



# A Psalm for King James: Rubens's *Peace Embracing Plenty* and the Virtues of Female Affection at Whitehall

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I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the LORD. Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem. Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together: Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the LORD, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the LORD. For there are set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Because of the house of the LORD our God I will seek thy good. (Psalm 122, King James Version)

In the early 1630s Peter Paul Rubens produced nine large canvases for the ceiling of the Whitehall Palace Banqueting House in London (plate 1). The bustling composition known as the *Peaceful Reign of King James I* (plate 2) would have hung directly over the enthroned monarch, Rubens's patron, Charles I.<sup>1</sup> Thus the two Stuart sovereigns, past and present, appeared to visitors from a distance as they entered the cavernous rectangular Stateroom, or Presence Chamber, for an audience with the king.<sup>2</sup> Within the *Peaceful Reign* the two embracing female figures at left have long been recognized as keys to the proper interpretation of both the scene in which they appear and Rubens's animated allegorical programme as a whole. That these sensual female personifications should be portrayed in so intimate a coupling has been explained, and explained away, by means of a popular figuration of paired 'Christian' virtues found in the Old Testament. Susan B. Shapiro was evidently the first to suggest a specific textual source for the women's affectionate encounter. Referring in 1967 to the remarkable Yale oil sketch on which the figures are based (plate 3), Shapiro observed that the arrangement of Peace and Plenty 'clearly paraphrases the passage "righteousness and peace have kissed each other" in the 85th Psalm, a passage often illustrated in similar terms'.<sup>3</sup> Yet despite the fact that Rubens's painted women appear not (yet) to have kissed nor, more importantly, do they embody the precise combination of virtues named by the Psalmist, scholars have generally accepted this as the most likely reason for their presence at Whitehall.<sup>4</sup>

Although the use of female forms as carriers of abstract ideas or moral qualities was ubiquitous by Rubens's time, art-historical methods have only recently begun to accommodate what Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal describe as the 'dynamic force which arises specifically from the unruly, less readily controlled bodily meanings that *figura* mobilizes'.<sup>5</sup> Beyond merely paraphrasing or personifying an isolated virtue or vice, the meeting and kissing described in the 85th Psalm – the subject of

**Detail from Unknown artist,  
Peace, Book of Common  
Prayer and Bible Cover,  
c. 1639–40 (plate 15).**

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I Interior view of the great hall with ceiling decoration and paintings by Peter Paul Rubens, 1633–35, Banqueting House, Whitehall Palace, London. Photo: © Historic Royal Palaces.



extensive commentary in the Middle Ages, as will be discussed below – provided an authoritative justification for presenting female affection, even same-sex desire, in a morally positive light. For example, *Allied Virtues* (c. 1578–82), an allegorical four-part series of eroticized female twosomes engraved by the Dutch late mannerist, Hendrick Goltzius, parallels the Psalm's gendered theme and may have inspired Rubens, who admired the older artist's boldly drawn figures.<sup>6</sup> Like Goltzius, Rubens would employ the visual conceit of scantily clad, warmly affectionate women in a secular context.

Home in embattled Antwerp, where the Whitehall canvases were executed, Rubens and his studio converged homoerotic desire and the desire for civic peace in another painting that features suggestively embracing female-bodied virtues (plate 4). In the oil sketch today in Besançon, allegorical love-making-as-peace-making encroaches on historical time and space. The scene consists of two flirtatious female figures, nearly nude from the waist up, whose hand-holding and courting transpires on a pile of contemporary armour, shields, pikes, and other instruments of war. Behind them, an architectural screen, prettily adorned with strapwork, putti,

and garlands in the modern taste, reveals the neatly rendered Citadel of Antwerp, a contested symbol of Spanish presence and siege warfare since its completion in 1572. The site-specific oil sketch may have been executed for the entry of the incoming ruler of the Spanish Netherlands, the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, who arrived in 1635. In an implicit acknowledgement of their Sapphic character, Julius Held suggested the two embracing women in Rubens's composition could be understood as 'emblematically expressing the idea that Fortune favors the bold' – in this case evidently a bare-breasted, helmet-wearing figure often identified as Bellona, the Roman goddess of war.<sup>7</sup> Whatever the precise identities and meanings of the female figures populating his civic allegories, however, Rubens tacitly implies their status as timelessly universal, abstract personifications through classicized military and mythological dress and stock attributes. The women's animated union throws the regimented fortress into perspective; fortunate indeed is the city that artfully distracts the goddess of war from her belligerent ways.



**2 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Peaceful Reign of James I*, 1633–35. Oil on canvas, 762 × 549 cm. London: Banqueting House, Whitehall Palace. Photo: © Historic Royal Palaces.**

For the increasingly cosmopolitan London court, Rubens would marry levels of reality in a comparatively less straightforward, though more prosaic, manner than he had in the Spanish Netherlands. In form and content alike, the Banqueting House ceiling exploits the rhetorical potential of a mature, consciously appropriative, artistic practice. There, at the peak of his powers, Rubens combined Titian's virtuosic painterliness and Michelangelo's conceptual ingenuity with the erudite humanism of the most sophisticated northern European courtiers and 'contemporary' art collectors. In Whitehall's warm-blooded sketches and canvases the artist paints in a naturalistic manner capable of troubling the distinction between literal and figurative, flesh and spirit. Updating and invigorating an allegorical tradition previously dominated by mannered and impersonal, if not indifferent, personifications, Rubens stages his lifelike symbols as distinctive but interdependent actors motivated by human psychology and emotions.<sup>8</sup> As a result, abstractions



**3** Peter Paul Rubens, *Peace Embracing Plenty*, c. 1633–34. Oil on panel, 62.9 × 47 cm. New Haven: Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art. Photo: Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art.

4 Peter Paul Rubens (and workshop?), *Allegory with the Citadel of Antwerp*, c. 1634(?). Oil on panel, 64.4 cm x 50 cm. Besançon: Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie. Photo: Charles Choffet.



like Peace and Plenty paradoxically act out the subplots that add iconographical complexity to so many of the Flemish painter's allegories, whether religious, civic, secular, or a combination thereof.

Rubens had begun to mix genres (and visual metaphors) in his major courtly programmes of the 1620s such as the Medici cycle – where the dowager Queen of France appears as both timeless Bellona and matronly *seicento* widow – and the Eucharist tapestry series – whose conceit of feigned textiles on real textiles combines biblical narratives, doctrinal emblems, and contemporary portraits. It may be no coincidence, as Mark Roskill has argued, that by the 1630s what the previous century saw as an antagonistic aesthetic binary of ideal versus natural had been ingeniously reconciled in the late portraits of Rubens's one-time assistant, Anthony van Dyck. According to Roskill, following Van Dyck's return to London from Antwerp in 1635, the prolific painter seems to have settled on two modes of elite portraiture: either symbolic and theatrical or, as an alternative, 'synecdochically' allusive, a style which Roskill considers more in line with the changeable cultural and political character of the English court.

In what Roskill terms his 'masque portraits', Van Dyck's costumed sitters display signifying attributes and perform allegorical roles. In the painter's 'allusive' likenesses, by contrast, qualities of the subjects' character, status, and even confessional identity are suggested through their represented comportment, that is, by 'the way in which, in a state of preparation for conflict or an atmosphere of peaceful and familial contentment, they carry out their roles of self-assertion and definition'.<sup>9</sup> Roskill contrasts the 'more self-consciously directed' and open-ended quality of Van Dyck's allusive portraits with the propagandistic and less imaginative, context-based, allegories of Titian and Rubens.<sup>10</sup> Yet in his London allegories, Rubens might be said to have achieved a harmonization of aesthetic binaries within a single programme by combining Van Dyck's two discrete modes. At Whitehall, a ruggedly aged, natural-looking King James (rather than an allegorically costumed or historiated likeness) inhabits an otherworldly realm where mythological personages abound but symbolic props are neither required nor forbidden. Masque-like characters such as Peace are themselves gesturally allusive, while an unidealized King James I is shown actively witnessing an allegorization of war. In this respect, it is useful to recall that, initially, the ceiling was designed to echo the costumed aristocratic spectacles that had occurred beneath it. Those who performed in and watched the Caroline court's 'gynocentric theatricals' would have been well accustomed not only to costumed male courtiers cast in the roles of gods and kings but, more astonishingly, to fantastically dressed female actors with speaking parts.<sup>11</sup> In *Tempe Restored*, a masque created by Inigo Jones and Aurelian Townsend and performed in 1632, Henrietta Maria herself personified Divine Virtue, while her foil, the evil queen Circe, appeared in a 'sumptuous palace' seated in a 'chair of state'.<sup>12</sup> For viewers of what, by mid-seventeenth-century courtly standards, were the believably everyday attitudes and appearances conjured in their midst by a gifted colourist-draftsman like Rubens, the seductive rhetorical powers of embodied abstractions must have been hard to resist.

Rubens thus takes the beholder's willingness to conflate real and ideal as a given, trusting (perhaps wrongly) that the visual exegete will initially confront his art at a superficial and visceral level only to arrive, albeit via the pleasures of painted flesh, at an allegorical, or figurative, understanding of the biblical text it purports to represent.<sup>13</sup> That the viewer of the *Peaceful Reign* should have the Psalms in mind is of course crucial to appreciating the inventiveness and originality of Rubens's complex conceptual project. Here I wish to argue that the amorous virtues at Whitehall derive not from Psalm 85 but from the more politically and ecclesiologically apt Psalm 122, specifically the passage excerpted in the epigraph. In drawing on the latter Psalm, Rubens's painted allegory of good government invokes Old Testament prescriptions for royal city-making and kingship, a style of sovereignty signally exemplified by David's son and King James's prototype, Solomon, builder of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem.

