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The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival

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In the foreground: Hand-colored engravings of Elector Friedrich V of the Palatinate and Electress Elizabeth of the Palatinate, Courtesy of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig. Virtuelles Kupferstichkabinett, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
See p. 650 f., color plate 4 and 5.
In the background: Fireworks celebrating the Palatine wedding at Heidelberg.
From "Beschreibung der Reiß." Courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
See p. 18, fig. 6.

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Nadine Akkerman

Semper Eadem:

Elizabeth Stuart and the Legacy of Queen Elizabeth I

When the Venetian ambassador to London, Antonio Foscarini (ambassador from July 1611–December 1615; b. 1570, strangled 1622), reported on the Palatine wedding to the Doge and Senate, he dwelt on a particular detail of the tapestry of "a great chamber, especially made for this wedding."[1] Foscarini mentions that in it "was prepared a great table and the hangings of the Hall represented the defeat of the Spanish in '88, which may be was a miracle as is expressed in the legend that surrounds it."[2] The tapestries depicted the finest hour of Princess Elizabeth's godmother, Queen Elizabeth. In late July 1588, the English had gained the upper hand with its navy. This fact, augmented by adverse weather conditions and poor Spanish maritime practice, led to the triumph at Gravelines. The remnants of the Armada launched by King Philip II of Spain (1527–1598), which it was believed was set to invade the southern English coast, eventually retreated. Later legend would suggest the Providential rescue of English Protestantism under the leadership of Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596) and Queen Elizabeth I. The Virgin Queen had ridden to Tilbury to "live or die amongst" the English soldiers, her subjects.[3] This study explores the relevance of her namesake's moment of glory at Princess Elizabeth's wedding.

Newsletters and the correspondence of diplomats reveal that a month before the wedding the English feared the possible disembarkation of a second Armada. In the same letter in which King James's romance writer Giovanni Francesco Biondi (1572–1644) mentions the rich wedding gifts that Friedrich V bestowed on Elizabeth's household – plate valued at £2,000 to Lord Harington (1539–1613), at £700 to Mrs. Anne Dudley (d. 1615), and

1 *Calendar of State Papers (CSP), Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy, 1610–13*, ed. Horatio F. Brown (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905) vol. 12, no 775. Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March 1613. (The dating is Old Style throughout.)

2 Ibid.

3 Elizabeth I, "Queen Elizabeth's Armada Speech to the Troops at Tilbury, August 9, 1588," in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 326.

at £200 to other ladies – he writes that there is "much talk about a Spanish Armada which is gathering; some say it is for Virginia, some for England, some for Ireland."[4] John Chamberlain (1553–1628) also wrote to Dudley Carleton (1574–1632) that he was convinced that Catholic forces were planning to invade Ireland, gathering an armada in Spain or Italy.[5] The tapestries commemorating 1588 which decorated the dining hall were perhaps meant to still the fears of King James's subjects. On the day of the Protestant wedding, the Armada tapestry reminded the guests, including several Catholic foreign ambassadors, of the English Protestant triumph over Catholic forces.[6]

Even though James, on the one hand, used his royal predecessor's victory for propagandistic purposes during his daughter's wedding, on the other, he explicitly distanced himself from any identification of his daughter with the heroic queen. The king, Princess Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine watched the fireworks spectacle on 11 February, as well as the mock sea battle on the Thames on 13 February, from a great distance. Like the tapestry, these public festivities sought to establish a connection between Princess Elizabeth, English Protestant chivalry in general, and Queen Elizabeth's fervent Protestantism in particular. Again like the tapestry, the analogy was sufficiently in the background, but it was nevertheless subtly and unmistakably there. Still, there is undoubted significance in the fireworks and the mock sea battle having taken place outside the boundaries of the court at Whitehall, as Curran has detailed.[7] The public festivities could not meet with James's full approval because he had a double agenda.

Rather than inciting a religious conflict, James wanted the match to secure domestic, and also continental, harmony. He had intended to neutralize his daughter's Protestant marriage with a Catholic one for the heir apparent Prince Henry. The destabilization at court caused by Henry's unexpected death in November 1612 now threatened the king's peace-making. This article examines how Elizabeth Stuart was both haunted by, and

4 *CSP Domestic*, *James I, 1611–18*, ed. Mary Anne Everett-Green (London: Longman, 1858), vol. 72, no. 7. Biondi to Carleton, 7 January 1613. The original (TNA, SP 16/72 no. 7) is in Italian.

5 John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 1:440.

6 The providence of, and reactions to, the Spanish Armada tapestries are detailed in Hanns Hubach, "Tales from the Tapestry Collection of Elector Palatine Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart, the Winter King and Queen," in *Tapestry in the Baroque: New Aspects of Production and Patronage*, ed. Thomas P. Campbell and Elizabeth A. H. Cleland (Yale: Yale University Press, 2010), 109–113.

7 Kevin Curran, "James I and Fictional Authority at the Palatine Wedding Celebrations," *Renaissance Studies* 20.1 (2006): 51–67.

also used for her own benefit, the analogy to Queen Elizabeth I. King James had allowed the Protestant associations of his daughter's name to be celebrated at the wedding. Yet he would soon find out that they could thwart his conciliatory politics and those of his successor, the future King Charles I.

Keeping the peace between Catholic and Protestant factions, both at home and abroad, had been at the forefront of King James's mind since 1609. Protestant and other anti-Habsburg sentiment had been fueled at the Stuart court by James's military actions on the Continent, when peaceful mediation to resolve the Jülich-Cleves and Berg crisis seemed impossible. On 15 March 1609 Johann Wilhelm, Duke of Jülich-Cleves and Berg died. Unlikely as it may seem, this death somewhere in Germany ultimately prompted the Palatine wedding. Since it was not immediately clear who was to inherit the duke's lands, disputes soon arose. Three Lutheran claimants emerged: Christian II (1583–1611), the Elector of Saxony, who enjoyed the support of the Catholic Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612); Johann Sigismund of Hohenzollern (1572–1619), Elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang Wilhelm (1578–1653), Duke of Neuburg.[8] The former became an open enemy of the Protestant Union. The latter two joined forces in the Treaty of Dortmund; the Protestant Union supported their joint claim, and initially they successfully occupied the territories.[9]

Emperor Rudolf II struck back, however. Archduke Leopold of Austria (1586–1632) conquered the town of Jülich in July 1609, and continued to raise troops in other bishoprics. Once Archduke Leopold occupied the duchies, the States General of the United Provinces and Henri IV of France (1553–1610), who feared Habsburg control, decided to interfere. The duchies were situated in a strategic position on the lower Rhine, and since the principalities bordered on the Dutch Republic as well as on the Spanish Netherlands, they were of significant interest to both powers. James entered into diplomatic discussions with various German princes in an attempt to resolve the conflict peacefully.

