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The Context and Material Techniques of Royal Portrait Production within Jacobean
Scotland: The Courts of James V and James VI.

Volume I

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This inter-disciplinary thesis addresses the authenticity and social context of surviving portraits of Scottish monarchs between 1530 and c.1590, bringing the study of the Scottish portraits closer to the standard undertaken upon surviving English works. This research focuses upon key questions to begin to reveal the nature of commission and execution of sixteenth-century portraits in Scotland, focusing upon a pair of double portraits from Blair Castle, Pitlochery, Perthshire. The two paintings will form the key case-studies for this research, and the central question to the thesis is whether they are authentic, sixteenth-century Scottish-made images. The thesis will address questions such as: How do they fit into the contemporaneous culture of court portraiture production in Northern Europe and across the border in England? Does the physical evidence support the notion of Netherlandish influence? Surviving documentary evidence of the painterly aspects of the courts of King James V and his grandson King James VI is presented, and the results of interdisciplinary technical analysis used to explore whether the materials and techniques of the Blair portraits and their surviving counterparts demonstrate enough Netherlandish influence to present the existence of a Scoto-Netherlandish school of painting.

The National Portrait Gallery's research project *Making Art in Tudor Britain* (2007-2014) 2010 conference *Tudor and Jacobean Painting: Production, Influences and Patronage* raised the issue of the need for a parallel project for Scotland, tracing the highly-developed use of portraiture by the later Stewart dynasty to its fifteenth-century Scottish beginnings. This thesis argues that far from being culturally backwards in terms of portraiture, the Scottish court employed fashionable Netherlandish techniques from an early date, with a strong understanding of the impact of the arts dating from the earliest Stewarts.

Most importantly, this research is the first to undertake a full technical examination of the Blair Castle portraits, placing these works within a comprehensive material context. Such examination of the visual arts commissioned at this time can only further our understanding of the wider context of production in Scotland at this time. Additionally, understanding the nature of the commission of royal portraits by those in noble families makes clearer the use of the visual arts to enhance careers and reputation, as well as social identity.

In focusing the discussion purely upon Scottish portraits in native collections, this research unites works which have not been comprehensively studied as a whole. The study of the sixteenth-century Scottish court has advanced considerably in recent years, but without an in-depth examination of the artworks produced as visual representation of these courts, a complete understanding cannot be achieved. This thesis demonstrates that much of the production of royal portraits was based upon the copying of copies. It is thus not the aesthetic quality which should be the focus, but the circumstances of their existence and material composition which is most revealing about the place Scotland holds within the study of early modern European art.

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Abbreviations

ER	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum</i>
LMTM	<i>Let the Material Talk project</i>
MATB	<i>Making Art in Tudor Britain project</i>
MW	<i>Master of Works Accounts</i>
NMS	<i>National Museum of Scotland</i>
NGS	<i>National Galleries of Scotland</i>
NG	<i>National Gallery, London</i>
NPG	<i>National Portrait Gallery, London</i>
NT	<i>National Trust</i>
SNPG	<i>Scottish National Portrait Gallery</i>
TA	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i>

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Context

*Send with the said George certane fyne picturis of Flandris coft fra Johne Broune to the Kingis grace.*¹

In 1531 the nineteen-year old King of Scotland, James V, was establishing his royal authority. James established himself as the head of the Scottish government in early 1528,² and the troublesome Douglasses were removed from power and replaced by men loyal to the young monarch.³ Having controlled the Douglas clan, the enforcement of law and justice throughout his realm became James' priority.⁴ Beyond his own borders, James was also making his mark in Europe; Henry VIII was pursuing his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, and François Ier was holding true to the Anglo-French accord, affording opportunities for James to pursue friendship with both Pope Clement VII and the Emperor Charles V.⁵ At this time of royal assertion, an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts (hereafter TA) states that James had sent to Flanders for 'fyne picturis', the first entry of this kind for James' rule. James was not only asserting his rule, but also extending his cultural reach.

A primary concern of this research is James' understanding of portraiture, its role during his rule, and how the fashions of the Low Countries came to feature at the Scottish court as at the neighbouring courts of England and France. The sending to Flanders for pictures marks James as a European monarch with knowledge of what was fashionable, even before his formative 'French holiday.'⁶

Although the nature of the sixteenth-century Scottish court has been carefully examined in recent years, the role of artistic practice in Scotland during the period spanning the fifteenth-

¹ Balfour-Paul (vol.2-11) (ed), *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum)*, vol.6 (1531-1538), p.250, dated October 1535.

² Cameron, J, *James V: the Personal Rule, 1528-1542*, John Macdonald, Birlinn Ltd., 2011, pp.17-28.

³ Ibid, pp.52-66.

⁴ Ibid, pp.73-79.

⁵ Ibid, p.122.

⁶ This refers to the period when James journeyed to France for his marriage to Madeleine, daughter of François Ier where he remained from September 1536 until January 1537.

to the early seventeenth- centuries is a subject which has only been lightly touched upon to this point. Recent research has been undertaken upon the courts of King James V and King James VI⁷ which has alluded to the employment of court artists, but aside from some non-specific references to expenditures to a ‘payntour’ in household accounts,⁸ comparatively little is known about this period of art history in Scotland. Focusing particularly upon the two double portraits in the Blair Castle collection, depicting James V and his wife Marie de Guise (*figure 1*), and Mary Stuart and her son James VI (*figure 2*), the following questions will be asked of the surviving portraits of sixteenth-century Stewart monarchs; are these authentic images, how do they fit into the contemporary culture of court portraiture in Northern Europe, and does the physical evidence support the assumptions of Netherlandish influence?

From 2007-2014, the National Portrait Gallery, London, conducted the Making Art in Tudor Britain project, a large-scale scientific survey of 120 Tudor and Jacobean portraits in their collection, dating from 1500-1620 (hereafter abbreviated to MATB).⁹ This project was designed to enhance art historical understanding of early painting practice and the production of portraits in England, updating the research carried out in the 1960s by Sir Roy Strong.¹⁰ This interdisciplinary research used traditional art historical approaches in partnership with advanced scientific techniques including pigment analysis, dendrochronology and infrared imaging to not only establish chronology but also the patterns of use of specific artistic techniques. Significantly for this research, Dr. Erma Hermens and Dr. Sally Rush presented at the related academic conference in 2010, identifying the lack of similar research on Scottish paintings of this period.¹¹ Hermens and Rush pointed out in their paper that there is material evidence to suggest an active awareness of the role of the official likeness at the Stewart court. Although many of these portraits are now lost, a core collection still survives featuring James V and his second wife, Marie de Guise, their daughter Mary, Queen of Scots,

⁷ Juhala, unpublished thesis, *the Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603*, University of Edinburgh, 2000.

⁸ See appendix 2 for a list of the employment of artists at the Scottish court from sources including Dickson (vol.1) & Balfour-Paul (vol.2-11) and Paton et al. (eds), *Accounts of the Master of Works*, Edinburgh, 1957-.

⁹ For the full online project database; <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/matbsearch.php>.

¹⁰ Cooper et al. (Eds), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015; Bolland & Cooper, *the Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered*, National Portrait Gallery Publications, London, 2014; Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, Stationary Office Books, 1969; Strong, *the Elizabethan Image: Painting in England 1540-1620*, Tate Publishing, 1969; Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court: Portrait Miniature Rediscovered, 1520-1620*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983.

¹¹ Hermens & Rush, *Portraits of James V of Scotland and the Celebration of Dynasty*, paper presented at Tudor and Jacobean Painting: Production, Influences and Patronage, 2010.

her second husband Lord Darnley, and their son James VI. With the reign of James VI of Scotland, the portraits become more numerous and are more carefully documented, with names of known artists emerging. With his ascension to the English throne in 1603, an emerging tradition of the employment of Netherlandish-trained painters broadened from its early Scottish beginnings.¹² This thesis adopts the project's interdisciplinary methodology and offers a compact but imitative review of the portraiture of the sixteenth-century Scottish court bringing together historical research and a material science case study, undertaking technical examination of the Blair Castle double portraits.

The cursory amount of art historical commentary on the period between 1530 and 1590 in Scotland highlights the lack of specific technical information relating to the surviving portraits. Enhancing this lack of knowledge is the fact that unlike contemporary English artists such as Nicholas Hilliard and John Bate, or Italian artists such as Leonardo da Vinci, Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Lomazzo, no Scottish artists left any surviving practical or theoretical treatises. Primary sources relating to their work are also scant, with historians relying upon monetary accounts in documents such as the TA, the Accounts of the Master of Works (hereafter MW)¹³ and bills of household¹⁴ or on documents that require a certain level of supposition, such as personal letters.¹⁵ This paucity of original source material has in turn influenced the secondary source materials on Scottish painting of this period, which at best include brief allusions to a painterly tradition at this time, and at worst exclude the period entirely. This has resulted in the product of the forty-three active artists in Scotland before 1600 remaining under-investigated in terms of the information they can yield about artistic processes; in particular, what they can tell us about the relationship between Scotland and the rest of Europe.¹⁶

¹² For further information see Rae, C., *Anglo-Netherlandish Workshop Practice from the 1580s to the early 1600s with a focus on the works of John de Critz the Elder and Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger*, Doctoral Thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, April 2015.

¹³ Paton et al. (eds), 1957-.

¹⁴ Thomson (ed), *a collection of inventories and other records of the royal wardrobe and jewelhouse, and of the artillery and munitioun in some of the royal castles, 1488-1606*, 1815 (accessed via University of Glasgow Special Collections).

¹⁵ Wood, M (ed), *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the Originals in Balcarres Papers*, SHS, 1923-5; *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Marie Stuart, Reine D'Écosse*, London, 1844; Letter of Mary Stuart to the Duchess of Atholl, 1540, Blair Castle archive; Letters of James VI (NLS Acc.6776).

¹⁶ Tittler, R., Early Modern British Painters database, sent to the author by Robert Tittler July 2015.

1.2 Aims and Structure

This thesis has three interconnected aims. Firstly, to present the surviving documentary evidence of the painterly aspects of the courts of James V and his grandson James VI; Secondly, to determine how the surviving royal portraits fit into the contemporary culture of court portraiture in Northern Europe, and finally to use the results of a technical study of the Blair portraits to explore whether the physical evidence of the portraits suggests Netherlandish influence, potentially supporting the existence of an identifiable ‘Scoto-Netherlandish’ school similar to that found in Tudor England.

As noted above, this thesis focuses upon James V and James VI. The notable absence of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, is due to the focus of this research upon the commissioning habits of Scottish monarchs, and specifically, works produced in Scotland. Whilst Mary was queen in Scotland from 1542 to 1567, her infancy and early adulthood were spent in France. She returned to Scotland in 1561, and was imprisoned and forced to abdicate in 1567, following a coup encouraged by the suspicious death of her second husband, Lord Darnley. In that six-year period, there is no evidence in the TA or similar documentation that Mary commissioned portraiture; the majority of the portraits made of her were made in France, or after her death. Surviving portraiture of Mary is discussed throughout, as she features in both the Blair and Hardwick double portraits, but there is a lack of evidence of production of artworks by her Scottish court.

As the following literature review will demonstrate, historians have long been sceptical of the Scottish arts during the sixteenth-century, often assuming the Scottish court had limited understanding of the widespread and important function of portraiture. As the quote used to open this chapter demonstrates, however, this is demonstrably untrue. The most obvious point at which James might have had his artistic awakening is at the time of his marital trip to the court of François 1er, but notes such as that above demonstrate that even without the formative influence of the great French king, James understood that a fashionable court at the time acquired artworks and indeed artists from the Low Countries.¹⁷ The employment of such artists is hinted at in the records pertaining to James V’s household, but solid evidence of their employment comes with James VI and the dominance of the Dutch painters Arnold van

¹⁷ Bryony Coombs’ doctoral thesis, *‘Distantia Jungit’: Scots Patronage of the Visual Arts in France, c.1445 – c.1545* (University of Edinburgh, 2013) presents an important discussion into the nature of patronage by those of Scottish descent living in France.

Bronckorst (ac. England 1565-1580, mid 1580s-1598, ac. Scotland 1580-mid 1580s) and Adrian Vanson (active Scotland 1585). As this thesis will demonstrate, these artists are treated with a lack of care in the attribution of Scottish works, and this research aims to offer the beginnings of a more authoritative oeuvre for these most rare of named Netherlandish artists working at the Scottish court.

This thesis is divided into an examination of primary and secondary literature pertaining to portrait painting during the sixteenth-century, and the findings of technical examination of a central case study. The first chapters of this thesis establish the cultural environment in which the portraits were made. The primary challenge confronted by this research is the lack of a ‘touchstone’, an unquestioned original authentic image of either of the two Jameses who form the focus of this research. As such, each portrait will be examined within its group, with the understanding that these survivors are most likely copies (perhaps of copies) of the original. These pictures will demonstrate the influence of the Low Countries upon Scotland and prove that it was not as immune to artistic fashions as is presupposed. Chapter two discusses the artistic heritage of James V’s ancestors and his personal treatment of artistic legacy, followed by chapter three and a comparative examination of his grandson James VI’s attitude to portrait production. Chapter four examines the role of the aristocracy in the commissioning of royal images, inspired by the two sets of double portraits which form the core case studies for this thesis; those depicting King James V and his second French wife Marie de Guise alongside their daughter Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots and King James VI in the collection of the Earls of Atholl at Blair Castle, Perthshire, and those again depicting King James V and Marie de Guise (*figure 5*) but this time alongside their daughter and her second husband, Henry Stuart Lord Darnley (*figure 6*), father of James VI, acquired by Bess of Hardwick and hanging in Hardwick Hall Derbyshire. This chapter goes on to demonstrate the extent to which the Scottish portraits were reproduced and compares this to their equivalents in neighbouring European courts, those of Henry VIII, François Ier and Elizabeth I, chosen because of their demonstrable influence upon the Scottish monarchs. The fifth chapter focuses upon the Blair Castle double portraits and the results of technical analysis undertaken, including infrared photography and paint sample analysis.

This study represents the first attempt to systematically investigate the techniques of surviving Scottish portraits within their historical context to assess the extent of

Netherlandish influence at this date and firmly demonstrate that there did in fact exist a developed understanding of portrait production fashions in Stewart Scotland.

1.3 Methodology

The results of technical study of the key case study portraits will be used in support of the examination of documentary evidence and stylistic comparisons to examine questions of authenticity and establish these works within the wider context of European techniques. The following are used in support of this thesis' primary argument.

1.3.1 Scientific examination and instrumentation

This study of the Blair Castle double portraits utilised a number of well-established methods for the technical study of paintings including infrared photography when examining preparatory and paint handling techniques, and microscopy, paint sampling and elemental analysis of pigments using SEM-EDX for materials analysis.

Infrared photography is a non-destructive technique used to examine preparatory techniques such as the application of a priming layer and the use of underdrawing and to identify any changes in the surface composition, referred to as 'pentimenti'. It also highlights painterly technique in application and handling and can be used to differentiate between certain groups of pigments.

Cross-sections are microscopic samples of paint, usually collected from an area of damage on a painting. These samples provide important information regarding stratigraphy, pigments used and restoration. These samples were then embedded in resin and polished in order to expose the layer structure of the painted surface. These cross-sections were then viewed through a microscope in both reflected visible light and ultraviolet light. Ultraviolet light is useful as organic materials often auto-fluoresce when exposed to ultraviolet light, aiding their identification. SEM-EDX (Scanning Electron Microscopy – Energy Dispersive X-ray) analysis involves the placement of the embedded cross-section in a vacuum chamber. An electron beam is then focused upon the sample which creates two types of images; an SEM-BSE (Back-Scattered Electron) image which demonstrates pigment morphology and anatomic weight allowing the generation of a graph demonstrating elemental content, and an EDX-map which shows elemental distribution. This data is then used to determine the presence of specific pigments and inclusions.

Examination of the order and method of application of paint using microscopy and analysis of paint sample cross-sections can reveal important characteristics in material composition and pigment mixtures, aspects which can then be linked by comparison with a considerable body of available data regarding geographic fashions or specific artists' workshops.

Microscopy and resolution photography enable the comparison of minute details such as brushwork, jewel highlighting and flesh modelling, which all aid the identification of an idiosyncratic method of application.

1.3.1.1 Surface examination, multispectral imaging, diagnostic imaging techniques

Surface fluorescence examination of objects was carried out using a Reskolux UV 365 handheld lamp (device emits high intensity UV light of 365nm +/-5 nm, UV-A).

Digital infrared photography was carried out using a converted Nikon D60 digital camera and the infrared filters R72 (allows light with wavelengths from 720nm) and R90 (allows light with wavelengths from 900nm).

Samples for cross sections were prepared by mounting them in Technovit 2000 LC (Heraeus Kulzer, Germany), a 1-component methacrylate that polymerizes under visible blue light. After preliminary grinding with silicone-carbide (SiC) paper, the surfaces were dry polished with Micro-Mesh sheets using grades 1800 through to 12000.

1.3.1.2 Analytical techniques

Low magnification microscopy was carried out using a portable SZ61TR Olympus stereo microscope with digital camera and Olympus Stream Start 1.8 image analysis software.

Optical microscopy was used to study the unmounted (unembedded) and mounted (embedded) samples taken from each work. The paint cross sections were examined under visible (incident light, dark field and incident light, bright field) and ultra-violet (UV) light using an Olympus BX41 fluorescence microscope with digital camera and Olympus Stream Start 1.8 image analysis software. From these images, the layer structure was visible. The use of UV light (UV fluorescence microscopy) enabled layers not seen in visible light to be seen.

Scanning electron microscopy combined with energy-dispersive X-ray microanalysis (SEM-EDX) was used to examine the unmounted and mounted samples taken from each work. For this work the following instruments were used:

- Scanning electron microscope (Carl Zeiss Sigma Variable Pressure Analytical scanning electron microscope)
- Backscattered electron detector and energy dispersive X-ray analyser (Oxford Microanalysis).

FTIR analysis was not carried out due to the small size of samples, a procedure which would have shed light upon the binding media and characterisation of red lake pigments used in the Blair Castle portraits.

1.3.2 Contemporary Treatises

A contextual understanding of practices demonstrated by the portraits examined by this thesis was established through a consideration of contemporary artists' treatises. Those primarily consulted include works written by the well-known miniaturists Nicholas Hilliard (c.1600)¹⁸ and Edward Norgate (1627-8, revised in 1648),¹⁹ the notes of the heraldic painter John Guillim (c.1582-1600),²⁰ Richard Haydocke's 1598 translation of Lomazzo's treatise *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* of 1584,²¹ John Bate's work *the Mysteries of Nature and Art* (1635)²² and works by Henry Peacham, an English amateur artist, who wrote two volumes: *the Compleat Gentleman* (1622, reprinted 1634)²³ and *the Gentlemans Exercise* (1634).²⁴ In addition to the English publications, extracts from the notebook of the Royal Physician of the French and English courts, Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, *Pictoria, Sculptoria & quae subalternarum atrium* (1620) will be examined.²⁵ Hilliard's book is particularly useful as

¹⁸ Thornton, R.K.R & Cain, T.G.S (eds), *Nicholas Hilliard A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, Carcanet Press, 1992.

¹⁹ Muller, J.M & Murrell, J (eds), *Edward Norgate Miniatura or the Art of Limning*, Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, Yale University Press, 1997.

²⁰ Murrell, J., *John Guillim's Book: a Heraldic Painter's Vade Mecum*, Walpole Society, vol.57, 1995

²¹ Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge Caruinge & Buildinge*, trans. Haydock, R. 1598 (sp coll q91).

²² John Bate, *the Mysteries of Nature and Art: In Foure Severall Parts. The First of Water Works. The Second of Fire Works. The Third of Drawing, Washing, Limning, Painting and Engraving. The Fourth of Sundry Experiments*, 1635 (sp coll Ferguson Ai-b.53).

²³ Gordon, G.S (ed), *Henry Peacham's Compleat Gentleman*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906

²⁴ Accessed via https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008547412.

²⁵ Fels, D.C., *Lost Secrets of Flemish Painting Including the First Complete English Translation of the De Mayerne Manuscript*, B.M., Sloane 2052, 2001.

Arnold Bronckorst, painter to King James VI c.1580, was associated with the limner, and may have worked alongside him during his time in England (see chapter 3).

1.3.3 Comparative Technical Studies

Very few full technical studies have been carried out upon Scottish portraits, and so directly comparable material studies are limited to the Scottish portraits examined by the MATB project and by sporadic examinations including an early study by Lorne Campbell and Colin Thompson on the *Trinity College Altarpiece*, (figure 7, 1478, Royal Collection on loan to the National Galleries of Scotland), a high quality Netherlandish work depicting the Scottish monarchs James III and Margaret of Denmark, which includes infrared examination. This work will be discussed in greater detail in chapter two.

This scant extant technical information on painting in Scotland has meant that this research has had to look to neighbouring courts for comparative information, primarily those of England and France. The MATB project has provided an invaluable resource for the study of painting technique in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, published online and in a recent volume *Painting in Britain 1500-1630*, which is discussed below. The findings of the MATB project underpin the comparative element of this thesis, alongside individual studies of French court artists Jean²⁶ and François Clouet and Corneille de Lyon (see appendix 3 for brief biographies of these artists), and wider studies of contemporary Netherlandish painters.

