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The Procession Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I: A Note on a Tradition

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scape on the companion *Hercules and the Hydra* plate.

The intarsia and the plate must go back to the same original design, and the supposition that this was Pollaiuolo's Palazzo Medici painting looks likely to be correct. The maiolica plate and the hypothetical engraving which was its source were probably reversed from the original,<sup>17</sup> but for the detail of the figures, the Florentine engraving is likely to have been at least as accurate a record of the Florentine painting as the Urbino intarsia. The maiolica plate appears to confirm the composition of one of the most famous of lost Renaissance paintings, and is probably the most vivid echo of it to have survived.

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<sup>17</sup> While it is perfectly normal for a design to be reversed in engraving, there is no particular reason why a maiolica-painter should reverse the direction of an engraving or drawing which he uses as a model, unless he is using some form of mechanical transfer technique, which is improbable in the present case. I can think of no convincing reason why the *Hercules and the Lion* engraving should have been reversed from Pollaiuolo's original while the *Hercules and the Hydra* was not.

## THE PROCESSION PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I A NOTE ON A TRADITION

THE DATE, occasion, subject, commission and artist of the *Procession Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*, now hanging at Sherborne Castle in Dorset (Pl. 44), are all matters of dispute.<sup>1</sup> It remains 'one of the greatest

<sup>1</sup> The main secondary sources on the portrait are: George Scharf, 'Queen Elizabeth's Procession in a Litter to Celebrate the Marriage of Anne Russell at Blackfriars, June 16 1600', *Archaeological Journal*, xxiii, 1866, pp. 131-44; Viscount Dillon, 'A Procession of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars', *Archaeological Journal*, lxxii, 1915, pp. 69-74; Earl of Ilchester, 'Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Blackfriars, June 16, 1600', *Walpole Society*, ix, 1921, pp. 1-19; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, London 1977, pp. 17-55; and idem, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, London 1987, pp. 153-55.

visual mysteries of the Elizabethan age',<sup>2</sup> not least because previous commentators have largely ignored its place in traditions of representation by treating it solely as a document rather than an artefact. Only Roy Strong has suggested a conventional context for the picture—that of the Roman triumph as resuscitated in the court festivals of the Renaissance; he thus appropriates for it the title of William Rogers's unrelated print of 1593, *Eliza Triumphans*.<sup>3</sup> I should like to suggest rather that the portrait participates in an isolable tradition of representing royal power which indeed draws upon triumphal motifs but is not in itself triumphal.

This tradition began with Hans Burgkmair's woodcut *Der Kunig Von Gutzin* ('The King of Cochin'), a panel in five sheets produced in 1508 (Pl. 46a).<sup>4</sup> In March 1505 a Portuguese expedition sailed to Cochin with the aim of establishing a presence in the areas recently opened up by Vasco da Gama. An account of the expedition by Balthasar Springer of Vils describes the King being carried forth in a litter, as does a Latin narrative which also exists from the voyage.<sup>5</sup> Walter Oakeshott has suggested the possibility that the author of this narrative had, 'when he wrote, a series of pictures available done ... by some considerable artist who

Strong's long-standing attribution to Robert Peake is questioned by Malcolm Rogers (review of *Gloriana*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 August 1987, p. 867). I am grateful to Simon Wingfield Digby, Esq., for permission to reproduce the portrait.

<sup>2</sup> Strong 1977 (as in n. 1), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, esp. pp. 54-55, and Strong 1987 (as in n. 1), p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> On *Der Kunig Von Gutzin*, and its versions, see Henry Harrisse, *Americus Vespuccius*, London 1895, pp. 41-45; Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Prints and Drawings Department of the British Museum*, London 1911, ii, pp. 71-72; F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400-1700*, Amsterdam 1954ff, v, pp. 132-33; Walter Oakeshott (introd.), *Some Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair printed as an Appendix to the Fourth Part of Le Relazioni Unversali di Giovanni Botero*, 1618, rpt Oxford 1960; and *Hans Burgkmair: Das Graphische Werk*, eds T. Falk, R. Biedermann and I. Hausberger, Stuttgart 1973, item 26.

