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"Time tries the truth"; "Time brings the truth to light"; "Truth is Time's Daughter."[1] The idea framed by the last of these proverbial expressions is integral to the allegorical structure of William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (c.1609–10). The Latin form of the motto, *Veritas filia Temporis*, appeared on the title page of Robert Greene's *Pandosto: The Triumph of Time* (c. 1588), the narrative prose work which served as the principal source for Shakespeare's play.[2] These prominent uses of the motto suggest its substantial cultural currency in sixteenth-century England. As Fritz Saxl's pioneering study suggests, *Veritas filia Temporis* held a prominent place in an intense religious-political dispute by virtue of the distinct providential implications which gradually came to be associated with the motto's use.[3]

During the English Reformation it was not unusual for virtually identical rhetoric to be employed by radically distinct political and religious groups.[4] Consequently, Protestant and Catholic reformers in England invoked various permutations of *Veritas filia Temporis* as evidence that God was on their side in the struggle to liberate religious truth from the heretical forces which would seek to suppress it.[5] Protestants, in particular, used the motto as part of a program to forge a new national religious consciousness with a distinctly apocalyptic vision. Specifically, Protestant polemics of the period present an apocalyptic belief in their united congregation's duty to endure religious persecution until the coming of an avenging monarch, who would restore the True Church of England. Submission to religious persecution, including possible martyrdom, thus came to be regarded as a socially symbolic act. Individual narratives of human suffering were thereby understood within the totalizing narrative of the Protestant struggle for the establishment of the True Church.[6] The purpose of the present study is to examine how the *Veritas filia*

Temporis motto figured in this struggle, especially as apocalyptic polemic in dramatic and other writings of early modern England.

Veritas filia Temporis had already been associated with the Continental reformers when it made its first known appearance in England as a political slogan in 1535.[7] Only two years earlier, Henry VIII's Parliament had enacted the Act in Restraint of Appeals. This act, drafted by Thomas Cromwell and based on the Erastian doctrine of Marsiglio of Padua's *Defensor Pacis* (c. 1363), declared the monarch's sovereign authority over and against the competing jurisdictional claims of Rome: "This realm of England is an empire . . . governed by one supreme head and king . . . furnished, by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God, with plenary, whole, and entire power . . . without restraint or provocation to any foreign princes or potentates of the world."[8] As part of his program to disseminate Erastianism, Cromwell commissioned one of his supporters, the printer and writer William Marshall, to publish the first English translation of Marsiglio's work under the title *Defender of Peace* (1535).[9] Marshall published a "newly corrected" *Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* in the same year. On the verso of the title page of the primer and facing the prefatory "An admonition to the reder" is a woodcut which depicts a winged Time rescuing his vulnerable and naked daughter, Truth, who is shown emerging onto an open field of flowers from a cave where she has been imprisoned by the serpentine figure of Hypocrisy (fig. 1). Truth's imprisonment in a cave further alludes to Psalm 84:12 (*AV:* 85:12), "Veritas de terra orta est" ("Truth is sprung out of the earth"), suggesting truth's blossoming after long dormancy.[10] Marshall vigorously articulates the primer's polemical stance by warning the reader of the "perylous prayers"[11] which have previously deceived the people; these "blasphemous prayers . . . have flowed, and come from the cursed & wycked byshops of Rome, that heretofore haue ben, and are but lyes and vanities, as it is recognised by the hole churche of Englande, bothe spirituall and temporall."[12] Within the context of Cromwell and Marshall's Erastian and anticlerical initiative, Marshall's woodcut thus represents "the liberation of Christian Truth . . . from her captivity under the monster of Roman Hypocrisy."[13]

As an allegorical representation of the liberation of Christian Truth, however, the traditional iconographic motif of *Veritas filia Temporis* was subsequently modified, with important consequences for some of the works examined in the present study—e.g., John Pikeryng's *Horestes* (1567), generally attributed to Sir

1. Truth being brought out of the cave of darkness by Time, illustrating *Veritas filia Temporis*. Woodcut on verso of title page in *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* (1535). By permission of the British Library.

John Puckering, and Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (c.1607). As Saxl has observed, the composition of Marshall's woodcut is based on the familiar Christian iconography of the Harrowing of Hell, with Time being substituted for the Redeemer, Truth for Adam, and Hypocrisy for the Guardians of Limbo.[14] The implications of Saxl's observation are significant, for the Marshall woodcut cultivates authority for its own less established position by participating in an already firmly rooted orthodoxy. As will be shown, this same strategy of recontextualizing the traditional as a means of advancing the potentially subversive would play a critical role in subsequent replications and modifications of the emblem.

The emblematic figure of Truth soon provoked theological controversy when it appeared on the English academic stage. *Pammachius* (1538), a religious play by Thomas Kirchmayer (Neogeorgus), includes an address to Luther and a dedication to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.[15] Performed at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1545, the play contains action which focuses on a fictional pope who poses as the Antichrist in order to escape persecution. He rules over his dominion until Veritas and her companion Theophilus return to earth. Theophilus assists Veritas by espousing the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. Frederick S. Boas calls attention to a heated exchange between the Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the Vice Chancellor, Matthew Parker, following the performance.[16] One of the Fellows, Cuthbert Scott, complained to Gardiner that parts of the play were "soo pestiferous as wer intollerable."[17] When Gardiner questioned Parker regarding the truth of Scott's accusations, the Vice Chancellor assured him that the performance had been approved and that the inappropriate material had been expunged. Still dissatisfied, Gardiner wrote to Parker and summoned the university governors to "the tryal of the truth concernyng the said tragedye."[18] Boas does not report the outcome of the dispute, but early dramatic records indicate that despite Parker's compliance, he nevertheless received an official rebuke from the Privy Council, which reminded Parker of his responsibility "to doo for reformation of those that haue misvsed themselff in playing of the sayd tragedie."[19]

The controversy that *Pammachius* inspired is thus almost certainly due to its vigorous anti-Catholic stance at a time when doctrinal reform was a heavily contested issue. (Although there is an ongoing debate over the process of Protestantization during the English Reformation, historians generally agree that England

remained doctrinally conservative under Henry VIII.[20]) Thus the contention between Gardiner and Parker illustrates how a permutation of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto would figure prominently in the Tudor discourse of a religious and political debate over the Protestant view of history.

The religious and political significance of *Veritas filia Temporis* was enhanced as a result of its subsequent adoption by the Marian Catholic reformers and by Queen Mary herself. In 1555, John Elder wrote to Robert Stuarde to describe the occasion of the Archduke Philip of Habsburg's arrival in England in 1554 to marry the queen:

> And see howe miraculouslye God of hys goodnes preserved her hyghnes contrarye to the expectacyon of manne. That when numbers conspyred agaynste her, and policies were devised to disherit her, and armed power prepared to destroye her, yet she being a virgin, helples, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victorye over tyrauntes, which is not to be ascribed to any pollici of man, but to the almighty greate goodnes and providence of God, to whome the honour is to be geven. . . . And yet for all these practises and devises of ill men, here you se hir grace established in hir estate, being your lawful quene and governes, borne amonge you, whome God hathe appointed to reigne over you, for the restitucion of true religion, and extirpacion of all erroures and sectes.[21]

Elder's description of Mary as "a virgin, helples, naked, and unarmed" suggests a direct parallel with the Marshall woodcut representation of Truth.[22] His account expands, in turn, upon the comparison by emphasizing the providential basis for the preservation of the religious truth that Mary is seen to embody. Her authority is represented as transcending the temporal machinations of monarch-making, political alliances, and religious struggles.