²⁶ Jean Clouet (also spelt Jeannet, Jehannet, Jamet or Jehamet) began work at the for the French king in 1516 and became the principal court painter and valet de chamber of François I in 1533 (Silver, L., *Early Northern European Paintings*, St Louis Art Museum Bulletin, 16:3, summer 1982, pp.1-47. p.26), succeeding Bourdichon (d.1522) and Perreal (d.1528). Jean retained this title until his death in 1540-1, enjoying a strong reputation and clients from the whole of François I's court. Silver notes that the one securely attributed work by Jean Clouet is the portrait of the scholar Guillaume Budé, (c.1536, Metropolitan Museum New York), a foundation leading to the attribution of a collection including 125 chalk drawings (mostly in Chantilly). None of the fourteen paintings attributed to Jean are signed, but are often dated, such as *Portrait of a Banker*, 1552 (sold via auction by Wildenstein & Co, New York 1925). Clouet consistently used the above-mentioned three-quarter profile in bust portraits with hands often featured resting in front of the sitter (Silver, p.26). In terms of working practice, it is suggested that Jean would visit his sitter in their home, and make careful coloured chalk drawings. Once detailed drawings had been acquired the artist completed the work in his studio, aided by annotations made on his sketches, sometimes contributed to by the requests of his sitter. This technique is well established, and seen in Holbein's practice (See Hope Walker's 2013 thesis on Holbein, *The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Younger: Function and Use Explored through Materials and Techniques*, The Royal College of Art/Victoria & Albert Museum, submitted May 2013, pp.184, 274 (drawn portrait of *Jacob Meyer zum Hasen*), 296 (drawn portrait of *Sir Richard Southwell*), 300-1 (drawn portrait of *Lady Elizabeth Audley*) which may go some way to account for the confusion often met with attributions. Jean Clouet is declared to be one of the first painters of the French Renaissance, who "retained nothing of the immediate or transmitted Italian influence but a correctly classical manner, largeness of design, an aim at fullness, simple and not excessively broken drapery; in short, all that is opposed to the complexities and grimaces of the old style." (J.B.M, 1922, p.22 quoting L. Dimler, *French Painting in the XVI Century*).

These include the survey of early Northern painting carried out at the National Gallery London, and recent research into techniques on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting practices. It is curious, considering their primacy at the renowned French court, that the Clouet father and son have been paid limited attention in literature. Their names are often recalled when attributing high quality sixteenth-century chalk drawings but no detailed studies have been undertaken in recent years. Jean Adhémar posits that this may be due to the lack of attention history paid to them until the nineteenth-century, and the frequent misattribution of their works to the more famous and therefore more saleable Hans Holbein.²⁷ Now that more detailed information is known regarding their output a detailed study on their techniques would be extremely valuable in terms of expanding our knowledge of the influence of Netherlandish painting styles on the French court and indeed subsequently upon the Scottish.

1.4 A Survey of Scholarship on Artistic Practice in Stewart Scotland

This section evaluates published work by previous scholars who have addressed questions of sixteenth-century Scottish painting, however briefly. Critiques of previous approaches are highlighted and form the basis for the revised methodology adopted by this thesis.

The relative infancy of the study of early modern Scotland when compared to the study of England and major countries on the continent has meant that the emphasis has been upon establishing a political narrative regarding the ebb and flow of authority in the medieval and early modern period. As this narrative has become firmly rooted, though still developing with new research, there has been a swell of interest in the presentation of that political authority.²⁸ Some vital and interesting work has been done upon the medieval period,²⁹ upon the early modern court presentation of authority in Scotland,³⁰ and upon architecture as a tool of

²⁷ Adhémar, J., *Documents and Hypotheses concerning François Clouet*, Master Drawings, 18:2, summer 1980, pp.155-168, p.155; H.P.R., *Three Crayon Portraits of the School of François Clouet*, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, 45:260, June 1947, pp.22-26, p.23; J.B.M., *A Portrait by Jean Clouet*, Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St Louis, 7:2, April 1922, pp.20-22, p.20; W.R.V., *A French Renaissance Portrait*, Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit, 7:4, January 1926, p.38.

²⁸ Buchanan, K & Dean, L., *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*, Routledge, 2016, p.2.

²⁹ Mason, R., 'Renaissance Monarchy? Stewart Kingship 1469-1542' in Brown & Tanner (Eds) *Scottish Kingship 1306-1542: Essays in Honour of Norman Macdougall*, John Donald, 2008, pp.255-278; Stevenson, K., *Power and Patronage 1306-1488*, Edinburgh, 2014.

³⁰ Fradenburg, L., *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland*, the University of Wisconsin Press, 1991; Edington, C., *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsey of the Mount*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1994; Williams, J., *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, Tuckwell Press, 1996.

representation for nobility, royalty and the kirk.³¹ This research aims to bring the study of the surviving portraiture of the early modern period to that standard.

One of the most in-depth early studies of the nature of artistic practice at the Scottish court is Brydall's 19th-century *Art in Scotland: its Origin and Progress*.³² Brydall writes on the early glass painting and miniature painting abilities of twelfth- to thirteenth- century Scotland, lists important survivors of Scottish illuminated armorials and heraldic works, and the surviving pre-Reformation religious works such as those in Fowlis Easter church (*figure 8 & 9*). He also includes a comprehensive account of the surviving portraits of the reign of James V, and of the ceiling and wall paintings made for Royal residences. Some effort is made to identify materials used, but regardless the visual accounts are vital due to the comparative scarcity of Scottish portraits and rare in published surveys to date.

Early literature is primarily concerned with attempting to identify unknown artists whilst discussing their ability to capture realistic likenesses, Brydall aside. James Caw, writing on the partial Series of Kings set (PG 682, *James I*; PG 683, *James II*; PG 684, *James III*; PG 685, *James IV*; PG 686, *James V*, all unknown artist, oil on panel, *figures 10-14*) in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery collection (hereafter abbreviated to SNPG), speculates that due to the advanced 'likeness' in the portrait of James V it is likely that the portraits were painted in his lifetime, betraying limited understanding regarding the contemporary habits of copying. He focuses upon their potential as authoritative likenesses of the early Stewarts, and aside from a brief reference to their aesthetic resemblance to Flemish painting mentions nothing of their technical execution.³³ Cust and Lang focus upon the depictions of Mary, Queen of Scots and again are primarily concerned with the identification of sitter and artist. Lang also pursues visual methods, such as identifying jewellery in portraits in an effort to date the work; however, as will be discussed in chapter five of this thesis, although inventories of the royal wardrobe and jewel-house can be extremely useful in dating a portrait, depictions of dress in portraits cannot always be taken as fact. Cust voices his concerns at these uncertain methods of attribution but does confirm the earlier attitude to paintings of lesser quality, stating that 'the discovery of the entries about Mary's jewels...

³¹ See Richard Oram, Geoffrey Stell, Fiona Watson, Charles McKean, Richard Fawcett.

³² Brydall, *Art in Scotland: its Origin and Progress*, William Blackwood & Sons Publishing, Edinburgh and London, 1889.

³³ Caw, J., *Portraits of the First Five Jameses*, the Scottish Historical Review, 7:26, January 1910, pp.113-118.

casts a new light on the portrait, and invests it with an interest to which its artistic merit did not seem previously to give it a title.’³⁴

These publications highlight the lack of certainty and formal documentation around painting of this period and the way in which assumptions are made about works regarding their artist, their country of origin and their date of execution. They also, however, represent development from the thinking of earlier writers such as John Bulloch, who stated that Scotland was ‘so far removed from the stimulating influence of the more civilised centres of population, to think much of the cultivation of the fine arts.’³⁵ Bulloch’s attitude that Scottish painting ‘began’ with George Jamesone (c.1587-1644) is mirrored in Caw’s 1908 publication, where he states that the removal of the court to England in turn removed Scottish patronage, and that the ‘religious atmosphere of the country was much against the growth of the arts.’ The preoccupation of historians with George Jamesone, extending to as recent a scholar as Thomson, is understandable; he was the first Scottish-born artist to have been identified with any measure of skill, and his career and artistic output are comparatively well documented. However, this has overshadowed the earlier works by unidentified or loosely identified artists discussed in this thesis.³⁶

One of the key texts regarding this period of Scottish painting is Campbell’s contribution to the collection of essays *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994*, wherein he discusses Scottish patrons of Netherlandish artists in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries. Campbell takes Netherlandish patronage back to the rule of James I, and notes the curiosity that is the interest taken in Scottish figures by the authors of the *Recueil d’Arras*, a collection of portrait drawings assembled in the 1560s and compiled of copies of portraits made by Jacques Le Boucq, a herald of Valenciennes, commissioned by Alexandre Le Blancq, a gentleman of Lille.³⁷ There is no direct evidence of Netherlandish patronage until the rule James IV and the arrival of Meynnart Wewyck at the Scottish court, bearing portraits of the English monarchs and his future queen, Margaret. However, in c.1505, following the death of the painter David

³⁴ Cust & Martin, *the Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots*, the Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, 10:43, 1906, pp.38-41, 43-44, 47; Lang, *Portraits of Mary Stuart*, the Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, 10:45, 1906, pp.184-5; Cust, *a Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots*, the Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, 29:160, 1916, pp.148-9, 153.

³⁵ Bulloch, *George Jamesone: the Scottish Van Dyck*, David Douglas Publishing, Edinburgh, 1885 (quote p.11).

³⁶ Caw, *Scottish Painting: Past and Present 1620-1908*, T.C & E.C Jack Publishing, London, 1908; Thomson, *the Life and Art of George Jamesone*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974.

³⁷ Campbell, ‘Scottish Patrons and Netherlandish Painters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, in Simpson (ed) *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994*, Tuckwell Press, 1996, pp.89-90.

Pratt, James requested that Andrew Haliburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scots in the Netherlands send him a painter. Here we have evidence of James expressing a preference for painters of the Low Countries. As will be elaborated upon later, Campbell recognises the importance of Haliburton's links to the Scottish Binnings and through them to the Flemish masters Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes.³⁸

Campbell's contribution to this volume is certainly the most comprehensive overview to date of the state of painting at the Scottish court in the early sixteenth-century, building upon his earlier publication with Thompson on the Trinity altarpiece. In addition to discussing this Flemish masterpiece in Scotland, he reviews the important purchases of Flemish pictures by figures such as Sir John Campbell of Lundie, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and Bishop Brown of Dunkeld. Campbell demonstrates here that Scots of less exalted rank than royalty had common dealings with Netherlandish painters, providing clear examples of the understanding in Scotland of the superiority of paintings from that part of Europe. As he himself acknowledges, this period is limited to a scattering of evidence which leads to the obvious conclusion that the Scots recognised the Low Countries as leaders in artistic matters. Campbell writes that the lack of documentary evidence regarding Netherlandish artists working in Scotland and the scarcity of surviving works prevents us from 'forming any clear idea of the impact of Netherlandish upon Scottish painting',³⁹ an idea which this thesis seeks to clarify through material study.

In Campbell and Thompson's 1974 study of the altarpiece is published the earliest example of the technical study of a Netherlandish work commissioned by a Scottish patron.⁴⁰

Thompson and Campbell provide an overview of the findings of infrared photography of the *Portinari Altarpiece* (Uffizi Gallery, c.1475-8) and *Monforte Altarpiece* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, 1470) by van der Goes, and find that shadowing and contouring lines can be seen in the faces of the Prince and St Andrew, and more elaborate detailing in the faces of the queen and Jesus Christ. Most importantly, they identify similarities between the traces of underdrawing in Bonkil's face and those of St Anthony in the Portinari wing, and in those of Christ in the *Vienna Diptych* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1479).⁴¹ This early use of infrared

³⁸ Campbell, 1996, p.90.

³⁹ Campbell, L., 1996, pp.92, 95, 97.

⁴⁰ Thompson, C & Campbell, L., *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh*, National Galleries of Scotland, 1974, pp.94-98.

⁴¹ Thompson & Campbell, 1974, pp.96-7.

imaging to determine authorship demonstrates the added information which can be gathered from such investigative methods, whilst also providing a solid example of a considerable commission for the Scottish court.

One of the works most widely referenced when discussing this period of Scottish painting is the 1975 catalogue written by Duncan Thomson, accompanying the *Painting in Scotland 1570-1650* exhibition.⁴² This catalogue is extremely useful in its illustration and inclusions of brief biographies of James VI's early court painters Arnold Bronckorst and Adrian Vanson, but once again focuses primarily on sitters' or artists' identities, with little or no information relating to materials or techniques. These two artists additionally present considerable historical questions around their work, with portraits of widely differing styles consistently attributed to their names seemingly as a matter of habit. Whilst this catalogue undoubtedly added considerable new insight to our understanding of this period of Scottish painting, it is limited in scope. More recently, in 2011, Thompson revisited this subject area for an exhibition at Bourne Fine Art, Edinburgh. In his introduction to the essay, he concedes that the existence of the three-quarter portrait on the c.1485 coin of James III of is likely an indicator of a widespread quality in portraiture, the evidence of which has since been lost.⁴³

This thesis does not have the scope to discuss the intimate workings of James V's court; his tumultuous Crown-magnate relations, his conflicting reputation as both a money-grabbing tyrant and a man of the people, or his long-standing rivalry with the Douglas clan. In the interest of understanding the context of the sixteenth-century Stewart's court, this author relies upon Dr. Jamie Cameron's research published in 1998, and the more recent publications by Dr. Andrea Thomas.⁴⁴ These texts offer an informative and revealing vision of James' rule, but neither discusses his patronage of the painted arts in any great detail. Without space to justify discussion of the significant architectural advances made under James' rule, this research instead focuses exclusively upon the development in the understanding of the function of royal painted portraiture. The overall function of these portraits in a court environment has been discussed in a historical context by Dr. Thomas.

⁴² Thomson, *Painting in Scotland 1570-1650*, the Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1975.

⁴³ Thomson, D., *Five Centuries of Scottish Portraiture*, Bourne Fine Art, Fine Art Society, Edinburgh, 2011, p.5.

⁴⁴ For further reading on James V's court see Cameron, J., 1998 (2011); Thomas, A., unpublished thesis, *Renaissance Culture at the Court of James V 1528-1542*, University of Edinburgh, 1997; Thomas, A., *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542*, John Donald, 2005; Thomas, A., *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland*, Birlinn Publishing, 2013.

Focusing upon James V's rule and Scotland's emergence as a modern court, she discusses the prevalence of the 'effigy' portrait, representing rank over true likeness.⁴⁵ Thomas posits that this period of portraiture represents a 'weak spot' for Scotland, with the only accomplished work being 'a wholly French production' (referring to Corneille de Lyon's 1535 portrait thought to be of James V (*figure 15*)).⁴⁶ This comment demonstrates a lack of understanding of the nature of portrait production in Northern Europe at the time. The quality of the Scottish portraits is easily comparable to those produced in England if one looks past Holbein as a point of standard comparison. Although the execution of the portraits in the surviving works do often leave much to be desired in terms of realism and Holbein-esque detail, what is interesting here is the correlation between the material techniques used by the more refined painters of Europe and those working in Scotland, and the high quality of the handling evident in areas such as the costume details.

Another question raised by Thomas' research regards that of the role of the decorative painter at court; it is a modern distinction that decorative painters were restricted to walls and festive banners and that superior artists were exclusively portraitists. For example, Hans Holbein the Younger, who is widely acknowledged as one of the masters of portraiture of his time, painted banners and heraldic works alongside the lower level workmen in his role of court painter to Henry VIII.⁴⁷ François Clouet was not only painter to King Henry II of France, but also a Groom of the Chamber, a position of some authority at court.⁴⁸ It is very likely that the Scottish court emulated its European neighbours in such appointments, and indeed in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland dating 1546-1566 Walter Binning, glasswright or maker of glass, is more tradesman than artist.⁴⁹ Binning is listed often as 'payntour' and was commissioned alongside his glasswork to paint guns at Edinburgh castle with 'chalmeris, slottis and bandis', to paint banners for the wrights and masons, for gilding, and for painting house roofs alongside his work for Regent Arran.⁵⁰ This approach also considerably underestimates the amount of work and skill required for such decorative

⁴⁵ Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland*, Birlinn Publishing, 2013, pp.92-101.

⁴⁶ Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542*, John Donald, 2005, pp.84-5.

⁴⁷ Nuechterlein, J., *Translating Nature into Art: Holbein, the Reformation and Renaissance Rhetoric*, Penn State Press, 2011, pp.20-23.

⁴⁸ For more on the Clouet father and son see Jollet & Dusingberre, *Jean and François Clouet*, Editions de la Lagune, 1998.

⁴⁹ Apted, M.R & Hannabuss, S., *Painters in Scotland 1301-1700: a Biographical Dictionary*, Edina Press Ltd, Edinburgh, 1978, pp.28-30.

⁵⁰ TA, 9 pp.281, 432, 435; TA, 10 pp.50, 125, 225; TA, 11 pp.26, 108, 513; Smith, *the Hammermen of Edinburgh*, pp.119, 141-3.

production; these commissions were quite extensive and demanded a considered approach. Although these formal household accounts are extremely useful in demonstrating the varied work of the court artist, and sometimes include small references to materials used, ‘colours, gold and silver leaf’,⁵¹ their purpose was to record financial transactions, not to include any description of the work undertaken as will be demonstrated in chapter two.

The lack of technical documentation has resulted in some misunderstandings regarding the intention of the artist and any subsequent historical significance. Duncan Macmillan, for example, writes in reference to one of the key portraits of this thesis, the Blair Castle portrait of James V and Marie de Guise, that the hand-holding is significant and ‘reveals a degree of invention on the part of the painter which is at variance with the rather wooden execution of the painting.’⁵² From careful surface examination, it has become apparent that the lower third of this work, which features the hands of the sitters, is a later restoration. It could be supposed that it was based upon the lost original piece, but the uncomfortable placement of the arms suggests more strongly that it was a hasty invention on the part of the restorer and as such must now be disregarded when assessing the skill of the original artist. Macmillan’s publication *Scottish Art 1460-2000* is illustrative of the current state of knowledge surrounding this period, devoting less than ten percent of the publication to the period of art history from c.1460 to 1600. Though brief, however, it includes valuable information regarding the function of the portraits. Macmillan argues that it was James III who first understood the importance of the projection of the image of the crown, establishing the use of individualised coinage and commissioning the *Talbot Book of Hours* and the *Trinity College Altarpiece*, two early works demonstrating significant artistic awareness. Following in his father’s footsteps, James IV gifted his new wife Margaret Tudor with a Book of Hours in 1503, featuring 19 full page miniatures and 250 illustrations by Gerard Horenbout throughout. It is surviving objects such as these which prove that Scotland was capable of sophisticated artistic commissions. What is curious is that the employment of such high-quality artists is not evident in other surviving royal portraits.

As this thesis is predominantly concerned with the influx of Netherlandish artists and techniques, it is fortuitous that the *Scotland and the Flemish People* project at the University

⁵¹ TA, 10 pp.22, 115, 194.

⁵² Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460-2000*, Mainstream Publishing, London & Edinburgh, 2000, pp.32-3.

of St Andrews has recently concluded, which provides some much needed historical and social context.⁵³ The project is primarily concerned with the emigration of the Flemish from Flanders to Scotland over a 600 year period between the eleventh- and seventeenth- centuries, and aims to answer the questions of why they came, their significance in Scottish history and their broader impact. The movement from the artistic inspiration of Catholic France under James V and his daughter Mary Queen of Scots to that of fiercely Protestant Holland could be considered a strong indicator for the extraordinary change of religious direction and reformation of the Scottish political landscape. Scottish trade moved away from the mainly Catholic southern Netherlands under Spanish rule as the cities of Bruges and Antwerp were ousted by Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The northern independent Dutch republic was a more obvious trading partner for Scotland; both countries' churches (kirks in Scotland and kerks in Holland) were dominantly protestant.⁵⁴

In his contribution to the Flemish project blog, "Artistic Exchanges between Scotland and Flanders",⁵⁵ Macmillan acknowledges the early work by Father David McRoberts⁵⁶ and Lorne Campbell⁵⁷ in furthering our understanding of the relationship between Scotland and Flanders and argues for the resistance of a supposition of inferiority based upon Scotland's comparative poverty. He posits that there is evidence for the development of a self-conscious national aesthetic in the development of the castles at Stirling and at Linlithgow, and that the commission of the *Trinity* altarpiece proves the importance of the Flemish connection. Included in Macmillan's writings is the discussion of a familiar feature of European artistic workshop practice; that of its frequent nature as a family business. As there existed the Flemish interconnection of the De Critz and Gheeraerts families in England, there were the Binnings of Scotland. Alexander (also known as Sanders) Bening is likely Alexander Binning, the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian,⁵⁸ member of the painter's guild in Bruges, sponsored by Hugo van der Goes and relation of Walter Binning, the

⁵³ Project website; <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/flemish/>; see also contributor Katie Stevenson's paper *The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was there an Order of Chivalry in late Medieval Scotland?*, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 83:215, 2004.

⁵⁴ Williams, *Dutch Art and Scotland: A Reflection of Taste*, Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland 1992, p.14.

⁵⁵ Macmillan, *Artistic Exchanges between Scotland and Flanders*, part 1 October 2014, part 2 November 2014, Scotland and the Flemish People project blog, University of St Andrews.

⁵⁶ McRoberts, *Notes on Scoto-Flemish Artistic Contacts*, the Innes Review, X, 1959.

⁵⁷ Thomson & Campbell, 1974.