<sup>5</sup> This is the 'Relatio Balthasaris Spinger [sic] de maxima sua marina peregrinatione ex partibus Hollandiae in Ulixbonam Portugalliae' in *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, eds E. Martène and G. Durand, Paris 1724, ii, pp. 361-78. This account notes how 'in regno Gutschin subditi & familiares portant regem sedentem in feretro', *ibid.*, p. 365.

accompanied the expedition',<sup>6</sup> but no illustrations exist now, if they ever did. At this distance, it is impossible to say whether Burgkmair's composition originated with such drawings, with the published accounts, or in the iconographic conventions he later transformed with his *Triumphs of Maximilian* (1526). However, its heritage, if not its ancestry, is identifiable. An edition in 1509 of Springer's narrative, *Die Merfart und Erfahrung Nüwer Schiffung*, contained a rough reversed copy of Burgkmair's *King of Cochín* by Wolf Traut which in some copies, at least, made explicit its triumphal associations by its title, 'Triumphus Regis Gosci Sive Gutschmin' (Pl. 46b). In the same year Georg Glockendon of Nuremberg made a copy, reprinted in 1511, and versions appeared in Antwerp and Italy. This multiple progeny, as well as the deterioration of the blocks from which the few surviving copies of Burgkmair's original were made, testifies to the potency of the sequence, which Burgkmair himself was to draw upon for details in the *Triumphs of Maximilian*.<sup>7</sup>

The Burgkmair engraving shows the King borne forth upon a litter, heralded by musicians, and surrounded by armed retainers. In 1575, a similar composition appeared in another German source, the second volume of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's encyclopaedic topography, the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. This six-volume series of city views appeared between 1572 and 1618 in Augsburg as a companion to Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The second volume includes views of cities in the New World, and the panorama of *Cusco, Regni Peru In Novo Orbe Caput* ('Cuzco, the Capital of the Kingdom of Peru in the New World') pictures Atahualpa, the pre-Conquest King, being carried in a covered chair by four retainers, accompanied before and behind by spearmen; his stately procession can also be seen heading through the streets of the city to the royal palace (Pl. 45a).<sup>8</sup>

Although there is no documentable connection between the King of Cochín and the engraving of Atahualpa, the carriage of an Indian monarch by four bearers, the bulbous hat each wears, and the common German origins of both these compositions suggest that Braun and Hogenberg's piece may owe something to the Burgkmair or one of its imitations.

The deposition of Atahualpa by Pizarro was a crucial scene in the 'Black Legend' of the Spanish conquest of the New World. The destruction of the Inca Empire began on 16 November 1532, when the King received Francisco Pizarro and his men outside the city of Caxamarca. Atahualpa arrived in his golden litter of state, intent on defying the bearded invaders, whom he wished to expel. Pizarro had secretly drawn up his forces in battle order, and was waiting for a moment to begin the attack. That moment came when the Dominican Fray Vicente de Valverde pronounced the *requerimiento* which informed Atahualpa that the Pope had ceded the King's lands to Spain. Atahualpa demanded the book on which Valverde based his testimony and, after listening to it without hearing it speak, he cast it to the ground in defiance of the friar's words. The outraged Spaniards charged upon the Indians, yet could only topple Atahualpa from his litter with great struggle, as each slain or wounded bearer was rapidly replaced. Braun and Hogenberg's placing of Atahualpa before his city thus seems either pathetically proleptic or defiantly restorative, a Protestant refusal to accept the reality of Spanish dominion in the New World.

The scene most famously became a pitiful testimony of courage as the climax of Montaigne's essay, 'Des Coches'.<sup>9</sup> At least one

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cartouche on John Speed's 1626 map of the Western Hemisphere, together with other figures taken from de Bry.

<sup>9</sup> 'Ce dernier Roy de Peru, le jour qu'il fut pris, estoit ainsi porté sur des brancars d'or, et assis dans une cheze d'or, au milieu de sa bataille. Autant qu'on tuoit de ces porteurs pour le faire choir à bas, car on le vouloit prendre vif, autant d'autres, et à l'envy, prenoient la place des morts ...' (*Essais*, iii, vi; ed. Pierre Villey, Paris 1930, iii, pp. 263): 'This last King of Peru, the same day he was taken, was thus carried upon rafters or beames of massive Golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his bataille. Looke how many of his porters as were slaine, to make him fall (for all their endeavour was to take him alive) so many others, and as it were avye, tooke and

<sup>6</sup> Oakeshott (as in n. 4), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 10, 21.

