.131).
[55] Ibid, pp.113, 133. Tuberville's translation of Ovid's *Heroides* went through five editions up to 1600.
[56] Ibid, p.133.

affairs – as well as the legitimate marriages – of male favorites appear as a personal betrayal against their mistress-queen.'[57] The Hercules love-triangle narrative could, then, speak to wider modes of promiscuity, especially the political. And Heywood projects onto the love triangle various anxieties and frustrations over a weakened country, intertwining the concerns of Elizabeth, and her courtiers and citizens alike.

Hercules himself had long featured in wider political representation as the epitome of masculine heroic eminence, used by European leaders to affirm and legitimise their own political standings – the Tudors were, of course, no exception. The achievements of Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII, were, for instance, compared with the labours of Hercules in a poem *Les douze triomphes de Henry VII* (1497); while her father owned at least nine tapestries that featured Hercules completing his labours.[58] Upon Henry VIII's death, Elizabeth received his tapestries and these 'played a major role in her public iconographical displays', interwoven with political spectacle by providing the backdrops to many street entertainments.[59] Even Elizabeth's closest companion, Dudley, had at least fifteen Herculean tapestries in his Kenilworth inventory at the time of his death in 1588.[60] Furthermore, in Hampton Court, the labours of Hercules were even depicted on bed valances during Elizabeth's reign, which implies the Queen was never far from Herculean imagery, even in her sleep.[61] So extensive were Elizabeth's interactions with the imagery of Hercules, that Hercules became used as a 'habitual' figure to praise the Queen and her political achievements.[62] Shakespeare's audiences knew this. When Borachio in *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598-9) evokes a 'shaven Hercules in the smirched worm-eaten tapestry, where his codpiece seems as massy as his club' (3.3.95-6), the playwright indicates a popular

[57] Rickman, p.28.

[58] See Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Penguin, 2005), p.93. Olson notes that the 'inventory of the Royal Tapestry Collection taken upon the death of Henry VIII (1547) includes nine entries of Hercules tapestries' (p.120).

[59] Olson, p.43. Thomas P. Campbell notes that: 'Henrician tapestries were deployed from the moment of Elizabeth's accession'. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.349.

[60] See Olson, p.120 n.13. Dudley was also the patron for the Sheldon Tapestry maps commissioned in the 1580s, which featured Hercules in the borders, perhaps as a sycophantic allusion to the Earl. See Antony Wells-Cole, 'The Elizabethan Sheldon tapestry maps', *The Burlington Magazine*, 132.1047 (1990), 392-401 (especially pp.395-397). Wells-Cole explains that it would be unlikely for the Sheldon family to try and claim affinity to Hercules so it was more likely for their patron.

[61] Frances Little notes that a 'set of needlework bed hangings depicting the labors of Hercules' were 'recorded in a Hampton Court inventory of 1569.' Frances Little, 'An Elizabethan Bed Valance', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 36.9 (1941), 183-185 (p.185). M.T Jones-Davies even claims that Hercules was present in more ordinary homes 'thanks to the tapestries which often decorated their walls'. Jones-Davies, 'Shakespeare and the Myth of Hercules', in *Reclamations of Shakespeare*, ed. by A.J. Hoenselaars (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), p.62.

[62] Rowland, *Killing Hercules*, p.115. For example, in 1586 Lodowick Lloyd 'heralded the overthrow of the Babington plot to assassinate the queen and urged Elizabeth to emulate Hercules' (ibid).

understanding and knowledge of the hero's presence within royal iconography but also that this iconography had become tired and decrepit.[63]

Beyond the heroism of his trials, it is clear from texts like Elizabeth's translation that the Hercules narrative also spoke to issues of mortality, promiscuity, and wayward male desire. Commentators from Natale Conti in *Mythologiae* (1567) to George Sandys in his translation of *Metamorphoses* (1632) 'recognize that women were Hercules' Achilles heel', and note that 'jealousy, in particular, causes the females in Hercules' life to torment him.'[64] Robert Greene had even classed Hercules along with other Ovidian men who garner 'shame for their inconstancy in love', as opposed to 'prowes in warre.'[65] It is, after all, his errant love life that seals Hercules's fate, and the Ages exhibit his fall from heroism through a lens which brings sexual promiscuity (the act and its consequences) sharply into focus. As Elizabeth had identified herself with Deianeira and her courtiers with Hercules, the narrative spoke to the wider sexual intrigues at her court. (We might think, for instance of the Earl of Oxford and Anne Vavasour, who were banished from court and imprisoned in the Tower in 1581.)[66]

As well as Hercules and his wife, his mistress Omphale had also featured in a political context, when she appeared in the moralistic dumbshow in Act 4 of *Locrine* (1595) where she wore Hercules's attire and commanded him to feminine tasks. *Locrine* was a topical play about 'the end of a dynasty, and explicitly connects that end to the power of queens', which certainly could invite a reading of Omphale alongside Elizabeth.[67] Similarly, Omphale's authority over Hercules becomes another display of the type of queenly authority that Elizabeth and her regime constructed throughout her reign – and the kind of political parallel that Shakespeare drew upon in his later *Antony and Cleopatra*.[68] However, for Heywood, it is

---

[63] William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, in *William Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp.255-304. Otto Kurz explores Shakespeare's tapestry reference and how it may refer to a duplicate (or similarly designed) early sixteenth-century tapestry from Tournai which depicts Hercules's death. Kurz, 'Shakespeare and the Shaven Hercules', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 87.508 (1945), 175-77.

[64] Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare and the Gods* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p.94.

[65] Robert Greene, *Mamilla: Part I*, in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 15 vols., ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964) II, p.51.

[66] For more examples of affairs and secret births at court, see Rickman, pp.29-32.

[67] Lisa Hopkins, *From the Romans to the Normans on the English Renaissance Stage* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017), p.107.

[68] In *Parallel Lives*, Plutarch explicitly compares Antony with Hercules when he criticises him for choosing Cleopatra over martial victory. In addition, Cleopatra has long been understood as a figure Shakespeare employed to reflect upon Elizabeth, especially regarding her spectacular representation and control over the court. On Cleopatra and Elizabeth, see Helen Morris, 'Queen Elizabeth I "Shadowed" in Cleopatra', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 32.3 (1969), 271-278; Keith Rinehart, 'Shakespeare's Cleopatra and England's Elizabeth', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 23.1 (1972), 81-86; Theodora A. Jankowski, '"As I am Egypt's Queen": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, and the Female Body Politic', *Assays*, 5 (1989), 91-110; Paul Yachnin,

Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* that strengthens and deepens his political allusions, especially those concerning anxieties around Elizabeth.

In wider artistic representation, Dido's story offered a 'negative example of the ruinous effects of love and the desire for marriage upon an otherwise competent (and glamorous) queen', which was used to compliment Elizabeth's decision to reject marriage and become the Virgin Queen – as, for example, in the Sieve Portrait of 1583.[69] But Dido also captured 'anxieties about having a female sovereign', heightened by the fact she was an exotic Queen who was known for her 'unstable reputation' as both a 'canny seductress or a hapless victim'.[70] This dualism made her a useful figure for political satire and was seized upon by Marlowe in *Dido* and clearly influenced Heywood. In Heywood's narrative, he resists a treatment of reductive misogyny and echoes the dualism of Dido: Omphale is not simply a villain; and neither is Deianeira. Heywood includes various nuances in his treatment of the classical figures that underscore the political inflections present throughout and beyond the Hercules narrative.

Heywood draws upon Hercules's treacherous love life only after the age has moved from silver to 'brazen', to reflect Hercules's 'shameless' end (*OED*, adj.3). When the episode begins, Heywood foregrounds Deianeira's sorrow: she enters '*sad*' (*SD*.239) and Homer describes how Hercules '*fils her heart with jealous discontent*' (239). Deianeira laments that Hercules 'doates upon [Omphale's] tempting lookes' (240), before she recalls rumours she has heard about him and tells her messenger Lychas that Hercules has

> turn'd woman: woman *Lychas*, spinnes,
>
> Cards, and doth chare-worke, whilst his mistres sits
>
> And makes a cushion of his Lyons skin,

'"Courtiers and beauteous freedom": *Antony and Cleopatra* in Its Time', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 26.1 (1991), 1-20; Elizabeth A. Brown, '"Companion Me with My Mistress": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, and Their Waiting Women', in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, ed. by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.131-145.

[69] Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', p.43. Quentin Metsys the Younger, *Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, c.*1583, oil on panel, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. On Dido and Elizabeth, see also Clifford Weber, 'Intimations of Dido and Cleopatra in Some Contemporary Portrayals of Elizabeth I', *Studies in Philology*, 96.2 (1999), 127-143; Chloe Preedy, '(De)Valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine, Dido Queen of Carthage*, and *Edward II*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 54.2 (2014), 259-277.

[70] Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', p.32.

Makes of his club a rocke. (240)[71]

Deianeira highlights that Hercules has lost his typical props of the famous '*Lyons head*', '*skinne*' (*SD*.131) and club, shorthand semiotics for his physical power.[72] Until this moment, when Hercules was equipped with these props, Heywood consistently stressed Hercules's heroism: *The Silver Age* dramatises Hercules strangling two of Juno's snakes '*in his Cradle*' (*SD*.126), Hercules entering victorious from the Olympic games, defeating a lion and the Centaurs, and his journey to Hades to rescue Proserpine; while *The Brazen Age* shows him win Deianeira's hand in marriage, defeat a sea-monster, and besiege Troy. However, by the time of his affair, Hercules has fallen from esteem. Deianeira explains that 'Hee's forgot in *Greece*. / *Greece* that was wont to clangor with his fame, / Is now all silent' (240). The loss of Hercules's props marks the loss of his heroism and the favour that he once had. As Omphale's slave, Hercules can no longer live up to his masculine iconography, much like the ageing Elizabeth and her lofty representation.

The audience see that the rumours about Hercules are true when the scene moves to Lydia and introduces the adulterous lovers to the stage:

> *Enter Omphale, Queene of Lydia, with 4 or 5 maids, Hercules attired like a woman, with a distaffe and a spindle.*
>
> OMPHALE. Why so, this is a power infus'd in love,
> Beyond all magicke; Is't not strange to see
> A womans beauty tame the Tyrant-tamer?
> And the great Monster-maister over-match?
> Have you done your taske?
>
> HERCULES. Beauteous Queene, not yet.
>
> OMPHALE. Then I shall frowne. (241)

[71] The term 'cards' means 'to prepare wool, tow, etc., for spinning.' (*OED*, card, v.1). The *OED* includes Heywood's use of 'chare-worke' as an example of an archaic compound for the modern term 'chore' as in 'an odd job, *esp.* of household work' (chare, n.1). A 'rock' (*OED*, n.2) is another term for a distaff.

[72] The lion's skin is included in the 1598 prop inventory in *Henslowe's Diary*. A garland ascribed to Neptune is included in *Henslowe's Diary*, which may have been reused for Hercules. For my discussion of the props, see pp.47-8.

Hercules's heroism is replaced with feminine activities like spinning, transforming him from the glorious man on the tapestries to someone who merely makes them. Dressed as a woman, Hercules embodies the common belief that 'erotic desire is threatening to men in part because it is perceived as effeminizing'.[73] No longer the masculine hero happily wedded to princess Deianeira, Hercules has been – as Omphale admits – tamed by the beauty of a queen.

Hercules's submission to the Queen of Lydia recalls the staging of his presence at the Kenilworth entertainments, where he was not a great hero but a porter who greeted Elizabeth at the gates. At Kenilworth, Hercules had given the Queen his club and the keys to the estate after – as recounted by George Gascoigne – he was 'overcome by viewe of the rare beutie and princelie countenance of her Majestie'.[74] Heywood demonstrates Hercules's submissiveness most overtly when, after the Greeks arrive, Omphale commands Hercules in front of his fellow heroes to 'Stoope slave, and kisse the foote of *Omphale*'(243), to which he duly obliges. The act obviously shocks the Greeks and they refuse to believe it is Hercules. Jason asserts:

> Alas! This *Hercules*?
>
> This is some base effeminate groome, not hee
>
> That with his puissance frighted all the earth:
>
> This is some woman, some *Hermophrodite* [sic] (243)

The questioning of Hercules's identity compounds the Kenilworth allusion through its tie to the Duke of Anjou, Robert Dudley's rival for the hand of Elizabeth. And Heywood combines the allusion of Hercules's lost identity with the stereotypical view of the effeminate Frenchman. Anjou had originally been named Hercule at birth but he grew up to be sickly, scarred and of small stature; Marion A. Taylor notes that the Anjou family 'must have found his name to be a continual embarrassment because of its utter ridiculousness', and eventually he was renamed Francois, in honour of his elder brother who had passed.[75] Dudley may have been poking fun at his rival by featuring him in the Kenilworth entertainment as his dotish

[73] Breitenberg, p.31.
[74] George Gascoigne, 'The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, p.292.
[75] Marion A. Taylor, *Bottom, Thou Art Translated: Political Allegory in A Midsummer Night's Dream and Related Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi NV, 1973), p.140.

servant. For even twenty years later, Shakespeare drew upon Hercules to tie Anjou to Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595).[76]

Omphale is clearly aware of the power of her image just as Elizabeth certainly was, yet her beauty allows her to control Hercules in a way that an ageing Elizabeth could only hope for. When Hercules recounts numerous heroic deeds he would complete in Omphale's honour, she is unimpressed and sternly commands Hercules to 'Leave prating, ply your worke' (242).[77] We should be alive to the adjacencies this implies between Elizabeth and her unruly courtiers. In particular, the dynamic is reminiscent of instances when Elizabeth tried to prevent men like Essex from participating in military feats – though he differed from Hercules in that he did so anyway. It is because of figures like Essex and their wayward conduct that Elizabeth had figured herself as Deianeira, even though for some, she could be read more as the over-controlling Omphale. Heywood even brings to mind Elizabeth's own military failures, when Hercules imagines he will 'make [Omphale] Empresse ore the triple world' (242) – a possible allusion to Elizabeth's inability to rule over England, Ireland and Scotland, or to the Triple Alliance between England, France and the Netherlands against Spain established in 1596.[78] Thus, Omphale can draw attention to elements of Elizabeth's rule for which she faced increasing criticism during the latter decades of her life, criticism which left the Queen feeling more of the forgotten Deianeira than the celebrated Omphale.

While Omphale may mock the reality of the weak Elizabeth, she also echoes Dido, Queen of Carthage: an exotic queen who (momentarily) distracted a hero from destiny. When Heywood's Hercules enters, refashioned as Omphale's slave, it seems likely to echo the arrival of Marlowe's Aeneas in Carthage, when Dido gives the shipwrecked Trojan new clothes: she is surprised to see 'Warlike Aeneas, and in these base robes', so Dido instructs her servants to 'Go fetch the garment which Sichaeus ware' (2.1.79-80).[79] Shortly after, Dido orders Aeneas to recount his escape from Troy and instructs him to 'Remember who thou art. Speak like thyself' (2.1.100). Notably, throughout Heywood's scene it is repeatedly remarked

[76] See ibid, pp.140-1.
[77] Hercules insists he will 'lay before thee [Omphale] all the monstrous heads / Of the grim tyrants that oppresse the earth', that he will kill the giants Cacus and Geryon, and return to Hades as he had for Proserpine (242).
[78] The alliance was intended to ensure the nations provided military support for one another (on various provisions) against Spain, and to recognise the Netherlands as an independent state. For more on the alliance, see R.B. Wernham, *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain 1595-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.69-81.
[79] She continues by insisting: 'Aeneas is Aeneas, were he clad / In weeds as bad as ever Irus ware' (2.1.84-5). Marlowe, *Dido, Queen Of Carthage*, in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.1-69 [all quotes from *Dido* are from this edition].

that Hercules has 'forgot' himself and lost his identity.[80] In contrast, though, Omphale silences Hercules when he recounts the feats he would complete in honour of his love for her. After Dido's instruction to remember himself, Aeneas then recounts the fall of Troy, figuring himself as the hero who saved his son and father and had attempted to save his wife (2.1.265-271). Similarly, it is only after Hercules's fellow heroes remind him of his former heroic deeds and wife Deianeira that Hercules decides: 'Hence with these womanish tyres, / And let me once more be my selfe againe' (245), and he renounces his role as Omphale's slave and lover – a decision which transforms Omphale into Marlowe's final Dido, who was forsaken and abandoned by Aeneas who departs for Latium.

Outside of this scene, Hercules echoes Aeneas's journey, as, before Hercules ends up in Lydia and begins his affair, his final heroic exploit in *The Brazen Age* is the initial sack of Troy (in revenge for King Laomedon's dishonour to the Greeks, after they had defeated a sea-monster for him and he failed to give them his promised reward). Hercules instead took Hesione (sister to Priam, Laomedon's successor) who would become the reason the Trojans sailed to Greece – where Paris meets Helen – and began the famous Trojan War. While many imagined that Aeneas had sailed from Troy on a mission to establish Rome and lay the path for Britain, Hercules's final act laid the foundation for a future of war with disastrous consequences. In this way, the death of Hercules becomes a powerful trope for thinking about political legacy and empire (just as Tamburlaine's death signalled the dissolution of an empire to civil discord and internal war).[81]

Heywood sets the stage for Hercules's evocative death when the hero prepares to give sacrifice to the gods – his first act in an attempt to reclaim himself after rejecting his role as Omphale's servant and lover. Hercules enters '*bearing his two brazen pillars*' (*SD.*247) and instructs the audience to: 'Daine us your eyes, behold these shoulders beare / Two brazen pillars, trophies of our fame' (247). Since antiquity, the Pillars of Hercules had been a symbol for the promontories at the straits of Gibraltar; and in the Renaissance, they became a

[80] Deianeira claims he is 'forgot in *Greece*' and that '*Alcides* is a name forgot amongst us' (240); Hercules questions why the Greeks have 'forgot their friend' (243) and admits he has 'lost [him]selfe' (244); and Jason informs Hercules that '*Greece* forget thee quite' (245).

[81] A number of sources proposed that Tamburlaine's death had led to a civil war that destroyed the empire, including: Andreas Cambinus's *Libro* […] *della origine de Turchi et imperio delli Ottomanni* (1529); Pedro Mexía's *Silva de Varia Lección* (1542); Petrus Peronditas's *Magni Tamerlanis Schytharum Imperatoris Vita* (1553). See *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and their Sources,* ed. by Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman (London: Routledge,1994), pp.131, 95-96, 119, 121.

common motif in imperial celebration.[82] Notably, they appeared in Crispin van de Passe's print of Elizabeth to symbolise the success of Essex's Cadiz expedition in 1596, in which he was described as 'Greater than Hercules'.[83] The print 'asserts Elizabeth's own imperial claims' of the importance of 'exploration and colonization of the New World' and depicts the Queen standing triumphantly between two pillars.[84] A pillar also features in the 1583 Sieve Portrait of Elizabeth, to underscore 'imperial chastity' by way of the depiction of scenes from myth of Dido and Aeneas engraved on it.[85] The Dido allusion in the portrait can, though, be read in other ways, as it also aligns Elizabeth with instability, in both her representation and relations with Spain.[86] When Heywood has Hercules carry his pillars in his first heroic act since his slavery, he clearly looks to these instances when the hero symbolised imperial triumph and monarchical power.

However, Heywood incorporates a more subversive message when Hercules draws attention to the two pillars' unusual inscription: '*non ultra*' (248).[87] There was a widespread belief in the Renaissance that in the classical period the Pillars of Hercules were inscribed with the warning '*non plus ultra* (nothing further beyond)', to mark the edge of the known world and deter sailors from the Atlantic Ocean. This was a misconception, though, and while the pillars were associated with liminality in antiquity as they marked the boundary of civilisation, the specific wording of the motto was actually invented during the rule of Charles V of Spain (1516-1556).[88] Charles's coat of arms featured two pillars with the

[82] For example, in *Timaeus* and *Critias*, Plato used the Pillars of Hercules to describe the location of Atlantis, see Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. and ed. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.13, 112.
[83] Susan Doran, 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.179. See facsimile of the van de Passe print: ibid, p.180.
[84] Stephen Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare: And Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.121. In William Camden's *Annales*, he recounts how Drake had also been celebrated in verse for his exhibition around the world with reference to Hercules' pillars and their inscription '*Plus Ultra*.' One of the verses is as follows: 'DRAKE, on the Herculean columnes these words write, / Thou farther wentst th[a]n any mortall wight. / Though Hercules for travel did excell'. Camden, *Annales, The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth Queene of England France and Ireland*, trans. by Abraham Darcie (London: 1625; STC 4497), p.427.
[85] Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', p.39.
[86] Williams explains that the 1583 'Sieve portrait illustrates the profound instability of the Dido tradition', and that 'the portrait contains an image of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire at the foot of the pillar, which is tilted precariously to convey instability' ('Dido, Queen of England', pp.41, 42).
[87] The inscription may also support the notion that when, in *An Apology for Actors*, Heywood recounts seeing Hercules 'on his high Pyramides writing *Nil ultra*' (sig.B4r), he is talking about this moment in *The Brazen Age*.
[88] Earl Rosenthal cites Pindar as one example that 'conveys essentially' the notion of *ne plus ultra*. Rosenthal, '*Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra*, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institues*, 34 (1971), 204-228 (p.209). Rosenthal explains that it was not until 500 to 475 B.C. that the pillars became 'boundary markers warning mariners not to sail too far into the ocean beyond' with a correlating inscription not reported until the 'thirteenth or fourteenth centuries' (p.210).

inscription '*plus ultra* (further beyond)', to celebrate the monarch's determination to expand his empire to the New World and it was eventually inherited by his son, Phillip II, husband to Mary Tudor. Like most of Elizabeth's iconography, Charles's motto had been 'invoked on at least one occasion during Charles's declining last years for ridicule', and invited wordplay to invert the meaning to suggest there was '"nothing beyond this victory"', which responded to his failure to seize the Germanic city of Metz.[89] That the van de Passe print of Elizabeth includes no variation of the motto could suggest an awareness of its potential to be subverted. Sure enough, the inscription read by Hercules marks Heywood's own wordplay which inverts Charles's motto to '*non ultra* (no more)'. This not only foreshadows Hercules's death but also anticipates Elizabeth's, while simultaneously reflecting on her decline and failures, as in Ireland. By adapting the motto, Heywood subverts the victorious figure of Hercules from royal iconography to reflect the realities of Elizabeth and how her waning grip on power left courtiers frustrated and powerless to complete their own heroic deeds. Only when Elizabeth was *non ultra* could courtiers like Essex hope for change in policy or the promise of military success.