⁵⁸ Kren, T. & McKendrick, S., *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, Getty Publications, 2003, p.420.

aforementioned court artist for Queen Mary c.1560. Alexander Bening is also likely Sanders Escochois (Sandy the Scotsman) working in Flanders.⁵⁹ It is notable that Bening's daughter Cornelia married the Scot Andrew Halyburton, who was Conservator of the Privileges of the Scots in the Netherlands and agent for the king in procuring artworks and artists.⁶⁰

Connections such as this make it extremely probable that workshop practices were regularly exchanged between Flanders and Scotland, resulting in the Netherlandish references throughout the art historical discussion of sixteenth-century Scottish works. Aside from Alexander Binning, there are records of 'Rychye Bynyn' painting staves in 1547⁶¹ and in Andrew Halyburton's accounts of 1492-1503,⁶² 'David Bynnyng, paynter'⁶³ being paid for painting an inscription in St Giles in 1566. Additionally, throughout the sixteenth-century Treasurer's Accounts is the name Walter Binning, who was commissioned to execute the decorations for Mary, Queen of Scots' 1558 marriage to the Dauphin,⁶⁴ and for her state entry into Edinburgh in 1561.⁶⁵

Most relevantly for this thesis in 1995 the catalogue *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, accompanying an exhibition at Tate, marked the beginning of this shift in approach to paintings of this period. This approach advocated a more holistic methodology, moving on from focusing upon the identification of hand or school. Rica Jones' contribution of the study of the material aspects of portraits attributed to John Bettes, Cornelis Ketel and Nicholas Hilliard explored workshop practice, including collaborations between artists, reproduction techniques and a presentation of technical data.⁶⁶ Following this the MATB project provided essential new perspective on painting techniques in Britain in the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries. Although much of the published material pertains to portraits produced in England, the mapping of alien artists into the capital and marking of their extensive influence provided new insight into a previously obscured period of painting.

The Scottish portraits examined by the MATB project include *Mary, Queen of Scots* (unknown artist, ca.1560-1592, NPG 1766, *figure 16*), *Mary, Queen of Scots* (after Hilliard,

⁵⁹ Macmillan, 2014.

⁶⁰ Op Cit.

⁶¹ Smith, pp.131, 141, 142-3; McRoberts, 1959, p.94.

⁶² McRoberts, 1959, p.95, quoting *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton*, passim.

⁶³ Edinburgh Burgh Accounts, vol.II, 1566, p.236.

⁶⁴ Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1557-1571, p.26; McRoberts, 1959, p.94.

⁶⁵ McRoberts, 1959, p.94 quoting TA, vol.11, passim.

⁶⁶ Jones, R., 'the Methods and Materials of Three Tudor Artists: Bettes, Hilliard and Ketel', in Hearn (ed) *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, Tate Publishing, 1995, pp.231-240.

1578, NPG 429, *figure 17*), *King James I of England and VI of Scotland* (unknown artist, oil on canvas, c.1574, NPG 63, *figure 18*), *Unknown Woman formerly known as Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox* (unknown artist, ca.1560-65, NPG 401, *figure 19*), and *George Buchanan* (after Arnold Bronckorst, 1581, NPG 524, *figure 20*). English portraits thought to be by the Scottish court painter Arnold Bronckorst were examined including the only work signed by the artist, *Oliver St John 1st Baron St John of Bletso* (1578, NPG 6919, *figure 23*). The published technical studies of these will be incorporated into chapter three, which discusses the material evidence of the surviving portraiture of the artists working for James VI.

In ‘Adam de Colone and the Transmission of Portrait Types from the Low Countries and England to Scotland’, David Taylor deals primarily with the early seventeenth-century but touches upon early painting in Scotland. Taylor begins his paper by attributing the birth of the Scoto-Netherlandish school to the *Trinity* altarpiece. Taylor then moves on to discussing Bronckorst and Vanson, commenting that ‘throughout most of the sixteenth century it would appear that very few portraits were produced in Scotland, and the names of the artists have not survived.’⁶⁷ Research undertaken as part of this thesis demonstrates a vibrant Scottish court and an awareness of the importance of portraiture; the phrase “produced in Scotland”, must be replaced with “survived in Scotland”, and the impact of reformation post-1560 considered. As this thesis focuses primarily upon royal portraits and not religious works, that subject is for another study, but should be borne in mind when considering whether current Scottish collections accurately reflect the output of the time.

Although Taylor’s paper is the only one specifically pertaining to Scotland, this research has also benefitted from the insights of Libby Sheldon on the materials of the Anglo-Netherlandish school,⁶⁸ Rachel Billinge on the information that can be gained from examining preparatory underdrawing,⁶⁹ Susan Foister’s examination of English artistic

⁶⁷ Taylor, D., ‘Gesture Recognition: Adam de Colone and the transmission of portrait types from the Low Countries and England to Scotland’ in Cooper et al. (Eds), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.311-312.

⁶⁸ Sheldon, L., ‘Palette, Practice and Purpose: pigments and their employment by native and Anglo-Netherlandish artists in Tudor and Jacobean paintings’ in Cooper et al. (Eds), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.128-137.

⁶⁹ Billinge, R., ‘Artists’ Underdrawing and the Workshop Transfer Process’ in Cooper et al. (Eds), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.138-145.

techniques in a European context,⁷⁰ and Sophie Plender's comparison between artists' treatises and actual practice.⁷¹ These are all areas upon which this research has endeavoured to shed some light in the context of Scottish painting, using those examined portraits listed above and the Blair Castle double portraits as central case studies.

The interdisciplinary methodology employed by the MATB project has enabled the challenging of traditional connoisseurship, which is particularly important when examining a period lacking in secure named attributions and with such dissemination of varying techniques. As the MATB project has demonstrated, a far more nuanced understanding of both patronage and material practice is required for accurate investigation.

1.5 Concluding Discussion

Demonstrating the existence of an internationally-influenced Scottish School of the sixteenth-century remains a challenging problem when the focus rests upon identifying named artists of quality. Whilst James VI's 'Dutche' artists are better understood with recent scholarship and the beginnings of technical investigation into Scottish works of this period, the artistic output and atmosphere of James V's court remains mysterious. This has led to the identification of the majority of the portraits examined by this thesis as 'problem pictures', of limited quality and poorly documented history.

The above literature review demonstrates that the advances in approach to the sixteenth-century Tudor portraits since the publication of Strong's *The English Icon* enable engagement beyond the identification of an artist. Workshop practice and international interactions have been explored; the influence of émigré artists, the development of the Anglo-Netherlandish school of painting and trends in paint application illuminate the extent of the dissemination of ideas in England, and as this thesis will suggest, Scotland, from the Low Countries. The above studies stand as testament to the significance of technical research in this context, and this thesis' primary aim is to demonstrate that the historical evidence gathered here for the first time would considerably benefit from further technical study of the surviving portraits.

⁷⁰ Foister, S., 'Distinctive or Different? English Artistic Practices in a European Context', in Cooper et al. (Eds), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.204-215.

⁷¹ Plender, S., 'Materials and Practice: the relationship between artists' treatises and painting techniques in Tudor and Jacobean England' in Cooper et al. (Eds), *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.116-127.

The case study included here should act as another step towards compiling significant technical information, gathering new evidence from the surviving portraits, and exploring these results in the context of extant evidence both presented here and gathered from studies such as the MATB project.

Chapter Two

The Role and Movement of Netherlandish Artists at the Scottish Court

The Early Stewarts and James V

2.1 The Portrait

One of the core research aims of this thesis is to determine how the surviving Stewart portraits fit into the contemporary culture of court portraiture in Northern Europe. In order to examine this, the function of portraiture and the motives for its production must be explored.

Preservation and promotion were, and still are, the primary functions of portraiture. Writing in his fifteenth-century treatise, the Italian architect and artist Leon Battista Alberti states that it is through portraiture that the great kings live on in memory; ‘through painting, the faces of the dead go on living for a very long time.’⁷² Royal portraiture was an important aspect of the alliance between art and power which was of such significance during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, alongside state festivals, the architectural development of palaces and the patronage of poets in praise of a dynasty’s rule. Portraiture formed a core of the expansion of what Strong calls ‘the Idea of Monarchy’, wherein a monarch’s image was disseminated in paint, stone, print and metal in imitation of Classical antiquity. One of the challenges faced by portraiture during the fifteenth-century was the expectation that a picture must represent the dual nature of a ruler: both their likeness and their idealised power. When commemorating a monarch for posterity, excessive realism could be a limiting factor in the presentation of a figure of power.⁷³

Portraits were often presented as commodities in important diplomatic exchanges, as with those between England and France in the sixteenth-century. Most importantly, portraits were used in the brokering of marriage,⁷⁴ though this did not always go smoothly; according to the imperial envoy Adam von Zwetkowich in a report to Maximilian II, Elizabeth I had recalled how Philip II cursed the flattery of portrait painters when he first met his wife Mary I in the

⁷² Alberti, Leon Battista., *On Painting*, book II, 1435, Martin Kemp (ed) & Cecil Grayson (trans), Penguin Books, London, 1972, p.60.

⁷³ Falomir, M., ‘the Court Portrait’ in Campbell et al. (Eds) *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, National Gallery Company, London, distributed by Yale University Press, 2008, 2010 (paperback), pp.68-9.

⁷⁴ Howarth, D., *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649*, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997, p.80.

flesh.⁷⁵ Beyond the facilitating of marital union, portraits were also employed in celebration of that union, as in the portrait of *Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon* (figure 21, c.1515, after Jean Clouet or Jean Perréal, oil on panel, the Marquis of Tavistock Bedford Estates) or in satire; *Francois I of France and Queen Eleanor (of Austria)*, (figure 22, c.1535, oil on panel, the Royal Collection). It is the presentation of the celebration and implications of such unions which this thesis is most concerned with, as three of the four double portraits are painted with such an intention. The marriage of James V and Marie de Guise represented the cementing of the Auld Alliance after the death of his first wife, the Valois Princess Madeleine. The marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley presented a young attractive ruling pair, continuing the Stewart dynasty through health and fertility.

The autonomy of the painted portrait allowed it to take on an important diplomatic role, and the marriage negotiations for which these portraits were produced resulted in the establishment of galleries that reflected the close alliances forged by the fifteenth-and sixteenth-century European dynasties. This diplomatic function enabled the spread of Netherlandish models throughout Europe as skilled portraitists were constantly imported; a dissemination which is key to this thesis and the assertion of a Netherlandish influence in the core Scottish portraits discussed here. It was in the Netherlands that the primary portraitists working for the Spanish, French and English courts were trained; namely Jean Clouet (1480-1541), Joos van Cleve (ac.1511, d.1540), Antonis Mor (c.1517-1577) and Hans Eworth (c.1520-1574).⁷⁶ Although comparatively few Scottish portraits survive, this chapter develops the evidence provided by contemporary writers and indeed the surviving paintings in order to develop our conceptions about the sixteenth-century Scottish court of James V and his heirs.

2.2 Portrait Painting in Scotland before James V

The Scottish courtly tradition of employing Netherlandish painters can be seen as far back as the court of James I (1394-1437), who, according to Hector Boece, ‘brocht oute of England and Flanderis ingenious men of sindry craftis to instruct his pepill in vertewis occupacioun.’⁷⁷ In the fifteenth-century the Southern Netherlands (primarily Flanders, Ghent and Bruges)

⁷⁵ von Klarwill, V., Nash, T.N (trans), *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, John Lane, London, 1928, p.218.

⁷⁶ Falomir, 2010, pp.67-71. This list does not include the German Hans Holbein the Younger, court painter to Henry VIII, and Italian Titian, court painter to Charles V and Philip II.

⁷⁷ Seton, W. & Chambers, R.W. et al. (eds), *the Chronicles of Scotland, compiled by Hector Boece, translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531*, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1938-41, vol.ii, p.393; also quoted in Campbell, 1996, p.89; “brought out of England and Flanders ingenious men of sundry crafts to instruct his people in virtuous occupation.”

were renowned for their native artists, largely due to the development of ‘Flemish realism’.⁷⁸ This focus upon the careful depiction of the natural world offered stark contrast to earlier approaches, and soon all high-ranking patrons wanted to be painted in this new style, overcoming the characterless ‘effigy’ portraits that had prevailed previously.⁷⁹ The high standard of artistic training and workshop production in the Netherlands contributed to the demand for Netherlandish artists across North-West Europe. These “countless, wandering artists” moving from their native Netherlands to multiple locations including France, England, and Scotland, enabled the spread of new techniques of painting and the realism of the Northern Renaissance style. In many cases it was art agents and diplomats who were most active in the commissioning of works and the patronage of artists by royalty and the nobility; the market was not large, and only the best privileges would attract the best artists.⁸⁰

Apart from those working in Rome and Paris under the Emperor Charles V and French king François Ier, Netherlandish artists also supplied the German and Danish courts, present in Copenhagen, Prague and Vienna.⁸¹ It was not the calibre of the individual Netherlandish masters who came to court such as Hans Eworth (1520-1574) or Lucas de Heere (1534-1584) who changed the artistic landscape of the country, but the influence of the numerous workshops established by the two-hundred plus Netherlandish craftsmen in London alone.⁸² These workshops not only established new standards for craftsmanship but also taught native artists how to adapt to and match the new standards.⁸³

Regarding the prevalence for Netherlandish painters at European courts in the sixteenth-century, T.H. Borchert asserts that three groups or factors were chiefly responsible for the dissemination across Europe of the early Netherlandish style. Firstly, merchants, who bought

⁷⁸ Wijsman, H., ‘Patterns in Patronage: Distinction and Imitation in the Patronage of Painted Arts by Burgundian Courtiers in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries’ in Gunn & Janse (eds), *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, Boydell Press, 2006, p.54.

⁷⁹ Bentley-Cranch, D., *the Renaissance Portrait in France and England: a Comparative Study*, Honoré Champion Éditeur, Paris, 2004, p.207; See also Bentley-Cranch, D., *Effigy and Portrait in Sixteenth Century Scotland*, Review of Scottish Culture, vol.4, 1988, pp.9-19.

⁸⁰ Scholten & Woodall, ‘Netherlandish Artists on the Move’ in Scholten et al. (eds) *Art and Migration. Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400-1750*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 63, 2013, pp.12, 17, 21.

⁸¹ Jan Sluijter, E., ‘The English Venture: Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550-1800’ in Roding et al. (eds) *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550-1800*, Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 13, Primavera Pers, Leiden, 2003, p.12.

⁸² Tittler, R., 2015.

⁸³ Wells-Cole, ‘the Patronage of Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury at Chatsworth and Hardwick: a study in the influence of Netherlandish prints in sixteenth-century England’, in Roding et al. (eds), *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain 1550-1800*, Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 13, Primavera Pers, Leiden, 2003, pp.233-4.

such works either for their own collections, or on commission from homeland dignitaries, or to sell on the open market; secondly, the movement of court artists, many of whom travelled around the continent on dynastic and diplomatic business, particularly during the negotiations of royal marriages, and finally, travelling artists, who subject to guild rules and regulations either travelled frequently across Europe to see the work of the great masters, or settled abroad.⁸⁴

2.2.1 The Legacy of James III and James IV

When discussing high quality Netherlandish commissions surviving in Scotland today, we must return to c.1478-9 and the Trinity College Altarpiece which reveals the interconnectivity of Scotland with Netherlandish artists, and so presents the possibility that the double portraits studied in this thesis could be of Netherlandish influence, if not execution. The altarpiece is an important survival of early Scottish portraiture, not only because of its rarity but also because of its influence in disseminating modish continental figurative painting.⁸⁵ Described as a masterpiece of fifteenth-century Flemish painting,⁸⁶ the Trinity College panels consist of two wings of an altarpiece painted on both sides, depicting internally the Scottish king James III, his queen, Margaret of Denmark, their national saints and a young boy alternately thought to be James' brother Alexander or his son and heir, the future James IV. Externally the donor, Edward Bonkil, is painted kneeling in worship in the company of angelic musicians.⁸⁷ Bonkil held the post of Provost of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh, and is the only canon of that name known of during James III's reign; he is identified in the altarpiece by his canon's vestments and the coat of arms featured upon the shield decorating the angel's bench. He was paid various amounts from the chamberlain of the Scottish queen, daughter of Catherine of Cleves, and niece of Philip the Good of Burgundy Mary of Gueldres for the construction of the church, and for the employment of chaplains and clerks. Bonkil is listed as provost of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity in payments of 1463-4, the first to hold the title and thus the recipient of

⁸⁴ Borchert, T.H 'The Mobility of Artists: Aspects of Cultural Transfer in Renaissance Europe', in Borchert, T-H (ed) *The Age of Van Eyck: the Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430-1530*, Thames & Hudson, 2002, pp.33-45, p.33.

⁸⁵ Taylor, D., 2015, p.311.

⁸⁶ McRoberts, D., 1959, p.91; Campbell, L., *Edward Bonkil: a Scottish Patron of Hugo Van der Goes*, the Burlington Magazine, 126:974, May 1984, p.265; for overview see Thompson, C & Campbell, L., *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity College Altarpiece*, Edinburgh, 1974; Campbell, L., *Edward Bonkil and Hugo van der Goes*, the Burlington Magazine, 143:1176, March 2001, pp.157-8.

⁸⁷ For a more detailed overview of what is known about Edward Bonkil's life, see Campbell, L., *Edward Bonkil: a Scottish Patron of Hugo Van der Goes*, the Burlington Magazine, 126:974, May 1984, pp.265-7, 271-4.

royal patronage. Although Bonkil came from a prosperous Edinburgh family he was significantly advanced by Mary of Gueldres, a Scottish queen well versed in high quality artistic commissions.⁸⁸

Edward's brother, Alexander Bonkil/Boncle, acquired citizenship in Bruges c.1460. As Alexander was established in the Netherlands, Edward was afforded every opportunity to import Netherlandish goods. Edward's father, Robert Bonkil, was an Edinburgh merchant with trade links to Flanders, and as such Edward is likely to have spent some of his younger years in Bruges. Robert owned a house in the Scottish quarter of the town Bogaerstraat in Bruges, which was inherited by Alexander, who belonged to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow, a large confraternity boasting members from amongst the most prominent people in Bruges including the artists Petrus Christus, Hans Memling and Pierre Coustain.⁸⁹ The portrait of Edward Bonkil was most likely painted from life as patron of the work, and as such it is extremely likely that he visited the Netherlands to sit for Hugo van der Goes, although no documentary evidence for such a trip has been found.⁹⁰ During the preparation for James III's marriage to Margaret of Denmark, a Scottish embassy travelled to Bruges, and later in 1469 Charles the Bold sent an embassy to Scotland and James III, led by Alexander Boncle, who McRoberts suggests was perhaps accompanied by the Duke's painter, Hugo van der Goes.⁹¹ However, this theory directly contradicts the stylistic evidence presented by those who have examined the painting, which suggests that the portraits of the Scottish monarchs were added in by a different hand. It is on stylistic grounds that the panels are attributed to van der Goes; however, the presence of Alexander Boncle as ambassador in Bruges and the artist's friendship with Alexander Bening does place him firmly within the context of the Scottish court.⁹²

When considering the suggestion that the main body of the work was carried out by van der Goes and the faces of James III and Margaret painted by another, possibly native, artist who could take a good likeness of the monarchs, Alexander Bening's link to the van der Goes family should be elaborated upon. Alexander Bening's membership of the Guild of Painters

⁸⁸ Campbell, 1984, pp.165, 271-272, quoting E.R, VII, pp.91, 168, 241.

⁸⁹ McRoberts, 1959, p.92; Campbell, 1984, pp.165-7, 271-4; Campbell, 2001, pp.157-8.

⁹⁰ Campbell, 1984, p.272.

⁹¹ McRoberts, 1959, p.92 referencing M. Joseph Destree, *Hugo van der Goes*, 1914.

⁹² Relation of the Bening family who were craftsmen for the Scottish crown until Walter Bening/Binning/Bynnyng ceases to be mentioned in the TA c.1561; McRoberts, 1959, p.94.

and Sculptors at Ghent was sponsored by Hugo van der Goes and Joos van Wassenhove,⁹³ as an illuminator, on 19th January 1468/9.⁹⁴ This in mind, it is very possible that Alexander may have worked on the Trinity panels with his relative and master. Alexander first appears in Ghent upon his joining the guild, and his birthplace is unknown. The name Bening or Binning is very familiar in the early arts of Scotland, with painters Robert (ac.1538-47), Walter (ac.1540-84, also described as a decorative artist), Thomas (ac.1563-86, also described as a glasswright or glass painter) David (ac.1567-9), and John (ac.1617-33). Considering his links to the artistic Benings of the Scottish court, it is likely that he travelled from Scotland to Flanders to train under a Northern master. As he was sponsored by van der Goes and later married a relative of the artist, Cornelia van der Goes, he likely trained under the Flemish master, with art critic Count Paul Durrieu noting stylistic similarities.⁹⁵ The main period of Alexander's artistic output is divided between Ghent and Bruges, between 1469 and 1500. After the birth of his eldest son in 1483 he moved to Bruges, where he worked in the Guild of SS. Luke and Eloi in 1486, before returning to Ghent and dying there in 1491. Alexander and Cornelia's daughter, named for her mother, married Andrew Haliburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Netherlands. Haliburton had considerable family links within the Netherlandish artists' circles, for he was now brother-in-law to Simon Bening, and related via them to the Antwerp painter Goswijn van der Weyden, grandson of the master Rogier van der Weyden. He was also related to Hugo van der Goes, via the marriage of his father-in-law to Catherine van der Goes. With these connections Haliburton was linked with three of the primary artistic families of the Low Countries.⁹⁶

Notably, as with the portraits which form the focus of this thesis, the extent of participation of the Scottish monarch in the commissioning of the Altarpiece is unknown. Campbell states that no documentary evidence exists to suggest that James III took any particular interest in the college, aside from a declared intention to complete in a papal Bull of 1463 when the king was eleven years old. From the time of his mother's death only £20 per year was put towards

⁹³ Borchert, 2002, p.41.

⁹⁴ Alexander is attributed as the artist for the *Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae* and the *Tournament Book*, both commissioned by Louis de Gruuthuus and now housed in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris and the *Grimani Breviary*. His eldest son, Simon Bening was also a miniaturist and has the *Genealogy of the Kings of Portugal* (British Library), the *Hennessy Book of Hours* and the *History of the Golden Fleece* (both in the Royal Library, Brussels) attributed to him. Simon's daughter, Lievine Bening also worked as an artist travelling to England and working at the Tudor courts of Henry VIII to Elizabeth, achieving the title of "Maistris Levyn Terling paintrix" and a pension. (McRoberts, 1959, pp.95-6).