<sup>8</sup> On the *Civitates*, see A. E. Popham, 'Georg Hoefnagel and the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*', *Maso Finiguerra*, i, 1936, pp. 183–201; J. Kenning, 'The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenberg', *Imago Mundi*, xvii, 1963, pp. 41–44; and Lucia Nuti, 'The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye', *Word and Image*, iv, 1988, pp. 545–70. The engraving of Cusco also appears, reduced, as a

of Montaigne's sources for this essay was the edition by the Huguenot Urbain de Chauveton of Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Nuovo Mondo* of 1565, the *Histoire Nouvelle du Nouveau Monde* published in Geneva in 1579.<sup>10</sup> Another notable edition of Benzoni was published in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1594–96 by the Protestant publisher and engraver, Theodor de Bry, as the fourth, fifth and sixth parts of his great multi-volume series, *America*, begun in 1590 and completed by his heirs in 1634.<sup>11</sup> The frontispiece of *Americae Pars Sexta* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1596) restored Atahualpa to prominence as it showed him riding in state across the foot of the page, heralded by musicians and shadowed by bowmen (Pl. 45b). He sits in an elaborate chair of state, wearing the tall bulbous hat (now closer to a papal tiara) of Burgkmair's and Braun and Hogenberg's kings, one hand holding a feathered sceptre,<sup>12</sup> the other resting on the arm of his chair. Within the text itself, the plates accompanying a Latin translation of Benzoni's text show Atahualpa riding to meet Pizarro before being toppled in the ensuing struggle.<sup>13</sup> Benzoni perceived the

scene of Atahualpa's entry as triumphal. He noted that:

...the King, with more than twenty-five thousand Indians, [was] carried in triumph with many golden wreaths ... and thus entered triumphantly into his city.<sup>14</sup>

The tradition in which the illustration participated was that offshoot of triumphalism apparently beginning with Burgkmair. Elsewhere in the volume, de Bry reproduces exactly Braun and Hogenberg's plan of Cuzco with Atahualpa in the foreground accompanied by tumblers drawn from Christoph Weiditz's sketches of the Mexican jugglers received at the Spanish court in 1529.<sup>15</sup> The similarity of the title-page composition to the King of Cochin (particularly the headwear and the leading musicians) may indicate de Bry's miscegenation of these sources and confirm the possible presence of the Burgkmair's archetype behind Braun and Hogenberg's representation.

De Bry had used the composition five years earlier in a version which may lie closer in time and subject to the *Procession Portrait*. He had planned to inaugurate *America* with an account of René de Laudonnière's ill-fated Florida expedition of 1564 written and illustrated by the accompanying artist, the Huguenot Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues.<sup>16</sup> As it turned out, he published Thomas Harriot's *Briefve and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* first, in English, French, Latin and German at Frankfurt in 1590, and Le Moyne's account had to wait until 1591 for its publication (in Latin and German only, like the succeeding volumes) as the *Brevis Narratio Eorum Quae in Florida Americae Provinciae Gallis Acciderunt*. Among the ethnographical plates at the end of the volume are two illustrating the royal

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under-went presently the place of the dead ...' (*The Essayes ... of Montaigne*, transl. John Florio, London 1603, Bk. 3, Ch. 6, p. 549).

<sup>10</sup> On Montaigne and Chauveton's edition of Benzoni's text, see Marcel Bataillon, 'Montaigne et les Conquérants d'Or', *Studi francesi*, iii, 1959, pp. 354–56 (this article also treats Montaigne's sources for the conclusion of 'Des Coches', *ibid.*, pp. 362–63).

<sup>11</sup> On de Bry and *America*, see A. G. Camus, *Mémoire sur la Collection des Grands et Petits Voyages*, Paris 1802; George Watson Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*, New York 1907, i, pp. 316–478; M. S. Giuseppi, 'The Work of Theodor de Bry and his Sons Engravers', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, ii, 1915–17, pp. 204–26; E. Weil, 'William Fitzner, The Publisher of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*, 1628', *The Library*, xxiv, 1943–44, pp. 142–64; A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, i: *The Tudor Period*, Cambridge 1952, pp. 124–38; and Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structuralist Analysis of de Bry's Great Voyages*, transl. Basia Miller Gulati, Chicago 1981.

<sup>12</sup> This seems to be based on that held by the Indian chief in Christoph Weiditz's drawings of Mexicans: see *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz*, ed. T. Hampe, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, pl. xxii.

<sup>13</sup> The meeting and Atahualpa's capture are shown in the plates 'Atabaliba magna cum pompa Caxamalcam ingreditur' and 'Atabaliba Rex Peruanus à Francisco Pizarro capitur' (*Americae Pars Sexta*, sigs B3<sup>r</sup> and B[4]<sup>r</sup>).

