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[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

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Résumé de l'article

Cet article se penche sur la narration et sur les stratégies théâtrales qu'utilise Thomas Heywood afin de sanctifier Elisabeth I<sup>ère</sup> en tant que vierge martyre et sainte, dans sa pièce *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part I, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth* (c. 1605). Cette pièce porte sur l'histoire de la Réforme et, bien que peu étudiée, constitue une oeuvre remarquable. L'article examine comment Heywood va à l'encontre de Foxe, même lorsqu'il emprunte à l'histoire de la Réforme anglaise prise du *Book of Martyrs* afin de produire le récit du martyre d'une vierge. On y discute de quelle façon la théâtralité miraculeuse de la pièce dramatise des connaissances d'histoire religieuse passée, et on montre que la pièce régénère une hagiographie pour le protestantisme anglais. On propose en conclusion que le théâtre hagiographique stuartien est une invention de Heywood.

# “A Virgine and a Martyr both”: The Turn to Hagiography in Heywood’s Reformation History Play

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*This article considers the narrative and theatrical strategies used by Thomas Heywood to sanctify Elizabeth I as a virgin martyr saint in the remarkable, yet understudied, Reformation history play *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part I*, or the *Troubles of Queen Elizabeth* (ca. 1605). I examine how Heywood reads against Foxe even as he draws on the history of the English Reformation from the *Book of Martyrs* to create a narrative of virgin martyrdom; I discuss how the play’s miraculous theatricality re-forms past iterations of religious knowledge in drama, and show that the play recovers hagiography for English Protestantism. I conclude by suggesting that Heywood invented the Stuart saint play.*

*Cet article se penche sur la narration et sur les stratégies théâtrales qu’utilise Thomas Heywood afin de sanctifier Elisabeth I<sup>ère</sup> en tant que vierge martyre et sainte, dans sa pièce *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part I*, or the *Troubles of Queen Elizabeth* (c. 1605). Cette pièce porte sur l’histoire de la Réforme et, bien que peu étudiée, constitue une œuvre remarquable. L’article examine comment Heywood va à l’encontre de Foxe, même lorsqu’il emprunte à l’histoire de la Réforme anglaise prise du *Book of Martyrs* afin de produire le récit du martyre d’une vierge. On y discute de quelle façon la théâtralité miraculeuse de la pièce dramatise des connaissances d’histoire religieuse passée, et on montre que la pièce régénère une hagiographie pour le protestantisme anglais. On propose en conclusion que le théâtre hagiographique stuartien est une invention de Heywood.*

Queen Elizabeth I died in early 1603 and reappeared shortly thereafter at the Red Bull theatre in a play produced by the newly formed Queen Anne’s Men. *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part I, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth* (ca. 1605) dramatizes the struggles and imprisonment of Elizabeth during the Roman Catholic regime of her predecessor and half-sister, Queen Mary. Although the play has received little attention in scholarship, it proved to be one of the most popular plays of the Stuart era, enjoying eight printings between 1605 and 1639.<sup>1</sup> The play, like its companion *If You Know Not*

1. Nathaniel Butter published part 1 in 1605, 1606, 1608, 1610, 1613, 1623, 1632, and 1639, and part 2 in 1606, 1609, 1623, and 1633. Butter transferred both plays to Miles Flesher in 1639, although there is no record of Flesher’s subsequent publication of either play. As John Watkins observes, “no other

*Me, You Know Nobody, Part 2, The Building of The Royal Exchange* (ca. 1606), is a history play in as much as it chronicles major political or military conflicts during the reign of a late English monarch and represents a cross section of the national social body, from merchants and maidservants to clergy and clowns.<sup>2</sup> Yet whereas the sequel only briefly features the mythic queen in three key scenes and devotes the majority of its stage time to clever urban-dwelling merchants and guildsmen, the first play closely follows the passion, near-martyrdom, and eventual coronation of Elizabeth, complete with miraculous spectacle. As other scholars have noted, the sequel belongs to the genre of city comedy, and, as I argue here, the first produces a virgin martyr play.<sup>3</sup>

The main source for *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* is “The miraculous preservation of Lady Elizabeth, now Queene of England” in John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*.<sup>4</sup> Foxe constructed the suffering of Protestants under Mary to mirror the ten great persecutions of the early church, especially the worst of them: The Tenth Persecution under the emperors Diocletian and Maximinus. Heywood adapts the sequence of events and dialogue in Foxe and

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seventeenth century writer devoted so many individual works to the Queen of famous memory,” in *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37. Heywood authored *Gunaikeion* (1624, revised in 1640) and *England’s Elizabeth* (1631), both of which offer the life of Elizabeth in prose, and may have authored *The Life and Death of Queen Elizabeth* (1639), a verse version. Georgiana Ziegler has reviewed this in “England’s Saviour: Elizabeth I in the Writings of Thomas Heywood,” *Renaissance Papers* (1980): 29–37.

2. The history play, a popular genre of Elizabethan theatre, typically depicted the warring crises of intra-English political succession of the Plantagenet monarchs. Around the turn of the seventeenth century, playwrights turned from late medieval political rivalries to mostly Tudor histories of religious struggle and succession. Judith Doolin Spikes notes that the main source for history plays shifts from Holinshed in the 1590s to Foxe in the early seventeenth century, in “The Jacobean History Play and the Myth of the Elect Nation,” *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977): 117–18, 19.

3. For more on the sequel, including considerations of the play as a city comedy, see Anita Gilman Sherman, “The Status of Charity in Thomas Heywood’s *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody II*,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999): 99–120; Jean E. Howard, “Competing Ideologies of Commerce in Thomas Heywood’s *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Part II*,” in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. Harry S. Turner (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 163–82; and Dieter Mehl, “The Late Queen on the Public Stage: Thomas Heywood’s *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*, Parts I and II,” in *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present*, ed. Christa Jansohn (Muenster: LIT, 2004), 153–71.

4. This narrative appears in the 1563 edition and all subsequent editions, although the title of the episode does not appear until the 1570 edition.

champions Elizabeth, Protestantism, and the English Bible as the protagonists of the English Reformation, but he does not reproduce this history as Foxean martyrology.<sup>5</sup> Rather, the play takes up the oppositional dynamics of Foxe's anti-Catholic paradigm and grafts them onto the structure of medieval virgin martyr hagiography. Put this way, it might seem that the play is a mixed bag—and in terms of its episodic tour of Marian England that veers from soldiers with a “jacke of beer” to a sword-wielding Spaniard to Philip of Spain hiding behind an arras like a less tragic Polonius, it is—but the play is not incoherent in terms of its aesthetic repertoire. On the contrary, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, while often overlooked, is an important theatrical and cultural artifact from the early Jacobean period precisely because of its unique production of hagiography for a broad Protestantism defined against a narrow Roman Catholicism.

*If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* is remarkably unwavering in its navigation of what James Mardock has recently described as “post-Reformation England's often chaotic confessional sea,” in that it presents a general Protestantism at odds and only at odds with a particular mid-sixteenth-century Catholicism.<sup>6</sup> A close examination of the play and how it produces theatrical knowledge of religion vis-à-vis its Reformation *vita* of Elizabeth responds to a growing body of scholarship since “the turn to religion” in early modern studies, which Arthur F. Marotti and Ken Jackson first named and reviewed over a decade ago.<sup>7</sup> Far from defining Shakespeare's time as an increasingly unreligious one, stage plays archive a sustained struggle with religious cultures, confessions, and doctrines. What dominates this rich moment of the religious

5. The relationship between the play and Foxe has been understood by critics variously. Mark Bayer understands the play to be “in dialogue” with the *Book of Martyrs*, in “Staging Foxe at the Fortune and the Red Bull,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 27 (2003): 68; Teresa Grant describes Heywood's dramatization as a “supra-Foxian glorification of Elizabeth,” in “Drama Queen: Staging Elizabeth in *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*,” in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 129. Marsha S. Robinson sees the play as an “appropriation of Foxe's historiographic vision,” in *Writing the Reformation: Actes and Monuments and the Jacobean History Play* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), xvi.

6. James Mardock, “‘Reformation in a Flood’: The Religious Turn's Second Wave,” in *Stages of Engagement: Drama and Religion in Post Reformation England*, ed. James D. Mardock and Kathryn R. McPherson (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2014), 9.

7. Arthur F. Marotti and Ken Jackson, “The Turn to Religion in Early Modern Studies,” *Criticism* 46 (2004): 167–90.

turn, which Mardock now locates in its “second wave,” is an abiding interest in divergent epistemologies of religion.<sup>8</sup> The status of religion on the early modern stage remains vexed, but critics have convincingly argued for complex formations of religion in the plays of Shakespeare and others that, as David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore emphasize, can no longer “be captured in contrasts between ‘Protestant’ or ‘Catholic’ perspectives.”<sup>9</sup> Instead, scholars are uncovering “a wide range of religious beliefs, practices, and confessional positions,” especially in plays that register cultural, doctrinal, and affective concepts of religion and/or in those plays that actually depict the history of the English Reformation, such as *When You See Me, You Know Me* (ca. 1604) by Samuel Rowley and *Henry VIII* (1613) by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare.<sup>10</sup> The major work I consider here, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, which is often discussed in relation to other Reformation history plays, does not present the problem of confessional ambiguity or doctrinal confusion, but that is because the divide between Catholic and Protestant is sharply defined in terms of religious confession, on the one hand, and perfectly vague in terms of doctrinal definition, on the other. Unlike *When You See Me, You Know Me*, which Brian Walsh has recently shown to “remind audiences of the Lutheran origins of the English Reformation,” Heywood’s play notably refuses to define its Protestantism beyond opposition to Catholic tyranny and an affirmative belief in the vernacular Bible.<sup>11</sup> The present article complements other work on theatre and religion through its consideration of how *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* draws on medieval hagiography to affirm Protestant truth and how this inaugural Red Bull play set the terms for the professional drama’s most spectacular iterations of religious meaning in the Jacobean age.