⁹⁵ Ibid, p.95, quoting Count Paul Durrieu, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1981, ii, p.61.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.92; Thompson & Campbell, 1974, p.50; L. Campbell, 1996, p.90.

the construction of the college, and in c.1466 £10 was paid to Bonkil for the acquisition of a pair of organs, by command of the then fourteen-year-old monarch. Aside from this James paid very little towards the construction or upkeep of the college, which does not suggest that he would have contributed to its decoration despite being patron of the church. As patron, the king would have known of Bonkil's travels to the Netherlands, as the provost was not permitted to be absent for more than fifteen days without the patron's consent. However, it was more likely out of flattery and the expectation of reward from his sovereign and patron that Bonkil commissioned the royal portraits, corresponding to Borchert's primary cause of the dissemination of Netherlandish technique; the travelling merchant or dignitary.⁹⁷

The next earliest surviving Netherlandish portrait in Scotland is that of Bishop William Elphinstone, which is presumed to be a fragment of an altarpiece painted c.1495-1505 for King's College Chapel, Aberdeen (*figure 24*, Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen).⁹⁸ This work, like the Trinity Altarpiece, demonstrates the high fashion of the Netherlandish style, with the bishop depicted in a three-quarter pose featuring elaborately executed jewels and costume, with gold leaf used for the embellishment of his robes.⁹⁹ McRoberts, an early scholar of the Trinity panels, ponders a question which he posits many viewers of Scottish art ask: how did the "artistic desert" of medieval Scotland produce a work of such quality, executed by the court painter of the Burgundian court? He points out that the very existence of the Trinity College Altarpiece offers "monumental" evidence that this often-voiced early opinion should be questioned, and that although little survives suggesting a Scottish production of high quality artworks during this period there is evidence that the court had a strong awareness of how to obtain high quality from abroad.¹⁰⁰ The Trinity College Altarpiece should be celebrated for its rare survival, not its rare commission. This thesis' examination of the approach to portraiture undertaken by James V and his court demonstrates that this awareness continued; a high-quality portraitist at home may not have existed, but the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (hereafter abbreviated to TA) show James looking to the Netherlands and indeed looking to the near-mentorship offered by François Ier when approaching portraiture.

⁹⁷ Campbell, 1984, pp.165, 273, quotes *Charters* pp.24, 40 in reference to the permitted absence of the provost; Borchert, 2015, p.33.

⁹⁸ See Macfarlane, L.J., *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514: The Struggle for Order*, Aberdeen University Press, 1985 for a biography of the Bishop.

⁹⁹ Taylor, 2015, p.338, footnote no.2.

¹⁰⁰ McRoberts, 1959, p.91.

Returning to the legacy of James V's predecessors, the beginning of Dunbar's poem to James III's successor, James IV, paints a vivid picture of the Scottish court; describing painters, musicians, writers and astrologists working in an actively creative, progressive environment;

Schir, ye have mony servitouris
 And officiaris of dyvers curis;
 Kirkmen, courtmen, and craftsmen fyne;
 Doctouris in jure, and medicyne;
 Divinouris, rethoris, and philosophouris,
 Astrologis, artistis, and oratouris;
 Men of armes, and vailyeand knychtis,
 And mony other gudlie wychtis

William Dunbar, 'Remonstrance to the King', c.1500-1513¹⁰¹

This poem alone does much to demonstrate the vibrant environment put into place by James IV in the late fifteenth-century. The court of James IV suffers from a lack of courtiers' accounts, however Dunbar's work provides a contemporary, historical source.¹⁰² Of course, the motivations for such a work must be considered critically; Dunbar is asking to improve his standing amongst the courtiers and so the panegyric style of the poem is unlikely to be an accident. However, as the poem continues it becomes a rebuke "to the unmercyfull (King)" for his reward of the unworthy courtiers around him, and the author appears to threaten to name those unworthies if the king does not treat him better.

The appearance of Maynard Wewyck, 'mynour the Inglis payntour', in the royal accounts represents the first account of the delivery of royal portraiture to the Scottish court. He is first mentioned upon delivering portraits of 'the King, Quene, and Prince of England, and of our Quene'¹⁰³ (our queen being Margaret Tudor) in advance of the Tudor-Stewart marriage of 1503. These painters could be named artist-ambassadors, their works vital components of an agreed diplomatic match. When he returned to England one year later, likely bringing with

¹⁰¹ Bawcutt, P., *Dunbar the Makar*, 1992, Oxford University Press, K544; "Sir you have many servants; and officers of diverse types; Churchmen, courtmen, and craftsmen fine; doctors in yore and medicine; divinors, authors, and philosophers; astrologers, artists, and orators; men of armes and valiant knights; and many other goodly types."

¹⁰² Hepburn, 'William Dunbar and the courtmen: poetry as a source for the court of James IV', *The Innes Review*, 65:2, 2014, pp.95-112, p.95.

¹⁰³ *TA*, 2, p.341, September 1502.

him a portrait of James IV,¹⁰⁴ he was named as King's Painter.¹⁰⁵ The appointment of Mynard Wewyck was likely made necessary by the two royal marriages of Arthur Tudor and Katherine of Aragon in 1501 and James IV of Scotland to Margaret Tudor in 1503, and the role of portraiture implicit within these negotiations. Mynard was first employed as a royal artisan, answering to the Chamberlain, and paid a daily wage of one shilling whilst he laboured in addition to an appropriate price for each item completed plus expenses for materials. He eventually became a member of the royal household, retained with an annual salary of £10.¹⁰⁶ As such, he represents the transformation of the painter's position into that which would eventually be held by Holbein, whose constant presence at court as a painter of portraits and pictures was deemed necessary. Indeed, come 1526 when he is described as 'olde Maynard Wewoke peynter' he was being paid more than Lucas Horenbout who had recently joined him as a portrait painter for the royal household. As Henry VII's royal portrait artist, Maynard is the most likely executor of the 'standard portraits' featuring Henry, Elizabeth of York, Prince Arthur, Prince Henry and Lady Margaret Beaufort. Most of these works have been dated to the turn of the century, when Maynard was entering service, coinciding with the royal marriages of 1501 and 1503, and the first instance of portraits being painted at the Tudor court. The near-identical compositions of these portraits - three-quarter bust, right hand upward and left hand downward, heraldic chains and soft hats - suggest the date due to their similarity to the Flemish portraits of the Archduke Philip and the Duchess Joanna gifted to Henry in 1496.¹⁰⁷ The Tudor portraits would likely have been inherited by the Stewart heirs.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ 'Item, be the Kingis command, to Mynour, the Inglis payntour, quhen he passit away, 1 French counis, summa xxxv fl.' (TA, 2, p.405) This entry is dated to early November 1503, suggesting that even if this entry was made after the payment and departure of Mynour the painter stayed at the Scottish court for a considerable amount of time. See also Bentley-Cranch, 2004, pp.80-82.

¹⁰⁵ Kipling, G., 'Origins of Tudor Patronage' in Lyle & Orgel (Eds) *Patronage in the Renaissance*, Princeton University Press, 1982, 2014, p.135; Maynard is called 'Inglis' by the Scottish records and a 'franchmen' by the executors of Lady Margaret Beaufort; he signed his own name as Meynnart Wewych. (Scott, R.F., *Archaeologia*, vol.66, 1914-5, p.371). The Scots likely referred to him as English because he came from Henry VII's court, whilst the Beaufort assumption is likely based upon his language.

¹⁰⁶ Comparable to a Royal Librarian, or the Royal Lute Player (p.136).

¹⁰⁷ Kipling, 2014, pp.136-7; MS Egerton, 2604, fol.6, British Library.

¹⁰⁸ A small number of portraits are attributed to Wewyck, including that of Henry VIII (Anglesey Abbey), Lady Margaret Beaufort (Christ's College Cambridge), and of Arthur Prince of Wales (Royal Collection Windsor Castle), a portrait which via dendrochronology has been linked to a portrait of Elizabeth of York (Royal Collection).

In 1504/5 James IV's court painter David Pratt died,¹⁰⁹ likely the cause of the monarch's request for a painter from Andrew Haliburton, who sent 'Piers the painter' to Scotland.¹¹⁰ Piers was employed there from 1505 until 1508 when he was given a monetary grant for his return to Flanders.¹¹¹ Campbell suggests that Piers may have been Peerken Bovelant, apprentice to Goswijn van der Weyden in Antwerp in 1503, a connection which would make sense considering Haliburton's personal connections to the van der Weyden workshop.¹¹² In 1507 and 1508 he was employed alongside Sir Thomas Galbraith¹¹³ in preparing banners, standards and tabards for the tournaments of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady. Galbraith was also an illuminator, decorating treatises of peace and marriage, and a breviary for the king's chapel. As noted earlier in the thesis, Halyburton was brother-in-law to Simon Bening, illuminator of the Hours of James IV and Margaret, alongside Gerard Horenbout, who was a member of Simon's father's studio (Alexander Bening). As such this places the major work of patronage from James IV's reign within the same Scoto-Flemish circle as that of the Trinity College Altarpiece and demonstrates a continued patronage of artists of the Low Countries.¹¹⁴

The entries in the TA referring to Piers, the French painter, demonstrate the steady employment from 1505-1508 of an 'alien' French or Flemish court artist in James IV's

¹⁰⁹ Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, pp.75-7.

¹¹⁰ For the request to Hamilton, see TA, vol. 3, p.162.

¹¹¹ 'Item, Pieris, the payntour, lvj s' (TA, vol.3, 1505-1507, p.171); 'Item, to Pieris, payntour, his hous male of Mertymes to cum, be the Kingis command, liij s iij d' (TA, vol.3, 1505-1507, p.350); 'Item, to Pieris, payntour, for ij ½ pund glew, iij quaris parti gold, j pund varngreis, ix quaris papir, j poynt olye, nales, pak thread, ij pund quhit lede, allum, caddes, gum, v beltis to targeis, of sindri pricis xlj s. viij d' (TA, vol.3, 1505-1507, 1507, p.404); 'Item, for vj bukis gold to Schir Thomas Gabreth and Pieris for baneris, standartis, and cote armouris for heraldis, menstreles, the field, and palizons, xviiiij fl; item to said Schir Thomas for making of tua cote armouris and ane banar' (TA, vol.3, 1505-1507, June 1507, p.393); 'Item, the xvij of Julij, to Johnne Wricht of Leith for graith he deliverit to Pieris the payntour: in the first, for v pund xij unce rede lede; ilk pund xvij d... for v ½ pund masticot... for iij pund verditer... for v ½ pund vermelion.... For iij pund x unce quhit lede...for v pund xij unce orpement' (TA, vol.3, 1505-1507, pp.402-3); 'Item, for tua pair blak hos bocht in Strivelin to De la Roch and Peiris, Franchmen... xxx s' (TA, vol.4, 1507-1513, p.66); 'Item, the xxvij day of Julij, to the King to the cartis quhilk he tynt and gaif to Pieris the Franch man ... iij fl' (TA, vol.4, 1507-1513, 1508, p.136); for similar accounts of payment see also p.173 (xlij s), 325 (monthly wages; lvj s), 384 (5 French crowns, iij fl x s), 385 (iij fl x s), 387 (xiiij s); TA, vol.4, 1507-1513, p.138 (v franch crounis, iij fl x s); M.R Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, pp.70-2).

¹¹² Campbell, L., 1996, p.91, references Rombouts & van Lerius, *Les Liggeren et autres archives historiques de la gilde anversoise de Saint Luc*, i (Antwerp and the Hague, 1864-76), p.59; Thomas, A., 1997, pp.127-8

¹¹³ Clerk of the chapel royal at Stirling (Fradenburg, 1991, p.174).

¹¹⁴ Further evidence of Netherlandish commissions; in 1505 it is known that Bishop George Brown of Dunkeld imported Flemish altarpieces, placed in the Three Kings in St Mary's, Dundee, and in Dunkeld Cathedral. At Pluscarden in 1508, there is further mention of Flemish craft exhibited in Scotland, "twa tabiraclez in ye said abbay that is to say ane to ye hie alter and ane oyer to our Lady alter to ye making in flandris."¹¹⁴ All of these surviving examples indicate a steady presence of high quality art in Scotland, made there or imported from the fashionable Low Countries. (McRoberts, 1959, pp.91-2; quote from Macphail, the Religious House of Plucarsyn, p.236).

Scotland. The most interesting and revealing account is that referring to the preparations for a pageant, when gold leaf is ordered for the decoration of banners, standards, coats of arms and tents, demonstrating a degree of grandeur in the preparations for the Tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady. The Tournament of 1507 is held to be one of the most extravagant tournaments hosted by a Scottish king and reveals much in these accounts about the broad role of the court artist at such events.¹¹⁵ What is also revealing is the employment of a French artist in such a prominent position, likely demonstrating the influence of Margaret Tudor and the more cosmopolitan habits of the English court. A contemporary to Piers, the native craftsman Alexander Chalmers worked in tandem with the French artist, preparing tabards and banners, making wild beasts for James' tournaments, and painting the king's 'gret schip', the Great Saint Michael. There are numerous mentions in the TA of his purchases of 'bukis of gold', books of gold leaf, and for his work on 'the kingis ymagery, pynsalis and flaggis to the schippis.' At a service held in 1515 to mark the death of James IV at Flodden on the 9th of September 1513, Chalmers was paid £8 for 140 'payntit armyis to the obsequijs of our souerane lord King James the ferd, quham God assolze.'¹¹⁶

The arrival of Maynard and Piers at the Scottish court demonstrates the collaborative exchange between mainland Europe and Scotland and England and Scotland, continuing the dissemination of continental portrait skills into the Scottish court. These surviving records and works of the early modern period demonstrate that Scotland was a lively cultural court. Although the incidences of patronage and portraiture discussed here are few, the considerably high quality of the works strongly suggest that the Scottish court was not immune to the advances being transmitted from the continent, and indeed had a good understanding of the promotional nature of artistic production. The links that the Benings, Bonkils and Haliburton formed with some of the greatest masters of the age would surely have provided their monarch with access to the most skilled Netherlandish workshops, and as such the Trinity Altarpiece and its demonstration of high realism should be taken as a mark for the quality of artworks displayed in the Scottish kingdom, not a chance occurrence.

¹¹⁵ The Tournament of the Wild Knight and the Black Lady held in June 1507 and May 1508, are the two most expensive tournaments held by a Stewart king. Their elaborate and allegorical themes were designed to draw attention to James IV's revival of chivalry and assertion of his Renaissance court. James IV himself dressed as the Wild Knight for the tournament in 1507, with those knights fighting for the king as brothers-in-arms were costumed so as to be identified as chivalric heroes (Stevenson, K., *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland 1424-1513*, Boydell Press, 2006, pp.94-5).

¹¹⁶ Fradenburg, 1991, p.174.

2.3 Art at James V's Court: Death, Marriage, Coronation¹¹⁷

James V came to the Scottish throne on the 9th of September 1513, the fourth child of James IV and Margaret Tudor sister of Henry VIII, another of the series of Stewart minority rulers at one year old. Despite his thirty-year rule, the only portraits which survive of the monarch date from c.1536, when he wed into Europe. No portraits of the king as a child survive, and only two of him in his adolescence. Instead of the four face patterns produced of his grandson James VI by the time he reached thirty years of age, only one repeated pattern exists of James V. This research has identified two primary face patterns for portraits of James V. The first, identified by Kate Anderson (senior curator, NGS) hangs in the Uffizi gallery as part of a series of kings (*figure 25*).¹¹⁸ The second dates to the period of his marriage negotiations, which is the most repeated pattern (see the Blair, SNP and Hardwick Hall portraits). In addition to these there exists a possible later copy of James V in his early adolescence (*figure 26*), the Polesden Lacey portrait and its copies, thought to have been painted from life by Jean Clouet during his visit to France, and a small half-length portrait in the Royal Collection wherein James wears the wedding coat he had made in France (*figure 29*).

A portrait of James as a young man hangs in the collection of the Uffizi Gallery, Florence,¹¹⁹ one of a series of portraits of monarchs and celebrated individuals which was copied for Cosimo I de' Medici, from the collection of portraits owned by Paulo Giovio, an Italian historian who began his collection in 1522. Series of portraits were often constructed from earlier portraits, engravings or coins, or from imagination, but those in Giovio's collection were specifically taken from authentic portraits if not from life directly.¹²⁰ Within this context, this thesis posits that this portrait of James is a copy of that in the ownership of the Duke of Vendôme during the early marriage negotiations.

The half-length portrait shows James as a young man with sparse facial hair, wearing a dark-coloured embellished hat. He wears a shirt with a richly embroidered collar, underneath a doublet and jerkin in gold, cream and black. An embellished engraving of this portrait exists in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (1554, *figure 27*, see *figure 28*

¹¹⁷ This section focuses primarily upon mentions of painters in contemporary accounts such as the TA, the MW and letter exchanges; for more details on James V's court see Dr. Andrea Thomas, and for more on Scottish pageantry and state ceremony see Dr. Lucinda Dean.

¹¹⁸ Correspondence from the author on 7th June 2017.

¹¹⁹ Author alerted to this by correspondence with Kate Anderson, 2017.

¹²⁰ Anderson, K., talk given 2015, text shared 2017, p.3.

for inverted engraving by Peter Mynicinus, mid-sixteenth-century). In the engraving, the artist has added the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, awarded to James in April 1532 by Emperor Charles V.¹²¹ These engravings show that James V was considered to be a monarch of enough import to have his image disseminated across Italy and the Netherlands, and included alongside great kings, emperors and men of note.

In the collection of the SNPG, previously in the House of the Binns, is an early-seventeenth-century portrait, thought to be a copy of a lost portrait depicting James V around the age of his majority in 1528, inscribed in the top-left with his title and birth and death dates. The young king is dressed finely in ermine furs and a gold tunic, with black gloves in his right hand and a long rod in his left, likely the sceptre of the Honours of Scotland, remodelled by James V as the crown was for the coronation of Marie de Guise.

The Polesden Lacey portrait and its variants (two in private collections) is a half-length portrait of a young man with a full red beard in three-quarter pose, wearing a black feathered cap familiar in James' iconography, a black doublet with a high ruff and collar decorated with gold aglets, or 'horns of gold.' Over the doublet the sitter wears a gold chain with the Order of Saint Michael, the French chivalric order awarded to James by François Ier in 1536 during the course of his negotiations to marry François' daughter Madeleine. On the back of the panel an inscription reads "*Le roi age 25*", (the King, age 25).¹²² Although the likeness does not correspond entirely to the other known portraits of James, with a marked difference in the shape of the nose, the Scottish monarch was 25 in 1536, wears the Order of Saint Michael (although it should be noted here that the version in a private collection in New York does not feature the medallion) and was in Lyon at the end of the French royal family's stay where Corneille de Lyon lived and worked. The lack of consistency in the likeness could be attributed to the skill of Corneille de Lyon, compared to the series of kings' portraits which were likely painted by heraldic painters with limited ability to achieve an accurate likeness. Despite the limited number of surviving painted works or evidence of high-level commissions, portraits of the Scottish monarch do exist, commissioned by the king or by the members of his court. When examining the contemporary style of some of these survivors, the considerable influences of his neighbouring courts of France and England can be noted.

¹²¹ Cameron, 1998 (2011), p.122.

¹²² Translated in early documents as 'Leroy, age 25.'

Despite François Ier's early engagement with Italian decorative art, the development of portraiture under François came from his patronage of Netherlandish artists, such as Clouet and van Cleeve. England had long-standing links with the Netherlands resulting from the medieval cloth-trade, with Burgundian fashions popular into the reign of Henry VII and the Habsburg connection strengthened by Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon. This relationship soon soured however after his divorce from the Emperor's aunt, and so French and Italian fashions were quickly adopted by England. In Scotland, royal marriages played an important part in keeping the country within the European fold. James V visited France personally in 1536-7 to strengthen the Auld Alliance¹²³ between the two countries, and married into France twice. As well as this Scotland had its own links with the Burgundian Netherlands through James II's marriage to Mary of Gueldres (m.1449) and well-established trading links with Zeeland dating from 1477.¹²⁴

One of the key roles of an artist at court during the sixteenth-century was the design and furnishing of pageants which formed part of royal ceremonies and celebrations. At the Scottish court at this time some of the most revealing examples of artistic practice include the funeral of Madeleine de Valois (July 1537) and the coronation of Marie de Guise (February 1540). There is no evidence in the TA, MW or Exchequer Rolls of an Office of Revels at the Scottish court, as there was in England, and as such the planning and staging of royal entries, weddings, coronations, baptisms and tournaments was shared amongst various departments of the royal household, including the office of arms, the wardrobe and the stables. The senior officers, as indicated by the TA, were the heralds (Albany, Islay, Marchmont, Ross, Rothesay and Snowden with six primary pursuivants (Bute, Carrick, Dingwall, Kintyre, Ormond and Unicorn, with Falkland and Stirling on hand if necessary). The entire department was watched over by the Lyon King of Arms, a title held for most of James' adult reign by Thomas Pettigrew of Magdalensyde, with functions carried out by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount. Lyon held the status of a great officer of state and senior figure within the royal household, and the heralds acted as the 'priesthood of the cult of chivalry', presiding over those events described above but also genealogy and armorial coats of arms, publicising royal proclamations and carrying royal letters.¹²⁵

¹²³ The Auld Alliance refers to the 1517 Treaty of Rouen, when a royal French princess was promised for the then four-year old Scottish King. Since 1517, Henry VIII had tried to tempt Scotland away from their French alliance by promising James his daughter Mary Tudor. (Cameron, 1998 (2011), pp.60-1).

¹²⁴ Thomas, A., 2005, pp.55-6.

¹²⁵ Thomas, A., 1997, p.272.