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<sup>14</sup> '... il Re con più di venticinque mila Indiani, portato in trionfo con molte ghirlande d'oro ... così entrò trionfante nella sua Città ...' (Girolamo Benzoni, *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, Venice 1572, fol. 122<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> The sources of de Bry's plan of Cuzco are noted by Bucher (as in n. 11), pp. 17–18. Braun and Hogenberg's plan also appears as the background of the plate 'Proelium inter Hispanos & Indos commissum ad urbem Cuzco' (*Americae Pars Sexta*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>). Weiditz's jugglers are reproduced in Hampe (as in n. 12), pls xv–xvii.

<sup>16</sup> On whom see *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues*, ed. Paul Hulton, London 1977.

marriage customs of the local Timucuan Indians. While the second shows the wedding ceremony, the first depicts the bride being carried in a litter to her regal groom, preceded by trumpeters, shadowed by fan-bearers, and followed by women and bodyguards (Pl. 46c). The details of the Latin caption beneath correspond closely to the plate, but no original illustration survives, and the similarities with the series examined so far may give reason to doubt de Bry's claim that:

... the illustrations, representations of events and figures [are] taken from life ... [and] are substantiated by the author himself as witness of all of these things.<sup>17</sup>

André Thevet warned generally against artists of the New World:

... belevé not hereafter the common opinion of ye painters nor they doings ... for they have libertie to paint things to their owne discretion, even as Poetes have to forge and invent lies.<sup>18</sup>

Le Moyne may have had to take greater liberties than most. He was one of the few survivors of Laudonnière's expedition when the French strongpoint of Fort Caroline in Florida was routed by the Spanish at dawn on 20 September 1565. He fled for his life into the surrounding woods, and would have had little chance of carrying away his original sketches. It thus seems likely that de Bry's engravings are based on later reconstructions. Such reconstructions were probably the works referred to by Richard Hakluyt in the prefatory epistle of his *A Notable Historie containing four voyages made by certayne French Captaynes unto Florida* of 1587, which was addressed to Sir Walter Raleigh:

... divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawn in coulours at your no smale charges by the skilfull painter *James Morgues*, yet living in the Blacke-fryers in London ... which

was an eye-witnesse of the goodnes & fertilitie of those regions, & hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which he meaneth to publish together with the purtraitures before it be long, if it may stand with your pleasure and liking.<sup>19</sup>

Le Moyne's death in 1588 prevented his plans for publication, though de Bry was the beneficiary when he obtained material from the artist's widow in London, where Le Moyne had lived since 1581 for religious reasons. That de Bry was well-known to Raleigh,<sup>20</sup> and that a copy of the *Brevis Narratio* was to be found among Raleigh's books in the Tower of London,<sup>21</sup> may indicate that the works referred to by Hakluyt formed at least part of the basis for de Bry's engravings. If so, they were executed from memories of events and scenes from twenty years earlier, and the artist would have been open to suggestion as well as recollection.<sup>22</sup> The trumpeters heralding the royal bride recall those in Jacopo de Strabourg's *The Triumphs of Julius Caesar* (1503),<sup>23</sup> and it has been suggested that Burgkmair's *Triumphs of Maximilian* (1526) may have supplied the bending canopy and that 'the whole conception of the scene, as well as some of the details, are reminiscent of the procession in Burgkmair's woodcuts'.<sup>24</sup> However, the central motif of a regal figure carried in state (rather than drawn) is not a triumphal one: spoils, not rulers, were lifted aloft. The Floridan princess descends instead from the King of Cochin, as can be seen from the

<sup>19</sup> *A Notable Historie...*, London 1587, fol. 1v.

<sup>20</sup> The English version of Harriot's *Briefe and True Report*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1590, was dedicated to Raleigh by de Bry, and de Bry published a Latin version of Raleigh's *The Discoverie of ... Guiana* as the 'Verissima Descriptio Auriferi et Praestantissimi regni Guiana' in *America*, part viii, Frankfurt-am-Main 1599.

<sup>21</sup> Walter Oakeshott, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Library', *The Library*, xxiii, 1968, p. 296 (BL Add. MS 757555, fol. 138r, item 5: 'America pars secunda').

<sup>22</sup> As well as the possible sources noted in Hulton (as in n. 16), passim, Frank Lestringant has suggested that while in London Le Moyne drew details from the *Codex Mendoza* (Bod. MS Arch. Seld. A.1) which Hakluyt bought from André Thevet in Paris in 1587 (review of Hulton, as in n. 16, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xxxii, 1980, p. 778).

