**The Deconstruction of the Virgin in the Sixteenth-Century Royal Entry in Scotland**

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During the sixteenth century, the royal entry transformed itself from a theatrical, medieval ceremonial into a neoclassical one. The pageantry of the earlier form of the spectacle typically depicted the city as the New Jerusalem, the king as a Christ come to his people, and the queen as a Virgin Mary ascending to her heavenly coronation. The pageantry of the newer, more neoclassical form, however, replaced the Jasper-green castles and Jesse trees that were the staple of the old iconography with ever more elaborate imitations of Roman triumphal arches and obelisks, and encrusted them with emblems and mottos so that the city seemed more like a New Rome than a New Jerusalem, the entering prince more a triumphator than a Christ or Virgin. So far, this transformation has been explained primarily as a matter of style: the French and Imperial wars in Italy spurred an interest in antique cultural forms, and once Roman triumphal architecture became better known in Northern cities, cities demanded that the old royal entry be recast as a more exact imitation of the antique Roman triumph, so much so that historians of the form have usually been content to chronicle, as Roy Strong puts it, 'the transformation of the royal entry into an antique triumph.'[1] Although I have no quarrels with this traditional analysis, I increasingly suspect that other explanations for the royal entry's adoption of a neoclassical vocabulary of style may also be in play. It is with this thought in mind that I want to examine

two important entries of Scottish queens into Edinburgh in the later half of the sixteenth century, both of which draw inspiration from the London entry of Elizabeth I (1559): the first of these was celebrated by Mary Queen of Scots (1561), the second by Anne of Denmark (1590). Mary's triumph, I believe, deliberately (if combatively) evokes the old medieval model, while Anne's entry pageants somewhat tentatively experiment with neoclassical style. What might be the reasons for this transformation in style other than a somewhat belated attempt on the part of Edinburgh to represent itself as conversant with the new taste for a neoclassical vocabulary of style?

To begin with, it will not be surprising to suggest that in Scotland, at least, many of these changes were driven by Reformation politics. When Mary arrived in Scotland in 1561, she found a nation divided by Religion. Though Edinburgh might still be described as contested religious ground, the reformed church had gained the authority to elect "godly magistrates" who would not easily cede any of the power they had achieved.[2] The practical consequences of this political situation meant that the preparations for Mary's inaugural royal entry into the capital fell into the hands of those who were most antagonistic to her authority. Most royal entries throughout Europe involve a considerable degree of consultation and cooperation with the king's council. It is one of the chief purposes of the royal entry, after all, to achieve a resounding acclamation of the new King or Queen, and both the civic authorities who design and pay for the pageantry, as well as the royal council who approves of the spectacle, generally collaborate to achieve a loyal and enthusiastic acclamation on the occasion of the monarch's first ceremonial entry into the city. In this case, however, Mary's council seems to have lost effective control over the planning of

this important inaugural. Very likely, as Mary headed down Castle Hill through the city, she had little idea about the nature of the spectacle she was about to experience. There seems to have been no effective collaboration between her councillors and the civic establishment, and the often religiously hostile imagery of Mary's royal entry registers a good deal of anxiety about the tentative, even divided, loyalties of her subjects. The spectacle doesn't so much attempt to achieve a loyal civic acclamation for Mary as it seeks to offer a limited and qualified acclamation which makes clear the religious differences that divide the new Queen from her Reformed citizens.

In the nearly thirty years that separate the entries of Mary and Anne of Denmark, the close working relationship between civic and royal establishments has largely been restored. Anne of Denmark, unlike Mary, probably did know what was in store for her–or at least James VI's council did–and the show does attempt to structure a loyal and enthusiastic acclamation for the new Queen. Nevertheless, the Edinburgh pageants of 1590 deliberately recall the Reformation imagery of Mary's entry, so much so that they confidently make Anne undergo the same theatrical test that Mary's entry had arranged for her to fail. In so doing, they continue to express Reformation anxieties about possible divisions between Reformed religion and royal power in Scotland.

## I

In order to understand how Reformation politics informed both of these Scottish royal

entry spectacles, however, we must look first to Elizabeth Tudor's London entry of 1559, a London civic triumph that was destined to provide crucial inspiration for the two Edinburgh entries. Of all the spectacles prepared for Elizabeth's entry that day, one was especially designed to provoke a public declaration of the new Queen's religious policy. A pageant at the Little Conduit in Cheap was designed to present the Queen with one of the most definitive of Reformation emblems–a bible in English–and suggested that her willingness to accept it would determine her success as a queen.

This evocative gift was particularly embodied by one of the devisers of this symbolic gift-giving ceremony, Richard Grafton, the former King's Printer, whose evangelical fervor and career was largely defined by the printing of bibles in English. His Matthew's Bible (1537), a compilation of the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, was the first complete translation to be published in London under the royal licence. His success with this enterprise led to his selection to oversee the publication of the first crown commissioned and authorized translation, the Great Bible. Henry thus sent Grafton to France in 1537 to oversee the printing of the bible which was originally licenced to the Parisian printer, Francis Regnault. Under pressure from religiously hostile French authorities, Grafton arranged for the export of the type, press, and already printed sheets to London, where he enterprisingly finished the large, folio edition under his own imprint in 1539. Six more editions followed over the next two years. Officially "appointed to the vse of the churches" under Henry VIII, the Great Bible was then banished in favor of the Vulgate under Mary.[3] In this way, it had become one of the most important and evocative symbols of the Reformation.

Grafton's presence on the London committee responsible for organizing the Queen's royal entry prompt a number of interesting questions. Did he suggest the subject of this pageant, which prominently features a bible as its most important symbolic property? Did he perhaps even participate in its design? There is no evidence to prove these suggestions, but his presence on the Committee responsible for the design of the pageant series makes these conclusions almost impossible to resist. At the very least, we are probably safe in guessing that the bible presented to Elizabeth that day must have been a copy of Grafton's Great Bible.[4] If so, the proffered gift was especially pregnant with political significance, its acceptance implying a return to a Protestant regime and a rejection of Marian Catholic orthodoxy.

The presentation takes place in the context of an elaborate allegory of Time and his daughter Truth. Elizabeth's sister, Mary, had adopted "Veritas Filia Temporis" as her own personal motto, and the use of her motto as the pageant's informing emblem could thus not help but involve a rather direct comment upon the previous regime. Mary had adopted her motto to proclaim the restoration of the Roman Catholic tradition by Time after its period of Protestant oppression. Here, however, Grafton and his fellow pageant devisers turned this meaning on its head, using the motto to proclaim the redemption by Time of Protestant Truth, as symbolized by the English bible, after it's repression under Mary.[5] They use the emblem to cast Elizabeth in the role of Truth, and they trust her to play her role convincingly to the crowd of onlookers.

As Elizabeth approaches the pageant at the Little Conduit, she is made to perform one of those miraculous epiphanies that had long been the staple of the civic triumph.[6] As she approaches the pageant divided into two contrasting landscapes, she seems to transform a

"cragged, barreyn, and stonye' wasteland into a garden, "fayre, freshe, grene, and beawtifull, the grounde thereof full of flowres and beawtie."[7] Her presence revives the single, desolate tree "all withered and deadde, with braunches accordinglye" which dominates the barren landscape so that it immediately flourishes as a "very freshe and fayre" bay tree. The inhabitants of these two landscapes respond to the Queen's presence as much as the vegetation does. Her advent transforms a wretch named "Ruinosa Respublica"–"one in homely and rude apparell crokedlye, and in mournyng maner"–into a "fresh personage well apparaylled and appoynted" now "in state tryumphant" and renamed "Respublica bene instituta" ($C3^{v}$-$4^{v}$).