In February 1610, however, he wrote to the States General of the United Provinces to seek permission for recruiting of 4,000 men from the British regiments of their Dutch army. The States General consented: by March 1610 English and Scottish soldiers normally employed by the Dutch were

8 See Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648* (New York: Palgrave, 1997), 29–31 for a discussion of the rights on which these princes based their claim of the inheritance of the duchies.

9 See Geoffrey Parker, ed. *The Thirty Years War*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1997), 29–30, also for Johann Sigismund's conversion to Calvinism and Wolfgang Wilhelm's conversion to Catholicism in 1613. See also the introduction to this volume.

paid by the Stuart Crown and stormed the town of Jülich.[10] By sending troops, James had indirectly supported the Protestant Union, headed by the Elector Palatine. *Pacificus Rex* was no more, or so it seemed.

A marriage between the Elector Palatine and James's only daughter was agreed upon shortly thereafter, in the spring of 1611. Less than a year later, James became a member of the Protestant Union. He persuaded the United Provinces to follow his example and join the Union, considerably strengthening the ties between European Protestants. Yet James's refusal to preside over the Union, as well as his dynastic plans for his son Henry (and for Charles after Henry's death), in which he favored a Catholic marriage, point to his ultimate unwillingness to opt for an entirely anti-Catholic foreign policy.

Far from intending to drive a wedge between the Protestant and Catholic sides of the conflicts in the Holy Roman Empire, James wanted to prevent a full confessional war. *Pacificus Rex* was still very much alive. First, his membership of the Union, and his daughter's marriage to the Elector Palatine, would make it possible for the British Isles to keep the Protestant forces on the Continent contented. James expected, perhaps unwisely, that King Philip III of Spain (1578–1621) had enough influence to temper likewise his two Catholic cousins, Maximilian of Bavaria (1573–1651), head of the Catholic League, and Emperor Rudolf. Second, a marriage between James's male successor and the Spanish Infanta would make the outbreak of a confessional war less likely.[11]

Despite what the tapestry and the mock sea battle might suggest, the festivities of the Palatine wedding were intended not to convey militant Protestantism, but an ecumenical atmosphere instead. Had Prince Henry lived, the marriage entertainments would have consisted of three core masques, James's, Henry's, and Elizabeth's.[12] The three masques combined would have cleverly neutralized each other's radical political views. With Henry's death, the idea of diffusion of political agendas disappeared, and this tipped the scales of balance in favor of James's ecumenical ideas. Henry's militant *Masque of Truth* was obviously cancelled, and Elizabeth also can-

10 Steve Murdoch, "James VI and the Formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity," in *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900*, ed. Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 11–15.

11 See Maurice Lee, Jr., "The Blessed Peacemaker," in *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 261–289.

12 Queen Anna had long been pushed off the masquing stage, as Clare McManus has shown. See McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court 1590–1619* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 140–141.

celled hers. It is easy to identify bereavement as the prime reason for Elizabeth's withdrawal. Yet she initially continued rehearsing her masque until January 1613, months after her brother's death.[13] It is more likely that she felt insufficiently empowered, in the absence of Henry's masque, to convey ideas that opposed her father's ecumenical concepts.[14]

The king's masque by Thomas Campion (1567–1620) was the only authoritative masque that was performed in February 1613. In it, the anti-masquer Mania is persuaded by Orpheus to release Entheus, an allegorical character representing "poetic fury." According to Orpheus, Mania should not be afraid to set Entheus free because Jove (that is, King James) was powerful enough to control him.[15] There is some irony in this suggestion, however, as seen below, as the poets did not always side with James. James might have thought it would be easy to control the poets and the populace and to communicate only his own political views, with his masque being the only royal masque.

Quite the opposite appeared to be the case, though. Whereas, before Henry's death, it would have been clear which masque would have celebrated chivalric, religiously militant Protestantism, such energy and sentiment were now no longer bundled or focused, but instead became fragmented. With dissolution of Henry's court and the cancellation of his masque that would have staged the marriage as a powerful "confessional alliance," the militant-minded had to find a new outlet.[16] With talk of James having poisoned his own son, the king was beginning to be perceived as an unreliable champion of Protestantism. The Protestant faction turned to Princess Elizabeth, calling upon her to conjure up the spirit of her namesake, the Amazonian Queen Elizabeth I. Now that Entheus, or "poetic fury," was released, a Protestant polemic could no longer be prevented.

During the marriage celebrations, the young Elizabeth was continually compared to her godmother. As Graham Parry has put it, the young princess was "by virtue of her name […] often considered to be the inheritor of the old Queen's spirit; indeed, it was a commonplace of courtly compliment to stress their successive identity."[17] Yet these associations began to become

13 McManus, 141.

14 See also Barbara Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 52–53.

15 Thomas Campion, "The Lords' Masque (1613)," in *English Masques*, ed. Herbert Arthur Evans (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 74.

16 David Norbrook, "'The Masque of Truth': Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the Early Stuart Period," *Seventeenth Century* 1.2 (1986): 83.