The sixteenth-century Stewart court had a strong culture of pageantry; during the reign of James IV the court was populated with household minstrels, wandering bards, jesters, jugglers and bands of folk players, Mary Queen of Scots hosted ‘delicate exotic’ evenings wherein, in 1561, the French ambassador m. de Foys and other lords “ran at the ring ‘dysguised and apparelled thone half luke women, and thither luke strayngers, in strayne masking garmentes’”. In 1566 the celebrations surrounding the baptism of Prince James included ‘heiland wyld men’ and Moors, and in 1594 the baptism of James’ son Henry at Stirling included a masque in which the cast included three Turks, three Christian Knights of Malta and three Amazons, and a second day of revels which featured men riding upon dragons and griffins, and a triumphal chariot appearing to be drawn by a single Moor.¹²⁶ The snatches of descriptions we have from these scenes and those like them are tantalising, presenting highly choreographed artistic events full of colour and trickery. As court painters, those employed would be responsible for painting banners and heraldic shields, designing masques and costume and painting buildings, chariots and ships alike. The influence of François Ier and his French court on Stewart pageantry was particularly strong; we can see evidence of James adopting François’ style in the design of his horses’ harness;

Heir followis the party of the Kingis harnes. Item, gevin for ane stand of harnes of the fassoun of the King of Francis...’,¹²⁷ and later the design of a new coat; ‘item, deliverit to Thomas Arthure, the xxiiij of Junii, to be the Kingis grace ane cote of ane new fassoun cum out of France, vij elnix iij quarteris of blak lukis welvot... item, for vj unce ane quarter of unce of passmentis of gold to the foirsaid coit... item, for vj buttonis of gold to put upoun the syde of it. Item for iiij elnis of bukrem to lyne it with... this cote deliverit to Johnne Tennand in his awin chalmer the first day of Julii.¹²⁸

2.3.1 James V’s Royal Marriage

Eighteen potential European marriage matches were proposed for James V, not only demonstrating Scotland’s reach across the continent but also increasing the likelihood that at least one portrait of the Scottish king was made to circulate across the courts.¹²⁹ In the

¹²⁶ Fradenburg, 1991, p.172.

¹²⁷ TA, 7, p.13.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.173.

¹²⁹ Cameron, 1998 (2011), p.132.

tradition of negotiating marriages by circulating portraits of potential spouses, and having decided, as Piscottie writes, that the country was now in need of an heir to secure its dynastic future, James sent ambassadors to discuss his marriage to Dorothea or Christina of Denmark in the early 1530's, a trip which resulted in portraits of the princesses being delivered to James.¹³⁰

This being done, the king send his ambassadouris for marieage, to wit, Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyoun harrott, quho was weill resawit witht the empreour and honourable intreitit and greatlie revardit ffor the king of Scottlandis saik; quhair thair was present into thame tuo fair gentill women quhilk war the empreouris sister doughtaris, quhilk war plessant fair and guide lyk in bewtie and fairness and in all the rest of their behawieouris. Ffor the quhilk cause the ambassadouris brocht hame thair pictouris into the kingis grace of Scotland and presentit the samin into him. How he was content thairwiht I can not tell, bot the marage proceidit no forther, bot the king thairefter send to France certane wther ambassadouris for mariege of the Duik of Wandoun, to wit, the lord Erskin and Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyoun harrott, quho war weill resawit and intertenitt into France be the Duike of Wandoun and his Duches, and also be his douchteris and gat all thingis grantit to them that they desyrit in the king of Scottlandis name concerning his marieage.¹³¹

Piscottie's account places James' sending for the portraits of the Danish princesses before he sent his ambassadors on to the Duke of Vendôme, where from Adam Abell's account we see that James was known 'by his picture':

And in ane dissimulit wesment he come to the Duik of Waudair, father of the lady at he suld haif mareit. He wes knawin thare be his picture, bot I wait nocht quhat cause he had"¹³²

¹³⁰ Thomas, 1997, p.128; Thomas, 2005, p.84.

¹³¹ Robert Lindesay of Piscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland From the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane thousand fyve hundreith thrie scoir fyftein zeir*, written and collected by Robert Lindsay of Piscottie being a continuation of the translation of the chronicles written by Hector Boece and translated by John Bellenden, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1899, vol.1, p.153.

¹³² Thorson, S.M., *Adam Abell's the Roit or Quheill of Tyme: An Edition*, a thesis submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of St Andrews, 1998, p.252; Cameron, 1998 (2011), p.131.

As discussed earlier, marital negotiations were one of the primary functions of royal portraiture. Royal marriage was largely an elaborate means of securing alliances and forming financial and military advantage. Those involved could advance their political connections, claim a place on the international political stage, and be presented to the populace.¹³³ It is this nature of establishing allies that meant that James and Henry VIII were often in competition with one-another when pursuing marital negotiations, as will be discussed later in the context of Henry's interest in Marie de Guise and concerns about the strengthening of Scotland's Auld Alliance.

Despite no evidence in the TA of James V employing a Netherlandish court painter in the creation of his marital portraits, he did acquire Netherlandish paintings. In January 1534 Lawrence Kirkpatrick was paid for sourcing works: 'Item, to Laurence Kirkpatrick for thre picturis brocht hame to his grace'¹³⁴ and in 1535, the Treasurer paid £17 to John Brown, the Leith Shipmaster who frequently transported articles to the Royal Household from the Low Countries: "Item, send with the said George certane fyne picturis of Flandris coft fra Johne Broune to the Kingis grace".¹³⁵ According to Pittscottie's *Historie*, James sent out to France, Spain, the Netherlands and England for all manner of craftsmen including smiths, surgeons and painters:

...the king sicand the realme standand in great peace and tranquilietye, reioyssit greatlie at the samyn, thinkand daylie that all thingis sould increase mair and mair, to that effect gart send to Denmerk and bring hame great horse and meiris, and pat thame in parkis that thair offspring might be gottin to susteine the weiris in tyme of neid; and also he send to Flanderis and France and brocht hame artaillze, pulder and bullaris witht pickis and harneis and all necessary ordienance ffor weir. And also he appeirandlie plenischit the contrie witht all kynd of craftismen out of wther countries, sic as Frenchmen, Spanzardis, Dutchemen and Inglischmen quihilk war all cuning craftismen ewerie man for his awin hand and craft as effeiris, - that is to say, sum was gunnaris, cuning wryghtis and carweris, paintaris, messouns, smythis, harneis makeris, tepestaris, broundinstaris, taillzouris, cunning surugenaris, pottingaris, with all wther kynd of craftismen that might bring his realme to pollicie and caussit the

¹³³ Eisenbichter, *the Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo, Duchess of Florence and Siena*, Ashgate, 2004, p.9.

¹³⁴ TA, 6, p.185.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p.250.

said craftismen to apparall his pallaceis in all maner of operatioun and necessaris according to his order and gaif thame large wagis and pensiouns thair of zeirlie.¹³⁶

These written histories demonstrate that the Scottish links to the Netherlands and James' understanding of the contemporary fashion for Flemish works was in place before his trip to France in 1536, and before his fellow king, François Ier, could show him the extravagances of the competitive French court. This experience was however clearly formative for James.

On September 1st, 1536, James V left Scotland for his marital voyage to France. He was intended to be married to Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, a lesser royal match, in exchange for the French Order of Saint Michael, an annual pension and a considerable dowry.¹³⁷ On New Year's Day 1537, however, James processed alongside François Ier as a monarch of equal standing into the cathedral of Notre Dame wherein he married the Princess Madeleine.¹³⁸ On the 10th September 1536, James landed at Dieppe and travelled in disguise to the court of the Duke of Vendôme at Picardy, so that he might take the measure of his prospective bride without being observed himself. He was, however, quickly recognised. Claiming the need to consult with François Ier before making any commitment to Mary, James returned to Rouen and prepared to meet with the French king. François was currently at Lyons, following the sudden death of his son the Dauphin on the 10th of August and the cancelled invasion of Provence threatened by Charles V. James befriended the grieving monarch, and the two kings went on to the Loire valley together, James first meeting Madeleine at Amboise, and the marriage contract was signed at Blois on the 6th of November.¹³⁹ Travelling via Orleans and Fontainebleau, James returned to Paris in mid-December. On the 22nd December, the President of the Parlement of Paris rode to Fontainebleau to protest against his members wearing their red robes for the entry of a foreign prince into their city. King François retorted that the red robes were required in this instance as the same honours given to François himself must be given to the Scottish king,

¹³⁶ Robert Lindesay of Piscottie, vol.1, pp.353-4.

¹³⁷ Before James terminated their marriage contract, Mary of Bourbon had been drawn by the court artist Jean Clouet in 1534, a portrait sketch which was sent to James that year as part of the marriage negotiations (*Marie de Bourbon-Vendôme*, Jean Clouet, charcoal on paper, c.1530, Musée Condé, Chantilly). (Hay, D., (ed) *Letters of James V*, HMSO, 1954, pp.280-281).

¹³⁸ Drawn by Jean Clouet in 1534, this sketch sent to James that year as part of marriage negotiations (Ibid, pp.280-281); Rush, S., 'French Fashion in Sixteenth-Century Scotland: the 1539 Inventory of James V's Wardrobe', *Furniture History*, vol.42, 2006, pp1-25, p.1.

¹³⁹ Rush, 2006, pp.2-3, 6.

who had come in person to ask for his daughter's hand.¹⁴⁰ Considering the disparity in the international hierarchical placement of Scotland and France, this moment sees the two sovereigns on equal footing.

The likely reason for this can be seen as a consequence of the events of 1525, when France's army was defeated in February of that year at the Battle of Pavia, and François Ier captured and imprisoned by Charles V. With their king imprisoned, the Regent Louise of Savoy and her chief minister quickly made some political moves designed to marshal their allies and avert the threat of an English invasion. One of these was to invoke the 1517 Treaty of Rouen with Scotland, which required the two countries to render assistance if one were attacked. A sub-clause of this contract promised James V 'a daughter of the French king already living or yet to be born'. Despite the early deaths of François' first two daughters Louise and Charlotte, Madeleine (born 10th August 1520) and Marguerite (born 1523) fulfilled the condition, most importantly preventing the potential Anglo-Scottish alliance between James V and Henry VIII's daughter Mary.¹⁴¹ On the 1st January 1537, James married the daughter of the king of the France; after the wedding, James and Madeleine travelled from Paris to Chantilly in early February, and then on to Compiègne, where James spent 1100 crowns on a diamond spousing ring for Madeleine.¹⁴²

The engagement likely prompted the painting of Madeleine once more by Corneille de Lyon (*figure 30*).¹⁴³ There is little doubt that this work represents Madeleine, as it was reproduced both in François' Book of Hours (Master of François de Rohan, c.1539-40, Met Museum 2011.353) and Guillaume Rouillé's genealogical picture book *Promptuarii iconum insigniorum à seculo hominum, subiectis eorum vitis, per compendium ex probatissimis autoribus desumptis* (1553) in which it serves as the official image of the young queen of Scotland. Bentley-Cranch and Marshall posit that the Polesden Lacey portrait of James V was painted as a pendant to that of Madeleine. However, the considerable difference in the ratio

¹⁴⁰ Bentley-Cranch, D & Marshall, R.K., 'Iconography and Literature in the Service of Diplomacy: the Franco-Scottish Alliance, James V and Scotland's Two French Queens, Madeleine of France and Mary of Guise', in Williams (ed), *Stewart Style 1513-1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, Tuckwell Press, 1996, p.273.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, pp.273-4; See Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol. XI, no.916, John Paven to Sir George Douglas, 29th October 1536 – "(t)he King (James V) is made much of and treated as the Dolfynne was, with the Dolfynne's servants to wait on him.' See Ibid, no.848, Ridolfo Pio, Bishop of Faenza, Papal Nuncio in France to Mons. Girolamo Dandino, 23rd October 1536 – "...it is considered certain that they will give him Madame Madalena." (Ibid, p.276).

¹⁴² Cameron, 1998 (2011), pp.131, 133.

¹⁴³ Versions exist in the Château du Blois and the Château du Versailles.

of the two portraits makes their production as a pair questionable, with Madeleine filling her panel more fully than her husband, and both subjects facing in the same direction, which was rare for pendant portraits.

One of the greatest pageants of James V's reign was his French wedding. Together with François, Madeleine, the Dauphin, the French Court and the countries' ambassadors, James travelled to Fontainebleau with orders for wedding arrangements travelling ahead. The wedding contract was signed at Blois in the presence of leading members of the French Court. The wedding celebrations themselves would take place in Paris, with François sending instructions for the erection of a wooden gallery along the cloister of Nôtre Dame Cathedral and of a stage with steps into the church.¹⁴⁴ On the last day of December, James made his entry into Paris through streets decorated with tapestries, accompanied by the Dauphin and French Court and was greeted by a huge array of Parisian nobles and churchmen. On 1st January 1537 Madeleine mounted the wooden stage on her father's arm, the stage hung with cloth of gold. The costume of the nobles is atmospherically described by the leading court poet, Clement Marot, in 'Chant nuptial du Roy d'Escoce & de Madame Magdalene Premiere Fille de France':

Tandis les Mains des Nobles gracieuses
De pied en cap richement l'ont vestu,
Sons Corps luisoit de Pierres precieuses
...
De Musq d'eslite avec Ambre batu
Parfume ont son vestement propice...¹⁴⁵

A few months later, however, the poets and organisers of events were called upon for a more sombre event. James and Madeleine arrived back in Scotland on the 19th May 1537 and preparations were well underway for her triumphal entry into Edinburgh when she fell ill. On

¹⁴⁴ Bonnardiot, F et al. (eds), *Registres des Délibérations du bureau de la Ville de Paris*, 1833-90, vol. XV, pt. II, p.310; Bentley-Cranch & Marshall, 1996, p.278.

¹⁴⁵ 'All the while gracious nobles; are richly clothed from head to toe; their bodies gleam with precious stones... their clothes are scented by musk mixed with crushed amber' Lines 9-11, 13-14; Bentley-Cranch & Marshall, 1996, pp.279-280.

the 8th of June she wrote to her father, declaring herself ‘much recovered’,¹⁴⁶ but by the 7th of July she was dead.

2.3.2 Madeleine’s Funeral

James had experienced the highest fashion of court pageantry in France, now he had an opportunity to demonstrate what his home court was capable of. The Chief Herald Sir David Lyndsey composed the official poem for the mourning of Madeleine, describing the events planned for her grand entry which now had to be converted into the mourning of her death:

...

I never did se one day more glorious:
 So mony, in so riche abilyementis
 Of silk and gold, with stonis precious!
 Sic banketting! Sic sound of instrumentis,
 With sang, and dance, and martiall tornamentis!
 Bot, lyke ane storme efter ane plesand morrow,
 Sone was our solace changit in to sorrow.

O traytour Deith, quhom none may contramand,
 Thow mycht have seen the preparatioun
 Maid be the Thre Estaitis of Scotland,
 With greit confort and consolation,
 In everilk ciete, castell, loure and town;
 And how ilk nobill set his hole intent
 To be excellent in habilyement.

Theif! Saw thow nocht the greit preparativis
 Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?
 Thou saw the peple labouring for thare lyvis
 To mak triumphe, with trump and clarioun,
 Sic plesour was never in to this regioun

¹⁴⁶ Letters & Papers of Henry VIII, vol.XII, pt. II, no.61, Madeleine Queen of Scotland to Francis I, 8th June 1537, from Islebourg – “Since the King of Scotland sent for Maitre Francisque, the physician, she has much recovered, but if come he will assist to her complete cure. M de Limoges, who has taken the greatest care of her in the journey to Scotland, can give the news.”

As suld have bene, the day of hir entrance,
With greit propynis gevin till hir grace.

Thow saw makand rycht costlie scaffolding,
Dapyntit weill with gold and asure fyne,
Reddie preparit for the upsetting
With fontanis, flowing watter cleir, and wyne;
Disaysit folkis, lyke creaturis devyne,
On ilk scaffold to play ane syndrie storie:
Bot all in greeting turnit throw that glorie.¹⁴⁷

Lyndsay's descriptions of the planned celebrations correspond to entries in the TA which describe preparations for trumpeters, armourers and goldsmiths.¹⁴⁸ However, come the 13th of July, messengers were paid for their journeys to the surrounding lands to 'warn of the quenis graxis tyrement' (burial).¹⁴⁹ The accounts now turn from gold to black,¹⁵⁰ and we see a rare entry where painters are specifically paid for the provision of the 'ijje armis' (third coat of arms) at Madeleine's funeral.¹⁵¹ One year on from Madeleine's death, payments are recorded in the TA for the prayers and devotions for the soul of the dead queen, as well as to the court painters for six-dozen coats of arms to decorate the chancel or nave of a church upon which the choir would stand, and torches and candles.¹⁵²

2.3.3 The Second French Marriage: Marie de Guise-Lorraine

Madeleine's death did not weaken the Franco-Scottish alliance, and François offered James a second French queen. James sent his principal advisor David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, to

¹⁴⁷ Sir David Lyndsay, 'The Delporatioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene', 1537, verse 13-16.

¹⁴⁸ 'Item, the x day of Maii, deliverit to Adam Leis, goldsmytht, to gilt the knoppis of the Kingis graxis stule, in dukettis...' (TA, 6, p.299); 'item, the x of Marche, to Juliane, trumpatour, for twa banaris to the trumpettis' (TA, 6, p.303); 'Item, be the Kingis graxis perceptis, the x cottis of armour to the harrodis agane the entray' (Op Cit.).

¹⁴⁹ TA, 6, pp.313-14.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.328-334 including; 'Item, to ane pursyvant to pas till Dundee to charge the inhabitants thair of to bring thare blakis to Edinburgh, incontinent for the Quenis tyrement' (Ibid, p.330); 'Item, to the Kingis teppesar, the x day of the foirsaid moneth, for the ribbennis and vestimentis that war maid for the Quenis tyrement...' (Op Cit.).

¹⁵¹ 'Item, the viij day of Julii, deliverit to payntouris for iijje armyis at the quenis obit' (Ibid, p.334).

¹⁵² *The Expensis debursit upoun the suffrage of Quene Magdalene, quham God assolize, the vij day of the said moneth... item, deliverit to the payntour for vj dosane of armes to put about the queir and upoun torchis and candillis, price of ilk dosane xx s... item, to the Erle of Murray till offer the pow penny... item, to the tepischer to by nalis to hyng up the welvot and blak claith, and pynouris taking up and down the same... item, to the collegis and chapellanis that sang Derige and Saule Mes...* (TA, 7, p.181).

France to give his late queen's bereaved father a full account of her death, and to respectfully request 'quelque honneste et vertueuse princesse de son royaume.' ('Another honest and virtuous royal princess'). François had no intention of sending his surviving daughter to Scotland, and instead offered the recently widowed daughter of his close friend, Marie de Guise, Duchess de Longueville.¹⁵³ Marie was twenty-two and healthy, and had proven fertility as she had two sons by her first husband. Despite Marie's initial reluctance and the mixed feelings of her family regarding her moving away, James and Marie were eventually married by proxy on May 9th 1538 in her castle of Châteaudun, with Robert Lord Maxwell standing for the King.¹⁵⁴

Lyndsay's poetic descriptions begin to conjure an image of the royal entry, an event designed to introduce the new monarch or consort to their new country. These elaborate shows of pageantry and heraldry functioned to impress the public with shows of extravagance and power, and in the case of the two French Scottish consorts, to demonstrate the new firm alliance between Scotland and France. After the magnificent show hosted by Paris for James' first marriage to Madeleine, the stakes were high for James in keeping up appearances with the wealthier French realm. Unfortunately, there are no detailed contemporary accounts of Marie's entry ceremonies; however, the TA and the MW both offer insight into the preparations.¹⁵⁵ Marie's boat was covered with twelve ells of purple velvet when it landed, providing a canopy to hold over her as she disembarked. Stewart livery was purchased for musicians, suggesting a musical welcome with performers with ostrich feathers in their hats, and nine page boys to attend upon the new queen. Leslie's *Historie* records that St Andrews church was hung with tapestries in advance of Marie's arrival on sixteenth-June,¹⁵⁶ and Piscottie describes a fantastical pageant designed by Lyndsay in which a mechanical cloud opens to reveal an angel who delivered the keys of the realm into her hand, 'in signe and taikin that all the heartis of Scotland was opnit to the resawing of hir grace.'¹⁵⁷ One of the few references made to painters, though there must have been a considerable amount of work for them during preparations for this pageantry, notes a payment made to Adam Leis for the carving of the queen's coat of arms, 'leid upone the fut of the gret armis of Sanct Androis put

¹⁵³ Bentley-Cranch & Marshall, 1996, pp.283-4.

¹⁵⁴ Marshall, R., *Mary of Guise*, NMSE Publishing Ltd., 1977, pp.38-53.

¹⁵⁵ TA, 6, pp.396, 403-6, 408-10, 412-13; MW, I, pp.21-2.

¹⁵⁶ Leslie, J., *Historie of Scotland*, trans. 1596, vol. II, pp.240-1.