### **A Flemish Catholic in the Caroline Court**

At a Protestant court where Church and State were stridently conjoined by a monarch who was seen to embody them both, the Bible was constantly mined for types and prefigurations of divinely ordained royal prerogative. In view of its supposed authorship by the musically inclined King David, the Book of Psalms was considered an especially appropriate source for semi-liturgical ceremonies such as coronations. Psalm 84, which begins: 'Save me, O God, by thy name, and judge me by thy strength', was used for the procession at the coronation of James I in 1603. However, the entrance music was changed for the crowning of James's son, Charles I, in 1625/26 (o.s.). Thereafter, *Laetatus sum*, or 'I was glad', as settings of Psalm 122 are known, has accompanied the entrance to Westminster Abbey of every soon-to-be-crowned British

monarch (including Elizabeth II), establishing this Psalm as a scriptural commonplace for celebrations of English sovereignty.<sup>14</sup> In his dual role as diplomat and court artist, Rubens was necessarily familiar with the personal devices and ceremonial tastes of his noble and royal patrons. It therefore seems likely that the artist would have been aware of the change in ceremonial music for Charles I, a change presumably owed to the new king's affinity for Psalm 122, a text that he and his court would have associated with the reign of his father, the *rex pacificus*, King James.<sup>15</sup>

In 1621, Rubens wrote a famous letter to William Trumbull, James I's agent in Brussels, angling for an important commission from the king. With characteristic foresight, Rubens simultaneously attempted to curry favour with Trumbull's superior, the staunchly Calvinist Lord Ambassador in The Hague, Dudley Carleton, and secure the decoration of Inigo Jones's 'hall in the New Palace' in London. As Rubens had learned, James was already looking ahead to the commemoration of his reign on the ceiling of the banqueting hall. In the following year, 1622, Jones's magnificently classicized addition to the royal apartments at Whitehall was largely completed, with the exception of the interior decoration.<sup>16</sup>

It was perhaps through the acquisitive Carleton, to whom he had provided a substantial number of paintings in 1618, that Rubens had gained some degree of familiarity with the proposed site and even the style of art the London court had in mind for one of the period's most coveted projects.<sup>17</sup> Hence the painter's immodest but seemingly warranted claim that 'my talent is such that no undertaking, however vast in size or diversified in subject, has ever surpassed my courage'.<sup>18</sup> Rubens had executed a number of vast works by this time, including the (now lost) typological ceiling panels at the Jesuit church in Antwerp and several of his best-known triptychs including the *Elevation of the Cross* (1610–11) and the *Descent* (1612–14). His indomitable self-confidence is nonetheless impressive given that it predates the most monumental of his compositionally complex, programmatic commissions for the grandest of royal spaces in Marie de Medici's Paris (Luxembourg Palace) and Philip IV's Madrid (the convent of the *Descalzas Reales*).

Considerable time was to elapse between Rubens's first inklings of the Whitehall Banqueting House commission as envisioned by then King James in the early 1620s and the eventual installation of the canvases under the patronage of Charles I in 1636.<sup>19</sup> In the interim Rubens made an extended visit to England (1629–30) during which he apparently brokered not only the terms of the Whitehall commission but also the ambassadorial exchange that led to the subsequent peace between England and Spain. Despite Rubens's success at court, where he was knighted by the king in 1630, Charles was frustratingly dilatory in paying for the Banqueting House paintings. The tardiness, as Rubens remarked in a letter, would have surprised him had he not 'learned through long experience how slowly princes act in others' interests, and how much easier it is for them to do ill than good'.<sup>20</sup> By the time Charles found an opportunity to review the elaborately carved and gilded ceiling in its finished state, the painter, by then retired from public life, was near the end of his career. The Banqueting House ceiling is the only extant Rubens programme in situ. Conceived around the movements of bodies overhead, its illusionistic figural scheme is unprecedented in London – except by Rubens's own cloud-borne depiction of the Duke of Buckingham, now lost.<sup>21</sup> Massive in scale yet limited to a comparatively small number of individual canvases, the painted programme is the culmination of Rubens's propagandistic allegories for some of the most powerful rulers in Europe.<sup>22</sup>

Despite his renowned affability and solicitousness, Rubens was not afraid to challenge his noble patrons with works in which their political policies were



critiqued or affirmed in relation to his personal dedication to the cessation of armed confrontation between Spain and her enemies. 'There is a lot of talk here about the truce, and reports from Holland offer good hopes that it will be concluded', he had written rather obliquely from London in 1629, subsequently declaring that he 'should be happier over our peace or truce than over anything else in the world'.<sup>23</sup> Two years later, a decidedly less circumspect Rubens accepted the hearty congratulations of his old friend and fellow Fleming, Jan Woverius, for what the painter described as 'the happy success and consummation of the peace with England, on which I really worked very hard, and can say without vanity, *cujus pars magna fui* [in which I played a great part]'.<sup>24</sup> Given the ambiguity of his status, the exact nature of Rubens's role in the theatre of Anglo-Spanish negotiations, where he was perhaps acknowledged less as a representative of Spain than of his own Spanish Netherlands, remains uncertain.<sup>25</sup> Regardless of his actual influence and efficacy in shaping Stuart foreign relations, however, Rubens clearly styled himself as a Catholic nobleman actively labouring for peace. In this respect, he would have made a fitting proxy for his erstwhile royal patron, the Most Serene Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II, and sole Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands from 1621 to 1633. Encouraged and empowered by the well-connected, politically savvy Infanta, Rubens had pointedly enlisted his paintings, or rather the allegorical agents within them, for diplomatic ends; his attack on war and consummation of peace was performed in paint just as it had been in person.

Consider, for example, the red-faced, armour-clad figure of Mars, a frequent adversary in Rubens's anti-war works. In the *Whitehall Peaceful Reign* (see plate 2) the bellicose god appears at the bottom right as an unwelcome intruder in an otherwise tranquil setting. Mars seems to threaten the king with his blazing torch. But his violent incursions are staunchly by the courageous tactician, Minerva – who, like James, appears chiefly concerned with the care and protection of the vulnerable figures of Peace and Plenty. Forced by Minerva's lightning bolts into the lower vice-ridden regions of the canvas, Mars is confronted by kneeling Mercury who attempts, ineffectually, to dispatch him with the wave of his snake-entwined caduceus. Given Charles's recent attacks on the Spanish at Cadiz (1625) and the French at La Rochelle (1627), Rubens may well have felt the king needed reminding of the potentially disastrous consequences of renewed hostilities with his continental foes.<sup>26</sup> In any case, the cautionary moral of these pacific allegories is communicated through both the identities and body language of Rubens's personifications. His message is unmistakable: if peace is to prevail and plenty to prosper, volatile aggressors must be destabilized and forcibly held at bay.<sup>27</sup>

### Rubens's Yale Oil Sketch

The oil sketch that is the focus of the remainder of this essay, the Yale Center for British Art's *Peace Embracing Plenty* (see plate 3) is one of numerous extant studies for the programme at Whitehall.<sup>28</sup> It is the monumental ceiling canvas rather than this small oil-on-panel that is and was seen by visitors to the Banqueting Hall. Yet any exploration of Rubens's conception of gender and/in allegory is wise to begin with the lively painted studies from which his first thoughts for a composition inevitably emerge. Although it is important to keep in mind the formal differences and preparatory status of the Yale oil sketch in relation to Rubens's additional studies and finished, mounted canvas, here I concentrate on the panel for two reasons. First, in this preliminary smaller-scale rendering of a desiring female couple, Rubens establishes the intimately relational dynamic of his allegory through subtle details lacking in the final version, which would be a product of his Antwerp workshop



**5** The ceiling decoration of the Banqueting Hall by Peter Paul Rubens, c. 1633–35. Oil on canvas, 33.52 × 16.76 m. London: Banqueting House, Whitehall Palace. Photo: © Historic Royal Palaces.

subsequently retouched in London on several occasions. Second, Rubens's isolation of these two female actors in a detailed and dazzling independent study indicates a high level of interest in them on his part; their relevance to the larger scheme is made clear by his wish to emphasize in an oil sketch the moral/allegorical signification of a certain kind of physical encounter. Peace and Plenty's facing orientation, nuanced facial expressions and supple, lifelike flesh are artistic choices that suggest and arguably enact a state of yearned for and essential mutuality. Although Rubens would make decisive changes in Peace and Plenty's position in relation to the architecture of the King's throne-niche, their connection with the final painting is indicated by the Solomonic columns in their midst in both images. Taken together as a single 'figure', *Peace embracing Plenty* makes up a distinct allegory within the allegory. Rubens has explicitly rendered the female dyad as separable from the scene's more readily identifiable mythological characters such as Mars, Mercury, and Minerva, and the crowning winged Victories, as well as the historical figure of the elderly king himself.

The Whitehall programme has been the focus of extensive study by art historians, historians, and scholars of British literary and cultural history. A surprising number of iconographical details stubbornly resist conclusive decipherment, as is often the case with Rubens's allegories. But the basic content of each scene is well known and will not be rehearsed here. The titles (following Gregory Martin) of the three large central canvases and the two smaller canvases by which each is flanked are as follows, from the bottom centre (plate 5): the *Wise Rule of King James*, flanked by *Apollo Bestowing Royal Liberty suppresses Avarice* and *Temperance triumphant over Intemperance*; the *Apotheosis of King James*, flanked by celebratory processions of *amoretto*, lions and bears; the *Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland*, flanked by *Hercules crushing Discord* and *Minerva overcoming Ignorance*. With the exception of a club-wielding Hercules and an androgynous Apollo, the female figures in these scenes generally make the gestures and do the deeds necessary to dramatize Rubens's allegorical meanings in human terms. Where the generally solitary male characters sit, kneel, and lose their balance, the female figures more often uphold, soar, and trample, typically working in concert to execute the peace-making duties Rubens has assigned them. As Svetlana Alpers has observed of Rubens's allegorical 'inventions' in other political paintings, these supporting personifications 'characteristically display a restlessness more consonant with the activity of making war than the repose of being at peace'.<sup>29</sup> Although they occupy only a portion of the *Peaceful Reign*, the female figures known as Peace and Plenty play a pivotal part in the programme at large. It is their identities that are said to epitomize (the reign of) James I to whom they are formally connected by the enthroned king's pointing or protecting gesture.

As is worthy of their significance, the oil on panel study for *Peace Embracing Plenty* is wonderfully refined and cohesive.<sup>30</sup> In it Rubens spares no detail, lavishing painterly care on the lively folds of the women's classicized robes and forming intricate twists in their golden hair. In an approach that is somewhat unusual for *modelli* of this type, he has given distinctive, particularized features to women possessed of nearly identical physical traits. The two are sufficiently individualized to imply the passivity of the rose and blue-clad Plenty and the more aggressive single-mindedness of the radiantly advancing Peace. Glimpses of bare flesh, lengthy forearms, an exposed breast, and muscular shoulder, are rendered in a complex range of cool undertones with glassy highlights. The prominent, provocatively placed fruited horn – lightly balanced by Plenty between her legs – lends the scene an erotic note. Having apparently consigned it to Mercury's use, the artist has painted out a once present caduceus, traces of which are barely visible in Peace's grip.<sup>31</sup> Thus while Plenty's plump fingers grasp both Peace and her cornucopia, Peace lacks any attribute other than the woman she draws near

6 Unknown artist, Key Plan of Whitehall Palace Banqueting Hall Ceiling, c. 1830. 26 × 19.5 cm. London: Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum.



her. Rubens has given a tender and familiar quality to the exchange of glances between the sketch's two figures, whose individual expressions and eye contact, as well as Peace's poised descent, convey their respective sense of purpose and expectancy.