A series of Acts of Succession (1534–36) issued during Henry VIII's reign intermittently proclaimed Mary illegitimate,[23] thus seriously limiting her power to fight for Catholicism in England. Although Mary had little choice but to obey her father's command to take the Oath of Supremacy, which affirmed his headship of the English Church, she would later maintain her Catholic faith by rejecting the new liturgy prescribed in the Edwardian *Book of Common Prayer* and continuing to hear Mass in her own household. For her resistance, she received official rebukes from her brother. Finally, upon advice from Edward's regent, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Edward reaffirmed her official

illegitimacy by royal patent just days before the young king's death.[24] The turmoil and uncertainty leading up to Mary's accession may well explain why her supporters would wish to identify her with a beleaguered but ultimately triumphant Truth. Mary's adoption of *Veritas filia Temporis* as a personal device for the legend on her crest, the state seal of her reign, and the imprint on her coins[25] may therefore be understood as part of a strategy to establish her legitimacy. With every public appearance she made, every proclamation she issued, and every commercial transaction that occurred within her realm, her divinely sanctioned temporal presence was reasserted through the ritualized display of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto.

Mary's presence as the embodiment of truth vindicated was also manifested in her courtly entertainment, for Elder's account of the Marian struggle for supremacy could easily serve as the plot summary for the anonymous *Respublica* (1553), possibly written by Nicholas Udall. The play is a children's interlude composed for performance at court, and was perhaps even written expressly for the October coronation before it was subsequently postponed until the Christmas season.[26] In the main action of the play, the commonwealth is personified as a desolate widow, Respublica, besieged by Avarice, Oppression, Insolence, and Adulation. Disguised as Policy, Reformation, Authority, and Honesty, respectively, the vices merrily carry out their fiendish plans to deprive Respublica of her material wealth and natural resources as well as to impoverish her subjects. The People plead with Respublica for relief from the soaring prices of basic commodities (665–71). While the People suffer, Oppression and Insolence boast that they have "flytched the bisshoprikes" (793): "we enfourmed them/ *and* we defourmed theym,/ we confourmed them, *and* we refourmed theym" (805–06). Respublica argues that the bishops at least took care of the people, but her efforts to persuade meet with failure, for Avarice subdues the People with threats of violence (1160). Just when it appears that Avarice and Oppression are about to succeed in their reformation policy of plunging the commonwealth into utter ruin and decay, Veritas, identified as "olde tymes doughter" (1293), arrives "sproong owte of the earth" (1705) to reveal the true identities of the vices (1369–78). With justice once again restored to the commonwealth, the Four Daughters of God (Misericordia, Veritas, Pax, and Justitia) close the play with a joyful prayer for Queen Mary:

> *Pax.* Now leat vs all togither bothe with harte *and* voice,

> In god and in Quene Marie mooste ioyfullie reioyce.
> *Veritee*. Praying that hir Reigne mooste graciouslye begonne
> <Maie long> yeares endure as hithertoo yt hath doone.
> *M[isericord]ia*. Praie wee forre hir Counsaile to have long life *and* healthe.
> *Iustice*. Theire soveraigne to serve. *Pax*. And to mainteine Comonwealthe.
> *Omnes*. Amen. (1932–37)

Through its presentation of the suffering and ultimate redemption of the commonwealth, *Respublica* locates the historical events of the early years of the English and Catholic Reformation within a providential narrative of religious struggle, culminating in Mary's accession to the throne. The Prologue announces its intent to provide the members of the audience with a history lesson by instructing them to interpret her reign as the fulfillment of a divine plan wherein "tyme trieth all and tyme bringeth truth to lyght/ that wronge maye not ever still reigne in place of right" (27–28). Finally, the Prologue's characterization of Mary confirms her authority in a way that deviates significantly from her characterization in the Elder letter, for instead of being identified as Truth incarcerated, she is recast in the avenging role of "worthie Nemesis" (53), who, with assistance from the Four Daughters of God, is sent from heaven to judge and to punish those who have been conspirators against her. In addition to disclosing openly the providential framework which guarantees the revelation of religious truth, Mary's identification with Nemesis affirms her authority as Defender of the Faith. She has been elected by God to exact restitution for the iniquities of the Protestant Reformation. As every English schoolchild knows, this was a responsibility that "Bloody Mary" would take very seriously indeed.

In his vociferous pamphlet *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), John Knox invoked the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto in an effort to reposition its significance back onto Protestant ground. Indeed, *Veritas filia Temporis* is emblazoned on the pamphlet's title page in typeface larger than the title itself. Addressing himself to the "Cursed Iesabel of England, with the pestilent and detestable generation of papistes," Knox wrote:

> And let them further consider, that in the beginning of their bloodie reigne, the haruest of their iniquitie was not comen to full maturitie and ripenes. No, it was so grene, so secret I meane, so couered, and so hid with hypocrisie, that some men (euen the seruantes of God) thoght it not impossible, but that wolues might be changed in to

> lambes, and also that the vipere might remoue her natural venom. But God, who doth reuele in his time apointed the secretes of hartes, and that will haue his iudgementes iustified euen by the verie wicked, hath now geuen open testimonie of her and their beastlie crueltie.[27]

No explicit reference to Truth as the Daughter of Time seems necessary here, for the motto on the title page is likely to guide the reader's interpretation of the passage in much the same way an epigram guides a reader's response to a chapter in a book. If the title page is taken into account, the harvest imagery in this passage readily corresponds to the emblem's assertion that Hypocrisy has driven Truth underground. Knox's reference to Mary as a viper further recalls the Marshall woodcut's depiction of Hypocrisy as a monstrous woman-serpent clutching a fistful of writhing snakes poised to strike at Truth's unprotected flesh. In addition, the image of the harvest contains its own system of temporal signification whereby the truth can be seen as brought to fruition within the fullness of time. The testimony Knox provides as evidence for the usurping reign of Hypocrisy reads like a Who's Who list from John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), containing such prominent figures as Hugh Latimer, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, and Lady Jane Dudley as well as anonymous tradespeople, laborers, and artisans, who comprised by far the greatest number of victims,[28] but even including the exhumed bones of the humanist educator Martin Bucer. Thus what would be interpreted by the Catholic reformers as evidence for Mary's execution of her responsibilities as the providentially appointed "worthie Nemesis" (*Respublica*, 53) is construed by Knox as a sign of God's timely revelation of the true nature of the "Cursed Iesabel of England" and "the vsurped and vniust empire of women."[29] Ironically, Knox's nuanced allusion to *Veritas filia Temporis*, which identifies religious truth with the body of a woman, forms part of a strategy to deny the ultimate authority, both spiritual and temporal, of all women.[30]

Knox's views were not shared, however, by Elizabeth's chroniclers. In *The Quenes Majesties passage through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion* (1558), Richard Mulcaster provided the following account of Elizabeth's coronation procession and of her witnessing of a pageant enacting the movement of Time.[31] As Elizabeth progressed through Cheapside, she "espyed the pageant erected at the litle conduit in cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifye. And it was tolde her grace, that there was placed Tyme. Tyme?