While Hercules is at the altar, Lychas arrives to deliver the poisoned shirt; and Hercules gladly accepts the gift. Soon after he puts on the poisoned shirt, Hercules experiences agonising pain and insists that 'A stipticke poison boiles within my veines, / Hell is within me, for my marrow fries' (249).[90] From this moment, Deianeira is transformed from a pitied victim to vengeful villain. The figure who Elizabeth had identified herself with is now 'false / Treacherous, unkind [and] disloyall', her 'sexes scandall, and her shame / Even whilst Time lives, shall every tongue proclaime' (250). The narrative of Hercules's poisoning (and subsequent suicide) was, of course, well known to the classically-informed. And whatever else an audience might have known about this figure, or might have attached to the wider political analogies at work elsewhere in *The Brazen Age*, the Hercules poisoning sequence's most obvious topical analogues are the Roderigo Lopez scandal of 1594, and perhaps also the Edward Squire pommel-poison attempt of 1595. These were just two high-profile examples of the increasing 'attempted shootings and attempted poisoning by globes,

[89] Ibid, p.216. Rosenthal cites Italian poet Eurialio Morani d'Asco as an example of this inversion (p.215-6). Similarly, a 1595 French print for Henry IV's entry to Lyon also uses the words '*non ultra*' to highlight not conquest but the loss of dominion (the motto appears between two pillars representing France and Navarre, under the chained figure of Victory). See Corrado Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 176-197 (p.188, Plate 21e).

[90] 'styptic' (*OED*, adj.1), 'having the power of contracting organic tissue […] having a binding effect on the stomach or bowels.'

chairs, saddles, and even a Bible.'[91] We have seen these plays enact fantasies of violence and control over versions of Elizabeth's personas, so where we have the death of the most notorious Greek hero being staged, we can consider the scene's significance in relation to these recent scandals.

To compound its topicality, *The Brazen Age*'s prolonged treatment of the Hercules death sequence is brought closer to Elizabeth through a number of intertextual borrowings. For example, Heywood's scene adapts Act 4 of Seneca's *Hercules Furens* where the hero is driven mad by the Furies and the goddess Iris (at Juno's request), leading him to kill his wife (Megara) and their children.[92] This was an influential play that Sir William Cecil suggested should feature in the entertainment for Elizabeth at Cambridge University in 1564.[93] However, in Seneca, Hercules is saved from suicide by Theseus; and so, Heywood combines Seneca with the story of Hercules's suicide from *Metamorphoses* (IX). Most significantly to a reading in light of Elizabeth, though, is how Heywood's scene is also a rehash of the death of Marlowe's Dido. While Hercules encourages the Greeks to help him 'tosse trees on trees, / Till you have rear'd me up a funerall pile' (253), Dido similarly requests: 'servants bring me fire' (5.1.278), and soon they return with '*with wood and torches*' (5.1.*SD*). Likewise, in Heywood's play, '*All the Princes breake downe the trees, and make a fire, in which* Hercules *placeth himselfe*' (*SD*.253); but, before he dies, Hercules '*burnes his Club, and Lyons Skin*' (*SD*.254), imitating when Dido burned Aeneas's sword, clothes and letters in her own funeral pyre (5.1.295-301). Heywood also echoes Dido's final words, as Hercules vows '*Alcides* dies by no hand but his owne' (254) and Dido had asserted: 'I must be the murderer of myself' (5.1.270). Furthermore, the deaths of both Hercules and Dido immediately led to the suicides of their admirers, though Iarbus '*Kills himself*' on stage (5.1.*SD*), while we receive only 'A true report' (255) of Deianeira's suicide.

Dido's death is well-known for its political significance. For Virgil, it is a tragic marker of Aeneas's honourable first steps to Latium to lay the foundations of the Roman Empire. According to Andrew Griffin though, Marlowe adapts Virgil to strip Dido's death of tragedy – to convey, instead that 'the world appears contingent at the level of the individual

[91] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.104.
[92] This play itself is an adaptation of Euripides's *Herakles.*
[93] See Siobhan Keenan, 'Spectator and Spectacle: Royal Entertainments at the Universities in the 1560s', in *The Progresses, Pageants, & Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.91.

while operating in orderly, if capricious, ways at the scale of nations and empires.'[94] Given the distinction between individual and empire, it is unsurprising that the narrative was *also* used to speak to the Anjou negotiations and Elizabeth herself. In his 'November Eclogue' of *The Shepheardes Calendar*, Spenser responds to the Anjou negotiations and 'laments the demise of the queen's Protestantism through marriage to a Catholic' as he simultaneously 'celebrate[s] the demise of the French marriage as making for the rehabilitation or apotheosis of the queen's English virginity or political integrity.'[95] However, for Marlowe, the possible Anjou readings in the Dido narrative intensify the link between Dido and Elizabeth and he 'extends his satire of imperial pretensions and delusions to the Queen herself.'[96] When Heywood closely echoes Marlowe's scene, he too resists a tragic treatment of Hercules's death and instead employs spectacle to capture the chaos and destruction that his death brings. In so doing, Hercules's death follows the pattern of *Gorboduc* and *Tamburlaine II*, whereby the deaths of those figures hold catastrophic consequences for their empires.

As Hercules places himself into the flames, he gives a long speech which begins with his own allusions to empire:

> thus I throne me in the midst of fire,
> And with a dreadlesse brow confront my death.
> Olimpicke thunderer now behold thy sonne,
> Of whose divine parts make a starre, that *Atlas*
> May shrinke beneath the weight of *Hercules*.
> And step-dame *Juno*, glut thy hatred now,
> That hast beene weary to command, when we
> Have not beene weary to performe and act. (253)

Hercules explains that when he, a demigod, dies, his divine self will live on as a star that is so powerful Atlas could not support it. The myth of Atlas was popular in the period; a story of

[94] Andrew Griffin, *Untimely Deaths in Renaissance Drama: Biography, History, Catastrophe* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2020), p.115.
[95] James M. Nohrnberg, 'Alençon's Dream/Dido's Tomb: Some Shakespearean Music and a Spenserian Muse', *Spenser Studies*, 22 (2007), 73-102. (p.76).
[96] Donald Stump, 'Marlowe's Travesty of Virgil: *Dido* and Elizabethan Dreams of Empire', *Comparative Drama*, 34.1 (2000), 79-107 (p.103). Stump adds that *Dido* may have a lot in common with *Tamburlaine I*, as both 'plays offer an implicit critique of the intoxicating dynamics of empire-building' (ibid).

the Titan who was condemned to hold up the heavens – usually depicted as a globe carried on his shoulders – for eternity, for his participation in the Battle of the Titans. For Hercules's penultimate labour, he temporarily carried Atlas's globe while Atlas retrieved the apples of the Hesperides. For his part, Heywood's evocation of Atlas alludes to the frontispiece of Christopher Saxton's *Atlas of the countries of England and Wales* (1579), which depicted Elizabeth between two pillars, carrying a globe.[97] The globe was, undoubtedly, a major political symbol used to assert Elizabeth's rule over the seas and even to the New World, as seen in the Armada Portrait.[98] George Peele in his 'Polyhymnia' (1590) even called Elizabeth herself 'Britanias Atlas, Star of Englands globe'.[99] With Elizabeth's ties to both figures, Atlas 'shrinking' beneath Hercules can be read in a number of ways; we may, for instance, consider the threat of masculine bravado or factionalism at court. But given Heywood's fixation upon Elizabeth throughout the Ages plays, the Atlas image here should perhaps be read alongside the prospect of Elizabeth's demise (embodied by Hercules) being overshadowed by delusions of her grandeur, particularly in terms of imperialism.

As the play draws to a close, the bloody consequences of the Hercules-Deianeria-Omphale triangle are brought to bear on the Ages plays' wider interests in empire and political instability. The Hercules character clearly embodied a range of traits and allusions applicable to Elizabeth and her court, and the sequence in which he is poisoned and turned berserk seems to speak to a mode of political catastrophising that we have seen in other political tragedies of the period.

IV. Conclusion

As Heywood's Hercules can be read in light of imperial ambitions (or the end of them), we can look back to the fleeting Juno narratives to see analogues with a shrewish Queen who attempted to control the love lives of her court in order to bring them in line with her own sexual behaviour, which had irreversible effects on the Tudor empire. Like Juno who disclosed her powerlessness, Elizabeth, too, was aware of the threats to her power from deceitful courtiers – threats which can be read within all the narratives discussed in this

[97] Saxton, *Atlas of the countries of England and Wales* (London: 1580; STC 21805.2). Elizabeth is also seated between two figures carrying a gyroscope and a globe.
[98] Unknown, *Queen Elizabeth I, c.*1588, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London.
[99] George Peele, 'Polyhymnia', in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, ed. by Charles Tyler Prouty, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952) I, pp.232.

chapter. But instead of the sympathy that could lurk within images of forsaken wives, Heywood foregrounds deceit and revenge and, as a result, draws attention to Elizabeth's failure to live up to the image of the all-seeing Queen. The story of Venus and Mars captures some of the bitter feelings towards Elizabeth at court; and it signals the frustration and factionalism that contributed to the willingness of courtiers to betray their queen. Through Juno, we see a parody of Elizabeth's desperation to prevent such betrayals and assert herself in spite of growing frustration towards her rule. And, in the Hercules narrative, we see a combination of these and more, with the feelings of Queen, court and subjects colliding to bolster the image of a powerless monarch and decaying nation.

There are a number of ways that we can interpret these narratives alongside Heywood's wider political satire in this series. As we have seen elsewhere in the pentalogy, Heywood did not shy away from misogynistic treatments of female characters, especially when focused upon virginal queenship. However, when we look to narratives of adultery in the Ages, Heywood often extends sympathy to both the figure of the mortal adulteress and the forsaken wife. We see this elsewhere in Heywood's wider dramatic treatments of adultery which often present a 'sympathetic treatment of the erring women' in his plays.[100] Semele and Alcmena are victims to Jupiter's unapologetic mission to create offspring, and Deianeira and Omphale both fall victim to Hercules. On the other hand, the divine Juno and Venus suffer great indignation, underlining Elizabeth's own humiliation at her inability to live up to her divine ideal image. Thus, we may see Heywood's possible sympathy to Elizabeth the mortal, the ageing woman with whom he was undeniably fascinated; meanwhile, he displays clear sardonic responses to her iconography and representation, the mythic Elizabeth who attempted to efface the mortal. We see this even more explicitly in Heywood's treatments of Helen of Troy and Medea, both mortal women typically known as harbingers of danger, disaster and destruction. But, for Heywood, they are also victims of their fate and mirror the decline of the mortal Elizabeth.

[100] Marilyn L. Johnson, *Images of Women in the Works of Thomas Heywood* (Salzburg: Universitat Salzberg: 1974), p.60. David Mann discusses 'Heywood's innocent adulteresses' and compares his treatment of Jane Shore to other contemporary treatments. See also David Mann, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2009), pp.144-49.

5. ‘In her I see / All beauties frailty’: Endings and Beginnings in Helen of Troy and Medea

Helen and Medea stand apart from the female figures discussed in my other chapters: they lack maternal love, they are not virginal or huntresses, and though they exhibit desire, Heywood does not show them being punished for it. While the pair contrast with many figures in the Ages, Heywood’s treatments of Helen and Medea foreground similarities between the two beyond the fact that they are exemplary. On the surface, both are royal women who desert their home country for desire. As such, and following on from the concerns of the previous chapter, Heywood frames this through by focusing on the effect of their desire upon empire – more overtly with Helen and subtly with Medea. While doing so, Heywood foregrounds the loss of their autonomy: Medea loses herself when she becomes a tool for Jason to complete his quest; and Helen loses herself as she ages and her fabled beauty fades, a process accelerated by her guilt for the horrors of the Trojan War. Furthermore, and critically for the aims of this thesis, the two women are similar due to their topical, political connotations, with their doubleness echoing that between Elizabeth I and her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots.

While Elizabeth and Mary were in many way opposites and rivals, they were also very much connected and mirrored one another.[1] As Helen Hackett puts it, they are: ‘mirror-images in the fullest sense: each the likeness of the other, each the reverse of the other’.[2] William Camden captures the connection between the two when he records the words ‘Either I her, or shee me’, that had apparently been in the margins of the French King’s demand that Elizabeth release Mary from prison; with the ambiguous statement possibly from either queen to underscore how their life depended on the death of the other.[3] Of course, in her younger years Elizabeth had also been imprisoned, so the pair had, in fact, ‘face[d] similar challenges as female rulers’; and, noting such adversities, Anna Riehl Bertolet proposes that each of the

[1] On the two queens, see Jane Dunn, *Elizabeth & Mary: Cousins, Rivals, Queens* (New York: Knopf, 2004); Paolo Baseotto, ‘Mary Stuart’s Execution and Queen Elizabeth’s Divided Self’, in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.66– 82; Anna Riehl Bertolet, ‘Doppelgänger Queens: Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart’, in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. by Bertolet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.223-246.

[2] Helen Hackett, ‘Dreams or Designs, Cults or Constructions? The study of Images of Monarchs’, *The Historical Journal*, 44.3 (2001), 811-823 (p.821).

[3] William Camden, *The Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotland*, trans. by William Udall (London, 1624; STC 24508.7), p.224. For more on this quote, see Bertolet, pp.223-4.

queens 'used the other for self-definition.'[4] As well as adversity, desire and marriage aligned the queens and was a key part to their self-definition, with clear political implications. Elizabeth seemed to draw upon this dynamic when she suggested Mary marry Sir Robert Dudley as a substitute for herself – for the Virgin Queen could not marry. In this respect, the two queens' approaches to desire were, obviously, opposites, with Mary having married three times and produced a son. Mary's desire had even led to Medea being a ready analogue for the Stuart queen, after she had imagined herself as the forsaken Medea in the 1567 Casket Letters written by Mary to her lover, the Earl of Bothwell (which I discuss below). Nonetheless, while Mary's marriages and reproduction simultaneously threatened English state safety and secured a future heir to the throne, Elizabeth's virginity had fatal consequences for the Tudor line. It is the ties between desire and politics (and between the queens themselves) that are reflected in Heywood's Helen and Medea.

In particular, it is the concern over the end of the Tudor line that made Helen and Medea such charged figures. As this thesis has maintained, Heywood was writing at a time when concerns over the succession were rising. It was a period poised on the brink of change as the last Tudor Queen slowly weakened and approached the end of her life. The final decades of Elizabeth's reign obviously brought the prospect of her demise into focus, while also inviting her subjects to imagine the beginning of a new political era. Lisa Hopkins points out that this time saw the increase of figures of the past being remembered through possible successors, and that there was 'a wider interest in the general question of female succession and transmission'.[5] This was only intensified by the likelihood of James's succession and the fear over his mother's influence upon him. Heywood's plays rest upon these contemporary interests in a way that simultaneously draws attention to England's heritage of treason, as well as that of its most likely successor. In so doing, Heywood opens up critique of Elizabethan mythologizing by illuminating some of the Queen's perceived failures to live up to her grand self-image, through a sympathetic glance at the human fallibilities of both mythological figures.

The previous chapter ended by showing how the death of Hercules, a symbol of Tudor majesty, reflected on the demise of the Tudor line. Here, I develop this focus and bring my case studies to a close, as I look more closely at Heywood's responses to the end of

[4] Bertolet, p.224. For example, Elizabeth's reluctance to have Mary executed would have 'cripple[d] the myth of maidenly grace that had long underpinned her own authority'. Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.48.

[5] Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p.78.

Elizabeth's life, and the future of her most likely successor. Heywood's textual reflections of Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots are both overshadowed by imaginings and fears of the future that are captured within the narratives of Helen and Medea. I begin by discussing Heywood's treatment of adulterous heritage through the Troy story in the two plays that end the pentalogy, *The Iron Age I* & *II*. Heywood's treatment of Helen resists the politicised dynamics of adultery to instead use the betrayal so integral to mythic Tudor genealogy to foreground a loss of female agency and power in the face of time's withering advance. Heywood's Helen is a double for the ageing Elizabeth and what many perceived as the concomitant demise of her imperial ambitions. One eventuality people feared was contingent on the demise of the empire was the return of Catholicism, which could arise through the succession of James VI/I. My final section, therefore, looks to these anxieties by glancing to the past scandals afflicting James's mother, Mary, through figurings of Medea. Like Mary, Medea becomes a traitor to her country and rebels against the reigning monarch, but only after she has fallen victim to her affections for Jason, as Heywood stages yet another instance of damaging desire in the Ages. Ultimately, Heywood's treatments of Helen and Medea show that as ever with political lineage, endings prompt interest in new beginnings; but English subjects knew too well that this could be fraught with war, loss, and strife.

