Dana Percec

Shakespeare and Elizabeth I:

Royal Insignia of Earthly and Divine Power

Introduction

The paper focuses on the way in which Queen Elizabeth I used the symbolism of the monarch's two bodies in her propaganda and on the way in which these political details are reflected or commented upon in William Shakespeare's plays. It is well known that Shakespeare was extensively preoccupied with the overwhelming figure of Elizabeth Tudor, the woman who had – among other ambitions – that of proving that monarchy is not gendered masculine. Starting from the metaphor of the monarch's two bodies, Elizabeth had her physical, feminine body obscured by the public, masculine body, her political travesty remaining a landmark of her rule. There is an impressive number of portraits that Queen Elizabeth ordered and approved in her lifetime, which contribute to a better understanding of the way in which Shakespeare envisages, for example, the 'regular' cross-dresser – as a woman who borrows manly attributes together with the new attire – or the 'regular' warrior, whose overwhelming presence and verbal as well as non-verbal performance on the battlefield are all it takes for the war to be won.

Queen Elizabeth I, Legitimacy and Power

Historians have given careful consideration to Queen Elizabeth's agency both in exercising her own idea of (feminocentric) statecraft and in offering the world a polyvalent image of herself. While some see her as a genuine new Jezebel, with a mind of her own, with a personality and temperament similar to those of her father, a stubborn woman who took no man's orders (Duchein 2001), others argue that her policy and image were actually dictated by the statesmen who surrounded her – the Privy Council, her ministers, the most influential peers of the kingdom, her favourite courtiers and lovers (Berry 1994). According to the second opinion, though she was a good orator and a vain woman, who enjoyed being admired and flattered, neither her famous speeches nor the portraits she commissioned were concocted by herself, but by those in charge with her public image.

One of Queen Elizabeth I's constant preoccupations throughout her reign was her legitimacy as a ruler, a preoccupation reflected in the laws she passed and the art she commissioned. Elizabeth's ascension to the throne takes place not only in a period when all her European counterparts were male, but also in a domestic climate of hostility towards feminine rule (in Chedgzoy, Hansen, Trill 1998, 16). Elizabeth has to face a double challenge: being a female monarch, as well as being the often denied heiress of Henry VIII. The most efficient concept Elizabeth juggled with in order to legitimate a woman's presence on the throne was the metaphor, fashionable in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, of the sovereign's two bodies. A common analogy related to the hierarchical organization of the world, coming from the Greek philosophy and filtered by the medieval religious thinking, this implicit comparison is one between society or the state and the individual human body – the body politic. A "natural" society – given the organic structure of the state – is one which functions in a manner similar to the human body. Later in the Middle Ages, the metaphor of the body politic emerges, serving the purposes of the feudal

state, and develops substantially. The Church becomes the *corpus mysticum et politicum* of which the Pope is the head, while kings and emperors are only members, in the traditional dispute between these two juridical powers that limit and influence each other successively (Romanato, Lombardo and Culianu 2005). Saint Thomas Aquinas finds four points of identity which unify both natural and mystical bodies, and asserts that the supremacy of the spiritual authority corresponds to the soul's rule of the body (1993). When Henry VIII adopts the title "Supreme Head of the Church of England", he adopts a personal position towards this doctrine, while rulers in other European countries are still disputing the title 'head' with the papacy in Rome.