17 Graham Parry, and Frances A. Yates in her famous study *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), were the first to discuss the comparison of Elizabeth Stuart to her godmother, Queen Elizabeth I. See Parry, *The Golden*

widespread around her marriage and would seriously hamper the political strategies of her father and her one remaining brother. The references were initially innocuous. For instance, in December 1612, William Leigh (1550–1639), who had been a tutor to her brother Prince Henry, dedicated a series of three sermons to Princess Elizabeth entitled *Queene Elizabeth, Paraleld in Her Princely Vertues* (1612). He had preached the sermons in the last years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, now by dedicating the publication of those sermons to Princess Elizabeth, he placed the legacy of the Virgin Queen under her protection. He tried to convince the sixteen-year-old princess that she was the right person to take on this daunting task, given that she was already inextricably connected to her godmother. As he writes:

> Shee a Kings daughter, so are you: shee a maiden Queene, you a Virgin Prince: her name is yours, her blood is yours, her cariage is yours, her countenance yours, like pietie towards God […] the difference stands in this; that the faire flower of her youth is fallen; yours flourisheth like a Rose of Saram, and a Lilly of the Valley. Her dayes are determined on earth, and begun in heauen; yours are a doing on earth: and blessed be the current till

Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–1642 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), 95–134. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski picks up on their work, discussing the Queen Elizabeth metaphor as employed in literary celebrations and tracts by Thomas Heywood (c. 1573–1641), Henry Peacham (b. 1578, d. in or after 1644), Joannis de Franchis (n. d.), George Webbe (b. 1581, d. in or before 1642), and George Wither (1588–1667). See Lewalski, "Scripting a Heroine's Role: Princess Elizabeth and the Politics of Romance," of her study *Writing Women* 45–65, at 53–54. Georgianna Ziegler begins where Lewalski left off, discussing the conflation of the identities of the two Elizabeths in even more depth. See Georgianna Ziegler, "Devising a Queen: Elizabeth Stuart's Representation in the Emblematic Tradition," *Emblematica* 14 (2005): 155–179, and in particular Georgianna Ziegler, "A Second Phoenix: The Rebirth of Elizabeth in Elizabeth Stuart," in *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Elizabeth Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson, 2007). In the latter Ziegler distinguishes two groups of writings dedicated to Elizabeth Stuart: the first group is religious and written in the aftermath of the Gunpowder plot (1606–1612), the other are epithalamia (1613). Texts that compare the young princess to her godmother, and which are extensively discussed by Ziegler, are, among others, *Popish Pietie: or The First Part of the Historie of that Horrible and Barbarous Conspiracie, Commonly Called the Powder Treason* (1609; translation to English from Latin, 1611) by Francis Herring (d. 1628); *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611) by Aemilia Lanyer (*bap*. 1569, *d*. 1645); *Queene Elizabeth, Parallelld in Her Princely Vertues, with David, Josua, and Hezekia* (1612) by William Leigh; *Queene Elizabeths Looking-Glasse of Grace and Glory* (1612) by James Maxwell (b. 1581); *Great Brittaines Generall Joyes* (1613) by Anthony Nixon (n. d.); *Epithalamia, or, Nuptiall Poems* (1612) by George Wither, and the sermon *The Bride Royall* by George Webbe. Ziegler, because she intended to discuss Elizabeth's younger years, stops at 1619, however, not discussing Elizabeth's time in exile.

> they bee ended: euer may your happinesse growe together, and make you blessed with that immortall crowne, that withereth not.[18]

According to Leigh, the young Elizabeth comported herself in the same manner as the old queen and was even similar in appearance. Travel writer Thomas Coryate (1577–1617) even conjures up a vision of a Christ-like resurrection: "in [the Princess'] name, sexe, and heroicall disposition me thinkes I see our great Queene Elizabeth reuiued and resuscitated vnto life from the very bowles of her graue."[19] For those wanting to turn back time to the glory of the sixteenth century, for those longing for the golden age and cherishing nostalgic feelings, it was as if Queen Elizabeth I had never died.

In fact, by 1613, the myth of the Virgin Queen had not dimmed but had grown even stronger. James's intervention in the Jülich-Cleves and Berg crisis had fed speculation that the Stuart Crown finally favored an unequivocal confessional alliance, and Princess Elizabeth's marriage to the leader of the Protestant Union added fuel to such logic. The poet George Wither (1588–1667) writes in his *Epithalamia: or Nuptiall Poems* (1612):

> […] and beside thy proper merit
> Our last *Eliza*, grants her Noble spirit.
> To be redoubled on thee; and your *names*,
> Being both one, shall giue you both one fames. (ll.243–246)[20]

In Wither's poem Queen Elizabeth's spirit "redoubles," or intensifies, the princess's virtues. The same sentiment is to be found in an earlier Latin text by the Scot Thomas Rosa (tentatively identified as Thomas Ross, c. 1575–1618), *Idea, Sive de Jacobi Magnae Britanniae, Galliae et Hyberniae*.[21] When the young Elizabeth had established her own household at Kew, Rosa, like Wither four years later at the time of the Palatine wedding,

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18 William Leigh's dedicatory epistle, "To the High and Mightie Princesse, Elizabeth, Daughter to Our Soueraigne Lord the King; Grace Be Multiplied in This Life, and Happinesse in the World to Come," in Leigh, *Queene Elizabeth, Paraleld in Her Princely Vertues, with Dauid, Ioshua, and Hezekia*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed by Thomas Creede for Arthur Iohnson, 1612), sig. A6v. Short Title Catalog, 15426.

19 Thomas Coryate, *Coryat's Crudities; reprinted from the edition of 1611. To which are now added, his letters from India, and extracts relating to him, from various authors: being a more particular account of his travels (mostly on foot) in different parts of the globe, than any hitherto published. Together with his orations, character, death, with copper-plates* (London, 1776), Appendix in vol. 3, "To the Lady Elizabeth, Her Grace in the House of Lord Harrington at Kew."

20 George Wither, *Epithalamia: or Nuptiall Poems*, 2nd ed. (London: F. Kingston, 1612), sig. B2v. Short Title Catalog, 25901.

21 See Lewalski's translation in *Writing Women*, 48, of an excerpt of Thomas Rosa's *Idea, Sive de Jacobi Magnae Britanniae, Galliae et Hyberniae*, 2nd ed. (London: Richard Field, 1608), 322–323. Short Title Catalog, 21317.

predicted that the association with the old Tudor queen would increase the princess's fame.[22] Because of her name, "being both one," the princess became notionally easily interchangeable with Queen Elizabeth.