¹⁵⁷ Piscottie, I, p.380; Thomas, 2005, pp.191-2, Dean, L., *Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities c.1449-1590*, p.15, final manuscript of paper provided by author 05/2016.

up against the queen's entry to Edinburgh'¹⁵⁸ and to Andrew Barry 'paintour for painting and gilding' said decoration. Sir Thomas Croggy and Robert Binning 'payntouris' are also paid for the gilding of arms upon the east wing of Holyrood palace.¹⁵⁹ This combination of the nation's patron saint and Marie's coat of arms provides an effective visual demonstration of the union their marriage represented, as well as insight into the varied roles of craftsmen painters at James' court. Indeed, the MW includes a detailed account of what were likely preparations for the new queen's arrival at Falkland, Edinburgh and Saint Andrews:

cullouris to the finessing of the paintouris... the expensis of cullouris coft in Edinburgh and Sanctandros to the hale irne werk in the palice, sylingis, tingres hedis and utheris necessaris infra tempus computi... item to David Tod Thomas Angus and Robert Reid in Edinburgh and Sanctandros for iii pund vii unce fyne asure, ilk pund xxxii s., ane pund viii unce uther asur, ilk pund xxiii s, iii quartis ule lngit, ilk quart viii s, ane buik and vii quarries fyne gold, price of the buik iii lib v s viz for the quare v.s, iii dozane gold fuilyeis, ilk dozane ii s, vi pund reid leid, ilk pund ii s summa... item in vermiewling slycht asur quhit leid ros of Paris ind of Badeas orpanent quhilt alm masticot verdigreis vertiler bis ws and skrowis with utheris smallis extending to vi lib... Paintouris... Item to Patrik Pow, paintour for xi wolkis preceden ultimo Novembris wirkend and paintend hawand wolkle ix s., to ane servitour gryndand cullouris for vi wolkis waxis, hawand wolkle iis for calk iii s for viii pund rosat, ilk pund iii d, ane pund walx ii s, vi d for symond, summa v lib xviii s x d.¹⁶⁰

This entry describes the purchasing of blue azure pigment, gold foils, and red lead and vermilion pigments for work inside and outside the palaces. The dominance of gold and red colours reflect the Stewart livery colours, with red lead mentioned frequently throughout the TA as a protective layer applied to external iron railings and munitions.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ MW, I, p.224.

¹⁵⁹ Op Cit.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p.215.

¹⁶¹ 'Item, gevin to ane payntour for dighting, colouring, and ourelayig of lx of irne barsis and thair ixxx of chalmeris, at the maister of artailzeris command, price of the pece coloring, witht hir thre chalmeris, witht reid leid ij s. vj d; summa, vij fl. x s' (TA, 7, p.217); 'Item, gevin to Andro Michelsoun, Archibald Roule, and Walter Byning, payntouris, for paynting and ourlaying of the samin artalzery, to the noumer of xlix pece, witht reid leid, price of the pece ourlaying, witht thair chalmeris, slottis, and bandis v.8; summa xij fl. v s' (TA, 7, P.348); 'Item, the secund day of August, gevin to Archibald Roule for dighting, colloring and ourlaying of xlij irne hagbusches witht thair chalmeris witht reid leid and ule xlv s' (TA, 8, p.135).

For Marie's royal entries around Scotland, beginning with her arrival into Saint Andrews on the 16th of June 1538, the 'Little Unicorn' ship was decorated to bear the king and queen to the Isle of May and then onto Dundee for Marie's entry and the wedding of the Earl of Errol, and finally taking the royal pair to Lieth.¹⁶² Here some of James' court painters are named; Sir John Kylgour,¹⁶³ Andrew Watson, Archibald Rewle and Robert Galbraith, 'payntouris'. Along with their unnamed assistants, these men decorated the ship with coats of arms and faces, coloured them with gold leaf and blue azure, and painted the mast and sails with 'oley colouris as thair compt subscrivit with Johnne Bartanys hand beris' (colours prescribed by contract with John Bartanys). A French style was also imparted upon the ship, as a French carpenter, Andrew Mansioun, was brought on with 'collegis' (colleagues) to build the king and queen's chamber aboard-ship, with carved decoration.¹⁶⁴ A ship was an expensive and complicated commission, and the decorating of such would have been a high-level commission for good quality artists and craftsmen. Not only used for war but also to transport ambassadors and sometimes the monarch himself, the decoration of a ship was as much propaganda as a portrait. As much as portraits were not objects of 'fine art' but rather demonstrations of artistry and wealth, so did ship design, architecture and textiles convey such a message.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Thomas, 1997, p.220, cites SRO MS Household Book E.31/8, folios 99v-102r.

¹⁶³ The development of the gentleman painter was an occurrence of the sixteenth-century. Henry Peacham, the gentleman artist and author of two treatises on painting and drawing believed that the introduction of the arts to the gentry would increase patronage. In addition to this, social pressure was such that the knowledge of art was considered necessary to preserving or suggesting gentility (Levy, F.J., 'Henry Peacham and the Art of Drawing', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol.27, 1974, p.175). The presence of such social conventions amongst the Scottish gentry once again demonstrates that Scotland was not the cultural graveyard neighbouring England, but instead was strongly influenced by the development of the arts at this time.

¹⁶⁴ The Expensis deburist upon the litill new bark; Item, deliverit to Johnne Bartane till be fanikynnys, ansenzeis, stramaris and banaris to the said bark lxij elnis ½ elne of reid and yallow and quhite taffiteis of cord... item, to Alexander Foster for the making of the saidis stramaris, banaris, top claithis and fanikynnys, as his compt beris, and lynyngis of bukrem thairto... item, gevin to Schir Johnne Kylgour, Andro Watsoun, Archibald Rewle, and Robert Galbraith, payntouris, and thair servandis for making of the armys and facis about the said bark, colouring of thame with gold and asure and painting of hir mastis, salis and airis witht oley colouris as thair compt subscrivit with Johnne Bartanys hand beris... Item, deliverit to Andro Mentioun, wrycht, Frencheman, and his collegis for making of the King and Quenys chalmeris (chamber) with the said bark and carivng of the curvit werk about hir, as thair compt beris.' Goes on to refer to the Unicorn, 'item, gevin to Johnne Neilsoun and his servandis for putting up of ane grete kwe in the Unicorne to the King and Quenys grace.' (TA, 7, pp.189-190); John Bartanys is mentioned only once in the accounts dating from 1515 to 1546. As it appears that he controls the colours used in the decoration of the ship, it seems likely that he was part of the Heralds for whom colour was highly symbolic (Tittler, R., 'Regional Portraiture and the Heraldic Connection in Tudor and Early Stuart England', *the British Art Journal*, Vol.10, No.1, March, pp.3-23, p.10).

¹⁶⁵ For more on the shipwrights of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I see Blatcher, M., *Chatham Dockyard and a Little Known Shipwright, Matthew Baker (1530-1613)*, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 107, 1989, pp.155-172; François Ier gifted Scotland with the ships the Unicorn and the Salamander, two warships which were commandeered by England and were the only two ships in the English fleet of 50+ vessels to feature a figurehead. Before

Eighteen months passed between Marie's arrival in Scotland and her coronation, first indicated in October 1538 when the goldsmith John Mosman was paid £45 for making the queen a crown from thirty-five ounces of gold and precious stones.¹⁶⁶ Plans for the ceremony commenced in October 1539, when she was in the early stages of pregnancy with their first son, a fact which would have been abundantly clear by the time of the ceremony the following February. James intended the event to act as an acknowledgement of her status as an instrument of international connection and the tool for perpetuating the Stewart line.¹⁶⁷ Once again the TA are frustratingly sparse in their descriptions, but a general summons was sent out calling the ladies of the realm to the coronation at Holyrood, and James' illegitimate daughter Lady Jane was gifted with new gowns.¹⁶⁸ Payments were made for nineteen loads of timber to be delivered to the abbey, most likely for the construction of a stage or platform.¹⁶⁹ The projection of the royal image at this time was less about the painted image, and more about the presentation of royal power via elaborately designed pageantry.

James' time in France served to elaborate these royal presentations, placing his regalia as a prominent feature within the coronation ceremony for his consort for the first time in Scottish history, and amplifying his monarchical standing.¹⁷⁰ It is during this period, for example, that the Scottish King's crown was embellished, becoming the crown present in both Blair Castle portraits. It was repaired in 1532 and 1533, remodelled in August 1532 and again in January-February 1540. The Scottish crown closed with 'imperial' arches was likely a statement by James, bringing the crown to fit the imagery on coins and portraits since the reign of James III and thus presenting costume pregnant with political symbolism. It was in 1540 that the

this, the Great Michael, the James, and the Margeurite (c.1510) were made in Scotland and then sold to François Ier. These warships were heavily designed in competition amongst the Kings of Europe; the Henri Grace a Dieu for example was the largest warship of Henry VIII and was designed to transport him to Calais and the meeting with François at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In keeping with this meeting of 1520, her sails were painted gold. The Henri Grace weighed 1500 tuns, constructed to be larger than the Scottish Great Michael (1000 tuns), but come 1520 François refused to be outdone and commissioned the 2000 tun La Grande Française which was too large to leave port and ultimately had to be dismantled (correspondence with Benjamin Redding, PhD Candidate University of Warwick, 'Naval Expansion and State Development in England and France 1500-1650, 14/01/2016).

¹⁶⁶ TA, 7, p.254.

¹⁶⁷ TA, 7, p.254; Thomas, 1997, p.261.

¹⁶⁸ TA, 6, pp.405-6; TA, 7, pp.266, 302; Dean, L., *Crowns, Wedding Rings, and Processions: Continuity and Change in the Representations of Scottish Royal Authority in State Ceremony, c.1214-c.1603*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Stirling, 2013, p.287; Thomas, 2005, p.197.

¹⁶⁹ TA, 7, p.487.

¹⁷⁰ Dean, 2013, p.291; for further reading on Scottish pageantry see Kinloch, M.G.J., 'Scottish Coronations, AD 574-1651', *Dublin Review*, Vol. 130, London, 1902, 263-77 & Vol. 131, London, 1902, 34-52; Fradenburg, 1991; Edington, C., 1994; Campbell, I., 'James IV and Edinburgh's First Triumphal Arches', in Mays, D., (ed.), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities, Essays in Honour of David Walker*, East Linton, 1997, 26-33.

purple velvet cap was added to the crown, as is seen placed between the monarchs in the Blair Castle double portraits (*figures 92 & 93*).

2.3.4 King François Ier and the Development of the French Style

As James' time in France proved influential to the young Scottish King, François Ier's artistic development should be examined in closer detail.

When François was a young king, his artistic preoccupations lay in Italy; however, the only Italian portrait of the French king is Titian's 1538 portrait. Aside from this, all drawn and painted portraits are executed by Netherlandish and Netherlandish-trained artists,¹⁷¹ and his employment of Netherlandish portrait painters revolutionised the style of portraiture at his court, working with artists such as Jean Clouet, Corneille de la Hague (later Corneille de Lyon), and Joos van Cleve.

François himself had been frequently painted or depicted on coins and medals, developing the royal propaganda of the house of Valois. First depicted as the Duke of Valois at age ten in 1504, François' likeness was captured in paintings, drawings, sculpture and medals until he was fifty years old. One of the earliest painted portraits of the king¹⁷² is a miniature included in the first volume of François Demoulins' *Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique* (1519-20); the portrait medallion is executed in grisaille by Jean Clouet, inscribed 'FM' (Franciscus Magnus) and is paired with a medallion of Julius Caesar. This theme of François as the second Julius Caesar is continued in the subsequent volumes of Demoulins' work in miniatures by Godefroy le Batave depicting imaginary dialogue between the two figures. In 1518 François was painted as John the Baptist holding the cross and a lamb, attributed to Jean Clouet due to its direct comparison with Clouet's portrait miniature in the *Commentaires Gallique*. The portrait features François in a three-quarter pose, head tilted slightly to the left, making direct eye contact with the viewer. Upon his release from Spanish captivity in March 1526, a new cycle of patronage began and François began to commission large-scale portraits of himself and the members of his court. The likenesses of François largely derive from a few images taken from life by Jean Clouet. Clouet was made *Peintre du Roi* in 1523, and in the late 1530s he executed a considerable number of chalk drawings of the French royal family

¹⁷¹ Cox-Rearick, J., *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures*, Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1995, p.3.

¹⁷² The earliest identified portrait of the French monarch is that painted by Jean Clouet, Musée Condé, Chantilly, 1515.

and their court, now in the collection at Chantilly. Alongside Jean, the Fleming Joos van Cleve was called to Paris in 1529-30 to Fontainebleau, where he painted the royal family, documented by Ludovico Guicciardini:

After King Francis sent men here expressly to introduce some worthy master to his court... Joos van Cleve, citizen of Antwerp, a very exceptional painter and most able at portraiture from life, was chosen and taken to France, (where he) painted the king, the queen, and other princes, to enormous praise and great recognition.¹⁷³

Clouet is thought to have made the first portrait of François after his return from captivity in March 1526; a drawing in black and red chalk wherein the bearded king wears a large plumed hat and medallion (Musée Condé, Chantilly, *figure 31*). This drawing by Clouet is considered the primary likeness of François, and was copied a number of times, including for the largest most recognised portrait of the king where he sits in half-length and three-quarter profile. The king is clothed in richly embellished silks and velvets with a red brocade backdrop, his hands upon a velvet cushion, the left resting upon an elaborate sword hilt, again wearing the insignia of the Ordre de Saint Michel (Jean Clouet, Portrait of Francis I, the Louvre, Paris, *figure 32*). The portrait is traditionally attributed to Jean Clouet, and dated to the mid-1520s; however, the mannerist style is thought to relate more to the work of his son François in competition with Holbein and van Cleve, dated to about 1535. It is considered unusual, however, that the younger Clouet would use his father's face pattern for such an important portrait, and as such it is attributed to both of them in collaboration; Jean responsible for the facial portrait, and François for the elaborate costume.¹⁷⁴

The final state portrait of François Ier (*figure 33*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection) was painted by van Cleve in the early 1530s in a pair with his wife Eleonore (Hampton Court), whom he married on 7th July 1530. The French king once again sits in half-length with slight three-quarter profile, this time facing to the right, with his left hand upon his sword hilt holding a glove in his right. The costume is considerably less elaborate but the same plumed hat and chain are included. His tunic is square cut with a shirt edge above the gold embroidered tunic, and his heavy sleeves are decorated with pearls. Portraits of the king

¹⁷³ Cox-Rearick, J., 1995, pp.5-8.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p.8.

in his later life were executed by François Clouet, with three surviving drawings showing the monarch at about 50 years old. Two of these portraits still feature the same plumed hat and Van Cleeve's slightly parted lips, following the approved style of portraits made over a decade earlier (Musée Condé, Chantilly; Musée du Louvre). One portrait by François Clouet deviates from this style, showing the much-aged king in full frontal pose, head and shoulders, with no hat (Musée Condé, Chantilly).¹⁷⁵ François' use of the contemporary portrait techniques lifted him from being the effigy monarch of France to a humorous, cultured, fashionable monarch. The portraits executed by Clouet humanise the king, often animating him with his lips partially open as if about to speak. These contemporary portraits not only placed François amongst the most cultured of European kings, enhancing his competition with Spain and England, but also likely endeared him amongst the members of his court and country. As I will go on in this thesis to discuss, portraits of monarchs were widely copied by the mid-sixteenth-century, hung in civic houses as well as those of the aristocracy and so the image of the monarch was disseminated widely amongst his people.

The influence of the portrait style adopted by François Ier can be seen in the surviving portraits of James; particularly in the Royal Collection portrait and Hardwick Hall double portrait where the king sits in half-length in three-quarter pose dressed in rich fabrics with his hands resting upon fabric. Much of the motivation behind François' cultivation of the most skilled painters, architects, sculptors can be linked to his competition with his great rivals Charles V and Henry VIII.¹⁷⁶ All of the 'Renaissance monarchs' of this period endeavoured to create an appropriate courtly setting for themselves as great kings, eternally in cultural competition with one-another. With James' close relationship to François and often tempestuous relationship with his uncle, Henry VIII, it is no great leap to consider James as part of these image-building power games.

2.3.5 Exchange of Royal Portraits

To this point this section has primarily discussed the projection of the Royal Image at notable events, and the craftsman-roles of the painters at court within these presentations, but a key aspect of the Renaissance court was that of portrait exchange. The early English portraiture interactions at the court of James IV have been noted, as well as those made in France during

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, pp.11, 18-19.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 1995, p.27.

James V's excursion, but this thesis is primarily concerned with those produced in Scotland at the time.

There exist in Scottish and English collections four primary portraits of James V: the Royal Collection three-quarter bust depicting James in a gold and scarlet coat reflecting the Stewart livery colours, the Blair Castle portrait featuring him in a white damask doublet with black velvet coat, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery portrait of James featured as part of a series of kings which looks to be a copy or version of the Blair portrait, and the Hardwick Hall portrait which again depicts James in three-quarter bust wearing a doublet with slashed sleeves and a fur-lined coat.¹⁷⁷ In addition to these, a miniature of James is sent to Marie de Guise's mother,¹⁷⁸ and there exists the questioned Polesden Lacey portrait and the Uffizi series of kings portrait. The TA accounts from this period mention nothing of portrait-making, but from Abell's account we see that James was known in France at the court of the Duke of Vendôme 'by his picture.' The Blair Castle portrait may feature a version of the gold-embroidered white damask outfit James wore for his second wedding, and as such, it is the Uffizi portrait which likely represents the picture sent to Vendôme before either of the French marriages.

No records of a portrait being made of Marie de Guise can be found in the TA or MW, and no mention is made of one being received in letters from her mother.¹⁷⁹ There are, however, two surviving portraits beyond the likeness in the Blair Castle and Hardwick Hall double portraits. A fine drawing exists in the British Museum (undated) attributed to François Clouet in his typical style of a three-quarter profile bust with a nearly finished face and very loosely sketched body (*figure 34*). Inscribed "la mere de la royne" (the mother of the queen), the drawing is thought to have been made at the time of Marie's visit to France c.1550-1. In addition to the drawing a small panel oil painting hangs in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, depicting Marie in a head-and-shoulders composition upon a green background, dressed in black (*figure 35*). The style of the portrait and the green background has resulted in

¹⁷⁷ The Hardwick Hall double portrait has a copy at Falkland Palace, made c.19th century.

¹⁷⁸ Wood, M., (ed), 1923, p.70, letter XLIII, 1541 – 'il sera garde toute ma vye pour l'onheur du luy. J'ai l'ay trouve sy beau sa peinture que sy savyes combine je l'ayme j'e peur vous en series jallouse' (*I will keep the honours of this all my life. I found his painting so beautiful that if you knew how much I love it I'm afraid you would be jealous of it*); Ibid, p.72, letter XLIV, 1541 – 'sa peinture qui m'a este aportee me donne plus d'envie la voir que je n'eus james, car il fault dire verite, set ung beau prince' (*his painting which has been brought to me gives me greater desire to see him than ever, for I must tell the truth he is a beautiful/handsome prince*).

¹⁷⁹ See Wood, M., 1923.

its attribution to Corneille de Lyon (ac.1533-1575).¹⁸⁰ However, this attribution draws into question the previously held assumption that it was made c.1538 in anticipation of a new marriage after the death of her first husband; between Marie's marriages she remained at her family seat at Chateaudun, a period when Corneille de Lyon did not leave the city he is named for. The multiple copies of this portrait were initially suggested by Bentley-Cranch and Marshall to have been created to circulate between suitors in 1538 before her marriage to Scotland was determined. We know for example that Henry VIII pursued her; in his 1912 publication for the Burlington Magazine, Arthur Chamberlain writes that with "indecent haste", Henry VIII and council began searching for a new wife after the death of Jane Seymour on 24th October 1537. In the English state papers (Vol.VIII) Cromwell suggested "Madame de Longeville, whom they say the King of Scottes dothe desire". According to Chamberlain, Henry VIII was thereon fixated upon Mary of Guise, and so sent Peter Mewtas of his Privy Chamber to meet with Mary in secret to ascertain whether she considered herself contracted to the Scottish King. Mewtas was repeatedly despatched to France by Cromwell to check whether Mary was free, and to bring back "her picture truly made and like unto her".¹⁸¹ There is no evidence that Mewtas obtained this portrait, nor that he took Holbein or any painter with him to make one. It is likely that the French heiress would have been painted in considerably greater finery than high quality black cloth and furs if she were seeking a new prestigious match.¹⁸² In 1550, however, Marie's father died, which would correspond to the impression of half-mourning the costume presents, as indeed to wear full mourning would have been inappropriate;

¹⁸⁰In 1547, Corneille de Lyon was made *Peintre et Premier Valet de Chambre* to the Dauphin Henri, and in 1564 was visited in his Lyon studio by King Henri II and Catherine de Medici. It is possible that de Lyon was at court at the same time as Marie's visit, and may have painted her there as Regent of Scotland and Mother of the Queen of Scotland betrothed to the French Dauphin François II, however the stylistic similarities between the portrait and drawing, and the 'from life' style of the drawing strongly suggest otherwise. Three copies of this work exist; one in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, one at Versailles (16x13cm on panel, catalogued as 'Femme Inconnue') and one in the Clowes collection, Indianapolis (13.97x10.46cm on panel, previously in Hamilton Palace). The SNPG version is also painted on panel, and originally measured 15.2x12.7cm with later additions increasing the size to 22.86x13.54cm.

¹⁸¹Chamberlain, A.B., 'Holbein's Visit to "High Burgony"', *the Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 21, No.109, April 1912, p.26.

¹⁸² Ibid, p.25; this is not unheard of however, when Holbein painted Christina of Denmark for Henry VIII she wears full length mourning after the death of her first husband, Francesco Il Sforza, Duke of Milan who died in October 1535.

