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Bölcsészettudományi Kar

ALAPSZAKOS SZAKDOLGOZAT

*„Mi vagy te vajon, bálvány-pompa, mi?”
I. Erzsébet (1558-1603) halotti reprezentációja*

*“What art thou, thou idle ceremony?”
The Funeral Representation of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is to discuss and analyse the most important features and symbols of royal funerals in early modern England, with special focus on the funeral of the last Tudor monarch, Elizabeth I (1558-1603). Relying on contemporary sources and the relevant secondary literature, I aim to show how these unique ceremonies meant not only a transition from life to death, but in the case of aristocratic and royal families, the demonstration of political interests, thus the public drama of death in which the viewers and those being watched, were given specific roles.

After discussing the last days of the queen, I examine the long period of preparation for the funeral. In the third chapter, I analyse the funeral oration along with the hierarchy and symbolism of the procession that were all used to demonstrate the greatness and power of the royal family. In the final chapter I take a closer look into the French tradition and focus on the funeral of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (1519-1558).

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INTRODUCTION

A funeral is like a theatre performance: in early modern Europe, where death was considered to be a decisive experience of everyday life, the funeral, as a unique ceremony, meant the symbolic celebration of the transition from life to death. This meaning, in the case of royal and aristocratic families was often enriched with political messages, as they also considered funerals as occasions where they could demonstrate their political interests. The long period of preparation for the funerals that could take even months, the hierarchy of the processions, the use of the royal symbols and the funeral orations all carried these strongly dramatized and symbolic meanings. These distinguished them from “idle ceremonies” and spectacles, thus transforming them into a performance in which each participant was given a certain role. This is especially true for the Tudor dynasty that reigned in England between 1485 and 1603, and also for the Stuart dynasty (1603-1689) following them: the funeral ceremonies became richer, the spectacle and symbolism more sophisticated. This process reached its peak at the funeral of James I (1603-1625) in 1625 as this ceremony, taking the finances and its planning into consideration, outshined all the Renaissance funerals.¹

However, in the following, I will not be focusing on the funeral of James I, but on the funeral of his predecessor, Elizabeth I (1558-1603). I aim to analyse her funeral in detail concerning the symbolism and the hierarchy of the procession and how the funeral affected different social layers. Also, I will make an attempt to situate the ceremony in a broader European context: my main focus will be the funeral of the English monarch, but to contextualize the problem, I will compare the funeral with other European royal funerals by examining the French tradition and one of the most influential and spectacular events of the century, the funeral of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (1519-1558), held in 1558 in Brussels, as a case study. My main points of analysis will be the elements appearing in the

¹ Woodward, Jennifer. *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997. p.1.

funeral procession: the coats of arms, the colour-codes, the hierarchy of the participants in the procession, and the symbolic meaning of their social status. How did the dynasty demonstrate its political power and grandeur? How did they use a funeral for the purpose of political propaganda? What was the role of the City of London in the preparations for the funeral? What parallels are there between the early modern “European” royal and aristocratic funerals? Did it matter whether a queen or a king was being buried? Were there any unique “gender elements” in the procession? What did the ceremony mean concerning the legitimacy of the Tudor dynasty and the succession of the Stuarts? Was the funeral of Elizabeth I unique compared to the other Tudor funerals? In my thesis, I aim to find the answers to these questions by relying on contemporary sources and the relevant scholarly works.

Concerning the topic of death culture and burial rituals, there are many different approaches in the scholarly literature. One of the most relevant and most cited works concerning the perception and understanding of death is Philippe Ariés’ *Western Attitudes toward Death*.² In his book, Ariés examines the changes in the perception of death and how the dead were handled from the Middle Ages to the 20th century. Ariés analyses the notion of “tamed death” in detail: the idea, prevalent in the early modern period, helps to find the context in which Elizabeth I’s death and funeral should be put. Concerning the anthropology of the funerary rituals and the celebrations connected to the event of death, Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf³ examined rites and traditions from all over the world. In their comparative analysis, they found universal symbols and parallels between the different interpretations and celebrations of death. Additionally, the English beliefs and death perception are examined thoroughly by Peter Marshall⁴, who, approached the problem from

² Ariés, Philippe. *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1975.

³ Huntington, Richard, and Peter Metcalf. *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

⁴ Marshall, Peter. *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

the religious point of view and analysed how religious changes of the sixteenth century affected the funerary rites in England.

As for the actual representation of Elizabeth the most cited work is Roy Strong's *The Cult of Elizabeth*⁵, in which he looks at the symbolism and imagery of the Elizabethan court and deals with ceremonies that helped to shape the image of the queen. The function of the ceremonies and how the Tudor dynasty exploited them for the purposes of propaganda, as they were the main means of transmitting messages to the subjects, is dealt with by many scholarly works, among them by Jennifer Loach⁶ and Sydney Anglo.⁷ They approached the problem by examining how the image of a ruler is constructed and how this can be used to underline and emphasize the dynasty's legitimacy and their right for the English throne. From among these ceremonies, the most prominent are funerals that Jennifer Woodward⁸ describes in detail. In her book, examining royal funerals under the reigns of the Tudor and the Stuart dynasties, she analysed how a funeral is planned and arranged. And also, how these ceremonies can be used to transmit the most important messages, which in the case of the Tudors, is legitimacy and additional, how they indicate the wealth and power of the given dynasty.

⁵ Strong, Roy. *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*. London: Random House UK, 1999.

⁶ Loach, Jennifer. "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII." *Past & Present*. no. 142 (1994): 43-68.

⁷ Anglo, Sydney. *Images of Tudor Kingship*. London: Anova Books, 1992.

⁸ Woodward, Jennifer. *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570-1625*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.

1. THE LAST DAYS OF ELIZABETH I (1558-1603)

On 24 March 1603 an era has ended: during the early hours, Elizabeth I, the last Tudor monarch of England died. Following her death, the succession of James I was declared at three main intersections of the City of London: in front of St Paul's Cathedral, next to the cross at Cheapside and at Cornhill.⁹ However, not only the event of her death, but the days preceding March 24 gained significance: the last days of the Queen, the intrigues around her deathbed concerning the question of succession and the preparation for her death greatly affected the royal court. The confusion and tension of the days before Elizabeth I's death is mirrored in several written sources, such as letters, memoirs, sermons and diaries.¹⁰

William Camden (1551-1623), the historian of Elizabeth I reported on the health of the queen two months before her death: "*the Seventieth Year of her Age, began to be sensible of some weakness indisposition both of Health and Old Age, which the badness of the weather increased, whilst upon the last of January, which was a very windy and rainy day, she removed from Westminster to Richmond, there to enjoy and refresh herself in her Old Age, and more freely to attend the serving of God.*"¹¹ The chronicle of Camden shows that Elizabeth was aware of her imminent death: she did not intend either to slow down the process or to avoid it. This is the death-image that permeated sixteenth and seventeenth century thinking, "tamed death"¹², deriving from the omnipresence of death which shaped its perception in the early modern period.¹³ Nevertheless, the queen's health deteriorated greatly until March: she suffered from melancholy, she refused to eat and sleep and spent long hours in a dark room.¹⁴

⁹ Strong, p. 14.

¹⁰ Loomis, Catherine. "Elizabeth Southwell's Manuscript: Account of the Death of the Queen" In. *English Literary Renaissance*. Vol. 26, No. 3. (1996). p. 482.

¹¹ Camden, William. *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*. London: Flesher, 1688. p. 659.

¹² Ariés, p. 7.

¹³ Szabó, Péter. *A végtisztesség: a főúri gyászszertartás, mint látvány*. Budapest: Magvető, 1989. p. 11.

¹⁴ Loomis, Catherine. *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen*. New York: Plagrave Macmillan, 2010. p. 9.

Preceding her death on 24 March her health and mental state suddenly changed: *“In perfect possession of all her senses; as she neither eats nor sleeps except at the call of nature, everyone hopes and believes that her life is much further from its close than is reported elsewhere”*¹⁵ writes Giovanni Scaramelli, the Venetian ambassador in his report a few days before the death of Elizabeth I. However, the queen was aware of the inevitability of her death. Most of the reports and descriptions of her last days state that the queen seemed to be healthy and in a good mood; and has shown no signs of illness despite her old age. This is also reflected upon by Thomas Dekker (1572-1632) in his work *the Wonderful*¹⁶ Year 1603 that, by using several literary genres, describes the most important events of 1603: the plague that appeared again in England, killing thousands, the death of Elizabeth I and the succession of James I. Dekker’s use of language is both emotional and poetic: as he writes about the peace and earthly Paradise, which most probably mirrors the queen’s health and mental state as reflected upon by Scaramelli, the description is interrupted by an exclamation that changes the tone of his text. *“But O the short-liu’de Felicity of man! Oh world of what slight and thin stufte is thy happinesse!”*¹⁷ Dekker continues his description with the images of nature to depict the deteriorating health and approaching death of the Queen. *“The Element (taking the Destinies part, who indeed set abroach this mischief) scowled on the earth, and filling her hie forehead full of blacke wrinckles, tumbling long vp and downe (like a great bellied wife) her sighes being whirlwindes, and her grones thunder, at length she fell in labour, and was deliuered of a pale, meagry, weake child, named Sicknesse, whom Death (with a pestilence) would needes take vpon him to nurse, and did so. [...] She obeyed Deaths messenger, and yeelded her body to the hands of death himselfe. She dyes, resigning her Scepter to posteritie, and her Soule to immortalitie.”*¹⁸

¹⁵ Loomis, 2010. p. 8.