The doctrine of the body politic is intimately connected with that of the kings' "two bodies" (Moreau 1991, 54): his physical one, subject to natural laws, and his political one, symbol of an immortal power. In England, the first text about the analogy between the state and the human body is signed in 1159 by John of Salisbury (Moreau 1991, 56). After identifying the soul with the clergy, the author discusses in detail the other members of the body: head-prince, heart-senate, hands-soldiers, stomach-treasury, and feet-farmers. He emphasizes the need for spiritual unity in the state and proposes cures for various political diseases, including tyranny. At the beginning of the 17th century, another Englishman – Edward Forset in 1606 – defines monarchy as "the best regime for the maintenance of health in the body" (in Moreau 1991, 57). The unifying principle is the perfect balance between the different parts of the whole ("the due proportion of the same parts together"), because a body is not only a mere gathering of organs, but a series of well-defined functions supported by simple principles such as the predominance of unequal, but complementary roles. As each organ must stay in its proper place, so must each member of the society keep their degree. Those inferior in rank should not wish to have more important positions, nor should those in important positions abuse the members below them, so tyranny is unanimously condemned as bad and dangerous for the life of the organism. The consensus among the social orders must be similar to the correct dosage of the four humours and the presence of the four main elements in a human organism. When the quantities are modified, the equilibrium is broken and the political regime changes. Similarly, Sir Thomas Smith in his *De Republica Anglorum* (1565) writes that, if the four humours coexist in the living organism, it is desirable that various types of government should also combine with one another in a percentage that would avoid despotism because, although the prince is the head and the authority, the Parliament "hath the power of the whole realm, both the head and the body" (in Moreau 1991, 62). Even Robert Burton (2004), in his well-known and influential 1621 *Anatomy of Melancholy*, preserves the correspondences between the physical and the social body, considering that, in the evolution of melancholy, the body's instability reflects the general disease of the human society, the sickly body producing an incoherent discourse about the decline of the social organizations.

Starting from this doctrine, Elizabeth had her physical, feminine body obscured by the public, masculine body, her political travesty remaining a landmark of her rule. There is an impressive number of portraits that Queen Elizabeth ordered and approved in her lifetime, which contribute to a better understanding of the way in which she made use of official

Figure 1: Nicholas Hilliard, *The Ermine Portrait*, 1585

Figure 2: George Gower, *The Plimpton Sieve Portrait*, 1579

ideologies. A first example would be a portrait by Nicholas Hilliard, one of the Queen's official painters, *The Ermine Portrait* (1585) (Figure 1), where Elizabeth combines, in her typical manner, insignia of royalty, masculinity and femininity. The sword and the ermine, dual symbols, depict the Queen as a unique combination between feminine physical traits (purity, virginity, beauty) and masculine intellectual features (influence, wisdom, authority, moral conduct). A much earlier painting, *The Plimpton Sieve Portrait* by George Gower, 1579 (Figure 2), speculates on the Queen's virginal status. The sieve, which appears in a series of portraits that Elizabeth ordered while she was still young, reminds the watcher of the monarch's self-sacrifice for the sake of her country and her generosity (as the sieve suggests the gods' kindness as to spread countless gifts for mortals on earth, according to the number of prayers and personal merits). Elizabeth's being married (only) to England implies the fact that she gave up her personal life and remained a virgin in order to devote herself to state affairs. The sieve is a symbol for choice (selecting and separating what is good from what is bad or useless), in this case the Queen's choice for the public sphere and her renunciation to the domestic one. Her virginity is, therefore, political, but also religious, as she used to represent herself as "the second maiden in Heaven", replacing the Catholic cult of Virgin Mary with the Anglican cult of the Virgin Queen (Duchein 2001).

Philippa Berry (1994, 61) explains Elizabeth's success: "Because she was always uniquely herself, Elizabeth's rule was not intended to undermine the male hegemony of her culture. Indeed, the emphasis upon her *difference* from other women may have helped to reinforce it". Forty-four years of a woman's reign did not end the patriarchal structure of the English society, but it changed it radically. This radical change was perceived even more dramatically at the level of contemporary literature. Examined through the lens of patriarchal attitudes, which define history as the sum of actions performed by men, Elizabeth's refusal to marry was perceived as something more than a woman's refusal of the subordination to a husband. In Elizabethan literature and visual arts, her unmarried state was idealized, the Queen becoming the unattainable object of masculine desire.

Critics have defined and explained Elizabeth's cult in different manners. If some see it rooted in religious matters, others link it to the search of European absolute monarchies for a glamorous, imperial image. The idealization of Elizabeth was clearly linked with her role as a restorer of the 'true', Protestant religion. The cult dwells massively upon Elizabeth's joint rule, as head of both State and Church. The connection between a mythical Golden Age (or the Biblical Eden) and Protestant Reformation is not accidental. In this context, Elizabeth is compared with Astraea, the imperial virgin – a cult that was applied to other European rulers, but much less successfully, as Elizabeth only combined the feminine gender and the unmarried status (Yates 1993). The

figure of Astraea is also a signifier of Renaissance absolutism, regarded in imperial terms. Elizabeth's reign is, after all, the age of the prosperous English navy and of the establishment of British colonies in the newly-discovered America.