I. 'The guerdon of Adultery': Helen and Troy's demise in *The Iron Age I* & *II*

It is not surprising that the infamous adulteress Helen – despite being reputed the most beautiful woman in all of Greece – had not been readily adopted into Elizabethan iconography. Instead, another notable woman from the Troy story, Hecuba, Queen of Troy, was more frequently aligned with Elizabeth. Jasper Heywood's 1559 translation of Seneca's *Troas* was dedicated to Elizabeth and it used Hecuba as 'A mirror […] to teach you [Elizabeth] what you are'.[6] Throughout the period, Hecuba was an exemplar of the grieving mother and a renowned tragic figure, linked to what Tanya Pollard describes as 'affective transmission' – her ability to connote intense emotion whenever she is evoked.[7] In *The Iron Age I* & *II*, though, Heywood minimises the role of Hecuba; she barely makes an appearance

[6] Jasper Heywood, *Troas*, in *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, ed. by James Kerr and Jessica Winston (London: Modern Humanities Research Association: 2012), p.85

[7] Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p.9. Given her Greek heritage and sympathetic portrayals, Pollard explains that Hecuba embodied 'sympathetic transmission of emotion' and could evoke ideas around 'the reciprocal influence of bodies and spirits' (ibid).

besides when she encourages Paris to murder Achilles (330-1) and is transformed into a villain. Instead, Heywood transfers the usual treatment of Hecuba onto his Helen who becomes a mirror for Elizabeth's demise. And though the Troy story in the period was typically 'a privileged topos for nationalistic endeavours,' Heywood's focus is on the figure and person of Elizabeth, as well as her court, rather than her country at large.[8]

In 1591, Elizabeth arrived at Elvetham and was greeted with a song that celebrated her as '"beauteous Queene of second Troy"', with ties to both Hecuba and Helen.[9] London had long been given the name 'Troynovant' ('New Troy'), in accordance with the European tradition whereby rulers claimed mythical links to Troy.[10] In the sixteenth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth's apocryphal account of Britain's history was increasingly circulated, and the idea that England's royalty descended from Aeneas's grandson, Brutus – who founded Britain – became an important, and widely contested, part of Tudor propaganda.[11] In his contributions to mayoral pageants from between 1605 and 1639, Heywood (as well as other writers like Thomas Dekker) drew upon the Troynovant myth as a 'shorthand signifier' for commenting upon contemporary London, particularly, its 'moral quality'.[12] And while these pageants were at times laudatory, their topical focus often lent itself to more subversive reflections. This can be seen in *Troilus and Cressida* (1602?), when Shakespeare uses the Troy myth to comment on the state of England 'following the spectacular fall of the earl of Essex'.[13] Even earlier, though, the matter of Troy 'spoke with particular urgency to early

[8] Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, Politics and the Translation of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.13.
[9] Thomas Watson cited in: David Moore Bergeron, *Elizabethan Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), p.58. I discuss the Elvetham entertainments on pp.99-100, 128.
[10] Royal families all across Europe had claimed mythical ancestry to various Trojans. See Ralf Hertel, *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing National Identity* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.81.
[11] Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (*The History of the Kings of Britain*), dates to *c.*1136 and begins with the banishment of Brutus from Italy, who is directed by Diana to the island that became Britain (named after himself). Heywood produced his own chronicle of England's history in his *The Life of Merlin* (London: 1641; Wing H1786), a biographical work that had recounted all the kings of England – from the legend of Brutus, to Elizabeth as Astraea, ending with Charles II. On Heywood's treatment of Elizabeth and her figuration as Astraea in *The Life of Merlin*, see James, pp.15-18. For more on Britain and the matter of Troy, see Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), especially, pp.151-168.
[12] Philip Robinson, 'The Multiple Meanings of Troy in Early Modern London's Mayoral Show', *The Seventeenth Century*, 26.2 (2011), 221-239 (pp.221, 226).
[13] James, p.91. James also recognises that Shakespeare 'exposes lack of authenticity in a legend which exists only to bequeath authoritative origins' (p.89-90). On the relationship between Shakespeare and Heywood's play see David Farley-Hills, *Shakespeare and the Rival Playwrights, 1600-1606* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.41-71.

modern dramatists' in the 1590s, due in part to the rising tensions and anxiety over what would happen when Elizabeth died.[14]

Heywood's treatment of Troy in the Ages begins in *The Brazen Age*, which dramatises the initial events that created tensions between the Greeks and Trojans: Hercules saved Troy from a sea monster that demanded frequent virginal sacrifices from the city; but, after defeating the beast, Laomedon (King of Troy before his son Priam) refused to give Hercules his due reward, resulting in Hercules' sack of Troy, his killing of Laomedon, and taking Hesione (Priam's sister) back to Greece. *The Iron Age* begins with Priam and his sons debating whether to go and retrieve Hesione from Greece, which they decide they will. While in Greece, Paris flees with Helen, the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, and so begins the Trojan War. In an account far more expansive than most treatments of the myth, Heywood dramatises the Trojan War through to Troy's defeat and the Greeks' return home many years later, encompassing murder, intrigue and suicide. To produce his extensive account of the story of Troy, Heywood combines a number of sources: he likely read the *Iliad* in both the Greek original and George Chapman's recent translations of it – Books 1, 2, and 7-11 of Chapman were published in 1598 – as well as Books 12-13 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1420) is also closely followed and, of course, Caxton's *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (*c*.1575).[15]

One character who can be traced throughout Heywood's Troy narrative in *The Iron Age I* & *II* is Helen. Heywood's Helen is presented as having once been the most beautiful woman in the world, who becomes an aged and regretful shadow of her young self, and subsequently commits suicide on stage, bringing the whole of the Ages series to a close. When Heywood opens *The Iron Age I* he almost immediately connects the play to Elizabeth, as Paris recounts a dream which is known as the Judgement of Paris – a myth that had political uses for both Elizabeth and her mother, Anne Boleyn. Paris explains:

> Celestiall *Juno*, *Venus* and the Goddesse
>
> Borne from the braine of mighty *Jupiter*.
>
> These three present me with a golden Ball,

[14] Hopkins, *Greeks and Trojans on the Early Modern English Stage* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), p.7.
[15] On Heywood and Chapman, see Charlotte Coffin, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Chapman's Homer: nothing in common?', *Classical Receptions Journal* 9.1 (2017), 55-78. Coffin aims to 'reduce the cultural distance between the two authors' (p.55) and highlight the similarities in their treatment of Troy, together with *Troilus and Cressida*.

On which was writ, *Detur pulcherrimae*,

Give't to the fairest: *Juno* proffers wealth,

Scepters and Crownes: faith, she will make me rich.

Next steps forth *Pallas* with a golden Booke,

Saith, reach it me, I'le teach thee Litterature,

Knowledge and Arts, make thee of all most wise.

Next smiling *Venus* came, with such a looke

Able to ravish mankinde: thus bespake mee,

Make that Ball mine? the fairest Queene that breathes,

I'le in requitall, cast into thine armes.

How can I stand against her golden smiles,

When beautie promist beauty? shee prevail'd

To her I gave the prise, with which shee mounted

Like to a Starre from earth shott up to Heaven. (268-9)

The myth was well known and was present in various representations of Elizabeth in which she was Paris's choice and held all the qualities of the goddesses: for example, it featured in George Peele's pastoral play, *The Arraignment of Paris* (1584), which was performed at court before the Queen throughout the 1580s; and there are two surviving paintings of Elizabeth as Paris's choice too.[16] Indeed, when Paris describes the engraving on the golden ball as '*Detur pulcherrimae* (give to the glorious)', Heywood borrows directly from Peele's *Arraignment* and its adaptation of the line from *Aeneid*.[17] But the myth was not only a positive one; it potentially evoked more negative responses to Elizabeth, as it emphasised the link to her adulterous mother, Anne Boleyn, whose coronation progress had also incorporated

[16] Peele adapted his play into his poem *A Tale of Troy* (1589). For more on Peele's play, see Louis A. Montrose, 'Gifts and Reasons: The Contexts of Peele's *Araygnement of Paris*', *ELH*, 47.3 (1980), 433-461. Montrose explores how the play 'recreates the culture which creates it' as he finds in the play 'symbolic forms which typify Elizabethan court culture' (p.433). For more on the theme of the three goddesses see Helen Hackett, 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (2014), 234-256.

[17] See Allan H. Gilbert, 'The Source of Peele's *Arraignment of* Paris', *Modern Language* Notes, 41.1 (1926), 36-40 (p.39).

the myth.[18] For both Elizabeth and Anne, the myth indicated that they brought peace, as they had resolved the contest between the goddesses; however, Paris's decision obviously heralds destruction because it leads to the affair that causes the Trojan War.

Paris is taken by Venus's promise of 'the fairest Queene that breathes' (268) and he convinces his royal Trojan brothers to go to Greece and rescue Hesione, as this would also provide an opportunity to obtain the beautiful woman Venus promised him. However, Paris already had a wife in Troy, Oenone, who was a beautiful nymph in the classical tradition, but appears here as a mortal neglected wife. Heywood adapts the scene from his epyllion, *Oenone and Paris* (1594), which draws from Ovid's *Heroides* and was an imitation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*.[19] As discussed in the previous chapter, Shakespeare used Venus as a scathing figure for the ageing Elizabeth; and, in doing so, he undoubtedly influenced Heywood, not only in his treatment of Venus, but Oenone too. While Shakespeare had mocked Venus for her obsession with Adonis, Heywood's version 'has fun at the expense of a nostalgic Oenone who is coming to terms with the loss of her boy Paris'.[20] In *The Iron Age I*, Heywood retains this focus on Oenone and presents her as a desperate and humiliated woman, wholly rejected by her husband who adamantly prepares to find another wife. Oenone only discovered her husband's plan after some shipwrights revealed they had been building a fleet for Paris 'To fetch a new wife thence' (272). This led Oenone to confront her husband and beg him not to leave, first instructing Paris to 'View mee well. / And what I am, my looks and teares will teach thee' (271). After she draws attention to her status as a grieved wife, Oenone recalls the couple's sexual past: 'By our first love, by all our amorous kisses, / Courtings, imbraces, and ten thousand blisses / I conjure thee, that thou in *Troy* may'st stay' (272). Despite her attempts, Paris is unmoved and leaves Oenone for Greece, echoing Adonis's rejection of Venus in *The Brazen Age*.[21] Heywood emphasises his focus on forsaken woman as the very next scene is a repetition of this encounter, with the couple mirrored by Helen and Menelaus.

[18] On the interplay between Anne and Elizabeth's political representations, see Hackett, 'Anne Boleyn's Legacy to Elizabeth I: Neoclassicism and the Iconography of Protestant Queenship', in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. by Anna Riehl Bertolet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.157-180. John D. Reeves finds eight works that use the myth to respond to either Elizabeth or her mother. See Reeves, 'The Judgement of Paris as a Device of Tudor Flattery', *Notes and Queries*, 1 (1954), 5–11.
[19] Specifically, letters: V, Oenone to Paris; XVI, Paris to Helen; and XVIII, Helen to Paris.
[20] William P. Weaver, *Untutored Lines: The Making of the English Epyllion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p.98.
[21] For my discussion, see pp.119-24.

In Sparta, Helen similarly tries to convince her husband, Menelaus, not to leave her for business in Crete, and Heywood closely echoes the previous scene throughout.[22] Similar to Oenone, Helen learned that Menelaus planned to leave her from a third party, when an 'Embassadour' (274) arrived to journey with Menelaus – the scene also contains frequent references to naval travel. Soon after Menelaus insists on his departure, Helen mimics Oenone when she draws attention to her tears, complaining that Menelaus 'cares not though I weepe my bright eyes blind' (275). And while Oenone evoked her sexual history, Heywood generates more sympathy for Helen, as she recalls her tragic past at the hands of her rapist, Theseus, before she alleges that Menelaus 'us'd mee so to fellowship in bed' (275). Like Paris (and Adonis), Menelaus is unmoved by his wife, and he departs for Crete despite her wishes. The repetition of the scenes here certainly suggests there is significance in the image of a rejected wife, and though Helen and Oenone are not usual figures for Elizabethan comparisons, the echoes of Venus and Adonis invite politicised readings. Elizabeth had, after all, imagined herself as a forsaken wife as she increasingly struggled to maintain control over wayward courtiers, just as Paris and Menelaus defy their wives' wishes so they can depart for foreign lands. Diomedes' assertion that 'honour calls [Menelaus] hence away' (275) is particularly resonant in this regard. Heywood may have had Essex's 'honour' most specifically in mind, given that he ignored the Queen's command on many occasions during the final decades of her reign so that he could participate in militant feats overseas and build his reputation.[23]

While Helen could not control her husband, she did have, initially, a powerful enough allure to draw Paris from his wife; however, Heywood uses the narrative to show that this beauty was transient. Comparably, while many had paralleled Elizabeth's loss of beauty as reflecting her loss of power as she aged, Helen's good looks similarly fade in response to the world around her and the chaos she caused by leaving Greece with Paris. Before Helen even enters the stage, Menelaus highlights the link between her appearance and behaviour when he

[22] In the eighteenth century, Thomas Caldecott compiled a volume which bound Heywood's epyllion *Oenone and Paris* (1593) together with Sir John Ogle's *A Lamentation of Troy* (1594), suggesting the similarity between Helen and Oenone's stories. Götz Schmitz explains how Ogle presented 'a daring inversion of Helen's traditional role as bringer of death and destruction'; as she adopts the more honourable role as chief mourner for the fallen Hector and is even described as a goddess. Schmitz, *The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.72. On the Caldecott volume, see ibid, p.71-72.

[23] In 1589, Essex ignored the Queen's command that he refrain from taking part in the English Armada; later, in the 1596 Islands Voyage, he defied the Queen again when he pursued treasure ships before defeating the Spanish; only a few years later, in 1599, Essex betrayed Elizabeth again when, at the close of the Nine Years' War, he parleyed with Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone against the Queen's orders and returned to England (with a small army in tow). On Essex, see Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601* (London: Routledge, 2012).

questions Thersites: 'Why thinks *Thersites* my bright *Hellens* beauty / Is not with her faire vertues equaliz'd?' (273). Because Helen's beauty is equalised to her virtues, she loses these once she has committed adultery and become a traitor to Greece.

Helen does not realise the demise of her appearance until Troy begins to fall in *The Iron Age II*. Heywood includes another glance here to the Queen's body politic when Helen encounters a diseased Cressida and the pair attempt to flee the Greeks during the sack of the city. Throughout history, Helen and Cressida 'were interchangeable onomastic shorthand for the type of the sexually wanton woman', as both were infamous for their sexual inconstancy.[24] Heywood affirms their similarities when he has Helen look upon Cressida as if she were a mirror while both women fear they will soon perish:

HELEN. Death, in what shape soever hee appears
To me is welcome, I'le no longer shun him;
But here with *Cresida* abide him: here,
Oh, why was *Hellen* at the first so faire,
To become subject to so foule an end?
Or how hath *Cresids* beauty sinn'd 'gainst Heaven,
That it is branded thus with leprosie?

CRESSIDA. I in conceit thought that I might contend
Against Heavens splendor, I did once suppose,
There was no beauty but in *Cresids* lookes,
But in her eyes no pure divinity:
But now behold mee *Hellen*.

HELEN. In her I see
All beauties frailty, and this object makes
All fairenesse to show ugly in it selfe:
But to see breathlesse Virgins pil'd on heape,
What lesse can *Hellen* doe then curse these Starres
That shin'd so bright at her nativity,

[24] Laurie Maguire, *Helen of Troy: From Homer to Hollywood* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p.92. Cressida had forsaken her love of Troilus for that of the Greek Diomedes. For more on Helen and Cressida, especially in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, see ibid, p.92-97.

And with her nayles teare out these shining balls
That have set *Troy* on fire? [sic] (386)

In this extract, Heywood interweaves various sources to heighten the focus on death, decay and suffering. Heywood draws from Robert Henryson's *The testament of Cresseid* – a fifteenth century continuation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* – reprinted in 1593, which includes the story of Cressida stricken with disease as punishment for cursing Venus.[25] In *Troilus and Cressida*, Shakespeare also glanced at Cressida's affliction through recurrent references to diseases throughout the play; and, most pointedly, he did so during Troilus's farewell speech to Cressida (4.4.33-48), which emphasised her 'frail and corruptible nature' – qualities that Heywood's Helen has come to recognise in herself.[26] In this scene, though, Heywood more overtly evokes two moments of horror from two political plays by Christopher Marlowe. When Helen imagines clawing at her own eyes, Heywood recalls Marlowe's own account of the fall of Troy in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, when Aeneas recounts how Hecuba had done the same to Pyrrhus after he slaughtered Priam.[27] Helen's reference to piles of deceased virgins also echoes the final act of *Tamburlaine I* when Tamburlaine commands the death of four virgins of Damascus, whose bodies are hung on the city walls (5.1.120-131).[28] Heywood's use of Marlowe's violent imagery makes the alignment between the destruction of the city and the women's lost beauty more striking, amplifying elements which parallel those that surrounded concerns around Elizabeth's demise and the succession.

The exchange between Helen and Cressida is interrupted when the Greeks burst in, but they decide to spare the women and take Helen back to Greece where she eventually commits suicide after the death of nearly all the other characters. Here, Heywood departs significantly from his sources to end the Ages pentalogy with Helen's suicide, an event that is rarely mentioned in the classical tradition – only the Greek geographer Pausanias had claimed that

[25] Robert Henryson, *The testament of Cresseid* (Edinburgh: 1593; STC 13165). Cressida had blamed the goddess and her son Cupid for her fate in which she had been abandoned by Diomedes, for whom she had forsaken her true love, Troilus.
[26] Jennifer Forsyth, 'Kisses and Contagion in *Troilus and Cressida*', in *Contagion and the Shakespearean Stage*, ed. by Darryl Chalk and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp.83-105 (p.93). For more on the countless references to sexual infections throughout *Troilus and Cressida*, see ibid.
[27] Marlowe writes: 'the frantic queen leaped on his face, / And in his eyelids hanging by the nails' (2.1.244-45). Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.1-69.
[28] Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part One*, in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.69-153.

she hanged herself, Judas-like, from a tree.[29] We see Helen in the underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Dante's *Inferno* and in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), in which the poem 'The reward of Whoredome by the fall of Helen' has Helen speak 'From Limbo Lake'; but none of these sources clarify how she got there.[30] In contrast, Heywood's Helen receives the most attention in her final moments as she stares into a mirror and reflects upon the damage her (now lost) beauty has done. Heywood may have adapted this from an image described by the Chorus in Euripides's *Trojan Women* who recount that Helen gazed into a mirror while she sailed back to Greece after the war.[31] For classical writers, mirrors were 'a female counterpart to the manly sword' and they could represent 'a self-conscious awareness of one's erotic power.'[32] Yet as Helen looks into the mirror she sees her 'wrinkled forehead' (429) and asks 'Where is that beauty?' (430), recognising she has lost the source of her erotic power. Helen here also evokes Medusa who was killed by Perseus when he avoided her deathly gaze by viewing her reflection through a mirrored shield.[33] Because of her powerful gaze, Medusa had been used by writers 'to mythologise Elizabeth as an icon of inviolability and royal omnipotence'.[34] Heywood, though, uses Helen's gaze to address the reality of Elizabeth's fissured power.

With the prominence of a mirror during the final moments of *The Iron Age II*, Heywood ends the whole pentalogy with clear resonances of various contemporary political works. Helen echoes Richard II in Shakespeare's 1595 play, when the King requests a mirror so he can see 'what a face I have, / Since it is bankrupt of his majesty' (4.1.261-2), before he vows his own death.[35] In turn, when Richard gazes at himself and wonders 'Was this face that face / That every day under his household roof / Did keep ten thousand men' (4.1.276-278),

[29] Maguire, p.212.
[30] Thomas Proctor, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (London: 1578; STC 20402), sig.L1r. Proctor's later work, *The Triumph of Truth* (*c.*1580s) is the first example of 'a poet [who] manages to kill off Helen,' though the details of Helen's death are still unclear. This work only exists in a 1866 collection from the known forger John Payne Collier.
[31] See Ruby Blondell, *Helen of Troy: Beauty, Myth, Devastation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.200-1.
[32] Ibid, pp.7, 200.
[33] Heywood has Perseus recount the deed when he first appears in *The Silver Age* (90).
[34] Brett D. Hirsch, 'Three Wax Images, *Two Italian Gentlemen*, and One English Queen', in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. by Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p.165. For more on Medusa, see Julia M. Walker, *Medusa's Mirrors: Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and the Metamorphosis of the Female Self* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998).
[35] Shakespeare, *The Life and Death of King Richard the Second*, in *William Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2007), pp.829-891. For more on Shakespeare's play and the mirror see Bart van Es, '"They do it with mirrors": Spenser, Shakespeare, Baldwin's *Mirror*, and Elizabethan Literature's Political Vanishing Act', in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context: Literature, History and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield and Harriet Archer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp.226-228.

Shakespeare adapts Helen's famous line from *Doctor Faustus*. The connections to *Richard II* also tie Heywood's moment to politics, given that Elizabeth had famously identified herself with Richard – 'I am Richard II, know ye not that?' – in response to the Essex Rebellion's deployment of the play in 1601.[36] Most explicitly, the mirror-monarch trope points towards *A Mirror for Magistrates*, which went through numerous editions throughout Elizabeth's reign.[37] The final version in 1610 ended with a poetic panegyric, *England's Eliza*, which Heywood seems to have echoed in the title of his biography, *Englands Elizabeth her life and troubles* (1631). *A Mirror* would have certainly appealed to Heywood who eventually himself produced de casibus texts such as *Troia Britanica* (1609) and *The Life of Merlin* (1641). Both of these works share with *A Mirror* an interest in historical figures who function as mirrors to the failings of the modern day and should be read as important lessons for both rulers and subjects. Heywood also highlights a similar belief in *An Apology for Actors*, when he argues specifically for the instructive capacity of historical figures by charting the influence of classical heroes over time and comparing them to contemporary figures.[38]

In Helen's final speech, Heywood also echoes Richard Robinson's *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* (1574), in which Helen 'is given a voice only on the condition that she uses it to condemn herself.'[39] Aping Robinson's tract, Heywood's Helen condemns herself by taking the blame for the Trojan War and lamenting her loss of beauty again. (She may also condemn Elizabeth herself here, as she evokes the unfavourable realities that Elizabeth and her government had tried to mask with fabricated images of youth.) Helen begins by directly addressing the audience and drawing attention to her age:

> Where is that beauty? lives it in this face
>
> Which hath set two parts of the World at warre,
>
> Beene ruine of the *Asian* Monarchy,

[36] See Stephen Orgel, 'Prologue: I am Richard II', in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.11-46.
[37] The first edition was published in 1559 and the subsequent editions were in 1563, 1574, 1578, 1587 and 1610.
[38] See Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: 1612; STC 13309), sig.B3r. Heywood later notes: 'If wee present a forreigne History, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of *Romans, Grecians,* or others, either the vertues of our Country-men are extolled, or their vices reproved' (sig.F4v). See also p.17, for my discussion of *Apology*. Notably, in an introductory poem beginning *Apology*, John Taylor writes: 'A Play's a true transparent Christall mirror, / To shew good minds their mirth, the bad their terror' (sig.A4v). Similarly, when Natale Conti discusses The Judgement of Paris in his *Mythologiae* (1567), he asserts: '"By setting Paris' disgraceful conduct before us, the ancients gave us the opportunity to condemn our own stupidity"'. Conti, cited in Heavey, '"Thus Beholde the Fall of Sinne": Punishing Helen of Troy in Elizabethan Verse', *Literature Compass*, 9.7 (2012), 464-475 (p.467)
[39] Ibid, p.471.