¹⁶ here wonderful means: shocking, disturbing

¹⁷ Dekker, Thomas. *The Wonderfull Yeare 1603*. „The Quenes Sicknesse”

¹⁸ Dekker, „Her Death”

In Dekker's description, by emphasizing the sceptre, besides the general Christian topoi, the royal symbol given a special meaning concerning the succession of power and the upcoming monarch or dynasty. In the light of the problematic succession of James I, as he was not the only heir to the throne, in my opinion, this symbol has special significance.

One of the probable successors to the throne of Elizabeth I was Arabella Stuart, the cousin of James I, whose bloodline could be traced back to Margaret Tudor. Moreover, she was raised in England. The situation was further complicated by the will of Henry VIII (1509-1547) as, upon his death, he appointed the succession of his children. He chose the heirs of Mary Tudor (1496-1533) and Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of Suffolk (1484-1545) to be the successors of Elizabeth I. But the current representative of this bloodline meant no threat to the succession of James I, as the heir's legitimacy and eligibility were questionable.¹⁹ However, James was not a suitable heir to the throne either. On the one hand, there were other probable candidates, and on the other hand, according to the Venetian ambassador's report written a month before the death of Elizabeth I, it caused difficulties that James was not born in England. Also, his mother was a traitor and was declared to be an unsuitable successor to the throne of England by the Parliament, and this should have applied to James as well.²⁰

This is also discussed by Elizabeth Southwell, the queen's lady-in-waiting, whose description is one of the main sources for the last days and the death of Elizabeth. Although, the source's credibility is questionable: it contains miraculous elements such as the explosion of the body. This, according to the article published by *J.E. Neale* in 1925 could compromise the trustworthiness of the text.²¹ However, more recent research has proven that, even though not all miraculous elements are credible in Southwell's description, she mentions important details about the queen's illness and the political conflicts and intrigues concerning the

¹⁹ Woodward, p. 96.

²⁰ Hunt, Alice & Anna Whitelock. *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*. New York: Plagrove Macmillan, 2010. p. 23.

²¹ Loomis, 1996. p. 483.

succession that makes her description a source worth examining. If we observe the problem of succession in a broader context, even the least credible elements, like the “explosion” of the queen’s body could be understood. As James I succeeded to the throne in England, a personal union was created between the two countries, England and Scotland: and the fear of this new situation²² could manifest this way. I would claim that in the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this could mean the “division of the king’s body” thus the division of his power and as a consequence of this, it could appear as a reason for anarchy and uprising. This miraculous element intertwined with the accurate details and facts about the last days of Elizabeth, in my opinion, can be understood as a “rumour”, that is an alarming, usually false piece of news, reflecting on the fears, threats and beliefs of a given society.²³ Furthermore, the political prophecies work almost the same way: they could be understood as the symptoms of an era pregnant with fear and difficulties. These prophecies were characteristic of Tudor England,²⁴ as most of the Tudor monarchs have these alarming rumours connected to them. One of the best known examples can be understood as exactly the symptom of a critical period: during the reign of Henry VIII, when the king aimed to annul his marriage with Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), William Peto, a Franciscan monk, referencing the Biblical story of Ahab, prophesied that he should not make further attempts to annul his marriage because, as a consequence “dogs will lick his blood”.²⁵ Based on this, I would argue, that the alarming, miraculous elements and parts in Southwell’s manuscript could be understood as implicit references to the fears and threats that were symptomatic of the Tudor era.

Besides the rumours and alarming elements, the narrative of Elizabeth Southwell is highly intertwined with references to the question of succession. During the last days of the

²² Loomis, 1996. p. 498-99.

²³ Novák, Veronika. „Zsákok, könyvek, puskapor – történeti rémhírek anatómiája” In. *Korunk*, No. 3. (2010). p. 30.

²⁴ Dodds, Madeleine Hope. „Political Prophecies in the Reign of Henry VIII” In. *The Modern Language Review*. No. 3. (1916). p. 278.

²⁵ Bernard, G. W. *The King’s Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007. p. 152.

queen, the whole court was focusing on her physical and mental state. The news of any changes in her health spread quickly in the court and aristocratic circles, because – in the light of the narrative sources – the question of succession was not solved.²⁶ The most significant part in each of the narrative sources is when the queen appoints her heir to the throne. In Southwell's description "*they seeing her throt troubled her so much*"²⁷ she was let to decide who the successor to her throne would be, by holding up her finger when the names of the possible candidates were read out to her. According to Southwell the queen said the following right before her death: "*I will have no raskalls son in my seat but [...] one worthy to be a king*"²⁸. Immediately after the passing of the queen the Privy Council declared that James I would succeed to the throne of Elizabeth I.

In the description of William Camden the last words of Elizabeth, who, according to Camden was capable of speaking, although with difficulties, are remembered in the following way: "*I said that my throne was a Throne of Kings, that I would not have any mean person succeed me: and who should that be but my nearest Kinsman, the King of Scots? [...] That I do, neither doth my Mind wander from him.*"²⁹ Thus, in the sources vagueness and uncertainty can be captured: this is why I would claim that the importance of symbolism in the funeral procession and the elements, like the coats of arms, colour-codes, the social status of the participants and the effigies cannot be overlooked, as they were presented to strengthen the royal power, the continuity of the power and the legitimacy of the successor to the English throne.

²⁶ Loomis, 2010. p. 20.

²⁷ Southwell, Elizabeth. „Account of the Death of the Queen” In. Loomis, Catherine. „Elizabeth Southwell's Manuscript: Account of the Death of the Queen” In. *English Literary Renaissance*. Vol. 26., No. 3. (1996) p. 486. lines 68-69.

²⁸ Southwell, p. 486., lines 75-76.

²⁹ Camden, p. 661-662.

2. PREPARING FOR THE FUNERAL

*“To report of her death (like a thunder-clap) was able to kill thousands, it tooke away hearts from millions: for hauing brought vp (euen vnder her wing) a nation that was almost begotten and born vnder her; that neuer shouted any other Aue than for her name, neuer sawe the face of any Prince but her selfe, neuer vnderstoode what that strange out-landish word Change signified: how was it possible, but that her sicknes should throw abroad an vniuersall feare, and her death an astonishment?”*³⁰ Thomas Dekker’s description of the mourning nation seems to be exaggerated: by the end of the Elizabethan era the political stability and success that characterized the 1580s have faded away. The country has run up a big debt, the war in the Netherlands was unsolved and the representation of the aging queen was no longer represented with the image of the “Virgin Queen” or “Gloriana”.³¹ But even though she was becoming unpopular by the end of her reign, her funeral, the last one of the Tudor funerals was one of the most important and highlighted events of the year: a sophisticated and magnificent ceremony that captured the attention of many. On 26 March, two days after her death, her coffin on black-draped barges was moved on the river Thames to Whitehall Palace, where her coffin was laid on black velvet and was adorned with ostrich feathers.³² These unique feathers can be understood as the symbols of royal power that were not only used for decorating the coffin, but were given a role in the funeral procession as well.

Since the order of the royal and aristocratic funerals differed from the general procedure and rituals³³, the planning of the procession and the preparations for the funeral ceremony could take weeks or even months. While it was widespread among the lower layers of society to bury their dead within days for hygienic reasons, the aristocratic circles often

³⁰ Dekker, „Her Death”

³¹ Woodward, p. 88.

³² Strong, p. 14.