'les Renns ne les pourtes james que de leurs marys, par quoy vous feryes tourt a votre dynyte'('Queens never wear it (full mourning) unless for their husbands, and by doing so you would damage your dignity').¹⁸³

Upon the above advice of Diane de Poitiers, whom Marie consulted before arriving in France, the Scottish queen dressed in a black-draped cap and black gown with white over-sleeves; items of clothing which Marshall has identified in the lists of garments commissioned by Marie towards the end of her life.¹⁸⁴ Despite initially suggesting that the portrait likely dated from the period when she was mourning her first husband, the Duke of Lorraine, and used to play a part in the new marriage negotiations, Bentley-Cranch and Marshall have more recently suggested that the SNPG portrait is comparable with the Clouet drawing, and that an inscription contemporary to its earlier size on the reverse reads 'Marie de Lorraine, Reine d'Ecosse', suggesting that it is indeed a later work made during her long visit to France.¹⁸⁵

The most revealing records of the use of a painter by the court or a family such as the Guise are the letters of Marie's mother, Antoinette de Bourbon. In 1538, she writes to Marie telling her that the English ambassador and a painter were with them to paint Marie's sister Louise for Henry VIII:

Il n'y a ques deus jours que le gentilhomme due Roy d'Engleterre quy fut Havre et la painter ont este yey. Le gentilhomme vynt vers moy fesant senblant venyr de devers l'Empereur et que ayant seu Louyse mallade n'avet voullu passer sens la voir affine n savoir dire des nouvelles au Roy son mestre ma priant il la puyst voir. Se quy fit, estant le jour de sa fievre; il luy tint pareil pourpos qu'a moy puy me dit qu'estant sy pres de Lorrayne avet envye aller jusques a Nancy voir le pays. Je me doute incontynent il y allet voir la demoiselle (Anne de Lorraine) pour la tirer comme les aultres et pour ce enboye a leur logis voir quy y est et trouve ledit painter y estet, et de fair ont este Nancy et y ont sejourne ung jour et on teste fort festies et venet tous les repas le mestre d'ostel menger avesques luy avesques force presans et bien trestes.

¹⁸³ Marshall, R., 'Hir Rob Ryall': *the Costume of Mary of Guise*, Costume, vol.12, 1978, p.6 citing *Analecta Scotica*, ed. J. Maidment (Edinburgh, 1834-37), pp. 347-4.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid ,p.11; Pearce, M., transcription of a wardrobe account for Mary of Guise, 1552-1553, NRS E34/19, 2017, translated by the author.

¹⁸⁵ Thomson, D & Marshall, R., *Dynasty: the Royal House of Stewart*, National Galleries of Scotland, 1990, p.35; Bentley-Cranch, D & Marshall, R., 1996, p.287.

Volla se que j'en ay encore seu. Au pis aller, sy n'ayes pour voisynne vostre seur se pouret este votre cousine. (Not two days ago the gentleman from the king of England who was in Le Havre and the painter were here. The gentleman came saying he had come from the Emperor and knowing that Louise was ill did not want to leave before seeing her, in fact having heard from the king his master asked if he could see her. It was the day of her fever; he told me that being so near to Lorraine he wished to go as far as Nancy [capital of the Duchy of Lorraine] to see the countryside. I am certain he went there to see the young lady to draw her like the others, and I sent to them to see who was there and found the said painter was indeed there, and had been to Nancy and travelled for one day and been very festive, eating every meal at the hotel. Voila, as I thought. In fact if it wasn't for the proximity, your sister could have been your cousin).¹⁸⁶

At this time, Anne de Lorraine, Mlle. de Vendôme and the two Guise sisters were considered as possible wives for Henry VIII, and this exchange offers wonderful insight into the methods of such portrait acquisition. The king's portraitist is sent across the country during one trip to amass a number of portraits for Henry to choose from, justifying François' comment that the English approach was to choose a woman as you might choose a horse: 'collect a number and trot them out to take which goes best.'¹⁸⁷ In addition to the above report, beyond her thanks for the portrait of James sent to her in 1540/1, Antoinette writes of having 'the grandson', Marie's son, painted for his mother:

il ne tyent qu'a ung painter que ne voyes comme il l'est beau; s'et le mylleur anffant que le vys james (if only we could get a painter to show how handsome he is; he is the best child I have ever seen).¹⁸⁸

She writes again in 1542 stating that she has sent Marie a portrait of her son,¹⁸⁹ François, Duke of Longueville, and he writes himself in 1546 sending her another portrait which he disputes the quality of:

¹⁸⁶ Wood, 1923, pp.12-13, letter VII, 1538.

¹⁸⁷ L&P Henry VIII, vol. XII, part II, no.1125, Bochetel to Castillon, 25th November 1537; Bentley-Cranch & Marshall, 1996, p.285.

¹⁸⁸ Wood, 1923, p.73, letter XLIV, 1541.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p.228, letter XXXI, 1542.

je vous envoie ma paincture mes je erains que le painetre n'y aiete adiousté quelque chose du sien (I am sending you my painting but I fear that the painter has added in something of his own).¹⁹⁰

The letters exchanged between Marie and her family demonstrate some of the key functions of courtly portraiture at this time: to maintain family bonds and share the development of her son. Once again unfortunately there is no evidence of these portraits of the young Duke of Longueville having survived in Scottish collections, but the letters are wonderful, candid accounts of their practical functions as likenesses and as objects of affectionate exchange. It is important to be clear at this point that in the early sixteenth-century there was no concept of a specialist painter. Court artists of all calibres painted banners, decorated ships and canon, executed wall paintings, portraits, internal decorative painting and heraldic work including coats of arms. Aside from the artist occupying the role of King's Painter, these artists were rarely regularly salaried, instead commissioned for specific works.

The two dominant artisan names in the TA pertaining to James V's rule are Andrew Watson and Archibald Roule. Andrew Watson was commissioned to paint banners for James V's funeral, recorded in 1542 as paid for painting banners in "gold and fyne collouris"¹⁹¹, and again in May 1543, "to be twa trumpet bannaris, twa elnis 1/2 elne reid teffites of cord" and "for laif silver frenzeis of silk and fyne colloris furnesit thairto and warkmanschip of the samin".¹⁹² Archibald Roule was primarily employed by Edinburgh Castle armory, paid twice for painting internal wooden beams: "Item, gevin to Archibald Roule, paintour, for ourlaying of the mullerris witht blak"¹⁹³ in 1542, and weaponry: "Item, the secund day of August, gevin to Archibald Roule for dighting, colloring and ourlaying of xlij irne hagbusches (guns/canon) witht thair chalmeris witht reid leid and ule" on the 2nd of August of that year.¹⁹⁴

Whilst Marie de Guise was Queen Regent (1544-1560), Andrew Watson continued to work for her, whilst the Binning family began to assert their presence at the Scottish court.¹⁹⁵ The importance of the Binning family and their links to the Netherlands have already been

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p.145, letter CVII, 1546.

¹⁹¹ TA, 8, p.142.

¹⁹² Ibid, p.192.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.132.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p.135.

¹⁹⁵ For Andrew Watson see TA, vol.8, p.192, for Walter Binning see TA, vol.8, p.347, vol.9, pp.281, 435, vol.10, pp.22, 50, 115, 194, 204, 225, vol.11, p.26.

discussed, but what is marked in the TA is the role of Walter Binning alongside the so-named Hammyltoun in the decoration of the Royal palaces. It can be assumed that Hammyltoun is James Hamilton, Duke of Châtellerauld and 2nd Earl of Arran, Regent for Mary Queen of Scots until he surrendered it in 1554 to her mother in exchange for being acknowledged as the next in line to the Scottish throne.¹⁹⁶ The records refer to “my lord governouris chalmer in Edinburgh”,¹⁹⁷ where Arran was resident as governor of the realm in Mary's minority, responsible for the administration of the revenues of the crown.¹⁹⁸ Walter Binning, under the direction of Hammyltoun, retains the traditional role of the painter-craftsmen, painting the roof of “my lorde governoures house”,¹⁹⁹ applying gilding in 1548-50,²⁰⁰ fitting glass in Edinburgh in 1551,²⁰¹ and decorating Linlithgow Palace in 1552.²⁰² There are no mentions of portraits being painted by Scottish workmen or indeed commissioned at all throughout the TA covering James V's rule up to that of his grandson James VI, however the records do show that there were local craftsmen and decorators frequently used by the crown. This role is similarly seen in the French artist Marie brought with her from France. Pitscottie states in his *Historie*²⁰³ that James V and his wife Marie de Guise brought foreign painters to Scotland, but the only foreign painter mentioned in the records is Pierre Quesnel, brought over with Mary's French entourage. The records pertaining to Quesnel are brief and vague, and a lack of surviving work credited to him makes any attributions challenging.²⁰⁴ In February 1542 “the Quenis paintour” is paid to buy colours to paint Falkland Palace, and his wages are paid in May, June and July.²⁰⁵ A notation in French in the surviving records dated 29th September

¹⁹⁶ Hamilton was the great grandson of James II of Scotland through his paternal grandmother, and so upon the death of James V was heir to the throne should the infant Mary not survive. (Finnie, E., *The House of Hamilton: Patronage, Politics and the Church in the Reformation Period*, Innes Review, 36:1, pp.3-28, 1985, p.3).

¹⁹⁷ TA, 10, p.50.

¹⁹⁸ Finnie, 1985, pp.3-28, p.5.

¹⁹⁹ TA, 9, p.281.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p.435 “Item, to Bynnyng, paintar, for gold fulze and gylting to the wark of Hammiltoun”

²⁰¹ TA, vol.10, p.50 “Item, xiiije Januarii, to Walter Bynnyng, paynter, for xx futtis of glas to the wyndoys of my lord governouris chalmer in Edinburght.”

²⁰² Ibid, p.115 “Item, x Octobris, deliverit to Watte Bynnyng, paintour, to by cullouris with for paynting of his graces lugeing in Lynlythqw.”

²⁰³ Pitscottie, vol.3, pp.353-4.

²⁰⁴ TA, vol.8, p.59, February 1542 “Item, gevin to the Quenis paintour to by colouris to paint witht in Falkland”; Ibid, p.77, May 1542 “Item, gevin to the Queenis paintour for ane monethis wage fra the thrid day of this moneth, to be pait to him monethlye: as it cumis upone the day to ij s vj p for him and his servand, as the precept directed thairaspone beris”; Ibid, p.84, June 1542 “Item, gevin to the Quenis paintour for his wageis fra the last day of Maii to the xxviij day of this moneth”; Ibid, p.92, July 1542 “Item, gevin to the Queenis paintour for his wageis, and his servandis, fra the third day of Julii to the first day of August nixt to cum, takand un the day for him and his servand.”

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p.59, February 1542 “Item, gevin to the Quenis paintour to by colouris to paint witht in Falkland”; Ibid, p.77, May 1542 “Item, gevin to the Queenis paintour for ane monethis wage fra the thrid day of this moneth, to be pait to him monethlye: as it cumis upone the day to ij s vj p for him and his servand, as the

1543, translating as “Pierre Quesnel the painter, Margaret Pignon & the tailor Guillaume Collyurent remain at Dunfermline Palace while Mary of Guise is absent,”²⁰⁶ likely refers to their working on the decoration of a room at the palace. Andrea Thomas argues that he was likely simply a decorator - a misunderstanding of the role of the painter at court touched upon earlier - salaried at less than Marie’s tailor and embroiderer. However, to contradict this, his surviving drawings suggest an accomplished hand.²⁰⁷ It is likely that the portrait miniature of James V sent to Marie’s mother in 1541 was painted by Quesnel, as no further evidence exists for portraits being produced at James’ court beyond the portrait sent to Vendôme in 1536. In Quesnel’s legacy we see evidence of the established route of a family workshop; both of his sons became painters and tapestry designers, with his son François going on to become an accomplished portraitist, born in Scotland to a Scottish mother and one of the first true Scoto-Netherlandish portraitists.²⁰⁸ A rare likeness of Pierre survives by one of his sons’ hand (1574, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes), and François himself went on to work for Catherine de Medici and her son Henri III at the French court during the late sixteenth-century.²⁰⁹

2.4 Concluding Discussion

The discussion above demonstrates that the Scottish court was one which understood the need for portraiture in its many roles; the conveyance of reputation and cultural sophistication, the brokering of intercontinental marriage, and the continued legacy of the monarch. The artistic heritage of James V and his predecessors is primarily that of the artist-craftsmen; men intrinsically bound within the daily workings of a vibrant court and all the decorative upkeep required for such an environment. From building maintenance to banner design these men were essential to the projection of the royal image, whether that be a portrait or a heraldic allegory.

precept directed thairaspone beris”; Ibid, p.84, June 1542 “*Item, gevin to the Quenis paintour for his wageis fra the last day of Maii to the xxviiij day of this moneth*”; Ibid, p.92, July 1542 “*Item, gevin to the Queenis paintour for his wageis, and his servandis, fra the third day of Julii to the first day of August nixt to cum, takand un the day for him and his servand.*”

²⁰⁶ NRS E33/3 fol. 29r, personal correspondence with Michael Pearce 19/11/15.

²⁰⁷ Thomas, 2005, p.85; for Pierre Quesnel’s surviving drawings see *Architectural Study* after Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris), and *Château of Sées* (Château d’O, Sées) Brugerolles, E & Guillet, D., *The Renaissance in France: Drawings from the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris*, 1995, pp.210-11.

²⁰⁸ *Architectural Study* after Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris), and *Château of Sées* (Château d’O, Sées).

²⁰⁹ Thomas, 2005, p.85.

Throughout the Stewart reign Netherlandish commissions represented the height of artistic sophistication, evidenced as far back as the court of James I; but limited accounts make it unclear if the surviving works were the product of resident artists, either native or foreign, if the commissioned craftsman worked in Europe and transported finished works to Scotland, or if they visited as part of diplomatic tours of European courts. As well as the artists themselves, merchants had a considerable part in the dissemination of European works, either as collectors for their private collections or as providers of gifts for monarchs or the aristocracy.

It was the European queens and consorts, however, such as Mary of Gueldres and Marie de Guise who fulfilled the role of foreign wives and consorts as agents of cultural transfer between courts.²¹⁰ With the ill-fated Madelaine came French style and ceremony, and with Marie came the unnamed French and Flemish artists, and the first evidence for the long-term employment of ‘alien’ artists at the Scottish court. These foreign queens were also often the centre of ceremony; marriage, royal entries, coronations, and funeral; the primary opportunities for artistic pomp and extravagance.

Examining the TA and royal accounts provide proof that James V’s agents such as Kirkpatrick and Haliburton were acquiring portraits from the Netherlands before his formative time in France, but that he was subsequently influenced by François in pageantry and presentation. With his grandson James VI, came the resident ‘Dutche’ painters, and the emergence of a resident school of painting.

²¹⁰ Palos, J.L., ‘Bargaining Chips: Strategic Marriages and Cultural Circulation in Early Modern Europe’ in Palos, J.L & Magdalena, S.S., (Eds) *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, Ashgate Publishing, 2016, p.17.

Chapter Three

The Role and Movement of Netherlandish Artists at the Scottish Court

Mary Queen of Scots and James VI

3.1 Mary Queen of Scots and her Portraits

James V died on the 14th-December 1542, thought to have been sent into despair after his loss at the Battle of Solway Moss that November, ‘strangled to Death by extreme Melancholy,’²¹¹ famously said to declare (according to the dramatic historians Pitscottie and Knox) ‘Adieu, Farewel, it came with a lass and it will pass with a lass.’²¹² Despite the romantic tale of his turning to the wall and dying of grief, he most likely caught cholera alongside the Earl of Atholl whilst in camp on the battlefield. He had a history of illness, contracting ‘pox, and fevir conteneu’²¹³ in Paris in 1536 and again in 1540, and epidemics of ‘pest’ spread through Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Perth throughout the mid-1500s.²¹⁴

His only surviving child, a daughter, Mary, was six days old, and now queen of Scotland, another minority monarch in the long tradition of the Stewarts. Mary’s minority and the resulting power plays from the Catholic Cardinal Beaton and Protestant Earl of Arran for the regency resulted in a period of tension for Scotland. Arran eventually succeeded to the regency, until he was removed in 1554 by Mary’s mother, Marie de Guise. On the 1st July 1543, the Treaty of Greenwich was signed binding Scotland and England in a tenuous peace, promising Mary to Edward Tudor when she reached age ten. Beaton rose to power once more however, and promoted a Catholic pro-French agenda which resulted in Henry threatening to break the treaty. Mary was eventually moved with her mother to Stirling Castle for safety, where she was crowned on the 9th September 1543. The ensuing dissolution of the Greenwich treaty led to a move back towards the Auld Alliance with France, a move which resulted in the Rough Wooing; a campaign led by Henry that was designed to impose the marriage of Mary to his son. After some years of the young queen being hidden from danger in Scotland, the Scottish turned to the French for help and Henri II proposed a marriage between Mary and his three-year-old dauphin, François, promising military help and a French dukedom for

²¹¹ Pitscottie, I, p.176; Thomas, 2004, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14591; Cameron, 1998 (2011), p.325

²¹² Op Cit; first recorded by John Knox as “the devil go with it! It will end as it began: it came from a woman; and it will end in a woman.” (Womald, J., *Mary Queen of Scots*, London, 1988, pp.11-12).

²¹³ Cameron, 1998 (2011), p.325 quoting *LP Henry VIII*, vi, no.1187; xi, no. 596; xvi, nos, 405-6; *SP Henry VIII*, v, pt. iv, no. cclxxiii.

²¹⁴ Ibid, p.325.

the Regent Arran. When Mary was five years old, she was sent to France to grow up at the French court.²¹⁵

3.1.1 Queen of Scotland

Like her mother, Mary Stewart was painted most frequently in France.²¹⁶ The first known drawing of her was made at age thirteen by François Clouet, c.1555. Clouet was at this time the Peintre de Roi to King Henri II, Mary's father in law. Clouet painted Mary in 1558 to commemorate her marriage to the Dauphin François II (*figure 36*, Royal Collection),²¹⁷ and drew her again in 1559; his sketches of the young queen were often reproduced in later portraits. One of the most frequently copied portraits of Mary is that of the *D'uiel Blanc*²¹⁸ (white veil) type that was painted by Clouet in 1559-60 after the death of her father-in-law, Henri II, her mother, Marie de Guise, and her husband Francois II in quick succession (*figure 37*, Bibliotheque National Paris; *figure 38*, Royal Collection).²¹⁹ The French portraits will not be discussed in detail here, as the focus of this thesis is those portraits made in Scotland. Looking forward to her second marriage in 1565 to her cousin Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, when she was resident in Scotland, a number of portraits exist.

Darnley himself was accustomed to being painted as a number of surviving portraits attest. These include a three-quarter length oil painting by an unknown artist c.1564 (*figure 39*, SNPG), and two portraits by Hans Eworth, the fashionable Flemish painter who worked in London from the 1540s-70s as a successor to Hans Holbein. Eworth painted Darnley at age nine (*figure 40*, SNPG) and with his younger brother at age seventeen (*figure 41*, Royal Collection, Holyrood).²²⁰ Darnley was painted again in a pair of miniatures with Mary Stuart,

²¹⁵ Fraser, A., *Mary Queen of Scots*, London, 1969 (1994), pp.11-13, 15-26; Guy, J., "My Heart is my Own": *the Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, London, 2004, pp.16-17, 20, 25.

²¹⁶ Mary was removed to France in 1548, upon her betrothal to the Dauphin François, heir and son of Henri II. Previously to this Mary had been betrothed to Henry VIII's son Edward VI, a marriage treatise dismantled following the rejection of the agreement by Mary of Guise and the Scottish parliament, a response which led to the 'Rough Wooing'. King Henri of France was aware of Mary's strong claim to the throne of England as great-niece of Henry VIII and granddaughter of Margaret Tudor (Marshall, R., *Mary, Queen of Scots: 'In my end is my beginning'*, National Museums Scotland, 2013, p.7).

²¹⁷ Ibid, pp.11-12; Marshall states that this work was the one sent to Elizabeth I in appeal for her freedom.

²¹⁸ Translate as 'white veil', a mourning veil worn in France.

²¹⁹ Whilst grieving the story is told that the French poet Pierre de Rosand composed a poem describing her in her white mourning clothes having seen her walking through the park at Fontainebleau, and she sat again for Clouet who drew her in her mourning attire, a version of which she sent to Elizabeth in offer of friendship (Ibid, pp.15-17).

²²⁰ In 1561 Eworth visited Scotland and painted pendant portraits of James Stewart the Earl of Moray and his wife Lady Agnes Keith for their marriage (private collection).

(figure 42, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and in the same pattern in a double portrait at Hardwick Hall.

In the Hardwick Hall double portrait, the three-quarter length composition is uncomfortable, with Mary's arm bending to touch her husband. He is dressed in bright pink silk with gold embroidery, and she is dressed in pearl-embroidered black velvet with a black plumed riding hat, holding a feathered pouch. In the NPG portrait of Mary, the Scottish queen is presented in a head-and-shoulders composition, with a marbled oval background. Dendrochronology carried out by the MATB project has revealed that the tree providing the support for the NPG portrait was felled in the sixteenth-century, suggesting that the image dates from within her lifetime, or very shortly after her execution.²²¹ The outfit shares considerable similarities with the NPG portrait, but is much grander, with a slashed embroidered black coat and an embroidered silver shirt pulled through. The high collar and open ruff is more detailed, whilst the Hardwick Portrait features golden embroidered buttons and edging, and the open ruff without the broad collar. The hat with its pearl decoration and white plume are the same. The Hardwick Hall portrait is painted with a fine, delicate hand, but has been considerably damaged and overpainted. In terms of the awkward execution, Darnley's right arm is twisted to fit to his hip, and Mary's right arm is considerably elongated to enable her to interact with her husband. Despite this being a double portrait, the interaction is forced and there is no convincing degree of intimacy. The costume is adequately painted, with a convincing sheen on Darnley's silk and a rich lustre to Mary's black velvet. The very pale skin-tone could likely be attributed to the natural fading of the red lake pigment commonly used in flesh painting.

The Rijksmuseum miniatures are dated to the seventeenth-century and painted by an unknown artist, and despite being too different to be a direct copy, are clearly influenced by one artist seeing the work of another. Darnley's high pink collar with golden embroidery and open white ruff and black velvet beret with jewelled edgings are the same, though Darnley's face is softer, less imperious. Unfortunately, the partner miniature of Mary is not available to view, but the similarity between the Hardwick portrait and Darnley would suggest that the miniatures either influence or were influenced by the double portrait.

