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On An Allegorical Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age: Its Reversed Meaning

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Abstract :

An Allegorical Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age painted in the Jacobean period is too enigmatic and mysterious to interpret its meaning. At first sight, it seems reasonable to consider it as a totally negative portrait of Queen Elizabeth I. This paper, however, tries to show quite a different view.

The "Rainbow" Portrait, official portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in the last phase of her reign full of uncertainty and anxiety, not only in domestic but also in foreign affairs, seems to reach the limit of praising her but contains elements subversive of her reign, adverse criticism of her and self-assertion of the orderer of the portrait.

The same phenomenon is seen in *An Allegorical Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age*. This portrait takes in the elements of many official portraits of Queen Elizabeth I painted in the Elizabethan period and keeps the structure of the traditional "Dance of Death," "Triumph of Death" and "Triumph of Time." These elements and structure are subtly shifted to make the utmost ambiguity, and consequently the meaning of the portrait is reversed. The portrait confirms Queen Elizabeth I's death but it is changed into a portrait evaluating and praising her as the worthy queen who kept her country peaceful with an earnest wish for her revival and criticizing both King James's foreign policy and the Protestants' militaristic assertion in the Jacobean period.

Keywords : Queen Elizabeth I, *Allegorical Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age*,
the "Rainbow" Portrait, apparent meaning, reversed meaning

The purpose of this paper is to consider the characteristics of *An Allegorical Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age* (c.1610 or 1622, hereafter referred to as "*Allegorical*." See the figure on p.13).¹⁾ The portraits of Queen Elizabeth I in the reign of King James I must have been painted with intense consciousness of her portraits of the Elizabethan period, which leads this paper to mention briefly *the "Rainbow" Portrait* (c.1600-1602, hereafter referred to as "*Rainbow*"), official portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in the last phase of her reign, and then describe "*Allegorical*."

I Is "*Rainbow*" a portrait purely panegyrical

for Queen Elizabeth I?

To study Queen Elizabeth I's official portraits it is required to identify and consider who planned and ordered them, because she had no court painter appointed to herself who naturally obeyed her wish or order. Queen Elizabeth's every portrait afforded its planner or orderer a chance to control and convert it to express his own existence, position and power in it,²⁾ although the original purpose of such portraits was an elaborate device to visualize Queen Elizabeth's authority, dignity and power. For example, Sir Christopher Hatton, one of Queen Elizabeth's favourites and the orderer of *the "Sieve" Portrait* (c.1580-83) had its painter depict his figure

in it. It may be said that the main figure of *the "Procession" Portrait* (c.1600-01, hereafter referred to as "*Procession*") was not Queen Elizabeth but Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester,³⁾ who took his post as the Master of Horse after the fall of the Earl of Essex, last favourite of Queen Elizabeth I. It is safe to say that he ordered the picture to celebrate his honorary promotion and the joyous marriage of Henry, his eldest son, to Anne Russell of the noble Bedford family. Both Hatton and Somerset wanted to visualize their own existence or family's happiness and prosperity in the pictures, whose main character was regarded as Queen Elizabeth at first sight. Moreover, it was possible for the planner or orderer of Queen Elizabeth's portrait to conceal his ambition or even his destructive and subversive intention in it, which is seen in "*Rainbow*" painted by one of the three painters, Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Isaac Oliver and John de Critz under the order of Robert Cecil, Secretary of State in the later years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign.⁴⁾

"*Rainbow*" is generally regarded as an extremely panegyric portrait for Queen Elizabeth I, polishing and refining all the means for representing her, such as garments, ornaments, attributes and inscriptions used for a series of her portraits including *the "Ditchley" Portrait* (c.1592, hereafter referred to as "*Ditchley*"), *the "Hardwick" Portrait* (1599? hereafter referred to as "*Hardwick*"), *the "Coronation" Portrait* (c.1600) and "*Procession*." However, this portrait turns into one which shows its orderer's self-assertion, criticism against her and even a counter movement to her. It is because the symbolic or allegorical meanings conveyed by the full and various means of representation cause contradiction and conflict with each other. Frances Yates wonders whether both the orderers and painters of Queen Elizabeth I's portraits perceived that the meanings of all their details could be understood by their every beholder.⁵⁾