*If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* entered the stage at a crucial moment in English theatrical, religious, and political history. Written between the Hampton Court Conference, in which theologians entertained broadening the parameters of Elizabethan Protestantism to include Catholic and Puritan elements, and the Powder Plot, the aftermath of which witnessed a concerted

8. Mardock, 7.

9. David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore, “Introduction,” in *Shakespeare and Early Modern Religion*, ed. David Loewenstein and Michael Witmore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3.

10. Loewenstein and Witmore, 10–11.

11. Brian Walsh, *Unsettled Toleration: Religious Difference on the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 12.

suppression of Counter-Reformation Catholicism, Heywood's early Jacobean play widens the imagination of previous Reformation era plays and follows Henry's Protestant daughter into a virgin martyr legend. The effect of the vague yet clearly identifiable stage Protestantism is the creation of a broad church that is so inclusive that its particular confession need not be named even once in the play. Like the Catholicism that need not be named until the advent of the Protestant Reformation, it imagines and articulates itself as universal English Christianity. The marked category, the particular here, is Roman Catholicism. The polemical opposition in the play is derived from martyrological strategies developed by mid-sixteenth-century Reformers such as Foxe and John Bale, but Heywood, writing at the beginning of what would become a prolific and fantastical career, assigns traditional sanctity and ceremony to Elizabeth and the Protestants. These are practices of religious knowledge that certain Reformers rejected as false or blasphemous, but that Heywood's play presents as part of an alternative view of and from Protestantism. In scripting the recently departed Virgin Queen as the martyr whose struggle re-founded the Church of England, Heywood brings together unambiguous English orthodoxy with an ambiguous genre of religious knowledge, saints' lives. In doing so, the play recovers hagiography for Protestantism and, through its dramatization of the Reformation, it marks exactly where that broad Protestantism ends and where it is not capable of absorbing, accommodating, or, even, converting traditional religion from its pre-Reformation form to the Jacobean present.

My examination of Heywood's sanctification of Elizabeth and the invention of the Jacobean saint play is organized in two parts. I begin by showing how Heywood reads against Foxe even as he draws on the account of Elizabeth's persecution in the *Book of Martyrs*. Through an analysis of Heywood's appropriation of Foxe and a comparative reading of medieval saints' lives, I show that Elizabeth's progression in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* is patterned on the narrative sequence and tropes of virgin martyr hagiography. However, the play presents two notable obstacles to virgin martyrdom. Elizabeth is neither a vowed religious virgin, nor is she ever actually executed. Upon close examination, the apparent exceptions the play presents to the genre of virgin martyrdom are not exceptions at all. Instead of staging the events of vowed virginity and martyrdom explicitly, the play communicates them implicitly by scripting Elizabeth's life into episodes that allude to virgin martyrdom. The second half of this article turns from the literary and hagiographic to the

theatrical and considers the Reformation iconography and medieval theatrical conventions that Heywood utilizes as he transformed history into hagiography. The turning point of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* is a miraculous dumb show that features demonic Catholic clergy opposed by Protestant angels. This central spectacle cites Reformation iconography and represents the sort of miraculous episode that Reformers repudiated but that was a necessary and anticipated feature of hagiography and medieval dramaturgy. As I briefly consider in my conclusion, the play's repertoire of sanctity appears to have caused a minor but notable turn to hagiography in Stuart drama.

## 1.

Heywood's Elizabeth lives and metaphorically dies within the structure of medieval virgin martyr hagiography. According to Karen Winstead, there is a series of "standard ingredients" in the *vitae* of early Christian martyrs: "the saint refuses to participate in pagan sacrifices, debates her antagonist, affirms the fundamental tenets of Christianity, destroys idols, performs miracles, and endures excruciating torments."<sup>12</sup> The lives of virgin martyrs include "a preoccupation with gender and sexuality" that is absent "from those of their male counterparts," an aspect that materializes through sexual violence and the virgin's status as *sponsa Christi*.<sup>13</sup> Medieval English virgin martyr legends, such as those of SS Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, Katherine, and Margaret, unfold in a six-part narrative trajectory that lines up with Winstead's definition: 1) a virgin martyr is a young Christian aristocratic woman who proclaims her faith and opposes false religion; 2) she is interrogated on her beliefs and debates a Roman official; 3) she rejects the sexual advances of that official, because she has vowed

12. Karen Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 5. For more on the wide circulation of virgin martyr hagiography in medieval England, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture, c. 1150–1300: Virginity and Its Authorizations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Catherine Sanok, *Her Life Historical: Exemplarity and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). For more particular virgin martyr cults in England, see Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2000) and *A Maid with a Dragon: The Cult of St. Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); see also *St. Katherine of Alexandria*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

13. Winstead, 6.

her virginity to Christ; 4) she is tortured and jailed for her refusal to give up her religion, her virginity, or both; 5) spectacular miracles thwart attempts to rape or kill her; 6) she is finally executed and ascends to Christ, her heavenly spouse. In scripting Elizabeth as a virgin martyr, Heywood generated a paradigm of sanctity that resembled late medieval models more than a Foxean one.

The difference between medieval collections of saints' lives and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* is not that the former contains virgin martyrs, like St. Katherine of Alexandria, and the latter contains Protestant martyrs, like Anne Askew, but that medieval writers and editors included details that Foxe omits and disparages in his account of the same ancient martyrs. In the early pages of *The Book of Martyrs* that recount the persecutions under Diocletian and Maximinus, Foxe takes aim at miracles and vowed virginity but is not against Christian exemplarity. Before Foxe addresses St. Katherine, he complains that "stories of Saintes haue bene powdered and sawsed wyth dyuers vntrue additions and fabulous inuentions of men [...] of a superstitious deuotion" that "almost nothyng remaineth in them simple & vncorrupte."<sup>14</sup> This is especially true "of good Katherine" who "in her lyfe was great holines, in her knowledge excellencie, in her death constancie."<sup>15</sup> Foxe rejects the "straunge fictions" of Katherine's mystical marriage to the infant Christ, a hallmark of her later medieval English *vitae*, and revises the legend of St. Agnes so that God does not intervene with a miracle when she is stripped naked.<sup>16</sup> In both the entries on SS Agnes and Cecilia, Foxe deemphasizes their vows of virginity, writing that Agnes was "yong & not maryable" and denies that Cecilia's guardian "Angell [...] was the keeper of her virginity."<sup>17</sup> Foxe explains that fantastical miracles are offensive, "because they haue no grou[n]d vpon any auncient or graue authors, but taken out of certayne newe Ledgends"—a likely reference to medieval collections of saints' lives, such as the *Golden Legend*.<sup>18</sup> As Megan Hickerson has shown, even when early Christian women saints are praised for their virginity in authoritative ancient sources, the Foxean account "deprivileges the virginity so valued in them, establishing his own ideal of female

14. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of matters most speciall and memorable* (London: Iohn Daye, 1570), 132; STC 1816:08. Unless otherwise noted, all quotes from Foxe are taken from this edition.

15. Foxe, 132.

16. Foxe, 131.

17. Foxe, 131 and 85.

18. Foxe, 85.



sainthood, of which it is no longer a condition.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, in ancient and medieval collections of saints’ lives, “Agnes is a virgin martyr; in Foxe’s she is a martyr who happens to be a virgin.”<sup>20</sup>

Heywood’s play removes the wedge that Foxe drove between virgins and martyrs. A comparative reading of medieval hagiography and *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* reveals that Heywood structured Elizabeth’s sanctity on virgin martyrdom. The legends begin with the establishment of Christian character through evangelization, prayers, vows of virginity, charitable works, and acts of iconoclasm. Additionally, the virgin’s holiness emerges within a persecuting regime headed by an oppositional tyrant who, like St. Agnes’s Roman provost “was moche glad” to hear “that she was crysten [...] by cause to haue power on her.”<sup>21</sup> Heywood situates his Elizabeth in similar terms, although the play splits the tyrant over two parts. Queen Mary gives the orders, but it is Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who actively plots against Elizabeth and whom other critics have recognized as a stock villain.<sup>22</sup> The play opens to the aftermath of the Protestant rebellion at the beginning of Mary’s reign.<sup>23</sup> Winchester argues that Elizabeth is guilty of treason because, “She is a fauorite of [...] heritiques,” and suggests that Mary execute her sister to preserve a Catholic England.<sup>24</sup>

19. Megan Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 117.

20. Hickerson, 117.

21. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive, Lombardica historia* (London: William Caxton, 1483), sig. Cxxr; STC 24874. Because the signatures in this text are marked with roman numerals and sometimes end in “r” and “v,” as in the medieval roman numerals for 80 and 5, respectively, I do not use “r” and “v” for recto and verso. Rather, I only note verso. Throughout this article, I quote from the English version of saints’ lives translated, edited, and augmented by William Caxton at the end of the fifteenth century. Ten editions of the *Golden Legend* were published between 1483 and 1527 and reflect English interests.

22. Robinson notes that Winchester is depicted as the maniacal pursuer of Protestants across Reformation history plays, including *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *When You See Me, You Know Me*, *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, and *The Duchess of Suffolk*. See Robinson, 16.