<sup>23</sup> See Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna*, London 1979, pl. 74.

<sup>24</sup> By William C. Sturtevant in Hulton (as in n. 16), i, p. 214; see Hans Burgkmair, *The Triumphs of Maximilian*, ed. Stanley Appelbaum, New York 1974, e.g. pls 28, 30, 92, 106 (Sturtevant's references).

<sup>17</sup> 'Adumbrationes ... & rerum gestarum effigies atque imagines ad vivum expressas, per autorem ipsum horum omnium spectatorem consignatas ...' (*Brevis Narratio* ..., 'Parergon. De Autore et Occasione Huius Histori', facsimile, ed. Hulton (as in n. 16), i, p. 87; transl. Neil M. Cheshire, *ibid.*, i, p. 117).

<sup>18</sup> André Thevet, *The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike*, [transl. Thomas Hacket?] London 1568, fol. 47v: '... ne croirez d'oresnavant l'opinion commune & façon de faire des peintres, ausquels est permise une licence grande de peindre plusieurs choses à leur seule discretion, ainsi qu'aux Poëtes de faire des comptes' (Thevet, *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, 2nd edn, Antwerp 1558, fol. 59[sc. 57]r).

details of Traut's reversed version of the Burgkmair, especially the fan-bearers, the attitudes of the litter-carriers, and the dynamic poses of the trumpeters.

George Vertue, the eighteenth-century antiquarian, was the first to identify Le Moyne, the illustrator of the *Brevis Narratio*, with Hakluyt's 'James Morgues';<sup>25</sup> it is also with him that the critical history of the *Procession Portrait* begins.<sup>26</sup> He made no connection between Le Moyne and the portrait, though it is notable that in sketching the picture, he added an extra spar to the canopy which is carried over Elizabeth, thus turning it into a litter. When he later made an engraving of the portrait, the spar was gone, though Elizabeth's hand had appeared from inside her bodice, and the scene had become identified as *The Royal Procession of Queen Elizabeth I to Visit the Right Honble. Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon ...* in 1571.<sup>27</sup> In the year of his death, Vertue concluded instead that the occasion of the painting was the marriage of Henry, Lord Herbert and Lady Anne Russell at Blackfriars on 16 June 1600.<sup>28</sup> This attempt to discover the event recorded in the portrait was reaffirmed by George Scharf,<sup>29</sup> and remained unchallenged until Roy Strong proposed that it be seen as a 'heroical device' in a triumphal setting commemorating the appointment of Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, to be Elizabeth's Master of the Horse after the fall of the Earl of Essex.<sup>30</sup> Though Worcester undoubtedly enjoys central prominence in the foreground of the picture as he walks alongside Elizabeth, Strong's evidence for its patronage is circumstantial. Worcester's presence can only definitely prove a *terminus a quo* for the portrait, which must date from after 25 June 1593 when he received the Order of

the Garter displayed on his left leg.<sup>31</sup> This makes the portrait the certain successor of all the images examined so far, except for the de Bry engravings of Atahualpa from 1596. I should like to suggest that this series of images provides an appropriate context for the *Procession Portrait*, even if the agency which may have determined its relationship to these works is still obscure.

The portrait is almost unique among representations of Elizabeth in being both horizontally disposed<sup>32</sup> and narrative rather than emblematic: the only other example sharing these features comes from early in the reign, in Marcus Gheeraerts's engraving of the Garter Procession of 1576. It thus demands some explanation. To see it as part of a series of images is not to deny that Elizabeth was ever ceremonially carried in a litter or covered by a canopy, or indeed represented as such. For example, on Sunday 15 January 1559, Elizabeth was drawn from Whitehall to her coronation at Westminster in a horse-litter with a canopy carried above her by four men.<sup>33</sup> Later, on Sunday 24 November 1588, the Queen

... did come on a chariot-throne made with foure pillars behind to have a canopie, on the toppe whereof was made a crowne imperiall ... drawne by two white horses from Sommerset-house to the cathedrall church of St. Paul

to a service of thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada.<sup>34</sup> Finally, we are told that at the Blackfriars wedding of 1600,

The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had provided a lectica, made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights.<sup>35</sup>

None of these descriptions corresponds to the portrait, in which Elizabeth sits in a

<sup>25</sup> As noted by Hulton (as in n. 16), i, p. ix. Vertue's identification is found in *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill 1762, i, p. 158.

<sup>26</sup> See Strong 1977 (as in n. 1), pp. 17–20.