³³ Szabó, p. 13.

chose to embalm the body.³⁴ The internal organs were removed, the body was covered in wax and placed into a lead coffin, so it could be preserved and the preparations for the funeral could last longer.³⁵ Nevertheless, in the light of the sources elaborating on the last days of Elizabeth I, her last will might have been not to dissect her body. This objection might refer to the contamination of the “Virgin Queen” image. Also, the “protest of the minority” was characteristic of this period: many women stood against dissection,³⁶ thus Elizabeth’s last will might mirror this widespread wish. Although, it is possible that the queen’s body was opened up after her death. Based on Elizabeth Southwell’s narrative, Robert Cecil ordered the surgeons to follow the general procedure: “*not to be opened such being her desire, but Cecill having given a secret warrant to the surgions they opened her*”, therefore it is possible that the queen was dissected against her will.³⁷

The preparations for the royal and aristocratic funerals were supervised by a body consisting of secular aristocrats and clergymen.³⁸ In Elizabethan England the heralds were charged with organizing the ceremony; they belonged to the College of Arms revived in 1530 that benefitted from the prestige and financial benefits of such occasions, as it was their prerogative and monopoly to arrange the preparations for the royal ceremonies.³⁹ Nonetheless, for these financial gains the organizers of royal ceremonies took on great responsibility. They had to decide on the number of participants and their order in the procession, the symbols and coats of arms present; and all the equipment needed for a funeral such as candles, torches, black drapes, as well as organising the feast following the ceremony. These preparations and the calculations with the finances often challenged the heralds. Furthermore, apart from their practical tasks they had a more symbolic role as well. They were responsible for transmitting

³⁴ Forggeng, Jeffrey L. *Daily Life in Elizabethan England*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2010. p. 69.

³⁵ Stone, Lawrence. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965. p. 572.

³⁶ Stone, p. 579.

³⁷ Loomis, 2010. p. 90.

³⁸ Szabó, p. 13.

³⁹ Stone, p. 578.

the grandeur of the royal power towards the aristocracy and the lower layers of society.⁴⁰ How did it all manifest at the funeral of Elizabeth I that was preceded by a month of preparation? Who appeared in the funeral procession and what role did they play? Which symbols of the royalty were used? How did the funeral oration reflected on the key elements of Elizabeth I's reign?

⁴⁰ Gittings, Clare. „Urban Funerals in Late Medieval and Reformation England” In. *Urban Responses to Death and Dying 100-1600*. ed. Steven Bassett. Leicester: St Martin's Press, 1992. p. 178-179.

3. THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

In Tudor England, where the questionable legitimacy of the ruling dynasty appeared as an omnipresent problem, the role of ceremonies gained special importance. These were the occasions when the ruling family could establish a connection with their subjects. Besides the coronations, the funerals were also key events that the Tudors aimed to emphasize: on the one hand it is logical, that the new king or queen was only inaugurated after the funeral of the last monarch.⁴¹ On the other hand, funerals were held more frequently in the City of London, than coronations: high-ranking aristocrats, queens and other members of the royal family were buried with the same splendour as the monarchs, thus they could exploit funeral ceremonies for the purpose of political propaganda.⁴²

Moreover, early modern funeral processions were characterized by the participation of most social layers: from the highest ranking aristocrats and the relatives of the deceased to the poor, each layer was given a certain role in the ceremony.⁴³ At royal funerals, since the necropolis of the English monarchs is the Westminster Abbey, the funeral ceremonies, with only a few exceptions, were held in London, the guilds of the city were also given important roles. This is especially important, since the state as an abstract entity was embodied by the monarch, thus his or her death gains importance not only in the earthly but the spiritual sphere as well.⁴⁴ Consequently, the rituals with which the monarchs were laid to rest aided the continuity and legitimacy of the royal power and had a broader social significance.

3.1. The hierarchy of the procession

At the funeral of Elizabeth I that is recorded in many descriptions, as a characteristic of early modern ceremonies, the whole microcosm of the universe was represented. Most of

⁴¹ Anglo, p. 99-100.

⁴² Anglo, p. 103.

⁴³ Woodward, p. 17.

⁴⁴ Huntington-Metcalf, p. 122.

the sources describe the event as “nothing like this” has ever been seen before.⁴⁵ On the one hand, this might refer to the fact that the citizens were unable to attend the funeral of a monarch in 45 years, since the death of Mary I in 1558. This is referenced by Thomas Dekker’s description in which he wrote: *“for her departure was so sudden and so strange, that men knew not how to weepe, because they had neuer bin taught to shed teares of that making.”*⁴⁶ Dekker’s description shows that people did not know how to mourn their queen, as they have never experienced anything similarly grandiose to this event before. During the reign of Elizabeth two generations grew up: *“for hauing brought vp (euen vnder her wing) a nation that was almost begotten and born vnder her.”*⁴⁷ As most of the citizens have not known any other monarchs during their lives, and not having seen any other royal funerals of such magnificence, her death must have met strong responses in society. On the other hand, Dekker’s description might refer to the grandeur with which Elizabeth’s procession was organized and that was followed by most of the Londoners: *“Her Herse⁴⁸ (as it was borne) seemed to be an Iland⁴⁹ swimming in water, for round about it there rayned showers of teares...”*⁵⁰

The funeral procession was held on 28 April 1603, almost a month after her death. The mourners accompanied her from the black-draped room of Whitehall Palace, where the coffin had been placed before the funeral ceremony⁵¹ to Westminster Abbey. The procession of the mourners consisted of 1600 people dressed in black, which was the official colour of bereavement. The number of mourners had special significance at a funeral:⁵² the more people were taking part in the procession, the higher ranking the deceased was. In respect, compared

⁴⁵ Strong, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Dekker, „The generall terror that her death bred.”

⁴⁷ Dekker, „Her Death”

⁴⁸ hearse

⁴⁹ island

⁵⁰ Dekker, „The generall terror that her death bred”

⁵¹ Harvey, Anthony & Richard Mortimer. *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003. p. 155.

⁵² Woodward, p. 17.

to other Tudor funerals, Elizabeth's is not unique. At the funeral of her grandfather, Henry VII in 1509, 1400 people took part in the procession, among them around 700 torch bearers as part of the Tudor propaganda.⁵³ At the funeral of Elizabeth of York in 1503 1640 torch bearers were present.⁵⁴ But there is another between the Tudor funerals. Henry VII, as the first Tudor king, in his will, concerning his funeral ceremony emphasized the need for stability and dynastic continuity. The funeral of Elizabeth served a similar purpose: as the last of the Tudor monarchs, she had to secure the succession of the chosen ruler, so the questions of continuity and legitimacy gained significance once again.

Elizabeth's funeral procession was led by the Knight Marshalls who were followed by 15 poor men and 260 poor women, with the servants of gentlemen, esquires and knights.⁵⁵ The difference between the proportion of men and women in the procession might have been deliberate: overall, it can be said that only a few elements in the ceremony imply that a queen and not a king was being buried, but the fact that the proportion of women is much higher, can be seen as a reference to her gender, as well as the gender of the chief mourner, whose role I will explain later on.

Apart from the participation of women, the role of the poor can be understood as special elements at funerals in general and at Elizabeth's funeral as well. Without their participation, the organizers of the funeral could not have mirrored the exact image of the society while, the participation of the poor at funerals can be traced back to evangelical teachings. In feudal societies the ruling classes by leaving a small portion of their wealth to the poor and by sharing their final journey, showed humility, hoping for salvation.⁵⁶ By examining the motivation of the poor for participating in funeral processions, I would claim

⁵³ Anglo, p. 101.

⁵⁴ Velich, Andrea. „VII. Henrik temetése” In. *Angliától Nagy-Britanniáig*. ed. Frank Tibor. Budapest: Gondolat, 2004. p. 42.

⁵⁵ *The True Order and Formall Proceeding at the Funerall of the Most High, Renowned, Famous and Mightye Princesse, Elizabeth of England, France and Ireland, Late Queene: from Whitehall to the Cathedral Church of Westminster*. The Day 28 of April, 1603. London, 1603. p. 1.

⁵⁶ Szabó, p. 105-107.

that besides their loyalty for their king or queen, financial and material reasons moved them to take on the role: they were given alms, as well as black gowns⁵⁷ they could keep after the funeral.

To reflect on social hierarchy, the participants had to follow each other in a strict hierarchy; therefore common people had to lead the procession followed by high ranking gentlemen. After the poor and the servants of gentlemen, kings and esquires, the representatives of the London guilds, yeomen, clerks, sergeants, the aldermen of London, ambassadors, the mayor of London and the household of the queen followed each other in a strict order. Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State occupied a special position in the procession. As the confidante of the queen, he opened the line of the aristocrats: barons, bishops, earls, viscounts, dukes, marquises, the bishop of Chichester as the almoner and preacher at the funeral, the Lord Keeper, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the French ambassador. The representatives of the aristocracy were followed by the sergeants at arms with the sword, the helmet and the crest.⁵⁸

The arms that were rarely represented separately at a funeral carried a specialised symbolic meaning. They were knightly symbols and their use was still significant in the sixteenth century, especially at the funerals of monarchs whose representation was built on knightly values, as in the case of the French king, Francis I (1515-1547).⁵⁹ It is difficult to find the answer to why the symbolism of arms and knightly virtues was employed at the funeral of a queen. They might have aimed to continue the tradition or to emphasize the parallels with other Tudor funerals. Also, as the monarch, she was the military leader of her country and the chief landholder in feudalism. Moreover, the funeral of Elizabeth has shown many similarities with that of her father,⁶⁰ possibly in a conscious way, aiming to follow

⁵⁷ Woodward, p. 24.