sayth she, and Tyme hath brought me hether."[32] Elizabeth's recorded reply, while possibly apocryphal, fits well within this clearly emerging discursive pattern. Through her association with the figure of Time, Elizabeth is, by implication, identified with Truth. Further, if "hether" refers to the site of her imminent coronation, the statement suggests that Elizabeth has reached the final destination pointed to by the Protestant narrative of struggle for religious and political authority. Given that both Henry VIII and Edward VI had declared Elizabeth illegitimate and that Mary had imprisoned her in the Tower for her alleged participation in the Wyatt Rebellion, both Elizabeth and her chroniclers would reasonably be concerned to establish her rightful claim to the crown. By alluding to the motto which Mary had selected to sanction her reign, Elizabeth endowed the moment of her own coronation with all the temporal fullness and divine presence of a providential *fait accompli.*

Mulcaster next describes another pageant performed before the Little Conduit. On the north side of the pageant, a craggy and barren hill had been erected with "one tree, artificiallye made, all withered and deadde, with braunches accordinglye."[33] Sitting beneath the tree, "in mournyng maner," was a destitute man with over his head a plaque, identifying him both in English and in Latin as "*Ruinosa Respublica*, A decayed common weale."[34] On the south side of the pageant, another hill had been constructed; however, this hill "was made fayre, freshe, grene, and beawtifull, the grounde thereof full of flowres and beawtie," and the tree was "very freshe and fayre."[35] Standing upright next to the tree was a finely dressed man. Suspended over his head was a plaque reading: "*Respublica bene instituta.* A florishyng common-weale."[36] From between the hills emerged Time, followed by his daughter, Truth, "who helde a booke in her hande vpon the which was written, *Verbum veritatis*, the woorde of trueth."[37] They crossed toward the south side of the pageant to where a child stood, ready to interpret the pageant for Elizabeth:

> This olde man with the sythe, old father tyme they call,
> And her his daughter Truth, whiche holdeth yonder boke
> Whom he out of this rocke hath brought furth to us all
> From whence this many yeres she durst not once out loke.
>
> . . .
>
> Now since that Time again his daughter Truth hath brought,
> We trust O worthy quene, thou wilt this truth embrace.
> And since thou understandst the good estate and nought
> We trust welth thou wilt plant, and barrennes displace.

> But for to heale the sore, and cure that is not seene,
> Which thing the boke of truth doth teache in writing plain:
> She doth present to thee the same, O worthy Queene,
> For that, that wordes do flye, but wryting doth remayn.[38]

The pageant concluded with the child delivering Truth's book to Elizabeth, who "as soone as she had receiued the booke, kyssed it, and with both her handes held up the same, and so laid it vpon her brest, with great thankes to the citie therfore."[39]

Like the Marian coronation interlude *Respublica*, the Elizabethan coronation pageant presented its royal audience with an emblematic image of the commonwealth's decay and renewal in which Time and Truth played central roles. However, unlike *Respublica*, the pageant as described by Mulcaster does not clearly imply that Elizabeth's accession in itself constitutes a providential rebirth of the commonwealth. Elizabeth's imminent coronation seems to reassure Truth that she can safely come out of hiding, but the child suggests that the commonwealth can heal only if Elizabeth elects to embrace the truth contained in the *Verbum veritatis*. The book was, moreover, said to be one which Mary had banned, "the Byble in Englishe."[40] The child's assertion that "the boke of truth doth teache in writing plain" lends a degree of plausible continuity to Mulcaster's presumably eyewitness account, for Elizabeth's endorsement of the plain truth is then symbolically rendered to contrast with the popish ceremonialism of the Marian church.[41] Elizabeth's laying of the book on her breast anticipates the restoration of the reformed church of England. Whether isolated details of the story are apocryphal or not, the story's importance lies in its attempt to construct events in accordance with a providentially determined outcome.

The unmistakably apocalyptic timbre of the coronation procession did not pass unnoticed by Shakespeare's contemporaries.[42] The first part of Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie; or The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (c.1605) concludes with Elizabeth kissing the English Bible before proceeding through London: "We thanke you all; but first this Book I kisse:/ Thou art the way to honor; thou to blisse./ An English Bible!"[43] Heywood likewise interprets Elizabeth's actions as heralding the liberation of the Protestant faith: "This book, that hath so long conceald itself,/ So long shut up, so long hid, now, lords, see,/ We here unclaspe: for euer it is free."[44] Reverberating with verbal echoes from Knox's pamphlet, Elizabeth's description of the Bible also evokes emblematic associations with the image

of a momentarily incarcerated but ultimately triumphant religious truth.

Even more striking in its apocalyptic overtones is Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (c.1607),[45] a sensational dramatization of Elizabethan religious and political history culminating in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The prologue to the play, performed in dumb show, incorporates a compact rendition of the historical coronation pageant documented by Mulcaster.[46] Dekker, however, substantially alters Mulcaster's account. The dumb show opens not with the personified depiction of a flourishing and a decaying commonwealth, but with the discovery of Truth asleep on a rock and costumed "*in sad* [*h*]*abiliments, vncrownd: her haire disheueld*" (27–28). Her father Time, "*attired likewise in black*," is described as "*vsing all meanes to waken* Truth, *but not being able to doe it, he sits by her and mourns*" (28–31). In addition, rather than beginning with a reenactment of Elizabeth's accession, Dekker initiates the action by recalling Mary's death. While Truth slumbers, a royal funeral procession, passing across the stage, causes Truth at last to awaken. Upon seeing the hearse, Truth "*shews* (*with her father*) *arguments of Ioy*" (35). Truth then exits briefly before emerging, instantaneously transformed, Time's somber mourning attire "*being shifted into light Cullors*" and the newly crowned Truth's "*sad* [*h*]*abiliments*" exchanged for "*a robe spotted with Starres*" (36–38). Time and Truth next cross to meet the hearse where they remove the veils which had previously shrouded the vision of the dead queen's counselors. In a sequence reminiscent of Plato's allegorical account of the philosopher's ascent from ignorance to enlightenment, the counselors are depicted as "*woundring a while, and seeming astonished at* [Truth's] *brightnes*" (39–40). Once their eyes grow accustomed to the light of Truth, they embrace Truth and her father. Having completed the dramatization of their religious conversion, Dekker reverts to the details of Mulcaster's version of events. The Fairie Queen Titania—"vnder whom is figured our late Queene Elizabeth" (*Dramatis Personae*)—arrives with her train to receive a book from the hands of Time and Truth. In the dumb show the book represents the English Bible, for in an impassioned coda to Mulcaster's account, Dekker presents Titania's subjects embracing Truth while vowing with drawn swords "*to defend her and that booke*" (46). The dumb show then concludes with the harrowing expulsion of the papists and the triumphal return of the Marian exiles, who receive the book "*with great signes of gladnesse*" (51).

Dekker's modifications to Mulcaster's account suggest that he was attuned to the radical potential of the child's speech. The conditional terms of Mulcaster's version thus presage the pressures for more extensive reform which more militant Protestant partisans (e.g., the charismatic Dudley, Sidney, Devereux faction) would place upon Elizabeth throughout her reign. Time and Truth, by changing from sad to glad rags, assume the roles of *Ruinosa Respublica* and *Respublica bene instituta*. By consolidating the parts of Time, Truth, and the commonwealth, Dekker more closely aligns English national identity with the Protestant faith. The providential rebirth of Protestant England is, moreover, attributed to the death of Mary, for it is her funeral, not Elizabeth's accession, which leads to the restoration of Truth to the realm. Dekker's staging of the funeral sequence in combination with the penultimate image of the oath of allegiance suggests a considerably more militant Protestant vision than the one implied by Mulcaster's chronicle.