Elizabeth's cult manages to displace the initial fundamental problem of the ruler's gender. The Queen is perceived at the same time as more and less than a woman. She is not a mere woman, but a goddess; at the same time, she is unfeminine because she denies herself the major role women were traditionally attributed – that of a wife and, especially, that of a mother. Her role as Head of the Church was even more unsettling. This role opposes her not just to the conventional figure of the masculine ruler, but also to the figure of Christ. Sensitive to the Protestant clergy's restlessness about her position, Elizabeth decides to nuance a bit her position, choosing to call herself 'supreme governor' rather than 'supreme head' of the English church, as her father, Henry VIII, used to (Berry 1994, 66). She uses a neutral noun, a mere denominator of a function, giving up, the 'head', a part of the body heavily gendered masculine, connoting with reason, spirituality, equilibrium, etc. At the same time, Elizabeth made great use of religious imagery to justify her private life:

> I have made choice of such state [remaining unmarried] as is freest from the incumbrance of secular pursuits and gives me the most leisure for the service of God: and could the applications of the most potent princes, or the very hazard of my life, have diverted me from this purpose, I had long ago worn the honours of a bride... I have long since made choice of a husband, the kingdom of England, ... charge me not with the want of children, forasmuch as everyone of you, and every Englishman besides, are my children and relations... (in Berry 1994, 66)

The fact that she assigns a masculine gender to the kingdom, her symbolic husband, is also an interesting point, as both spheres of activity Elizabeth was involved in (the secular and the religious) were traditionally not *gendered* masculine. The concept of the two bodies of a monarchy featured the mystical and immortal body of the church (*ecclesia* – feminine) and the lay institutional apparatus of the state (*respublica* – feminine). In this spirit, only the union between a male monarch and these feminine institutions could be claimed to be a natural marriage. Therefore, Elizabeth's famous marriage to England is ambiguous. At the same time, however, it may also mean that the Queen's personality, just like her sexuality, is self-contained and the feminine rule is seen in a mystical or symbolic relationship with itself. Dual in terms of being more and less than a woman, Elizabeth is also dual in terms of being male and female at the same time.

The moment of Tilbury 1588 pushes the Queen's sexual duality even further. On a grey day, Elizabeth, surrounded by bright colours (silver helmet and armour, white feathers, skirt and horse, red tunics for the guards, and gold for her noble attendants, as an anonymous 16th century painting shows her) raises the sceptre in front of an awe-stricken army:

> My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are so careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit our self to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; [...] 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, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any Prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your General, Judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. (in Hodgson-Wright 2002, 1)

Elizabeth wants to be regarded as the monarch *par excellence*, a sacred ruler and a fatherly authority for his/her people at the same time. But the antithesis she insists upon ("I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king") for rhetoric purposes is not the traditional one, woman vs. man, but woman vs. king. Also, the body parts she picks are heart and stomach – both used on a strictly metaphorical level, the former for courage, the latter for stamina. She places herself at the very heart of a discourse that exploits imagery relat-

ed to a masculine anatomy and a physical and psychological profile traditionally associated with the most typical masculine profession, that of the soldier. The offices she evokes are masculine (General, Judge, Prince, king) as well as the moral qualities. The valour and the other "virtues in the field" call for an ideal of martial masculinity, similar to Henry V's "the action of a tiger" in his oration to the army before the siege of Harfleur *(Henry V)*. In short, Elizabeth supports the development of the Tudor myth as an ideology of absolute kingly power, social and political commitment, popularity of the monarch as the embodiment of human and even divine perfection.