And almost this of *Europe*? this the beauty,
That launch'd a thousand ships from *Aulis* gulfe?
In such a poore repurchase, now decayde?
See faire ones, what a little Time can doe;
Who that considers when a seede is sowne,
How long it is ere it appeare from th'earth,
Then ere it stalke, and after ere it blade,
Next ere it spread in leaves, then bud, then flower:
What care in watring, and in weeding tooke,
Yet crop it to our use: the beauties done,
And smel: they scarse last betwixt Sunne and Sunne.
Then why should these my blastings still survive,
Such royall ruines: or I longer live,
Then to be termed *Hellen* the beautifull.
I am growne old, and Death is ages due,
When Courtiers sooth, our glasses will tell true.
My beauty made me pittied, and still lov'd,
But that decay'd, the worlds assured hate
Is all my dowre, then *Hellen* yeeld to fate,
Here's that, my soule and body must divide,
The guerdon of Adultery, Lust, and Pride.

She strangles herselfe. (430)

Heywood explicitly recalls Marlowe's well-known line when Faustus summons Helen, which here emphasises the transience of Helen's appearance. The speech contains allusions to fecundity and harvest but strips them of the glorifying intentions they had in Elizabeth's iconography, as Helen explicitly evokes the loss of these due to time. Elizabeth had, of

course, been imagined as both the Earth and Sun, but Helen gestures to these in order to stress mutability.

The most striking moment of loss is, though, Helen's shocking on-stage suicide. Helen's death is unusual as female suicides more typically took place offstage; but Helen joins the two other mythical women who did commit suicide on stage: Marlowe's Dido and Shakespeare's Cleopatra.[40] All three women faced suffering following their desire and turned to suicide to enact one final moment of agency. Dido and Cleopatra pre-empt their deaths as Dido constructs her own funeral pyre, and Cleopatra carefully costumes herself before she is poisoned by asps. But while Cleopatra opted for a 'gentle death' that allowed her 'to retain her beauty and grace', Helen, who has lost this beauty already, likely hangs herself in a more sudden and visceral act.[41]

Helen's method of suicide calls to mind yet another mythical female, Antigone, and understanding Heywood's echoes of this myth further illuminates the political histories evoked by Helen's final moments. Antigone had appeared in George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh's *Jocasta,* performed at Gray's Inn in 1566, which responded to both anxieties over Elizabeth's virginity as well as the 'affective and political power passed down specifically from mother to daughter.'[42] Anne Boleyn's reputation as an incestuous adulterer, executed for high treason, had of course led to major concerns about Elizabeth. Rather than avoid association with her mother, however, Elizabeth had embraced her iconography, nodding to the mythical tropes used in her mother's coronation ceremony and the Boleyn family's avian imagery throughout her reign.[43] In Heywood's play, Helen of Troy glances to both mother and daughter. Firstly, Helen is key to their shared use of the Judgement of Paris, and Helen's final scene in Heywood's play is shared with her own daughter, Hermione,

[40] See Marlena Tronicke, *Shakespeare's Suicides: Dead Bodies That Matter* (London: Routledge, 2018), p.9.
[41] Ibid, pp.11, 151. The *OED* defines 'strangles' (v.1) as 'to kill by external compression of the throat, esp. by means of a rope or the like passed round the neck'.
[42] Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women*, p.62. For more on Antigone, see Robert S. Miola, 'Early Modern Antigones: Receptions, Refractions, Replays', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 6.2 (2014), 221-44.
[43] Boleyn's 1532 coronation pageant at Leaden Hall featured a white falcon that descended from the roof. See Nicholas Udall, '*English Verses and Ditties at the Coronation Procession of Queen Anne Bolyen*', in *Tudor Tracts 1532-1588*, ed. by A.F. Pollard (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903), pp.15, 21. This memorable entertainment was echoed in Elizabeth's own coronation progress. A white falcon was also present in the royal arms at Boleyn's residences, while a damask tablecloth portrait of Elizabeth was decorated with falcon. See David Mitchell, 'Table Linen Associated with Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Gresham's Exchange', in *The Royal Exchange*, ed. by Ann Saunders (London: Topographical Society, 1997), pp.50-6. The English ambassador to Paris, Edward Stafford reported the existence of an insulting cartoon of Elizabeth which depicted Anjou with a restless falcon. See Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), pp.136-138. For more on Boleyn and Elizabeth, see Hackett, 'Anne Boleyn's Legacy to Elizabeth I'.

which reinforces echoes of Elizabeth and her mother by mirroring the characters from *Jocasta*. Antigone's suicide features in Sophocles' *Antigone* – translated into Latin by Thomas Watson in 1581 – which Heywood may reference through Helen's death. After going against her sister's wishes and defying King Creon's instruction not to care for her father or bury her dead brother, Antigone is imprisoned in a cave where she hangs herself.

The parallel is significant because, to begin with, Antigone was praised by writers for characteristics that had also been commended in Elizabeth: her 'filial and sisterly devotion', 'feminine piety' and 'constancy'.[44] Like Antigone, Elizabeth's sororal devotion was asserted in the face of adversity, particularly while she was imprisoned by her sister. Elizabeth had, at this time, sent Mary many letters insisting her loyalty and innocence in the Wyatt rebellion. We know that Heywood was interested in the predicament Elizabeth found herself in here, because he dramatised her supplication to Mary (emphasising her loyalty and perseverance) in *If you know not me, You know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (1605), and included it again in *Englands Elizabeth* (1631), where he praised the princess Elizabeth for her 'extraordinary patience'.[45] However, this episode also captured and prompted concerns about Elizabeth's constancy because she had converted to Catholicism to convince Mary of her loyalty, casting, for some, permanent doubt on her '*Semper Eadem*' motto.

When Antigone and Helen hang themselves, they end their lives with an act of agency that defies the lack of control they have over their mortality. The act echoes the most ruthless assertion of royal control in the period, mimicking capital punishment. In contrast to these mythical women, though, Elizabeth's life did not end with an act of defiant agency; rather, she had 'growne old', with many believing she had become an ineffective and redundant figure on the throne. Helen conveys this jadedness with her cynical analogy of the futility of cultivating plants, recognising that a picked flower loses its only purposes: beauty and reproduction. When Helen questions why her 'blasting' should survive even though her beauty has not, the term's possible meaning to 'proclaim' (*OED*, n.1) leads her words to echo scepticism towards the elderly Elizabeth's ability to assert authority. Furthermore, blasting also evokes John Knox's critique of matriarchy, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the*

[44] Pollard, *Greek Tragic Women*, p.66.
[45] Heywood, *Englands Elizabeth*, ed. by Philip R. Rider (London: Garland Publishing, 1982), p.99 (for the encounter between the sisters, see pp.98-99). For the dramatisation, see Heywood, *If you know not me, You know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) I, p.235-6. Heywood also summarises Elizabeth's troubles in his section on the monarch in *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world* (London: 1640; STC 13316), pp.193-195.

Monstruous Regiment of Women (1588). Helen recognises that, in contrast to her earlier life when she was beautiful, she now receives hate, which she describes as her 'dowre' – a homograph for 'dour' and 'dowry', evoking the legacy Elizabeth had failed to leave for her subjects. Succession fears are also signalled through Helen's recognition of a divide between her soul and body, as James I/VI's children had 'opened up the question of whether his various kingdoms should remain united in one composite monarchy or should be separated after his death'.[46] Whatever the more oblique inferences from Helen's final words could be, she undoubtedly ends by evoking the Queen's two bodies, ending her life with a final glance towards Elizabeth and her reign.

Clearly, Heywood's treatment of the story of Troy involves a considerable focus on Helen and her beauty. She is not, as she might have been, side-lined as the phantom cause of the war, as in so many treatments of her – including Shakespeare's. She is instead used as a tool for political critique. Through the figure of Helen, Heywood glances to the youth, authority and power that Elizabeth was steadily losing and the disillusion this created. The once beautiful Queen of Sparta whose adultery caused an infamous war would not have been a glorifying figure for Elizabeth but certainly provides some redolent political adjacencies. By evoking the Troy story, Heywood reasserts (and mocks) England's claims of ancestry that rested upon a heritage of adultery and destruction, looking back at a time when English subjects were looking forward and anticipating change. And one way in which people were looking forward was by looking back to one recently accused adulteress, Mary, Queen of Scots.

II. 'The curse of all our Nation, the Crownes ruin': Mary, Medea and Inheritance in *The Brazen Age*

Like Helen and the Troy story, Medea had a ready political analogue, one that was even more subversive to the stability of English politics. Niece of the sorceress Circe, Medea was commonly known as the crazed enchantress who murdered her own children in revenge for her husband Jason's affair with the Corinthian princess Glauce (who she also killed). It was this Medea who became a figure for Mary, Queen of Scots after she purportedly authored the Casket Letters, dating from early 1567, in which she addresses her lover, the Earl of

[46] Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown*, p.6.

Bothwell, fretting that a rival might win him like "the second love of Jason."'[47] While this comment had intended to align Mary with a victimised and forsaken Medea, ultimately, the allusion worked against her, becoming a byword for Mary and Bothwell's murder of her husband (and the father of the future James VI/I) Lord Darnley in 1567. Though it hardly needs to be pointed out, it is, in part, because of these ties to Mary that Medea had become strongly associated with deviancies of Catholicism.[48]

In *The Brazen Age*, though, Heywood does not focus on the narrative of adultery that surrounded Medea. Rather, he prioritised the figure's earlier life, when she first met Jason after he came to her homeland, Colchis, to retrieve the Golden Fleece. Alluding to the Golden Fleece also links Heywood's episode to concerns about Catholicism, as its namesake had been used for the Catholic order of chivalry established in Bruges in 1430, which 'bound a multi-national aristocracy in loyalty to the Emperor', Charles V; Elizabeth's Order of the Garter had been established for similar reasons.[49] Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII, is seen wearing the collar of the Order of the Fleece in a portrait from 1505, the same year that Henry VIII was admitted to the order.[50] The Fleece had often served as allegorical shorthand for international political alliances – and the unfair exploitation of these by one party.[51]

In her introduction, the audience are certainly met with a more sympathetic Medea; she is a young princess who has become a token of her country's greatness and who has nobly used her supernatural powers for her father, King Aeëtes's, sake. However, enamoured with the visiting hero, Medea chooses desire over duty and helps Jason retrieve the Colchian treasure. As the pair flee, in order to stall the chase of her father, Medea brutally dismembers

---

[47] Heavey, *The Early Modern Medea: Medea in English Literature, 1558–1688* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.164 (for more on Medea and the Casket Letters, see pp.164-166).

[48] For other links between Medea and Catholicism see ibid, pp.177-180.

[49] Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1977), p.164.

[50] Unknown, 'King Henry VII', 1505, oil in panel, National Portrait Gallery, London. For more on the Order of the Fleece, see Sara Trevisan, 'The Golden Fleece of the London Drapers' Company: Politics and Iconography in Earl Modern Lord Mayor's Shows', in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. by J.R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti and Anna Maria Testaverde (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp.245-266.

[51] In Heywood's Caroline mayoral pageants *Porta Pietatis* (1638) and *Londini Status Pacatus, or Londons Peaceable Estate* (1639), he used the Fleece as an economic metaphor to celebrate the London Drapers' Company and the Mayors' stance on trade, particularly his membership of the East India Company (see Trevisan, pp.248-9. The economic use of the myth may have been influenced by Shakespeare's in *The Merchant of Venice* (*c.*1596) which used the Fleece to comment on 'economic issues, overseas trade and the importance of the wool industry. Atsuhiko Hirota, 'Venetian Jasons, Parti-coloured Lambs and a Tainted Wether: Ovine Tropes and the Golden Fleece in *The Merchant of Venice*', in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his contemporaries*, ed. by Janice Valls-Russell, Charlotte Coffin and Agnès Lafont (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.109-10.

her own brother, Absyrtus – the heir to the Colchian throne.[52] While the story dramatises the kind of secrecy, plotting and betrayal characterising Mary, Heywood's episode obviously precedes the more notorious myth associated with Medea. With this narrative focus, Heywood looks back through Medea's life and simultaneously casts a retrospective glance to Elizabeth and Mary's, in order to evoke the future possibility of James VI/I's accession. (The allusions to James, then, also point towards the future of the Ages' topicality and their Jacobean revivals.)

It was the crazed and murderous Medea from classical texts like Euripides's *Medea* and Seneca's tragedy of the same name that influenced Medea's role in the political plays *Gorboduc* (1561) and *Locrine* (1594). In *Gorboduc*, Medea appears in the dumbshow that precedes Act IV when the Furies parade across the stage various classical women who committed infanticide. Medea also features in a dumbshow in *Locrine* wherein she represents (female) revenge. These plays are two of the most important of the period's dramatic treatments of British political history; and, in them, Medea highlights how 'the necessary containment of the wayward and alarming woman might bear lessons for Britain itself.'[53] Heywood's Medea also serves this purpose, as she gradually adopts her Senecan characterisation throughout the episode. In accordance with the other myths in *The Brazen Age*, Heywood also foregrounds Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (VII) wherein the lovers meet, as well as Ovid's *Tristia* that emphasises her fratricide. Although there was renewed interest in Mary due to the possible succession of James, the successor to the Colchian throne, Absyrtus, is largely side-lined throughout Heywood's episode with his main role being killed and dismembered by his sister.

Heywood introduces Medea via her father, Aeëtes, who celebrates his daughter, alongside the Golden Fleece, for granting his country its esteem:

> How may we glory above other kings
>
> Being (by our birth) descended from the Gods?
>
> Our wealth renowned through the world tripartite,
>
> Most in the riches of the golden fleece,
>
> And not the least of all our happinesse,

[52] I have used the modern spelling for King Aeëtes, Heywood writes: 'Oetes.'
[53] Heavey, *Early Modern Medea*, p.118.

Medea for her powerfull magicke skill,

And Negromanticke exorcismes admir'd,

And dreaded through the *Colchian* territories. (208)

Aeëtes not only stresses Medea's role in strengthening her country but he also conveys a notion of inheritance and the divine right of kings. James VI/I was of course a firm believer in divine right and had written about it in both *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and *Basilikon Doron* (1599). Notably, when Medea's supernatural abilities are evoked, Heywood underlines the notion of female inheritance, given that she was a descendant of sorceresses. For some, Heywood's emphasis of these elements could have spoken to lingering concerns over the imagined influence of Mary, Queen of Scots on James – the apple doesn't fall far from the tree, after all.

Medea supports her father's claims and further elaborates on her powers which allude to those captured within Elizabeth's lunar figuration:

I can by Art make rivers retrograde,

Alter their channels, run backe to their heads,

And hide them in the springs from whence they grew.

The curled Ocean with a word Il'e smooth,

(Or being calme) raise waves as high as hils,

Threatning to swallow the vast continent.

With powerfull charmes Il'e make the Sunne stand still,

Or call the Moone downe from her arched Spheare

What cannot I by power of *Hecate*? (209)

While Medea does recall Elizabeth's iconography, her words suggest a subversion of the powers: rivers will 'retrograde' or 'hide'; she will evoke not calmness but stormy seas to submerge continents; she will even stop the sun. Though the sea imagery evokes the Armada victory, it is undercut with a more subversive reading. In light of Elizabeth's lunar ability to control the tide of her courtiers and subjects, Medea's power to rouse a tempest can be read

figuratively as reflecting on her cousin's role in various rebellions, whereby she could turn tides by calling Catholic subjects to rebel against their Queen. This is compounded by the image of bringing the Moon down from an 'arched' sphere, a possible triumphal arch and symbol of monarchical glory.[54] Furthermore, the allusion to Mary is conveyed again as Heywood alludes to genealogy when Medea describes redirecting the rivers from 'whence they grew', and he evokes Hecate who was Medea's great-aunt, to whom Medea was (in myth) a priestess.

After this introduction, Medea briefly recounts the origins of the Golden Fleece before the Colchian family are interrupted with the news that a group of heroes have arrived. Medea is immediately stricken by Jason's 'noble presence' and his 'bold spirit', demonstrated through his willingness to face the two fiery bulls and dragon which guard the Fleece (210). Medea quickly realises she must choose between duty and desire and delivers a soliloquy deliberating whether she will assist Jason in acquiring the Fleece:

> If he attempts he dies, what's that to mee?
> Why should *Medea* feare a strangers life?
> Or what's that *Jason* I Should dread his fall?
> If he o're-come, my fathers glory waines,
> And all our fortunes must reward his paines.
> Let *Jason* perish then, and *Colchos* flourish.
> Our pristine glories let us still enjoy,
> And these our brasse-head buls the Prince destroy.
> Oh! what distraction's this within me bred,
> Although he die, I would not see him dead?
> The best I see, the worst I follow still,
> Hee nere wrong'd mee, why should I wish him ill?
> Shall the Buls tosse him who *Medea* loves,
> A Tigresse, not a Princesse, should I prove?

[54] For my discussion on triumphal arches, see p.152.

To see him tortured whom I deerly love?

Bee then a traitresse to thy fathers life,

A robber of the clime where thou wast bred,

And for some straggler that hath lost his way,

Thy fathers Kingdome and his State betray.

Tush, these are nothing, first his faith I'le crave,

That covenant made, him by enchantments save. (212)

Medea repeatedly evokes her father and connects him to the country's glory, evoking Henry VIII and his break from Rome; while the emphasis on paternity more generally highlights the scene's focus on inheritance and stresses the transmission of duty. Both Mary and Elizabeth had inherited the their duty as monarch from their fathers but only Mary would pass it down and continue her family line.

Evidently, Medea chooses desire and not duty and her decision echoes that of Aeneas and Dido. Heywood may allude to Aeneas in particular when Jason is described as a lost straggler, bringing to mind the image of the shipwrecked Aeneas who, like Medea here, was distracted from his duty to establish the city that would become Rome. The tension between duty and desire was a pressing fear during Elizabeth's various marriage negotiations, especially those with Anjou, who was of course a foreign visitor like Jason and Aeneas. Many subjects disapproved of the match, believing the Queen would 'betray' her own Protestant state; and Heywood's use of religious terms like 'faith' and 'covenant' only strengthen the religious connotations of the speech. Furthermore, both Elizabeth's French marriage projects and James I/VI's union with Anne of Denmark were conceived in relation to a foreign Jason travelling to a distant realm, and making off with the spoils.[55] During the Anjou marriage negotiations, in 1581 there had even been a show performed for the French Ambassadors that featured four champions who were '"venturing to win the golden fleece without Medea's helpe"' and who 'submitted to Elizabeth.'[56] Even nearly thirty years after Elizabeth's death, Lady Diana Primrose had remembered the marriage negotiations in similar

[55] Yves Peyré, 'Marlowe's Argonauts', in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.108.
[56] Ibid.

terms, in her eulogy for the Queen, *A Chaine of Pearle* (1630), writing: 'That brave French *MONSIEUR* who did hope to carry / The Golden Fleece, and faire *ELIZA* marry.'[57]

Despite Medea's decision endangering her nation, Heywood resists portraying her as a villain. Instead, immediately after her speech the audience are invited to look upon her with a degree of sympathy when Heywood presents Jason as a Machiavellian villain. In so doing, Heywood echoes Isabella Whitney's 'To her unconstant lover' (1567), which chastises Jason for beguiling Medea and using her for his advantage.[58] Here, Heywood's Jason reveals that he intends to take advantage of the amorous princess:

> I have observ'd *Medea*
> Retort upon me many an amorous looke,
> Of which I'le studdy to make prosperous use.
> If by her art the Inchantments I can bind
> Immur'd with death, I certaine safety find. (212)

Jason seizes the opportunity to advance his plan when Medea enters and confides that she is unsure whether to 'o're-whelme upon my captive head, / The curse of all our Nation, the Crownes ruin?' (212). In response, Jason flatters Medea to influence her into betraying her family and country to aid him in acquiring the Fleece:

> Madam, because I love I pitty you,
> That you a beauteous Lady, art-full wise,
> Should have your beauty and your wisdome both
> Invelopt in a cloud of Barbarisme:

[57] Diana Primrose, *A Chaine of Pearle. Or a Memoriall of the peerles Graces, and Heroick Vertues of Queene Elizabeth of Glorious Memoryz* (London: 1630; STC 20388), p.3. Lisa Gim points out that 'almost nothing is known about Diana Primrose's life but the title page of her poem indicates that she is "a Noble Lady."' Lisa Gim, '"Faire *Eliza's* Chaine": Two Female Writers' Literary Links to Queen Elizabeth I', in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, ed. by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.189.

[58] Whitney writes:
> For when he by Medea's art,
> had got the fleece of gold
> And also had of her, that time,
> all kind of things he would

Whitney, 'I.W. To Her Unconstant Lover', in *Early Modern Women's Writing: An Anthology, 1560-1700*, ed. by Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.4.

That on these barren Confines you should live,

Confin'd into an Angle of the world.