23. The events dramatized in *If You Know Not Me* begin during late February or early March of 1554. Eight months before, in July of 1553, Mary’s supporters had crushed the Duke of Northumberland’s rebellion and forced Jane Grey to abdicate. Mary spared Jane’s life until her father, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, joined the Wyatt Rebellion in January of 1554.

24. Thomas Heywood, *If you know not me, you know no bodie; or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (London: Thomas Purfoot for Nathaniel Butter, 1605), sig. A4v; STC 13328.

The queen is so determined in her program of religious persecution that she charges Winchester to "Take you[r] Comission to examine her / Of all supposed Crimes," and exits "to our Nuptials" (B3v). In actuality, the historic Mary, as Foxe documents, granted Elizabeth a reprieve from inquiry and imprisonment to attend her wedding to Philip of Spain, but Heywood reverses historical fact in order to set the stage with a Catholic tyrant and a Protestant martyr.

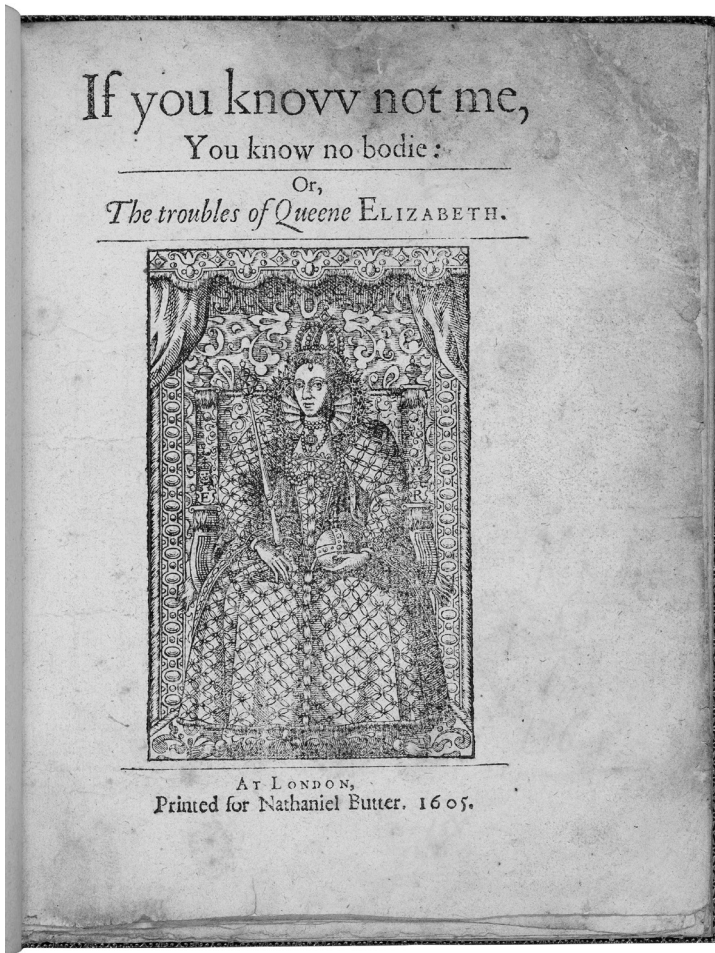


Fig. 1. Thomas Heywood (d. 1641). *If you know not me, you know no bodie. Part 1.* (London: [Nathaniel Butter], 1605), title page. Call #: STC 13328. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

In traditional hagiography, virgin martyrs undergo interrogation and debate adversaries, a part of the *vitae* in which saints often display rhetorical skill, proclaim Christianity, and reject false religion. Elizabeth fulfills this part of the narrative. In Foxe, Elizabeth is outright questioned for her role in “*Wiates conspiracie*,” but the play renders the interrogation as a hagiographical event rather than a political one.<sup>25</sup> Before the commission begins, Elizabeth prayerfully bids farewell to her tearful household, consoling them with her piety and charity:

Eliz: My Innocence yet makes my hart as light  
 As my fron.’s heauie: all that heauen sends is welcome  
 Gentlemen diuide these few crownes amongst you,  
 I am now a prisoner; and shall want nothing,  
 I haue some friends about her maiesty,  
 That are prouiding for mee all things; all things;  
 I, euen my graue; and being posses of that,  
 I shall need nothing: weepe not I pray,  
 Rather you should reioyce:  
 If I miscarry in this enterprise and ask you why,  
 A Virgine and a Martyr both I dy. (B4r–v)

This soliloquy, as a whole, instructs audiences to interpret Elizabeth within a particular pattern of sanctity. She proclaims herself a Christian who accepts God’s charge to her, offers her worldly riches for charity, locates her current episode of martyrdom (“I am now a prisoner”), and, finally, foreshadows her own death and categorizes it as virgin martyrdom. In welcoming her troubles and rejoicing in her suffering, Elizabeth mirrors the virgin martyrs of medieval legends at similar moments in their *vitae*. For example, when St. Agatha is arrested, she “wente also gladly and with as good wyll as she had ben prayd to goon to a weddyng.”<sup>26</sup> On stage, this moment of meta-hagiography sets up the rest of the anticipated episodes: interrogation, torture and imprisonment, miracles, execution, and heavenly coronation; furthermore, the phrasing of “A Virgine and a Martyr both,” registers a unique martyrological paradigm that

25. Foxe, 1587.

26. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, cxxxv verso.

promises to bridge the divide between medieval and Reformation exemplars of Christian sacrifice.

During the debate against Mary's counsellors, Elizabeth performs like a saint. In responding to the twinned charges of heresy and treason against the Roman state, virgins rarely answer directly and prefer to manipulate the tenor of questioning to exhibit better rhetorical abilities than their pagan enemies.<sup>27</sup> Surrounded by sitting men while "*shee kneeles*," Heywood's virgin martyr controls the scene, manipulates meaning, and reveals the injustice of her sham trial (C1r). Winchester demands that the princess incriminate herself and "submit, vnto her highness," but instead of responding to the charges, she glosses his strategy on "Hauing nothing wheron you can accuse me, / Do seeke to haue myself, my self betray" (C1r). Elizabeth avoids responding to the commissioners' questions in either the direct affirmative or the negative. Winchester tires of her word play and demands that she "ansere briefly to these treasons" and the Constable confirms what we already know, that "the Queen must here you sing another song" (C1v). Elizabeth seizes on a single word to re-direct the judicial proceeding towards a confirmation of her sanctity, "One day in quiers of Angels I shall singe," and, as her interrogators exit the trial, she offers a final prayer, "as my hart is knowne to thee most pure, / Grant mee release, or patience to endure" (C1v). Like the preceding soliloquy, this couplet limits the scope of historical action to hagiographical drama.

Torture and imprisonment form the next part of virgin martyrdom. The steadfast suffering of the virgin is often coupled with miraculous healings, angelic visitations, or the intervention of a vengeful God. Saints' lives notoriously detail grotesque tortures. Hooks of iron that "rende and drawe [...] flesh to the bones" are common as is being stripped, hung up, beaten, and burned.<sup>28</sup> Miracles thwart and counteract the effects of devised punishments, a form of divine intervention that sanctifies the virgin and/or punishes her Roman persecutors. In the legend of St. Margaret, her tormenters set her tortured body in water so that the elemental properties add to her suffering, but the saint does not suffer. Instead, once she is immersed, the virgin prays, "I besech the my

27. For an examination of rhetoric in virgin martyr hagiography, see Maud Burnett McInerney, *Eloquent Virgins: From Thecla to Joan of Arc* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). Additionally, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne describes the debate between a virgin and her tyrant as a "combat contest not of strength, but of meanings" (*Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture*, 106).

28. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, ccxv verso.

lord that thys water may be to me the fonte of baptysme in to euer lastyng lyf / And anon there was herde grete thondre / and a douue descended from heuen and sette a golden crowne on her hede.”<sup>29</sup> This miracle imitates Christ’s baptism in the Gospels in order to emphasize Margaret’s holiness. In addition to sites of torture, prison is an important location of faithful devotion and miraculous restoration. There, Christ sends a starving St. Katherine “a whyte dowue whiche fedde her with mete celastyal” and St. Margaret counteracts an attack of “the fende” with “the signe of the crosse.”<sup>30</sup> Divine intervention can also take the form of miraculous vengeance. Throughout virgin martyr hagiography, Roman officials and onlookers experience sudden death through earthquakes, explosions, and combustions.

In the play, Elizabeth is not physically tortured herself. Instead, the Constable of the Tower emerges as a tormenter who attempts to cause her physical and spiritual suffering. As an agent of Winchester, he refuses her a chair, rescinds “the priuiledge [...] to ope / Her windowes, casements to receiue the ayre,” and obstructs servants from bringing her dinner (C4r, C4v, and D1r.). Swearing to “vex her,” the Constable fantasizes, “that I could but draine her harts deare blood, Oh it would feede me, do my soule much good” (D2v). During Elizabeth’s imprisonment, the Constable pursues torture by proxy. Heywood adapts an episode from Foxe that features a young boy threatened with whipping for bringing flowers to the princess. Foxe, who valued facts over motifs, records that a three-year-old boy brought “her grace floures, which likewise he did to other prisoners.”<sup>31</sup> When the boy is accused of serving as a go-between for Elizabeth and Earl of Devonshire, her jailers tell him,

thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lord Courtney. [...] Whereupon the childes father was commaunded to permit the boy no more to come vp into theyr chambers. The next daye, as her grace was walking in the garden, the childe peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried vnto her, saying: mistres, I can bring you no more flowers.<sup>32</sup>

29. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, ccxv verso.

30. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, ccclxxxviii verso and ccxv recto.