This circumstance can be guessed from the comment on *the Portrait of Elizabeth with the*

Serpent (NPG200, in the 1580's to 1590's, anonymous) published by the National Portrait Gallery in London in March, 2010.⁶⁾ It was discovered by X-ray that in its original portrait Queen Elizabeth I held a serpent. A serpent has not only positive meanings such as wisdom, discretion, consideration and wise judgment but also negative ones such as Satan and Original Sin in Christianity. It is why the original attribute of the serpent held in the Queen's hand was replaced by a small rose bunch. In the above comment Tarnya Cooper says that it is unknown why the serpent was painted and how popular the pattern of a serpent was in those days.

What Queen Elizabeth I's portraits try to show consistently by many means is her "body politic." Their theme is the first regnant Queen's idealized figure in order to ensure her supreme authority and to consolidate her political power. "*Rainbow*" represents Queen Elizabeth I overpowering time and death by many kinds of effective, lavish means. The discrepancy between the real figure of Queen Elizabeth I, who was becoming old despite having no heir to the crown, and the idea of "body politic," however, comes to be recognized under the surface meaning of the portrait. In addition to it, the plan of Robert Cecil who wanted to occupy a stable, powerful position under the new dynasty after her death emerges, denying Elizabeth I's existence, dignity and power. The destructive and subversive meaning is subtly hidden under its apparent one, so that its orderer's responsibility is successfully shirked. While Queen Elizabeth I was eager to control her image, enforcing the standard of her face pattern to be depicted and it was ordered that her undesirable portraits should be collected and destroyed in 1596, the proclamation on her portrait still remained in draft form in 1563. According to Susan Doran, it is because the power of her portraits as a medium was not dominant,⁷⁾ but a different interpretation of the fact is possible: the powerful nobles and courtiers wanted no control over themselves who were able to control and manipulate

Queen Elizabeth I's portraits.

Cesare Ripa, author of *Iconologia*, which was so influential in Europe in those days that it was referenced as a guide to paint "*Rainbow*," states about the figures in his book that they were "made to express a thing different from that which we behold with our eyes" at the opening of the introduction of the 1603 edition.⁸⁾ It is possible to consider that Robert Cecil, who was fond of secrecy and made use of some codes in his correspondence with King James VI in Scotland (later King James I), shrewdly concealed his self-assertion and subversive elements in "*Rainbow*." It follows that an interpretation of the portrait can be given contrary to Yates or Roy Strong⁹⁾ who interpret it as a portrait purely panegyric for Queen Elizabeth I.

II Is "*Allegorical*" a portrait totally negative to Queen Elizabeth I?

The great expectation for King James, male ruler after the long reign by Queen Elizabeth I, female ruler, changed into a deep disappointment with him just after his accession to the throne, because of his inability as a ruler, his conflict with the parliament, his habit of spending money, his partiality to his attendants from Scotland and his special favour to handsome attendants. Moreover, his diplomatic policy to make an intimate relation with Spain caused fear that he might bring a crucial moment to his country to threaten its independence or provoked antipathy against him when the marriage arrangement between Prince Charles and a Spanish princess was negotiated. This tendency was attended with a nostalgic feeling for the late Queen Elizabeth I.¹⁰⁾ Neville Davies concludes that the first period of the revival of the popularity of Queen Elizabeth I was about 1607,¹¹⁾ and according to Strong,¹²⁾ the second period was about 1620 when the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War decreased the popularity of the Stuart dynasty. Both Davis and Strong find agreement from Carole Levin.¹³⁾