This stagecraft miracle takes on a particularly Protestant meaning as "an olde man with a Sythe in his hande, hauynge wynges artificiallye made" responds to her approach by emerging from a cave in a hill. He is Time, and he brings with him his daughter Truth, who offers to the Queen an English bible, upon which were emblazoned the words, "Verbum veritatis." In the context of the Reformation, such a gift deliberately cuts to the very heart of the most essential religious and political divisions of the time. In offering an English rather than a Vulgate bible–and probably the bible that has been specifically authorized by the previous Protestant regime–the pageant knowingly publishes its Protestant sympathies.

The offer of this gift offers a challenge to the Queen. Would the Queen actually accept such a portentous gift? Perhaps, in these circumstances, the Queen could not utterly decline the gift, but the *manner* of her acceptance would nevertheless prove highly revealing. Will she indicate a mere tolerant acceptance of the Protestant subjects who proffer this gift, or will she signal a much warmer embrace of their religious ideals?

In these circumstances, both Queen and citizens engage in some careful, positional skirmishing as both parties seek to control the possible meanings of this interpretatively fraught presentation. As she first approaches the pageant–and even before Time and Truth emerged from their cave with their very potent emblem–Elizabeth thus enquires about the meaning of the allegory that was to take place. When told that "the byble in Englishe shoulde be deliuered vnto her by Truth," she immediately attempts to receive the gift in a way that will bring the episode to a speedy conclusion: "she thanked the citie for tht gift, and sayd that she would oftentimes reade ouer that booke, commaunding sir John Parrat, one of the knightes which helde vp her canapy, to goe before and to receiue the booke." By thus seizing upon the book before it is formally offered, the new Queen carefully demonstrates goodwill towards the Protestant cause. But by preempting Truth's speech and the formal offering of the book, she considerably diminishes the symbolic elaboration of the book's meaning and the dramatic impact of the offering of the gift.

Demanding not just goodwill but a clearer display of the Queen's intentions, the city declines this gambit and insists that the pageant run its course: "learning that it" [the bible] should be "deliuered vnto her grace down by a silken lace, she . . . passed forward" As Truth now offers Elizabeth the English bible, all eyes serch the manner of her acceptance of this gift for what it may reveal of her political and religious resolve. Will she adopt a merely tolerant attitutde toward her Protestant subjects? Or will she declare herself an active champion of their cause? Will she distance herself significantly from the gift, perhaps by having one of her courtiers fetch it for her, thus refusing to touch it herself? Old Father Time, speaking for the Protestant devisers of the pageant, pleads for an explicit sign of her willingness to propagate the Truth as symbolized

by an English bible:

> Now since yt Time again his daughter truth has brought,
>
> We trust O worthy quene, thou wilt this truth embrace.

Taking up her cue, the Queen chooses to open her reign with an unambiguous sign of her intentions. Elizabeth "as soon as she had receiued the booke, kyssed it, and with both her handes held vp the same, and so laid it vpon her brest, with great thankes to the citie therfore." In this calculatedly histrionic gesture, the new Queen dispenses with political caution. She deliberately represents herself as the enthusiastic champion of a self-avowedly Protestant city.

Contemporaries were quick to appreciate the implications of this first, public manifestation of Elizabethan religious policy. Mulcaster, for instance, recommends the Queen's "receiuing of ye Bible at th little conduit in cheape" to his readers as one of the "two principall sygnes" tht Elizabeth had truly been "set in [her] seate by gods appointing":

> For when her grace had learned that the bible in Englishe should there be offered, she thanked the citie therefore, promysed the reading therof most diligentlie, and incontinent commaunded, that it shoulde be brought. At the receit wherof, how reuerently did she with both her handes take it, kisse it, & lay it vpon her brest to the great comfort of the lookers on. God will vndoubtedly preserue so worthy a prince, which at hys honor so reuerently taketh her beginning. For this saying is true, and written I the boke of Truth. He that first seketh the kingdome of God, shall haue all other thinges cast vnto him.[8]

For him, the Queen's acceptance of the bible had produced a profound manifestation of the

Queen's relationships with her people and with God. Richard Grafton–taking considerable satisfaction in the Protestant epiphany he had helped to contrive, heartily agreed. He professed to see an even more doctrinaire significance in Elizabeth's acceptance of the English bible and recorded it in his Chronicle: "Tyme had nowe once againe restored vnto us Goddes veritye whereby the dregges of Papistry, might bee put away."[9]

Mulcaster's account of this episode places a good deal of emphasis upon the Queen's inspired and spontaneous performance. She enters into dialogue with the pageant, apparently changes her mind about how the gift should be accepted, and at last embraces the gift, kissing it reverently and histrionically laying it upon her breast to symbolize the sincerity of her regard for this Protestant icon and the religious ideals it represented. In fact, however, the spontaneity was more likely illusory, a product of more of calculated performance based upon considerable beforehand knowledge of the little scene she was being asked to play.

English kings and queens were almost never surprised by the pageants that they encountered on their royal entries. The production of a London civic triumph, in particular, always implied a good deal of cooperation between crown and civic establishments. There are records of city committees bringing a list of proposed pageant devices to a corresponding committee of Privy Councillors for comment. The Crown often provides resources–workmen to help in the construction of the pageants, offers of influence to enlist Foreign companies to undertake responsibility for pageants, provide royal musicians to play from the pageants, even provide poets to write speeches for the pageants. We sometimes hear court and city squabbling about their respective financial responsibilities for royal entry pageants.[10] On this occasion, we

know that this apparently traditional system was operating as usual, for court records show that the Queen directed her Master of the Queen's Revels, Sir Thomas Cawarden, to supply costumes for the actors in the pageants.[11]

These circumstances make it clear that the Queen's performance was calculated rather than spontaneous, the product of negotiation and political decision. She almost certainly performed her role with the advice and consent of her Privy Council advisors, who knew exactly what the city's pageants were going to be and had approved of them in advance. Her performance, like the pageant itself, was therefore devised to publish her government's decision not merely to tolerate Protestant practices, but to embrace them. In this context, the publication of a printed description of the royal entry was seen to be highly desirable so that as many as possible might be able to ponder the significance of the Queen's performance. Apparently, the City thought it vital to publish such a text as quickly as possible. The City commissioned Richard Mulcaster to compose a spirited description of the event, The Quenes Maiesties Passage, immediately after the event. At the same time, Grafton was probably influential in the selection of Richard Tottill, his son-in-law, as the text's publisher. This collaboration of writer and publisher succeeded admirably; the first copies of Mulcaster's text emerged from Tottill's press in a mere nine days.[12]

II

Within the next two years, at least one copy of Mulcaster's text seems to have found its

way to Edinburgh, where in the summer of 1561, the Town Council was planning "a triumphe to be maid of hir graces [i.e., Mary Queen of Scots] entre within this toun."[13] The Council, which took office in October 1560 a month after the close of the Reformation parliament, was Edinburgh's first Protestant Town Council. Its members "almost certainly protestant to a man" moved cautiously but decisively towards creating the sort of godly society that Knox envisoned.[14] What caught their eyes in particular about Mulcaster's description was the episode of the Bible presentation with its carefully staged Reformation epiphany that allowed the new Queen to declare her intentions by embracing a definitively Protestant icon. As they meditated the Queen's return from France to Edinburgh, the Town Council faced a rather different prospect than had the citizens of London. Where the Londoners had some reason to think beforehand that Elizabeth might well be willing to declare herself favorably towards the Reformed religion, the citizens of Edinburgh were under no such illusions. Although the Town was firmly in Protestant hands, they worried that "the queen's return might mean the overthrow of the Reformation, and the reforming party had to try to strengthen the de facto position of their church." There was talk of deposing Mary.[15] There were even objections to giving Mary the traditional "propyne" appropriate to such triumphs for fear that it might "engender murmur."[16] Faced with such political and religious anxieties, it was perhaps inevitable that the planners would consider staging an entry spectacle that offered at best only a qualified and tentative public acclamation of their newly arrived Queen. In fact, it turned out to be a very nearly hostile one.