Writers also used the symbol of the phoenix to depict the idea that in Princess Elizabeth, Queen Elizabeth was born again. As Parry and more recently Georgianna Ziegler have pointed out, "Queen Elizabeth herself had frequently been imaged as a phoenix for her uniqueness and her solitary state, and the image transferred easily to the young princess in whom poets hoped that the royal virtues would be reborn."[23] Near the end of the mythical bird's life cycle, it builds a nest of twigs which it then ignites; the bird and the nest are consumed by the fire and reduced to ashes, from which a new, young phoenix arises. Consequently, the phoenix symbolizes rebirth, invincibility, and thus immortality.

In addition, as only one phoenix can exist at a time in the world, the red, feathery creature never mates and thus also symbolizes purity, virginity, and a solitary state. The latter symbolic meanings proved more difficult to transfer to a princess at the time of her impending marriage. However, this complexity was cleverly resolved by John Donne (1572–1631), who wrote the most memorable and ingenuous of all the nuptial songs, *Epithalamion Vpon Frederick Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth marryed on S.t Valentines day.* In his poem, the impossible occurs: the phoenix Elizabeth finds a soul mate in another phoenix bird, Friedrich. Yet the two birds become one when the marriage is consummated at the end of the poem:

> Now by this Act of these two Phænixes
> Nature agayne restored is
> For since these two are two no more
> Theres but one Phænix still as was before. (ll.99–102)[24]

Such poems had a decisive influence on the future life of Princess Elizabeth, as I argue here. These analogies would determine how she would perceive and fashion herself in later years as an autonomous female ruler. The disagreements with her father over the Bohemian crown in 1619–1620 and

22 Christof Ginzel, *Poetry, Politics, and Promises of Empire: Prophetic Rhetoric in the English and Neo-Latin Epithalamia on the Occasion of the Palatine Wedding in 1613* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress; Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2009), 43.

23 Parry, 105. See Ziegler 2007 and Robert Allyne's, *Teares of Ioy Shed at the Happy Departure from Great Britaine, of the Two Paragons of the Christian World: Fredericke and Elizabeth, Prince, and Princesse Palatines of the Rhine*, 2nd ed. (London: N. Okes, 1613) for the phoenix imagery. Short Title Catalog, 385.

24 John Donne, "Epithalamion Vpon Frederick Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth Marryed on S.t Valentines day," in *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. Gary A. Stringer et al., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), 8:108–110.

later with her brother over not accepting a partial restitution in the 1630s had their nascence here, during the time of her wedding, in 1613. These associations would empower her, but she must have felt the weight of all these mythological comparisons. After all, despite her name she was not the first heir to her godmother's inheritance; her brother Henry had been the first. In June 1610 Elizabeth herself had danced the role of a water nymph, personifying the river Thames, in the masque *Tethys' Festival* by Samuel Daniel (1562/63–1619), written to commemorate her brother Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales. Together with her mother Queen Anna of Denmark, as Tethys, Queen of the Ocean, and other notable courtly ladies who represented other rivers of Britain, she had presented her brother with: "[…] this sword / Which she unto Astraea sacred found, / And not to be unsheathed but on just ground."[25] The message was clear. As Roy Strong argues, "even in 1610 the symbolic presentation of Astraea's sword could have only one meaning" which was:

> the transference of the Elizabeth mythology to Prince Henry. It is the legend of Elizabeth as Astraea, the maiden justice, bearing her sword as we see her in so many of her allegorical portraits, which is here being made over to the new Prince of Wales.[26]

The sixteen-year-old Elizabeth must have felt a huge responsibility and sadness when those powerful Astraea symbols, not only associated with her godmother but also linked to her brother during the period from 1610 until his death in 1612, suddenly fell on her shoulders.[27] Yet it also strengthened her resolve.

Even though Elizabeth would leave England after the wedding, her father's subjects initially expected her eventual return. By comparing her to Elizabeth I, they expressed the hope she would eventually restore the British Isles to a fervently militant Protestant nation. Henry's death had given them few options but to cling to such beliefs. If ambassadorial reports can be trusted, then Elizabeth embraced her position of entitlement as heir to the throne. When the news of Henrietta Maria's miscarriage of a baby boy reached The Hague in May 1629, Giovanni Soranzo (1600–1655) and Vincenzo Gussoni (1588–1654), the Venetian ambassadors in The Hague, wrote in cipher to the Doge and Senate: "if this proves true the Princes[s] Palatine here will not be sorry, because they [Friedrich and Elizabeth]

25 Samuel Daniel, "Tethys' Festival (1610)," in *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605–1640*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 59.

26 Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (1997; repr., London: Pimlico, 1999), 190.

27 For Astraea iconography in 1612–1613, see Ginzel, 314–315.

consider they have no safer refuge than England."[28] Until 1630, when Henrietta Maria bore Charles I a healthy son, Elizabeth had remained second in line to the throne. Charles's unremitting health problems had continued to feed expectations that a return to unequivocal Protestantism in the Stuart kingdoms was imminent. If Charles had died without an heir, Elizabeth would after all have become Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

As Astraea, the classical goddess of justice, Queen Elizabeth I had radiated feminine militant power; she had acted as an anti-Habsburg shield, her chaste, maiden beauty helping to entice her Protestant allies in the Dutch Republic, Germany, and France to continue to support England. In 1612–1613, the epithalamia poets had used the topos of Astraea to hail the wedding as a revival of an Elizabethan Golden Age. The wedding seemed nothing short of miraculous: the anti-Spanish maiden justice had found her equal, a Calvinist prince, who was also the leader of the Protestant Union, a military alliance of Lutheran and Calvinist rulers formed in 1608, to stand up against the Emperor who had re-introduced Roman Catholicism in Donauwörth. The Palatine marriage, a wedlock between a Stuart princess and the leader of an Evangelical Union, could protect and extend the legacy of Astraea, of Queen Elizabeth; that is, the true religion would be safeguarded against the threat of Catholicism.