In this period *Truth Presents the Queen with*

a Lance (c.1622, by anonymous orderer, hereafter referred to as "*Truth*"), a portrait typically panegyric for Queen Elizabeth I, by Thomas Cecil appeared, promoted by the Protestants' militaristic movement against Spain. A youthful Queen Elizabeth in armor on horseback is given a lance by Truth, with the victorious war against the Spanish Armada for a background and a dragon trampled under the horse's feet. This portrait followed Queen Elizabeth I's official ones painted during her reign in that it was full of means with allegorical or symbolic meanings. The theme of this portrait is not complicated, however. Neither mutual contradiction nor conflict is caused in the interpretation of this portrait: it adores Queen Elizabeth I as the goddess of war.

Around the same time as "*Truth*" was painted, there appeared "*Allegorical*," another portrait of Queen Elizabeth I. It was once thought to be painted in the period of Queen Elizabeth I's reign. This view was rejected, however, judging from her garments, and now two views exist together: one is that it was painted in 1610,¹⁴⁾ while the other is that it was painted in 1622.¹⁵⁾ Walker guesses that this portrait

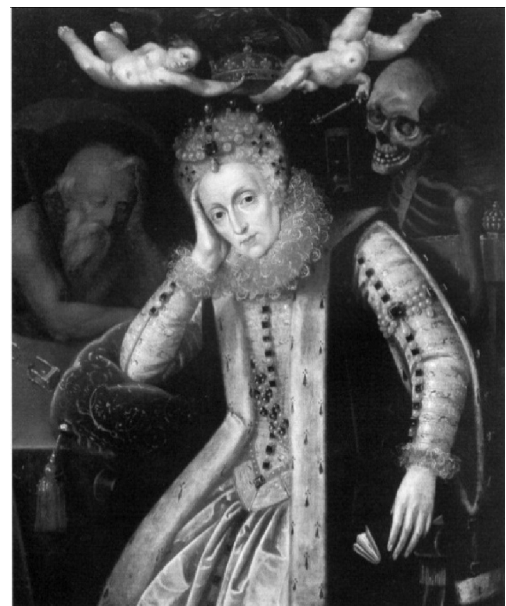


Figure: *An Allegorical Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age*
(property of Corsham Court)
The image is reproduced by permission of Lord James Methuen-Campbell.

was painted by Gheeraerts the Younger, who is one of the presumable painters of "*Rainbow*." She has the opinion that "*Truth*" and "*Allegorical*" show two opposite views on King James's policy to Spain.¹⁶⁾ Either view makes it possible to consider this portrait to have been painted in the period when Queen Elizabeth I's popularity was regained.

1. The interpretation of "*Allegorical*" as a portrait to support King James I

The view supportive of King James I or of Spain, which approved of promoting the marriage of Prince Charles with a Spanish princess, makes the following interpretation:¹⁷⁾

"*Allegorical*" is an intentional change of the "*Armada*" Portrait (1588? hereafter referred to as "*Armada*") which displays Queen Elizabeth I's political power most brilliantly. As a negative propaganda of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, "*Allegorical*" annuls the victory against the Spanish Armada celebrated in "*Armada*." Death comes to summon her reading a book or the Liturgy to death. Her chair resembles the one in "*Armada*," so that it contrasts Queen Elizabeth I in her last moment with her in the most prosperous period. Moreover, the scene arrangement of "*Armada*" is used intentionally in this portrait with the result that its story goes from left to right. Having just finished his work to invite Queen Elizabeth to her last moment, Time sleeps in the left rear with a sickle and an hourglass broken in half. Time's work is taken over by Death painted in the right. Two angels have just taken off the crown from Queen Elizabeth's head with their sinister left hands. She has nothing to impede this progress since she has lost such a power as leading England to victory against the Spanish Armada. This portrait shows old Queen Elizabeth's unavoidable surrender to Time and Death and her sorrowful realization of her "natural body."