What made this extraordinary triumph possible was a combination of events that freed the planners to act with some impunity. For one thing, as we have seen, the Town Council was

firmly in the hands of Reformers, who were sharply divided from the Queen and her Council by religious ideology. Secondly, Mary's long absence in France necessarily put her out of touch with those who were devising and paying for her royal entry spectacle. Her councillors simply did not enjoy the close cooperation between civic and royal establishments that operated in London. There is every reason to suppose, in short, that unlike Elizabeth, Mary had no idea what was in store for her.

The devisers of the Queen's triumph took from Mulcaster's text the presentation of the English bible and made it the cornerstone of their spectacle. Where the bible presentation episode had come towards the end of Elizabeth's London triumph, the Scots devisers made it the first of Mary's pageants, the key pageant upon which all the others conceptually depended. Instead of an elaborate allegory of Truth the Daughter of Time, the Scots devisers constructed a gateway at the Butter Trone, just down the hill from Edinburgh Castle. To signify a heavenly place, a number of children were placed above the gateway singing "in the maist hevinlie wyis." Just underneath the gateway hung a mechanical globe that could be made to open. Just as the Queen was about to pass through the gateway, the surface of the globe thus divided into four "leaves" and the globe opened to permit "an bony barne" to descend "as it had bene ane angell" to deliver "the keyis of the toun, togidder with ane bybill and ane psalme buik"–both in English–"coverit with fyne purpourit veluot."[17] This description may suggest that the Queen was being offered two books, but I am inclined to think that it refers to a single book, probably the Geneva Bible, which had been published in 1560 and often was bound together with an appendix of metrical psalms.

As in the Holbein illustrations to the Great Bible, this little episode enacts a Reformation ideal. Authority flows directly from God to the Prince through the scriptures; it is not mediated by the Pope. The Prince's willingness to embrace the scriptures and to foster the reading of vernacular translations of the scriptures becomes a standard of Reformation legitimacy.[18] In offering the bible to Mary, the angel thus explains that she must "rede and vnderstand" this book if she is to succeed as Queen. This precious gift, "most ganand for a godlie prince" contains, says the angel, "Godis lawe, his word, and testement, / Trewlie translated with faithfull dilligence." The heavenly book explains all the Queen must know if she is to achieve an apotheosis into a Protestant heaven, for it describes

> The perfytt waye vnto ze heavens hie,
> And how to rewle your subiectis and your land,
> And how your kingdome establyshed shalbe;
> Iudgement and wysedome herin shall you see.

By living according to the bible, Mary gains the necessary virtue to aspire heavenward. But should she refuse the "perfytt waye" it describes, the angel warns, the book also shows how God "thretnes with his scurge and wand" all those "who the contrarie does wilfullie." He then reascends into his globe, which promptly claps shut.

In offering this gift to Mary in this way, the Edinburgh Reformers knowingly set their Queen an insoluble problem. Perhaps the devisers of this pageant were thinking of the way that Mulcaster had described the parallel scene in London. The English Queen had not needed an angel to tell her what to do with the book she was being offered. Apparently spontaneously,

Elizabeth had seized the English bible, kissed it, clasped it to her breast, and "promised the reading thereof most diligently.[19] Mary, by contrast, could not well refuse this Protestant icon, especially since the angel's speech in offering it to her refers to it as an explicit "sign" of her subjects' loyalty,

> In signe zat they [the Queen's subjects] and all zat they posses,
>
> Bodie and goodis shall ever redie be
>
> To serue you as their souueraine hie mistres.[20]

But she could not well accept the gift either, much less embrace the book and thank God for it as Elizabeth had done. Acceptance of an English bible by a devoutly Catholic monarch would inevitably create a manifestation of religious hypocrisy.

Royal entry pageants customarily function to produce an acclamation of the Prince. When the bible was presented to Elizabeth, her embrace of the book not only produced a significant Reformation epiphany, but it also attempted to create a bond between spectator and Queen. One of the primary strategies of Mulcaster's narrative, for instance, is to depict the Queen's passage through the city as a kind of bonding ritual between sovereign and subject, both on a princely and a personal level:

> This her graces louing behauiour preconceiued in the peoples heades . . . was then throughly confirmed, and indede emplanted a woonderfull hope in them touching her woorthie gouernment in the rest of her reygne. For in all her passage she did not only shew her most gracious loue toward the people in generall, but also priuately. . . . So that if a man should say well, he could not better tearme the citie

> of London that time, than a stage wherin was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted princesse toward her most louing people, & the peoples exceding comfort in beholding so worthy a soueraign, & hearing so princeslike a voice which could not but haue set thenemie on fyre, since y$^{t}$ vertue is in y$^{e}$enemie alway commended, much more could not but enflame her naturall, obedient, and most louyng people, whose weale leaneth onely vppon her grace, and her gouernement.

For Mulcaster, the Queen's behavior at the bible-presentation pageant ranked as one of the "two principal signs" that she had been truly placed on her throne by God.[21] The exchange of love and the embrace of the bible unites a Reformation Queen to her like-minded subjects by inflaming their love, one for the other..

The version of the pageant arranged for Mary, by contrast, draws exclusive boundaries between sovereign and subject. Heaven is Protestant, the Queen Catholic. The offer of a Protestant bible symbolizes an essential division rather than a corporate unity between the ruler and her body politic. Only if Mary embraces her subjects' symbolic gifts and defends their Reformed religion may she be accepted into such a heaven. Faced with this challenge, Mary attempted a diplomatic response; she accepted the gifts, but gave them to one of her Catholic retainers. John Knox, who was there to witness the spectacle, reports the Queen's distress with considerable satisfaction:

> The verses of hir awin praise sche heard and smyled. But when the Bible was presented, and the praise thairof declared, sche began to frown; for schame sche

> could not refuise it. But she did no better, for immediatelie sche gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the Realme, to wit, to Arthoure Erskyn.[22]

Here, in this obviously hostile commentary, Protestant Reformer and Catholic Queen glower at one another over a barrier that the pageant devisers have deliberately designed to divide them one from another. In the eyes of the implacable Knox, at least, Mary's evasiveness created its own damning epiphany.

The city's pageants, however, left little room for such temporizing. They demanded, as Mary was soon to discover, the kind of categorical declaration that Elizabeth had performed in London. The remainder of Mary's triumph thus stages a vivid spectacle of the "scourge and wand" with which God punishes those "who the contrarie does wilfullie." Taking advantage of the sharp downward path that she must follow as the processional way passes from the Castle to Holyrood Palace, Mary's triumphant passage down the High Street is staged as her descent to a fiery judgment.