And ne're see that which is the world indeed,

Fertile and populous *Greece, Greece* that beares men,

Such as resemble Gods, of which in us

You see the most dejected, and the meanest. (213)

Jason includes a number of allusions to Mary and Scotland throughout this speech, hinging on the assertion that the 'Greeks were ancestors of the Scots'.[59] Given this connection, Jason's claim, that it is only Greece that produces men who resemble gods, can be read in light of Mary having given Scotland a king (who would himself advocate his own divine right). Clearly, this was in contrast to barren England, which is evoked through the term 'angle', intimating Englishman (*OED*, n.3); but the term also alludes to Mary's imprisonment in England (1568-87) given its relation to confinement (*OED*, n.2), which is supported through the other references to isolation and captivity. Being subsumed in barbarism could even allude to her charges of being implicated in her husband's murder and the various Catholic plots against Elizabeth; indeed, the scene's setting strengthens the allusion given that the pair meet in secret and conceal their meeting, forcing Absyrtus to swear he will not reveal that he saw the pair.

It was during Mary's imprisonment that she presented herself in letters as a victim when she 'wrote from a particular subjectivity' that emphasised her 'sorrow, anxiety, and despair.'[60] Heywood appears to draw upon Mary's self-pity when he presents Medea as a victim; but he satirises this as she soon steps into her more famous role as violent murderess after falling for Jason's plan. But before Jason's plan comes together, and he escapes Colchis with the Fleece, Aeëtes sends a letter to Medea informing her of his 'plot to overthrow Jason' who must 'perish' (219). Here, Heywood alludes to specific instances of Mary's proposed writing: her notorious Casket Letters as well as the coded letters found after the Babington

[59] Hopkins, *Greeks and Trojans*, p.3.

[60] Joy Currie, 'Mary Queen of Scots as Suffering Woman: Representations by Mary Stuart and William Wordsworth', in *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. by Carole Levin, Debra Barrett-Graves, Jo Eldridge Carney (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.190. See also Heavey, *Early Modern Medea*, pp.164-5.

Plot was foiled. Before Medea reads the letter, though, Heywood had already evoked the treachery associated with Mary and Catholic plots when Medea helps Jason obtain the Fleece.

Jason enters with great confidence and demands the beasts that guard the Fleece to be revealed before he calls upon Medea's powers. At Aeëtes' instruction:

> *Two fiery Buls are discovered, the Fleece hanging over them, and the Dragon sleeping beneath them*: *Medea with strange fiery-workes, hangs above in the Aire in the strange habite of a Conjuresse*.
>
> MEDEA. The hidden power of Earth, Aire, Water, Fire,
> Shall from this place to *Jasons* helpe conspire.
> Fire withstand fire, and magicke temper flame,
> By my strong spels the savadge monster's tame (217)

Should we overlook the use of 'conspire' with the pyrotechnical emphasis on explosion and incineration ('Fire withstand fire, and magic temper flame')? Read in isolation, perhaps. But alongside the Medea character's wider associations with Mary and her involvement in English Catholic plotting more broadly understood, the scene's allusion to Darnley's spectacular murder at Kirk o'Fields (in 1567) is difficult to ignore.

From this moment, Heywood appears to withdraw the apologetic account of Medea as she steps into her Senecan role. Soon after assisting Jason with the beasts, Medea informs him of Aeëtes's plot and advises that they must flee Colchis that night. On the shore, Absyrtus encounters his sister and she instructs him to follow her, revealing to the audience that 'if the King pursue us with his Fleet, / His mangled limbes shall (scattered in the way) / Worke our escape, and the Kings speed delay' (221). Homer soon informs us that this is what happened, as he concludes the episode with grim detail:

> […] Medea *takes the head*
> *Of yong* Absyrtus, *whom* (*unkinde*) *she slue*,
> *And all his other limbes str*[e]*wes in the way*
> *Of the old father, his pursute to stay*. (222)

The fratricide embodies an 'anxiety about the sundering of a body that was at once both private and political, a brother and son and a royal heir.'[61] The inherently political act of fratricide calls to mind the foundation myth of Rome, as well as Britain's own history, by echoing *Gorboduc* and Porrex's murder of his brother, Ferrex. In turn, could Medea's weakening of Colchis by taking away its Golden Fleece allude to Mary's involvement in the plot to murder Elizabeth?

The murder of the heir to the throne, though, criticises Elizabeth more than Mary. Thus, where Medea is initially and most closely aligned with her presence in Mary's casket letters, Heywood presents her in a more sympathetic light, and when she grows into her more crazed self, her actions also align her with Elizabeth. Of course, Medea echoes Mary's treason but the specific act of killing the heir is a charge that Elizabeth had faced, not her cousin. And it is because of this, the lack of an heir, that intensified fears over a return to Catholicism as Elizabeth grew older and weaker. Thus, while the Medea episode uses the dichotomy of duty and desire to engage with concerns over an internal Catholic threat and the security of the nation more widely, in its resurrection of the mother of the most likely successor to the English crown, Heywood once again draws attention to Elizabeth's failings. Heywood's Medea is not yet the more famous forsaken wife and infanticide; rather, she is a royal figure poised between duty and desire, as Elizabeth was while, for example, she grappled with her affections for Robert Dudley. Although Heywood does not focus on the more typical Medea narrative that centres upon Jason's adultery, the episode in *The Brazen Age* draws upon elements pertinent to the treatment of adultery across the Ages: the impact of desire – both real and figurative – on the welfare and security of the realm.

III. Conclusion

Both the Helen and Medea narratives conclude with clear end points when lineage is severed: Troy is destroyed and the Colchian throne loses its heir. And despite the responsibility these women take in formulating such catastrophic events, Heywood resists a purely misogynistic treatment of the pair, even portraying them, at times, as victims. They are doubled not only in narrative similarities and their adjacencies to early modern queens, but also through their

[61] Heavey, 'Fifty ways to kill your brother: Medea and the poetics of fratricide in early modern English literature', in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his contemporaries*, ed. by Janice Valls-Russell, Angès Lafont and Charlotte Coffin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.133, 142.

similar treatment from Heywood. When Helen glances into the mirror and sees her beauty dissolving, it reflects the annihilation of the empire for which she takes responsibility – albeit with guilt, which leads to her suicide. Medea was originally a dutiful daughter who used her powers to protect her father's realm and was seduced to mischief by the Machiavellian Jason. These humanising elements convey Heywood's possible sympathy for Elizabeth herself, and even his more positive attitude towards women more generally (an attitude evident across so many of his works). However, they do still present the notion of female frailty and the danger of women who desire, charges that Elizabeth sought to avoid, and of which Mary had been accused (and found guilty). Indeed, Helen embodies the realities that dogged Elizabeth as an ageing woman, and the backdrop of the destruction of an empire overshadows the sympathetic account Heywood gives of the infamous adulteress. For that matter, it overshadows the whole pentalogy, for this is the image that closes the Ages series. Medea, meanwhile, glances back to the scandals of Elizabeth's blood-rival, to reflect on contemporary concerns over what deviancies might have been invited back into the realm through the succession of her son.

Conclusion

'A phoenix out of their cold ashes rising' (335)

This thesis has argued that Heywood's Ages plays obsessively parody figures and concepts of political authority rooted in the 1590s, and that part of what made the Ages so popular was precisely their commitment to ambiguous (by that I mean both plural and deniable) moments of political satire. By recognising the topicality of the pentalogy, we can more confidently and accurately date the provenance of these plays, and better tell the stories of their inception and reception. This has wide ranging implications. For not only can an improved reading of these plays broaden our understanding of Heywood's corpus, it also adds depth to what we can know about the contexts of dramatic writing, relating in particular to the works of Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, and emerging playwrights like Ben Jonson. The Ages also illuminate some of the ways in which classical mythology was being popularised for the stage, through a medium which held unique intimacy with the performative political environs of the early modern court. Under the last Tudor monarch, the plays' insistent preoccupation with themes of lineage, maternity, virginity, adultery and (royal) mortalities, spoke powerfully to the political concerns of the late-Elizabethan English nation. If, as seems likely, these plays were reworked for the Jacobean stage, we should also be alive to the new significances these issues carried forward, for later audiences. This conclusion will retrace the likely chronology of suppression and revival that these plays seem have to undergone in light of the case studies here undertaken, in ways that might aid future research on the longevity and evolving topicality of these texts.

Before the Ages were likely revived, sometime before 1610, they appear to have been suppressed; and the increased censorship around the turn of the century can explain this gap in the Ages' story. *Henslowe's Diary* suggests that the initial runs of the original plays ended at the beginning of 1596, though there are two records in 1598 suggestive of a brief revival of *hercolas* as the play was repurchased and a costume was bought for it – though there are no more performance records.[1] The controversy that surrounded *The Isle of Dogs* fiasco which

[1] For the final performance records, see Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.34 (for *seleo & olempo* and *hercolas 1*), p.33 (for *hercolas II*), p.48 (for *troye*). In 1598, Henslowe purchases both parts of *hercolas* from Martin Slater and lends Thomas

erupted in July 1597 may play a part in the absence of the Ages in these years. The play had, according to the Privy Council, contained 'very seditious and slanderous matter', which landed one of its authors, Ben Jonson, in prison for libel (Thomas Nashe evaded arrest by fleeing London) and contributed to the three months of closure for theatres in London that summer.[2] As no copy of the play survives and there are no detailed reports of its content, it is not known for sure what caused so much offence; however, Ian Donaldson argues that the charges the authors faced suggest that 'the play made libellous reference to recognizable individuals in high places: quite possibly, to members of the Privy Council, and conceivably […] to the Queen herself'.[3] It is likely, then, that there was increasing caution towards such images in drama around these years, making plays like the Ages more inflammatory. Indeed, the Ages identify with some of the issues which directly contributed to the rise in censorship, given that it was, in part, 'intensified as a result of the *fin-de siècle* political tensions generated by anticipation of the Queen's death and the factionalism which accompanied the uncertain succession'.[4] Thus, even the silence of the Ages in these years could suggest their topicality.

Tensions did not end when the theatres reopened in October 1597, for less than two years later saw the Bishops' Ban on satires, epigrams, and histories without approval from the Privy Council. Janet Clare points out that it was 'social satire' which was the 'primary target' of the ban, evident in part through the suppression of John Hayward's *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie III* (and the author's imprisonment), for its allusions to Essex and images of rebellion – both features present in the Ages.[5] Even 'generalized comments upon the state of society came too close to the truth for comfort' during Elizabeth's final years.[6] Moreover, the focus on history plays in particular 'discloses a readiness to see in historical events an image of the present', meaning it was 'referentiality' that often led to the charges.[7] Mythology may not have been as safe as it once was, as Clare explains how Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) – a play featuring Diana and other deities – potentially

---

Dowton money for a costume for the play (see ibid, pp.89, 93); later, in 1601 Henslowe pays a tailor for 'diverse things' for the play also (ibid, p.185).

[2] E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1974) IV, p.323.

[3] Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.117. Donaldson points out that Jonson may have even admitted this in a letter from prison eight years later and suggests figures that could be possibilities, including the Polish Ambassador and Earl of Essex. (see pp.117-120).

[4] Janet Clare, *'Art made tongue-tied by authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship*, 2nd edn. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.81.

[5] Ibid, p.83 (see also pp.84-5).

[6] Richard A. McCabe, 'Elizabethan Satire and the Bishops' Ban of 1599', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 11 (1981), 188-193 (p.192).

[7] Clare, p.75.

reveals moments of censorship and revision, with Jonson becoming more comfortable writing court satire in the Jacobean period.[8]

Whatever the case, Heywood remembered these controversies around a decade later. For in *An Apology for Actors* (1612), he reflects back to 'the time that certaine bookes were called in question'.[9] The comment comes after his account of Julius Caesar questioning Cicero on the necessity of playing in the city, to which Cicero replies that had the people not been 'bewitched with these pastimes', they may have been 'inquisitive after thee and thy greatnesse.'[10] Here Heywood even aligns Cicero with 'a great statesmen of this land' who had apparently shared such an opinion during 'the time' when books were questioned.[11] During the account, Heywood plainly denies the concerns that had led to increased censorship during Elizabeth's final years, using a classical authority to reverse the argument that plays could incite subversive thought and rebellion. However, such concerns appear to have eased with the accession of James VI/I in 1603, and a safer landscape for political satire invited a new vogue of such work around that time.[12]

When the crown was passed to James, many issues that had been so precarious for Elizabeth lost their political edges. James did not need to mystify himself like the Virgin Queen, so 'the protection of the sovereign's mystique ceased to be one of the censor's priorities'.[13] Censorship seemed, for a time, to become considerably more relaxed towards satirical images of the monarchy – it was even reported by the French ambassador that Queen Anne had enjoyed plays where she could 'laugh against her husband'.[14] So, it seems, reflections on recent historical events – especially shadier Tudor histories – made their way back to the stage temporarily, before the history play fell out of fashion.[15] Heywood himself had seized upon the opportunity to dramatise the late Queen, producing the immensely popular two-part dramatic account of Elizabeth's life, *If you know not me, You know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (1605); Thomas Dekker, too, brought Elizabeth on stage in *The Whore of Babylon* (1605). These plays present Elizabeth in a positive light,

[8] Ibid, pp.104-7.
[9] Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: 1612; STC 13309), sig.D1r.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] See Clare, p.173.
[13] Ibid, p.120.
[14] Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1974) I, p.325.
[15] Samuel Rowley's play about Henry VIII, *When You See Me You Know Me*, was published in 1605. Shakespeare's *Richard II* was reprinted in 1608 following a Jacobean revival and *Richard III* was printed in 1605 and 1612 suggesting its popularity; and around 1613 Shakespeare likely wrote *Henry VIII*. Although first performed in 1602, John Webster and Thomas Dekker's *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, was published in 1607.

emphasising her youth, virginity and resilience through suffering; and, while positive images of Elizabeth could praise James as he was often presented as 'a phoenix like reincarnation of his deceased cousin', Elizabeth was often also used as a precedent to criticise the King for failing to live up to her example.[16]

After her death, the Queen, of course, became a political tool: 'the memory of Elizabeth was often adjusted and rewritten according to the political messages the writer wished to convey'.[17] For those who were critical of James's peace-making policies with Catholic foes, for example, Elizabeth was celebrated as the militant Protestant hero – as she is in both Dekker and Heywood's plays.[18] However, Elizabeth had not always fared well in appearances following her death, for criticism of the new king often found an outlet through anger towards the Virgin Queen – it was, after all, Elizabeth's commitment to chastity that had led to James's accession. Nonetheless, it was still unacceptable to defame a monarch on the stage, so authors used 'dramatic substitutes who displayed some but not all of her attributes', such as besieged virgins and female corpses, to give voice to frustrations.[19] In Heywood's case, the dramatic substitutes were mythological characters who shared and complicated those attributes associated with Elizabeth and her court. But those characters also took on new meanings after James's accession.

As time moved on, the narratives of mythology retained their political currency. The Stuarts themselves used classical mythology for their own representation and entertainment, as illustrated by Samuel Daniel's masque, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, performed at Hampton Court by Queen Anne and her ladies on 8th January 1604 (for New Year's celebrations). The masque was one of the earliest of the Stuart reign, and the incredible spectacle – that likely put the Ages to shame – was designed to impress foreign dignitaries and set a precedent for future Stuart splendour.[20] Anne was cast as Pallas/Minerva, and the

[16] Elizabeth H. Hageman, 'Introduction', in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), p.17.
[17] Yuichi Tsukada, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Nostalgia: Negotiating the Memory of Elizabeth I* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p.8.
[18] See Catherine Loomis, *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.123.
[19] Ibid, p.128. Loomis explains: 'The terrible treatment meted out to stage characters who share Elizabeth's commitment to chastity can thus be seen as patriarchal culture's effort to punish and penetrate the dead Queen' (p.128-9).
[20] *Twelve Goddesses* featured costumes created from Elizabeth I's old garments and Anne had worn £100,000 worth of jewels, while the show reportedly totalled the cost of £2-3000. The report of the costs comes from the account of Roger Willbraham, see Willbraham, 'The Journal of Roger Wilbraham', in *Camden Miscellany*, 10 vols., ed. by Harold Spencer Scott (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902) X, p.66. For more on the performance, see Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.107.

performance saw many other goddesses who feature in the Ages, including Juno, Diana, Vesta, Venus, Ceres and Proserpine. Heywood brought the Ages back to the stage around ten years later when they were revised for the Red Bull, and even brought them back to court when *The Silver Age* was performed at Greenwich Palace in 1612. Anne would go on to feature in more masques during the first decade of James's reign, and, in ways similar to Elizabeth's mythological personas, Anne's performances were 'not simply to display herself but also to *author* her self-image'.[21] Anne was enjoying mythological tropes just as Elizabeth had, and this kind of (fashionable) thing maintained the satirical flair on the popular stage, as plays continued to feature mythology with the potential to mock the elite.[22] While Anne had drawn 'upon her predecessor's imagery far more than has been recognised', many of the messages conveyed in Elizabeth's imagery inevitably changed with added Stuart topicality.[23] Therefore, I will now overview my preceding chapters and the key aspects of the Ages' political interests, and read these in light of some illustrative examples of how the narratives and characters may well have been reframed in the early decades of the seventeenth century.

In my first case study, chapter two, I explored politicised instances of maternity in the Ages. Heywood fixated upon elements that echoed Elizabeth's own figurative maternal personas and the dynamics and tensions that were bound up within this. Indeed, the Ages open with two mothers whose love secures their authority and leads to actions that many English subjects expected of their own Queen: Sibilla's care for her son leads her to protect her whole nation, and Vesta's favouritism leads her to elect an heir to the Cretan throne. As the Ages progress, maternal roles become more complex and contemptuous, even leading to filicide. When Althea murders her son, Meleager, she ends the Calydonian line and commits suicide; similarly, Clytemnestra's attempt to kill her son, Orestes, solidifies her own demise. These narratives speak to the end of the Tudor line and depict the type of brutal actions that Elizabeth was rumoured to have committed herself. A more fragile reality of Elizabeth surfaces, meanwhile, in Heywood's repeated images of aged and infertile bodies throughout the Ages. Jupiter's quest to produce offspring sees him echo the wishes of many who had

[21] Effie Botonaki, 'Anne of Denmark and the Court Masque: Displaying and Authoring Queenship', in *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, ed. by Debra Barrett-Graves (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.133 (emphasis in original).

[22] Examples of other contemporary mythological/classical drama are: Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (written around 1601 but published in 1609), *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), *Pericles* (1608), and in *Cymbeline* (1611), we see Jupiter descend onto the stage as in the Ages; Ben Jonson's masques *Hymenaei* (1606) and *The Masque of Beauty* (1608) both feature mythological figures; John Webster's *Appius and Virginia* likely emerged some time after 1608.

[23] James Knowles, '"To Enlight the Darksome Night, Pale Cinthia doth Arise": Anna of Denmark, Elizabeth I and the Images of Royalty', in *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens*, ed. by Clare McManus (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.21-2.

hoped Elizabeth would do the same; yet Earth's wrinkled forehead (when she meets the celebrated Ceres) reminds Heywood's audience of the dearth and civic disorder that their country was experiencing whilst led by an increasingly infirm Queen. Whilst memories of the Tudor succession dilemmas lasted for generations, by the time that the Ages were revived in the Jacobean period, interest in succession changed markedly. And thus Heywood's images of maternity could also speak to England's new Queen, Anne, who was a natural mother.[24] However, Heywood's mothers retained relevance to Elizabeth, as she had been the godmother to Prince Henry and adopted the role as James's 'surrogate mother'.[25] All the while, maternal inheritance retained the precariousness it had for Elizabeth, with James's mother often haunting apprehensions towards, for example, the King's peaceful approach to England's Catholic enemies of old. Political mothers and sons, figurative and real, are laden with questions for the nation. Research into the afterlives of these plays can yield notable insights into how these concepts continued to speak to later political changes, in the seventeenth century and beyond.

Chapter three demonstrated how the Virgin Queen was frequently lampooned in the Ages through narratives that feature elements integral to Diana. I first discussed Diana's actual appearance in the Ages, where the political connotations are underlined by distinct echoes of royal entertainments. Heywood presents Diana as an authoritative and celebrated leader of an idyllic pastoral land, satirising how Elizabeth's divine figuration contrasted with the realities of 1590s England. Diana, though, was undermined when Jupiter infiltrates her crew and rapes Calisto, in my first instance of female subjugation of the chapter. I continued by looking at Heywood's huntresses as devices apposite to Elizabeth's militant reputation. Atalanta and Penthesilea enact militant chastities that prompt the men who surround them to control and suppress the women: Atalanta is silenced when she marries Meleager and becomes a meek and gracious wife, while Penthesilea is decapitated in an act of regicide. Proserpine is, moreover, conquered, when she is abducted by Pluto and forced to become the Queen of Hades in the narrative which contains the final discussed aspect of the Virgin Queen, through its use of lunar imagery. Throughout the episode, Heywood creates a

[24] Anne's role as mother allowed her to assert authority and 'pursue her own agendas'; evident in her battle for the custody of her first son Henry, Prince of Wales. Jemma Field, *Anna of Denmark: The Material and Visual Culture of the Stuart Courts, 1586-1619* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.21. For more on Anna's attempts to gain custody of Henry, see ibid, pp.20-24.