Because there is no existing contract or description of the programme's iconography by the artist or his patron, scholars have gleaned the allegorical gist of the *Peaceful Reign* from subsequent sources.<sup>32</sup> The latest but most explicit of these is a printed diagram of the ceiling that may have been provided to early nineteenth-century visitors wishing to survey the first Palladian building in England.<sup>33</sup> In the key plan (plate 6) the presumed identities of each figure are clearly spelled out in order of importance, i.e. 'King James the First on the **THRONE** pointing to **PEACE** and **PLENTY** embracing'.<sup>34</sup> The names of the figures long established, the notion that the king is shown gesturing to personified derivatives of his wise sovereignty accords equally well with both James's self-declared and publicized reputation for peacemaking (his motto was *beati pacifici*) and the identities of some of Rubens's favourite allegorical personifications and their attributes.<sup>35</sup> Published

around the time of the ceiling's bicentennial, the plan dates from long after the installation of the Whitehall canvases. Nonetheless, as Julius Held succinctly put it: 'That the two figures of women at the left represent Peace and Plenty (or Abundance) has never been questioned.'<sup>36</sup> In need of further exploration, however, is Rubens's choice to present these specific virtues as women locked in an attitude of reciprocal, if not entirely even-handed, affection. Amid his own erotic couples, Rubens's *Peace Embracing Plenty* stands out as a daring alternative to heteronormative pairings such as *Venus and Adonis* and *Samson and Delilah*.<sup>37</sup> Given its female characters, the topos might seem more analogous to Jupiter and Callisto, portrayed in Rubens's much earlier painting of around 1612. In this work, however, Rubens renders the ultimately successful rape, or sexual 'conquest', of Diana's nymph by a somewhat masculinized, female-bodied Jupiter in very different physical and emotional terms. Although similarly limited to two massive human forms, the mythological work is laced with the tension between force and resistance. In response to Callisto's tightly crossed legs and attempted veiling of her genitals, Jupiter grasps her neck, tilting her face to meet his cool gaze. The efficaciousness of Jupiter's appealingly feminine disguise, engineered to mask his cruel masculine intentions, only underscores the possibility that one woman might be taken with, or by, another. At Whitehall, by contrast, the viewer of the female couple overhead must accept the embrace as a consensual one. Where a backstory of female homosociality is hinted at in Rubens's numerous versions of Diana with her nymphs and the Three Graces, Peace and Plenty's encounter is a more fully played out visual conceit predicated on the irresistible power of female same-sex desire.

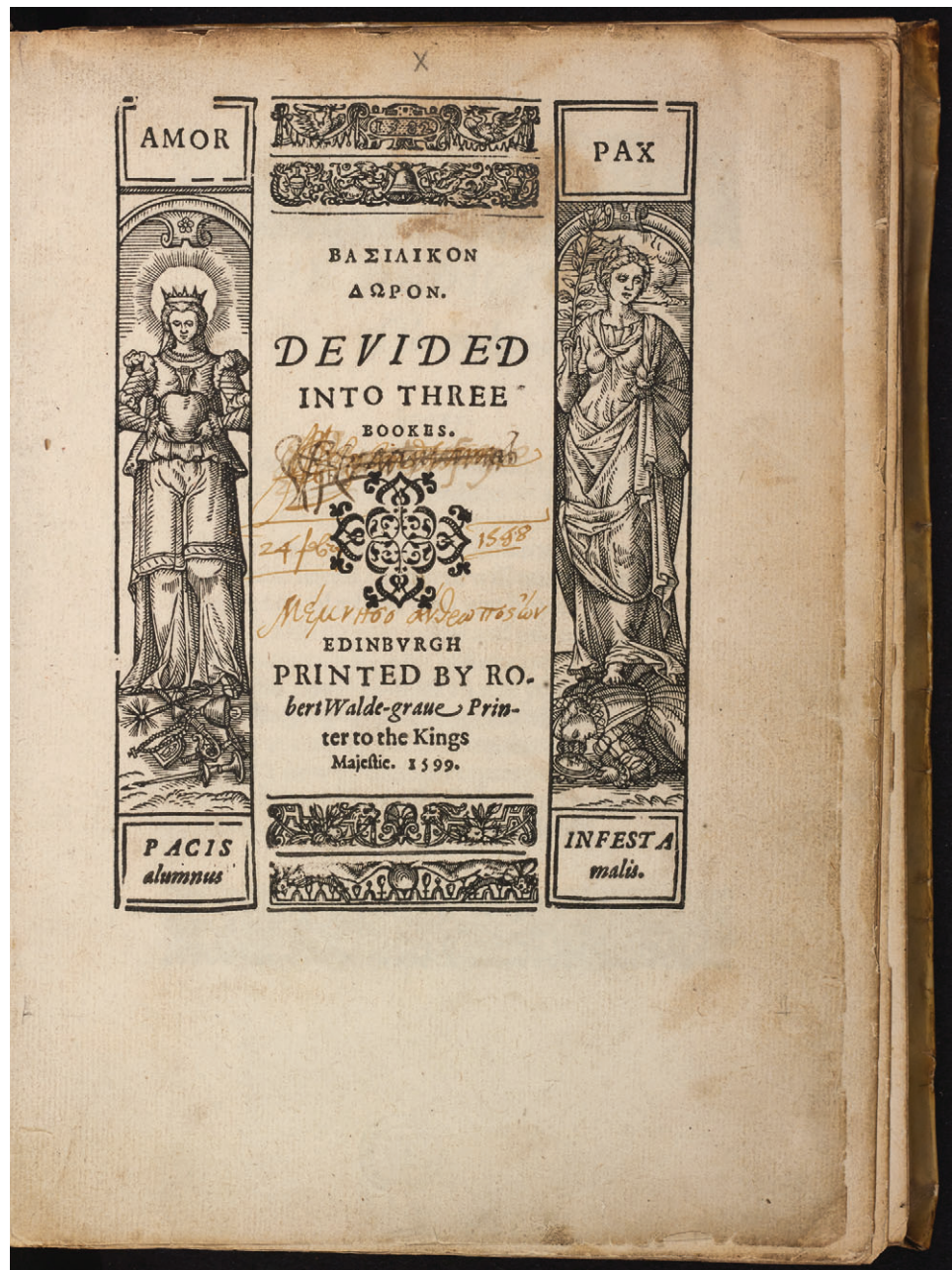
### **Virtues 'Compact Together'**

Peace and Plenty do not figure among the theological or cardinal virtues, though Peace, like Justice, is a fixture of the rhetoric of good government. A source of Plenty's typical attribute, the cornucopia, can be found in Book IX of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the broken 'horn with all its wealth' holds 'fruits in perfection'.<sup>38</sup> The religio-political cult of Peace or 'Pax' has even earlier origins. Stefan Weinstock has noted that in his funeral oration, Antony acknowledged Caesar, who may already have designated himself as such, as a 'peace-maker'. In literature, the figure of Pax appears for the first time in Virgil's *Georgics*, and subsequently in the numismatic and architectural representation of Augustus' Roman *Ara Pacis*.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, at the English court, the Jacobean Romanism associated with Andrea Palladio and Inigo Jones had a double meaning since it might refer to either the king's taste for the antique, as reflected in the Tempietto-like funeral catafalque designed by Inigo Jones, or to his supposed Roman Catholic sympathies.<sup>40</sup> Augustan personifications of Peace had in fact been used in James Stuart's royal imagery from the beginning of his reign in Scotland. In the frontispiece of the king's personal edition of the *Basilikon Doron* (1599), the guide to kingship he originally composed for his elder son, Prince Henry (plate 7), the words of the Greek title, which translates as the 'royal gift', are framed by vice-trampling figures of 'Pax' and 'Amor'. Yet once the king of Scotland assumed the throne of England and with it the massive personal expenses associated with the running of multiple British courts, the desideratum of Giotto-esque charitable love, ready to freely offer her oversized heart, was apparently ceded to the desire for material Abundance.

It is also possible that King James strategically appropriated the instrumental use of Peace and Plenty from his predecessor in England, Elizabeth I. An anonymous copy of an allegorical painting for Elizabeth I by the Fleming, Lucas de Heere, provides an intriguing example of the benefits of good governance gendered female. In the *Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (plate 8) (c. 1590), past and present rulers including, from left, Philip II and Mary Tudor, Henry VIII, Prince Edward VI and Elizabeth Tudor, form

an anachronous group portrait flanked by personifications. The allegory presents a less than subtle critique of Catholic, here Marian, rancorousness. The copyist shows a threatening Mars emerging, shield and club in hand, from the picture's Catholic side in order to align himself with Mary Tudor and Philip II, her Spanish consort. From the right, however, ladylike Peace moves in to oppose this Hispanized group, blithely treading on the trappings of war in order to take the hand of the (future) Protestant Queen. Close at Elizabeth's side, a bare-breasted Plenty follows with an enormous, fruit-filled cornucopia. It is not only the presence of the two female personifications (whose splendid gold and pink garments are matched in Rubens's Yale sketch) but their fond gestures and hand-clasp that retro-actively predict the tenor of the contemporaneous queen's government and its 'nurture of concord and harmony'.<sup>41</sup>

Some sixty years later, when Rubens took a more dramatic approach to commemorating a reign of 'comfort, peace, and plentie', as the Jacobean apologist



7 James I, King of England, title page of the *Basilikon Doron, Devided into Three Books*, Edinburgh: Robert Walde-Graue printer to the Kings Maiestie [sic], 1599. Woodcut, 20.4 × 14.4 cm. Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland (shelfmark Ry.II.e.11). Photo: Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

8 Unknown artist after Lucas de Heere, *Allegory of the Tudor Succession: The Family of Henry VIII*, c. 1590. Oil on panel, 114.3 × 182.2 cm. New Haven: Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art. Photo: Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art.