At the "Salt Trone," a pageant depicting "the terrible sygnifications of the vengeance of God upon idolatry" next awaits her. This passage takes its context from the iconoclastic campaign then raging in Edinburgh against what the Reformers saw as the idolatry of the Catholic mass. Having successfully purged the mass from Edinburgh, the anticipated with dismay Mary's intention to celebrate mass in the chapel royal at Holyrood. Only three days earlier, Knox had "preached a violent sermon against the saying of mass at Holyrood."[23] The pageant devisers continue Knox's attack by means of an even more violent pageant which represents the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram against the congregation of Moses (Num. 16: 8-35) as a biblical

figure for what they regarded as the damnable idolatry of the Catholic mass. To imitate the biblical description of the Lord's destruction of the schismatics even as the were in the act of offering incense to him, the pageant devisers plut three wooden effigies of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram upon a scafford and burn them "in the tyme of their sacrifice":

> And they went down alive into hell, the ground closing upon them, and they perished from among the people. . . . And a fire coming out from the Lord destroyed the two hundred and fifty men that offered the incense. (Num 16: 33, 35).

So that no one could mistake the point of this biblical spectacle, a speech was made "tending to abolishing of the mass," and a "priest in his ornaments redie to say mass, made of wode" stood expecing the same fiery vengeance so that he might be burned in the very act of elevating the host. According to one account, however, the Earl of Huntley "stayed that pageant."[24]

Nevertheless, a final pageant continues this foretaste of the fiery vengeance of the Lord upon idolaters by burning a spectacularly combustible dragon upon a scaffold at Nether Bow. Although the description of the pageant is too sparse to say for certain, perhaps the dragon, in view of the virulent anti-Catholic imagery of the triumph, represents the Beast of the Alpocalypse.[25] If so, Mary's civic triumph casts the Queen in the role of the beast's mistress, the Whore of Babylon, who "shall be burnt with fire, because God is strong, who shall judge her" (Apoc. 18: 8).

Although the pageantry of this triumph is certainly hostile and designed to encourage divisions between Queen and subject rather than produce an acclamation of a new sovereign, it is

nevertheless based upon a very traditional pattern. For almost two centuries, the pageantry of the royal entry had depicted the city as the New Jerusalem and cast the Queen in the role of the Virgin. Crowns descend from heaven upon the Queen; she sees visions of the Virgin Queen of Heaven and scenes of the coronation of the Virgin–pageants which represent her entry to the city as a type of the Virgin's apotheosis and coronation. Her spouse like the Sponsus of Canticles calls her to "come and be crowned." Sometimes, indeed, the Queen's progress from pageant to pageant is arranged so that the Queen seems to be ascending from earth to heaven.[26] This commonplace pattern, moreover, generally served the late-Medieval royal entry as a metaphor for fealty: the citizens' acclamation of their queen is like the Christian's worship of the Virgin. For the Protestant devisers of Mary Stewart's Edinburgh triumph, this common pattern must therefore have seemed as idolatrous as the Catholic mass. But instead of ignoring the idolatrous pattern, they inverted it. They thereby turn the Marian pattern of the Queen's entry into an act of idolatrous worship. Instead of depicting an upward apotheosis for the Queen, they sent her on a downward journey, pointedly substituting in effect a hellish adventus for the commonplace celestial one, a journey moreover that was aided by the sharply downward geography of the Edinburgh processional way.

The Protestant devisers of this spectacle thus approach their task iconoclastically. They not only draw symbolic boundaries between Catholic queen and Protestant subjects, but the aim as well to destroy the religious imagery that had given such spectacles their distinctive form and acclamatory function for over 150 years. So far as I know, this is the first–perhaps the only–example of a royal entry that aims at rejection rather than acclamation. By inverting the

distinctive imagery of the Queen's royal entry, this Edinburgh triumph in effect deconstructs the Queen's identity as a type of the Virgin. If Mary chooses to continue to represent herself in terms of such Catholic religious imagery, then she must expect to be regarded by her "godly subjects" subjects as an idolater.

III

Because they represented Mary Stewart's Edinburgh entry primarily as an act of iconoclasm, the devisers left themselves little room Had they approached their task in this way, perhaps, they may have found further inspiration in Mulcaster's account of the London entry of Elizabeth, which does indeed attempt to find new, appropriately Protestant, images for Queenship.

Nearly thirty years would pass before the citizens of Edinburgh had a chance to welcome another queen. When Anne of Denmark entered the city on 19 May 1590 to be received as James VI's Queen Consort, the advent of a new Queen prompted anew important questions about the meaning of Queenship in a Protestant kingdom and the nature of the ritual proper to the coronation and acclamation of a Protestant queen. There were, after all, considerable doctrinal differences between her Lutheran faith and the Scots Calvinist faith. The coronation oath was rewritten to make it strongly anti-Catholic, and this was perfectly acceptable to both Lutheran and Calvinist factions. But there was further some attempt to use the coronation ceremony to commit Anne specifically to the Scots Reformed Confession of faith. As Anne received the scepter at her coronation, Robert Bruce thus made a speech in which he "acknowledged her as queen on behalf of the estates of the realm, and pledged obedience to her in all concerning the

honour of God, the comfort of His church, and her welfare." And then he added, "we creave from your Majestie the confessione of the faith and religion quhilk we professe." This speech was then translated by David Lindsey into French for Anne, who "assented to what had been said, and then went on to take her (strongly anti-Catholic) coronation oath."[27] By the same token, "godly" voices were raised against the "superstitious" practice of anointing the queen as a part of the coronation ritual. The king held firm, however. He informed Robert Bruce that if he did not agree to anoint the Queen himself, then "the coronation would be delayed until a bishop could be present to administer unction." Faced with this ultimatum, the ministers capitulated: "better anoint the queen themselves, however distasteful the idea was, than let a hated bishop do it."[28]

No less than the coronation ceremony, the devising of Anne's royal entry spectacle took place in the context of all this thinking about the nature of a godly, Protestant queen. Anne's entry into Edinburgh begins with exactly the opposite assumptions from those that had governed the devisers of Mary Stewart's triumph. In 1561, the Protestant Council saw the advent of the Queen as a threat to their Reformed religion, and they sought to stage a spectacle which offered a vision of the Queen's Catholicism–focused particularly on the mass and Mariolatry–as damnable idolatry that separated her from her subjects. Those considerations had produced a royal entry that was more an act of iconoclasm than an act of acclamation. In 1590, the devisers found themselves in a different position. As a Lutheran, Anne was perhaps acceptably Protestant; as a consequence, they could concentrate upon devising pageants that encouraged acclamation and acceptance rather than on division and rejection. In this respect, the citizens of Edinburgh in

1590 were returning to the original ritual purpose of the royal entry. It wasn't enough merely to avoid the old royal entry conceit, deriving as it did from a Catholic construction of medieval kingship: the queen as a type of the Virgin Mary rising to her heavenly coronation. The advent of a Reformed queen required reformed imagery. But what, after all, was the imagery appropriate to the advent of a godly Protestant queen? In this respect, the devisers of the 1590 pageant were necessarily working as the makers of icons rather than as iconoclasts.