31. Foxe, 2291.

32. Foxe, 2291.

The play excises the context of political conspiracy, no other prisoners are mentioned, and when the boy gives a nosegay to Elizabeth, the Constable seizes him and orders his men to “take him away, / Let him be soundly whipt I charge you” (D3v). The Foxean version of events presents an array of unique examples of Catholic cruelty and Protestant suffering, but Heywood performs the work of a hagiographer in revising the episodes of Elizabeth's trials under Mary according to a traditional template of martyrology.

The way in which *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* diverges from Foxe's report of events can be explained as dramatic license up until this point in the narrative. In staging Elizabeth's Christianity and the Roman Catholic opposition to it, her trial and interrogation, and her imprisonment and torture by proxy, Heywood has not yet quit the martyrological paradigm of *The Book of Martyrs* for *The Golden Legend*; but he goes there in the second half of the play. Virgin martyrdom emerges, without a doubt, as Elizabeth imitates both Christ and the virgins of medieval legends.

When Elizabeth is transferred from the Tower to the custody of Sir Henry Beningfeild, a Catholic who regards Elizabeth as “the Queenes enemy,” she defines her own suffering as sharing in Christ's sacrifice. (E1r). Specifically, she tells the English people who witness her sad progress, “tanquam Ovis,” which Foxe glosses in his marginalia as “like a shepe to the slaughter” and Heywood has a common character translate to the audience as the versified “like to a sheep, that's to the slaughter's led” (E1r).<sup>33</sup> This reference to the paschal and liturgical image of the Lamb of God (*agnus Dei*) serves a similar function as the detail of a dove descending from heaven during St. Margaret's tortuous bath; the saints are sanctified in their imitation of Christ.

In dramatizing the Virgin Queen's ascent to the throne as virgin martyrdom, Heywood dropped Elizabeth's historic cult of virginity for the virgin martyrdom perfected by medieval hagiographers.<sup>34</sup> Traditional sainthood

33. Foxe, 2292.

34. Representational practices of Elizabeth I shifted in the 1580s when the unmarried queen aged beyond the possibility of producing an heir, causing anxiety about royal succession. Between the early 1580s and 1603, the year of Elizabeth's death, her problematic maidenhood was fashioned into a mark of exceptional monarchical divinity. Roy Strong has categorized the presentational portraiture of the Elizabethan era as “neo-Gothic,” rather than Renaissance, in *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 47. See also Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London:

separates virgins, even virgin queens, from virgin martyrs. Holy virginity relies on a rejection of all other suitors in favour of an erotic spiritual relationship with Christ the Lover whose reciprocal love is felt by the virgin through miracles and visions. In St. Agnes's response to a Roman pagan official, she rejects him, his office, and his religion as she speaks of her "louer" who "I haue gyuen my faith / To hym I haue comanded my herte / whan I loue hym thenne am I chaste / and whan I touche hym thene am I pure and clene / And whan I take hym thenne am I a virgyne / Thys is the loue of my god."<sup>35</sup> Agnes does not explain her status as virgin as the absence of earthly sexual activity, but articulates it as something that she becomes through spousal love. Put differently, one might be born a virgin, but one becomes a virgin martyr. As the brides of Christ, virgin martyrs experience metaphysical marriage ceremonies and receive visions of heaven.<sup>36</sup> These miracles and visions verify that the saints have knowledge of an eternal life as *sponsa Christi* after earthly martyrdom.

Two dreams in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* signal that Elizabeth has progressed from unmarried princess to *sponsa Christi* and her "crown of martyrdom" is imminent. Heywood's virgin fears that the immediate future "Wilbe my graue" (F2v) and then materializes the expectation of virgin martyrdom through a premonitory nightmare in which

...she herself was cast into a dungeon,  
 Where enemyes enuiron'd her about,  
 Offering their weapons to her naked brest,  
 Nay they would scarcely giue her leaue to pray,  
 They made such hast to hurry her away. (F4v)

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Routledge, 1989); Susan Doran, "Virginity, Divinity and Power: The Portraits of Elizabeth," in *The Myth of Elizabeth*; Catherine Loomis, *The Death of Queen Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

35. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, cxix verso.

36. When threatened with execution and torment, Dorothy replies to her tyrant that "I am al redy to suffre it / for the loue of my spouse Ihesu cryste / In whose gardyn ful of delyces I haue gadred roses spyces and apples." Caxton, *Golden Legend*, ccclxxxvi verso. In Katherine's legend, the saint is taken up to a celestial hall of virgins, angels, and heavenly music. There, the infant Christ "espoused hir / in ioyning hym self to hir by spiriuel maryage." Caxton, *Golden Legend*, ccclxxix recto.



Clarentia (Clarity), her handmade, receives her own dream that complements and concludes Elizabeth's nightmare of political execution with a virginal vision

of weddings, and of flowers,  
Me thought I was within the finest garden,  
That euer mortall eie did yet behould,  
The strayght me thought some of the cheife were pickt  
To dresse the bride, O'twas the rarest show,  
To see the bride goe smiling longst the streets,  
As if she went to happynes eternall. (F4v)

The two dreams, together, narrate the sequence of virgin martyrdom from an earthly violent death to a heavenly consummation. The interpretation of the execution and nuptial imagery is further constricted to martyrdom when another trusted servant hears of them and utters, "O most vnhappy dreame" (F4v). The traditional virginity that Foxe "de-privileges," to recall Hickerson's analysis, is re-privileged as a necessary and sanctifying aspect of Elizabeth's metaphorical martyrdom, which is soon completed as her enemies are vanquished and she receives her crown.

## 2.

Heywood combines hagiographic allusion with theatrics to canonize Elizabeth on the Red Bull stage. Indeed, medieval theatricality appears at the very moment that the play moves from Foxean martyrology to traditional hagiography. *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* is elaborate in its staging and will seem especially so when compared to the plays produced by Shakespeare's company at the Globe during the Elizabethan period.<sup>37</sup> The hagiographic dramaturgy of the play relies as much on a series of highly theatrical pageants as it does on

37. The Red Bull, a Clerkenwell theatre that opened in 1605, offered Stuart playgoers a spectacular alternative to the minimalist staging of the Globe and Blackfriars. Mark Bayer argues that "[w]hat most separated the Red Bull from its predecessors and contemporaries was the magnitude and frequency of its stages and effects, especially at a time when many other venues in the city were moving away from spectacle," in *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011), 170. For more on the Red Bull, see Lucy Munro, "Governing the Pen to the Capacity of the Stage: Reading the Red Bull and Clerkenwell," *Early Theatre* 9 (2006): 99–113; Marta Straznicky, "The Red Bull Repertory in Print, 1605–60," *Early Theatre* 9 (2006): 144–56; and, especially, Eva Griffith,



the narrative structure of saints' lives and *sponsa Christi* motifs to transform Elizabeth's story into a metaphysical struggle.<sup>38</sup> The symbolic system at work on the Red Bull stage embraces a miraculous theatricality that is often identified as "medieval," or even "Catholic," as well as Reformation iconography anchored by demonic Catholic clerics and the vernacular Bible. As I explore in this second part, these seemingly disparate elements of religious knowledge fuse together to form a completed cycle of virgin martyrdom and to create the Jacobean saint play.

The stage business that identifies Elizabeth as a specifically Protestant virgin martyr involves a vernacular Bible. In a pivotal moment before Elizabeth enters her prison chamber in the Tower near the beginning of the play, she instructs her waiting woman, "Clarentia, reach my booke," and then she turns back to the Constable once she holds it and says, "now leade me where you please / From sight of day; or in a dungeon; I shall see to pray" (C4v). The book, which remains with Elizabeth for the rest of the play, both fortifies her and repels her foes. The Constable declares that he desires to

Lay her in a dungeon where her eyes  
Should not haue light to read her prayer booke,  
So would I danger both her soule and body  
Cause she an alyen is to vs catholiques. (D2r)

Although audiences and readers do not know what sort of book Elizabeth carries with her at this point in the play, it is clear that she uses it for Protestant prayer.<sup>39</sup> The representation of Elizabeth's passion with the Bible, an icon of

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*A Jacobean Company and Its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605–1619)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

38. Heywood's play resurfaced on the Restoration stage, where the extensive pageantry proved too much for Samuel Pepys in 1667. His diary entry describes "the most ridiculous" play as extending its pageantry to include a milkmaid who sings "a song to Elizabeth." *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970–83), 8:388. The milkmaid was likely a later addition supplied by a part in *England's Elizabeth* in which the imprisoned princess desires the life of a milkmaid.

39. The Foxean version of events records that "she called to her Gentlewoman for her booke, desiryng God not to suffer her to build her foundation vpon the sandes, but vpon the rocke," but the Constable does not oppose the book (Fuxe, 2290). Fuxe goes into extensive detail about the Constable's dishonourable cruelty to Elizabeth, but that conflict centres on the matter of her diet.

the Reformation, transfers to the stage a tradition of Protestant martyrs and book culture in order to present the opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism primarily through visual and theatrical form. For Foxe and other Reformers, the reading body and textual piety functioned as a symbol of the Protestant faith. As John King has observed, Reformers imagined themselves in polemical texts and images in opposition to a Catholicism that favoured non-textual devotional practices over literate piety.<sup>40</sup> In *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, Elizabeth and the Bible remain together throughout the play and the book becomes both her theatrical and spiritual defense against the devil characters. Heywood creates his angels and devils through brief signals in the dialogue, such as Winchester's association of Elizabeth with "the heretiques" at the beginning and the Constable's wish to put "snakes in her bed," but especially through blocking and stage action. Much of the work that transforms historical events into hagiographical ones in this play is accomplished through theatrical means.