[25] Rayne Allinson believes that James's request to Elizabeth to name his daughter after her secured this notion as traditionally royal children were named after their parents or grandparents. See Allinson, '"These latter days of the world": the Correspondence of Elizabeth I and James VI, 1590-1603', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 16 (2007), 1-27.

patchwork of Tudor symbolism and royal entertainments that is set against the backdrop of Hades and the act of abduction, to once again undermine the representation of Elizabeth and play on her dualistic figuration as the Moon. For the later Jacobean audiences, especially those watching *The Silver Age* at Greenwich in 1612, virginity and queenship had lost little associative linkage to Elizabeth. And Queen Anne clearly delighted in the mythic figurations of royalty which her predecessor had cultivated, performing on stage alongside the roles of Ceres and Proserpine herself in other entertainments.[26] Thus we may speculate at how Heywood's female spaces, so indelibly associated with the virginal figures inhabiting them, could be viewed in light of Anne and her ladies. It was, after all, widely known that Anne and James did not cohabit.[27] Furthermore, the huntresses throughout the Ages may, more generally, remind an audience of James, the avid hunter – a pastime which often distracted him from matters at court. However, these militant women could also serve to shame James's pacifism, begging the question that if a beautiful virgin can fight, why can't the king?

My fourth chapter read the Ages' many instances of adultery and love triangles in light of late Elizabethan courtly dynamics. Rival lovers like Mars and Vulcan can evoke factional courtiers which, in turn, figured Elizabeth as the adulteress Venus. The fact that Venus is ultimately caught and humiliated though, once again casts a mocking light upon Elizabeth, especially for her attempted surveillance at court. Elizabeth's overpowering presence and futile attempts to control her court are also satirised through Heywood's figure of Juno. The goddess devises multiple schemes to exact revenge on her adulterous husband, Jupiter, by harming his illegitimate offspring, which, I argued, could well play upon Elizabeth's interference with love lives at court and her attempts to prevent illicit relationships. When it comes to Hercules's affair with Omphale, a beautiful foreign queen reminiscent of both Cleopatra and Dido, Heywood produces a more sympathetic portrait of Elizabeth by reproducing the Queen's own sorrowful words through the forsaken wife, Deianeira. The compassion is undercut, though, when Deianeira eventually kills Hercules, a key figure of Tudor iconography, embodying the lofty (fading) goals of English imperial militancy. This web of parody and critique is, then, at times underwritten by a moving compassion for its subject matter – we see the plays viciously question the personas of the crown, whilst sparing sympathy for the person of the Queen herself. Looking forward, the political amplitude of

[26] In the *Twelve Goddesses*, Ceres and Proserpine were played by maid of honour Dorothy Hastings and the Countess of Derby respectively.

[27] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski explains that Anne was known for her 'withdrawal to her own court and affairs' and had her own 'locus of interest and power' separate to James's. Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.26.

love triangles at court was never far from the public ear; nor were the political consequences of ruined marriages, bastard pregnancies and births. Whatever the Ages may have meant to its later audiences, the sexual energies at the court of a king renowned for his own intimacies and favourites, may well have assumed new politicised dimensions. Where we see shadows of a vulnerable Elizabeth on stage, moreover, this poses questions about how the late Queen's more positive memorials might, in and of themselves, raise unflattering comparisons with the regime (and individuals within that regime) that replaced her.

In my final chapter, I developed the focus on the end of the Tudor empire, such as it was, and Heywood's more sympathetic treatment of Elizabeth, by exploring how, through Helen of Troy, the final Ages plays shone a spotlight on Elizabeth's loss of beauty to look forward to her death. Heywood carefully follows Helen's decay throughout the Trojan War and this becomes a mirror for Elizabeth's own gradual loss of control, favour and strength. Helen's despair at her decay leads to her suicide, thus ending the pentalogy. I ended my analysis here by exploring how, in the Medea narrative, Heywood looked beyond Elizabeth's death to focus on her most likely successor, James VI of Scotland. In this reading, Medea was not a just figure for Elizabeth but her cousin Mary Stuart, so Heywood could comment once again on the terms of the succession. In so doing, Heywood brings attention also to what many perceived to be Elizabeth's failings (her lack of marriage and heir) and the very circumstances that led to James as a possible successor. Heywood's allusions to Mary, of course, open the play to many subversive readings after the Stuart accession, and the story of Troy could take on new associations given that around the same time Heywood likely revised the original Rose plays, he composed *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (1609), wherein he charts and legitimises James's genealogy within the Troynovant legend.

What all my chapters show is Heywood's distinct interest in pitting Elizabeth's representation and figurations against the realities of her life and rule as they approached their end. Heywood achieved this by using mythology, a common emblem within royal iconography, which strengthened the topicality of the plays whilst allowing them to bypass censorship more easily. Bringing a series of mythological plays to the popular stage was a political act in and of itself, as Heywood's ambitious project democratised knowledge by making classical material available to audiences who might not otherwise have had the opportunity to encounter it. In that regard, the Ages plays illuminate the interplay between high and low, and the role of spectacle, mythology and satire within this evolving class system's relationship with literature, myth and story. The Ages' satire also reveals further

political significance. For what emerges when we recognise Heywood's topicality is a complex picture of reactions to contemporary power structures, stretching time and again to the pinnacle figure of the monarch herself.

Appendix: The Delay in Publishing *The Iron Age I* & *II*

The delay between the publication of *The Brazen Age* (1613) and *The Iron Age I* & *II* (1632) does not have a definitive or reliable explanation, though there are a range of possibilities worth exploring here. Arthur Melville Clark's claim that in 1613, 'the two parts of *The Iron Age* were probably still too popular' to publish 'and were withheld till 1632' is questionable, considering the popularity of the first three Ages and their swift publications after their Jacobean performances.[1] Moreover, in the reader address of *The Golden Age*, Heywood assures the reader that the play had 'past the approbation of Auditors' (3) and yet it was still published the same year as its recorded performance. Other theories come from scholars who have proposed that the delay was due to the period of instability experienced by Queen Anne's Men (who performed *The Golden Age* and potentially the other Ages at the Red Bull) throughout the decade. Douglas Brooks explains that the first three Ages had been printed 'during a period of relative stability', however, the 'stability was shaken by the death of the celebrated clown Thomas Greene in 1612' and the company's new management under Christopher Beeston year later.[2] By 1619, it had been almost a decade of tumult for the company, with their royal patron dead, fines and riots against the Cockpit, and Heywood along with other sharers had left Beeston who was 'deeply embroiled in an expensive lawsuit'.[3] It is likely these conditions would have impacted Heywood's career but there are still other possibilities for why his own publications were delayed.

Aside from the impact of a fraught decade for theatrical business, Heywood's possible reworkings of the Ages plays may also shed some light on the delay. In 1614, *The Life and Death of Hector* was published; this was a modernisation of John Lydgate's *Troy Book* and is believed to have been authored by Heywood himself.[4] Heywood had worked closely from

[1] Clark, *Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), p.64.
[2] Douglas A. Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.216.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Franz Albert, *Über Thomas Heywood's The Life and Death of Hector* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1909). On Heywood's authorship, see Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of English Drama 1559-1642*, 2 vols. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891) I, p.279; Celeste Turner Wright, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', *Studies in Philology*, 43.4 (1946), 628-43 (p.639 n.111); Friedrich Mowbray Velte, *The Bourgeois Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood* (New York: Haskell House, 1966), p.18; John Lydgate, *Troy Book: Selections*, ed. by Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo: *Medieval Institute* Publications, 1998), p.2. Arguments against Heywood's authorship are no stronger than those for it; for example, John S. P Tatlock claims the similarities between Heywood's treatments of Lydgate's *Troy Book* are 'trivial and commonplace' and so dismisses his

Lydgate when he compiled *The Iron Age I* & *II* and there is evidence of Lydgate in Heywood's *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (1609) too.[5] It is possible that instead of preparing *The Iron Age I* & *II* for publication, Heywood had completed his modernisation of Lydgate. And while this, of course, does not explain why the final two Ages were not published until 1632, it does offer a possible reason for why the plays were not published with the previous instalment. Nevertheless, there is another, more solid, instance of Heywood reworking familiar material during this decade; for sometime before 1624, Heywood adapted Jupiter's seductions from *The Golden* and *The Silver Age* into *The Escapes of Jupiter*.[6]

The play survives only in manuscript and was entered into the Revels' office-book in 1623 as 'An olde Playe', which suggests it had been composed long before this date.[7] Mary Bly finds that when Heywood adapted the material from the Ages into *The Escapes*, he reduced the overt eroticism present in many of the scenes, possibly in response to increased censorship on sexual material during James's reign, and attacks on theatre generally during the decade – sometimes aimed specifically at Heywood himself following *An Apology for Actors* (1612).[8] Heywood's professional career potentially guided his revisions also, possibly aiming to produce more flexible works that appealed to the different troupes and audiences he moved between. Clark, for example, contends that Heywood may have written *The Escapes* for the Children of the Revels, and Susan Zimmerman explains that a child troupe 'could not have created the same erotic resonances in performance' as an adult troupe – who had performed the Ages.[9] If Clark's claim is correct, it would also suggest that *The Escapes* was

---

authorship. Tatlock, 'The Seige of Troy in Elizabeth Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood', *PMLA*, 30.4 (1915), 673-770 (p.694). For Tatlock's account of the work, see pp.691-697. Clark also disagrees that Heywood authored the work; see Clark, *Thomas Heywood*, pp.340-41.

[5] For examples of Lydgate in *Troia Britanica*, see the notes on Cantos viii, xi-xiii, xv and xvii, in: Yves Peyré, 'Early Modern Mythological Texts: *Troia Britanica*, Library', in *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Classical Mythology: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Peyré (2009-) <http://www.shakmyth.org> [accessed 5 July 2020].

[6] For a close comparison of the Ages plays and *The Escapes*, see Walter Wilson Greg, *Collected Papers*, ed. by J. C. Maxwell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp.156-183.

[7] N. W. Bawcutt, 'New Entries from the Office-Book of Sir Henry Herbert', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26.1 (1996), 155-166 (p.160).

[8] Bly, 'Bait for the Imagination: Danae and Consummation in Petrarch and Heywood', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 32.3 (1995), 343-359 (pp.354-6). One such attack on Heywood was John Greene's *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615). Barbara J. Baines suggests that explicit sexual scenes in the Ages plays, such as Jupiter's attempt to seduce Calisto in *The Golden Age*, had contributed to William Prynne's *Histriomastix: The Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedy* (1632). See Baines, *Thomas Heywood* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), p.142. The increased censorship was likely due to the impact of Puritans who sought more punishment for sexual sins and whose voices were increasingly amplified throughout the Jacobean period. For more on the censorship see Kenneth Fincham, 'Introduction', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*, ed. by Fincham, (London: Macmillan, 1993), pp.1-22.

[9] Zimmerman, 'Disruptive desire: artifice and indeterminacy in Jacobean Comedy', *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. by Zimmerman (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), p.36. For Clark's view,

actually written much earlier than 1624, as the Children of the Revels had collapsed by 1616. Therefore, it is possible that composing both *The Life and Death of Hector* and *The Escapes* had contributed to the final two Ages plays not being prepared for print around the same time as the first three plays.

In addition to the composition of these works, the Ages' publication could have been disrupted by other ventures that Heywood may have embarked on during the decade. For the period around roughly 1614-1624, there is little information about Heywood's career. Barbara J. Baines explains that 'this ten-to-twelve-year hiatus in Heywood's productivity has never been explained adequately'.[10] There are no new works from Heywood during this time aside from potentially *The Life and Death of Hector* and *The Escapes* (which is not recorded, though, until later); the only works certainly connected to Heywood during the period are reprints of *The Four Prentices of London* in 1615 and *A Woman Killed with Kindness* in 1617. So, why the seeming lapse in Heywood's career as a writer during this time? This can be explained by Heywood's potential whereabouts and political career.

Allan Holaday explains that, by 1614, Heywood may have been a secretary for the Earl of Southampton and travelled to the Low Countries with his entourage that year.[11] Heywood may have known about the journey by the time he prepared *The Brazen Age* for publication, as he does not mention anything about publishing the next instalment but in *The Silver Age* he had revealed his intention to complete the entire series: 'wee begunne with *Gold*, follow with *Silver*, proceede with *Brasse*, and purpose by Gods grace, to end with *Iron*' (83). After returning from the continent in 1614/5, Heywood appears to produce nothing new until 1624 when his dramatic adaptation of Plautus's *Rudens*, *The Captives; Or, The Lost Recovered* was licensed by the Master of the Revels.[12] (However, there are claims that Heywood authored *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women* (1618-19?), the Queen

---

see Clark, *Thomas Heywood*, p.88. For more on the Children of the Revels, see Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.13-54.

[10] Baines, p.2.

[11] Holaday, 'Thomas Heywood and the Low Countries', *Modern Language Notes*, 66.1 (1951), 16-19. Holaday assesses details from Heywood's pamphlet *The Black Box of Rome Opened* (1641) to find that they correlate with aspects of this journey made by Southampton; and he also reads remarks from Heywood's *Elegy for King James* (1625) as evidence that Heywood was a servant to Southampton (see ibid p.18-19).

[12] *The Captives* survives in a heavily annotated manuscript which illuminates both Heywood's revision process and wider practices of textual production in the period. On the manuscript, see James Purkis, 'Foul Papers, Promptbooks, and Thomas Heywood's *The Captives*, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 21 (2008), 128-156.

Anne's Men's contribution to the *querelle des femmes* that erupted between 1615-20).[13] It seems likely, given his admission in *The Silver Age*, that Heywood had initially planned for *The Iron Age I* & *II* to be published but something disrupted this plan – along with the rest of Heywood's writing activity – possibly his preoccupations with Earl of Southampton.

All of these points, of course, do not provide an answer as to why the final two Age plays were not printed until 1632 but they do offer some possible reasons behind the initial disruption to publication of the series. Furthermore, the year 1632 is not without significance; for this year saw the second folio of the collection of Shakespeare's works, and the year before was supposed to see a second edition of Ben Jonson's folio – though Jonson put a stop to the project due to concerns over the quality of the publication. Heywood was likely aware of these authors' collections (both past and possibly future ones) when, in 1630, he tells readers of *The Fair Maid of the West I* that his 'plays have not been exposed to the public view of the world in numerous sheets and a large volume'.[14] By 1632, Heywood perhaps decided that he would bring together the Ages with its final two instalments, to compete with the 'large volume' of Shakespeare. Indeed, in *The Iron Age II*, Heywood advertises to his reader a '*promised*' collection of the Ages, which would '*make up an handsome Volume*' once the '*three former Ages (now out of Print) bee added to*' the two *Iron Age* plays (351). The volume may have also been in response to the republication of George Sandys's *Ovids Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures* that year, as the work contains explanatory notes like the kind Heywood mentions for his own volume.[15]

Again, it is impossible to ascertain the reasons and motivations behind the publication history of Heywood's works, especially the Ages; but all of these events are helpful to broaden our understanding of his career and the possible effects on his works. In the conclusion of chapter one and my overall conclusion, I demonstrate how censorship could have impacted the early dating of the Ages and while it could have become an issue again in their later lifecycles, it does not provide an adequate explanation for the delay in publishing *The Iron Age I* & *II*, given that the three preceding plays were published. Therefore, I have explored these other possible avenues as potential reasons for the delay in publishing, given

[13] For more on Heywood and the *querelle* see Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1935), pp.486-90; Marilyn L. Johnson, *Images of Women in the Works of Thomas Heywood* (Salzburg: Salzburg University Press, 1974), p.22.
[14] Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I*, in *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II*, ed. by Robert K. Turner, Jr (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.4.
[15] Heywood writes: '*I purpose* (Deo Assistente)*, to illustrate the whole Worke, with an Explanation of all the difficulties, and an Historicall Comment of every hard name, which may appeare obscure or intricate*' (351-2).

the issue is yet to receive sustained scholarly attention. I do not intend to pose a definitive answer to the issue but to collate some possibilities that could be enriched by future research into Heywood and his career.

Bibliography

Primary

Anon., ‘AN ELEGY Upon the Death of Sr WILLIAM DAVENANT’, in *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, ed. by Leslie Hotson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp.224-226.

Aske, James, *Elizabetha triumphans* (London: 1588; STC 847).

Aylmer, John, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects* (London: 1565; STC 1005).

Barnes, Joseph, ‘*Speeches delivered to Her Majestie this last Progresse*’, in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) III, pp.601-616.

Cambridge University Library, MS.Gg.III.34, fols.199-201. National Archives, SP.12/27, fols.143r-144v.

Camden, William, *The Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotland*, trans. by William Udall (London, 1624; STC 24508).

— *Annales, The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth Queene of England France and Ireland*, trans. by Abraham Darcie (London: 1625; STC 4497).

Challoner, Thomas, *In Laudem Henrici Octavi*, ed. by J.B. Gabe and C.A. Schlam (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1979).

Cocke, John, ‘*Description of a common player*’, in John Stephens, *Essays and Characters: Ironicall, and Instructive* (London: 1615; STC 23250).

de Pizan, Christine, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, ed. by and trans. by Rosalind Brown-Grant (London: Penguin, 1999).

Dryden, John, ‘*Mac Flecknoe*’, in *John Dryden: Selected Poems*, ed. by Steven N. Zwicker and David Bywaters (London: Penguin, 2001), pp.99-105.

Elizabeth I, ‘Queen Elizabeth’s First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Version 1’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), pp.56-58.

— ‘Queen Elizabeth’s First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Version 2’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), pp.58-60.

— ‘The Doubt of Future Foes’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), pp.133-134.

— ‘Queen Elizabeth’s First Reply to the Parliamentary Petitions Urging the Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, November 12, 1586: Version 2’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), pp.190-196.

— ‘Queen Elizabeth’s Armada Speech to the Troops at Tilbury, August 9, 1588’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), pp.325-6.

— ‘Elizabeth’s Golden Speech, November 30, 1601: Version 1’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Jane Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), pp.335-340.

Euripides, *Bacchae*, trans. and ed. by Robin Robertson, (London: Penguin, 2014).

Eworth, Hans, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569, oil on panel, The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

Fenton, William, ‘Letter 45’, in *The Letters and epigrams of Sir John Harington: Together with The Prayse of Private Life*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp.403-4.

Floyd, Thomas, *The Picture of a perfit Common wealth* (London: 1601; STC 11119).

Garter, Bernard, ‘*The Joyfull Receyving of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie Into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*’, in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, pp.785-832.

Gascoigne, George, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (London: 1575; STC 24328).

— ‘The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelworth’, in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, pp.287-332.

Gheeraerts the Younger, Marcus, *Queen Elizabeth I* (‘The Ditchley portrait’), *c.*1592, oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery, London.

— (*attrib.*), *Elizabeth I, c.*1600-03, oil on canvas, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

Gower, George, *Plimpton Seive Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, 1579, oil on wood, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.

Greene, Robert, *Mamilla: Part I*, in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 15 vols., ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964) II, pp.1-136.

— *A Looking-Glasse for London and England*, in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 15 vols., ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964) XIV, pp.1-114.

Harington, Sir John, *A Treatise on the Succession to the Crown (AD 1602)*, ed. by Clements R. Markham (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1880).

— ‘Letter to Robert Markham’, in *The Letters and epigrams of Sir John Harington: Together with The Prayse of Private Life*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp.121-126.

Hartley, Terence E., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, 3 vols. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981) I.

Henslowe, Philip, *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2 vols., ed. by Walter W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1908) II.

— *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

— ‘Appendix 2’, in *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2nd edn., ed. by R.A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.316-325.

Henryson, Robert, *The testament of Cresseid* (Edinburgh: 1593; STC 13165).

Herbert, George, *Wits recreations. Selected from the finest fancies of moderne muses* (London 1640; STC 25870).

Heywood, Jasper, *Troas*, in *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies*, ed. by James Kerr and Jessica Winston (London: Modern Humanities Research Association: 2012), pp.67-134.

Heywood, Thomas, *Oenone and Paris* (London: 1594; STC 12578.5).

— *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (London: 1609; STC 13366).

— *An Apology for Actors* (London: 1612; STC 13309).

— *Gynaikeion: or, Nine bookes of various history Concerninge women* (London: 1624; STC 13326).

— *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas* (London: 1637; STC 13358).

— *The exemplary lives and memorable acts of nine of the most worthy women in the world. Three Jewes. Three gentiles. Three Christians* (London: 1640; STC 13316).

— *The Life of Merlin* (London: 1641; Wing H1786).

— *The Golden and Silver Ages: Two Plays by Thomas Heywood*, ed. by John Payne Collier, (London: Shakespeare Society, 1851).

— *If you know not me, you know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) I, pp.189-248.

— *The Golden Age*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) III, pp.1-79.

— *The Silver Age*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) III, pp.80-164.

— *The Brazen Age*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) III, pp.165-256.

— *The First Part of The Iron Age*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) III, pp.257-345.

— *The Second Part of The Iron Age*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) III, pp.346-431.

— *Jupiter and Io*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874) VI, pp.257-280.

— *The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. by Allan Holaday (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950).

— *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I*, in *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II*, ed. by Robert K. Turner, Jr (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp.1-90.