In their search for dramatic imagery appropriate to a distinctively Protestant royal entry spectacle, the devisers turned once again to the pageant of the book that they had borrowed from London by way of Mulcaster's pamphlet. As Mary had before her, Anne encounters the first of the town's pageants in the form of a globe hanging from a gateway–apparently the same celestial globe that had first been constructed for Mary Stewart.[29] As she approaches this structure, Master John Russell declaims "an oration to welcome her to the towne, uttered in Latine." Immediately afterward, the globe opens as it had done in 1561 to permit the descent of a Russell's young son who is dressed in red velvet clothes and a white taffeta cloak. He bears two symbolic gifts on a shield: the keys to the city and "ane bybill and psalme buik."[30] The younger Russell introduces himself to the Queen as "the angel of the town you are entering" who has been "sent by the one above" to bring her "this good Bible" that she may "love and keep God's word above all things." The gift of the Word, moreover, is accompanied by God's promise to Anne that he will "protect your country" and "drive away everything that might harm it, so that everything may be turned to your advantage." He then gives her the golden key to the city ("that you may keep guard of us" and "bring justice to all men") and a "valuable piece of jewelry" (a gift

from the city). He bows, blesses the Queen, and wishes her good fortune. Anne responds by giving him a gift in return, and then the angelic visitor is "at once winched up again, so cleverly that before their very eyes his globe closed up so that nothing could be seen apart from a round, well-appointed and cleverly coloured globe."[31]

As in Mary Stewart's pageant, the Word comes to the Queen as an angelic gift; no priestly mediator stands between Queen and god, only the book. By reading the scriptures herself, she can achieve "true understanding" of God's word. While the gift has proven devastating to Mary Stewart, however, here it achieves for her an epiphany of godly Queenship. The pageant achieves this, first of all, because the angel expects the Queen to receive the gift gratefully. Mary Stewart's pageant expected that the gift would be rejected, and so the angel stood ready with a stern warning about what would befall a Queen who failed to "read and vnderstand" the Word. The angel who delivers Anne's gift, by contrast, stands reading with a blessing–God's promise to protect the Queen's country and to turn everything to her advantage. More tellingly, however, as the angel delivers his divine gift to the Queen, Anne immediately reciprocates by giving the angel a gift of her own. This carefully staged exchange of gifts between Queen and angel tells us at once that the customary cooperation between city and court has been fully restored. The Queen was able to respond to the angelic gifts because the court knew about the presentation in advance, decided an appropriate response, and provided the Queen with a gift. Like Elizabeth's histrionic embracing of the bible in London, this more stately and dignified act of reciprocal gift-giving provides the triumph with a definitive epiphany of a godly Queen's gratitude and esteem for the holy Word.

As the Queen descends the High Street and Cannongate toward St Giles Church and Holyrood Palace, emblems of harmonies rather than scenes of fiery iconoclastic destruction greet her. As an astronomer pronounces her fortune at Bow Street, finely ground sugar and various sweets" are scattered from the windows all around her, and the air is "filled with oral and instrumental music." The Nine Muses who greet her at the Butter Trone "sung verie sweete musicke, where a brave youth played upon the organs, which accorded excellentlie with the singing of their psalmes."[32] The Cardinal Virtues who greet her from a scaffold at the Tolbooth, after which a choir begins "sing the 120th Psalm of David to a lively melody."[33] From the top of the Cross, "she had a psalme sung in verie good musicke" just before entering St Giles Church to hear Robert Bruce preach a sermon on the 107th Psalm.[34] Another Psalm, this time "the 19th Psalm of David: 'The heavens declare the glory of God'" accompanies her as he leaves her carriage and enters the Church. To conclude the worship service, "they sang the 23rd Psalm." As she left St Giles, Bacchus greets her, then commands: "My children! Sing a new song so that it sounds over the whole town." Immediately, "singers began to sing, the instrumentalist to play, and the old fellow [i.e., Bacchus] to throw sugar, apples, nuts and sweets around among the common people."[35]

It looks very much as if the Queen's journey through the city is thus accompanied exclusively by the singing of Psalms–"godly music"–so much so that specific psalms are mentioned and the Psalter even supplies the text for the sermon she is required to hear in St Giles Church. In this way, the Word of God defines and structures her passage through the city. It comes to the Queen as a gift from God at the beginning of her passage, it continues to resound

from the voices of singers as she processes through the city, and the broadcasting of the Word by singers falls on Anne and her people together like shower of sweets. Her stopover in St Giles further stresses her willing reception of the Word. Such a pause in the city's major church had long been a feature of the royal entry. Before, however, the Queen would have entered the church for a mass. Here, Anne is required to hear the Word explained by one of Edinburgh's most eloquent Reformed preachers. Edinburgh's royal entry ceremonial, like Edinburgh's churches, has clearly undergone a Reformation.

Other pageants contrive to offer the divine word to the Queen in more parabolic ways. At the Bow Street pageant, a "goddess" who describes herself as a "holy woman" stands among an armillary sphere and an assortment of "various mathematical instruments." She may perhaps represent the Goddess Astronomia or Divine Wisdom. The presence of the "mathematical" instruments thus marks her out as an astronomer, and she confirms this identity by picking out the Queen's fortunate destiny in the stars. Like the angel in the previous pageant, this unnamed goddess thus provides the Queen with a divine text that explains God's intentions. In the previous pageant, an angel brought the Word of God directly to Anne. That text, which reveals God's general intentions for all men requires no interpreter. The astronomical text, however, requires an expert "reader" to understand Divine Mind as written in the stars. What the goddess can reveal from the stars that the bible cannot, of course, is Anne's special destiny–one might almost say that the goddess serves as an reader of the future that God has predestined for Anne. She reveals to Anne, for instance, not only that "Heaven has favoured you" and marked her for a Queenly destiny, but also that the Divine Mind has marked her out to serve as an instrument of

the Reformation; she is destined to "convert the people to the fear of God." As a shower of sweets and music begins to falls about Anne, the goddess explains it as a "sign sent from heaven" that her prophecy is true.[36]

As the Queen proceeds from pageant to pageant, she finds not only emblems that refer to the Reformation, but she encounters images that have themselves been reformed. At the Butter Trone, as we have seen, nine maidens "brauely arraied in cloth of silver and gold" represented the Nine Muses.[37] They too present themselves not just as psalm singers, but equally importantly as readers of texts. The standard iconography of the Muses represents them as holding musical instruments, as they do, for instance, in Holbein's design for Anne Boleyn's London triumph (1533).[38] But in this Edinburgh pageant, they all hold "beautiful gilded books in their hands" and they sing the texts of the psalms to the accompaniment of an organist, as one would presumably do in a Protestant church. A young man (Apollo perhaps?) explains that the presence of the Muses here in the streets of Edinburgh demonstrates that "our people" are not "unintelligent / even if our clothes make us appear so" because "our gracious king / is a most learned man with regard to books." Because James's "wisdom encompasses both spiritual and temporal matters," the Muses have become "his servants and he rules over us, / therefore we follow in his footsteps." Their reading of their "beautiful gilded books" is thus inspired by James's bookish learning, and their appearance shows that the city has been reformed into a society that respects texts. Their presence not only testifies to a society that has been reformed by books, but the Muses themselves have been reformed into readers and singers of texts rather than players of instruments.