The grandeur of representation is a characteristic of all Elizabethan public processions (Archer, Goldring, Knight 2007). The beauty of the spectacle, with the monarch present in person – usually as performer – gives the impression of social and political harmony. Bristol, addressing the notion of social spectacle during the Renaissance, quotes from an English Renaissance text describing Queen Elizabeth I's public processions as follows:

> She passed the streets first [...] Likewise Squires, Knights, Barons, and Baronets, Knights of the Bath [...] Then following: The Judges of the Law, the Abbots... And then followed Bishops, two and two; and the Archbishops of York and Canterbury; the Ambassadors of France and Venice, the Lord Mayor with a mace; Master Garter the King of Heralds [...] In all her passage [the Queen] did not only shew her most gracious love towards the people in general; but also privately, if the baser personages had either offered Her grace any flowers or such like, as a signification of their good will; or moved her to any suit, she most gently (to the common rejoicings of all lookers on, and private comfort of the party) stayed her chariot, and heard their requests. (J. Nichols in Bristol 1985, 60)

Elizabeth's Cult and its Reflection in Shakespeare's Works

The promise of social freedom provided by celibacy is offered in Shakespeare's comedies by the motif of tranvestism, a device that offers the heroines vestimentary freedom in the first place. Rosalind, in *As You Like It*, puts on a man's clothes and gains a new look, much more casual, comfortable, light, airy. With this depiction of the heroine, Shakespeare follows the propagandistic pattern of his time, shaping his character (just like he does with Titania in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) into the mould of the Queen's public image.

Political propaganda is a recurrent motif in Shakespeare. There is enough information about the Elizabethan period to make the modern reader aware that, in this respect, the great playwright had an easy source of inspiration right beside him, in his contemporaries. Just like her father, Elizabeth I supported the development of the 'Tudor myth' as an ideology of absolute kingly power, social and political commitment, popularity of the monarch as the embodiment of human and even divine perfection. Plays, poems, and portraits of the period display a very rich propagandistic discourse, which makes use of subtle persuasive strategies as well as of ample mythological references. The queen as a public figure used this indirect rhetoric extensively, preferring it to the verbal public discourse, succeeding in 'seducing' her subjects, in shaping their opinion and feelings for her.

Related to the idea of legitimacy is the presence of imperial symbolism in Tudor propaganda, as well as the presence of the symbol of the crown in the Shakespearean text. The crown (unlike the diadem or the coronet) signifies England's imperial ambitions. Although Empire as a concept is not new during Elizabeth's reign, imperial imagery is first used by authors glorifying the Virgin Queen. Henry VIII was the first to introduce the Empire in the Tudor thought and sensibility, with his Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533), which lay claim to "this realm as an empire" and in 1547 in his will, where he states that his daughters "shall severally have hold and enjoye the sayd imperial Crowne" after Edward's death (Kinney 2006, 41). It is during Elizabeth's reign that the new crown is visually represented in imperialist terms. The best examples are a series of engrav-

ings that portray the Queen between the pillars of Hercules (originally the imperial symbol of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, afterwards adopted by his son, Philip II of Spain, both rulers who had set themselves the tasks of sailing "Plus Ultra", beyond the boundaries of Europe). Elizabeth will combine this symbol with a naval background, reminding not only of her naval triumphs against Spain, but also of the age of the exploration and colonization of the New World, a crucial element in the English politics of the time. Such engravings include the front cover of Christopher Saxton's *Atlas of England and Wales*, 1579 or the Queen's graphic evocation in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), where he compares Elizabeth's early persecution to Mary's sufferings and her reign to that of Constantine, the Church's first emperor. The naval background is repeated as a motif in *The Armada Portrait* (Figure 3), and so are the pillars and the crown she is holding, while the other hand is casually laid on a globe, all signifying stability, pride, erectness, a solid justification for the Queen's colonial exploits.

The Stuart line followed the Tudor introduction to imperialism, James I organizing his entry into London in 1603 as that of a triumphant Roman emperor, passing under seven memorial arches, the first one, designed by Ben Jonson, showing a figure representing the monarchy of Britain sitting below the crowns of England and Scotland. James was also offered an accession medal that read "Emperor of the whole island of Britain". He was compared to Augustus, creating a direct link to the Roman Caesars.