⁵⁸ The true order and formall proceeding...

⁵⁹ Szabó, p. 87-77.

⁶⁰ Loach, p. 64.

traditions. The funeral of Henry VIII invoked knightly values: he was buried as a cavalier king at the headquarters of the Order of the Garter in Windsor.⁶¹

Following the arms, the aristocrats carrying the coats of arms and banners of preceding monarchs and the women mourners walked, led by the chief mourner, the Lady Marques of Northampton, accompanied by the Lord Admiral and the Lord Treasurer.⁶² The significant role of the chief mourner was only taken by the Lady Marques of Northampton “out of necessity”. The original candidate for the role would have been Arabella Stuart, who was also a possible heiress to Elizabeth’s throne. But even though she would have been suitable for the role of the chief mourner because of her royal blood, she refused it. According to the sources, she explained her decision by stating that if she was unable to build a closer relationship with the queen when she was alive, she would not be willing to take part in public ceremonies and spectacles after her death either,⁶³ but the reasons why she refused to take this particular role still seem indefinite. Also, it is worth noting why a woman was appointed as the chief mourner. While at the funeral of her grandfather, Henry VII the role of the chief mourner was taken by a man, the Earl of Surrey, in the funeral procession of Elizabeth a woman was taking up this role. Although in terms of symbolism a parallel can be drawn with other Tudor funerals, this can be seen as a gender reference, thus a specialized element.

This strict hierarchy, mirroring the society was not unique to England alone: most of the “European” royal and aristocratic funerals were characterized by this structure. Part of the reason for this was that the order of the procession embodied the feudal order, in which the power of the ruling classes played a decisive role. Therefore this structure strengthened the strict hierarchy and demonstrated the individual power of those participating in it.⁶⁴ However, to achieve this goal, similarly to other ceremonies and public spectacles (coronations, royal

⁶¹ Velich, 2004. p. 53.

⁶² The true order and formall proceeding...

⁶³ Loach, p. 102.

⁶⁴ Woodward, p. 22-24.

entries or even public executions) the viewer's active participation was needed. The public drama of death was unimaginable without the cooperation of the participants: the ones watching and being watched.

3.2 The symbolism of the procession

The symbols displayed at funerals could shed light on many features of a royal family: their stability, power, wealth, legitimacy and relations with their subjects. In Elizabethan England the heraldic funeral was widespread among aristocratic families and the royalty, as the ceremony consisted of the display of family symbols and coats of arms, thus transmitting plain and comprehensible messages to the viewers. Elizabeth herself was a supporter of the tradition of the heraldic funerals.⁶⁵ In addition to that, the cult of the families, prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries enhanced the tradition of the heraldic funeral as well: by displaying well-known symbols, family ties were strengthened and emphasized.⁶⁶ This gained special significance in Tudor England: the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485) and the crisis during the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) must have been present in the collective memory; therefore the question of legitimacy was emphasized during the century of the Tudors. The funeral of Elizabeth was the last occasion to demonstrate the legitimacy and power of the dynasty,⁶⁷ as well as to secure the chosen heir, James I's right to the English throne, which, as mentioned earlier, was problematic. Consequently, funerals as events intertwined with political messages and meanings were essential to maintain social order, especially in critical periods, therefore conscious planning and the display of the most important symbols of the kingdom were necessary at such occasions.

The three most important symbols that were used at most of the ceremonies were the three banners: the "standard of the Dragon", the symbol of Wales carried by Sir George

⁶⁵ Gitting, p. 179.

⁶⁶ Szabó, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Anglo, p. 103.

Boucher at the funeral of Elizabeth I, the most important Tudor symbol, the “standard of the Greyhound” and finally the “standard of the Lyon” carried by Thomas Somerset, representing England.⁶⁸ These banners were not following each other: they were placed at different points of the procession. The banner of Wales after the poor, the Tudor symbol after the trumpeters and sergeants at arms and the “English lion” followed the horse dressed in black cloth.⁶⁹ The banners of given territories were also displayed in the procession: Chester, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland and finally the flag of England.⁷⁰ These symbols were most probably intelligible to the participants and the viewers, as funerals were well-known events to the citizens, as they were more frequent than coronations, thus families could utilize them for representation and the display of symbols.⁷¹

In the description of Elizabeth I’s funeral the heraldic elements are not overemphasized: an explanation for this might be that by the end of the sixteenth century the coats of arms became highly sophisticated and adorned, thus making certain family symbols intelligible. According to the general contemporary view among heralds, simplicity and comprehensibility were necessary, and even though this view became widespread only by the mid-seventeenth century, simplicity characterized the use of symbols at the funeral of Elizabeth I.⁷²

The continuity between the two dynasties and James I’s right to the throne are emphasized with the use of symbols and coats of arms of preceding monarchs and ruling aristocrats of England.⁷³ They aimed to transmit comprehensible messages to the viewers as

⁶⁸ The true order and formall proceeding...p. 2-3.

⁶⁹ The true order and formall proceeding...p. 2-3.

⁷⁰ The true order and formall proceeding...p. 5-6.

⁷¹ Anglo, p. 103.

⁷² Woodward, p. 26.

⁷³ Anglo, p. 103.

well as strengthening ties with the previous kings and queens. This intention is mirrored⁷⁴ on one of the most famous paintings of the funeral, created by an unknown artist⁷⁵.



The funeral procession of Elizabeth I⁷⁶

Twelve banners with the coats of arms of preceding rulers and significant aristocrats were displayed: Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, John Lackland and Isabella of Angoulême, Henry III and Isabella of Aragon, Edward I and Eleanor of Castile, Edward II and Isabella of France, Edward III and Philippa of Hainault, Edmund Langley, the Duke of York and Isabella of Castile, Richard, Third Earl of Cambridge and Anne Mortimer, Richard Plantagenet and Cecily Neville, Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York and Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.⁷⁷ Displaying the banners at the funeral of Elizabeth I can be analysed as a specialized element. By using the language of heraldry they intended to emphasize legitimacy, and also, highlight their ties with the ancestors and the associations between aristocratic families. Moreover, the burial in the ancient necropolis of English monarchs, the Westminster Abbey, could mirror the same purpose. John Stow (1525-1605) in

⁷⁴ Archer, Ian W. „City and Court Connected: The Material Dimension of Royal Ceremonial ca. 1480-1625.” In. *Huntington Library Quarterly*. Vol. 71., No. 1. (2008). p. 162.

⁷⁵ Appendix A

⁷⁶ Source: The British Library

https://imagesonline.bl.uk/?service=search&action=do_quick_search&language=en&q=Elizabeth+I%27s+Funeral+Procession, Accessed April 8, 2014.

⁷⁷ The true order and formall proceeding...p. 9-10.

his survey of London listed all the kings and queens who were buried in Westminster, tracing their line back to the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷⁸ In the light of this, it can be argued that the choice of the burial place aims to strengthen the notion of continuity with the preceding monarchs as well, in order to stabilize the throne of the chosen successor, James I.

Another significant component of the burial ritual was the use of horses in the procession. A widespread view was that the more horses are used, the higher ranking the deceased was, thus most probably the member of the aristocracy or the royalty.⁷⁹ There were three horses at the funeral procession of Elizabeth I, adorned with the symbols of the kingdom: one of them was placed after the banner of Wales and two of them after the banners of England.⁸⁰ The horses displayed at funerals had a special role in the procession since the Medieval period. The sacred unity of the horse and its owner was one of the main elements of French chivalry.⁸¹ However it has lost its importance by the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and served only as a spectacle at the ceremonies.⁸² The function of the horses' display might have been the same at the funeral of Elizabeth I. Since she was not a classical cavalier king, the original meaning and message were exploited, but the spectacle and the tradition of the display of horses could still prevail at an early modern funeral. On the other hand, the practical function of the horses could have been utilized as well, by dressing them in black cloth and adorning them with the symbols and coats of arms of the dynasty or the kingdom. On the illustration, mentioned earlier, it can be seen that the horses dressed in black cloth are carrying the Tudor coats of arms.⁸³

In the light of the description of the funeral, many other symbolic elements can be examined: among them the most important effects are the sounds, as, for example four

⁷⁸ Stow, John. *A Survey of London*. ed. William J. Thomas. London: Whitaker & Co., 1842. p. 171.