<sup>27</sup> The sketch is reproduced in Strong 1977 (as in n. 1), p. 21. The engraving of 1742 appears in Vertue's *A Description of Nine Historical Prints, Representing Kings, Queens, Princes, &c. of the Tudor Family*, London 1776, pl. ix.

<sup>28</sup> George Vertue, *Notebooks*, v, *Walpole Society*, xxvi, 1938, p. 84.

<sup>29</sup> Scharf (as in n. 1).

<sup>30</sup> Strong 1977 (as in n. 1).

<sup>31</sup> Arthur F. Kinney, *Titled Elizabethans*, Hamden 1973, p. 67.

<sup>32</sup> As Strong notes (1987, as in n. 1, p. 155), the picture has been cut down on three sides, though this does not affect my conclusions regarding the disposition of the central group.

<sup>33</sup> See the illustration from BL Egerton MS 3320, reproduced as the frontispiece to *The Queenes Maiesties Passage through the Citie of London to Westminster the Day before her Coronacion*, ed. James M. Osborn, New Haven 1960.

<sup>34</sup> *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Nichols, London 1788, ii, 'The Queen at St. Paul's, 1588', p. 64.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, ii, 'The Queen at Lord Herbert's Wedding, 1600', p. 2.

chair of state covered by a canopy held by four courtiers, apparently propelled by the Groom behind her (though this is less clear than Strong makes it out to be, and forms no part of the overt content of the painting). This may indicate that the search for an occasion is simply misleading, that exactitude in reportage was not the artist's aim, or that the depiction of an event was determined by an otherwise unconnected template.

The relations between the *Procession Portrait* and the series beginning with Burgkmair's woodcut should now be clear. Four bearers lift a regal figure above a crowd, preceded by a group of men and followed by weapon-bearers and women. The portrait most closely resembles de Bry's Floridan bride, not least in feminising the triumphal. If the two compositions are compared, it seems that the trumpeters have become Garter Knights; the litter, a floral canopy; and the bodyguards with spears and bows, Gentlemen Pensioners carrying halberds.<sup>36</sup> Six men are clustered around each queen, who is presented to the spectator with a three-quarter turn, while behind her is a group of women, two of whom appear to be in conversation, one full-face, the other half-face (such a pair at the rear is common to all of the images in the sequence). The composition even seems to imitate such details as the triangle formed by two of the bearers and one other to the front (by de Bry's queen-to-be, a fan-bearer; by Elizabeth, Edward Somerset), and the diagonal of the pole carried at the rear left which is echoed in the slant of the sword similarly placed in the portrait. The frontispiece of *Americae Pars Sexta*, though similarly composed, would account for less as a source for the portrait (though the arm of the chair of state on which Atahualpa rests his left hand might clarify the puzzling object, apparently springing from a courtier's head, on which Elizabeth rests hers). These engravings would not be unlikely sources for a processional composition, since de Bry and his son were well-known in Elizabethan

England. He had visited London twice in 1587 and 1588, when he engraved Thomas Lant's drawings of the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney<sup>37</sup> as well as illustrations for Lucas Wagenaer's *The Mariner's Mirrour* (London 1588). *America* had a European readership, and was actively used by both Raleigh<sup>38</sup> and Hakluyt as a source of information and a vehicle for promotion. The personal connections of Sidney, Spenser, and later Raleigh and Hakluyt, with the Protestant exiles of the 1570s and 1580s, with the geographers and topographers of northern Europe,<sup>39</sup> and through both of these groups to the Protestant artists and publishers of Germany and central Europe, may suggest that the portrait is a belated counterpart to the portraits of Elizabeth by Lucas de Heere and Joris Hoefnagel a generation earlier.<sup>40</sup> The English colonial enterprise, like English art, relied heavily on foreign expertise throughout Elizabeth's reign. To see the portrait as shaped by these currents lapping England's shores may be appropriate, even though the precise circumstances of its creation are beyond recovery.

Agnes Strickland, writing in 1844 under a Queen of less extravagant temper, was repelled by the *Procession Portrait*:

We find, by Stowe, that the queen was carried to St. Paul's, occasionally, after this fashion, which reminds us of the procession of a pagan goddess surrounded by her priests and worshippers, or the ovation of a Roman conqueror, rather than the transit of a Christian queen in civilized times.