Much the same can be said of the pageant of Dame Virtue and her four daughters, which greets the Queen at the Tolbooth. They all bear traditional identifying emblems: Prudence holds an astrolabe and a book, Justice a sword and scales, Fortitude the club of Hercules and a shield, Temperance a bridle and an hourglass. Each of the Cardinal Virtues in turn offers herself to the Queen as confidantes and advisors "so that your great wealth and queenly honour / may lead to honour of God and of the kingdom."[39] But where these qualities are usually seen as the product of the Queen's inborn character, here they depend upon the Word that Anne has received at the first pageant. As Mother Virtue explains to the Queen,

> You should bear these words in mind:
>
> The fear of God brings honour and might,
>
> Let the word of God be your greatest wealth.

If she does so, she will then "be virtuous and pious towards your subjects." Moreover, "if you do that then I, Virtue, and all my children / will gladly follow your footsteps." The Virtues thus follow the Word, a point made when the Virtues close this pageant by singing "the 120th Psalm of David to a lively melody: 'In my distress I cried unto the Lord' etc."

Perhaps, indeed, the reformed iconography of this pageant appears most clearly not in what the pageant contains, but in what the pageant deliberately leaves out. We might thus have expected that Dame Virtue would acknowledge the Three Theological Virtues as her daughters as well as the Four Cardinal ones. The pageant, however, omits the "Christian" Theological virtues. Or rather, the pageant replaces the Three Cardinal Virtues that had been so identified with the Catholic iconographical tradition with the Reformed icon of the scriptural Word. The Word alone

now provides the proper context within which the Cardinal Virtues operate–or rather the Word "leads" the Cardinal Virtues and thus defines for them a distinctively Reformed religious identity.

As these last two pageants have made clear, Anne's triumph cultivates classical imagery even as it promotes a Reformed religious ideology. We should not be surprised, then, to discover that yet another "classical" pageant awaited her down the High Street at the Mercat Cross.[40] As she left St Giles Church to continue her triumphal passage through Edinburgh, Anne encounters the Roman god Bacchus, "a big fellow on a wine barrel" with a wreath on his head and "dressed in nothing but nightclothes." He had "a whole lot of glasses full of wine, some of which he drank and some of which he threw among the people." Ceres, the goddess of Corn, sat at a table loaded with "nuts, corn, straw, silver plates with sugar and silver dishes with grapes." Bacchus drunkenly tells the Queen that

> We do not want to miss a good party
> So I will take this beaker
> And drink to your health–
> I shall not leave a drop in it.
> Thus I can forget both sorrow and need
> and live in joy as God bade me.[41]

The pageant thus seems disconcertingly pagan, even hedonistic.

To understand Bacchus's function in this triumph, however, we have to consider the conduit that stood nearby and which "ranne claret wine upon the caulsway, for the loyaltie of that day."[42] Water conduits running with wine were a standard feature of royal entries in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The king who enters the city seems to work a miracle of transubstantiation as his approach seems to make the water in the fountain turn to wine. In this way, the the king manifests himself as the Christ-like messiah. Henry VI's London triumph (1432), for example, indulges in a pointed allusion to Christ's Miracle at Cana; the "aquas architriclinas" that flow from the Great Conduit become wine at the entry of the King, and all who wish to drink may do so on the day of the King's triumph.[43] Such fountains, understandably, became the most popular–and therefore expected–features of the royal entry in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries.

The Protestant devisers of this Edinburgh triumph were faced with a problem. The wine-flowing fountain had become an expected part of the ceremonial of the royal entry. Citizens looked forward to the free-flowing gift of wine that marked a royal entry. However, as Reformers, they could no more tolerate the transubstantiary implications of this popular pageant subject than they could approve of the Queen being anointed with oil at her coronation. They regarded both equally as superstitious and idolatrous. How, then, might they preserve the popular and expected wine-flowing fountain while reforming its iconography?

Bacchus seemed a perfect solution to their problem. As a pagan god, he could not easily be seen as an emblem of transubstantary powers. Moreover, by playing up his drunken character and Falstaffian excess, he robbed the wine fountain of all religious meaning. He is not a Messiah, but only an epicurean in search of "a good party." He represents the people who come to drink from the fountain, not the prince who magically turns water into wine. His appearance here, in fact, was an encore. He appeared first at the Edinburgh coronation entry of James VI (1579),

where he is described in just this way as a symbol of "magnifik liberalitie and plentie, distributing of his liquor to all passingers and behalders" Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 194.. Almost certainly, the Edinburgh devisors reprised his role on this occasion both to satisfy the expectations of the people, on the one hand, and to redefine and reform the potentially superstitious imagery of the wine-flowing on the other. The Queen's advent portends liberality and plenty, not an idolatry redolent of the Mass. He is merely an "old fellow" who splashes wine around, invites all to drink, and scatters "sugar, apples, nuts and sweets around among the common people" as a sign of royal largesse.

At the Salt Tron, Queen Anne encountered her next "reformed" image–in this case a genealogical tree transformed by means of neoclassical imagery. Such trees had long been a staple of the royal entry. Throughout western Europe in the late Middle Ages, the Jesse Tree had served the civic triumph as "its single most important representation of the king's symbolic nativity." Such genealogical trees in medieal civic triumph were conventionally designed to suggest that the king or queen springs from a sacred genealogy in the image of Christ's descent from Jesse. They were a potent part of the royal entry's stock of imagery that represented the king as a messianic Christ or the Queen as a Virgin ascending to her heavenly coronation.[44] Once again, the devisers of Anne's royal entry sought to reform a popular and expected pageant, to make it appropriate to a godly Queen. To do this, they reimagined the tree as "a high column" with "five small stages or steps on it and on each step there were two young lads sitting, one on the left side and one on the right." Each of these children "had a crown on his head, a shield before his chest, and a royal sceptre in his hand." Those on the left hand side sat beneath

"Scotland's coat of arms and genealogical table" while those on the right sat beneath Denmark's coat of arms and genealogical table. At the foot of the column "lay a young man on a bed . . . in full cuirass and armour representing King Christian I of Denmark. The five children to the left represented the five Scottish sovereigns who descended from that Danish king: Margaret, James IV, James V, Mary, and James VI. The five children to the right represented the Danish sovereigns who descended from the same king: Frederick I, Christian III, Frederick II, and Anne.[45]

Although the pageant iconography remains suggestive of the Jesse Tree model based upon Isaiah 11: 1-10–a recumbent Jesse at the root of a tree from which sprouts successive genealogical branches culminating at last in a messianic flower at the very top of the tree–the substitution of a neoclassical "column" with "benches" for the tree with branches robs the image of its original messianic ideology. No bud blooms forth at the top of the tree. Indeed, the "lad" who explains this genealogical image, takes pains to point out that the Queen is "not the first shoot" of this tree, as perhaps she would be were she a type of the Virgin who conventionally blossoms from the top of the conventional Jesse Tree. The charts hanging from the tree provide texts which limit severely the interpretation of the image. The lad explains the image almost dryly; like a pedantic genealogist he wields a "gilded stick in his hand and with it he pointed to each coat-of-arms individually." In his hands, it becomes a text that must be read and expounded. Losing its religious significance, it becomes merely "certain knowledge . . . enjoyable" by means of which the Queen may "notice and discover" that "Denmark and Scotland are not two." Once again, the pageant indulges in a kind of Reformation iconoclasm; although it delivers a popular emblem that people will expect to see in a royal entry, it also reforms that image by robbing it of its idolatrous

significance.