⁷⁹ Woodward, p. 21.

⁸⁰ The true order and formall proceeding...p. 6.

⁸¹ Szabó, p. 70.

⁸² Szabó, p. 75.

⁸³ Appendix A

trumpeters⁸⁴ appear in the procession at several points. This is not a distinctive feature only of European cultures. Funerals are considered “noisy events” all over the world. Since sounds, particularly if they are rhythmic can connect the earthly and the heavenly, the sound of the drums and the trumpets can be analysed as the manifestation of “universal bereavement”.⁸⁵ However, drums were only used at military funerals. As opposed to this, trumpets were widely used at royal and aristocratic funerals in early modern Europe: employing musicians in the processions symbolised wealth and power, and also, the sound of trumpets was the symbol of resurrection.⁸⁶ Consequently, it seems that “making noise” was a necessity at monumental ceremonies, thus at the final journey of Elizabeth as well. Nevertheless, at funerals not only the spectacles and the sounds appeared as symbols, but also the messages transmitted by the funeral oration, bearing specialized meanings and topoi.

3.3. *The funeral oration*

In early modern European culture the respect for the dead and the practice of remembering was forceful and of special importance. In Elizabethan England the duty of the living was to “serve” the dead with a sermon. The notion of “De mortuis nihil nisi bonum”⁸⁷ surfaced in this society and was further strengthened by the religious opposition characterizing sixteenth century England. Praising the dead in early modern England was considered “mandatory”.⁸⁸ This notion, along with the general Christian topoi of the funeral speeches describe the sermon delivered over Elizabeth’s death. The authorship of the sermon is indefinite: the preacher calls himself “Infelice Academico Ignoto”, but his identity was still not verified.

⁸⁴ The true order and formall proceedings...

⁸⁵ Huntington-Metcalf, p. 49.

⁸⁶ Woodward, p. 18.

⁸⁷ „Of the dead nothing, unless good”

⁸⁸ Marshall, p. 267-269.

The funeral oration, as a well-describable genre of religious literature, strictly follows the conventions and the structure of the rhetorical speeches. It is made up of the following parts: a didactic part, listing Christian topoi about the inevitability of death, the laudation and the lamentation, playing a significant part in the representation, as it borrows elements from the Christian culture and lists the heroic deeds of the deceased, and the final part is the consolation, that aims to comfort the mourners.⁸⁹ All of these can be found in the eulogy delivered over Elizabeth: its author lists elements that might have been intelligible to all (for example her genealogy or the heroic deeds), however, it also uses ancient topoi and mentions similarities that transmitted messages only to a more elaborate and learned few.

The oration begins with a general introduction: the event of death gives a reason to contemplate, to remember the life of the deceased. After the short preamble, the author mentions the main events and deeds of Elizabeth. He mentions his father of “famous memory”, Henry VIII and her mother of “great virtue”, Anne Boleyn, then lists the general topoi that were “personalized” to match the acts and personality of Elizabeth. “*Greater than Alexander she was*”, “*her beauty was so great, that it rather was envied than equalled*”, “*her power so great that whole kingdoms were affrighted at her name*”⁹⁰, then the author continues with her successful governance, achievements in maintaining peace and the memory of glorious wars. All in all a successful life and an image of a queen, loved by many, is drawn. Although, Elizabeth became unpopular by the end of her reign, this does not appear in the eulogy. In my opinion, the reason for this is the “good memory” of the dead, the notion prevalent in early modern England. Elizabeth is described as the “glorious queen” thus the eulogy conforms to the rules of the general structure of the funeral orations, as well as to the early modern practice of remembering.

⁸⁹ Kecskeméti, Gábor – Nováky Hajnalka. *Magyar nyelvű halotti beszédek a XVII. századból*. Budapest: MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 1988. p. 19-25.

⁹⁰ Infelice Academico Ignoto. *A Funeral Oration Upon the Death of the Late Deceased Princess of Famous Memorye Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France and England. Whereunto is added, the true order of her Highness Imperiall Funerall*. London, 1603. p. 2.

A large scale of cultural references appears in the sermon: from the ancient motifs to Petrarch, certain details are used in the speech, and these recognizable elements are paralleled and likened to the figure of the queen. One of the strongest references is made to the Theban Pelopidas, but by enlarging the deeds of Elizabeth: “*Pelopidas’ virtues were only the objects of Greece, Elizabeth’s the “wonders of the world”*”.⁹¹ Interestingly, the practice of incorporating figures and topoi into the sermons and eulogies from ancient authors was characteristic of the texts of Catholic preachers, sometimes using each other’s texts as a source.⁹² However, England in 1603 was already a Protestant country: how and why did these Catholic features then dominate the funeral oration upon Elizabeth? A reason for this might be that even after the Reformation the Church found ways in England to celebrate the dead with magnificence and many of the ceremonies still have exploited and were built on Catholic rituals.⁹³ In a broader sense, it is not only true for the funeral orations, but for the whole of the ceremony as well: the traditions of Protestantism were present only if it was necessary, and in most cases the ceremonies were based on Catholic rituals.⁹⁴ The main differences between the Catholic and the Protestant funerals can be observed in the case of the banners displayed around the coffin. While at the early Tudor funerals the symbolism of the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary and Saint George were present, this disappeared with the religious changes during the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553), only to reappear for a short period of time when Mary I succeeded to the throne.⁹⁵

The final part of the speech is the consolation that uses the main elements of funeral sermons. The body is released from its earthly prison and promises the beginning of a new life in Heaven, therefore the sermon uses topoi like the “*crown of immortality*” and “*casting*

⁹¹ Funeral Oration upon... p.5.

⁹² Keeskeméti-Nováky, p. 30-31.

⁹³ Marshall, p. 265.

⁹⁴ Loach, p. 64.

⁹⁵ Loach, p. 63.

of the prison of mortality". This mainly serves the function of consoling the mourning masses.

After briefly explaining the main points of the funeral oration I will turn back to the symbols used in the procession and analyse the use of one of the most important royal symbols, the effigy. But before returning to the procession, I aim to examine the relations between the royal family, the subjects and the City of London that was home to the ceremony and benefitted greatly from such occasions.

3.4. The funeral and the subjects

The place of the burial is of special significance in the case of a royal family: most of the English monarchs are laid to rest in Westminster Abbey, and there are only a very few exceptions like Henry VIII who, according to his will, was buried in Windsor next to his third wife, Jane Seymour.⁹⁶ However, the other Tudor monarchs are buried in the royal necropolis, as the City of London was able to provide a sufficient background to the ceremony. The merchant guilds of London could supply enough black cloth, candles and torches for the procession, and also, Londoners could provide accommodation to those attending the funeral.⁹⁷ The significance of the city is also supported by the fact that English monarchs have organized a procession before the most important occasions and celebrations.⁹⁸

Based on the quantity of equipment and supplies needed for a coronation or a funeral ceremony, it is quite clear that the cooperation of the royal family and the subjects, in this case the merchant guilds, was a necessity.⁹⁹ Since coronations and funerals were occasions that the royal family could use for the purpose of representation and displaying the grandiosity of their power, as well as creating a connection between themselves and their

⁹⁶ Harvey-Mortimer, p. 8.

⁹⁷ Gittings, p. 179.

⁹⁸ Velich, Andrea. „Az ünnepek szerepe London és VII. Henrik kapcsolatában” In. *Aetas*. no. 4. (1999). p. 125.

⁹⁹ Archer, p. 158.

subjects.¹⁰⁰ Thus the royalty and the common people had to rely on each other, so that the court and London would not become entirely separate spheres.

As for the finances, three quarter of the expenses was spent on the black cloth that covered the houses, the hearse and the church. The mass of mourners was also dressed in black.¹⁰¹ The huge amounts of black drapes were provided by the London textile merchants, and interestingly not only the wealthiest and most prominent ones, but the task was usually divided among the merchant guilds in time of grandiose ceremonies.¹⁰²

Furthermore, not only the Londoners benefitted from a funeral. The organizers of the ceremony, usually aristocrats, did not only rise in their positions, but also gained financially from a royal ceremony, as at such occasions many opportunities were presented to the subjects.¹⁰³ This is mirrored in the data that shows how much money was spent on a given ceremony. Although there are no written records concerning the funeral of Elizabeth I, the costs are approximated between 11 000 and 20 000 pounds. This is a much higher amount than the usual costs of an aristocratic funeral: even the highest ranking noblemen did not spend more than 3000 pounds, consequently even the most sophisticated and magnificent ceremonies were considered as moderate compared to a royal funeral.¹⁰⁴ According to other estimations, the series of celebrations in 1603 and 1604, namely the funeral of Elizabeth I and the coronation of James I cost more than the yearly tax revenue of the country.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, it was not a unique occasion during the reign of the Tudor dynasty. Almost a century before the funeral of Elizabeth I, between 1509 and 1512 the Treasury paid around 156 000 pound to the new elite and also for the series of celebrations, the funeral of Henry VII

¹⁰⁰ Loach, p. 45.