<sup>37</sup> For the 'Lant Roll', see Sander Bos, Marianne Langer-Meyers and Jeanine Six, 'Sidney's Funeral Portrayed', in *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, eds Jan Van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith and Arthur F. Kinney, Leiden 1986, pp. 38–61. Hind (as in n. 11), i, p. 106, shows that de Bry was not responsible for engraving the procession of the Knights of the Garter by Marcus Gheeraerts the elder, as was once thought.

<sup>38</sup> Raleigh's library in the Tower included the first six volumes of the series (Oakeshott, as in n. 21, p. 296, items 4–7).

<sup>39</sup> See for example Jan Van Dorsten, *The Radical Arts*, Leiden 1973, esp. pp. 50–61, 75–85; R. J. W. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627 (Past & Present Supplement, ii, Oxford 1975)*, pp. 12, 25–27; and Helen Wallis, 'Emigré Map-Makers of the Late Sixteenth Century and the Protestant New World', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xxiv, 1985, pp. 210–20.

<sup>40</sup> On which see Strong 1987 (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 65–77.

<sup>36</sup> For the Gentlemen Pensioners—who would normally have joined the procession rather than lined the route, another indication of an intervening image between event and picture—see J. L. Nevinson, 'Portraits of Gentlemen Pensioners', *Walpole Society*, xxxiv, 1952–54, p. 9.

The semi-barbarous display of pomp and homage suited the theatrical taste of Elizabeth, who inherited the pride and vanity of both her parents, and understood little of the delicacy and reserve of an English gentlewoman ...<sup>41</sup>

Her strictures seem to echo Edmund Burke's response to the cortège which accompanied Louis XVI from Versailles to Paris on 6 October 1789, and which Dr Richard Price had hailed as a triumph (for Burke, 'a thing in its best form unmanly and irreligious') like that accompanying Charles I to London before his trial:

Several English were the stupified and indignant spectators of that triumph. It was (unless we have been strangely deceived) a spectacle more resembling a procession of American savages ... much more than it resembled the triumphal pomp of a civilized martial nation—if a civilized nation or any men who had a sense of generosity, were capable of a personal triumph over the fallen and afflicted.<sup>42</sup>

For both Burke and Strickland, triumphalism is grotesque, blasphemous and 'semi-barbarous', and hence fit only for 'savages' and not for 'a civilized nation'. However, the visual ancestry of the *Procession Portrait* may also indicate that the Elizabethans could find 'a spectacle more resembling a procession of American savages' a benign and sympathetic image of royal magnificence.

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## CESARE RIPA NEW BIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE\*

RECENT archival research has uncovered some new documentary evidence about Cesare Ripa, hitherto a shadowy figure despite his fame as author of the *Iconologia*. First published in Rome in 1593, and from 1603 provided with woodcut illustrations, this indispensable manual of personifications reappeared in many editions up to the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It was translated into various languages and has been the subject of several modern studies, but its author has never been given that much attention. Thanks to the discovery of Antonio Maria Salviati's will [Appendix I] and to an unpublished letter in which Ripa is mentioned [Appendix II] it is now possible to outline the social role played by the author of the *Iconologia* and the cultural background to his work. In addition, evidence of his continuous presence in Rome between 1611 and 1620 [Appendix III] and his death certificate [Appendix IV] provide the first reliable records of the writer's life.

Already in his scholarly preface to the 1764 Perugia edition Cesare Orlandi remarked on the dearth of information in seventeenth-century sources about Ripa's life.<sup>2</sup> Recent studies have not filled this gap.

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\* This Note is based on part of my dissertation 'Cesare Ripa. Lettura comparata delle varie edizioni dell'*Iconologia* e nuove acquisizioni biografiche emerse da indagini d'archivio' presented in 1988 at the University of Bologna. I wish to thank Dr Roberto Zapperi, Dr Mario Roncetti, Director of the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia, Dr Sbrilli of the Salviati Archive in Pisa, and Professor Ercolani Cocchi of Bologna University for their help.

<sup>1</sup> The most important editions of the text are as follows: *Iconologia*, Rome, G. Gigliotti 1593, without illustrations; *Iconologia*, Rome, L. Facius 1603, the first illustrated edition; *Iconologia*, Padua, P. P. Tozzi 1611; *Iconologia*, Siena, Florimi 1613; *Nova Iconologia*, Padua, P. P. Tozzi 1618; *Della novissima Iconologia*, Padua, P. P. Tozzi 1625; *Iconologia*, Perugia, P. G. Costantini 1764. Foreign editions: *Iconologia*, Frankfurt, W. Serlius 1669; *Iconologie*, Amsterdam, A. Braakman 1698.