Finally, Dekker's placement of the dumb show is also indicative of an expansive Protestant foreign policy. As a prologue to his play, Elizabeth's accession does not represent the culmination of an isolated domestic struggle for religious and political supremacy but rather the prelude to an international confrontation with Rome. Julia Gasper suggests that Dekker's idealization of Elizabeth is a form of implied criticism. The argument of *The Whore of Babylon*, Gasper insists, better supports the political activism of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, than it does the relatively moderate policies of Elizabeth.[47] With reference to the issue of aid to other countries, Titania's position is less equivocal than the historical Elizabeth's, as Gasper argues. Titania says, "In mysery all nations should be kin,/ And lend a brothers hand" (2.1.258–59). Elizabeth did not manifest such willingness to make all nations kin, at least as far as extending aid to the Netherlands was concerned. In fact, she twice declined the United Provinces' crown, became angry when Leicester accepted the title of Governor of the Netherlands, and continued to negotiate with the Duke of Parma during Leicester's campaign against his occupation of the Low Countries.[48] Dekker's recontextualization of the coronation pageant suggests that he is invoking the authority of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto as part of a strategy to advance a more radical plan for international reform than the more moderate platform codified by the Elizabethan Settlement.

Dekker's play was written after Elizabeth's death and there-

fore provides retrospective commentary on the late queen's policies. However, even during her reign, *Veritas filia Temporis* assumed more overtly expansionist religious and political connotations as a result of escalating Anglo-Spanish conflict.[49] In the mid-1560s, England's relationship with Spain deteriorated as a consequence of England's encroachment upon what Spain perceived to be its exclusive territorial rights to Caribbean trade interests. John Hawkins made numerous trading excursions to Haiti, some of which were financed by Elizabeth, by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. According to Spanish law, these expeditions constituted acts of war. At the same time that Spain instructed its Caribbean trade officials to treat Hawkins as a pirate, England decided to support the Protestant cause in Spain's Dutch and Flemish provinces. Philip's attempts to eradicate Calvinism from his Habsburg birthright only served to aggravate political and religious tensions. Many Dutch, branded as heretics, attempted to weaken Spanish naval strength by plundering their ships. Elizabeth granted asylum to the Dutch refugees. These "Sea Beggars," as they came to be known, were provided with safe harbor in English ports and granted trading privileges for their stolen Spanish merchandise. By the mid-1570s, Philip had managed to subdue the southern provinces with the assistance of his governor-general, the Duke of Parma, but ten of the northern provinces continued to resist. In 1581, these provinces declared their independence from Spain, and in 1585, they requested military support from England to defend themselves against the Duke of Parma's troops. Elizabeth complied by sending approximately 6,000 troops to the Lowlands under the command of Leicester.[50] England was now in open conflict with Spain.

With Anglo-Spanish relations at a fevered pitch, the *Veritas filia Temporis* motif resurfaced in religious and political discourse, this time in a satirical broadside (c.1584–85), engraved by P. Miricenys (fig. 2),[51] and in *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), assembled by Geffrey Whitney. The broadside is based on Titian's *The Discovery of the Fault of Callisto* (1556–59).[52] In Titian's painting, a group of nymphs reveal the ravaged Callisto's shameful pregnancy to Diana. In the broadside, Elizabeth appears as the chaste Diana, accompanied by four nymphs identified as four of the seven Netherlandish provinces. Presumably, they are the southern provinces subdued by Spain. The emblematic figures of Time and Truth are shown working together to reveal not Callisto but the Pope, depicted as a pregnant woman/hydra. Beneath

2. Elizabeth as Diana. Woodcut by P. Miricenys; based on Titian, *The Discovery of the Fault of Callisto*. By permission of the British Museum.

him lies a nest of eggs labeled with his crimes, among them the assassination of William of Orange, the Inquisition, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, and the sending of General Chiappinus Vitelli, leader of the Spanish troops, to the Netherlands. The engraving's satirical overtones do not obscure its underlying political intent, for a poem, written in both English and Dutch, warns Elizabeth to heed the Prince of Orange's death by coming to the aid of the Low Countries. Time and Truth have exposed the atrocities of the Roman hydra in order to confront Elizabeth with the necessity for taking timely action on behalf of the Dutch Protestants.

In Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*, the motto was also associated with political issues, albeit in a more indirect way. In the opening passage of his preface to the reader, Whitney in-

dicates that he presented and dedicated the manuscript of his collection of emblems to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester "before his Honour passed the seas into the lowe countries."[53] The collection was printed only after Whitney had received encouragement from those who had seen the manuscript version. In all likelihood the manuscript version would not have included the preface to the reader with its more generalized explanation of the didactic significance of emblems "pertaining to vertue and instruction of life." Without the preface, the most prominent indicators for organizing and interpreting the emblems would have become the dedicatory epistle to Leicester and the occasion of the collection's presentation. Indeed, Michael Bath stresses the importance of the work's occasion: "Some of its features are only intelligible when viewed in this context, and others make much better sense."[54]

If the collection's occasion and dedicatee are taken into account, the *Veritas temporis filia* emblem's political message is clear even without explicit topical references (which are lacking in Whitney). The familiar iconographic image of Time leading his daughter out of a cave becomes suggestive of Leicester's imminent liberation of the Dutch Protestants from their Spanish oppressors—"Yet Time will comme, and take this ladies parte,/ And breake her bandes, and bring her foes to foile"—while the closing couplet offers comforting reassurance that Leicester's expedition is destined to succeed: "Dispaire not then, thoughe truthe be hidden ofte,/ Bycause at lengthe, shee shall bee sett alofte."[55] The Dutch evidently shared Whitney's optimism, for the Harlem Entertainments presented before Leicester upon his arrival portrayed "severall shews full and significant," including an emblematic "representation of the queene of England with hir sword in hir hand, under whom laie enuie, tyrannie, and diuerse other the like," and "a picture of a woman signifieng enuie, was burnt."[56]

Little did Whitney know that Leicester was soon to fall out of Elizabeth's favor and that he had therefore labored to produce a work "whose occasion was passing almost as soon as it left the press. . . ."[57] The Dutch, for their part, remained eternally hopeful that the British monarchy would continue to intervene on their behalf. "The Pageant of the Dutch-Men, by the Royal Exchange," which formed part of Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604), featured a multi-tiered tableau "where, at the right hand *Time* standes: at the left (in a direct line) his daughter *Trueth*."[58] A young boy, clad in white silk and crowned with laurels, gave expression to "all the dead Cullours of this Picture" by praying

to James that the Dutch "may be shelt'red vnder your winges now."[59] James was thus identified as the winged figure of Time sent to protect the beleaguered Dutch Protestants.