Only at the last pageant stage at the East Port did Anne find a pageant that might be described as "unreformed" in the sense that its imagery still functioned in approximately the same way that it had in earlier triumphs. This one staged a "little play . . . about how the queen of Sheba visited King Solomon."[46] Sheba comes to Solomon's court to "study your wisdom by talking to you" and finds that Solomon has no equal, for the "splendour" of his court and the greatness of his "temple and divine service are so great / that there cannot be any greater on the earth." She therefore brings him a "gift of balsam" as "a sign of love" and recognition of his wisdom and his splendour. The pageant thus figures the Queen's becoming humility before King Solomon, and therefore establishes that the King's glory is greater than that of the Queen. The pageant, in effect, reduces the Queen to the status of a female magus who comes from afar to kneel before the glory of her lord. This Edinburgh pageant, it is true, takes pains to avoid all references to Solomon's Christ-like status as a "son of David." In this one minor respect, it reforms the imagery of a familiar pageant drawn from the repertory of the late-Medieval civic triumph. But otherwise, this "little play" does precisely what most previous Solomon-Sheba pageants had traditionally done: it makes the Queen figuratively kneel with Sheba before the greater glory of her lordly King Solomon.[47]

Except for the first and last pageants of this extraordinary triumph, the devisers of Anne's triumph turned almost exclusively to neoclassical imagery: the goddess of astronomy, the Nine Muses, the Cardinal Virtues, Bacchus and Ceres, and the classical column. In each of these appropriations, the devisers adopt neoclassical imagery in an attempt to reform the traditional

imagery of the civic triumph. At no time do they appeal to neoclassical imagery merely for the sake of fashion. Rather, a neoclassical vocabulary of imagery allows them to assert control over the meaning of pageants that they might otherwise regard as superstitious or even idolatrous. For the most part, they employ classical transformations of traditional images as a calculated exercise in iconoclasm. As doctrinaire Reformers, they trust in the Word rather than in the language of medieval religious imagery. Whatever reasons may have lead pageant devisers in other cities to adopt neoclassical imagery for these spectacles, it is important to see that Edinburgh, at least, adopted such imagery for explicitly doctrinaire Reformation purposes.

Notes

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1. For the medieval form of the royal entry, see Gordon Kipling, Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).. The quotation comes from Roy Strong, Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973) 31., the earlier form of the book that was to be revised as Roy Strong, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984).. Perhaps the classic statement of the neoclassic transformation of the royal entry according to what she calls 'l'idée triomphale' remains JosPphe Chartrou, Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales B la Renaissance, 1484-1551 (Paris, 1928).. Later scholars generally follow Chartrou's lead in regarding the neoclassic form of the royal entry as definitive. As sixteenth century devisers of these spectacles–particularly northern European ones–grew to understand Roman triumphs more clearly, they were able to imitate them more accurately. While late-medieval triumphs thus had only very inaccurate ideas about the structure of a triumphal arch, sixteenth-century triumphs increasingly did. See, for instance, Jean Jacquot, 'Joyeuse et Triomphante Entrée' in Jean Jacquot, Les FLtes de la Renaissance (Paris: CNRS, 1956-1973) 1.9-19, 3 vols., JosPphe Jacquiot, 'De l'entrée de César B Rome B l'entrée des rois de France dans leurs bonnes villes', in J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, eds, Italian Renaissance Festivals and Their European Influence (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992) 255-68., and Margaret M. McGowan, "Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry Into Rouen," Renaissance Drama New Series 1 (1968): 239., which analyzes Henri II's entry into Rouen (1550) as achieving an "aesthetic unity" for this "triumph which scrupulously reproduced all the elements of an ancient Roman triumph."

2. For a standard history of the "revolution against France and Rome" that increasingly divided Mary from her subjects, see Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: James V to James VII, The Edinburgh History of Scotland 3 (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965) 85-153..

3. This phrase comes from the title page of the second edition.

4. John N. King thinks that the pageant as a while alludes to the Holbein woodcut frontispiece to Grafton's Great Bible in which Henry VIII receives an English bible, labeled Verbum Dei from heaven and transmits it to his people through the clergy. For these reasons, he also thinks that the bible presented to Elizabeth must be a copy of Grafton's Great Bible, which along with all other vernacular bibles, had been banned under Mary. The Great Bible, however, was about to be "reauthorized for use in England." Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989), 230-32..

5. For the use of this motto in the sixteenth century, see Fritz Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis," Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936) 203-10., Donald Gordon, "'Veritas Filia Temporis': Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld

Institutes 3 (1939-40): 228-40., and King, Tudor Royal Iconography 191-95, 228-31..

6. For epiphany scenes in the medieval civic triumph, see Kipling, Enter the King 115-81..

7. The Quenes maiesties passage through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion. Anno. 1558. (London: Richard Tottill, [1559]) C3v-4r.. Though printed anonymously, this text is generally assigned to Richard Mulcaster. For Mulcaster's authorship, see David M. Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642, rev. ed., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 267 (Tempe, AZ: The Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003) 18-19.. For convenient modern editions, see The Quenes Maiesties Passage through the Citie of London to Westminster the Day before her Coronacion, ed. James M. Osborn, The Elizabethan Club Series 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), Introduction by Sir John Neale. and Richard Mulcaster, The Queen's Majesty's Passage through the City of London to Westminster the Day before Her Coronation, Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Boston and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999) 17-34., the former a facsimile and the latter a modern spelling edition. Further quotations from Mulcaster's text will be cited parenthetically from the original edition.

8. Quenes Maiesties Passage (1559) E4v..

9. Richard Grafton, Abridgement of the Chronicles of England (London: Richard Tottel, 1572) 195..

10. For such civic-court cooperation in the arrangements for the royal entry of Anne Boleyn, see Gordon Kipling, "'He That Saw It Would Not Believe It': Anne Boleyn's Royal Entry Into London," Civic Ritual and Drama, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997) 45-51.. See also Gordon Kipling, "'A Horse Designed by Committee': The Bureaucratics of the London Civic Triumph in the 1520s," Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 31 (1992): 79-83. for the appointment of civic-court committees on other occasions, including the 1501 squabble over payments for one of the pageants for Katharine of Aragon's royal entry.

11. David M. Bergeron, "Elizabeth's Coronation Entry (1559): New Manuscript Evidence," English Literary Renaissance 8 (1978): 3-8., reprinted in David M. Bergeron, Practicing Renaissance Scholarship: Plays and Pageants, Patrons and Politics (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2000) 36-42..

12. The entry took place on 14 January 1559; Tottill's colophon is dated 23 January. On 4 March, Mulcaster received 40 shillings from the city as his "reward for makyng of the boke conteynynge and declaryng the historyes set furth in and by the Cyties pageantes at the tyme of the Quenes highnes commyng thorough the Citye to her coronacon. . . which boke was gevyen unto the Quenes grace" Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642 18-19..

13. Until the publication of the relevant Edinburgh records in the forthcoming volumes of the Records of Early Drama: Scotland, we must still rely upon Anna Jean Mill's pioneering study, Anna Jean Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland, St Andrews University Publications, No. 24 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1927)., which includes a selection of records relevant to the entry of Mary Queen of Scots on pp. 188-91. The quotation, which is drawn from the Edinburgh Burgh records of a meeting of the Town Council on 26 August 1561, appears on p. 188.