Barnabe Barnes described it, he would employ many of de Heere's Elizabethan personae.<sup>42</sup> Yet caught in *medias res*, Rubens's personifications combine more expressively in order to suggest the birth of a hybrid abstraction, that is, the transformation before the viewer's eyes of two symbolic meanings into one anticipated state. Rubens's women confront each other physically but they are not oppositional. Theirs is less a reconciliation than a union. Traditionally separate but equal, the women's virtue lies by implication in the more than doubled goodness that will result from their encounter. Part of the wonder of the coupling of Peace and Plenty in the Yale sketch, therefore, is its capture of the pregnant moment between meeting and kissing. This anticipatory instant is also represented in Rubens's larger multi-figural sketch and in the final ceiling panel itself, where Plenty remains ever expectant of 'the kiss of Peace'.<sup>43</sup> The true consummation of Peace and Plenty's pictorial and metaphorical pairing is therefore in a state of perpetual suspension, its outcome dependent upon Minerva's ability to keep the external threat of Mars at arm's length.

In view of the Stuart patron, Minerva's antagonistic role at Whitehall is somewhat surprising. Constructions of Jacobean pacifism had often relied on the reputedly Amazonian hawkishness of Elizabeth I as a point of divergence from the manly if irenic king. The play-loving James had gone so far as to prohibit the performance of a 'Masque of Amazons' (1617–18), ostensibly, as Julie Crawford has argued, because 'James did not want women performing Amazonian roles in his court, even as entertainment.'<sup>44</sup> Rubens, however, marshals the figure of the battling goddess to serve his own ends. At Whitehall, Minerva's strength and tenacity lends weight to the fundamentally essentialist proposition that even the wisest and most powerful women innately seek calm and concord: the goddess of war thus employs military aggression in order to preserve peace.<sup>45</sup>

### **Veronese and the Daughters of God**

Despite their disapproval of the warrior-woman Elizabeth I, Charles and James Stuart were considerably indebted to the queen for her wide-ranging experiments in self-representation. In general, however, Elizabeth I preferred miniatures and painted portraits to large-scale cycles. Compared to previous portrayals of English royalty, one

of Whitehall's most important innovations is therefore its physical format. Ceilings adorned with figural groups and narrative 'histories' were largely unheard of in Caroline England, where, as is often stated, both Inigo Jones's embellished giltwood soffit and Rubens's vertiginous views *di sotto in sù* were recognized as natively Venetian in flavour.<sup>46</sup> The Caroline court's affinity for Northern Italian art was consistent with the collecting habits of some of its most acquisitive and well-travelled nobles – the Earl and Countess of Arundel and the Duke of Buckingham among them.<sup>47</sup> By the 1630s, Charles, too, had distinguished himself as an avid collector of Venetian art.<sup>48</sup> Well known within courtly circles in Spain, where Charles had first learned to appreciate northern Italian painting, Rubens was acknowledged by Lope de Vega as the heir of the painterly 'colorito' tradition practised by Titian and his followers.<sup>49</sup> An ersatz Venetian at Whitehall, the Flemish painter evoked the majestic splendour of Veronese's illusionistic ceilings in a way that would have been understood by those familiar with northern Italian villas, palaces, and churches as the height of modern art judiciously derived from worthy Renaissance exemplars.



**9 Interior view of the Sala del Collegio with ceiling paintings by Veronese and his circle, 1578–82, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Photo: Arte Venezia/ Bridgeman Images.**

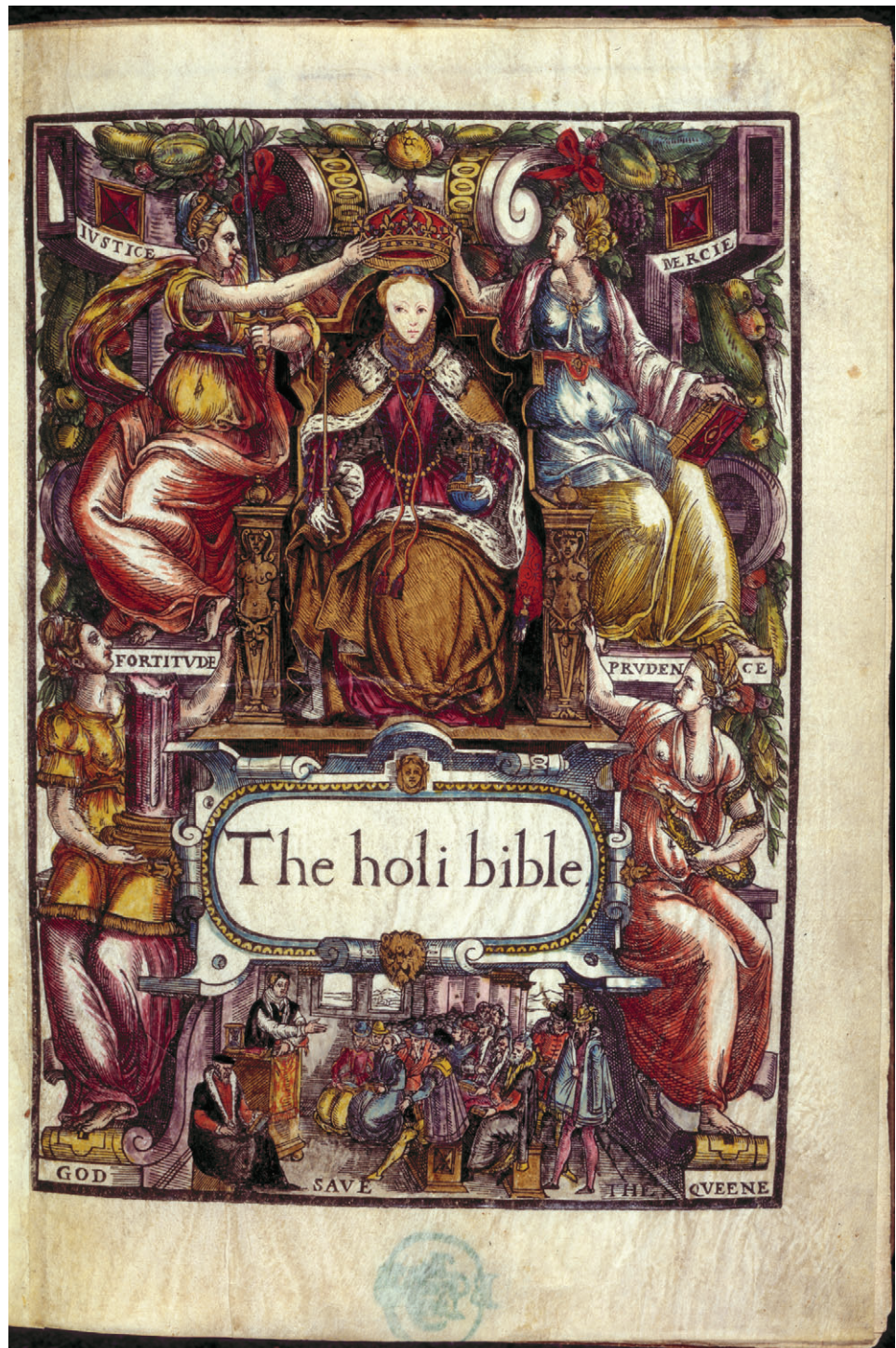


10 Veronese, *Venice Enthroned between Justice and Peace*, 1575–77. Oil on canvas, 250 × 180 cm. Venice: Palazzo Ducale. Photo: Arte Venezia/ Bridgeman Images.



The nine canvases by Veronese that adorn the ceiling at the Venetian church of San Sebastiano are commonly cited as a source of inspiration for Rubens's London programme. Yet in their shared emphasis on statecraft the feminized allegories at Whitehall are also closely related to Veronese's ceiling in the Doge's palace. Akin to the English Banqueting House, the Palladian Sala del Collegio in Venice functioned as a ceremonial site of power devoted to the reception of foreign ambassadors, the entertainment of courtiers, and the aggrandizement and display of the current ruler. Fitted with an elaborately carved coffered frame, the ceiling of the Venetian salon (plate 9) exhibits a series of airy canvases by Veronese and contemporaries, which, like Rubens's allegories, articulate the desirability of good governance through the sensual, sociable bodies of virtuous female personifications. Most relevant for this purpose is an allegory of the Venetian state in which Veronese has placed elegant embodiments of Justice and Peace (plate 10) at the foot of an enthroned figure of Venetia who tranquilly surveys them from her perch on an immense terrestrial globe.

Brought before the figure of La Serenissima, the women join two disparate virtues traditionally aligned with pacification on the one hand and punishment on the other; for while both are forces for the common good, justice and peace are often at odds. In Veronese's painting, accordingly, whereas Justice, or 'Righteousness', as she is sometimes called, brandishes a sizeable sword along with her unerring scales, Peace is unarmed. Although her hands, too, are full it seems Peace's only task is to crown with olive those capable of accommodating her. Veronese's presentation of a gentled Justice and preserved Peace made subject to the Republic thus implies that the distinctive polity of Venice provides a hospitable setting for their detente.



11 Unknown artist, title page of the *Bishops' Bible*, London: Richarde Luge, 1569. Hand-coloured woodcut on vellum, 39.4 × 26.4 cm. London: British Library (G.12188). Photo: © The British Library Board.

Veronese's imagery of Justice and Peace has a probable source in Psalm 85, in particular, the aforementioned lines 10–11 which describe the assembly of the virtuous quartet traditionally known as the 'Four Daughters of God'. As Ralph Klinefelter has shown, this allegorical trope is first mentioned in an eleventh-century Jewish commentary subsequently adapted to Christian theology by Hugh of St Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux. According to exegetical tradition the 'daughters' were Truth, Mercy, Righteousness/Justice, and Peace. In medieval commentaries, these four personifications were summoned before God (or in some cases a king) to debate the fate of a sinful soul. In most versions, 'God's Justice and Truth demanded satisfaction through punishment: His Mercy and Peace urged forgiveness'.<sup>50</sup> In the Psalm's chiasmic compromise, therefore, one member of each aggressive, vengeful couple is joined with her more passive and forgiving counterpart, i.e. Mercy with Truth and Justice with Peace.