In his poem *Times Journey to Seek his Daughter Truth* (1599), Peter Pett returned to a more exclusively religious application of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motif.[60] The poet accompanies Time to the House of Fame to find his daughter Truth so that the poet may "make it known,/ Where *Truth* remaynes, and where her face is shown."[61] Fame recounts to Time the circumstances which led to Truth's flight from England:

> When *Henry* liu'd *Truths* farre-renowned frend,
> In *England* highly then she honourd was:
> And so continu'd she till thou didst end
> His life, and worthy *Edwards* life alas.
> Then *Enuy* so her purpose brought to passe,
> *England* disgraced all her glory, and
> Misled by *Enuy* banisht truth her land.[62]

Interestingly, Pett does not explicitly refer to Mary, but the pattern established by invoking the names of the two previous monarchs makes the implication clear enough. Mary, the emblematic personification of furious Envy, is responsible for banishing Truth from the realm. Fame's narrative is interrupted by the appearance of God, who, speaking to Truth, explains:

> Thine enemies in *England* now are dead:
> (For thy sake *God* hath made their liues but short)
> And *Englands* crowne set on a virgins head,
> In whome of graces such a sort consort,
> That no tongue her perfections can report.
> Hast thither, and though *England* wronged thee,
> Thy wrongs redresse *Elizabeth* will see.[63]

God has obliged Truth by graciously cutting her enemies' lives short. He further promises Truth that the new monarch, Elizabeth, is prepared to redress the wrongs visited upon her during Mary's reign. His assurances are confirmed by the joyous reception Truth receives upon her return to England:

> For when *Truth* was arrived, this matchlese Queene,
> Did her imbrace, and welcome graciously:
> The people which not long her face had seene,
> Witnest their ioy by an applauding cry,
> And fayre *Eliza* thank't God hartily,

> That *Truth* againe in safety was retourned,
> For whose long absence shee so long had mourned.[64]

What Pett's poetry lacks in subtlety it compensates for in clarity, for the poem presents an account of the Elizabethan religious settlement with firmly established links between the divine will and the restoration of the True Church. The religious persecution of the Catholic Reformation is incorporated into an allegorical narrative of suffering and redemption in which Time mediates between the fulfillment of providence and the human events inscribed within its overarching design.

Once *Veritas filia Temporis* came widely to signify the providential legitimacy of a Tudor monarch's reign, others predictably attempted to capitalize on the motto's credibility as a means of cultivating authority for their own less established reforming initiatives. Not all were equally successful, however. As has already been noted, Dudley's expedition to the Low Countries ended in disgrace, and Dekker's militant Protestant vision was never fully realized. It is tempting, then, to speculate concerning Sir John Puckering's reaction to Elizabeth's request that he reconsider the House's recommendation that Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, be condemned to death for her role in the Babington Plot, since his reaction involves a more ambiguous use of the motto.[65] Twenty years had passed since the Commons Speaker Puckering wrote a hybrid morality play, *Horestes*, featuring among its illustrious cast of characters the emblematic figures of Truth and Duty.[66] The play, which E. K. Chambers suggests may have been performed at court during the winter of 1567–68,[67] is a reworking of the classical Greek legend of Orestes' revenge against his adulterous mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus for the murder of Orestes' father Agamemnon. The appearance of Truth at the play's conclusion dramatizes the role of divine vengeance in the exposure and punishment of secret crimes of illicit passion:

> He that leadeth his lyfe as his phansey doth lyke,
> Though for a whyle the same he maye hyde,
> [Yet] Truth, the daughter of Tyme, wyll it seke,
> And so in tyme it wyll be discryde,
> Yet in such tyme as it can not be denyed,
> But receave dew punnishment as God shall se
> For the faute commytted most convenient to be. (1178–84)

Truth's speech functions as an epilogue, encouraging its royal and courtly audiences alike to interpret the events enacted before

them as an expression of the divine will.

Evidence suggests, however, that when Puckering wrote the play, his concerns were more immediate ones than the postulation of universal truths, for, as Marie Axton affirms, "[i]t has long been recognised that *Horestes* dramatises the problems raised by the murder of Henry Stuart, King of Scots, and by Mary's precipitous marriage with the Earl of Bothwell."[68] To the extent that *Horestes* engages in topical commentary on the adverse effects of allowing regicide to go unpunished,[69] Truth's valorization of the "dew punnishment" visited upon an adulterous and murderous queen suggests that Puckering believed Elizabeth would be justified in executing Mary. Mary was expressly compared to Clytemnestra no fewer than four times in other polemical writings of the period.[70] For this reason alone, the Elizabethan audience was in an excellent position to detect the same implied parallel, only marginally less explicit, in Puckering's work.

Once the identification between Clytemnestra and Mary, Queen of Scots, is allowed, the other associations, with the exception of perhaps the most crucial one of Horestes, fall neatly into place. Agamemnon becomes the cuckold Lord Darnley, and Egistus the co-conspirator James Hepburn, Fourth Earl of Bothwell. Clues to the possible identity of Horestes' Elizabethan alter-ego are found in George Buchanan's chronicle history of the Queen of Scots, entitled *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart* (1582). Buchanan recounts that as Mary passed along the route to the site of her abdication at Lochleven, the Scottish rebels outside Edinburgh held up "a banner, bearing a picture of the King Henry, lying dead, and beside him his infant son praying God for vengeance on the murderers."[71] To expect the young prince James to avenge his father's death personally would have been impractical. However, Elizabeth was most certainly in a position to act as an earthly agent of divine retribution, a fact which suggests that Puckering had her in mind for the part of Horestes. Puckering thus enjoins Elizabeth to fulfill a role comparable to the one formerly assigned to her sister, the Nemesis of the anonymous *Respublica*.

Elizabeth conceivably became her own nemesis as a result of the pressure this transfer of power placed upon her, for the divestiture of Mary left Elizabeth duty bound to act on behalf of her subjects to repulse the Romish threat represented successively by two Catholic queens. Evidence of Elizabeth's chronic unease with her subjects' persistent reminders of her obligation to be Defender of the Faith can be gathered from her insistence in 1586

that Sir Christopher Hatton cite the Bond of Association of 1584 as one of the principal reasons for condemning Mary to death. Drafted in response to a series of failed attempts on Elizabeth's life, the Bond enjoined its signatories to "pursue and offend, as well by force of arms, as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons . . . that shall attempt any act . . . that shall tend to the harm of her majesty's royal person . . ." and thereupon "never to allow, accept or favour any such pretended successor by whom and for whom any such detestable act shall be attempted or committed" and "to prosecute such person or persons to death."[72] Action taken on the basis of the Bond would, of course, conveniently shift responsibility for Mary's death to the queen's sworn protectors.[73]

Elizabeth's renewed interest in the Bond is ironic, for the queen revised the Bond to exclude a claimant's heirs from the purview of its lynch-law clause "by whom and for whom." Thus her subjects, who had already sworn to the earlier version, found themselves in violation of the law of the rightful sovereign whose authority that same oath was designed to preserve.[74] Evidently, Elizabeth was prepared to resort to a Bond that had caused her subjects tremendous discomfort—provided it could ease her own. The opening of Puckering's *Horestes* impresses upon its courtly audience the delicacy of the Queen's predicament by having the Vice deliver a rousing soliloquy, warning the audience against rebellion, at the same time that the avenging Horestes' arrival is announced.

Mary Stuart's death may have seemed inevitable to all concerned, but where responsibility for it would ultimately reside remained an open question. Puckering in any case provides his own answer by concluding his play first with Duty's insistence that "Where I, Dewtey, am neclected of aney estate,/ Their, stryfe and dyssention my place do supplye" (1171–72) and with Truth's almost immediately subsequent invocation of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto (1180). A monarch's duty to revenge is thus construed as the antidote to rebellion.