2. The embalmmnt of Queen Elizabeth I's corpse and the removal of her original tomb

If "*Allegorical*" was painted in 1610, it is about the same time as the removal of the tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots by King James in 1612. He struggled to keep his right for succession to the throne of England after Queen Elizabeth I's death, calling her "madame and mother"¹⁸⁾ and calling himself "your natural son"¹⁹⁾ or "your most loving and devoted brother and son."²⁰⁾ The correspondence between Queen Elizabeth I and King James suggests that the latter of poor Scotland felt indignant but had to keep humble manners under old and experienced Queen Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth I died on the 24th of March, 1603. The proclamation that she had appointed King James of Scotland as the next King of England on her death bed was made public by Robert Cecil who had secretly prepared for King James to succeed to the English throne after Queen Elizabeth I's death. At the same time George Carey, Queen Elizabeth I's nephew on her mother's side, hurried on a post horse to let King James know of her death. The embalmmnt of her corpse was ordered by Robert Cecil after the custom to protect a monarch's dead body from the corrupting effect of death, though Queen Elizabeth told Cecil her will to reject this custom.²¹⁾ This custom must have been considered as a kind of intrusion into her body or as an act to see the "body natural" of Queen Elizabeth, who adapted a strategy to show her "body politic" in gorgeous, dignified garment in frequent grand processions or progressions in order to visualize and strengthen her dominion. Robert Cecil's disregard for Queen Elizabeth I's wish is interpreted as an arrogant act to assert his right to control or manipulate her body. Both Cecil and Carey made the best use of her death as their good chance for preserving their position and enjoying their prosperity under the reign of King James.

King James's ambivalent feeling to his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots can be guessed from his letter,²²⁾ so that the removal of her tomb from the aisle of Peterborough Cathedral, where Katherine

of Aragon, King Henry VIII's first wife and Queen Mary I's mother was also buried, to the south aisle of Henry VII's Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey by King James in 1612 is judged necessary to show his absolute power. The magnificent white marble tomb for Mary, Queen of Scots was built in the very place where Queen Elizabeth's tomb had been situated. As a preparation for this removal, King James removed Queen Elizabeth I's tomb on top of Queen Mary I's in the rather dark, north aisle of Henry VII's Lady Chapel in 1606. The new tomb of Queen Elizabeth I was inferior to that of Mary, Queen of Scots. It is possible to judge that Queen Elizabeth's tomb was planned to be alienated from people's memory in this way by King James.

The embalming of Queen Elizabeth I's corpse and the removal of her tomb show the fundamental characteristic of the official way of her negative representation in the Jacobean period: the marginalization, non-visualization, non-authorization and elimination of her "body politic." It is considered that King James confined Queen Elizabeth I's corpse in the way she would have detested to gain his liberation from her, who had managed him as she pleased with the throne of England as a bait for him. On the other hand, he asserted that he and his ancestors were the descendants of King Henry VII. He unified Scotland and England following King Henry VII who succeeded in ending the Wars of Roses to unify the House of Lancaster and the House of York. The removal of the tombs was indispensable, not to express his filial feeling to his mother, but to visualize his legitimate lineage and historical achievement of unifying two countries.

The Latin epitaph dedicated to Queen Elizabeth by King James is translated as follows:

AN ETERNAL MEMORIAL

Unto Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Daughter of Henry the eighth, Grandchild to Henry the seventh, great Grandchilde to King Edward the fourth, the Mother of this her country, the Nurse of Religion and Learning; For a perfect skill in very many Languages, for glorious Endowments, as well of minde as body, and for Regall

Vertues beyond her Sex

a Prince incompatible,

James, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, heir of the virtues

and the reign,

piously erects this good monument

King James praises Queen Elizabeth I, but his emphasis that she is a woman is the most noticeable feature in this epitaph. She made the best use of the fact that she was a woman as her weapon for ruling over her country and people, answering that she had been married to England in her reply to the Parliament's earnest request of her marriage in 1559²³⁾ or declaring that she was the mother of the English nation in 1563,²⁴⁾ however. From the viewpoint of misogynistic King James, womanhood was a fatal defect in order to be a prince and it was a male prince who had "Regall / Vertues" because the origin of the word, "vertue" is Latin "vir" (a male noun) and naturally it means that only males could be endowed with "manliness" or "valour." It is considered that King James asserted his authority and orthodoxy retaining the form of an epitaph pretending to adore Queen Elizabeth I. "A Prince incompatible" is apparently a phrase to adore her, but the fact is that it modifies "James, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland" of the next line of the epitaph.