At the centre of the play are three dumb shows that narrate the Reformation story of Elizabeth under Mary as miraculous hagiography. The first dumb show occurs during Elizabeth's captivity in the Tower. After the Constable seizes her dinner and orders her confined to her cell, Sussex and Howard petition the queen to give Elizabeth leave to walk the gardens:

*A dumb show.*

Enter six with torches.

*Tame and Shandoyse, bare-headed, Phillip and Mary* after them: then *Winchester, Beningfeild, and Attendants* : at the other dore, *Sussex & Howard*, *Sussex* deliuers a peticion to the King, the King receiues it, shewes it to the Queene, she shewes it to *Winchester* and to *Beningfeild* : they storme, the King whispers to *Sussex*, and raises him & *Howard*, giues them a piticion, they take their leaues and depart, the King whispers a litle to the Queene.

*Exeunt.* (D1v)

40. John King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 182.

Dumb shows typically communicate narrative and advance the plot through soundless fast-paced action rather than tedious dialogue. It is not important to know exactly what the diabolical team of Winchester and Beningfeild say in response to this petition. The gist of their reaction is that Sussex and Howard have foiled their plot and that it pains them that Elizabeth will not remain confined in harsh conditions. The court scene also reminds spectators that although the Constable serves as the nearest vehicle of Elizabeth's torment in the Tower, the first mover in the scheme is Winchester. What is little noticed in this scene of Winchester and Beningfeild's entrances, storming, and exits becomes apparent in the next dumb show. In the above scene, the script associates them with the cause of evil through oppositional blocking, but in the next dumb show, the blocking will be repeated and the action will transition from mortal opposition to metaphysical attack.

The miraculous dumb show of the virgin saint, her spiritual protectors, and her demonic opposition occurs immediately after dramatic focus returns to her companion stage property, the Bible. As soon as Elizabeth arrives at Woodstock, "*Beningfeild takes a book and looks / into it*" and asks, "soft what book's this"? (E3v). Elizabeth's text was first referred to as "a prayer book" by the Constable, but only after watching Elizabeth carry the book back and forth across the stage as she progressed from one prison to another does Heywood identify it. Beningfeild takes the book and exclaims, "Marry a God. What's here an English bible? [...] Sanctum Maria pardon this prophanation of my heart" (E3v–E4r).<sup>41</sup> Whereas the Constable reacted with Catholic cruelty upon encountering the Bible, this new jailor proves to be a superstitious papist and calls out for holy water to cleanse himself of Protestant impurity as he prays to the Virgin—the other one, the Catholic one—in Latin. The Bible, an important icon of the Reformation, is efficacious in decoding forms of Catholicism and marking the boundary between hagiography predicated on an imitation of Christ, in the case of Elizabeth, and prayer to the Virgin Mary, in the case of

41. This scene does not appear in Foxe, although Heywood adapts the prayer to the Virgin Mary from a digression that is included for "refreshing the reader," about how a goat wandered past the many security measures on Beningfeild's estate and wound up in the same area as the princess. When Elizabeth asks a servant to leave the goat alone, he replies "no by saint Mary (if it like your grace) will I not : for I can not tell whether he be one of the Queenes frendes or no," and takes the animal to Beningfeild. The goat is absent from the play, but Heywood appropriates the reference to "saint Mary" as a speech code for Catholicism. Foxe, 2293.

Beningfeild. To recall, Elizabeth utters “*Tanquam Ovis*” to sanctify herself as a Christ-like sacrificial lamb, an authoritative performance of sanctity in opposition to Beningfeild’s “*sanctam Maria*.” As the play enacts a canonization of Elizabeth as a saint, it recovers a certain tradition of hagiography for Protestantism, namely virgin martyrdom, but through the business with the Bible it emphatically rejects the Catholic cult of the Virgin Mary.

In the central miraculous dumb show of the play, the Bible counteracts demonic Catholicism. While Elizabeth sleeps at Woodstock, music plays and then the following choreographed action occurs:

*A dumb show.*

Enter *Winchester, Constable, Barwick, and Fryars*;  
at the other dore 2. *Angels* : the *Fryar* steps to her,  
offering to kill her : the *Angels* driues them back.  
*Exeunt.* The *Angel* opens the Bible, and puts it in  
her hand as she sleepes; *Exeunt Angels, she wakes.* (E3v)

This dumb show is not only the sanctifying miracle of virgin martyrdom, one of the aspects of the narrative trajectory I discussed in the first half of this article; it also proves foundational in moving this story of Elizabeth’s suffering from literary virgin martyrdom to theatrical sanctity. This spectacle builds on the preceding dumb show of the petition and materializes the opposition between Elizabeth and her foes as part of the ongoing battle between God and the devil through the introduction of four new characters, two angels and two friars, and the demon-repelling properties of the Bible.<sup>42</sup> In the previous dumb show, Mary and her retinue, including Winchester and Beningfeild, entered from one door and “at the other *dore*, Sussex & Howard” appeared. The blocking in that

42. The verse that the angel opens the Bible to, and that Elizabeth reads aloud, is “Whoso putteth his trust in the Lord, / Shall not be confounded” (D4r). The verse is taken from Proverbs 29:25, but it also appears, often in slightly altered English—the 1568 Parker Bible translates it as “for there is no confusion vnto the[m] that put their trust in thee” and the 1611 King James Bible renders it “for they shall not bee confounded that put their truth in thee”—in *The Song of the Three Holy Children* in the apocrypha. Dieter Mehl finds the biblical story, which is another telling of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the *Book of Daniel*, to give “added force to the miracle” of the dumb show in Heywood’s play, that is “the future Queen is symbolically placed in the same situation as the three children in the ‘burning fiery furnace’ and by divine intervention comes out of the flames like a victorious martyr” (Mehl, 158).

scene performed opposition, but it confined its scope to earthly court politics rather than a metaphysical struggle that shows, as Astrid Stilma has argued, “those who are not on the side of the angels must be bound to (and for) hell.”<sup>43</sup> The miraculous dumb show is the most important scene in the play in terms of theatrical innovation in the Jacobean era, not only because it is essential to understanding the angelic passing of Queen Katherine in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Henry VIII*, but also and especially because the repertoire of this scene determines the staging of sanctity in subsequent virgin martyr plays.<sup>44</sup>

This miracle fulfills a necessary part of virgin martyrdom, but in its production of stage sanctity, and not literary sanctity, it appropriates and re-forms religious theatricality as well as Reformation iconography. The scene navigates a history of religious performance in its popular forms, but it does not privilege the Reformed imagination over and above a theatrical tradition of staging sanctity that can be traced from fifteenth-century plays and pageantry to the early seventeenth-century *When You See Me, You Know Me*, the Reformation play that immediately preceded Heywood’s. The dumb show of Elizabeth, her book, angels, and “demons,” turns the history of English theatre back onto itself through a series of revisions and re-formations. It spins through various iterations of religious knowledge in/as theatre that are not of the past, as Kurt Schreyer has cautioned, but were produced first in specific eras, for specific audiences, and are experienced by the future audiences through particular historical and historiographical relationships to those theatrical pasts.<sup>45</sup> With a final response and revision to a key scene of *When You See Me, You Know Me*, the momentary dumb show ultimately shoots us back into the Jacobean present.

43. Astrid Stilma, “Angels, Demons and Political Action in Two Early Jacobean History Plays,” *Critical Survey* 23:2 (2011): 9–25, 15.

44. Amy Appleford names *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* as the “most important intertext” for understanding Katherine of Aragon in *Henry VIII* and notes that “Katherine’s masquelike dying vision in her private chamber at Kimbolton Castle has clear dramatic parallels with the mimed scene in which angels protect the sleeping Elizabeth’s life.” See Appleford, “Shakespeare’s Katherine of Aragon: Last Medieval Queen, First Recusant Martyr,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40 (2010): 154 and 155.

45. In his study of the Chester Banns and Shakespeare’s plays, Schreyer theorizes a performance of “synchronic diachrony” to explain how the Chester Cycle in the seventeenth century “distinguishes the present time of performance from the city’s Catholic past. [...] Diachronic change is in this way the guarantor of synchronic contact with the past.” Kurt Schreyer, *Shakespeare’s Medieval Craft: Remnants of the Mysteries on the London Stage* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 2 and 7.

The sort of theatricality that casts angels and demons in hagiographic scenes was developed by English theatre makers for public audiences between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries. For example, in the N-Town *Assumption of the Virgin* (ca. 1450), angels accompany Mary to heaven while demons carry sinners off to hell. The Skinners' 1535 London Midsummer's Watch pageant of John the Evangelist appears to have dramatized part of John's non-biblical persecution and exile because the cast and set lists call for the saint, an executioner, an angel, and a dragon.<sup>46</sup> Although John is not a martyr, the saint's popular and legendary life included the saint's torture and miraculous preservation (the executioner), angelic visitations in exile (the angel), and demonic visions on the Island of Patmos that appear in the Book of Revelation (the dragon). The use of an angel to signify sanctity also figures into the City of Canterbury's annual Thomas Becket pageant from 1505 to 1538. The show always included four knight-assassins and Thomas's head, but the pageant producers increased their special effects over the years to include blood spill and an angel that levitated with the use of a mechanical device. At its most sophisticated, the pageant depicted the beheading of Thomas before an altar and sanctified his martyrdom through an angelic apparition.<sup>47</sup> Angels and devils take on an even greater role in the fully-scripted Digby *Mary Magdalene*, which includes the seven deadly sins laying siege to Mary's castle, a fight between a Good Angel and a Bad Angel, Satan stomping mad over the failures of his minions, and Mary's final contemplative retreat into the wilderness of France in which the saint levitates and receives the Eucharist with angelic companions.<sup>48</sup> The central dumb show in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* materializes this tradition of theatrical sanctification, a tradition that was rejected and revised by mid-sixteenth-century Reformers.