Like her Catholic half-sister, Mary, Elizabeth Tudor drew often on this scriptural passage when she styled herself, and by implication her faith, as Truth – the daughter not only of Time but also, according to St Bernard, of God. On the title page of the *Bishops' Bible* (1569) authorized under her reign (plate 11), Elizabeth is framed by colourful sibylline personifications of Justice and Mercy and beneath them Fortitude and Prudence.<sup>51</sup> Peace, interestingly, does not make an appearance. The queen's ermine-trimmed cloak, formidable frontality, and presentation of the T-globe and sceptre are compositionally similar to contemporary painted coronation portraits of which only copies now exist. Observing iconographical consonances between this popular genre of hieratic Elizabethan imagery and pre-Reformation Flemish devotional paintings of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, Meryl Bailey (following Ernst Kantorowicz) has argued that the association of Elizabeth Tudor with the 'redeemer of the world' alludes to her exceptional duality as simultaneously human and divine, bodily female yet politically male.<sup>52</sup>

On the one hand, like Veronese's 'Venetia', she is presented as an accidental woman whose exceptional power defies her innately weak sex. On the other hand, however metaphorically Christ-like, the representation of Elizabeth's physical body aligns the living queen with the decorative female figures around her, whose inherent vacuousness renders them ornamental and (only) symbolically full of virtue. Multivalent readings of this sort are possible because the queen's image is permitted to oscillate between portrait and personification. As would not be the case with a male personage such as King James, however, any portrayal of Elizabeth's particularities as a historical woman inevitably destabilizes her claims on virtue. Where Elizabeth had necessarily to represent something other than or outside her female self, James, always-already biologically virile, could be safely represented as 'merely' a man, though no less a monarchical type, to whom both women and female-gendered moral abstractions might advisedly subject themselves.<sup>53</sup>

### Ripa, Rubens, Rubsters

In the visual tradition of personification allegory, the proposition that women's bodies were uniquely capable of reifying as opposed to generating meaning can be traced to the Aristotelian gender binary of active (male) form over against passive (female) matter.<sup>54</sup> Early modern artists and handbook writers such as Cesare Ripa drew on an extensive classical tradition of feminized personification allegories, largely based on representations of female-bodied virtues in Greco-Roman coins and sculpture. Looking up 'Peace' and 'Plenty', as Rubens almost certainly did, in Ripa's 1603 or 1611 editions of the *Iconologia*, one finds 'Abondanza' or Plenty (plate 12), is the book's first illustrated entry. Standing on a flat plain, a garland-crowned woman with an airborne mantle rests her right hand on a large cornucopia. In her left hand are sprigs of grain. She ought

12 Unknown artist, *Abondanza* in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome: Appresso Lepido Facij, 1603, page I. Engraving, 23 × 29 cm. Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (Typ 625.03.746).



to be depicted as pretty and graceful, Ripa writes, as a good and desirable thing who is the opposite of abominable famine. She is also called 'Copia', the author points out, and details of her etiological relationship to the horn of plenty can be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>55</sup> In the Yale oil sketch, we see that Rubens's seated figure resembles Ripa's prescribed Abundance. The scale of the horn of plenty and the female figure's light grasp of this eponymous attribute are similar; the flowing gown of Rubens's Plenty and her fluttering mantle, while not green as Ripa suggests, also seem to echo the engraving.

Peace's origins are more complicated. Based as it is on an Augustan medal, Ripa's first entry (of thirteen) for 'Pace', would have undoubtedly appealed to the

antiquarian-minded Rubens. It reads: 'A lady: who holds in her left hand a Cornucopia, full of fruits, flowers, palms, with an olive branch, and in her right hand, a torch, with which she sets ablaze a pile of arms. The Cornucopia signifies abundance, mother and daughter of peace.'<sup>56</sup> Additional explanation is then provided about the meanings of the attributes in contexts of war and peace, and to this information Ripa notably appends a line from Psalm 121 (KJV 122): 'Fiat pax in virtute tua, & abundantia in turribus tuis' (Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces). The iconographer concludes: 'For an explanation of [Peace's] Cornucopia, we will use what we have said of the figure of Abundance.'<sup>57</sup> Rather incredibly, none of Ripa's thirteen versions of Peace is illustrated, the implication being that the earlier portrayals of Plenty or Abundance and her cornucopia might serve as suitable, or interchangeable, models.

With the *Iconologia's* entries in mind, a new interpretation of Rubens's Whitehall personifications becomes possible. As Rubens, following Ripa, appears to have realized, in contrast to Psalm 85's remorseful quality, Psalm 122 provides a more obvious source for an apotheosis of the peace-loving, palace-building, father of Charles Stuart.

In Stuart art and architecture, spiralling columns such as those flanking King James have been interpreted as emblematically pro-Calvinist by some and pro-Catholic by others; in both cases, however, the columns refer to 'the original Temple of Solomon which, in turn (since it was of divine origin) could be seen as the Temple of the New Jerusalem – God's Kingdom on Earth'.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to the repeated pairing of 'peace' and 'prosperity' in Psalm 122, lines describing 'thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David' may go further to explain the prominence of the so-called Solomonian throne, or throne of wisdom, in Rubens's Whitehall images.

In his expressive dyad, Rubens has thus elaborated on Ripa by using two female bodies to perform the Biblical text's intertwined themes. That the two women are becoming one trope, or figural turn, is neatly echoed by sensuous Solomonian columns infused with anthropomorphic fullness, an expressive architectural rhyme deployed by the artist in both the sketch and the final canvas. Moreover, compositional similarities between Rubens's Plenty and Ripa's 'Abondanza' imply greater reliance by the Flemish painter on the Italian iconographer than is sometimes allowed.<sup>59</sup> In Ripa's terms, we now know Peace is just as likely as Plenty to display a Cornucopia. In fact, the two personifications were envisioned as being so similar in appearance that only one (Abundance) is illustrated in the *Iconologia*, where she and/or her attribute are also described – in a figurative heightening of their intimate relationship – as being both mother and daughter of Peace. Admittedly, the notion that Rubens wished to portray the two amorous women as an actual mother and daughter cannot be entirely rejected; his rather disturbing depictions of an aged father, Cimon, nursing at the breast of his nubile daughter, Pero, in multiple versions of *Roman Charity* have been cast by some viewers in a titillating light. Yet at Whitehall the ontological impossibility that Peace or Plenty could exist as both cause and effect may point not to an incestuous, or even 'innocent', biological connection but rather to an unexpectedly romantic one. In accordance with its felicitous strangeness, Rubens emphasizes the inconceivable, inverted, dynamics of the women's relationship by pairing an assertive, virago Peace with a chastely receptive Plenty.<sup>60</sup>

Indeed, by placing Peace allusively on top Rubens may have subtly invoked early modern descriptions of the aggressive Sapphist, known at the time as 'fricatrice', 'rubster', or 'tribade'.<sup>61</sup> At the English court, Inigo Jones's quarrelsome collaborator, the playwright Ben Jonson, used the term derisively in a number of works, referring in one instance to the Three Graces as a 'tribade trine'.<sup>62</sup> (Rubens would depict the Graces

as a voluptuous and physically demonstrative threesome around 1636–38.) Although she does not include Rubens's women in the same 'proto-lesbian' context, Valerie Traub has suggestively analysed a group of strikingly concurrent, possibly analogous, representations of female same-sex desire in painted stagings of the girl-on-girl kissing war embedded in Battista Guarini's pastoral tragicomedy, *Il pastor fido* (1590).<sup>63</sup> Van Dyck's c. 1631–32 version of this scene in *Amaryllis and Mirtillo* was the first of numerous seventeenth-century presentations of the subject by a Netherlandish artist.<sup>64</sup> The painting, commissioned by the Orangist Stadholder, Frederik Hendrik, was completed just prior to the posthumous publication (1633) of John Donne's notorious 'lesbian poem', *Sappho to Philaenis*. As Janel Mueller writes, in Donne's 'Heroical Epistle', the poet addresses her female lover with 'focused tactility' in an appeal that 'their body contact and caresses be multiplied to an implied climax'.<sup>65</sup> In one passage, Sappho exclaims: 'And oh . . . the likeness being such / Why should they not alike in all parts touch? / Hand to strange hand, lippe to lippe none denies; / Why should they brest to brest, or thighs to thighs?'<sup>66</sup> These unapologetically homoerotic literary and artistic works predate the installation, though perhaps not the conceptualization, of the Whitehall canvas in which Rubens's *Peace Embracing Plenty* appears.<sup>67</sup> Traub reads the literal and

13 Titian, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, c. 1523–24. Oil on canvas, 175 × 193 cm. Madrid: Museo del Prado. Photo: Museo del Prado/Bridgeman Images.



formal marginalization of female same-sex desire around the borders of Van Dyck's painting as complicit in the work's 'affirmation of the superiority of heteroeroticism'.<sup>68</sup> Yet this apparently dismissive or normative compositional choice may have a more (same-sex) positive – if aesthetically motivated – valence. While Van Dyck's painting is a clever homage to Titian, it is a subversive one. In the Baroque work, after all, the brightly-lit reclining semi-nude in the foreground, conspicuously appropriated from the Venetian master's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* of 1523–24 (plate 13), is no longer alone, but partnered by Van Dyck with the comely golden-haired nymph who leans in to kiss her.

Rubens, like Van Dyck, locates his female couple off-centre at Whitehall. Yet in a skilled negotiation of the valorizing compositional conventions of early modern painting, he also allocates Peace and Plenty an honorific position at the king's right hand. Whereas in marriage portraits or popular religious subjects such as the Last Judgment the viewer's 'dominant left' is typically reserved for morally superior and/or male personages, Rubens gives pride of place to his female couple.<sup>69</sup> Second only in importance to the king who gestures toward them, Peace and Plenty enact the benefits of James's reign otherwise, in a female-gendered and narratively allegorical manner he cannot.

### **Glory, Laud, and the New Jerusalem**

It would be tempting to speculate that Psalm 122 was introduced as the processional anthem at Charles's coronation by William Laud, who served as the officiant of the ceremony.<sup>70</sup> Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles's personal rule, was executed, prior to the king, in 1644, for treason against the state. Though less gifted a poet than his rival John Donne, he was already a figure of some renown in King James's time. In fact, though James Stuart did eventually bestow preferments on Laud, the king was said to worry, presciently it seems, about the 'restless spirit' of a man who 'loves to toss and change, and to bring things to the pitch of reformation'.<sup>71</sup> Mention in Rubens's correspondence of at least one 'little book' by Dutch 'Arminians' – the moderate Protestant Remonstrants with whom Laud was associated for his works-based theology, sacramentalism, and hostility toward Predestination – may indicate some level of familiarity with the English bishop's reforms.<sup>72</sup>

Rubens would likely have shared Laud's belief in the divine right of sovereigns and certainly his espousal of the 'beauty of holiness' in church liturgy and adornment.<sup>73</sup> Throughout the 1620s the rising tide of English Arminianism and with it advocacy of the divinely appointed right of kings to dictate worship in the commonwealth was at the forefront of religious controversy at the Caroline court. The subjects of Charles Stuart lived in a world where, as one Arminian polemicist had optimistically phrased it: 'the Church and State being so nearly united that though they may seeme two bodies, yet indeed in some respects they may be accounted but as one'.<sup>74</sup> If the inseparability of Church and State became a hallmark of Caroline Laudianism, Laud himself had already begun to promote his theocratic views in the final years of James's rule.