<sup>2</sup> C. Orlandi, 'Memorie del Cavalier Cesare Ripa' in *Iconologia*, Perugia, P. G. Costantini 1764, preface, p. xv. For the few earlier references see G. B. Lauro, *Theatri Romani Orchestra*, Rome 1625, p. 60; L. Jacobilli, *Bibliotheca Umbriae*, Foligno 1658, pp. 79–80; A. Oldoini, *Athenaeum Augustum*, Perugia 1678, p. 70; F. Labbé, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, Leipzig 1682, p. 585.

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<sup>41</sup> Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, London 1844, vi, p. 367. Strickland's work was dedicated to Queen Victoria.

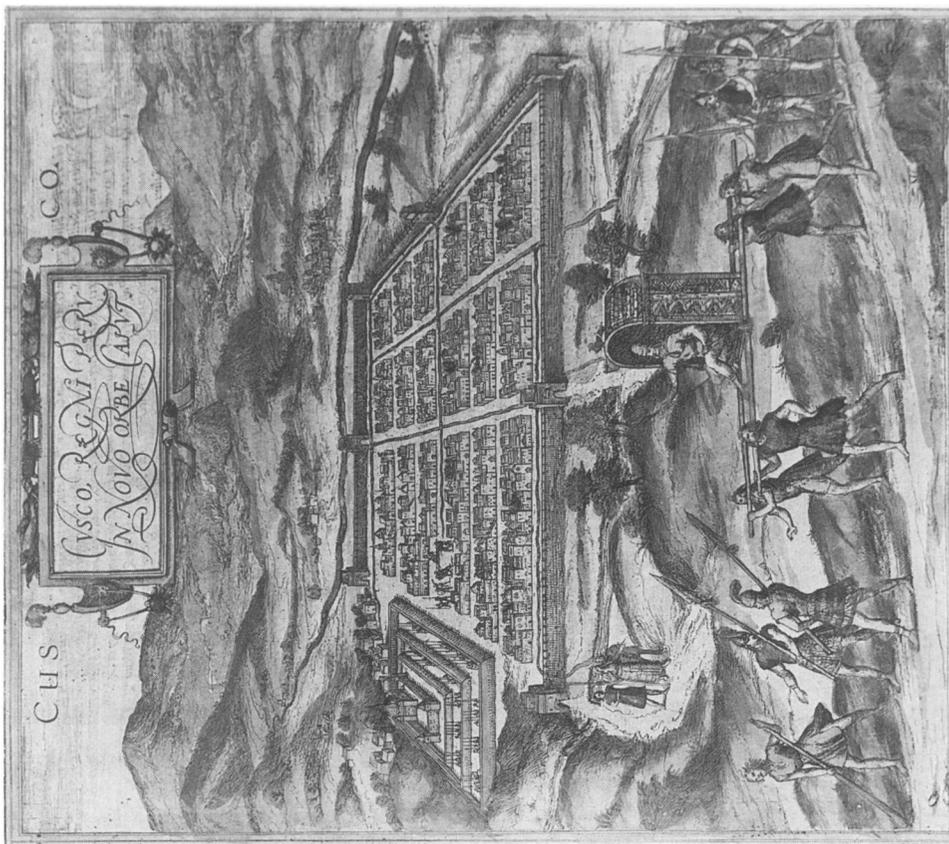
<sup>42</sup> Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, London 1790, p. 99. Burke opposes the 'triumphal' and the 'martial' elsewhere in the *Reflections*, e.g. pp. 57 ('more like a triumphal procession than the progress of war') and 95 ('With us it is militant; with you it is triumphant ...')



Artist unknown (attrib. Robert Peake), The 'Procession' Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I. Private Collection (p. 301)



b—*Americae Pars Sexta*, ed. Theodor de Bry, Frankfurt 1596, frontispiece (p. 303)



a—Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, 'Cusco, Regni Peru in Novo Orbe Caput' from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Augsburg 1575 (p. 302)



a—Hans Burgkmair, 'Der Künig von Gutzin', 1508 (p. 301)



b—Wolf Traut, 'Rex Gosci Sive Gutschmin' from Balthasar Springer, *Die Merfart und Nüwer Schiffung*, Augsburg 1509 (p. 302)



c—'Qua pompa regina delecta ad Regem deferatur', from *Brevis Narratio Eorum Quae in Florida Gallis Acciderunt*, ed. Theodor de Bry, Frankfurt 1591, pl. xxviii, sig. G2<sup>r</sup> (p. 304)