3. The meaning of "Allegorical" to the panegyrists of Queen Elizabeth I

The view that "*Allegorical*" was planned and ordered by the supporters of King James has turned out to be uncertain. The destruction, caricature and blasphemously surreptitious use of Queen Elizabeth I's representations already appeared during her reign.²⁵⁾ In the Jacobean period, not to visualize her as in the case of the removal of her tomb was the most important policy to King James and his supporters.

There is a view that King James approved of Queen Elizabeth I in order to show that he kept her policy²⁶⁾ or to strengthen his centripetal force in the

early period of his reign²⁷⁾ when his firm political base was not yet established. It should be kept in mind that his approval of Queen Elizabeth was given on the condition that it was in accord with King James's profit. The mention of Queen Elizabeth in William Camden's *Annales* contains negative expressions, while everything of King James is favourably referred to.²⁸⁾ It is inevitable that Queen Elizabeth's portrait became ambiguous and enigmatic for the purpose of eluding the vigilance of the censorship by the authorities when King James essentially desired to nullify and marginalize the representations of Queen Elizabeth I. There are some examples of the expressions incurring his wrath leading the authors to such miserable imprisonment as seen in Ben Jonson and George Chapman or exile abroad as seen in John Marston.²⁹⁾

"*Allegorical*" followed the panegyric portraits for Queen Elizabeth I in laying stress on her favour of allegory or symbol, with the result that it becomes too complex and mysterious to appreciate.

This portrait as enigmatic as "*Rainbow*" makes it possible for another, opposite meaning to come out from under its apparent, surface meaning: the meaning approving of Queen Elizabeth I appears in place of the negative meaning to show her "body natural," and in the end, the meaning of this portrait becomes reversed.

Queen Elizabeth's chair of "*Allegorical*" is to have a different meaning from the one in the interpretation previously mentioned. This chair resembles closely that of "*Hardwick*," which represents by her garment Queen Elizabeth's peaceful rule even over imaginative animals and plants all over the world.³⁰⁾ Her "mask of youth" in "*Hardwick*" depicted when she was about 66 year old shows her "body politic."

"*Allegorical*" has two similarities with "*Ditchley*," which is thought to have been painted by Gheeraerts the Younger, one of the presumable painters of "*Allegorical*" and presents Queen Elizabeth I as such a majestic monarch as Henry VIII in the portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1537. The first

similarity is its scene arrangement. The second one is that she wears the same ornament around her left ear as in "*Ditchley*." It can be guessed that the orderer or the painter of "*Allegorical*" allocated Time to the left and Death to the right of Queen Elizabeth, using intentionally the scene arrangement of "*Ditchley*" and adding secretly the ornament to "*Allegorical*" to recall "*Ditchley*."

Queen Elizabeth has a book in some of her portraits, for example, one as a princess (c.1546-47), another as a young queen (*the "Clopton" Portrait* c.1560-65 and NPG 61743) and the other known as "*Elizabeth with Verses*"(c.1565). They set the fashion that a book is an attribute necessary for a female monarch. It is true that the book of "*Allegorical*" has a subtle meaning because it corresponds to the epitaph by King James for Queen Elizabeth I, but the book in "*Allegorical*" is an attribute to express the eager desire for her revival. The book has the function to remember her as an admirable monarch who trusted William and Robert Cecil, laying stress not on arms but on "intelligence" symbolized by a book, to keep England independent and peaceful. In this case "intelligence" contains not only intelligential activity but also geological, economical, technological and scientific intelligence.³¹⁾ "*Allegorical*" adores Queen Elizabeth I and her policy in a different meaning from "*Truth*" in opposition to the current of the time to rely on military power for the independency of the country.