On 19 June 1621, in the same year that Rubens began to jockey for the Whitehall commission, Laud, then chaplain in ordinary, preached a career-making sermon in the presence of the reigning monarch, James I. The sermon was based entirely on Psalm 122, which Laud used as a brief for both the commingling of Church and State and the prefiguration of James in King Solomon himself.<sup>75</sup> Much to Laud's approval a transcription of his well-received sermon was published by the King's command shortly after he had heard it preached at Wansted. There is no documentary evidence that Rubens owned a printed copy of Laud's sermon. But the Archbishop's writings were well known to Rubens's longtime English liaison to the Stuart court, Dudley Carleton. While concluding his tenure as Dutch Ambassador, Carleton wrote

14 Anthony Van Dyck, *Archbishop Laud*, 1635. Oil on canvas, 121.6 × 97.1 cm. Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum. Photo: © Fitzwilliam Museum.



numerous reports to Laud concerning exiled English Puritans.<sup>76</sup> Theologically, Laud would have occupied the middle way between the Reform-minded Carleton and the devoutly Catholic painter. It is difficult to imagine that Rubens, who counted so many highly placed Jesuits as friends, would not have recognized Laud as the exponent of religion at Charles's – and to a lesser extent, James's – court. Although Laud vigorously defended himself until what was his dying day against accusations that he had attempted to deliver England to the bosom of the Roman Church, his openness to Catholic liturgy and his antipathy for Puritans might have endeared him to worldly Papists such as Rubens – as well the French-born Queen Henrietta Maria, daughter of Marie de Medici.<sup>77</sup> Laud may or may not have met Rubens during the latter's London stay. But he very certainly met Anthony Van Dyck. The Archbishop sat to Van Dyck, who, like Rubens, was an ardent Catholic, for the only portrait (plate 14) among that painter's works of an English Bishop in convocation attire.<sup>78</sup>

Verses 6 and 7 of Psalm 122: 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; let them prosper that love thee; Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy Palaces', provide the touchstone for Laud's sermon before King James. It is a long, at times turgid,



discourse, Donnean in reach, less sure in execution. Yet the self-conscious pains taken by an ambitious mid-career cleric to make plain his message are understandable: the occasion of his preaching was no less than James I's birthday, in the Church calendar a red-letter day, accorded the status of a feast or saint's day, to which Laud skillfully alludes in the following passage:

Again I cannot be so unthankful to God and my text, but that I must fit one circumstance more to *Rogate Pacem*, pray for peace. And it is, Pray for it this day: why this day? Why? Why David brought up the Arke with this Psalme and he would have built the Temple: But God's answer to him was: No: But behold, a sonne is borne unto thee, which shall be a man of peace, for I will give him rest from all his enemies round about, therefore his name is Solomon, and I will send peace and quietness upon Israel in his days. And had not David then great reason to call upon his people, even all sorts to pray for that Peace, which God would give by Solomon? And surely we have a Jerusalem, a State, and a Church to pray for, as well as they. And this day was our Solomon, the very Peace of our Jerusalem borne. And though hee were not borne among us, yet hee was borne to us, and for the good and wel-fare of both State and Church. And can yee do other than *Rogare pacem*, pray for peace in the day, nay, Nativity, the very birthday of both Peace, and the Peace-maker?<sup>79</sup>

In one exhortation, 'pray for peace', Laud is able to fit the whole meaning, with theological implications intact, of James's reign as the second Solomon, a masculine Peace who is also a peacemaker on earth. Having described the Christological pacifism of the ruler, the preacher proceeds to build him a rhetorical home in the New Jerusalem figured as the palace the British king was at the time constructing, the stately edifice that can be none other than the new Whitehall. 'Heere' Laud says of James:

is his prayer for peace and prosperity for Jerusalem, for the State, for the Church: but whereabouts would he have these excellent blessings seated? Where? Why everywhere, but especially in *Muris* and *Palatis*, about the Wall and the Palace. And they are excellently fitted. He would have them spread all over Jerusalem: But *Loca Domini*, the places of their exaltation, are these in my text; the Wall and the Palace: For peace that keeps at the wall, and so workes inward to calme the City: But the child of peace, Prosperity, that is borne after in the Palace, [and] comes outward to enrich the very wall.<sup>80</sup>

Here, too, the harmonizing, absolutist themes of Rubens's *Peaceful Reign* are encapsulated: the benefits of a conjoined Church and State are made manifest in the 'high places'. There they are borne out by the personified figures of Jerusalem's co-creative virtues of Peace and Prosperity, who are excellently 'fitted' and move toward each other to meet in exaltation at the crux of city and court, civic and sacred. Seated on his throne, King James attempts to protect Peace and Plenty, whom he shields from the chaos and strife threatened by war, plots, and revolution, just as mighty Minerva protects the royal body from these ever near and incendiary forces.

A crucial bridge between two reigns, Laud's vision for the Church of England under James I came nearly to fruition under Charles I. Rubens, I want to suggest, understood Charles's much-desired union of Church and State as an outcome prefigured in James I's anagogical rhetoric of Peace and Plenty, a rhetoric with which he himself was in deep sympathy. As demonstrated in their paintings, plays, and

poems, Rubens and Van Dyck, like their contemporaries Donne and Jonson, seem to have shared what Harriette Andreadis has described as a demonstrable ‘interest in the erotic relations of women with one another’ revealed in the cultural life and arts of the Jacobean and Caroline courts.<sup>81</sup> Rubens’s affectionate female couple is therefore an appropriately eroticized allegory of an alluring but impossible utopia where peace and prosperity, under the aegis of a pacific – one hazards to say, impotent – Protestant sovereign, are encouraged to flourish and generate in and of themselves. As Patricia Simons put it in her ground-breaking essay: ‘so “unreal” was lesbianism that sensual contact between women could enter a society’s peripheral vision.’<sup>82</sup> The notion that the consummation of female-female desire should be both physically impossible and metaphorically imaginable suits Rubens’s utopian outlook and conforms to his use of loving female personifications in hopeful civic allegories designed for a culture in which such long-time female partnerships were supposedly unheard of.

**15 Unknown artist, *Peace*, Book of Common Prayer and Bible Cover, c. 1639–40. Silk, thread and metal on boards, 190 × 120 mm. Oxford: Bodleian Library, Oxford University (shelfmark Arch. A d.5). Photo: Courtesy of the Bodleian Library.**

**16 Unknown artist, *Plenty*, Book of Common Prayer and Bible Cover, c. 1639–40. Silk, thread and metal on boards, 190 × 120 mm. Oxford: Bodleian Library, Oxford University (shelfmark Arch. A d.5). Photo: Courtesy of the Bodleian Library.**

### Epilogue

*Rich Industry sits smiling on the plains, / And peace and plenty tell, a STUART reigns.* (Alexander Pope, *Windsor Forest*, 1726)

Sometime in the brief period after the Whitehall ceiling was installed and before the beginning of the iconoclastic decades of the Civil War, an accomplished English needle-worker created a luxurious and fashionable set of book covers. The embroidered panels (Bodleian Library) were made to protect a Book of Common Prayer bound together with a Bible into a single volume containing the two works fundamental to Anglican public worship and private devotion.<sup>83</sup> Each cover consists of an ivory satin ground with a sculptural oval cartouche formed of heavy gold



bullion thread, or 'purle', as it was known. The iconography is straightforward: on the front cover (plate 15), a full-bodied personification of Peace, identifiable by her olive branch, sits beneath a tree. In the implied distance to Peace's right the medieval architecture of an aqueduct-like bridge extends across the horizon. Nearer the foreground, a dark hill trimmed with shrubbish trees descends to meet a roiling river inhabited by fish. The back cover (plate 16) uses, in reverse, a similar formula. Here also a seated female figure reclines on a hill behind which we see a river and a bridge. In this case, however, the figure, easily recognized by the spiralling fruit-filled cornucopia in her right hand, is Plenty. Only when the scenes are viewed beside each other does it become possible to read the features of valley, water, and bridge as a landscape running continuously across the two panels. Viewed as a diptych or pendant pair, the covers place the figures of Peace and Plenty in a facing arrangement.

Yet the scene's embroidered urban-pastoral backdrop does not derive from the architectonic setting of Rubens's ceiling. In it we see instead the recognizable seventeenth-century profile of Old London Bridge built-up with stores and businesses. (Published in 1647, Wenceslaus Hollar's engraved view of London from the 'Whitehall stairs to beyond St. Catherine's' (plate 17) gives a good account of the bridge around that time.) Alongside the London landmark, the densely decorated covers with their



**17** Wenceslaus Hollar, *View of Part of London [from Whitehall Stairs to beyond St Catherine's]*, Amsterdam: C. Danckers, 1647, sheet V. Etching, 45.9 × 20.2 cm. London: British Library (Maps.175.v.1.(2)). Photo: © British Library Board.

naturalistic fruits, flowers, and birds, present figural allegories rather than abstract Christian symbols. This aesthetic choice speaks volumes about contemporary enthusiasm (at least among some conforming members of the Church of England) for the blatantly representational, sensory style of worship actively encouraged by Archbishop Laud, of which sumptuous liturgical textiles formed a part. As Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass have demonstrated, seventeenth-century aristocratic women often declared their political and religious commitments through anti/Royalist symbolism implanted in elaborate needlework projects of this type.<sup>84</sup> The Bodleian book covers were almost certainly executed by an elite Englishwoman, to whom the female subjects may have particularly appealed. In any case, the maker's representation of Arcadian Peace and Plenty as near to hand as London ably evokes both Laud's and Rubens's visions of the English capital as the seat of Solomon fortified in Whitehall.