During relatively peaceful times after the marriage, when Elizabeth and Friedrich left England in 1613, the Elizabeth mythology faded somewhat, but the analogy between the two women never expired. It was frequently abandoned temporarily, but it was always reinvoked during times of political and religious crises. When wounded by an adversary, the phoenix's self-generation was set in motion, and Queen Elizabeth I again arose from the ashes. In 1619, for instance, an attendant to the electress, John Harrison (*fl.* 1610–1638) detailed how his mistress the Lady Elizabeth set out with her husband Friedrich on the journey from Heidelberg towards Prague to accept the Crown of Bohemia, against the wishes and instruction of King James:

> to haue seen the sweete demeanour of that great ladie at her departure: with teares trickling downe her cheekes; so milde courteous, and affable (yet with a princely reservation of state well beseeming so great a maiestie) lyke an other Queene Elizabeth revived also agayne in her, the only Phoenix of the world. Gonne is this sweete Princesse, with her now-more than-princelie houseband […] towards the place whear his armie attendeth, to march

28 *CSP Venice 1629–1632,* ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919) vol. 22, no. 113. Soranzo and Gussoni to the Doge and Senate, 4 June 1629.

> forward: shewing herself like that virago at Tilburie in eightie eight: an other Queene Elizabeth, for so now she is.[29]

As soon as she left the relatively safety of the court in Heidelberg to join the armed forces of her husband, the spirit of Queen Elizabeth I was said to have been revived in Princess Elizabeth. At that precise moment she became, according to John Harrison, a virago-like Queen Elizabeth I who faced the anticipated invasion of the Spanish Armada at Tilbury in 1588. In the eyes of John Harrison, by marching out towards an army, Princess Elizabeth had fulfilled the prophesy: she really had become another Queen Elizabeth: "for so now she is."

The Bohemian adventure ended in disappointment, however, for the latter version of Queen Elizabeth. She had remained in Prague as long as she could in order not to create further unrest amongst her subjects.[30] Elizabeth was fearless, but unaware of the reality of the nearby danger. As Sir Francis Nethersole (bap. 1587, d. 1659) wrote:

> we can in this towne heare the Canon play day and night, which were enough to fright another Queene. Her Ma.^{ty} is nothing troubled therewith, but would be if she should heare how often there haue beene men killed very neere [the] K*ing* with the Canon, and how much he aduentureth his person further then he is commended for.[31]

The Battle at White Mountain in 1620 bore no relation to the victorious year of 1588. After Elizabeth and her husband had lost the Bohemian Crown, the analogy with her godmother seemed to have expired for good. Yet, the immortal phoenix again arose from its ashes. In 1621, an eye-witness, when he saw her for the first time in The Hague, her place of political asylum, used one of Queen Elizabeth I's mottos to describe her: "His majesty's most royal daughter is, to use her godmother's impress, '*semper eadem*,' [always the same] full of princely courage, and therefore, as well for that as her other admirable and royally shining virtues, justly honoured, even by the enemies of her cause."[32]

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29 John Harrison, *A Short Relation of the Departure of the High and Mightie Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia: with His Royall & Vertuous Ladie Elizabeth; and the Thryse Hopefull Yong Prince Hernie, from Heydelberg towards Prague, to Receive the Crowne of that Kingdome*, 2nd ed. (Dort: George Waters, 1619), sig. A3v. Short Title Catalog, 12859.

30 Mary Anne Everett-Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (1855), rev. ed. by Sophia Crawford Lomas (London: Methuen, 1909), 162.

31 Nethersole to the Secretary of State Calvert (1579/80–1632), 26 October 1620, TNA, SP 81/19 fos. 132v–133r.

32 Everett-Green, 179.

Even her enemies were impressed by her dauntlessness. Three days after her arrival in The Hague, a delegation of Jesuit priests appealed to her. They hoped that she could prevent the execution of three prisoners, but Elizabeth, still in a precarious situation, uncertain the States General of the Dutch Republic would be willing to defy Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) by allowing the Bohemian court to settle in The Hague, did not interfere. As her father's resident ambassador in The Hague, Dudley Carleton, reports:

> This day three of our popish prisoners were beheaded here at The Hague […] for a practice to surrender Tiel to the enemy […]. They all died constantly and were as soon dispatched as ever I saw matter of that kind. The queen of Bohemia was sought unto to intercede for them but was too wise to interpose herself. [Sir Richard] Cave [(d. 1645)] putes there is such another in the world for discretion and all things laudable in her sex and rank.[33]

Her decision not to interject immediately gained her Carleton's respect, who regarded it as a sign of true sovereignty.

Elizabeth Stuart as Queen Elizabeth I *rediviva* grew stronger again. In fact, the analogies became more frequent during her years in exile. The image of her godmother was no longer merely thrust upon her. Instead it was she who initiated further identification with her godmother. When in 1623 it became apparent that Emperor Ferdinand II had transferred the Electoral title to Maximilian of Bavaria and the Palatine couple had thus not only lost Bohemia but also the Palatinate, Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644), Elizabeth's life-long correspondent and confidant, wrote her a letter of comfort by rekindling the memory of her victorious namesake:

> Most Excellent Lady, Be yo*u*r owne Queene, Banish all despaires and feares, Bee assured, *th*e Cause in w*hi*ch you suffer cannott perish. If God had not planted it, it had long since bene rooted out. Vouchsafe to remember *th*e Motto of our last eternally glorious *Elizabeth*. "This is done of *th*e Lord, and it is wonderfull in our eyes." So shall the day of your returne bee, to those honors, w*hi*ch you, aboue all Princes, meritt.[34]

Roe urged her to remember Queen Elizabeth's maxim, but such reminder was quite unnecessary as she gradually started to model closely her image, demeanor, and deportment on that of her godmother, as becomes clear from her patronage of masques, for instance.

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33 Dudley Carleton, *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603–1624: Jacobean Letters*, ed. Maurice Lee Jr. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 283.

34 Roe to Elizabeth, 22 March 1622/23, Roe's letter book, Trinity College Dublin, MS 708/1 fo. 162r.

In 1624, the Queen of Bohemia had the first masque which was performed in her honor radically altered because she felt the writer Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) had been "som[e]what too petulant."[35] The Dutch poet had not understood the intricacies of the English masque genre. In the altered version, the masquer who plays Cupid does not address Elizabeth as "her majesty," but refers to her as Diana instead. The alteration shows us a glimmer of Elizabeth's self-fashioning: she had insisted on her public persona being related to the classical goddess of the hunt.[36] In addition to Astraea, Queen Elizabeth I had also been commonly celebrated as Goddess Diana;[37] the classical Roman goddess of chastity of course perfectly suited the Virgin Queen's image. In 1613 the Dutch States General had presented her with two tapestry sets from the Delft studio of François of Spiering as a lasting wedding gift: one of those sets weaved *the Story of Diana* in 6 episodes.[38] The Queen of Bohemia also purposely modeled her image on the goddess Diana, thereby further strengthening the conflation of her own identity with that of the late Queen Elizabeth I. Yet being married and by 1624 a mother of seven children, the Winter Queen did not necessarily focus on Goddess Diana's prime female virtue – chastity – but signaled out the Amazonian qualities of the female huntress that were also embodied by this female deity.