Therefore, Shakespeare's Roman plays and histories, dealing with the legitimacy of power, are also symbolically connected to the rise of imperial mentality in the English monarchy. Characters such as Julius Caesar or Richard III, who are offered crowns repeatedly in front of noblemen, politicians and common people, are only symbolic reminders of these imperial claims that Britain, with her sovereigns, is starting to make.

The notion of legitimacy is overwhelmingly present in Shakespeare's chronicle plays, closely connected to the theme of war. In Shakespeare's plays, the battles taking place on the Shakespearean stage are also linked to the figure of the Virgin Queen. In the plays, war appears as an event made up of two basic stages: martial discourse and physical action. The prelude of any battle involves verbal language (war propaganda, exhortative speeches, etc.), whereas its climax and dénouement imply non-verbal, body language (mainly wounding the body). When the materi-

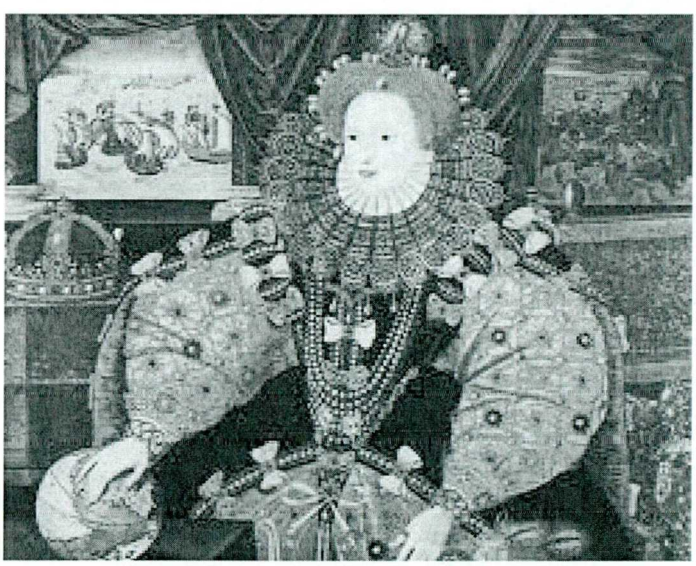

Figure 3: George Gower, *The Armada Portrait*, c.1588

alization of warfare is verbal, it takes the form of a confrontation between the leader and the masses, a single, exemplary body among a crowd of bodies, epitomized by the paintings showing Elizabeth's moment of glory at Tilbury, which inspired and thrilled Shakespeare and his contemporaries. In chronicle plays like *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry V* or *King John*, this appears in the form of the long monologues uttered by the kings or their generals in front of an army or a city under siege. In the prologue of *Henry V*, for example, the Chorus introduces the play about a monarch successful in war and good at talking people into action as follows:

> O for a muse of fire, that would ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention, –
> A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
> *And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!*

The Chorus dreams, first of all, of an ideal staging for the Bard's play about war, "of a playhouse expanded from a wooden O to kingdom-sized proportions" (Hapgood 1995, 15). Secondly, the Chorus sings about the dual nature of war, as both single combat and a battle expanding to a great number of men dressed in armour and holding weapons. Only if the correspondence between the isolated two bodies confronting each other and the entire army fighting against the enemy is fully understood and internalized can "warlike Harry [...]/ Assume the port of Mars". During the play, Henry will prove that the expansiveness predicted by the Chorus' "swelling scene" can be translated as territorial expansion (the king will rule two kingdoms), but also as a result of his exhortative speeches in front of the soldiers. His exhortations literally describe a downward movement, a gesture of stepping down from a high place, performed by the orator, and a leveling of position (both social and physical) of all listeners. If, at the beginning, Henry addresses the soldiers as if in a confrontation, standing out and above the crowd, later he walks among his men, in the disguise of a common warrior, and prays to God together with them – by their side, not in front of them. His speeches follow the same downward movement: first, he evokes noblemen and yeomen separately ("you noblest English/[...] Be copy now to men of grosser blood,/ And teach them how to war", III, i); later, the king promises to the entire army – noble or not – "fellowship in death" (Hapgood 1995, 17): "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers", IV, iii. He indirectly promotes the same position that he used himself: first, the noblemen – as teachers, instructors, guides – can be pictured as standing in front of the yeomen, in a symbolic duel of class and hierarchy; then, "the band of brothers" is naturally assumed to stand on the same side, shoulder to shoulder, the king included.