Puckering's aggressive argument that duty justifies the execution of an anointed queen is also evident in his choice to stage Egistus and Clytemnestra's executions, one on stage (791 *s.d.*), the other off (816–34). On-stage depictions of public executions were, as James Shapiro notes, exceedingly rare in the drama of the English Renaissance: "We can search the canons of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Webster, and others in vain for instances where characters are put to death the same way that

convicted felons were in Elizabethan England."[75] Shapiro's study identifies Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c.1585–89) as the striking exception to this rule. Although Shapiro is evidently unaware that Puckering's play includes an on-stage hanging which predates the one in Kyd's play by twenty years, his observations concerning the potential subversiveness of the theatrical execution may still be profitably applied, perhaps even more so, to *Horestes*. He writes, "To permit the theater to imitate state spectacle could undermine the terrible power of officially sanctioned violence by showing it often enough to make it familiar or by resituating it within ethically and politically ambiguous contexts."[76] Shapiro devotes special attention to the significance of a play's afterlife by focusing on what he describes as the unforeseen and uncontrollable meanings generated by a playwright's work in subsequent performances.[77] By contrast, the public execution enacted in *Horestes* took place at court before a royal audience within the immediately ambiguous political circumstances of the historical trial and deposition of an anointed queen. In his account of the trial of 1586, J. E. Neale allows himself to speculate that what Elizabeth dreaded most was the prospect of a very public execution of an anointed queen. Her preoccupation with the Bond further suggests to Neale that Elizabeth privately came to hope that her subjects would solve the problem for her by lynching Mary.[78] The careful arguments advanced in the play to justify the deposition and execution of a sovereign queen point toward Puckering's corresponding awareness of the delicacy of his position. Where the hanging of Pedringano in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* conceivably undermines state authority through parodying its rigor,[79] Puckering's play superficially argues the lawfulness of the state's power. However, Puckering's argument is only tentative so as not to encroach upon the tenets of royal absolutism.[80] Puckering's handling of the executions is telling. The stage directions for Egistus's hanging are explicit: "*Fling him of the lader, and then let on bringe in his mother Clytemnestra, but let her loke wher Egistus hangeth*" (791 *s.d.*). Clytemnestra's execution, by contrast, is merely implied by Horestes' pronouncement that "For kyllinge of my father thou now kylled eke shault be" (818). Puckering's selectively restrained staging evinces his sensitivity to the disconcerting publicness of a royal execution. As it eventually happened, Elizabeth herself was conspicuously absent throughout Mary's trial, during which she chose to remain at a distance in Richmond.[81] If, as Shapiro insists, "the sovereign had a considerable interest in not being represented in the public

theater,"[82] how much higher would the stakes have been at a court performance of *Horestes* where Elizabeth's counselors could have watched her reaction as she witnessed the passing of a sentence which she herself had refused, against these same counselors' advice, to render?[83]

Given the tense political atmosphere surrounding *Horestes*,[84] it is likely that Puckering relied on the unimpeachable providential legitimacy of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto to cultivate authority for his play's politically dangerous position. Circumstantial evidence lends additional weight to this claim, for characterizations of Mary both as a murderous adulteress and a would-be assassin were invariably linked to what many perceived to be the queen's unholy alliance with the Antichrist of Rome. In a letter dated 7 August 1570, for example, John Jewel wrote to Henry Bullinger to express his concerns over "the beast [that] is now raging" as a result of Pope Pius's excommunication of Elizabeth and concomitant support of the Queen of Scots: "This is she to whom Pope Pius not only freely promises Scotland, but England likewise; for he hopes that a woman, a catholic, a murderer of her husband, and an adultress, will have great influence in the restoration of popery!"[85] Buchanan evidently believed the Pope's support extended beyond the moral to the financial realm, for he specifically associates the murder of Lord Darnley with Mary's request for funds from the Pope "with which to overthrow the established religion in Britain," and she in turn was "urged . . . to put to death those who most resisted the return of popery."[86] Richard Gallys's acid comparison of Mary to "Clitemnestra, a killer of her husbande and an adultresse," opened the special committee hearing of 1572, which was immediately followed by Sir Thomas Scott's insistence that papistry was the chief "cause of the disease."[87] Sir Simond D'Ewes's journal for these sessions, likewise, tellingly characterizes Mary's treachery as a seduction: "But the late Queen of *Scots* hath not only sought and wrought by all means she can, to seduce the people of God in this Realm from true Religion; but is the only hope of all the Adversaries of God throughout all *Europe*, and the Instrument wherby they trust to overthrow the Gospel of Christ in all Countries."[88]

In 1586, Sir Christopher Hatton echoed the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the 1572 hearings when he described Mary's role in the Babington Plot as "tending to the ruine and overthrow of the true and sincere Religion."[89] George Moore evidently concurred, for he saw popery as "the chief and principal root of all the late horrible and wicked treacheries and practices, and the Queen of

Scots a principal branch issuing from the same root."[90] Finally, when Puckering argued before Elizabeth in her presence chamber at Richmond, he advised her that "it is most perillous to spare hir, that continuallie hath sought the overthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and ever since a professed enimie against the truth."[91] From playhouse to Parliament, Mary's marital infidelity to her husband thus became irrevocably linked in the minds of her opponents with the spiritual infidelity of papal aggression against the True Church. By invoking the political renown of *Veritas filia Temporis* to sanction the execution of a woman Puckering believed to be a faithless queen, *Horestes* initiated in concise dramatic form the protracted parliamentary arguments that Puckering and his colleagues would subsequently employ over a period of twenty years to persuade Elizabeth that, as Defender of the Faith, she was authorized by Time now to strike a fatal blow for Protestantism.

Puckering's strategic use of *Veritas filia Temporis* illustrates how the public execution of an anointed queen could be construed as the ultimate act of Protestant nationalism, but the motto was soon wrested from Mary Stuart's enemies by one of her apologists. In *A Defence of the Honour of Marie Quene of Scotlande* (1569), Bishop John Leslie used the motto as a providential endorsement of his efforts to shield Mary from the slanderous accusations of her rebellious subjects. Throughout his work, Leslie ardently defends Mary's reputation, for "a good name ys to be praised and valewed aboue all pretiouse oyntementes, aboue all golde and syluer."[92] The preface to the "Gentle Reader" makes it clear that Leslie's defense is intended in part as a response to Knox's hostile pamphlet "[w]herein he auouchethe also that the ciuill regimente of women, ys repugnante bothe to the lawe of nature, and to the lawe of God."[93] (Knox, we recall, had emblazoned *Veritas filia Temporis* on the title-page of his work and employed emblematic language to denounce what he regarded as the pestiferous reign of Mary Tudor.[94] The wider purpose of Knox's pamphlet was, however, to discredit the reign of any woman, including the Queen of Scotland, to whom much of his marginalia was implicitly directed.) Leslie writes in terms comparable to Knox's in their harshness when he chastizes the "false slaunderouse crimination"[95] of Mary Stuart's accusers, who "calumniouslie" spread lies about Mary's estrangement from her husband, forge incriminating love letters (presumably, the so-

called Casket Letters), and criticize her over-hasty marriage to Bothwell.[96] According to Leslie, if Mary had any hand in Lord Darnley's murder at all, her actions were justifiable retaliation for Darnley's slaying of the poor queen's secretary, David Rizzio;[97] the Casket Letters are "counterfeite";[98] and Mary was simply following the advice of council when she wed the Earl of Bothwell for her own protection.[99] Finally, Leslie specifically invokes the *Veritas filia Temporis* motto in the conclusion to the first part of his defense:

> Ye haue builded and fownded all your doinges vpon vntrue and lienge slaunders and treacherouse treasons, against youre dreade Souereigne. The sincere veritie werof we haue herein trewlie declared. The whiche beinge ons throwghlie detected, and euidently knowen to suche, as ye haue in Scotlande craftelie abused and shamefullie circumuented (as surelie yt dailie burstethe owte more and more) ye shall se your self sodenlie lefte naked, and quite forsaken, eauen of those, who haue bene your greattest assisters, aiders, and furtherers. For as the olde proverbe ys, truthe is the Daughter of time.[100]

Leslie thus turns the motto's potentially damning effects against those who might seek to assassinate Mary's character or her person. Significantly, although Leslie was an avowed papist with a vested interest in Mary's succession, it is not Mary, as the vulnerable embodiment of the Catholic faith, whom his text describes as "sodenlie lefte naked," but rather her accusers, who will find themselves "quite forsaken." Leslie's foregrounding of the militant exposure of the lie as opposed to the gradual revelation of the truth thereby signals a subtle but crucial shift in the interpretation of *Veritas filia Temporis*, for the motto would subsequently be used by advocates of the duel as a providential endorsement of the trial of arms. These usages, which potentially undermine the monarch's authority as exclusive arbiter of justice, are, however, less directly concerned with Reformation politics, so it is here that the motto's narrative of apocalyptic polemics must end.

As the present article demonstrates, then, *Veritas filia Temporis* figured prominently in the religious and political discourse of the English Reformation. Admittedly, not all uses of the motto were as diametrically opposed as, for example, the Marian *Respublica* and the Elizabethan coronation pageant would indicate. A notable anti-polemical use of the motto is seen in the anonymous dialogue *Temporis Filia Veritas*, possibly written by the Familist Robert Searle (1589),[101] which presents the solitary

voice of a "playne Plowman" who advocates before Parliament for religious toleration amidst the competing sectional interests of his fellow interlocutors, a Catholic, a Protestant, and a Puritan. However, this work is exceptional, if not unique, among the extant writings of the period. The motto predominantly functioned as the authoritative principle behind competing apocalyptic narratives of the struggle for religious and political supremacy. In these narratives, possession of the motto signified possession of Providence and Truth. Within a period of twenty-five years, *Veritas filia Temporis* passed from Protestant to Catholic, moderate to militant use, its linguistic and iconographic instability registering the religious and political instability of Tudor England.

NOTES

[1] Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), T324, T338, T580.

[2] For extended discussions of the *Veritas filia Temporis* motif in *The Winter's Tale*, see J. H. P. Pafford's Arden Shakespeare edition of the play (London: Methuen, 1963), 167–69; Inga-Stina Ewbank, "The Triumph of Time," *Review of English Studies* n.s. 5 (1964): 83–100; Soji Iwasaki, *Nature Triumphant: Approach to "The Winter's Tale"* (1984; Tokyo: Sanseido, 1991), 71–87; and Peter M. Daly, *Teaching Shakespeare and the Emblem* (Wolfville, Nova Scotia: Acadia University, 1993), 16–19. Cf. Wilbur Sanders, *"The Winter's Tale"* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987), 69–71.

[3] Fritz Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," in *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 197–222. The present article is indebted to Saxl's article and to William Elton, King Lear *and the Gods* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1966), 75n.

[4] See John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 189–95, 228–30, and also Donna B. Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England* (New York and London: Harvester, 1992), 31.

[5] Ronald Broude, "Time, Truth, and Right in *The Spanish Tragedy*," *Studies in Philology* 68 (1971): 131; see also King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 189–95, 228–30.

[6] For a general discussion of Protestantism and English nationalism, see Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People: The Church and Religion in England 1529–1689* (London: Routledge, 1991), 83. For a discussion of English nationalism as it pertains to apocalyptic rhetoric and martyrdom, see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 254–68.

[7] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 202–03.

[8] "Act in Restraint of Appeals," in *Records of the Reformation*, ed. Nicholas Pocock,

2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1870), 2:460.

[9] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), 110, 170.

[10] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 202.

[11] *A Goodly Prymer in Englyshe* (London: William Marshall, 1535), sig. Ai^{r} (*STC* 15,988).

[12] Ibid., sig. Aiii^{r}.

[13] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 203.

[14] Ibid., 206.

[15] Thomas Kirchmayer, *Tragoedia nova Pammachius* (Wittenberg, 1538); see Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 22–23.

[16] *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge*, ed. Alan H. Nelson, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 1:133–35.

[17] Ibid., 1:133.

[18] Ibid., 1:135.

[19] Ibid., 1:140.

[20] J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 55–62; Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 15–16; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 478–503, 521–23; and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 128–29.

[21] John Elder, quoted in *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary*, ed. John Gough Nichols, Camden Society, no. 48 (London, 1850), 157.

[22] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 207.

[23] 25 Henry VIII c. 22, 26 Henry VIII c. 2, 28 Henry VIII c. 7; see Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 234, 290, and J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (1968; reprint Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 332, 348–51.

[24] Rosemary O'Day, *The Tudor Age* (London: Longman, 1995), 15–19.

[25] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 207.

[26] *Respublica*, ed. W. W. Greg, EETS, o.s. 226 (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), ix. Subsequent references to *Respublica* are to this edition by line number and appear parenthetically in my text.

[27] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1895), 52.

[28] Doran and Durston, *Princes, Pastors, and People*, 101.

[29] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, 52–53.

[30] Grace Tiffany is gratefully acknowledged for her suggestion that Knox's misogyny might account, in part, for his more attenuated references to the *Veritas filia Temporis* motif in the body of his work.

[31] All references to the coronation pageant are taken from Richard Mulcaster, *The Quenes Majesties passage through the citie of London to Westminster the daye before her coronacion*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon, 1975). Mulcaster's account was subsequently incorporated into Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 6 vols. (London, 1808), 4:167–69, and John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1788–1805), 1:13–17.

[32] Mulcaster, *The Quenes Majesties passage*, 26.

[33] Ibid., 27.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., 28.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., 28–29.

[40] Ibid., 26.

[41] For a compelling discussion of "plainness" as a fundamental component of the rhetoric of Protestant conviction, see the introduction to Kenneth J. E. Graham, *The Performance of Conviction: Plainness and Rhetoric in the Early English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), *passim*.

[42] As suggested above in the introductory remarks to the present article, I am using the term 'apocalyptic' in a stipulative sense to refer to narrative and dramatic forms which recount the struggle between the Protestant suffering elect and the Antichrist of Rome, and culminating in the victory of Christ and the restoration of the True Church. It is worth noting, however, that while this consummation can only come with the end of time, "history does nevertheless offer many local intimations of the final victory, many signs of God's judgment and power . . ." (Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 256).

[43] *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie; or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth*, in Thomas Heywood, *The Dramatic Works*, 6 vols. (London: John Pearson, 1874), 1:246.

[44] Ibid., 1:246.