46. *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of Livery Companies of London, 1485–1640*, ed. Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon, Malone Society Collections 3 (Oxford: Malone Society, 1954), 19.

47. Blood ("sanguine") began appearing on the list of stage properties in 1507 and the "vyce of ye angell" was included in the expenses of 1515. See *Records of Early English Drama: Kent, Diocese of Canterbury*, ed. James M. Gibson, 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 1.102–13.

48. The seven deadly sins appear at SD 439, the bad angel returns to "hell with thondyr" at SD 691, Mary prays and causes the pagan temple to "tremyll and quake" and calls "a clowd from heven" to "sette / þe tempyl One a fyer" at SD 1554 and 1562. *Mary Magdalene in The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and e. Mus. 160*, ed. Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy, and Louis B. Hall, Jr. EETS. o.s. 283. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 26–95.





Fig. 2. John Foxe (1516–87). *Actes and monuments* (London: [Iohn Day], 1563, facing leaf I5 recto: The ... poisoning of king Iohn. Call #: STC 11222. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Protestant dramatists literally and dramatically demonized Catholic clergy and banished angels from their stages.<sup>49</sup> The plays composed by Reformers in the mid-sixteenth century used the medium of theatrical performance to address issues of doctrine, advocate for Protestant reforms, and attack the Roman Catholic Church and certain traditional practices associated with it. Stage devils continued to appear in Reformation theatre in order to “enact whatever opposed individual well-being and the sacramental community,” as John Cox

49. Peter Womack categorizes traditional hagiography into “four possible gests: conversion, martyrdom, miracle, and withdrawal from the world,” and notes that “Lewis Wager’s Protestant dramatization of the Mary Magdalen legend (1566) drops both the miraculous story and the eventual sanctification in the wilderness, leaving what is essentially a play about conversion.” Peter Womack, “Shakespeare and the Sea of Stories,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29 (1999): 182.

has demonstrated in his definitive study.<sup>50</sup> However, the utilization of angels to depict the opposite side of things, that is, the support of individual well-being and the sacramental community, dropped out of theatre in the mid-sixteenth century and appeared rarely in the drama of the professional theatre in the later sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The Reformation dramatists John Bale and Lewis Wager depicted sanctity without staging martyrdom or miracles as they appeared in earlier English theatricality. Bale's *King Johan* (1538) is the earliest text to create a stage martyr through a Reformist perspective. In the early thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III excommunicated the king and placed England under interdict. John eventually submitted to the papacy and died shortly thereafter. Drawing on William Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christen Man* (1528), Bale depicts John as a true Christian king who, along with Widow England, is besieged by Sediton and Dissimulation, regicidal monks who are the minions of the pope. The most theatrical sequence of the play stages John's martyrdom. In doing so, the king's sanctity is defined less through his own actions than through his victimization by scheming demonic monks. On a suicide mission that seems to involve witchcraft as much as papist ritual, Dissimulation embodies "the malyce of the cleryge" as he collects "the poyson of a toade" for two cups of ale, one for himself and one for the king.<sup>52</sup> Convinced that he will ascend to "paradyse" without "that whoreson purgatory," Dissimulation receives advanced absolution for the planned regicide from Sediton.<sup>53</sup> Bale's iconic monk-devil also appears in Foxe's account of King John accompanied by six iconic woodcuts that depict scenes of the narrative. The two central illustrations show the dead king and the scene of his murder. These two panels are surrounded by scenes that depict

50. John D. Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2

51. Previous to the dumb show in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, angels appeared in *Three Lords of London* by Robert Wilson, *A Looking-Glass for London and England* (1590) by Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, *Doctor Faustus* (1592) by Christopher Marlowe, and the anonymous *Guy of Warwick* (1593). For the rare use of angels in professional drama, see Holly Crawford Pickett, "Angels in England: Idolatry and Wonder at the Red Bull Playhouse," in *Thunder at the Playhouse: Proceedings from the Fourth Blackfriars Conference*, ed. Peter Kanelos and Matt Kozusko (Selingsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 175-99.

52. John Bale, *King Johan* (London: Printed for the Malone Society by J. Johnson at the Oxford University Press, 1931), lines 2168 and 2010.

53. Bale, 2039-40.



the evil actions or beliefs of the regicidal monks: two monks pray over the dead assassin monk, a requiem Mass is sung for the soul of the assassin monk, the assassin monk mixes the poison, and, finally, the monk is absolved by another with accompanied speech of “Ego absoluo te&c,” which mirrors the same scene in Bale’s play. Although Foxe’s text and illustrations mostly parallel parts of Bale’s play because they both derived from the same source narrative, Bale’s choice to embody devils in the guise of Catholic clergy transferred to Foxe’s woodcuts, and through the Foxean imagination of the English Reformation to Heywood’s play.

In Wager’s *The Life and Repentaunce of Mary Magdalene*, the repentant sinner must overcome the temptations of luxury, sensuality, and vanity, all of which can be understood as the demons of papist practice. The title character, like the reforming church, must rid herself of popish excess in order to progress from sinner to saint. When the vain Magdalene first appears on stage, she does so “triflyng with her garments”—an outward sign of her inward excess, but this is about as involved as the stage directions get.<sup>54</sup> Wager’s Magdalene play noticeably lacks the romance sub-plots, miracles, angels, and demons in the saint’s medieval legends. The seven deadly sins are exorcised out of her by Christ, which can indeed be considered a miracle, but it is performed without the spectacular theatricality of angels and devils at the castle in the Digby *Mary Magdalene*.<sup>55</sup> For a strict Reformer like Wager, sinful excess was located not only in popish religion but also in miraculous staging. Therefore, the playwright staged Mary’s battle against sin through morality play characters whose assaults on her soul were confined to tactics of courtly seduction rather than otherworldly feats. The demonic action of the monks in *King Johan* and the morality play exorcism in the *Life and Repentaunce* indeed present outward signs of sanctification, but they are—and were created to

54. Lewis Wager, *The Life and Repentaunce of Mary Magdalene* (London: John Charlewood, 1566), sig. A4r. STC 24932.

55. Katherine Gillen finds that Bale, throughout his dramatic works, “endeavored to distinguish his productions from Catholic miracle plays by creating a theatre of signs (rather than miracles) that accorded with Protestant understandings of sacramental representation.” See Gillen, “Authorial Anxieties and Theatrical Instability in John Bale’s Biblical Plays and Shakespeare and Wilkins’ *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*,” in *Stages of Engagement: Drama and Religion in Post Reformation England*, ed. James D. Mardock and Kathryn R. McPherson (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2014), 174.

be—categorically different from the miracles that attend Mary Magdalene in the Digby play.

The demonology of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, especially as it materializes in the central dumb show, can be traced to *King Johan* as well as to Reformation iconography. Bale revised the repertoire of earlier theatrical demons to identify “traditional religion itself with the devil,” notably in the guise of monks and cardinals who serve the arch-enemy of the true church: the pope.<sup>56</sup> Reformation demonology, therefore, explains Heywood's choice to depict Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester as *Cardinal Winchester*. Although Gardiner is made into the arch-villain of the Marian age in the pages of Foxe, he is never referred to as “Cardinal,” because he never achieved that position and died as the *Bishop* of Winchester. Church of England clergy could become bishops, but only Roman Catholic clergy were friars, monks, or cardinals. In making Winchester a cardinal, Heywood turned the villain of the *Book of Martyrs* into the devil of this saint play. The opposition to the devils of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, embodied by Winchester, Beningfeild, the Constable, and two friars, involves specific stage business with two angels and the English Bible. Although Bale, Wager, and Foxe banished angelic miracles from their iterations of sanctity, the demon-repelling properties of the Bible derive from the Reformation imagination. In a woodcut featured on the title page of *The First Examinacyon of Anne Askewe* (1546) by John Bale, the Bible is held by the important Marian martyr as she stands on top of a dog-like demon in a papal crown. Although medieval and Renaissance depictions of women saints, especially virgin martyrs, also included books, the Protestant Reformation placed a premium on literate piety centred on the Word of God itself.<sup>57</sup> Unlike the virgin martyrs who held books along with the other icons of their sanctity in late medieval portraiture and sixteenth-century woodcuts, Anne Askew's book is labelled “BIBLIA,” and illustrates a Protestant minimalism that requires no additional symbols beyond a martyr's palm and a demon with a papal crown underfoot. Like, the “English bible,” opposed by Beningfeild and held by Elizabeth throughout *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, the nature of Askew's book is not ambiguous and neither is the confession it represents.