Laud's one circumstance visualized, Caroline 'Anglicanism' has here been distilled into a single topic derived from Psalm 122.<sup>85</sup> Already in 1639–40, it seems Rubens's *Whitehall Peace Embracing Plenty* had become an allegorical heuristic for the combined Caroline-Laudian Church and State. The clever proposal that these female virtues not only encompass but also originate in the King James Bible and the Caroline Common Prayer Book would surely have pleased the book's presumably Laudian owner. For her or him the imminent travesties of Puritan image-breaking and their logical conclusion in an Archbishop's execution and Cromwell's 'cruel necessity' were yet a world away.<sup>86</sup>

#### Notes

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- 1 The canvas has traditionally been known as *The Peaceful Reign of King James I*. Cf. Gregory Martin, *The Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XV, London, 2005, 101, who recently rechristened it as the 'Wise Rule of King James I'. Martin views Rubens's depiction of King James as more active, authoritative, and explicitly prudent than previous scholars have suggested: 'Rubens depicts him as the vigorous epitome of a divinely ordained ruler ... while he exerts his prerogative for the public good ... thus the canvas should be seen as an allegorical depiction of the triumph of the wise King.'
- 2 Three of the Whitehall canvases (excluding the *Peaceful Reign*) were subsequently reinstalled to reflect an arrangement suggested by Julius Held, 'Rubens's Glynde sketch and the installation of the Whitehall Ceiling', *The Burlington Magazine*, 112: 806, May 1970, 274–81.
- 3 Ps. 85:9–10 (KJV): 'Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him; that glory may dwell in our land/Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' See Shapiro's catalogue description of the Yale Center for British Art's oil sketch of *Peace Embracing Plenty* in *Masters of the Loaded Brush: Oil Sketches from Rubens to Tiepolo*, exh. cat., New York, 1967, 67, cat. no. 49.
- 4 Shapiro's theory is accepted, for example, by Julius S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue*, Princeton, NJ, 1980, 196 and, provisionally, by Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie E. Wieseman with Nico van Hout, *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens*, exh. cat.,

New Haven, CT, 2004, 225. Martin, *Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, 156, agrees that the 'general source for the motif may well connect with that described in Psalm LXXXIV [os] or, possibly, Psalm LXXI [os], i.e. Psalms 85 and 72 (KJV).

- 5 See the long-overdue study by Cristelle Baskins and Lisa Rosenthal, eds, *Early Modern Allegory, Embodying Meaning*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2007, 4.
- 6 For the fresco lunettes at the Little Castle at Bolsover, Derbyshire based on Goltzius's designs see Timothy Raylor, "'Pleasure reconciled to virtue": William Cavendish, Ben Jonson, and the decorative scheme of Bolsover Castle', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52: 2, 1999, 421; Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, 2002, 161–3 examines the homoerotic nature of the series, notably executed between 1620 and 1630, and viewed by Charles I and Henrietta Maria in 1634.
- 7 Two embracing female personifications, 'one peaceful, one martial', are depicted in Rubens's *Besançon Allegory with the Citadel of Antwerp*, interpreted more broadly as an allegorical enactment of 'Union' by Julius Held, 'On the date and function of some allegorical sketches by Rubens', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38, 1975, 228. See also, Jan van der Stock, ed., *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis, 16th–17th Century*, exh. cat., Antwerp, Hessenhuis 25 June–10 October 1993, 310. I am very grateful to Ghislaine Courtet, of the Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie, Besançon, for help in obtaining this image.
- 8 For the distinctly theatrical comportment of his female personifications, see Sarah R. Cohen, 'Rubens's France: Gender and personification in the Marie de Médicis Cycle', *Art Bulletin*, 85, 2003, 492.
- 9 Mark Roskill, 'Van Dyck at the English Court: The relations of portraiture and allegory', *Critical Inquiry*, 14, 1987, 190.
- 10 Roskill, 'Van Dyck at the English Court', 198–9.
- 11 Julie Sanders, 'Caroline salon culture and female agency: The Countess of Carlisle, Henrietta Maria, and public theatre', *Theatre Journal*, 52: 4, 2000, 450.
- 12 Melinda J. Gough, "'Not as myself": The Queen's voice in temple restored', *Modern Philology*, 101, 2003, 52.
- 13 When employing the 'fourfold method' of scriptural exegesis the interpreter moves successively through literal/historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical levels of meaning. For a concise explanation of these hermeneutical strategies see Harry Caplan, 'The four senses of scriptural interpretation and the mediaeval theory of preaching', *Speculum*, 4: 3, July 1929, 282–90. For an application of scriptural exegesis to early

- Netherlandish art, in which Rubens maintained a lifelong interest, see J. Vanessa Lyon, 'The wheel within the wheel: Reading Margaret of York's Burgundian miniatures according to the fourfold exegesis of scripture', *Word & Image*, 24: 2, 2008, 139–51. See also Lynn Jacobs, 'Rubens and the Northern past: The Michielsens triptych and the thresholds of modernity', *Art Bulletin*, 91: 3, September 2009, 302–3.
- 14 See Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremony at British Coronations from James I to Elizabeth II*, Cambridge, 2012, Appendices C and D, 281–8.
  - 15 Although the Latin catchwords for the Psalms (undoubtedly known to Rubens) were retained in the Lambeth MS of King Charles's coronation, the service was translated into the vernacular. See Christopher Wordsworth, *The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First of England at Westminster*, 2 Feb. 1626, London, 1892, 73.
  - 16 See Vaughan Hart, *Inigo Jones: The Architect of Kings*, New Haven, CT, 2011, 205–8.
  - 17 For Rubens's letters to Carleton concerning their well-known exchange of antiquities for paintings, see Ruth Saunders Magurn, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Evanston, IL, 1957, 59–71, nos 27–38.
  - 18 Peter Paul Rubens to William Trumbull, Antwerp, 13 September 1621, in Magurn, *Letters*, 77, no. 46.
  - 19 For the circumstances surrounding the deferred delivery of the canvases from Antwerp to London and their subsequent installation, see Martin, *Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, 79–88.
  - 20 Peter Paul Rubens to Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Antwerp, 16 March 1636, in Magurn, *Letters*, 402, no. 238. See also Martin, *Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, 92.
  - 21 In London, only Rubens's now lost ceiling, the *Apotheosis of the Duke of Buckingham*, c. 1625, anticipates the figurative *di sotto in sù* at Whitehall. On the early history of illusionistic painted ceilings in England, see Pamela D. Kingsbury, 'The tradition of the soffitto Veneziano in Lord Burlington's suburban villa at Chiswick', *Architectural History*, 44, 2001, 145–52.
  - 22 Although Rubens's complex and urbane festival architecture and street decorations for the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand date from 1634, that project was by its nature collaborative and ephemeral in contrast to the anticipated permanence of the Whitehall programme. See John Rupert Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XVI*, London, 1972.
  - 23 Peter Paul Rubens to Jan Caspar Gevaerts, London, 23 November 1629, in Magurn, *Letters*, 350, no. 210.
  - 24 Peter Paul Rubens to Jan Woverius, Antwerp, 13 January 1631, in Magurn, *Letters*, 370, No. 218.
  - 25 See, for example, Michael Auwers, 'The gift of Rubens: Rethinking the concept of gift-giving in early modern diplomacy', *European History Quarterly*, 43: 3, 2013, 422. The author largely discounts the peace-seeking political tactics and rhetorical brilliance of the Infanta, viewing Rubens not as a Governor's strategically mobilized envoy or diplomat but as a kind of courtly pawn or living gift exchanged between Philip IV and Charles I.
  - 26 George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, was widely discredited for his crucial role in these disastrous expeditions. Rubens reflected on the events transpiring in 1626 with the following observation: '[W]hen I consider the caprice and the arrogance of Buckingham, I pity that young King who, through false counsel, is needlessly throwing himself and his kingdom into such an extremity. For anyone can start a war, when he wishes, but he cannot so easily end it.' Peter Paul Rubens to Palamède de Fabri Valavez, Laeken, 9 January 1626, in Magurn, *Letters*, 123, no. 72.
  - 27 For a contemporaneous representation of a very similar conceit, see Rubens's National Gallery London *Minerva Protects Pax from Mars*, the painting likely executed while Rubens was in England and given by the artist to Charles Stuart as a gift. On the ambiguous personification of Peace/Venus, see Anthony Hughes, 'Naming the unnameable: An iconographical problem in Rubens's "Peace and War"', *The Burlington Magazine*, 122: 924, March 1980, 157–65.
  - 28 For the Yale Center for British Art's *Peace Embracing Plenty*, see Sutton and Wieseman, eds, *Drawn by the Brush*, cat. no. 32, 222–5.
  - 29 Svetlana Alpers, *The Making of Rubens*, New Haven, CT and London, 1995, 30.
  - 30 In this regard it differs from both the unique Tate sketch (formerly known as the Glynde sketch; designated the 'multiple *bozzetto*' by Martin), in which multiple perspectives and figures are combined as well as, e.g., the Boston Museum of Fine Arts' *Mercury and the Yeoman*, which pairs two figures not ultimately shown together in the final canvases.
  - 31 As Rubens would have known, the use of the caduceus as a sign of peace is mentioned in accounts of military triumphs and surrender by Thucydides and Livy. See Walter J. Friedlander, *The Golden Wand of Medicine: A History of the Caduceus Symbol in Medicine*, Westport, CT, 1992, 127–8.
  - 32 Notwithstanding the discovery of two allegorical panegyrics, or written 'projects', of which King James was the subject (found among the papers of Charles I's Secretary of State, John Coke) and which may have been given to Rubens as an iconographical guide. Importantly, however, the content of the *Peaceful Reign* differs markedly from its analogues in both of these schemes where the King is to be shown in a scene described by Martin as 'reminiscent of Raphael's Parnassus', emphasizing James's pursuit of peace and patronage of the arts (Project A) or 'conducted by Religion and Concord' while 'embracing Minerva and Astraea' (Project B). See Martin, *Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, 36.
  - 33 See, e.g., Joan Sumner Smith, 'The Italian sources of Inigo Jones's style', *The Burlington Magazine*, 94: 592, July 1952, 200–8. See also Roy Strong, *Britannia Triumphans: Inigo Jones, Rubens and Whitehall Palace*, New York, 1981; Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698*, New Haven, CT and London, 1999. Although, as Held and others have shown, the author makes a number of speculative iconographical interpretations of Rubens's ceiling in relation to the Spanish Match of 1623, see also the invaluable study by Per Palme, *Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House*, London, 1957.
  - 34 The plan is reproduced in Fiona Donovan, *Rubens and England*, New Haven, CT, 2004, 92. It is also transcribed in Held, *Oil Sketches*, 193.
  - 35 On the role of peace in James I's self-fashioning and iconography see Martin, *Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall*, 152–3.
  - 36 Held, *Oil Sketches*, 193.
  - 37 For a reading of these and other Rubensian twosomes as confounding, intertextual gender reversals, see Alpers, *The Making of Rubens*, 147–51.
  - 38 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. A. D. Melville, Oxford, 2008, 208, (ix: 98–99).
  - 39 Stefan Weinstock, 'Pax and the "Ara Pacis"', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 50: 1 and 2, 1960, 47.
  - 40 On the former see John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones's catafalque for James I', *Architectural History*, 25, 1982, 1–8.
  - 41 The original painting was a gift from Elizabeth I to her courtier, Francis Walsingham. For De Heere's image see Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*, exh. cat., London, 1995, 81, cat. no. 35. See also Lisa Hopkins, 'In a little room: Marlowe and the allegory of the Tudor succession', *Notes and Queries*, 53: 4, December 2006, 442–4.
  - 42 Quoted by Paul A. Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World*, Berkeley, CA, 1956, 156. The author provides (201) additional Jacobean-era allusions to 'peace and plenty' including Archbishop Cranmer's fictionalized Shakespearean prophecy concerning the good government of Henry VIII's successors where, of James I and VI, it is predicted that 'peace, plenty, love, truth, and terror' shall be his (Henry VIII V.v. 48).
  - 43 Contemporary viewers would likely have made the analogy between Peace's kiss in Whitehall's secular setting and the practice of the kiss of peace as a reconciliatory union of souls prior to the Eucharist. For the homoerotic charge of the 'holy kiss' in Northern art of the previous century, see Andrea Pearson, 'Visuality, morality, and same-sex desire: The infants Christ and Saint John the Baptist in early Netherlandish art', *Art History*, 38: 3, June 2015, 434–61.
  - 44 See Julie Crawford, 'Fletcher's "the tragedie of Bonduca" and the anxieties of the masculine Government of James I', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 39: 2, Spring 1999, 361.
  - 45 Rubens's admiration of Minerva's prudent war-making is mirrored, moreover, in his respect for his principal patron, the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia, for whom he had undertaken many artistic and all diplomatic commissions.
  - 46 Juergen Schulz, *Venetian Painted Ceilings of the Renaissance*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1968, 52–3. By contrast, Elizabeth Honig