[45] *The Whore of Babylon*, in Thomas Dekker, *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61), 2:496–584; subsequent references to *The Whore of Babylon* are to this edition and appear parenthetically in my text.

[46] Time and Truth also appeared regularly in Lord Mayors' Shows of the Jacobean and Caroline Period. One of the three shows in Heywood's *Londons Ius Honorarium*

(1631) is an adaptation of Elizabeth's coronation pageant (*Dramatic Works*, 4:272–74). See also Heywood, *Porta pietatis* (1638), in *Dramatic Works*, 5:272–73, and Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613), in *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 8 vols. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1885–86), 7:249–50.

[47] Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 81–83. Although Gasper does not devote specific attention to the *Veritas filia Temporis* motif in her consideration of the prologue to *The Whore of Babylon*, readers familiar with her study will recognize my general indebtedness to her discussion of Dekker's militant Protestant vision, esp. her pp. 62–108.

[48] See Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove*, 83.

[49] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 209.

[50] For convenience, see Lacey Baldwin Smith, *This Realm of England: 1399–1688*, 4th ed. (Lexington and Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1983), 182–85; O'Day, *The Tudor Age*, 27.

[51] Saxl, "*Veritas Filia Temporis*," 209, citing *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Division 1, Satires, vol. 1 (1870), no. 12.

[52] Ibid., 209.

[53] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes 1586*, introd. John Horden (Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), sig. **3^{v}.

[54] Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), 69.

[55] Whitney, *Emblemes*, 4.

[56] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 4:650–51.

[57] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 69.

[58] *The Magnificent Entertainment*, in Dekker, *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Bowers, 2:271.

[59] Ibid., 2:272, 274.

[60] Pett's poem is, however, potentially of interest as colonial discourse, for the work contains explicit colonial references, and Truth returns to England by sea aboard a ship. This conceit may have been designed as much to celebrate England's maritime superiority in the wake of the Armada as to curry favor with the poem's epistle dedicatee, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral of England.

[61] Peter Pett, *Times Journey to Seeke his Daughter Truth: and Truths Letter to Fame of Englands Excellencie* (London, 1599), sig. C1^{v} (*STC* 19,818).

[62] Ibid., sig. C3^{v}.

[63] Ibid., sig. C4^{v}.

[64] Ibid., sig. D1^{r}.

[65] For a detailed account of the parliamentary proceedings leading to Mary's execution, see J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 2 vols. (London: Jonathan

Cape, 1953–57), 2:103–44. For additional insight into Elizabeth's difficulties with the Queen of Scots, see ibid., vol. 1. For transcripts of Puckering's speeches before Elizabeth, see Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 4:931–32, 936–38.

[66] John Pikeryng, *Horestes*, in *Three Tudor Classical Interludes*, ed. Marie Axton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982), 94–155. Subsequent references to *Horestes* are to this edition and appear parenthetically by line number in my text. For a discussion of Puckering's authorship of the play, see James E. Phillips, "A Revaluation of *Horestes* (1567)," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 18 (1955): 240–44.

[67] E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 3:466. See also Axton, ed., *Three Tudor Classical Interludes*, 29.

[68] Axton, ed., *Three Tudor Classical Interludes*, 29n.

[69] Cf. David Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 150–53, and Robert S. Knapp, "*Horestes*: The Uses of Revenge," *ELH* 40 (1973): 205–20. Bevington argues that Elizabeth showed little interest in the death of Henry Stuart and that the play therefore would not be of immediate relevance to her. However, the queen's concern is a matter of record, for Elizabeth wrote to Mary to warn her that "Most people say that she has not looked to the revenge of this deed, nor to touch those who have done it" and to exhort her "to show to the world what a noble princess and loyal wife she is"(*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1566–8*, ed. Allen James Crosby [London: Longman, 1871], 180).

[70] *The Nobill and Gude inclination of our King* and *The testament and tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart*, in *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. James Cranstoun, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1890), 1:31, 39; "Letter from Buchanan to Daniel Rogers, 1571," in George Buchanan, *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1725), 2:727; and Richard Gallys, "Cromwell's Journal," in *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I 1558–1581*, ed. J. E. Hartley, 3 vols. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981), 1:349. See also Phillips, "A Revaluation of *Horestes*," 233.

[71] George Buchanan, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart*, trans. W. A. Gatherer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958), 145.

[72] "Bond of Association," in A. Francis Steuart, *Trial of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: William Hodge, 1923), 32.

[73] Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 2:114–15.

[74] Ibid., 2:35.

[75] James Shapiro, "'Tragedies Naturally Performed': Kyd's Representation of Violence," in *Staging the Renaissance*, ed. David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (London: Routledge, 1991), 100.

[76] Ibid., 100.

[77] Ibid., 101.

[78] Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 2:139–40.

[79] Shapiro, "'Tragedies Naturally Performed'," 103.

[80] For a general discussion of the issue of royal absolutism in relation to *Horestes*,

see Phillips, "A Revaluation of *Horestes*," 230–31.

[81] Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 2:105.

[82] Shapiro, "'Tragedies Naturally Performed'," 104.

[83] History provides an ironic footnote to Puckering's and Kyd's shared interest in awe-inspiring displays of state power. Shapiro argues that Kyd became the unwitting victim of his own theatrical transgressions when he was detained and tortured at Bridewell following his arrest for possession of certain atheistical tracts ("'Tragedies Naturally Performed'," 101–02). The man to whom Kyd addressed his confession and appeal for mercy was not, however, Sir Thomas Puckering (ibid., 101), but instead none other than Sir John Puckering. For a transcript of the Bridewell letter, see Arthur Freeman, "Kyd's Letters to Sir John Puckering," *Thomas Kyd: Facts and Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 181–83.

[84] Neale identifies Mary's flight to England after the murder of Lord Darnley as "a turning point in Elizabeth's reign. The period of relative quiet was over" (Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 1:178).

[85] "Letter from Bishop John Jewel to Henry Bullinger," in *The Zurich Letters*, ed. Hastings Robinson, Parker Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1842), 229.

[86] Buchanan, *The Tyrannous Reign*, 113.

[87] *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, ed. Hartley, 1:349; see also Neale, *Queen Elizabeth and Her Parliaments*, 1:250–51.

[88] Simonds D'Ewes, *The Journals of All the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: 1558–1601* (1682; reprint Shannon: Irish University Press, 1973), 209.

[89] Ibid., 393.

[90] Ibid., 394.

[91] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 4:931.

[92] John Leslie, *A Defence of the Honour of Marie Quene of Scotlande*, ed. D. M. Rogers, English Recusant Literature, no. 12 (Menston: Scolar Press, 1970), sig. †iii^{r}.

[93] Ibid., sig. †ii^{v}.

[94] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, 52.

[95] Leslie, *The Defence of the Honour of Marie*, sig. †ii^{v}.

[96] Ibid., fol. 2^{v}.

[97] Ibid., fol. 4^{v}.

[98] Ibid., fol. 12^{r}.

[99] Ibid., fols. 15^{v}–16^{r}.

[100] Ibid., fol. 49^{r}–49^{v}. This motto was found by Valerie Gager while perusing the facsimile reprint collection at the Shakespeare Institute, and I am grateful for the reference.

[101] *STC* 23,875. For a compelling argument concerning the dialogue's Familist provenance and Searle's authorship, see Christopher Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181.