¹⁰¹ Stone, p. 576.

¹⁰² Archer, p. 176.

¹⁰³ Loach, p. 43.

¹⁰⁴ Woodward, p. 93.

¹⁰⁵ Archer p. 166.

and the coronation of Henry VIII.¹⁰⁶ The same intent is shown in how much money was spent on the tomb that was also given a symbolic role in the royal funerals: compared to other costs of the ceremony, great amounts of money were spent on them. In this respect the funeral of Elizabeth seems more “moderate” than that of her predecessors: while the tomb of Henry VII created by Torrigiano cost 1500 pounds and Henry VIII’s cost 2000 pounds,¹⁰⁷ they only spent 871 pounds on Elizabeth’s tomb made by Maximilian Colt.¹⁰⁸

All in all, it is quite clear that the royal ceremonies were not only used to entertain and provide spectacles to the public, but also by relying on the subjects while planning the event, they aimed to “reward” their most loyal servants.¹⁰⁹ Records survive for the details of the funeral mask of Elizabeth, and also of her effigy made of wood and wax to be displayed at the funeral.¹¹⁰ Making the mask and the effigies counted as a serious task in the early modern period, as they were given one of the most important roles among other symbols in the funeral procession. Therefore, I consider it necessary to analyse the tradition, role and use of the effigies in the funeral ceremony, in relation to the “king’s two bodies” theory. Thus after introducing the most important financial matters, I will turn back to the analysis of the funeral procession.

3.5. *Effigies*

Interestingly, the use of the effigies made of wax and wood, substituting the deceased monarch, did not spread and gain significance on the continent before the fourteenth century. In England, the first recorded effigy was used at the funeral of Edward II (1284-1327), since at his funeral the practice of displaying the king’s body would have been impossible

¹⁰⁶ Velich 2004., p. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Velich 2004., p. 49.

¹⁰⁸ Archer, p. 166.

¹⁰⁹ Loach, p. 66.

¹¹⁰ Archer, p. 162.

considering his violent manner of death.¹¹¹ Along with the appearance of the lifelike, but idealized effigies, another mode of portrayal was becoming popular in the late medieval and early modern funeral culture: the so-called “transi tomb” (or “cadaver tomb”, “memento mori tomb”). This meant the depiction of the dead bodies realistically and shockingly, not in an idealized effigy-like way that has portrayed the kings and queens as if they were alive.¹¹²

After the death of Edward II the use of the lifelike royal portraits at funeral became widespread not only in England, but in continental Europe as well, especially in France, where the legal doctrine attached to it justified its use, and gave an extensive and thorough explanation to it.¹¹³ The legal doctrine can be summed up as the “king’s two bodies” theory that in England, in a detailed form was first summarized only in the late sixteenth century by the political philosopher Edmund Plowden (1518-1585). According to this theory the monarch has two bodies. One of them is the earthly body subject to decay and the other one, the “body politic” is an abstract entity, embodying the state itself that is headed by the monarch and is subject to immortality.¹¹⁴ The explanation of Plowden was the first to address the problem thoroughly, thus providing a basis for English jurists to define the nature of royal power.¹¹⁵

The first effigy in France was used in 1422 at the funeral of the English monarch, Henry V (1386-1422). At his final journey that led from Paris to London, his body was substituted by an effigy.¹¹⁶ However, later the French tradition concerning the use of the effigy evolved in a different way giving new layers of meaning to the immortality of royal

¹¹¹ Harvey-Mortimer, p. 4.

¹¹² Cohen, Kathleen. *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. p. 2-4.

¹¹³ Huntington-Metcalf, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ Woodward, p. 93.

¹¹⁵ Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981. p. 7.

¹¹⁶ Huntington-Metcalf, p. 165.

power. Nevertheless, the French also started using the effigy at an entirely French ceremony the very same year, in 1422, at the funeral of Charles VI (1368-1422).¹¹⁷

Consequently, it can be stated that by the time of the funeral of Elizabeth I the use of the effigy was not considered as a novelty in the West of Europe. However, it was used for entirely different purposes. While at the funeral of Edward II it was only utilized for pragmatic reasons, in most countries its use became part of a well-defined legal theory. Furthermore, at the funeral of Elizabeth I it gained special significance as the royal power, that was considered immortal, had to be secured to the members of a new dynasty.

3.6. *The use of the effigy at the funeral of Elizabeth I*

Contemporary descriptions of the queen's funeral have emphasised the sophistication and realism of the effigy. John Stow in his *Survey of London* wrote about the effigy's effect on the public: "*they beheld her statue and picture lying upon the coffin set forth in Royall Robes, [...] there was such general sighing and groning, and weeping, and the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man.*"¹¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, expressions like "*hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man*" could even be understood literally. During the 45 years of Elizabeth I's reign, generations have grown up who have never seen a royal funeral. Moreover, it can refer to the magnificence and wealth of the funeral that was unprecedented in the memory of these generations, thus the spectacle of the funeral and the effigy has evoked strong reactions in the public.

The spectacle visualized by the effigy was part of the drama of the funeral processions, as the lifelike image of the monarch was surrounded by his or her household as if the king or queen was still alive.¹¹⁹ The descriptions emphasize how scarily realistic the effigy of Elizabeth was, as the public has easily mistaken her to be a living person: "*the lively*

¹¹⁷ Woodward, p. 93.

¹¹⁸ qtd. in Woodward, p. 88.

¹¹⁹ Woodward, p. 1.

picture of her Highnesse whole body, crowned in her Parliamentary robes, lying on the corpse balmed and leaded, covered with velvet, borne on a chariot, drawn by four horses draped in black velvet".¹²⁰ The original image has been lost, but based on the descriptions the effigy of Elizabeth can be reconstructed. To make it more realistic, black wrinkles were painted on the face and the "flaming red hair" of Elizabeth was reproduced with a wig. In my opinion, the duality of the effigy, that highlights the old (wrinkles) and the young (red hair) features, might be a reference to the dual nature of royal power, thus the mortal earthly body and the royal power as an immortal entity.

However, in which of her traditional robes the queen was buried is unclear, as the sources show no consensus. In the description published in 1603, in London named the "*True order and formall proceeding at the funeral...*" the parliament robe is mentioned. "*The liuely picture of her Maiesties whole body in her Parliament robes with a Crowne on her head, and a sceptre in her hand, lying on the corpse inshrin'd in leade, and balmed couered in Purple-velvet: borne in a Chariot drawne by foure Horses trapt in Blacke-veluet.*"¹²¹ This is also noted in the survey of John Stow quoted earlier, however the records of the Wardrobe show that both the coronation¹²² and the parliament robes were requested¹²³ for the funeral and were taken back safely only after the ceremony.¹²⁴

When examining the effigy of Elizabeth, it should also be mentioned why it was much emphasized and highlighted, and also, how it aided the succession of James I. As mentioned earlier, the problem of the "king's two bodies" theory and the immortality of royal power should be considered. In England, generations of legal theoreticians were concerned with the problem and dealt with in detail, furthermore, it is not a coincidence that the effigies appeared

¹²⁰ Henry Chettle In. Bertelli, Sergio. *The King's Body: The Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. p. 51.

¹²¹ The true order and formall proceedings...

¹²² Appendix B

¹²³ Woodward, p. 90.

¹²⁴ Hunt-Whitelock, p. 83.

and were given a significant role at each Tudor funeral as well.¹²⁵ James I was almost immediately declared king of England: hours after the death of Elizabeth I his succession to the throne was definite. The news of the queen's death reached Edinburgh on 26 March however, James was careful not to arrive in London too early. The funeral was held in London in 28 April and James, following a one month journey, arrived in the city on 7 May.¹²⁶ The king's entry to the city was a separate ceremony. The reasons for this are simple. On the one hand, the masters of ceremony were the same at the two events, thus the same high ranking aristocrats planned the funeral of Elizabeth and the entry, then the coronation of James I. On the other hand, the tradition played a significant role, in why the ceremonies were held separately. Symbolically, the deceased monarch "rules" till the day of his or her funeral, thus the new king cannot be present at the funeral or the period preceding the ceremony.¹²⁷ Therefore, the effigies were employed to secure the social stability and to avoid interregnum. Furthermore, to secure a certain and safe succession for the following monarch the dead body of the king or queen had to be replaced by an immortal entity, the notion of royal power at funerals.