— *Thomas Heywood's The Iron Age*, ed. by Arlene W. Weiner (London: Garland Publishing, 1979).
— *Englands Elizabeth*, ed. by Philip R. Rider (London: Garland Publishing, 1982).
— *Thomas Heywood's Pageants: A critical edition*, ed. by David Moore Bergeron (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986).
— *The English Traveller*, in *A Woman Killed with Kindness and Other Domestic Plays*, ed. by Martin Wiggins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.199-283.

Kirkman, Francis, *A true, perfect, and exact catalogue* (London: 1671; Wing K637A).

Knox, John, 'The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women (1558)', in *The Political Writings of John Knox*, ed. by Marvin A. Breslow (New York: Associated University Presses, 1985), pp.37-80.

Kyffin, Maurice, *The Blessedness of Britain, or A Celebration of the Queen's Holiday* (London: 1587; STC 15096).

Langham, Robert, 'A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty, at Killingwoorth Castl', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, pp.233-287.

Lefèvre, Raoul, *The auncient historie, of the destruction of Troy*, trans. by William Caxton (London: 1597; STC 15379).

— *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, 2 vols., trans. by William Caxton, ed. by Oskar Sommer (London: David Nutt, 1894) I, II.

Lingard, John, *The History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688*, 10 vols. (London: J.C.Nimmo and Bain, 1883) VI.

Lydgate, John, *Lydgate's Troy Book*, 2 vols., ed. by Henry Bergen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908) I, II.

— *Troy Book: Selections*, ed. by Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo: *Medieval Institute* Publications, 1998).

Lyly, John, *Euphues and His England*, in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England*, ed. by Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp.153-354.

— ‘Iovis Elizabeth’, in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England,* trans. and ed. by Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp.355-358.

Marlowe, Christopher, *Doctor Faustus, B-Text*, in *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.185-246.

— *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.1-68.

— *Tamburlaine the Great, Part One*, in *Christopher Marlowe the Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.69-153.

— *The Jew of Malta*, in *Christopher Marlowe The Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Group, 2003), pp.241-341.

Marston, John, ‘*The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres*’, in *The Works of John Marston,* 3 vols., ed. by J. O. Halliwell (London: John Russell Smith, 1856) III, pp.199-237.

Merbury, Charles, *A breife discourse of royall monarchie, as of the best common weale* (London: 1581; STC 17823).

Meres, Francis, *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury* (London: 1598; STC 17834).

Metsys the Younger, Quentin, *Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, *c.*1583, oil on panel, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.

Morley, Thomas, *The Triumphes of Oriana* (London: 1601; STC 18130).

Mulcaster, Richard, ‘*The Quenes majesties passage through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion*’, in *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) I, pp.114-139.

Norton, Thomas and Thomas Sackville, *Gorboduc*, in *Two Tudor Tragedies*, ed. by William Tydeman (London: Penguin, 1992), pp.47-126.

Oliver, Isaac (*attrib*.), *Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses*, *c.*1590, watercolour and bodycolour on vellum, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Ovid, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. by Arthur Golding, ed. by Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2000).

Painter, William, *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (London: 1567; STC 19124).

Peele, George, 'Polyhymnia', in *The Life and Works of George Peele*, ed. by Charles Tyler Prouty, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952) I, pp.231-244.

Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, (London: G.Bell and Sons, 1974) VIII.

Phillips, Edward, *Theatrum poetarum, or, A compleat collection of the poets especially the most eminent, of all ages* (London: 1675; Wing P2075).

Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. and ed. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008),

Plowden, Edmund, *Commentaries or Reports* (London: S.Brooke, 1816).

Primrose, Diana, *A Chaine of Pearle. Or a Memoriall of the peerles Graces, and Heroick Vertues of Queene Elizabeth of Glorious Memoryz* (London: 1630; STC 20388).

Proctor, Thomas, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (London: 1578; STC 20402).

Puttenham, George, *The Art of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp.93-394.

Sallust, *The Two most worthy and Notable Histories which remaine unmained to Posterity* […], trans. by Thomas Heywood (London: 1608; STC 21625).

— *The Conspiracy of Catiline and the War of Jugurtha*, trans. by Thomas Heywood, ed. by Charles Whibley (London: Constable, 1924).

Sandys, George, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in Figures*, ed. by Karl K. Hulley and Stanley T. Vandersall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).

Saxton, Christopher, *Atlas of the countries of England and Wales* (London: 1580; STC 21805.2).

Scarlet, Thomas, 'The Honorable Entertainment given to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of*

Queen Elizabeth I, 5 vols., ed. by Elizabeth Goldring et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) III, pp.552-561.

Shakespeare, William, *The Life and Death of King Richard the Second*, in *William Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2007), pp.829-891.

— *Much Ado About Nothing*, in *William Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp.255-304.

— *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*, in *William Shakespeare: Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2007), pp.1456-1535.

Sheppard, Samuel, *The times displayed in six sestiads* (London: 1646; Wing S3170).

Smith, Thomas, *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England* (London: 1583; STC 22857).

Spenser, Edmund, '*The Shepheardes Calendar*', in *Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (London: Penguin, 1999), pp.23-156.

— *Spenser: The Faerie Queene*, 2nd edn., ed. by A.C. Hamilton (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Stapleton, M.L., *Thomas Heywood's Art of Love: The First Complete English Translation of Ovid's Ars Amatoria* (Ann Arbor: Univsersity of Michigan Press, 2000).

Taylor, John, *A memorial of all the English monarchs* (London:1630; STC 23774).

— *All the works of John Taylor the water-poet* (London: 1630; STC 23725).

Titian, *Diana and Callisto*, *c.*1556-59, oil on canvas, The National Gallery London / The National Galleries of Scotland, London/Edinburgh.

Udall, Nicholas, '*English Verses and Ditties at the Coronation Procession of Queen Anne Bolyen*', in *Tudor Tracts 1532-1588*, ed. by A.F. Pollard (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903), pp.14-28.

Unknown, 'King Henry VII', 1505, oil in panel, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Unknown, *Queen Elizabeth I*, *c.*1588, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Unknown, *Portrait of Elizabeth I of England*, *c.*1590, oil on panel, Jesus College, Oxford.

Unknown, *Queen Elizabeth I, c.*1600, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London.

van der Heyden, Pieter, *Queen Elizabeth and Pope Gregory XIII as Diana and Callisto*, *c.*1584-85, engraving, 1850,1109.7, The British Museum, London.

Warner, William, *The first and second parts of Albions England* (London: 1589; STC 25080).

Webster, John, *The White Devil*, ed. by Christina Luckyj (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).

Whitney, Isabella, 'I.W. To Her Unconstant Lover', in *Early Modern Women's Writing: An Anthology, 1560-1700*, ed. by Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.3-7.

Wright, James, *Historia histrionica* (London: 1699; Wing 3695).

Yonge, Nicholas, *Musica transalpine, the second booke* (London: 1597; STC 26095).

Secondary

Adams, Simon, '"The Queenes Majestie . . . is now become a great huntress": Elizabeth I and the Chase', *The Court Historian*, 18 (2013), 143-164.

— *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Albert, Franz, *Über Thomas Heywood's The Life and Death of Hector* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1909).

Allinson, Rayne, '"These latter days of the world": the Correspondence of Elizabeth I and James VI, 1590-1603', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 16 (2007), 1-27.

Anglo, Sydney, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Arrell, Douglas, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules: Tracking *1* and *2 Hercules* in Heywood's *Silver* and *Brazen Ages*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 17.1 (2014), 1-21.

— 'Heywood, Shakespeare, and the Mystery of Troye', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 19.1 (2016), 1-22.

— ‘Jupiter’s descent in *Cymbeline*: A Suggestion’, *Notes and Queries*, 65.4 (2018), 543-546.
— ‘Hercules’ Pillars: A New Identification of Properties in Henslowe’s Inventory’, *Notes and Queries*, 66.4 (2019), 519-521.

Axton, Marie, ‘The Tudor mask and Elizabethan court drama’, in *English Drama: Forms and Development*, ed. by Marie Axton and Raymond Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp.24-47.

Baines, Barbara J., *Thomas Heywood* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984).

Baker, David Erskine, *Companion to the Play-House* (London: T.Becket, 1764).

Baseotto, Paolo, ‘Mary Stuart’s Execution and Queen Elizabeth’s Divided Self’, in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.66– 82.

Bate, Jonathan, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Bawcutt, N. W., ‘New Entries from the Office-Book of Sir Henry Herbert’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 26.1 (1996), 155-166.

Bayer, Mark, ‘The Red Bull Playhouse’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.225-239.

— *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2011).
— ‘Heywood’s Epic Theater’, *Comparative Drama*, 40.4 (2014), 371-391.
— ‘Popular classical drama: the case of Heywood’s *Ages*’, in *The Routledge Research Companion to Shakespeare and Classical Literature*, ed. by Sean Keilen and Nick Moschovakis (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.227-235.

Belsey, Catherine, ‘The Myth of Venus in Early Modern Culture’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 42.2 (2012), 179-202.

Bergeron, David Moore, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971).

Berry, Edward, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

— ‘Sidney’s May Game for the Queen’, *Modern* Philology, 86.3 (1989), 252–64.

Berry, Philippa, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989).

Bertolet, Anna Riehl Bertolet, 'Doppelgänger Queens: Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart', in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. by Anna Reihl Bertolet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.223-246.

Bevington, David M., 'Is John Heywood's *Play of the Weather* really about the weather?', *Renaissance Drama*, 7 (1964), 11-19.

Blondell, Ruby, *Helen of Troy: Beauty, Myth, Devastation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Bly, Mary, 'Bait for the Imagination: Danae and Consummation in Petrarch and Heywood', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 32.3 (1995), 343-359.

Brecht, Bertolt, *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, trans. and ed. by John Willett (London: Methuen, 1978).

Breight, Curt, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45.1 (1992), 20-48.

Breitenberg, Mark, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Bretz, Andrew, 'Sung Silence: Complicity, Dramaturgy, and Song in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 101-118.

Brooke, Tucker, 'William Gager to Queen Elizabeth', *Studies in Philology*, 29.2 (1932), 160-175.

Brooker, Peter, *Bertolt Brecht: Dialectics, Poetry, Politics* (London: Croom Helm, 1988).

Brooks, Douglas A., *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Botonaki, Effie, 'Anne of Denmark and the Court Masque: Displaying and Authoring Queenship', in *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, ed. by Debra Barrett-Graves (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.133-154.

Brown, Elizabeth A., '"Companion Me with My Mistress": Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, and Their Waiting Women', in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances*

in Early Modern England, ed. by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.131-145.

Brumble, David H., *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998).

— 'Let Us Make Gods in Our Image: Greek Myth in Medieval and Renaissance Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, ed. by Roger D. Woodard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.407-424.

Bull, Malcolm, *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London: Penguin, 2005).

Butler, Katherine, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Oxford: Boydell and Brewer, 2015).

Caldwell, Ellen M., 'John Lyly's *Gallathea*: A New Rhetoric of Love for the Virgin Queen', *English Literary Renaissance*, 17.1 (1987), 22-40.

Campbell, Thomas P., *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (London: Yale University Press, 2007).

Carman, Barbara Elizabeth, 'A Study Of Natalis Comes' Theory of Mythology and of its Influence in England, Together with an English Translation of Book I of the *Mythologia* and of the Introductions to the Other Books' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1966).

Carter, Sarah, *Ovidian Myth and Sexual Deviance in Early Modern English Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Cavanagh, Sheila, 'The Bad Seed: Princess Elizabeth and the Seymour Incident', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker (London: Duke University Press, 1998), pp.9-29.

Cerasano, Susan P., 'Tamburlaine and Edward Alleyn's Ring', *Shakespeare Survey*, 47 (1994), 171-180.

— 'Edward Alleyn's "Retirement" 1597-1600', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 10 (1998), 98-112.

Chamberlin, Frederick, *The Wit and Wisdom of Queen Bess* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1925).

Chambers, E.K., *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1974) I, IV.

Cheney, Patrick, *Marlowe's Republican Authorship: Lucan, Liberty, and the Sublime* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Clare, Janet, *'Art made tongue-tied by authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship*, 2nd edn. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Clark, Arthur Melville, 'Thomas Heywood as a Critic', *Modern Language Notes*, 37.4 (1922), 217-223.

— *Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931).

Coch, Christine, '"Mother of my Contreye": Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26.3 (1996), 423-450.

Coffey, John, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Coffin, Charlotte, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Chapman's Homer: nothing in common?', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9.1 (2017), 55-78.

— 'The not-so-classical tradition: mythographic complexities in *1 Iron Age*', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.139-161.

Cohen, Stephen, '"No Assembly but Horn-Beast": The Politics of Cuckoldry in Shakespeare's Romantic Comedies', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 4.2 (2004), 5-34.

Cole, Mary Hill, 'Monarchy in Motion: An Overview of Elizabethan Progresses', in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.27-45.

— *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

Collinson, Patrick, 'Pulling the Strings: Religion and Politics in the Progress of 1578', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.122-141.

Corrigan, Nora L., ‘Song, Political Resistance, and Masculinity in Thomas Heywood’s *The Rape of Lucrece*’, in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, ed. by Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (London: Routledge, 2014), pp.139-152.

Craig, Hugh, ‘Authorship’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.15-30.

Crane, Mary Thomas, ‘“Video et Taceo”: Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel’, *SEL*, 28.1 (1988), 1-15.

Currie, Joy, ‘Mary Queen of Scots as Suffering Woman: Representations by Mary Stuart and William Wordsworth’, in *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. by Carole Levin, Debra Barrett-Graves, Jo Eldridge Carney (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.187-202.

Demetriou, Tania, and Tanya Pollard, ‘Homer and Greek tragedy in early modern England’s theatres: an introduction’, *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9.1 (2017), 1-35.

Dessen, Alan C., *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Dibdin, Charles, *A Complete History of the Stage*, 5 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1800) III.

Dickinson, Janet, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Dillon, Janet, ‘Chariots and Cloud Machines: Gods and Goddesses on Early English Stages’, ‘Chariots and Cloud Machines: Gods and Goddesses on Early English Stages’, in *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, ed. by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren and Martine van Elk (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.111-130.

Dimmock, Matthew, ‘Materialising Islam on the Early Modern English Stage’, in *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures*, ed. by Sabine Schülting, Sabine Luca Müller and Ralf Hertel (London: Routledge, 2012), pp.115-133.

Dollimore, Jonathan, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, 3rd edn. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Donaldson, Ian, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Doran, Susan, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 257-274.

— *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996).

— 'Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth I', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.171-199.

— *Elizabeth I and her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Dorval, Patricia, '*Troia Britanica Canto V,* Notes (1609)', in *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Classical Mythology: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Yves Peyré (2009-) <http://www.shakmyth.org> [accessed 13 March 2019].

Drouet, Pascale, 'Introduction', in *The Spectacular in and Around Shakespeare*, ed. by Drouet (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp.ix-xvi.

Duncan-Jones, Katherine, 'Much Ado with Red and White: The Earliest Readers of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593)', *The Review of English Studies*, 44.176 (1993), 479-501.

Dunham, Thomas Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London: J.Nichols and Son, 1812).

Dunn, Jane, *Elizabeth & Mary: Cousins, Rivals, Queens* (New York: Knopf, 2004).

Dunworth, Felicity, 'A "bosom burnt up with desires": The Trials of Patient Griselda on the Elizabethan Stage', *Paragraph*, 21.3 (1998), 330-353.

— *Mothers and Meaning on the Early Modern English Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

Dutton, Richard, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).

— 'Thomas Heywood and the Publishing of *The Jew of Malta*', in *Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade*, ed. by Kirk Melnikoff and Roslyn L. Knutson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.182-194.

Eccles, Christine, *The Rose Playhouse* (London: Nick Hern Books, 1990).

Farley-Hills, David, *Shakespeare and the Rival Playwrights, 1600-1606* (London: Routledge, 1990).

Field, Jemma, *Anna of Denmark: The Material and Visual Culture of the Stuart Courts, 1586-1619* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

Fincham, Kenneth, 'Introduction', in *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642,* ed. by Fincham, (London: Macmillan, 1993), pp.1-22.

Fischlin, Daniel, 'Political Allegory, Absolutist Ideology, and the "Rainbow Portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.1 (1997), 175-206.

Fleay, Frederick Gard, *A Biographical Chronicle of English Drama 1559-1642,* 2 vols. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891) I.

Forsyth, Jennifer, 'Kisses and Contagion in *Troilus and Cressida*', in *Contagion and the Shakespearean Stage*, ed. by Darryl Chalk and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp.83-105.

Foyster, Elizabeth A., *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Freeman, Thomas S., and Susan Doran, 'Introduction', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Doran and Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.1-24.

Frye, Susan, 'Of Chastity and Violence: Elizabeth I and Edmund Spenser in the House of Busirane', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 20.1 (1994), 49-78.

— *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Gilbert, Allan H., 'The Source of Peele's *Arraignment of* Paris', *Modern Language* Notes, 41.1 (1926), 36-40.

Gillies, John, 'Shakespeare's Virginian Masque', *ELH*, 53.4 (1986), 673-707.

Gim, Lisa, '"Faire *Eliza's* Chaine": Two Female Writers' Literary Links to Queen Elizabeth I', in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, ed. by Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.183-198.

Goy-Blanquet, Dominique, '"This realm is an empire": Tales of origins in medieval and early modern France and England', in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his*

contemporaries, ed. by Janice Valls-Russell, Angès Lafont and Charlotte Coffin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.65-85.

Grant, Teresa, 'Drama Queen: Staging Elizabeth in *If you know not me you know nobody*', in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.120-142.

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

Greg, Walter Wilson, *Collected Papers*, ed. by J. C. Maxwell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

Griffin, Andrew, *Untimely Deaths in Renaissance Drama: Biography, History, Catastrophe* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2020).

Griffith, Eva, *A Jacobean Company and its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605-1619)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

— *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

— *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*, 4th edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

— *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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

— 'Dreams or Designs, Cults or Constructions? The study of Images of Monarchs', *The Historical Journal*, 44.3 (2001), 811-823.

— 'The rhetoric of (in)fertility: Shifting responses to Elizabeth I's childlessness', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England,* ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (London: Routledge, 2007), pp.149-171.

— 'A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (2014), 234-256.

— ‘Anne Boleyn’s Legacy to Elizabeth I: Neoclassicism and the Iconography of Protestant Queenship,’ in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. by Anna Riehl Bertolet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.157-180.

Hadfield, Andrew, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

— *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Hageman, Elizabeth H., ‘Introduction’, in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), pp.15-30.

Hammer, Paul E.J., *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Hattaway, Michael, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London: Routledge, 1982).

Head, David M., ‘“If a Lion Knew His Own Strength”: The Image of Henry VIII and His Historians’, *International Social Science Review*, 72.3/4 (1997), 94-109.

Heavey, Katherine, ‘“Thus Beholde the Fall of Sinne”: Punishing Helen of Troy in Elizabethan Verse’, *Literature Compass*, 9.7 (2012), 464-475.

— *The Early Modern Medea: Medea in English Literature, 1558–1688* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

— ‘Fifty ways to kill your brother: Medea and the poetics of fratricide in early modern English literature’, in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his contemporaries*, ed. by Janice Valls-Russell, Angès Lafont and Charlotte Coffin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.128-148.

— ‘Intertextuality and Thomas Heywood’s early Ovid: *Oenone and Paris*’, in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.32-53.

Hertel, Ralf, *Staging England in the Elizabethan History Play: Performing National Identity* (London: Routledge, 2014).

Hindle, Steve, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

Hirota, Atsuhiko, 'Venetian Jasons, Parti-coloured Lambs and a Tainted Wether: Ovine Tropes and the Golden Fleece in *The Merchant of Venice*', in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his contemporaries*, ed. by Janice Valls-Russell, Charlotte Coffin and Agnès Lafont (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.109-127.

Hirsch, Brett D., 'Three Wax Images, *Two Italian Gentlemen*, and One English Queen', in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. by Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.155-168.

Holaday, Allan, 'Heywood's *Troia Britannica* and the *Ages*', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 45.4 (1946), 430-439.

— 'Introduction', in *The Rape of Lucrece*, ed. by Holaday (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), pp.1-34.

— 'Thomas Heywood and the Low Countries', *Modern Language Notes*, 66.1 (1951), 16-19.

Hopkins, Lisa, *Writing Renaissance Queens: Texts by and about Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002).

— *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

— *From the Romans to the Normans on the English Renaissance Stage* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2017).

— *Greeks and Trojans on the Early Modern English Stage* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).

Hopkins, Lisa, and Annaliese Connolly, 'Introduction', in *Goddesses & Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Hopkins and Connolly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.1-15.

Hunt, Maurice, 'A Speculative Political Allegory in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Comparative Drama*, 34.4 (2000), 423-453.

Ioppolo, Grace, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, authority and the playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006).

— 'Thomas Heywood, Script-Doctor', in *Shakespeare Without Boundaries: Essays in Honor of Dieter Mehl*, ed. by Christa Jansohn, Lena Cowen Orlin and Stanley Wells (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2011), pp.47-60.