56. Cox, 84–85. In Bale's *The Temptation of Our Lord* (1538), Satan appears in the habit of a monk.

57. See Winstead, 147–80 (“The Politics of Reading”).

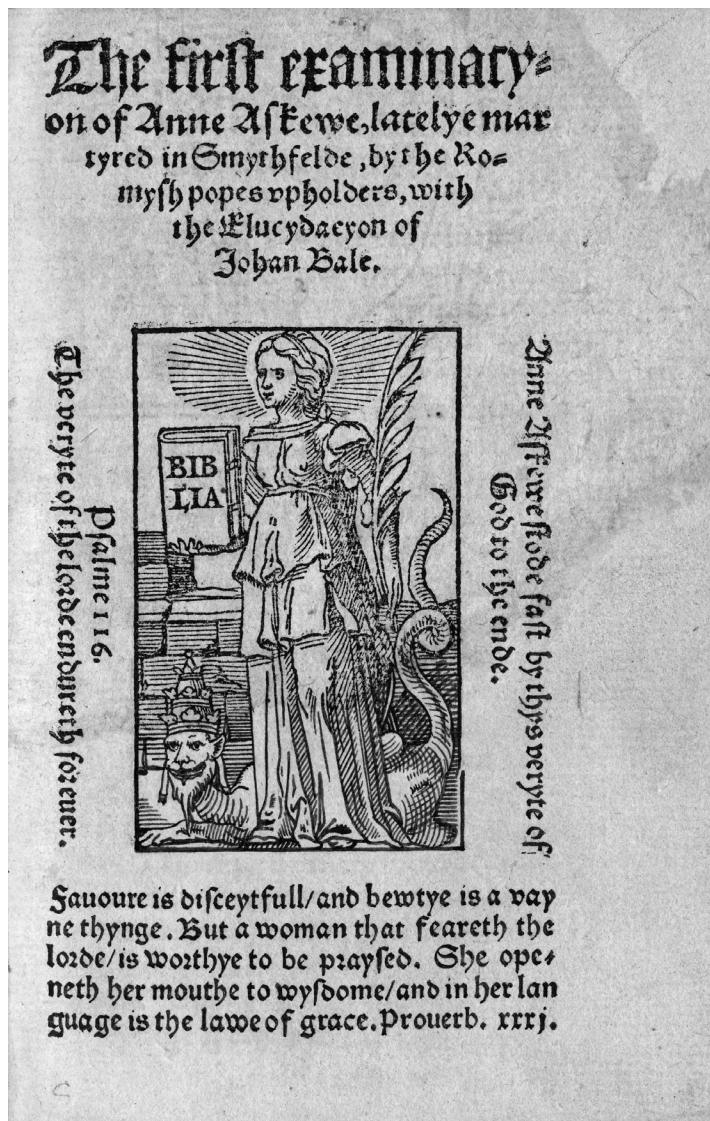


Fig. 3. Anne Askew (1521–46). *The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romyshe popes vpholders, with the elucydaeyon of Iohan Bale* (Marpurg: [D. van der Straten], 1546), title page. Call #: STC 848. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.





In *The Book of Martyrs*, the Bible also figures as a central character in the dynamics between Reformation Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. On the final page of “the first Volume of the Booke of Martyrs,” in the 1576 edition, a woodcut “describing the weight and substance of Gods most blessed word, agaynst the doctrines and vanities of man’s traditions” takes up most of the folio leaf. A blindfolded Justice weighs the knickknacks of Roman Catholicism against a single Protestant Bible. On Justice’s left are cardinals, bishops, and monks who pile prayer books, Eucharistic hosts, rosary beads, crucifixes, chalices, and other golden objects onto a scale. A small devil attempts to add further substance to the papist side by hanging off of the weight. To the right of Justice stand a few barefoot ancient Christians who point to the heft of a single book labelled “Verbum Dei,” which contains more substance than the composite junk on the other scale. This stripped-down iconography mirrors Wager’s allegorical depiction of Mary Magdalene as the reforming church in *The Life and Repeantaunce of Mary Magdalene*. These Reformers performatively enact their church as an excavated ancient Christianity that is no longer buried beneath linguistic artifice, idolatry, or ceremony.

In addition to accessing the Reformation imagination of the Bible, Heywood’s drama with the book in the dumb show also cites and revises the division between Catholicism and Protestantism as represented by the character of Queen Mary in two previous Reformation era history plays, *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1602) by Thomas Dekker and John Webster and *When You See Me, You Know Me* (1604) by Samuel Rowley. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* begins just as Edward VI is dying and depicts the brief monarchy of Lady Jane Grey, the Wyatt rebellion, and the eventual execution of Jane, her husband, and Thomas after Mary ascends to the throne. Mary’s first entrance at the beginning of this play impacts the shape of Elizabeth’s Protestant sanctity in Heywood’s play. The stage directions instruct, “Enter Queene Mary with a Prayer Booke in her / hand, like a Nun,” and in case the actor playing Mary was unable to affect nun-ness, Dekker and Webster script Mary’s first lines to clearly communicate her cloister-like religiosity, “Thus like a Nun, not like a Princesse borne. [...] Their seuerall pleasures: all their pride and honour, / I haue forsaken for a rich prayer Booke.”<sup>58</sup> Moments later, Sir

58. Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *The famous history of Sir Thomas VVyat* (London: Printed by E A for Thomas Archer, 1607) Sig. A4r–v; STC 6537. Teresa Grant has observed that “[d]evout women of either branch of Christianity, relying on their prayer-book or bible, became representative in early Jacobean drama for chastity and goodness” (Grant, 125).

Henry Beningfeild enters and announces, "Your Brother King is dead, / And you the catholicke Queene must now succede" (A4v). It is the only part of the play that names a particular religious confession, but Mary "like a Nun," along with Winchester restores Catholicism to England. This play is absent of direct hagiographic reference except in one particular and important aspect. During the Kentish rebellion, led by Wyatt, the two sides both invoke St. George to their separate causes in an almost Hegelian tragic iteration of Shakespeare's *Henry V* speech at Agincourt. As the troops charge, Wyatt invokes, "Saint George for England, Wiat for poore Kent, / Blood lost in Countries quarrel, is nobly spent," and on the side of the crown, the Duke of Norfolk prays, "God and Saint George, this day fight on our side, / While thus we tame a desperate Rebels pride" (D4v and E1v). The English orthodoxy of St. George also surfaces in *When You See Me, You Know Me*, a play that produces a complex view of the Henrician Reformation. St. George is conspicuously invoked five times by Charles Brandon and Henry VIII, and when the king plans the ceremonial meeting with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, he includes the icon of the patron saint in the order of the procession, "And with our George and our collar of estate, / Present him with the order of the Garter" (K2v).<sup>59</sup> The Englishness of St. George is contrasted in the play by the Roman Catholicism of the general cult of the saints, again, through association with Mary Tudor.

The status of the cult of the saints also informs the confessional differences between Mary and Elizabeth at a crucial moment in *When You See Me, You Know Me*, a part of the play that Heywood cites in the angelic dumb show. Near the end of Samuel Rowley's play, Edward VI receives correspondence from his sisters whose confessional differences are materialized through traditional and Reformed positions towards intercessory prayer. Mary's letter begins, "The blessed Mother of thy redeemer, with all the Angels & / holy Saints be intermissers to preserue thee of Idolatrie, to invoke the Saints for helpe," but Edward resolves to "pray / For preseruacion [...] Without the helpe of Saint or cerimonie" (I1r). In contrast, Elizabeth's letter encourages the young prince to "Be dedicate to God onely," and "to shun Idolatrie, / Heaven send thee life to inherite thy election" (I1r). As Brian Walsh argues, this stage business with the bad Catholic letter and the good Protestant letter exhibits a "clever adaptation of the morality play trope of dueling influences competing for a protagonist's

59. Samuel Rowley, *VWhen you see me, you know mee* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1605), I1r; STC 21417.

soul.”<sup>60</sup> Heywood draws on the same theatrical trope in the central dumb show of *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, but he revises it so that the angels and demons actually materialize. Furthermore, this revision responds to the theatrical antecedent of Edward with the letters in Samuel Rowley’s play by taking the angels out of Mary’s Catholic letter and reassigning them to Elizabeth, the Protestant virgin martyr with the unmediated Word of God. What is remarkable about the appearance of the heavenly beings in the dumb show is, as Stilma argues, that “angels are not really needed on stage” to show the opposition between metaphysical good and evil because the stage devil alone functions as “an agent of order.”<sup>61</sup> Indeed, order has already been established in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* through Winchester, the Constable, and Benningfeild’s Catholic opposition to Elizabeth and the Bible. What the dumb show clarifies to audiences through the appearance of the friars on the Catholic side, the demons developed by Reformation visual cultures, and the angels on Elizabeth’s, which is Heywood’s own take on oppositional repertoire, is that the play represents a spiritual struggle in which God intervenes with a miracle to sanctify the virgin martyr. The miracle on stage can be understood as allegorical or as efficacious; its ambiguity, accomplished by the lack of verbal reference to doctrinal definitions that are present in other Reformation-era plays, also allows it to be interpreted as both. What is not ambiguous, however, is the confessional identity of the miracle. Through the particular iconographical and theatrical navigation and revision of the history of traditional and Reformed paradigms of sanctity, Heywood christens the hagiographic miracle a Protestant.

Following the dumb show in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, the play completes Elizabeth’s theatrical *vita* through pageantry that performs martyrdom, divine retribution, and heavenly coronation, the final narrative parts in the cycle of virgin martyrdom. To recall from the examination of hagiography in the first part of this article, miraculous intervention performs a key role in a virgin martyr passion. In addition to preserving the saint, devils and tyrant characters are also struck down. The destruction of the devil also occurs in Heywood’s play in the third and final dumb show. After Elizabeth’s handmaid, Clarentia, relates the dreams of assassination and *sponsa Christi* imagery, the scene abruptly ends and the one that follows is a funeral procession intended to be understood as the foreshadowed martyrdom:

60. Walsh, 149.

61. Stilma, 23.

*Enter, A dumb show : six Torches.*

*Sussex* bearing the Crowne, *Howard* bearing the Scepter, the *Constable* the Mace, *Tame* the Purse, *Shandoyse* the Sword, *Phillip* and *Mary* ; after them the *Cardinall Poole*, *Beningfeild* & *Attendants* : *Phillip* and *Mary* confers ; he takes leaue, and *Exit*. Nobles bring him to the dore, and returne; she Fales in a swoound; they comfort her; a dead march. Enter foure with the herse of *Winchester*, with the Scepter and Purse lying on it, the *Queen* takes the Scepter and Mace, and giues it *Cardinall Poole*; a sennet, and *Exeunt Omnes, preter Sussex*. (G1r)

Building on premonitions of martyrdom, Mary's swoon and the funeral march indicate that the spectacle on stage represents the death of Heywood's virgin martyr. Instead, audiences learn that God has intervened vengefully. The end of the dumb show communicates that Winchester has died and his office is transferred to Cardinal Poole. More news then follows. Cardinal Poole, Winchester's "more base" replacement, and the queen have also taken ill and soon die (G1r). Yet, Elizabeth is "still preseru'd, and still her foes do fall" (G1r). The sudden deaths, like the preceding dumb show of the Good Book, demonstrate the power of God and Christianity over the devil and Catholicism.