In Shakespeare's plays, war takes the form of a direct confrontation between antagonizing male characters. For practical, theatrical purposes, the battle is reduced to exemplary duels, single combats between two heroes representing the opposing camps, a strategy acknowledged by all great military theorists and immortalized in visual arts. Diego Velázquez's 1634 painting *The Surrender of Breda* (Figure 4), for instance, captures this conventional representation of war as the contact between two male bodies with specific, symbolic gestures. The surrender of the Dutch army in front of the Spanish victors is rendered as an exchange of gestures between the leaders, the rest of the men in the two camps waiting face to face and motionless. On the left, the Dutch governor (Justin Nassau, the captain of the Dutch fleet who participated, on the Spaniards' side, in the naval battle at Tilbury) is about to take a bow, and therefore he looks smaller, his body language suggesting the acknowledgement of his inferiority and submission. The Spanish general

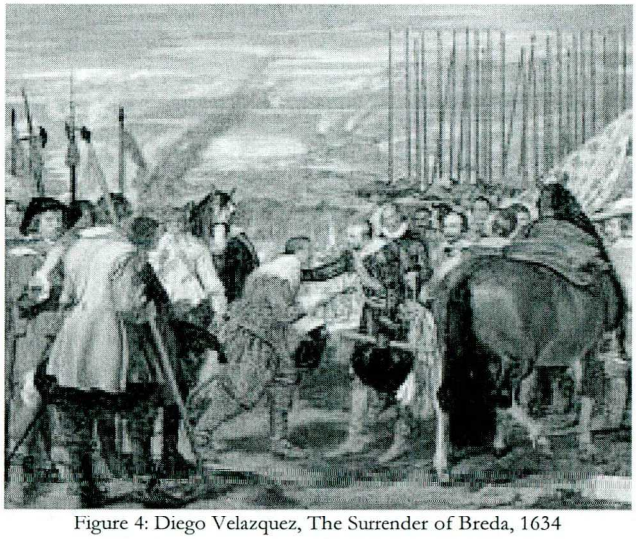

Figure 4: Diego Velazquez, The Surrender of Breda, 1634

on the right is touching the Dutchman's shoulder, a gesture that stresses his higher position in a patronizing, but polite attitude. Weapons and violent physical action are no longer necessary since the intricacies of verbal language – of negotiating, in this case – have managed to solve the conflict.

When the parties involved in real or symbolic battles are also gendered female, the confrontation repeats the archetypal pattern of the duel between a male hero and an Amazon, a clash that presupposes both physical violence and sexual attraction. Hippolyta is Shakespeare's most conspicuous Amazon, presented, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, after the duel with Theseus, when she has been turned from a soldier into a loving fiancée. A popular medieval Amazon is Joan of Arc who, although presented by Shakespeare in a biased, negative light in *Henry VI*, reminds of the first martial hypostasis mentioned above, that of the singular leader facing and handling the crowd – yet another comment on Queen Elizabeth's public and military involvement and its visual representation. At the same time, the image of the leader ad-dressing the army – a sin gular body standing out amidst a crowd – is a reminder of the way in which Elizabeth liked to show herself to her subjects in public processions.

Figure 5: Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656

As Adina Nanu (2001, 51) notices in her study on the body as a social construct, the VIP (absolute monarch or popular movie star) undergoes a process of