An oval, silver medal (an important collection of British historical medals-4 [NPG Heinz Archive Library]) was made by Simon de Passe in 1616, just after 1612 when the tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots was removed. On the medal was carved the image of Queen Elizabeth I in gorgeous garments of "*Armada*" and with a crown and bright jewels following the way of a miniature by Isaac Oliver. This medal reveals the fact that there was a tendency to adore Queen Elizabeth I against the movement of her negation and non-visualization, and supports the interpretation that an affirmative

meaning exists under the surface, negative meaning in *“Allegorical.”*

4. *“Allegorical”* viewed from the tradition of “the Dance of Death,” “the Triumph of Death” and “the Triumph of Time”

In the traditional composition of “the Dance of Death,” Death in the form of a skeleton enjoying the dance of Death forces people to join it toward their tombs. *“Allegorical”* is considered to be in this tradition. Death, who may be assumed to have another hourglass, appears in place of Time, who has abandoned his role with his hourglass broken in half. Death eagerly tries to bring Queen Elizabeth I into the dance of Death. Death himself does not dance and Queen Elizabeth, absorbed in meditation, is never disturbed by Death, however. This portrait breaks the traditional “Dance of Death,” not following the pattern of Hans Holbein the Younger’s popular woodcut that Death as an initiative leader of the scene pulls off a king’s crown or a cardinal’s hat.

In “the Triumph of Death” Death controls the scene and triumphs over the dead bodies lain in heaps. *“Allegorical”* apparently makes “the Dance of Death” and “the Triumph of Death” its examples, but departs from the traditional “Dance of Death” and “Triumph of Death” which show the terror of death, with Queen Elizabeth depicted from above her knees in the center of the scene, Time shown in a bust at the left back and Death shown in the upper quarter of his body at the right back.

Time in this portrait is not a destroyer of people’s fame as in “the Triumph of Time” but a subordinate figure sleeping with his head supported by an arm and hand. Time as well as Truth is painted friendly with Queen Elizabeth in *Queen Elizabeth and Pope Gregory XIII as Diana and Callisto* (c.1584-85) by Pieter van der Heyden. It is known that Queen Elizabeth, Time and Truth, daughter of Time were presented in a good relation in the fourth pageant celebrating Queen Elizabeth’s entry into London.³²⁾ It should be noted that Time and Queen Elizabeth I

are depicted as a pair in mirror image in *“Allegorical.”* It means that they are in an intimate connection as Time and Truth, daughter of Time: consequently *“Allegorical”* shows that Truth hidden at the present time will be revealed in the course of time, that is, Queen Elizabeth I will be known as a real monarch for the English people, though King James rules as a monarch at present.

An old man and a child are depicted in *the Daunce and Song of Death* (anonymous 1569)³³⁾ which is modelled after the Dance of Death popular since the medieval period. It expresses that both an old man and a child cannot escape death, and in addition to it, their intimate relation is shown there. In *“Allegorical”* Time and Queen Elizabeth I form a quarter of a circle to the exclusion of Death from it. According to Ptolemy’s universe model, Moon corresponds to “infancy” in the stages of human age and its characteristic is modesty and purity. On the other hand, Saturn inactive and melancholy in its characteristic, corresponds to “old age.” Death, the last revolving point of old age, changes into birth, departure point of human life and continues into the stage of “infancy,” because each stage of human life moves in a cycle.³⁴⁾ This view puts Queen Elizabeth I who is often compared to the moon in the stage of “infancy,” aspect of revival, puts Time in the stage of “old age,” and connects both of them. The idea of “body politic” keeps a monarch from the infirm stage of “infancy” or “old age.” An infant or an old man in Shakespeare’s Romances, however, makes it possible to hope for regeneration.