¹²⁵ Huntington-Metcalf, p. 162.

¹²⁶ Burgess, Glenn – Jason Lawrence, and Roland Wymer. *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p. 14.

¹²⁷ Woodward, p. 95.

4. ROYAL FUNERALS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the notion of death, as part of the everyday life and emphasized by the great number of wars and epidemics, was a strong shaping force. Therefore, rituals and ceremonies connected to the burial practices were well-definable and sophisticated in each European culture.¹²⁸ Although each country had her own funerary traditions, early modern European funerals did not differ at one particular point. The main message and aim of the royal funerals was to demonstrate the greatness of royal power, as well as to secure a safe succession and emphasize the dynastic continuity or the continuity between two dynasties.¹²⁹ In the light of the funeral representation of Elizabeth I, it is apparent that the aristocratic families of Europe aimed to strengthen the ties between the memory of their ancestors and their own representation. Furthermore, the aristocratic and royal funeral ceremonies differed from the common rituals. Only high-ranking aristocrats, churchmen and the members of the royal family had the right to be buried in a church. Also, the masters of ceremonies had to respect the last will of the deceased, as well as to incorporate special characteristics of aristocratic funerals into the family traditions.

In the court etiquette of early modern Europe the Burgundy rituals were dominant, and even though it did not provide a universal pattern to be followed on the whole continent, it greatly influenced the European burial ceremonies. Moreover, in the case of royal funerals, the three main events following each other: the funeral of the deceased monarch, the entry and the coronation of the following ruler were strongly connected in their symbolism, as well as in the messages they transmitted.¹³⁰ The aristocratic symbols, merged with the family traditions, were much highlighted at early modern funerals. However, certain local traditions and nuances helped to shape the most important features of a funeral in different countries.

¹²⁸ Szabó, p. 11.

¹²⁹ Cannadine, David & Simon Price. *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p. 3.

¹³⁰ Szabó, p. 12-14.

In France the royal funeral was considered to be a unique ceremony of great importance with many distinguishing features. While in England the highest ranking aristocrats and churchmen were allowed to use the same symbols (colours, coats of arms and even the effigies), the French tradition differed from this greatly.¹³¹ The reason for this is that English monarchs considered themselves as one, however the highest ranking among all members of the English aristocracy, whereas, according to the French tradition, the kings were God's chosen ones, thus they had supernatural power that placed them above the French aristocracy.¹³² Consequently, royal funerals in their traditions were separate from that of the highest ranking noblemen of the country. This practice can be well-examined in the use of colours. Blue and gold could only have been used at the funerals of the royalty, as these colours gained special importance in the funeral procession and in the case of the effigy.¹³³ Also, the use of the effigy was only allowed among the members of royalty, and was not widespread among the subjects.¹³⁴ The main difference between the two countries, England and France can be captured here: while in France the use of the effigy was exclusive for the royalty, in England each member of the aristocracy and higher ranking churchmen could use it. However, the making of the effigy in France was as careful as in England: they shaped it sophisticatedly, the symbols of the kingdom (sceptre and the orb) were placed around it, and also the effigy was served as if it was a living monarch (it was given food, for example).¹³⁵

Moreover, the importance of religion was much highlighted in the French tradition. In some respects, the funeral of a French king was almost the same as the funeral of any other Christian's; the procession was led by the clergy and also, a religious service was performed by them. However, the religious and the secular did not merge in the French burial traditions. The only exception to this is the Abbey of Saint-Denis that served as a royal necropolis since

¹³¹ Stone, p. 576.

¹³² Bloch, Marc. *A feudális társadalom*. Budapest: Osiris, 2002. p. 408.

¹³³ Giesey, Ralph E. *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*. Genova: Droz, 1960. p. 4.

¹³⁴ Huntington-Metcalf, p. 62.

¹³⁵ Giesey, p. 4-5.

the twelfth century and aided the development of the French traditions greatly. The funerary rituals were evolving, as the abbey was rising to importance, and since the abbey gave a permanent location to the ceremonies, numerous traditions developed that would not have been the same, if the monarchs were buried at different locations.¹³⁶

Furthermore, besides the English and French tradition, I would like to present grandiose royal funerals on the continent. As a case study, I chose one of the most monumental ceremonies of the sixteenth century, the final journey of a Holy Roman Emperor. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Habsburg emperors revived the tradition of the ancient Roman triumphs. The manifestation of the emperor's apotheosis was signified with the display of triumphal symbols, ephemeral architecture and magnificent decorations.¹³⁷ One of the greatest examples of the sixteenth century Habsburg funerals is the funeral of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (1519-1558) in 1558 in Brussels, that mirrors the tradition and symbolism of the Roman ceremonies faithfully. However, the imagery and symbolism of the funeral was only the peak of the development of the ceremonial during the reign of Charles V.

In his representation the elements of the imperial propaganda played a decisive role. He had to respond to the conflicts between the Empire and the papacy, as well as the power struggle for European hegemony between him and the king of France, Francis I. Therefore, in his representation the importance of the Roman imperial imagery of "Caesar triumphant" and the idea of the Christian prince were highlighted. As a Christian prince he strongly built on the image of the Defender of Christendom. Thus, he fused the ancient Roman imagery with the medieval idea of a king, submitting his sceptre and sword in the Church's service. This not only made him to be the follower of the Roman emperors' tradition, but also the rightful heir and successor to Charlemagne. The development of the emperor's ceremonial rituals began with his recognition by the Pope and entry into Bologna in 1529, and was transforming

¹³⁶ Giesey, p.31-35.

¹³⁷ Kecskeméti-Nováky, p. 16.

till his funeral in 1558 in Brussels. However, he was not only conscious about his own representation: he aimed to highlight the continuity of power between him and his son, Philip. To achieve his goal, many ceremonies and entries were organised to present the prince. For example in 1549 in Lille, where two main elements were highlighted: the depiction of the emperor as a Christian prince and the idea of the transfer of power between father and son.¹³⁸ This idea gained special significance at his funeral too, that differed little from the other splendid ceremonies of the period.¹³⁹

The funeral procession held in 21 September 1558, as described in a contemporary source, was planned with such magnificence, spectacle, wealth and order that have never been seen before.¹⁴⁰ And indeed: news and descriptions of the funeral spread in Europe quickly; and had unprecedented echo, and effect on other European monarchs. In England, for example, Mary I who lived to see the event was so outraged by the pomp and magnificence of the ceremony, that her will was not to have a rich and spectacular Renaissance funeral.¹⁴¹ The last journey of Charles V was not only unique because of its grandiosity, but also because there were only a few early modern royal funerals where the heir to the throne was present. As mentioned earlier, James I did not attend the funeral of Elizabeth and spent the month between the queen's death and his own entry with travelling all over England, aiming to find supporters for example by knighting a few hundred noblemen.¹⁴² Also, the same tradition or rule was followed in France: the children of Francis I did not attend the funeral of their father, even though it was only important for the successor, Henry II to stay away from the

¹³⁸ Pinson, Yona. "Imperial Ideology in the Triumphal Entry into Lille of Charles V and the Crown Prince (1549)." In *Assaph* 6 (2001). 206-207.

¹³⁹ Bepler, Jill. "Another Protestant Point of View: The Funeral Book for Ludwig V of Hesse-Darmstadt (1627)" In *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festival in Early Modern Europe, Vol. 2*. London: Ashgate, 2004. 46.

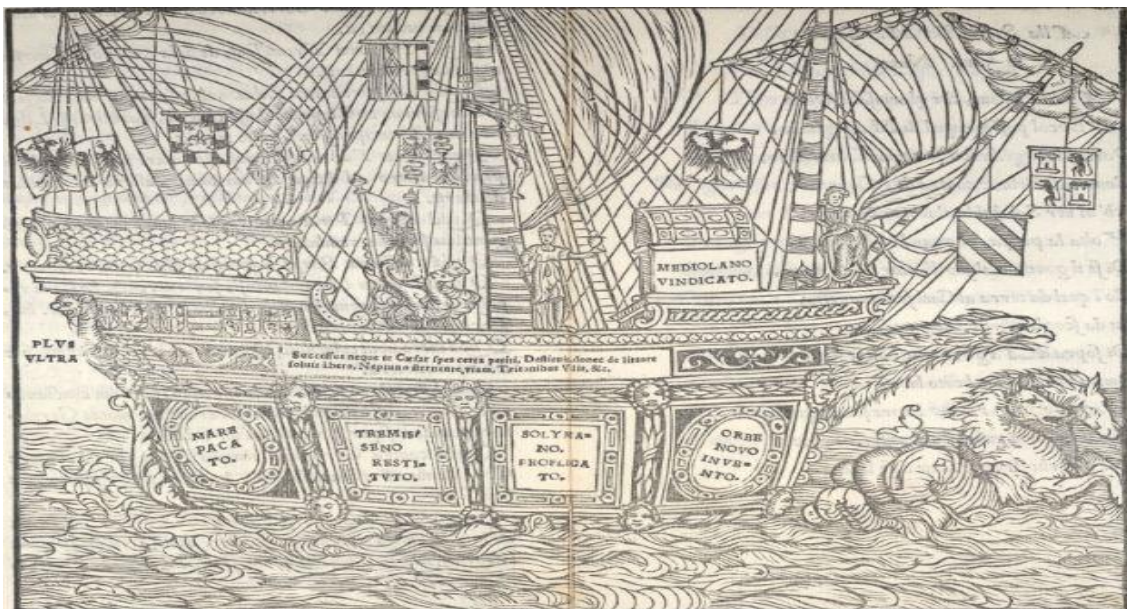
¹⁴⁰ *Descrittione della pompa funerale fatte in Brusselle alli xxix. di Dicembre M.D.L. VIII. per la felice & immortal memoria de Carlo V. Imperatore con una naua della vittoria di sua Cesarea Maesta*. Milano: Francesco Moschenio, 1559.