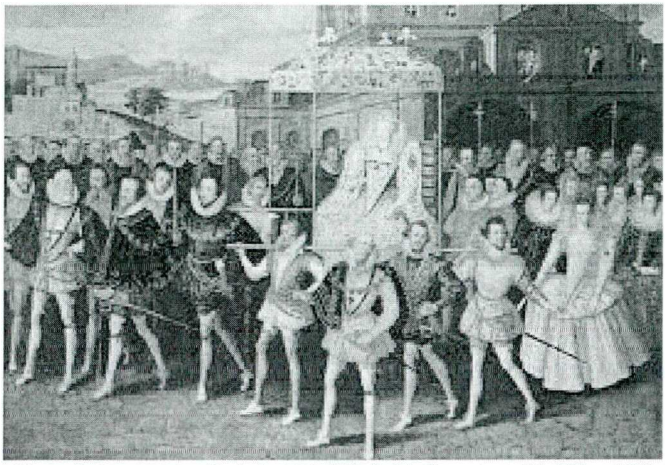

Figure 6: Anonymous (Peake's style), *Elizabeth in Procession to Blackfriars*, 1600

amplification when s/he presents himself/herself in front of the public. Literally raising one's position is vital in order to mark the importance of one's social rank. The level of the crowd was dominated with the help of long decorative feathers, impressive gold crowns, huge wigs – like those worn by Marie Antoinette just before the French Revolution of 1789. In the pre-modern and early modern period, noble men and women were the first to wear high heels and soles for their shoes. They served a double function: to protect the rich garments from the mud of the streets, and to signal the wearer's increased prestige in comparison with the modest public image of a plebeian. The excessive verticalization of the royal figure is another common propagandistic strategy, used in many official portraits. The crown and the long robe can easily create this illusion. Increasing the volume in space on all planes gives maximum importance to the person and even to his/her social and political role. Velázquez's famous portrait of Princess Margaret of Spain *Las Meninas* in 1656 (Figure 5) is a very good example. Although the Princess is only a small girl, her huge dress, amplified on a horizontal level, must suggest the stability of the Spanish royal family, as well as the rank of the King's daughter, her costume occupying the space necessary for at least three adults. Her small body is framed by the figures of the two maids of honour, much taller than her, both attempting to diminish their height and look smaller – as fit for an attendant, lower in rank – by bending their knees and heads.

If a small girl who is not (yet) a monarch is depicted in such a way, no wonder Queen Elizabeth I is wearing, in her official portraits, the most impressive wigs, collars and amply embroidered dresses on large hoops. Pillars are numerous in Elizabeth's portraits, their vertical line indicating the upward movement of the British monarchy and of the Protestant faith and their durability, as well as the Queen's own Atlas-like stamina. Thrones served the same purpose, as well as the canopies carried for the monarch during official processions. *Elizabeth in Procession to Blackfriars*, an anonymous painting of 1600, in the style of Peake (Figure 6), portrays a hieratic sovereign, almost deprived of human shape, with an idealized figure under the weight of heavy white silk and embroidery, almost literally floating above ground level as the lords accompanying her hide the presence of the platform that makes her look taller than both aristocracy and plebeians. The painting showing Queen Elizabeth dancing the Volta with Robert Dudley (c. 1581) (Figure 7) places the monarch in the middle of a stage, with courtiers and musicians surrounding her, being lifted

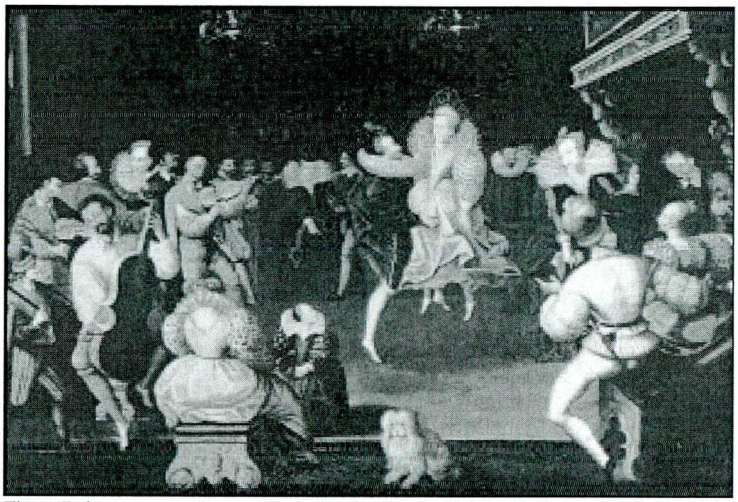

Figure 7: Anonymous, Queen Elizabeth Dancing the Volta with Robert Dudley, c. 1581