35 Carleton to Conway, 5 January 1624, TNA, SP 84/116, fo. 6r. Huygens was one of the poets who kept the cult of Gloriana alive in the Low Countries after Queen Elizabeth's death, according to Paul Franssen, "Gloriana's Allies: The Virgin Queen and the Low Countries," in *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present*, ed. Christa Jansohn (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004), 173–194. Franssen's analysis can be complicated if Princess Elizabeth is regarded as a second Queen Elizabeth.

36 Elizabeth's working closely together with the poet Constantijn Huygens and other circumstances surrounding this masque are fully detailed in Nadine Akkerman, "Cupido en de Eerste Koningin in Den Haag," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 25.2 (2010): 73–96. For more information about the masques Elizabeth organized in The Hague, see Marika Keblusek, "'A divertissement of little plays': Theater aan de Haagse Hoven van Elizabeth van Bohemen en Mary Stuart," in *Vermaak van de Elite in de Vroegmoderne Tijd*, ed. Jan de Jonste, Juliette Roding, and Boukje Thijs (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 190–202 and Marika Keblusek, "Entertainment in Exile: Theatrical Performances at the Courts of Margaret Cavendish, Mary Stuart and Elizabeth of Bohemia," in *The Triumphs of the Defeated: Early Modern Festivals and Messages of Legitimacy*, ed. Peter Davidson and Jill Bepler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 173–190; Nadine N. W. Akkerman and Paul R. Sellin, "Facsimile Edition – A Stuart Masque in Holland: *Ballet de la Carnesse de La Haye (1655)*," *Ben Jonson Journal* 11 (2004): 207–258; Nadine N. W. Akkerman and Paul R. Sellin, "A Stuart Masque in Holland: *Ballet de la Carnesse de La Haye (1655)*: Part II," *Ben Jonson Journal* 12 (2005): 141–164.

37 See Elkin Calhoun Wilson, "Diana," in *England's Eliza*, ed. Elkin Calhoun Wilson (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 167–229.

38 According to Hubach, 113, the other set detailed *the Deeds of Scipio* in ten episodes.

Constantijn Huygens, the author of the masque's libretto, did not forget the Queen of Bohemia's special preference for Diana. In 1628, Nicolaas Schmelzing (1561–1629), a Colonel in the Dutch army and Lieutenant-governor of Overijssel, requested that Huygens write an anniversary poem for Elizabeth, expressing the hope that by the presentation of such a poem the gates of her court would be unbolted. Huygens accepted the challenge. As a playful letter of recommendation, Huygens wrote "Le jour de la nativité de la Reine, pour le Sr. Schmelzing, lacquay de S. Mté," a poem which configures Schmelzing as a servant of the "Grande Diane."[39] The poem circulated in manuscript among Huygens's poetic colleagues P. C. Hooft (1581–1647) and Casparus Barlaeus (1584–1648).[40]

Meanwhile, in England, the comparison to Queen Elizabeth was revived to invoke criticism of King James's policy of foreign affairs. Implicitly criticizing the king's supposed lack of commitment to the Palatine cause, the playwright Thomas Drue (c. 1586–1627) portrays the Stuart princess as Queen Elizabeth I in his play *The Duchess of Suffolk* (printed London 1631, but performed 1624): "in her eulogy on Queen Elizabeth I in Act V, the Duchess [the eponymous character] mentions a phoenix arising from the ashes to 'enlighten Christendome.'"[41] Like Huygens's masque in The Hague, the play was performed at a time when the Spanish match was finally called off and the House of Commons voted in favor of going to war against Spain.[42]

The distance that exile entailed allowed Elizabeth to construct her own iconography. Her father King James had encouraged a very specific image for his daughter, an image incongruent with the chaste Diana. The masque for her wedding which he had commissioned, Thomas Campion's *The Lord's Masque*, celebrated Elizabeth's fertility, her ability to pass on, not Queen Elizabeth's, but her father's heritage to "male offspring":

> How the beautiful bride answers her handsome husband!

39 There are two manuscript versions of this poem still extant: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 41, 1628, pp. 118–120 and pp. 121–123. For a printed version see Constantijn Huygens, "Le jour de la nativité de la Reine, pour le Sr. Schmelzing, lacquay de S. Mté," in *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, ed. Jacob Adolf Worp (Groningen: Wolters, 1893), 2: 200–201.

40 The manuscript circulation of the poem can be traced in two letters: see Jacob Adolf Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911–1917, 1:243 and 245, letter nos. 413 and 416.

41 Akiko Kusunoki, "'Their Testament at Their Apron-strings': The Representation of Puritan Women in Early-Seventeenth Century England," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. Susan P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 192.

42 Everett-Green, 229.

How full of divine grace she is! She has her father's features
She, the future parent of male offspring, the parent of
Kings, generals: British strength is added
To German strength could anything be the equal of this?[43]

As Curran notes, "[s]o forceful is the rhetoric of monarchical fruitfulness here that Elizabeth is barely allowed subjectivity. Before celebrating her fertility, we are told 'She has her father's features,' giving us an image of Elizabeth's maternal body unto which James's head has been grafted."[44]

Also, Curran notes that the painter Robert Peake (c. 1551–1619) does something similar. In his paintings, the immature body of Princess Elizabeth is given a mature head, if not indeed an aged one. Peake "emphasized the continuity of the Stuart line by exaggeratedly inscribing the dark heavy circles under James's eyes onto the faces of his children." This is particularly noticeable in two of his paintings of Elizabeth, one dated 1603 and the other 1610, as her fragile feminine body is oddly crowned with a masculine head.[45]