¹⁴¹ Loach, p. 62.

¹⁴² Burgess-Lawrence-Wymer. p. 14-15.

ceremony.¹⁴³ Apart from the funeral of Charles V, there was only one funeral in the sixteenth century where the successor to the throne was present. At the funeral of Cosimo I de Medici the heir, Francesco de Medici was also present, however an effigy was also used, thus the interregnum was missing either way. But even at these “atypical funerals” the intent must have been the same: to demonstrate the power of the royalty, as well as to secure a smooth succession.¹⁴⁴

During the reign of Charles V the scope of the Empire was extended greatly: according to contemporaries his was an Empire “on which the sun never sets”. On the occasion of his death 300 different ceremonies were held at different parts of the Empire to celebrate his last journey. The spectacular funeral in Brussels deployed many creative and new elements that were later built into the Spanish funerary rituals. Elements were borrowed from the ancient patterns as well as from the rites of Burgundy that influenced the burial rituals of the European royal families greatly.¹⁴⁵ One of the most grandiose spectacles of the ceremony that was not present at other European funerals very often was a spectacular ship



The "Ship of State" at the funeral of Charles V

¹⁴³ Loach, p. 125.

¹⁴⁴ Bertelli, p. 57.

¹⁴⁵ Marino, John. *Becoming a Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011. p. 108.

It was called the “ship of state” and its tradition had its roots in the ancient rituals, as it is well signalled by its name, “Victory” and was an element of the revival of the ancient Roman triumphs. The “mobile apparato”¹⁴⁶ as referred to by the description was a unique moveable ship¹⁴⁷ with an eagle placed on its prow, as a symbolic reference to the Habsburg dynasty. In the midst they placed the imperial throne, with the imperial crown adorned with the heraldic double-headed eagle. Also, an image of the Crucifix was to be found on the ship, emphasizing the religious role and strengthening the image of the Christian prince, and by this, securing the salvation of his soul.¹⁴⁸ The symbolic “crew” of the ship consisted of the three theological virtues: Faith, Hope and Love.¹⁴⁹ The banners adorning the ship represented the sixteen Crowns belonging to the empire of Charles V, and the paintings with which the sides of the ship are decorated referred to the achievements and success of the emperor in the New World and against the threat of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁰ The complex system of symbols must have transmitted decipherable messages to the participants of the procession. The ship, as a symbol could have represented the development and overcoming of the difficulties, and also it might have stood as a symbol of the tool for the extension of the empire and the building of power. Furthermore, displaying the banners of the sixteen countries as a united body, along with the heroic deeds, signifies the pursuit of the unity of the whole empire. Also, if the emperor’s body is understood as the “body politic”, the ship as a parallel symbol could represent the uninterrupted power even though the earthly body of the king has died.

¹⁴⁶ Descrittione della pompa funerale...

¹⁴⁷ Appendix C

¹⁴⁸ Pinson, p. 223.

¹⁴⁹ Marino, p. 109.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix C

CONCLUSION

Similarly to the representation of the royal power at the funeral of Elizabeth I by displaying the effigy; the immortal nature of power is symbolised at the funeral of Charles V by applying a “mobile aparato”, an easily moveable ship. This clearly shows that, although using different symbols and means of representation, most monarchs of early modern Europe aimed to transmit the same messages and the masters of ceremonies intended to employ all devices to reach this goal. Also, a parallel between the two funerals might be that in both England and the Empire an era has ended with the death of Elizabeth I and Charles V. In England the century of the Tudor monarchs and the “Golden Age”, the peaceful period that preceded the “troubled reign” of the Stuarts’ has ended. Meanwhile in the Empire a few decades before, the grandeur and the successes in extending the Empire concluded with the death of Charles V. Logically, the comparison also shows that the funeral of the emperor has gained significance on a broader scale, whereas the funeral of Elizabeth I was of local importance. However, it was a decisive event in the course of England’s history: the problematic succession of the Tudors followed by the “Golden Age” that is still prevalent in the collective memory, was preceded by the rule of a dynasty that brought a significant shift and changed the face of English history.

Nevertheless, this was not yet clear at the moment of the funeral, thus the masters of ceremonies had to employ a great variety of symbols and tools for representation, along with exploiting the traditions, in order to secure a smooth succession to James I, the following monarch of England. Consequently, they had a difficult task to fulfil: they had to fuse the traditions of the aristocracy with the ceremonial symbols and rituals of the Tudor dynasty. Furthermore, since a queen and not a king was buried, the special gender elements had to be highlighted. However these specialised elements are only apparent in the higher proportion of poor women and the person of the chief mourner. Otherwise, the funeral of Elizabeth

continues the Tudor traditions and also, the messages transmitted at the ceremony are perfectly fit for the purposes of political propaganda.

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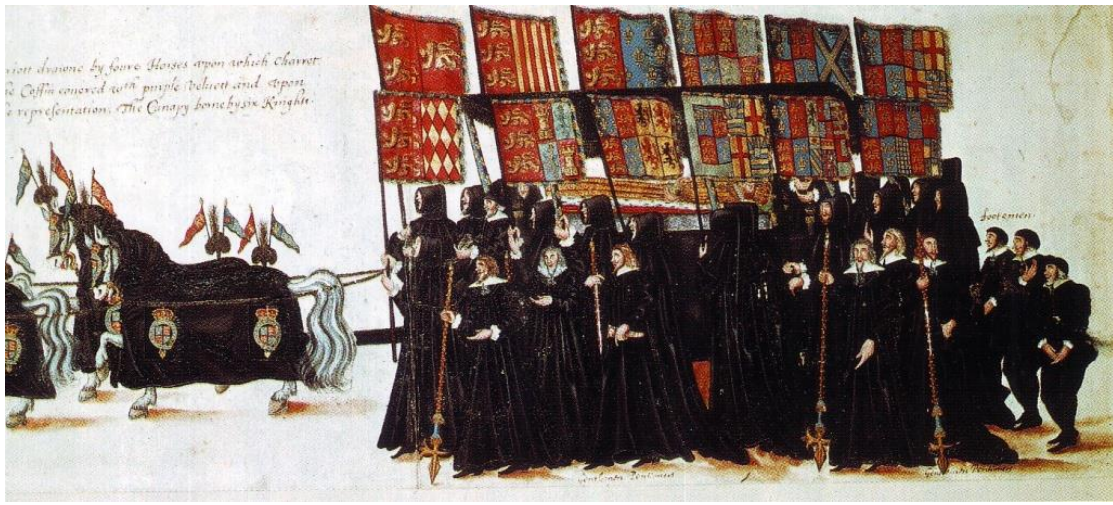
The True Order and Formall Proceeding at the Funerall of the Most High, Renowned, Famous and Mightye Princesse, Elizabeth of England, France & Ireland, Late Queene: from Whitehall to the Cathedral Church of Westminster. The Day 28 of April, 1603. London, 1603.

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APPENDIX A



The funeral procession of Elizabeth I (Source: British Library¹⁵¹)

APPENDIX B



The coronation portrait of Elizabeth I (source: tudorhistory.org¹⁵²)

¹⁵¹ https://imagesonline.bl.uk/?service=search&action=do_quick_search&language=en&q=Elizabeth+I%27s+Funeral+Procession, Accessed April 8, 2014

¹⁵² <http://tudorhistory.org/elizabeth/elizacoronation.jpg>, Accessed April 8, 2014

APPENDIX C



The “Ship of State” at the funeral of Charles V

(Source: *Descrittione della pompa funerale...* Milano: Francesco Moschenio, 1559.)