— ‘Thomas Heywood, Just in Time’, *Early Theatre*, 17.2 (2014), 122-132.

James, Heather, *Shakespeare’s Troy: Drama, Politics, and the Translation of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

James, Henry, and Greg Walker, ‘The Politics of *Gorboduc*’, *The English Historical Review*, 110.435 (1995), 109-121.

Jankowski, Theodora A., ‘“As I am Egypt's Queen”: *Cleopatra*, *Elizabeth* I, and the Female Body Politic’, *Assays*, 5 (1989), 91-110.

— *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery, and John Lyly’s Court Plays and Entertainments* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018).

Jewell, Helen M., *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), p.7.

Johnson, Marilyn L., *Images of Women in the Works of Thomas Heywood* (Salzburg: Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 1974).

Johnson, Nora, *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Johnson, Paul, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974).

Jones, William R., ‘The Bishops’ Ban of 1599 and the Ideology of English Satire’, *Literature Compass*, 7.5 (2010), 332-46.

Jones, Norman, and Paul Whitfield White, ‘*Gorboduc* and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer’s Report of the Premiere Performance’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 26.1 (1996), 3-16.

Jones-Davies, M.T., ‘Shakespeare and the Myth of Hercules’, in *Reclamations of Shakespeare*, ed. by A.J. Hoenselaars (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp.57-74.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H., *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, repr. 1997).

Kean, Margaret, ‘A Harmless Distemper: Accessing the Classical Underworld in Heywood’s *The Silver Age*’, in *Epic Performances from the Middle Ages into the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Fiona Macintosh, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp.181-193.

Keenan, Siobhan, ‘Spectator and Spectacle: Royal Entertainments at the Universities in the 1560s’, in *The Progresses, Pageants, & Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.86-103.

Kerman, Joseph, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962).

Kerr, John, ‘The Underworld of Chaucer’s *House of Fame*’, in *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, ed. by Stephen Gersh and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp.185-202.

King, T.J., *Shakespearean Staging, 1599-1642* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

Kinney, Arthur F., ‘*The Lady of May*: Sir Philip Sidney’, in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*, ed. by Kinney (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp.133-`136.

Knights, L. C., *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1937).

Knowles, James, ‘“To Enlight the Darksome Night, Pale Cinthia doth Arise”: Anna of Denmark, Elizabeth I and the Images of Royalty’, in *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens*, ed. by Clare McManus (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.21-48.

Kurz, Otto, ‘Shakespeare and the Shaven Hercules’, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 87.508 (1945), 175-77.

Lafont, Agnès, ‘Political Uses of Erotic Power in an Elizabethan Mythological Programme: Dangerous Interactions with Diana in Hardwick Hall’, in *Shakespeare’s Erotic Mythology and Ovidian Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Lafont (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), pp.41-57.

Lamb, Charles, *Specimens of Dramatic Poets*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1808) I.

Lamb, Jonathan P., *Shakespeare in the Marketplace of Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Langbaine, Gerard, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford: 1691; Wing L373).

Laoutaris, Christ *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

Leahy, William, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

Lees-Jeffries, Hester, 'Location as Metaphor in Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Entry (1559): *Veritas Temporis Filia*', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.65-85.

Levin, Carole, '"We shall never have a merry world while the Queene lyveth": Gender, Monarchy, and the Power of Seditious Words', in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp.77-95.

— *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Lewis, Jayne Elizabeth, *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Little, Frances, 'An Elizabethan Bed Valance', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 36.9 (1941), 183-185.

Loomis, Catherine, *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Lord, Carla, 'Three Manuscripts of the *Ovid moralisé*', *The Art Bulletin*, 57.2 (1975), 161-175.

MacCaffrey, Wallace T., 'The Anjou Match and the Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy', in *The English Commonwealth, 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield*, ed. by Peter Clark, A. G. R. Smith and Nicholas Tyacke (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp.59-75

Maguire, Laurie, *Helen of Troy: From Homer to Hollywood* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Malay, Jessica L., *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance: Shakespeare's Sibyls* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Mann, David, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2009).

— 'Heywood's *Silver Age*: A Flight Too Far?', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 26 (2013), 184-203.

Manning, R.J., 'Rule and order strange: A Reading of Sir John Davies' *Orchestra*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 15.2 (1985), 175-194.

Marshall, John, 'Picturing Robin Hood in Early Print and Performance: 1500-1590', in in *Images of Robin Hood: Medieval to Modern*, ed. by Lois Potter and Joshua Calhoun (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp.60-81.

Martin, Robert Grant, 'A Critical Study of Thomas Heywood's *Gunaikeion*', *Studies in Philology*, 20.2 (1923), 160-183.

McCabe, Richard A., 'Elizabethan Satire and the Bishops' Ban of 1599', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 11 (1981), 188-193.

McLuskie, Kathleen E., *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

McManus, Clare, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

Mears, Natalie, 'Love-making and Diplomacy: Elizabeth I and the Anjou Marriage Negotiations, *c*.1578-1582', *History*, 86.284 (2001), 442-466.

Merriam, Thomas, 'Was Hand B in *Sir Thomas More* Heywood's Autograph?', *Notes and Queries*, 35 (1988), 455-8.

Meskill, Lynn S., *Ben Jonson and Envy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Miola, Robert S., 'Early Modern Antigones: Receptions, Refractions, Replays', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 6.2 (2014), 221-44.

— 'Representing Orestes' Revenge', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 9.1 (2017), 144-165.

Mirkin, Ronnie, 'The Mask of Power: Elizabeth I and the Mask of Youth', *Assaph: Studies in the Theatre*, 9 (1993), 75-88.

Mitchell, David, ‘Table Linen Associated with Queen Elizabeth’s Visit to Gresham’s Exchange’, in *The Royal Exchange*, ed. by Ann Saunders (London: Topographical Society, 1997), pp.50-6.

Moncrief, Kathryn M. and Kathryn R. McPherson (eds.) *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Montrose, Louis A., ‘Gifts and Reasons: The Contexts of Peele’s *Araygnement of Paris*’, *ELH*, 47.3 (1980), 433-461.

— ‘“Eliza, Queene of shepheardes,” and the Pastoral of Power’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 10.2 (1980), 153-82.

— ‘“Shaping Fantasies”: Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture’, *Representations*, 2 (1983), 61-94.

— ‘The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text’, in *Literary theory / Renaissance texts*, ed. by Patricia Parker and David Quint (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp.303-40.

— ‘Spenser and the Elizabethan Political Imaginary’, *ELH*, 69.4 (2002), 907-946.

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

Morris, Helen, ‘Queen Elizabeth I “Shadowed” in Cleopatra’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 32.3 (1969), 271-278.

Muhlstein, Anka, *Elizabeth I and Mary Stuart: The Perils of Marriage* (London: Haus Publishing, 2007).

Munro, Lucy, *Children of the Queen’s Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005),

— ‘Governing the Pen to the Capacity of the Stage: Reading the Red Bull and Clerkenwell’, *Early Theatre*, 9.2 (2006), 99-113.

Nims, John Frederick, ‘Introduction: Ovid, Golding, and the Craft of Poetry’, in *Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, trans. by Arthur Golding, ed. by Frederick Nims (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2000), pp.xiii-xxxvi.

Nohrnberg, James M., ‘Alençon’s Dream/Dido’s Tomb: Some Shakespearean Music and a Spenserian Muse’, *Spenser Studies*, 22 (2007), 73-102.

Oakley, Francis, ‘Christian obedience and authority, 1520-1550’, in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought: 1450-1700*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.159-193.

Olson, Rebecca, *Arras Hanging: The Textile that Determined Early Modern Literature and Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2013).

Orgel, Stephen, *The Authentic Shakespeare: And Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (London: Routledge, 2002),

— ‘Prologue: I am Richard II’, in *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Alessandra Petrina and Laura Tosi (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.11-46.

Orrell, John, *The Human Stage: English Theatre Design, 1557-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Patterson, Annabel, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

Peyré, Yves, ‘Marlowe’s Argonauts’, in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.106-123.

— ‘Early Modern Mythological Texts: *Troia Britanica*, Library’, in *A Dictionary of Shakespeare’s Classical Mythology: A Textual Companion*, ed. by Peyré (2009-), <http://www.shakmyth.org> [accessed 5 July 2020].

Phillips, Helen, ‘“Merry” and “Greenwood”: A History of Some Meanings’, in *Images of Robin Hood: Medieval to Modern*, ed. by Lois Potter and Joshua Calhoun (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp.83-101.

Pollak, Martha, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Pollard, A.J., *Imagining Robin Hood: The Late-medieval Stories in Historical Context* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Pollard, Tanya, *Greek Tragic Women on Shakespearean Stages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Power, M.J., ‘London and the Control of the “Crisis” of the 1590s’, *History*, 70 (1985), 371-385.

Preedy, Chloe Kathleen, ‘(De)Valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine*, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and *Edward II*’, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 54.2 (2014), 259-77.

Purkis, James, ‘Foul Papers, Promptbooks, and Thomas Heywood’s *The Captives*’, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 21 (2008), 128-156.

Raber, Karen, ‘The Tusked Hog: Richard III’s Boarish Identity’, in *Animals and Early Modern Identity*, ed. by Pia F. Cuneo (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), pp.191-208.

Reeves, John D., ‘The Judgement of Paris as a Device of Tudor Flattery’, *Notes and Queries*, 1 (1954), 5–11.

Reynolds, George Fullmer, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater 1605-1625* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

Rhodes, Ernest L., *Henslowe’s Rose: The Stage and Staging* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1976).

Rickman, Johanna, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (London: Routledge, 2008).

Rinehart, Keith, ‘Shakespeare’s Cleopatra and England’s Elizabeth’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 23.1 (1972), 81-86.

Roberts, Sasha, ‘“Let me the curtains draw”: the dramatic and symbolic properties of the bed in Shakespearean tragedy’, in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. by Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.153-176.

Robertson, Karen, ‘The Body Natural of a Queen: Mary, James, *Horestes*’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 14.1 (1990), 25-36.

Robinson, Benedict Scott, ‘Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 42.2 (2002), 361-380.

Robinson, Philip, ‘The Multiple Meanings of Troy in Early Modern London’s Mayoral Show’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 26.2 (2011), 221-239.

Rose, Mary Beth, *Plotting Motherhood in Medieval, Early Modern and Modern Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

Rosenthal, Earl, '*Plus Ultra, Non plus Ultra*, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institues*, 34 (1971), 204-228.

Ross, Lawrence J., 'The Meaning of Strawberries in Shakespeare', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 7 (1960), 225-240.

Rowland, Richard, '"Speaking some words, but of no importance"? Stage Directions, Thomas Heywood, and *Edward IV*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 18 (2005), 104-122.

— *Thomas Heywood's Theatre, 1599-1639: Locations, Translations, and Conflict* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010).

— *Killing Hercules: Deianira and the Politics of Domestic Violence, from Sophocles to the War on Terror* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Rutter, Carol, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

Rutter, Tom, *Shakespeare and the Admiral's Men: Reading Across Repertories on the London Stage, 1594-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Rycroft, Eleanor, 'Staging Kingship in Scotland and England, 1532-1560', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 10 (2019), <https://www.northernrenaissance.org/staging-kingship-in-scotland-and-england-1532-1560/> [accessed 16 July 2020].

Sager, Jenny, *The Aesthetics of Spectacle in Early Modern Drama and Modern Cinema* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Sanders, Julie, '"Powdered with Golden Rain": The Myth of Danae in Early Modern Drama', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 8.2 (2002), 1-23.

Schanzer, Ernest, 'Heywood's *Ages* and Shakespeare', *The Review of English Studies*, 11.41 (1960), 18-28.

Schleiner, Winfried, '*Divina virago*: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon', *Studies in Philology*, 75.2 (1978), 163-180.

Schmitz, Götz**,** *The Fall of Women in Early English Narrative Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Shapiro, James, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (Harlow: Faber & Faber, 2005).

Shapiro, Michael, ‘John Pikeryng’s *Horestes*: Auspices and Theatricality’, in *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition: Essays in Honor of S. F. Johnson*, ed. by William R. Elton and William B. Long (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), pp.211-227.

Sharpe, Jim, ‘Social strain and social dislocation, 1585-1603’, in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. by John Alexander Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.192-211.

Sharpe, Robert Boies, *The Real War of the Theaters* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1935).

Shephard, Robert, ‘Sexual Rumours in English Politics: The Cases of Elizabeth I and James I’, in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*, ed. by Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp.101-122.

Shrank, Cathy, ‘“This fatall Medea,” “this Clytemnestra”: Reading and the Detection of Mary Queen of Scots’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 523-541.

Sinclair, Alison, *The Deceived Husband: A Kleinian Approach to the Literature of Infidelity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Sinfield, Alan, *Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

Smith, Ian, ‘The Textile Black Body: Race and “shadowed livery” in *The Merchant of Venice*’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment*, ed. by Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.179-80.

Smith, Jane Kingsley, ‘Mythology’, in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, 2 vols., ed. by Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) I, pp.134-149.

Smith, Jeremy L., ‘Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58.3 (2005), 507-558.

Snively, Samantha N., ‘*As You Like It*’s Political, Critical Animal Allusions’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 58.2 (2018), 331-352.

Spaeth, Barbette Stanley, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996),

Stapleton, M. L., ‘Introduction: “We English Thus”: *Loues Schoole,* Thomas Heywood’s Translation of the *Ars Amatoria*’, in *Thomas Heywood’s Art of Love: The First Complete English Translation of Ovid’s Ars Amatoria*, ed. by Stapleton (Michigan: Univsersity of Michigan Press, 2000), pp.1-30.

— ‘Thomas Heywood’s *Loves Schoole*: emulation, adaptation, and anachronism’, in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.54-68.

Steggle, Matthew, ‘Philip Henslowe’s Artificial Cow’, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England,* 30 (2017), 65-75.

Stock, Lorraine Kochanske, ‘Lords of the Wildwood: The Wild Man, the Green Man, and Robin Hood’, in *Robin Hood in Popular Culture: Violence, Transgression, and Justice*, ed. by Thomas Hahn (Cambridge: D.S.Brewer, 2000), pp.239-250.

Strauss, Paul, ‘The Virgin Queen as Nurse of the Church: Manipulating an Image of Elizabeth I in Court Sermons’, in *Scholars and Poets Talk about Queens*, ed. by Carol Levin and Christine Stewart-Nuñez (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.185-202.

Strong, Roy, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1977).

Stump, Donald, ‘Marlowe’s Travesty of Virgil: *Dido* and Elizabethan Dreams of Empire’, *Comparative Drama,* 34.1 (2000), 79-107.

Sullivan, Ceri, ‘Armin, Shakespeare, and Heywood on Dramatic Empathy’, *Notes and Queries*, 62.4 (2015), 560-562.

Suzuki, Mihoko, ‘The London apprentice riots of the 1590s and the fiction of Thomas Deloney’, *Criticism*, 38.2 (1996), 181-217.

Swann, Marjorie, ‘The Politics of Fairylore in Early Modern English Literature’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53.2 (2000), 449-473.

Tanner, Joseph R., *Tudor Constitutional Documents A.D. 1485-1603 with an historical commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

Tatlock, John S. P., ‘The Seige of Troy in Elizabeth Literature, Especially in Shakespeare and Heywood’, *PMLA*, 30.4 (1915), 673-770.

Taylor, Marion A., *Bottom, Thou Art Translated: Political Allegory in A Midsummer Night's Dream and Related Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi NV, 1973).

Thesiger, Sarah, 'The *Orchestra* of Sir John Davies and the Image of the Dance', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 227-304.

Thomas, Vivian, and Nicki Faircloth, *Shakespeare's Plants and Gardens: A Dictionary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

Trevisan, Sara, 'The Golden Fleece of the London Drapers' Company: Politics and Iconography in Earl Modern Lord Mayor's Shows', in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. by J.R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti and Anna Maria Testaverde (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp.245-266.

Tronicke, Marlena, *Shakespeare's Suicides: Dead Bodies That Matter* (London: Routledge, 2018).

Tsukada, Yuichi, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Nostalgia: Negotiating the Memory of Elizabeth I* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

Turner Jr, Robert K., 'Introduction', in *The Fair Maid of the West Parts I and II*, ed. by Turner, Jr (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp.ix-xx.

Valls-Russell, Janice, 'Rescripting classical stories of rape from page to stage: Lucrece and Callisto', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Tania Demetriou and Janice Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.69-98.

Valls-Russell, Janice, Agnès Lafont and Charlotte Coffin, 'Introduction: "Ariachne's broken woof"', in *Interweaving myths in Shakespeare and his contemporaries*, ed. by Janice Valls-Russell, Agnès Lafont and Charlotte Coffin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp.1-24.

Valls-Russell, Janice, and Tania Demetriou, 'Introduction: Thomas Heywood and the "antique world"', in *Thomas Heywood and the classical tradition*, ed. by Demetriou and Valls-Russell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.1-31.

van Es, Bart, '"They do it with mirrors": Spenser, Shakespeare, Baldwin's *Mirror*, and Elizabethan Literature's Political Vanishing Act', in *A Mirror for Magistrates in Context: Literature, History and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield and Harriet Archer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp.216-230.

Vanhoutte, Jacqueline, ‘Community, Authority, and the Motherland in Sackville and Norton’s *Gorboduc*’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 40.2 (2000), 227-239.

— *Strange Communion: Motherland and Masculinity in Tudor Plays, Pamphlets, and Politics* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003).

— Vanhoutte, *Age in Love: Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Court* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019).

Vaughan, Virginia Mason, *Shakespeare and the Gods* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

Velte, Friedrich Mowbray, *The Bourgeois Elements in the Dramas of Thomas Heywood* (New York: Haskell House, 1966).

Villeponteaux, Mary, ‘“Not as women wonted be”: Spenser’s Amazon Queen’, in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. by Julia M. Walker, (London: Duke University Press, 1998), p.209-25.

Vine, Angus, ‘Myth and Legend’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (London: Ashgate: 2014), pp.103-118.

Vivanti, Corrado, ‘Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 176-197.

Waith, Eugene M., *The Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962).

Walker, Julia M., *Medusa's Mirrors: Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and the Metamorphosis of the Female Self* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998).

Wall, Kathleen, *The Callisto Myth From Ovid to Atwood: Initiation and Rape in Literature* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988).

Ward, Allyna E., *Women and Tudor Tragedy: Feminizing Counsel and Representing Gender* (Plymouth: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013).

Watkins, John, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Weaver, William P., *Untutored Lines: The Making of the English Epyllion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

Weber, Clifford, ‘Intimations of Dido and Cleopatra in Some Contemporary Portrayals of Elizabeth I’, *Studies in Philology*, 96.2 (1999), 127-143.

Weiner, Arlene W., ‘Introduction’, in *Thomas Heywood’s The Iron Age* ed. by Weiner (London: Garland Publishing, 1979), pp.ix-lvi.

Wells-Cole, Antony, ‘The Elizabethan Sheldon tapestry maps’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 132.1047 (1990), 392-401.

Wentworth, Michael, *Thomas Heywood: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986).

Wernham, R.B., *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain 1595-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Whitelock, Anna, ‘“Woman, Warrior, Queen?” Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth’, in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. by Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.173-190.

— ‘The Queen’s Two Bodies: The Image and Reality of the Body of Elizabeth I’, in *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sean McGlynn and Elena Woodacre (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp.207-225.

Wickham, Glynne, ‘Heavens, Machinery and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses’, in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598*, ed. by Herbert Berry (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1979), pp.1-15

Wiggins, Martin, and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 9 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) IV, VI.

Wiggins, Martin, ‘When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?’, *The Review of English Studies*, 59.2 (2008), 521-541.

Willbraham, Roger, ‘The Journal of Roger Wilbraham', in *Camden Miscellany*, 10 vols., ed. by Harold Spencer Scott (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902) X.

Williams, Deanne, ‘Dido, Queen of England’, *ELH*, 73.1 (2006), 31-59.

Williams, Gordon, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols. (London: The Athlone Press, 1994) I.

Williams, Raymond, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Wilson, Jean, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: D.S.Brewer, 1980).

Wixson, Christopher, 'Cross-Dressing and John Lyly's *Gallathea*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 41.2 (2001), 241-256.

Woodbridge, Linda, *Women and the English Renaissance* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1984).

Woodcock, Matthew, 'The Fairy Queen Figure in Elizabethan Entertainments', in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free* Woman, ed. by Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp.97-115.

Woodhouse, Elisabeth, 'The Symbolic Garden Created by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth, Warwickshire', *Garden History*, 36.1 (2008), 94-113.

Wright, Celeste Turner, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', *Studies in Philology*, 43.4 (1946), 628-43.

Wright, Louis B., *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1935).

Yachnin, Paul, '"Courtiers and beauteous freedom": *Antony and Cleopatra* in Its Time', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 26.1 (1991), 1-20.

Yates, Frances A., 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*,10 (1947), 27–82.

Zimmerman, Susan, 'Disruptive desire: artifice and indeterminacy in Jacobean Comedy', *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. by Zimmerman (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp.39-63.

Ziogas, Ioannis, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).