In *“Allegorical”* Queen Elizabeth I is painted most brightly in the centre of the foremost row, Time is painted most darkly and Death a little brightly. Two angels painted as brightly as Queen Elizabeth are a little to the right over her head but just at the middle point of the painting’s width have a close connection with her. They, as infants emphasize the stage of “infancy,” the aspect in which Queen Elizabeth is put. There has been neither “the Dance of Death” nor “the Triumph of Death” in which an angel is painted. The

only moving element in this picture, the two angels are considered to put a crown on Queen Elizabeth's head by their left hands in a disguised form of praise accorded to her, in contrast to Death's violent act in Hans Holbein the Younger's "Dance of Death."

The famous picture, *Memorial Picture of Sir Henry Unton* (c.1596) helps us interpret "*Allegorical*." The scene of Unton's death occupies about one third of the space of this picture. Unton depicted in large size at the centre of the picture looks at us with intellectual and clear eyes, writing quietly with Queen Elizabeth's medal on his breast. A very small sized Death is leaping over his left shoulder with an hourglass in its right hand. A small flying angel is painted with a coronet in its right hand to attach to Unton's ear and is playing the trumpet in its left hand to make Unton's fame known widely. This picture is interpreted as a kind of "the Triumph of Fame" by Strong³⁵⁾ and has a basic similarity with "*Allegorical*" because Fame's victory over Death is painted in the scene seemingly focusing on Death.

The movement of the angels gives "*Allegorical*" a movement to get free from Death and results in preventing Death from leading Queen Elizabeth I to the dance of Death. Death's hourglass is more obscure and darker than Time's, so that its function is uncertain. It is suppressed by the mace in an angel's right hand painted just above it. That is why the angels have the crown in their left hands.³⁶⁾ Just above the crown in the two angels' hands is painted an evergreen laurel wreath which conquers Time. It may be concluded in accordance with Strong³⁷⁾ that the Triumph of Eternity over Time, the theme of Petrarch's *Triumph*, is seen in this portrait, though Strong does not make it clear why he interprets so. In *Triumph* Chastity over Love, Death over Chastity, Fame over Death, Time over Fame, Eternity over Time win a triumph. In *Triumph* an angel is an element as important as in "*Allegorical*," and in "*Allegorical*" Time gives way to Queen Elizabeth I in the aspect of "*infancy*." It may be concluded that this portrait apparently depicts Queen Elizabeth I's

defeat to Death but it really raises her beyond Death. The apparent meaning is reversed and the concealed one emerges.

III Conclusion

"*Rainbow*," official portrait of Queen Elizabeth I in the last phase of her reign full of uncertainty and anxiety, not only in domestic but also in foreign affairs, seems to reach the limit of praising her but contains elements subversive of her reign, adverse criticism of her and self-assertion of the orderer of the portrait. "*Allegorical*" in the reign of King James I takes in the elements of the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I painted in the Elizabethan period and keeps the structure of the traditional "Dance of Death," "Triumph of Death" and "Triumph of Time." These elements and structure, however, are subtly shifted to give "*Allegorical*" the utmost ambiguity and complexity. This painting device allows the meaning of the portrait to be reversed: the portrait confirms Queen Elizabeth I's death again but it is changed into a portrait evaluating and praising her as the worthy queen who kept her country peaceful with an earnest wish for her revival and criticizing both King James's foreign policy and the Protestants' militaristic assertion in the Jacobean period.

Notes:

- 1) This paper is written as a part of the preliminary study for the author's ultimate object to consider the relation between the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I and Shakespeare's plays.
- 2) In *De Maagd van kanselier Rolin* by Jan van Eyck and *Alterpiece of Pieere Bladelin* by Rogier Van der Weyden in the 15th century the figure of each dedicator is depicted as big as the Virgin Mary and Jesus as an infant or the Sacred Family to show the dedicator's existence, position and power.
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