14. Michael Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1981) 90-97..

15. Donaldson, Scotland 95, 103-04..

16. A. R. MacDonald, "The Triuimph of Protestantism: The Burgh Council of Edinburgh and the Entry of Mary, Queen of Scots, 2 September 1561," Innes Review 48 (1997): 74-77..

17. For these quotations, see the passages from the Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Mill1927: 190-91}.

18. King, Tudor Royal Iconography 54-61..

19. Quenes Maiesties Passage (1559).

20. For the text of the angel's speech, see A. R. MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry to Edinburgh: An Ambiguous Triumph," Innes Review 42 (1991): 109-10..

21. Quenes Maiesties Passage (1559) A2v-3r, E4r-4v..

22. Quoted in Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 190 n. 2..

23. Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation 96-97.. Lynch also acknowledges the "pointedly protestant propaganda" of the pageants, but he mistakenly thinks that the angelic presentation of the bible was performed after the story of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

24. The four independent accounts of this pageant printed in Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 191 n. 1. differ considerably. All agree that something was "brunt vpoun the skaffet," and three mention the priest saying mass. Of the two most detailed accounts, John, seventh Lord Herries, reports: "Upon the top of this pageant, there was a speech made tending to abolishing of the mass, and in token that it was alreddie banished the kingdome, there was the shape of a priest in his ornaments reddie to say mass, made of wode, which was brought forth, in sight of all, and presentlie throwen in a fyre made upon the scafold and burnt." The English ambassador, by contrast, reports that "There, for the terrible sygnifications of the vengeance of God upon idolatrie, ther wer burnt Coron, Nathan and Abiron, in the tyme of their sacrifice. The were

mynded to have had a priest burnt at the altar, at the elevation. The Erle of Huntly stayed that pagient." These differences have led Peter Davidson, for one, to suggest that the one pageant was substituted for the other upon the insistence of the Catholic Early of Huntly Peter Davidson, "The Entry of Mary Stewart Into Edinburgh, 1561, and Other Ambiguities," Renaissance Studies 9 (1995): 417, 419.. Most of the supposed differences between these two reports, however, are a matter of differing perspectives. Herries describes what he saw, while the English ambassador attempts to describe what the spectacle meant. The latter may not actually have seen the performance; instead his description of the pageant trades rather heavily upon the "scripture" that must have been emblazoned upon the structure: "The terrible sygnifications of the vengeance of God upon idolatrie" and the biblical episode that was being represented. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, after all, were consumed by a "fire coming out from the Lord" specifically as they were making their heretical sacrifice. As "schismatics" (from the viewpoint of Scottish Reformers), they would probably be dressed as Roman Catholic clerics, and their heretical sacrifice would have taken the form of the Catholic mass. The representation of this Old Testament scene, in short, lmust have looked very much like the burning of "a priest in his ornaments reddie to say mass," as Herries reports, particularly if one missed the exact biblical reference.

25. MacDonald, "Mary Stewart's Entry" 107..

26. I have written at length about the late Medieval royal entry's use of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin as a pattern for the triumphs of Queens consort; see Kipling, Enter the King 188-201, 209-21, 289-356.. My discussion here of Mary Stewart's entry into Edinburgh is an expanded version of the discussion from pp. 352-57 of this source.

27. David Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark. With a Danish Account of the Marriage Translated by Peter Graves. (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1997) 58-59.. However, there is considerable doubt about whether Lindsey actually translated the final sentence. Perhaps, in an attempt to achieve a diplomatic solution to a nettling doctrinal problem, perhaps the Lindsay was directed to leave off the final sentence. Hence, the Queen could then assent to what she had heard Lindsay say in French, while the Scots would hear her reply as an affirmation to what they heard Bruce said in English.

28. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 59..

29. On this occasion, the first pageant awaited Anne at the West Port gateway rather than at the Butter Tron, where Mary Stewart had encountered it Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 202.. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 144 n. 6. traces the history of the globe in its three appearances in Edinburgh triumphs over thirty years. The same globe had also appeared in the 1579 coronation entry of James VI, but on that occasion, the child only presented the king with keys, not the bible.

30. Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 202 and n. 1.. The 1590 records tell us that the child was

the son of John Russell, while the Danish account records the boy's Latin speech. Stevenson unnecessary complicates the pageant by confusing the elder Russell's conventional welcoming oration with the younger Russell's performance, which also included a few lines of Latin verse. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 144 n. 6..

31. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 108..

32. Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 203..

33. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 114.."

34. Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 203-04.; Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 114..

35. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 115.. Neither account mentions music at the final two pageants, although given the outpouring of music that occurs at all the other pageants, perhaps these final two pageants were characterized by music as well.

36. The account printed by Mill describes the astronomer as "a Boy . . . who represented the person of a King," while the Danish account refers to "a small boy . . . dressed in the garb of an astronomer." Since the speech, which is given in the Danish account, clearly represents its speaker as a "goddes" and "holy woman," I assume that the writer of the account printed in Mill must have seen a boy with a crown on. As a guess, I would suggest that the goddess wears a crown as a sign of her "celestial" status. What I refer to here as an armillary sphere is described in one account as "a Globe of the whole Worlde" Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 203.and in the Danish account as "a brass sphere" Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 110.. As the "goddess" represents herself as an astronomer, I conclude that the brass globe must be an armillary sphere, not a solid sphere like a modern map of the world in the form of a globe, but rather an astronomical sphere composed of metal rings (usually brass) arranged to show the relative positions of the celestial equator and other circles on the celestial sphere. Such spheres appear in the later portraits of Queen Elizabeth, for instance, as a sign of heavenly wisdom. For convenient illustrations which make this point, see Susan Doran, ed., Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 147, 201. The Goddess Astronomia, for instance, is often shown in the company of such a sphere, as in Gregorius Reisch's Margarita Philosophica (Heidelberg, 1496), reproduced in Robert Withington, English Pageantry: An Historical Outline, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1918), 144.

37. Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 203.; Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 111..

38. Kipling, Enter the King 331..

39. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 111-14.. The briefer contemporary account specifies somewhat different iconographical implements for some of the Virtues. In this account, Temperance holds a cup of wine in one hand and a cup of water in the other; Prudence holds a

Serpent and a Dove, and Fortitude "held a broken piller in her hand, representing the strength of a kingdome" Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 203..

40. The briefer Scots account in Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 204. reports that the Queen encountered both "the Goddesse of Corne and Wine" [i.e., Ceres] sitting at a table with "the corne in heaps by her, who, in Latin, cried that there should be plentie thereof in her time," while Bacchus sat "vpon a punchion of wine, winking and casting it by cups full vpon the people." The longer Danish account Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 114-15. is a little more confused, placing Bacchus in two places at once, but it contains the speech of (apparently) Bacchus in full. The context of the speech seems to define Bacchus as its speaker, but the Danish reporter says that "they spoke to the queen as follows" as if both characters spoke in unison.

41. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 115..

42. Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 204..

43. For civic water conduits that spout wine at the approach of the King, see Kipling, Enter the King 163-67, 232-33, 275-76..

44. Kipling, Enter the King 63-71..

45. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 115-17..

46. Stevenson, Scotland's Last Royal Wedding 117-19.. The briefer Scots account fails to recognize the characters. It merely reports that the play staged "the marriage of a King and his Queene, with all their nobilitie about them, among whom, at her Highnes presence, there arose a youth who applied the same to the marriage of the King and herselfe, and so blessed that marriage" Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland 204..

47. For the Solomon and Sheba pageant in the late-Medieval civic triumph, see Kipling, Enter the King 311-13..