- believes the novelty of the painted ceiling in seventeenth-century England has been overstated given the presence of ‘many, albeit different, decorated ceilings in Elizabethan Long Galleries’. Personal correspondence, 25 March 2012.
- 47 For the mania for Venetian art and its value as social capital at the Caroline court see Paul Shakeshaft, “‘To much bewiched with thoes intysing things’: The letters of James, Third Marquis of Hamilton and Basil, Viscount Feilding, concerning collecting in Venice 1635–1639”, *The Burlington Magazine*, 128: 995, February 1986, 114–34.
- 48 See Jonathan Brown and John Elliott, eds, *The Sale of The Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604–1655*, exh. cat., Madrid and New Haven, CT, 2001, esp. 23–38; 41–68.
- 49 The Spanish playwright referred to Rubens as ‘el nuevo Ticiano’ in a silva entitled ‘Al Quadro y retrato de su Majestad que hizo Pedro Pablo de Rubens, Pintor excelentissimo’, cited by Frederick de Armas, ‘Lope de Vega and Titian’, *Comparative Literature*, 30, Autumn, 1978, 341.
- 50 Ralph Klinefelter, “‘The Four Daughters of God’: A new version”, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 52: 1, January 1953, 90; see also the pioneering study by Mary Immaculate, ‘The Four Daughters of God in the Gesta Romanorum and the Court of Sapience’, *PMLA*, 57: 4, December 1942, 959.
- 51 John King, ‘The Godly woman in Elizabethan iconography’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38: 1, Spring 1985, 67.
- 52 Meryl Bailey, ‘Salvatrrix Mundi: Representing Queen Elizabeth I as a Christ-type’, *Studies in Iconography*, 29, 2008, 184.
- 53 It is interesting in this respect to contrast Elizabeth’s allegorical Bible portraits with the title page of James’s first Authorized Version (1611), in which Moses, Aaron, the apostles, and the four evangelists are mystically gathered in a typological all-male sacred conversation from which the figure of James, though not his written ‘commandment’ of the scriptural translation, is absent.
- 54 See e.g. Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals*, Bk I. Ch. I 775a. For the pervasiveness of these Aristotelian binaries in Renaissance thought and art (and art history) see David Summers, ‘Gender and form’, *New Literary History*, 24, 1993, 251ff.
- 55 ‘Bella et gratiosa si debbe dipingere l’Abondanza, sì come cosa buona et desiderata da ciascheduno, quanto brutta et abominevole è riputata la carestia, che di quella è contraria.’ Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, [1603], Hildesheim and New York, 1970, 1–2. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
- 56 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 375. ‘Donna, che nella sinistra mano tiene un Cornucopia, pieno di frutti, fiori, frondi, con un ramo d’ulio, & nella destra una facella, con la quale abbrucci un montone d’Arme. Il Cornucopia significa l’abbondanza, madre, & figliuola della pace.’
- 57 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 375. ‘Per dichiarazione del Cornucopia, ne serviremo di quello, che habbiamo ditto nella figura dell’abbondanza.’
- 58 J. Douglas Stewart, ‘Rome, Venice, Mantua, London: Form and meaning in the “Solomonic” column, from Veronese to George Vertue’, *British Art Journal*, 8: 3, 2007/8, 18.
- 59 Donovan, *Rubens and England*, 145 notes that Inigo Jones followed Ripa’s emblems very closely in his masque designs, but writes of Rubens’s Whitehall personifications: ‘The complex symbolism described by Cartari or Ripa is absent in these images.’
- 60 With thanks to the anonymous reader for guidance in thinking through this relationship more carefully.
- 61 For classical and contemporary definitions of these terms, see Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics, 1550–1714*, Chicago, IL, 2001, 45–6.
- 62 The phrase appears in Jonson’s poem ‘The Forrest’ (1601), cited in Denise Walen, *Constructions of Female Homoeroticism in Early Modern Drama*, New York, 2005, 28.
- 63 Traub, *Renaissance of Lesbianism*, 1–2.
- 64 For Van Dyck’s *Amaryllis and Mirtillo*, see Susan J. Barnes, Nora De Poorter, Oliver Millar and Horst Vey, eds, *Van Dyck, A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, New Haven, CT and London, 2004, 294. cat. III.60. Repeated attempts to secure permission to reproduce this image from the Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden were unsuccessful.
- 65 Janel Mueller, ‘Troping Utopia: Donne’s brief for lesbianism’, in James Grantham Turner, ed., *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images*, Cambridge, 1993, 200.
- 66 Quoted in Mueller, ‘Troping Utopia’, 200.
- 67 The literature concerning Donne’s poem (c. 1590) is extensive, but see James Holstun, “‘Will You Rent our Ancient Love Asunder?’ Lesbian elegy in Donne, Marvell, and Milton”, *ELH*, 54, Winter 1987, 835–67; Elizabeth Harvey, ‘Ventriloquizing Sappho: Ovid, Donne, and the erotics of the feminine voice’, *Criticism*, 31, 1989, 115–38; Stella P. Revard, ‘The Sapphic voice in Donne’s “Sappho to Philaenis”’, in Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, eds, *Renaissance Discourses of Desire*, Columbia, MO, 1993, 63–76; Stella Infante, ‘Donne’s incarnate muse and his claim to poetic control in “Sappho to Philaenis”’, in Claude Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, eds, *Representing Women in Renaissance England*, Columbia, MO, 1997, 93–106; Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England*, esp. 46–51.
- 68 Traub, *Renaissance of Lesbianism*, 2.
- 69 On the origins and use of these gendered left–right compositional conventions in Tudor portraits, see Elizabeth Honig, ‘In memory: Lady Dacre and pairing by Hans Eworth’, in Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, eds, *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture*, c. 1540–1660, London, 1990, 67.
- 70 For the liturgy and ceremonial practices designated for Charles’s coronation and the notes made on the ceremony by Laud, see *The manner of the coronation of King Charles the First of England: at Westminster, 2 February 1626*, ed. Charles Wordsworth, London, 1892, 11–61.
- 71 Cited in Charles Carlton, *Archbishop William Laud*, New York and London, 1987, 26.
- 72 Rubens refers to the book by ‘the Arminians’ in two letters of 1626, see Magurn, *Letters*, 127, no. 76; 130, no. 79.
- 73 ‘Enforcement’ may be a more appropriate term for Laud’s approach to liturgical conformity. For accounts of Laudian ministers of the 1620s and 1630s refusing communion to parishioners who declined to kneel or stand as dictated by High Church rubrics, see Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud, and Honour: Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, London, 2006, 18.
- 74 Robert Sibthorpe, *Apostolike Obedience Shewing the Duty of Subjects to pay Tribute and Taxes to their Princes*, London, 1627, cited in Hillel Schwartz, ‘Arminianism and the English Parliament, 1624–1629’, *Journal of British Studies*, 12: 2, May 1973, 60.
- 75 On Laud’s High Churchmanship and divine right homiletics see Charles A. Prior, ‘Ecclesiology and political thought in England, 1580–c. 1630’, *The Historical Journal*, 48, 2005, 874ff.; Jeffrey R. Collins, ‘The Restoration bishops and the royal supremacy’, *Church History*, 68: 3, September 1999, 552–5.
- 76 Keith L. Sprunger, ‘Archbishop Laud’s campaign against Puritanism at the Hague’, *Church History*, 44: 3, September 1975, 308; 312.
- 77 William Laud and John Hinde, *The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Speech: Or His Funerall Sermon Preacht by himself on the scaffold on Tower Hill on Friday the 10 of January, 1644*, London, 1644, 13.
- 78 Barnes, De Poorter, Millar and Vey, eds, *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, 550–1, cat. no. iv.153.
- 79 William Laud, *A sermon preached before his majesty, on Tuesday the nineteenth of June, at Wansted, Anno Dom. 1621*, London, 1621, unpaginated, [12].
- 80 Laud, *Sermon preached before his majesty*, [12].
- 81 Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England*, 47.
- 82 See Patricia Simons, ‘Lesbian (in)visibility in Italian Renaissance culture: Diana and other cases of *Donna con Donna*’, in Whitney Davis, ed., *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, New York, 1994, 111.
- 83 Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*, Cambridge, 1998, 26, indicates that the practice was not uncommon: the annotated catalogue of the Bible Society, which includes 677 English Bibles published between 1550 and 1680, lists in the collection seventy-four Bibles bound with the Common Prayer Book and a total of 16 percent containing some form of Prayer Book-derived table, office, or Psalter.
- 84 Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge, 2000, 165–70.
- 85 According to Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, 142, seventeenth-century contemporaries ‘understood and used the word “Anglican” to mean conformity to the canons and constitutions of the Church of England’.
- 86 Quoted by John Morrill and Philip Baker, ‘Oliver Cromwell, the regicide and the sons of Zeruiah’, in Jason Peacey, ed., *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I*, Basingstoke and New York, 2001, 14.