The final scene of the play depicts Elizabeth's ascension to the throne of England, and this event structurally parallels martyrdom and ascension to heaven, the final missing piece of virgin martyrdom. Two contrasting coronation pageants bookend the plot of the play, those of Mary and Elizabeth, respectively. Mary's first entrance on stage occurs in a small coronation pageant that immediately precedes her tyrannical assumption of the throne and Elizabeth's arrest:

*Enter Tame bearing the purse : Shandoyse the Mace : Howard the Septer ; Sussex the Crowne : then the Queene, after her the Cardinall, Sentlow, Gage, and attendants.* (A3v)



Mary's pageant contains the necessary elements of a royal procession, but Elizabeth's upstages hers:

*A Sennet. Enter 4. Trumpeters : after them Sargeant Trumpeter with a Mace, after him Purse-bearer, Sussex with Crown, Howard the scepter, Cōstable with the Cap of mayntenāce, Shandoyse with the Sword, Tame with the Coller and a George, foure men bearing vp her trayne, six gentle-men Pensioners, the Queene takes state. (G3r)*

Heywood's coronation pageant for Elizabeth re-presents the historic coronation of the Virgin Queen in order to dwarf Mary's and to separate the devils from the saints. The contrast between the two presents Mary on the side of Catholicism, with "Cardinall" Winchester following at her heels, and Elizabeth on the victorious side of both English sanctity and Protestantism. Among Elizabeth's royal accoutrements is an object notably missing from Mary's procession—the "George" carried by Tame. The Protestant virgin martyr appears in a pageant bearing an image of St. George, England's thoroughly orthodox patron saint. The holy, as it turns out, are on the side of the saints.

Elizabeth's final sanctification in the play occurs when she is reunited with the companion of her passion. The Mayor of London presents the new queen with the English Bible and she receives it by identifying herself as the formerly captive corpus:

This booke that hath so long conceald it selfe,  
So long shutvp, so long hid; now Lords see,  
We here vnclapse, for euer it is free:  
Who lookes for ioy, let him this booke adore. (G4r)

In this final celebratory speech, Elizabeth moves from a symbiotic relationship with the book to conflating her story of sanctity with the icon of the Reformation. According to Elizabeth Williamson, the staging of the coronation pageant at the end of the play "reminds its audience that Elizabeth's public image, which was based on Protestant ideals about the immateriality of faith, was very

much rooted in physical gestures and in the Bible itself as a material object.”<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth suffered and protected the book—both what it symbolized and its physical presence. The book, in turn, was her fellow sufferer and functioned as a miraculous shield against the demonic forces that aimed to destroy Elizabeth and English Protestantism.

Three decades ago, John Wasson pronounced *If You Know Not Me* a “secular saint’s play” and also claimed that Heywood was “reinventing the wheel rather than drawing upon an ancient and continuing saints’ lives tradition.”<sup>63</sup> Upon closer examination, it appears that Heywood actually accomplished both; that is, he drew on the structure of traditional virgin martyr legends while also producing a new vision of theatrical sanctity. Thus far, scholarship has linked *If You Know Not Me*, *You Know Nobody* to other Reformation history and pro-Protestant plays, and it comes as no surprise that two successive dramas, *The Whore of Babylon* (1606) and *Henry VIII* (1613), feature brief scenes of devilish and angelic creatures, respectively, that can be traced to or through Heywood’s central dumb show. As I conclude, however, I would like to suggest an additional categorization for this understudied play: the first Stuart saint play, a genre that Heywood invented. While there are few extant texts of medieval saint plays, and the records of pre-Reformation theatrical sanctity attest to traditions of gaming, folk drama, and iconographical pageantry at least as often as they indicate the sort of dramatic representation found in the Digby saint plays, the Stuart era produced a sub-genre of saint plays.<sup>64</sup> A decade after Elizabeth performed the cycle of virgin martyrdom at the new theatre in Clerkenwell, three more plays associated with the Red Bull Company would create virgin martyr saints through a series of embodied tropes first found in Heywood’s play and, especially, in the central angelic dumb show. *A Shoemaker*, *A Gentleman* (ca. 1618) by William Rowley, *The Virgin Martyr* (1620) by Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger, and the anonymous *Two Noble Ladies*,

62. Elizabeth Williamson, *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 167.

63. “The Elizabethan Era,” in *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 252.

64. For more on the problems of evidence and interpretive disagreements concerning saint plays, see Lawrence Clopper, “Why Are There So Few Saint Plays?” *Early Theatre* 1 (1999): 107–12; Clifford Davidson, “Coping with Ambiguity,” *Early Theatre* 2 (1999): 97–106; and Sally-Beth Maclean, “Saints on Stage: An Analytical Survey of Dramatic Records in the West of England,” *Early Theatre* 2 (1999): 45–62.

and the *Converted Conjuror* (ca. 1619–22) all produced saints on stage through a series of embodied tropes that derive from Heywood's dumb show: angelic apparitions to musical accompaniment, the use of books as apotropaic devices, the smiting of devils and tyrants, and the miraculous validation of virginity.<sup>65</sup> The particular confession of Christianity in these later Jacobean virgin martyr plays is up for debate, and critics have argued for confession variously, but the questions of who is a saint and who is a tyrant or devil are settled through the same theatrical terms that appear in *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*; books and angels are allied with the saint through miraculous spectacle and the devils and the tyrants are against her. And although explicit virgin martyr characters do not appear in *The Martyr'd Solider* (ca. 1619–22) by Henry Shirley, *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (ca. 1635) by John Kirke, and *St Patrick for Ireland* (1939) by James Shirley, the same repertoire of the Jacobean virgin martyr plays structures the performances of sanctity in these plays as well.<sup>66</sup> Heywood's hagiographical rendering of Elizabeth's Protestant

65. Holly Crawford Pickett first identified Red Bull repertoire of angelic apparitions accompanied by music in *The Virgin Martyr* and *The Matyr'd Soldier* in her essay, "Angels in England." For other recent considerations of *The Virgin Martyr*, see Thomas Moretti, "Via Media Theatricality and Religious Fantasy in Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (1622)," *Renaissance Drama* 42 (2014): 243–70; Holly Crawford Pickett, "Dramatic Nostalgia and Spectacular Conversion in Dekker and Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr*," *Studies in English Literature* 49 (2009): 437–62; Jane Hwang Degenhardt, "Catholic Martyrdom in Dekker and Massinger's *The Virgin Martir* and the Early Modern Threat of 'Turning Turk,'" *English Literary History* 73 (2006): 83–117; and Nova Myhill, "Making Death a Miracle: Audience and Genres of Martyrdom in Dekker and Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr*," *Early Theatre* 7 (2004): 9–31. Other Stuart saint plays have received less consideration, but both *Shoemaker* and *Two Noble Ladies* are addressed by Elizabeth Williamson in *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern England*, cited above. *Shoemaker* is briefly considered by Lisa Hopkins, "The Edge of Heaven," in *Renaissance Drama on the Edge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) and Gina M. Di Salvo, "Saints' Lives and Shoemakers' Holidays: The Gentle Craft and Wells Cordwainers' Pageant of 1613," *Early Theatre* 19 (2016): 119–38.

66. Lisa Hopkins also considers *Seven Champions* and *St Patrick* along with *The Virgin Martyr* in "Profit and Delight? Magic and the Dreams of a Nation," in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich (London: Routledge, 2014), 139–54. See also Elizabeth Williamson, "Batter'd, Not Demolish'd: Staging the Tortured Body in *The Martyred Soldier*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013): 43–59; Alison Searle, "Conversion in James Shirley's *St Patrick for Ireland*," in *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature*, ed. Lieke Stelling et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 199–224; and Robert Lublin,

near-martyrdom might have very well authorized the structure of sanctity for the Stuart age.

Until recently, ideas of the Protestant and the Catholic were divided up into separate aesthetic and cultural categories. Within this framework, saints and ceremony were assigned to Catholicism, and yet the early Jacobean *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* claims them for the English Protestant Church. How the play produces both virgin martyr hagiography and its stark confessional differences between Catholicism and Protestantism offers an alternative perspective that rejects assigning a "Catholic" label to medieval-derived genres and Jacobean theatrical practices. As I have argued here, Heywood did not supersede medieval hagiography with Protestant martyrology or traditional theatre with Reformed dramaturgy but combined these seemingly disparate discourses to construct "A Virgine and a Martyr both."

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"Shirley's Dublin Days: A Nervous Premiere of *St. Patrick for Ireland*," in *James Shirley and Early Modern Theatre: New Critical Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Ravelhofer (London: Routledge, 2016), 108–23.