In exile, she commissioned paintings of her own. After her father's death, in March 1625, the Queen of Bohemia was as a rule portrayed wearing numerous strings of pearls or a necklace of exceptionally large ones. These were significantly the Virgin Queen's pearls.[46] James had inherited "six long strings of pearls, twenty-five as large as nutmegs," and "seven large separate pearls which may have been used in earrings or dress ornaments" from Queen Elizabeth, who had taken them from Mary, Queen of Scots, after the latter's execution.[47] When James died, the pearls passed on to his daughter. By wearing the jewels, she appropriated the symbolism that went along with them. (***See color plates 1–4.***)

In one painting by Michiel van Miereveldt (1567–1641), Elizabeth's self-assertion becomes particularly clear. The painting has been tentatively ascribed to c. 1623, but since Elizabeth is wearing Queen Elizabeth I's pearls out of the inheritance of her father, it must be dated after 27 March 1625, the date of her father's death. The painting is nothing short of a tribute to Queen Elizabeth, as Elizabeth Stuart's dress, lace collar, her posture, and coiffeur, and placement of the pearls are reminiscent of the famous Armada

43 Grainne McLaughlin's translation of Latin, as given in Curran, 66, of Campion, 361–365.

44 Curran, 66.

45 Ibid.

46 Anna Wendland, ed., *Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart, Königin von Böhmen, an ihren Sohn, den Kurfürsten Carl Ludwig von der Pfalz* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1902), 50, 97, 120, 129, 132.

47 Description of the pearls by the French ambassador, De La Foret; see Kenneth Mears, *The Tower of London: 900 Years of English History* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988), 150.

portrait. Elizabeth had inscribed her own image in the likeness, not of her father, but of the Amazonian, Protestant queen. Unlike her father, and her brother in the 1630s and 1640s, she opposed conciliatory discussions with the Catholic enemy. Like her godmother, she always advocated military intervention instead.

Elizabeth's likeness to Queen Elizabeth I sometimes had bizarre consequences. In 1626, it caused the death of Protestant polemicist Thomas Scott (1580–1626), one of her most zealous supporters. In 1619 Scott wrote the anonymous anti-Spanish tract *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spain*; and before his identity was revealed in 1621, it went through several editions and was also published in manuscript form to meet the demand of the elite who subscribed to newsletters.[48] In c. 1623 he moved to the continent, where he became minister to one of the English regiments stationed at Utrecht.[49] He was sponsored by some of the leading men of the Palatine government in exile, Achatius von Dohna (1581–1647) and George Rudolf Weckherlin (1584–1653), and also corresponded with Sir Abraham Williams (*fl.* 1620s–1640s), the Palatine agent in London. He stirred the Palatine propaganda machinery, and, building on the success of *Vox Populi*, had further issued a series of immensely popular pamphlets in favor of the Palatine cause, which were also translated into Dutch. In his dedicatory epistle to the King and Queen of Bohemia, and Maurits (1576–1625), Prince of Orange, of his pamphlet *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), he reveals his reasons for his frenzied outpour of tracts in a modest tone:

> having I confesse no other excuse then that common one of the Countrie, it was out of my loue, out of my loyalty, for such (most gracious Q: *Elizabeth*) hath heeretofore your respect beene towards mee (farre vnworthy God knowes of any of the least favours from so Magnificent a Princesse) that ever since, I haue contended with myselfe, to adventure and Act something, that might have power still to preserue me in your Royall Memorie, but albeit I had the will, I find myselfe wanting in my Abilitie.[50]

48 The commotion around *Vox Populi*, resulting in Scott fleeing to the continent, is fully detailed in Sean Kelsey, "Scott, Thomas (d. 1626)," in *Oxford Dictionary National Biography* (ODNB), ed. Henry Colin Gray Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Also available online at http://www.oxfordnb.com/.

49 See Thompson Cooper, "Scott, Thomas (1580?–1626)," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB) (1897) and on Scott see also Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War 1621–1624.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 20–35 and 281–307.

50 Thomas Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi, or Gondomar Appearing in the Likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish Parliament*, 2nd ed. (Goricom, England: Ashuerus Janss, 1624), sig. A1–A1v. Short Title Catalog, 22103.7.

His religious devotion to the Queen of Bohemia – note that he also equates her to her godmother by referring to her as "Q: *Elizabeth*" – kept him at his writing desk. The pamphlets remained extremely popular for some time and in 1624 came to serve as the main source for *A Game of Chess*, a comic satirical play by Thomas Middleton (bap. 1580, d. 1627).

The deluge of Scott's propaganda leaflets was brought to an abrupt halt, however, after a freakish incident. A deranged English soldier called John Lambert believed Scott stood between him and Queen Elizabeth I, whom he believed inhabited the body of the Queen of Bohemia. In a delusional rage, Lambert stabbed Scott. The latter died immediately, mere months before he would have been appointed Elizabeth's household chaplain;[51] the former was caught, tortured, and later executed. This bizarre incident shows that the powerfully convincing literary and physical equations of Princess Elizabeth to Queen Elizabeth I were strong enough to convince an unbalanced mind that the spirit of the latter lived on in the former.

The iconography of Queen Elizabeth I continued to suit Elizabeth Stuart throughout her life. When Friedrich died of the plague in Mainz in 1632, the image of the Amazonian, Virago queen seemed to have given way to a tragic perception of Elizabeth in pamphlets and newsletters as a downtrodden, poor, helpless widow. Yet it is important to note that this new image was again promoted by Elizabeth herself, and the corresponding iconography partly self-perpetuated.[52] In the first decade of her widowed years, she steered Palatine affairs until her eldest surviving son, Karl Ludwig, took over the lead of the government in exile. In widowhood, as never before, Elizabeth was forced to become a stateswoman, a politician. Following closely in Queen Elizabeth's footsteps, she had already become her own queen known for her solitary state.