above ground level by Dudley. Elizabeth's position indicates her centrality and superiority to the Earl of Leicester himself – it is common knowledge that the sovereign was suspected of having a romantic affair with her subject – and to all viewers gathered around (and under) her. The dance reveals her small, delicate feet, in contrast with the power suggested by her height, as the Queen appears much taller than all men and women in luxurious clothes, who cannot take their eyes from the aery figure. In another anonymous painting, representing *Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury*, probably dating from 1589 (Figure 8), Elizabeth is portrayed in the middle of the troops, men framing her symmetrically on both sides. She stands out both because she is riding a white horse (most men are not in the saddle and the existing horses are dark coloured) and because she is made taller by the huge collar she is wearing above her silvery armour.

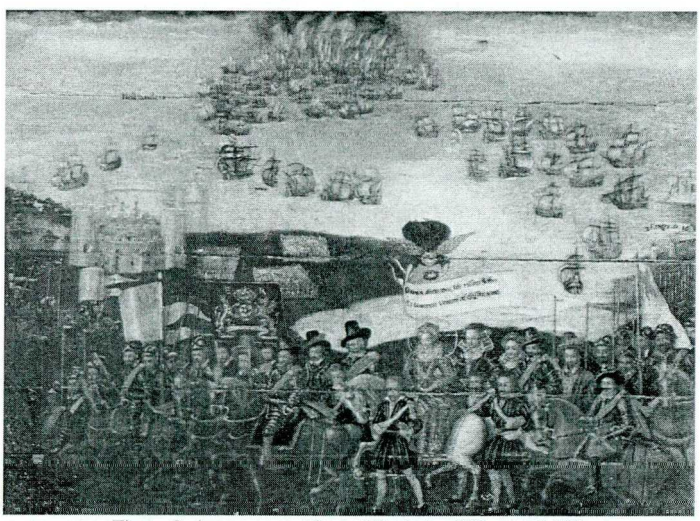

Figure 8: Anonymous, *Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury*, c. 1589

Conclusions

Visibility is a sign of popularity and fame, but, on the other hand, it may also make the person under scrutiny vulnerable because of too much exposure. Shakespeare's "using" the Queen in his plays is not a subversive scheme, but one of support and protection, Elizabeth's portrayal as a strong but also feminine heroine annihilating the possibly negative side effects of being watched too much.

REFERENCES

Aquinas, St. Thomas. 1993. *The summa theologica.* Chicago, Auckland, Geneva: Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Archer, Jayne Elisabeth, Elizabeth Goldring, Sarah Knight, eds. 2007. *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Berry, Philippa. 1994. *Of Chastity and Power. Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen.* London and New York: Routledge.

Bristol, M.D. 1985. *Carnival and Theater. Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England.* New York, London: Routledge.

Burton, R. 2004. *The Anatomy of Melancholy.* <www.gutenberg.org/etext/10800>

Chedgzoy, Kate, M. Hansen, and S. Trill 1998. *Voicing Women. Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Duchein, M. 2001. *Elisabeta I a Angliei. Putere şi seducţie,* Bucureşti: Artemis.

Hapgood, R. 1991. *Shakespeare the Theatre-Poet.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hodgson-Wright, Sarah, ed. 2002. *Women's Writing of the Early Modern Period, 1588–1688: An Anthology.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kinney, A. F. 2006. *Shakespeare and Cognition.* New York: Routledge.

Moreau, J.P. 1991. "Le 'corps politique' au XVI et VII siècles: avatars d'une métaphore." In *Shakespeare et le corps de la Renaissance,* edited by M.T. Jouss-Davies. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Nanu, Adina. 2001. *Arta pe om. Look-ul şi înţelesul semnelor vestimentare.* Bucureşti: Compania.

Romanato, G., M.G. Lombardo, I.P. Culianu. 2005. *Religie şi putere.* Iaşi: Polirom.

Yates, Frances A. 1993. *Les dernières pièces de Shakespeare. Une approche nouvelle.* Paris: Editions Belin.