Elizabeth embraced the iconography of the widow, and as an independent queen she could again emphasize her likeness to Queen Elizabeth. Like Queen Elizabeth who had refused to marry to ensure she retained her autonomy, in widowhood Elizabeth Stuart also refused to become dependent on a man once more. In particular, she refused to be ruled by her brother. In portraiture the image of Diana was sustained, but remarkably it was also replicated in the portraits of her daughters. Her daughters were often portrayed as Diana's nymphs, replete with hounds and crossbows. One painting entitled "*Keur baert Angst*" (the title is a pun on a Dutch proverb, mean-

51 Jeremiah Elburough's "Relation of the Murther of Mr. Thomas Scott," as printed in *The European Magazine and London Review* 15 (1789): 8. Elburough (*fl.* 1614–1665) succeeded Scott as minister of the English Reformed Church at Utrecht.

52 See also Nadine Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11.

ing 'who may choose, is often afraid to make the wrong decision,' but since '*keur*' can also mean 'electoral,' the second meaning is 'the Palatines are feared'), now in a private collection, portrayed the children as hunters, devouring a deer, with Elizabeth in mourning dress in their midst.[53] Her wild hunting sprees became notorious. As Louis de Corduan (*fl.* 1636–1646), Sieur de Moyre, writes to Constantijn Huygens: "The Queen took much pleasure in the deer hunt, even though she was sorry that his Excellency [i. e., the Prince of Orange] could not be present. We had the deer hunted down, subsequently I set loose 20 hounds on it, 6 hounds further chased it into the dunes, and then into the sea, in which it remained over half an hour, before the dogs swam after it. You would not believe how fat it is!"[54]

Even after she accumulated massive debts, she continued to commission paintings which subtly transformed her image to her godmother's likeness. Gerard van Honthorst (1592–1656) was the Queen of Bohemia's favorite court painter for many years. Arnout Hellemans Hooft (1629–1680), the son of Dutch writer P. C. Hooft, who visited Elizabeth's court in Rhenen in 1649, before properly starting his grand tour, writes in his diary on 3 September 1649:

> […] and so on to Rhenen […] and the court, where the Queen of Bohemia presently resided. I noticed that it was luxuriously furnished, in particular with a large number of Honthorst paintings and tapestries rescued from Bohemia.[55]

Many of the surviving Honthorst paintings portray Elizabeth as a widow, with a black veil and again always wearing white pearls, which did not only

53 See the accompanying catalog to the exhibition Bayerische Landesausstellung 2003, Stadtmuseum Amberg, 9 May–2 November 2003, Peter Wolf et al., eds., *Der Winterkönig: Friedrich V., der letzte Kurfürst aus der Oberen Pfalz* (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2003), catalog number 13.4.

54 Worp's Dutch summary reads: "De Koningin heeft erg veel genoegen gehad op de hertenjacht, hoewel het haar spijt, dat, Z. E. er niet bij was. Wij hebben het hert laten opjagen, en toen stuurde ik er twintig honden op los, en toen is het door zes honden verder gejaagd, en toen is het door de honden naar het duin gejaagd, en toen is het in zee gejaagd, ent toen is het daar wel een half uur in gebleven, en toen hebben de honden het nagezwommen, en het is zoo vet, zoo vet!" Jacob Adolf Worp, ed., *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911–1917) 2:192, letter no. 1443. The original (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 50d, no. 13) is a lengthier narrative in French.

55 The Dutch printed edition reads: "en soo te Reenen […] en het hof, daer de koningin van Bohemen toen was, siende, dat seer wel gestoffeert is, voornaemelijk met veel schilderijen van Hondthorst en tapijten die noch mede uijt Bohemen gekomen sijn." See Arnout Hellemans Hooft, *Een naekt beeldt op een marmore matras seer schoon: het dagboek van een 'grand tour' (1649–1651)*, ed. Ellen M. Grabowsky and Pieter Jozias Verkruijsse (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 55. For the tapestry collection, see Hubach.

symbolize purity, as they did in portraits of Queen Elizabeth I; at another phase in a woman's life they could emphasize a widowed state.[56]

Elizabeth's brother Prince Henry, her elder by two years, is always assigned a great deal of autonomy. He is seen as a great patron of the arts, inspiring praise and awe, whereas Elizabeth is hardly ever allowed subjectivity and reduced to a mere spectator of events. The years after her wedding show that she was capable of creating her own image. As a young girl, years before her marriage, she already modeled herself on her godmother. When signing a letter, she appears to have consciously reproduced Queen Elizabeth I's signature, the signature of one of the first politically active queens regnant in Europe, as if to remind the recipients of her letters (at that early age her father and brother) that it was perfectly acceptable for a woman to enter the political domain as well.[57] It can thus even be questioned to what extent Queen Elizabeth's iconography was forced upon her during the wedding. What is clear, however, is that as Queen of Bohemia, Elizabeth would use the way people saw her to fashion her own image. Because of her love of horses, the hunt, and her use of the crossbow in particular, the princess soon was referred to as "Diana of the Rhine," for instance, during her years in Heidelberg.[58] In exile, some five years later, she would appropriate the goddess Diana to fashion herself after Queen Elizabeth I again. Her ability to adapt Elizabethan representational images to the situation in which she found herself, is quite remarkable. She used her godmother's legacy for political purposes. Like their father, Charles wanted to resolve the Palatine crisis peacefully in the 1630s and 1640s. By contrast, she had lost all faith in negotiations with the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Bavaria. In widowhood, when she took over the Palatine government in exile during the years 1632–1642, she always rejected compromises and peaceful treaties in favor of waging war against the Habsburgs.[59] Precisely at such moments, Elizabeth Stuart as Queen Elizabeth *rediviva* came to the fore. Even in the later years of widowhood, when she had withdrawn

56 See Irene Groeneweg, "Court and City: Dress in the Age of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia," in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms in the Hague*, ed. Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (The Hague: Historical Museum and Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), 201, in which she describes Elizabeth at a 1638 wedding, where she appeared in public bejeweled with pearls. At the private dinner in the evening, the queen had changed the subdued luster of pearls for sparkling diamonds (Groeneweg, 201).

57 Ziegler 2005, 126–127.

58 Lewalski, 54.

59 See all of Elizabeth's letters written between 1632–1642 as introduced and annotated in Nadine Akkerman, ed., *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, vol. 2.

from the political stage, the subdued luster of her godmother's pearls was a tacit reminder that the Phoenix that had been omnipresent in 1613 could, throughout the Winter Queen's lifetime, always arise from its ashes to protect the Protestant religion.

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