²²¹ NPG, MATB Database - <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04272/Mary-Queen-of-Scots?LinkID=mp02996&role=sit&rNo=1#description>.

It is indeed very likely that Mary was painted from life during her marriage to Darnley, before her forced abdication and subsequent imprisonment. As during the reign of her father, there are few references to painters in the TA for the year of Mary's marriage to Darnley. In March 1565, a painter is paid for planning a wedding masque for Mary Livingstone, one of 'the four Marys' who attended Mary during her childhood in France, who married John Sempill of Bruntschiells and Beltrees:

'Item, to the painter for the mask on Fastronis evin to Marie Levingstonis marriage... xij fl.'²²²

There are no further records of painterly activity until some decorative work noted in December 1565;

'Item, to the painter for painting of the torbullioun,²²³ panigzear, and certane werk lumes.'²²⁴

3.1.2 Painted in Exile

On the night of the 10th February 1567, there was an explosion at Kirk O'Field abbey, and Darnley, who was there recuperating from an illness, was found in the garden, smothered. James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell was accused of the murder but acquitted, and on the 24th April, he and his men abducted the widowed queen and held her at Dunbar Castle. On the 6th of May Bothwell and Mary entered Edinburgh, and were married on the fifteenth-in a Protestant ceremony. Bothwell had divorced his first wife only 12 days earlier. The marriage was not popular; Catholics did not recognise the authority of a Protestant service, and both Catholics and Protestants were horrified that Mary had married the man suspected of murdering her second husband. After an aborted battle during which Mary's forces underwent a mass desertion, Mary was imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle. On 24th July 1567, Mary was forced to abdicate the throne to make way for her son, James VI. On 2nd May 1568 Mary escaped the castle with the help of George Douglas, and met Regent Moray's forces at the Battle of Langside. Defeated, Mary crossed into England and was taken into protective

²²² TA, 11, p.347.

²²³ Translated as a type of small basket or pannier (Dictionary of the Scots Language; <http://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/torbullioun>).

²²⁴ Likely refers to the illumination or gilding of decorative objects; TA, 11, p.439.

custody at Carlisle Castle. After the casket letters²²⁵ were accepted as genuine proof that the Scottish queen murdered her husband, Elizabeth refused to rule against her fellow queen, and Mary was taken into custody in England. On 26th January 1569, she was moved to Tutbury Castle and placed into the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Bess of Hardwick.²²⁶

In June 1573, Mary was allowed to receive the chancellor of her dowry lands in France, Du Verger, and with him she drew up a list of her household, detailing their pensions and wages. The most interesting inclusion in Mary's two lists of 1566-7 and 1573 for this thesis, is that of Jehan de Court, French painter. In the 1566 Etat he is listed as 'Valet de Chambre... Jehan de Court, Paintre, II.C.XL.L' and in the 1573 list as 'Vallets de Chambre... Jehan de Court aux mesmes gages.'²²⁷ In 1566-7 he was paid 240 livres, matching the salary of Clouet, who was Court Painter to Henri II. Upon the death of Clouet in August 1572, de Court succeeded as Henri's Court Painter with a significant salary increase to 400 livres.²²⁸ The inclusion of Jehan (Jean) de Court amongst Mary's valets whilst he was in France suggests that Mary was paying him a pension following his return to France in gratitude for his services in 1566-7.²²⁹ Jean de Court was primarily an enamel painter,²³⁰ running an enamelling workshop in Limoges, suggesting that the enamel portraits in Mary's 1586 inventory were by his hand:

Un de Sa Majesté mesme, en quarré, venant au dessous de la ceinture; de feu roy Charles (IX); Du Roy à présent régnant (Henri III); De la Royne de Navarre; Du Roy d'Ecosse à présent régnant (son fils); De feu M. le cardinal de Lorraine; De la feue Royne d'Escosse, de la maison de Guise, (sa mère); (Du) feu due de Guise; Du due de Guise d'à présent; De roys Jacques II, III, IV, V et VI.²³¹

²²⁵ supposedly written from Mary to Bothwell and showing her to be his accomplice and lover

²²⁶ Fraser 1994, pp.311-319, 368-391, 410-411; Guy, 2004, pp.304-313, 351, 364-369, 430.

²²⁷ Lang, A., 'the Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573', *the Scottish Historical Review*, 2:6, 1905, p.353, transcription of the Society of the Inner Temple MS 7226, no.90, *Estat de la Reyne Marie d'Ecosse d'Angleterre et de France par ele dressé a Cheefeld le dernier Jour du Mois de Juillet mil cinq cent soixante treize por le Règlement de sa Maison*.

²²⁸ Dimier, *French Painting in the XVI. Century*, pp.238-241.

²²⁹ Lang, A., 1905, p.348.

²³⁰ Higgott, S, & Biron, I., "Marguerite de France as Minerva: a sixteenth-century Limoges painted enamel by Jean de Court in the Wallace Collection." *Apollo*, Feb. 2004, p. 21.

²³¹ Labanoff, P.A., *Lettres, Instructions et Memoires de Marie Stuart, Reine D'Ecosse; publies sur les originaux et les manuscrits du state paper office de londres et des principaux archives et bibliotheques de l'Europe et accompagnes d'une resume chronologique par le prince Alexandre Labanoff*, 1844, vol.7, p.248.

Whilst in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury (1569-1584), the Scottish queen both sat for and acquired portraits. Despite the lack of portraits made during her seven-year rule in Scotland (Mary returned from France in 1561 and fled to England in 1568), she seems to have turned her attention to portraiture during her captivity. Documentary evidence reveals that Mary sat twice during her time with Shrewsbury. On 1575 she wrote to the former archbishop of Glasgow and her French ambassador James Beaton, ‘Il y a de mes amis en ce pays qui demandent de une peintures. Je vous pryé m’en faire quatre, don’t il faudra qu’il en soyent quatre enchassex en or, et me les enboyez secrètement.’ (Among my friends in this country there are some who ask for my portrait. I pray you have four made for me, all of which must be set in gold, and send them to me secretly).²³² It would certainly have been more convenient to have had miniatures in her likeness produced on the continent for distribution amongst her supporters as potent and personal tokens of loyalty, rather than risk being accused of rallying her Catholic supporters against Elizabeth in an act of treason. The Earl of Shrewsbury, however, appears to have allowed Mary to sit for an artist. Claude Nau de la Boisseliere, Mary’s personal secretary, wrote to Cardinal Beaton on 31st August 1577 saying ‘Je pensois faire accompagner la presente d’un portraict de Sa Majestie, maid le peintre ne luy a sceu donner sa perfection avant le partement de cetter despeche.’ (I thought to accompany this letter with a portrait of Her Majesty, but the painter has not managed to finish it in time for me to send it with this), presumably referring to a miniature for such ease of transport.²³³

There are two miniatures depicting Mary Queen of Scots attributed to renowned English Miniaturist, Nicholas Hilliard. One in the Royal Collection (*figure 43*), currently thought to be the primary version, and one in the V&A Museum (*figure 44*). Full of Catholic references including the four arms of the cross and a prominent crucifix, and sympathetically reading ‘Maria D G Scotiae piissima regina franciae doweria anno aetatis regni 36 anglicae captivae 10 S H 1578 (Mary, by the grace of God, most pious queen of Scotland, queen dowager of France, in the thirty-sixth year of her age and reign, and the tenth of her English captivity, S H (anno salutis humanae, in the year of the salvation of men) 1578), this is unlikely to have been commissioned by Elizabeth I as has been previously stated.²³⁴ The Protestant English

²³² Ibid, vol. IV, p.256.

²³³ Ibid, vol. IV., p.390.

²³⁴ Taylor, D., ‘A Derbyshire Portrait Gallery: Bess of Hardwick’s Picture Collection’ in Adshead, D. & Taylor, D., (Eds), *Hardwick Hall: A Great Old Castle of Romance*, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art & the National Trust, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2016, pp.77-8.

monarch is very unlikely to have commissioned a portrait of the Catholic queen threatening to usurp her and raise the Catholic population against her; instead it was most likely created by Hilliard to sell as a portrait of a well-known figure of the time.

3.1.3 The Morton and Blair Atholl Portrait Type

The Morton portrait in the collection of Glasgow Museums, painted by an unknown artist and dated to the seventeenth-century, (*figure 45*, oil on panel, 114 x 77.9 cm) particularly resembles the portrait in Blair Castle; Mary stands in the same position with her sidelong glance, fingering the pearl attached to her ruby pendant and wears the same hood and widow's peak. The differences are that the Morton portrait is three-quarter length instead of half length, and Mary's gaze in the Morton portrait is sidelong but at the viewer. The replacing of the rosary with the pearl pendant likely indicates a Protestant commission. The Glasgow Museums records of attribution assume that this portrait was likely painted in c.1603, when James VI's accession to the English throne led to a revival of interest and romantic storytelling around his mother. The portrait was purchased by the gallery from the Earl of Morton in 1926, who had previously hung the picture at Dalmahoy House. The same records state that the painting had been in the Morton family possession since c.1580, but there is no known documentary evidence to support this. This family legend dates this very similar portrait to the same date as the Blair portrait, and the Protestant iconography makes sense as its first supposed owner, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, was a staunch Protestant. So, this raises the question; is the Blair work based upon the Morton portrait, making it as Lewis states "an imaginary portrait", or is the Morton portrait based upon the Blair work. As has been discussed by this thesis, the Blair Castle double portrait provides a narrative, and is likely formed of two separate portraits of the sitters to incorporate both into the collection of the Earls of Atholl. When considering the presentation of the portraits, the Morton portrait is far more traditional and relates more closely to the more common full-length portrayals of the Scottish queen. As such, I would tentatively posit that the Morton portrait provided the original for the Blair Castle portrait, however this theory would benefit considerably from close technical examination and dendrochronological analysis of the two supports.

Paint samples were taken from the Morton portrait and processed by Dr. Joyce Townsend in 1985, and the portrait was examined by the Glasgow Museums conservation department in 2004. The results of these examinations date the portrait to the seventeenth-century, as a red-brown intermediate layer was identified and lead-tin yellow pigment found in the painting of

the gold chain. These results will be discussed and placed in a wider context within chapter 5 of this thesis which discusses the techniques used in the Blair Atholl double portraits. Infrared photography of the Morton portrait by this research identified no underdrawing, but as will again be discussed in wider detail in chapter 5, this is not a conclusive finding.

Despite the Morton portrait being a large three-quarter-length portrait of Mary, and the Blair portrait only her head and shoulders, the similarities in the face pattern are striking. To examine how far these similarities went I made a digital outline of the head and shoulders of both portraits.²³⁵ When placing the outline of the Morton portrait of Mary over the Blair, they match one-another near-exactly, with some evidence of widening of the shoulders in the Blair portrait. This strongly suggests either that one supplied the template for the other, or that both were made from the same template of another, earlier work. Her hand, being inverted, also matches very closely in size though with some movement of the fingers and change in the height of her arm.

3.1.4 The Sheffield Portrait Type and Mary's Funeral Monument

The Sheffield Portrait type originates from a full-length portrait of Mary in Hardwick Hall (*figure 46*), thought to have been painted during her imprisonment and dated in the work to 1578. This type had been thought to be the basis for a series of portraits, and indeed her effigy upon her tomb at Westminster Abbey, until the two miniatures by Hilliard were discovered in a similar facial pattern and the Sheffield portrait was dismissed as a creation of the seventeenth-century political campaign to restore her reputation. Smith however asserts that he has found evidence that the interpretation of the Sheffield portrait as the original was correct, and that Hilliard based his miniatures upon the Sheffield portrait and not upon a sitting with the queen.²³⁶

Upon James' accession to the throne amidst Elizabeth's funeral proceedings, the new king realised a need to stress his connection to his disgraced mother and her royal heritage in order to emphasise his hereditary claim and birthright. He went on to spend over twice as much

²³⁵ Using Photoshop both portraits were placed side-by-side, measuring to-scale, and an outline of the faces and hands created. These were then mirrored and placed over the face and hand of the opposite portrait, and found to match almost exactly.

²³⁶ Smith, J.L., 'Revisiting the Origins of the Sheffield Series of Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots', *Burlington Magazine*, 152, 2010, pp.212-8; Smith, J.L., 'the Sheffield Portrait Types, Their Catholic Purposes, and Mary Queen of Scots' Tomb', *British Catholic History*, Cambridge University Press, 2016, 33:1, p.73.

upon his mother's monument than that of Elizabeth's, and the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli wrote that portraits of Elizabeth were 'hidden everywhere, and Mary Stuart's shown instead with declaration that she suffered for no cause other than her religion.'²³⁷ James put three men in charge of the completion of his mother's monument; Thomas Sackville, Robert Cecil, and Henry Howard. Howard was close with the king, as he had been with her mother. He had corresponded with her during her captivity, been imprisoned by Elizabeth for his loyalty to Mary's cause, and owned several portraits of the Scottish queen.²³⁸ Howard also outlived Cecil and Sackville, and was the only one of the three who saw the completed monument, writing Mary's epitaph. Smith suggests that as Howard was so closely linked to the creation of the monument, it was likely he who determined the image upon which the sculpture would be based. Within the accounts of Hardwick Hall, there is the following entry:

Jan. 1609/10

To Mr Lockeyes man for goinge wth the Queene of Scottes Picture to my Lo: of Arrundells & twoe Porters to carry it 3(s)

...

21 June 1613

To Mr Lockey men that brought the Scotche queens picture(,) iis 2 (s)

To Mr Lockey for the Scotche Queenes picture presented to my lord privy seale nyne pounds 9 (I)

For the frame and gilding y^t(,) xs 10 (s)²³⁹

'my lord privy seale' refers to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and 'My lo: of Arrundells' was Thomas Howard, 14th-Earl of Arundel, the grandson of Northampton's executed brother. Smith states that the two porters carried the portrait to Arundel House in the Strand, 'Arrundells', less than a mile from Westminster Abbey. The records then suggest that Lockey was commissioned to copy the portrait for Howard, likely to commemorate his work on the tomb of the queen he had long supported.

²³⁷ Scaramelli to the Doge of Venice, 24.03.1693 in Brown, H.F (ed) *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, v.10, 1603-1607, London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1900, pp.9-10.

²³⁸ Sherlock, P., 'Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory', *Journal of British Studies*, 46:2, April 2007, p.276.

²³⁹ Smith, 2016, p.77 quoting Sir William Cavendish's Account Books, Hardwick Hall, vol.29, fol.320, Chatsworth Archives, Devonshire.

From this Smith conjectures that the picture of the Queen of Scots which was going out in 1609 was the same as was brought back in 1613, and that it had been used as a model in those four years. In 1610, William Cure II received his first payment which was for ‘five stones of white marble, containing 136 feet.’²⁴⁰ In the same month, the portrait of Mary left Hardwick Hall with two porters. Cure received his final payment for his work on the monument on 31st August 1613, one month after Lockey’s men were paid to return the portrait to Hardwick Hall.²⁴¹ This information considered, it is extremely likely that the Sheffield portrait at Hardwick Hall was used in the early seventeenth-century as a model for Mary’s tomb, and not, as Smith states, the Hilliard miniature. Additionally, in 6th December 1609, Cecil took delivery of a portrait of ‘the Queene mother of Scotland’²⁴² from the Lumley collection. This was thought by Auerbach and Adams to be a full-length Sheffield portrait type of Mary listed in the Lumley inventory of 1598.²⁴³ However, this has been challenged by Evans, who has noted that the portrait of Mary was not listed amongst the full-length portraits in the inventory.²⁴⁴

The Sheffield depiction has become the iconic image of the queen after her enforced abdication and English imprisonment, wearing a black dress and white hood and ruff, often touching either a crucifix or pearl pendant. Although Smith’s evidence is compelling, the signature on the 1578 Hardwick Hall version, reading ‘P. OVDRY PINXIT’ (P. Oudry painted it) contributes to the suspicion around the dating of the work, as Pierre Oudry was a French embroiderer in the employ of the queen during her captivity, and is not known to have made portraits as well as textiles.²⁴⁵

A second cross within the portrait contains a circular enamelled jewel showing three figures representing Susanna and the Elders, a biblical story in which a woman who was to be put to

²⁴⁰ Exchequer payment to William Cure, ‘his majesty’s master mason’, 17 January 1610, TNA, PRO, E 403/2729, fol. 91v.

²⁴¹ Smith, 2016, pp.77-78.

²⁴² ‘To my La. Lumley’s man who brought yor honr a picture of the Queene mother of Scotland’, Cecil MSS, Accounts 160/1, 5.12.1609, Hatfield House, Herefordshire.

²⁴³ Auerbach, E & Adams, C.K., *Paintings and Sculpture at Hatfield House; A Catalogue*, London, Constable, 1971, pp.61-64.

²⁴⁴ Evans, M., ‘the Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: Facsimile and Commentary on the Manuscript in the Possession of the Earls of Scarbrough’, S.I., Roxburghe Club, 2010, p.163.

²⁴⁵ inscription described in Hawkesbury, ‘Catalogue of the Pictures of Hardwick Hall, in the Possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire’, *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol.25, 1903, pp.103-58, p.125, no.156.

death for a crime that she did not commit is proven innocent.²⁴⁶ Around the jewel is an inscription, ‘angustiae undique’ (beset on all sides, Daniel 13:22). Mary’s bed hanging of her bed of state features a canopied image of the queen praying before a cross and the embroidery of the word ‘Undique.’ Mary was known to have designed these devices herself, and in her letters stated that she was particularly attached to the image of Susanna at prayer, which highlighted her piety, and presented James as Daniel the saviour.²⁴⁷

Two protestant versions without the crucifix are housed at Glasgow Museums, and three others where she stands three-quarter-length with her hand upon a table, with a crucifix pendant around her neck in the collections of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery London, (which has provenance traced back to the collection of Charles I), and that in Blair Museum (*figure 47*).

3.2 James VI and his ‘Dutche painter’

The beginning of the personal rule of James VI is somewhat liquid, with his having undertaken three official entries into politics by age fourteen in 1580, the Ruthven captivity in 1582, and the overthrow of the earl of Arran in 1585. Prior to his capture by the Ruthven regime, James had been present at considerably more meetings of the privy council than previously, and upon his escape from his captors in June 1583 he proclaimed that, at age seventeen, he intended to rule, however his achievements were few by 1585. The first evident initiative taken came in December 1586, when the Scottish monarch had to consider whether to maintain good relations with England should his mother be executed. Come 1587, he was considerably more active, reconciling feuding nobles and quashing the Catholic Lord Maxwell.²⁴⁸

Following his mother’s abdication in 1567, James’s minority required a regency government.²⁴⁹ For much of his childhood he was resident at Stirling Castle, under the care of the Earl and Countess of Mar,²⁵⁰ and the kingdom was run by four regents between 1567 and the end of 1572.²⁵¹ During this time the Marian civil war of 1568-73 between the King’s Men

²⁴⁶ Daniel 13:22.

²⁴⁷ Smith, 2016, pp.81-2.

²⁴⁸ Goodare, J & Lynch, M., (Ed), *The Reign of James VI*, Tuckwell Press, 2000, pp.1-2, 4.

²⁴⁹ Juhala, A.L., *The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603*, a thesis submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of Edinburgh, 2000, p.15.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p.19.

²⁵¹ Stewart, A., *the Cradle King: the Life of James VI and I*, Pimlico, 2009, p.33.

and those of his mother took place, as well as the passing of four regents, two by assassination.²⁵² It is perhaps because of the murder of his father, the comparative unrest of his minority, and the scandal caused by his mother that his image was more widely produced than that of his grandfather James V, and James' life documented in stages by portraiture.

It is clear from comparison of the surviving Stewart portraits that depictions of the monarchs increased with each new generation. James V has only three face patterns assigned to him, including the Polesden Lacey portrait, but his daughter Mary Stuart was painted a number of times throughout her life and the copying of the D'euil Blanc and full-length portraits of her in later life continued after her death. James VI, however, has five clear episodes of portrait production, dating from his birth to his adoption of John de Critz as court painter.

The Darnley Memorial paintings (Royal Collection, *figure 48*, and Goodwood House, *figure 49*) are amongst the most unusual styles of depictions of a monarch in the sixteenth-century. These two large paintings depict the inside of a Catholic chapel, with the tomb or body of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley laid out in the background. Before the crucified Christ on the altar, the infant James VI kneels, accompanied by Darnley's parents, the Earl and Countess of Lennox, and younger brother. On the tomb itself are two reliefs, one depicting Darnley and his page being dragged from their beds, the other their bodies in the garden. In the bottom-left corner there is a scene of pageantry, showing Mary surrendering to the supporters of the Lennox family at Carberry Hill (15th June 1567). In both pictures the Earl, Countess and Charles are all wearing black with white ruffs, and the little king is dressed in silver or dark grey velvet with ermine fur and a golden crown. The series of inscriptions dictate the implication of Mary in the murder of her husband. In the Royal Collection version, the inscription directly referring to Mary's part in the murder of Darnley has been worn away, perhaps erased by James VI upon his succession. The two portraits display very few differences in composition, but the handling of the facial portraits in the Goodwood House version is more refined. The survival of not one but two versions of this unusual narrative-style, coup-supporting portrait with significant, explicit religious imagery is worthy of further

²⁵² Lynch, M., 'the Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: the Reigns of Mary, Queen of Scots and King James VI', *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, vol.1, Brill, Leiden & Boston, 2003, p.206. The King's Men comprised of Regents Moray, Lennox, Mar, Morton and William Drury. The Queen's Men including the Duke of Châtellerauld, the Earl of Huntly, William Kirkcaldy and Lord Fleming.

study beyond the scope of this thesis, particularly considering the lack of study relating to them to date.

The second depiction of James, at approximately age 8, is the portrait of him in hunting costume with a sparrow-hawk on his left arm. Thought to be the original of the three versions, the half-length composition in the SNPG (*figure 50*) is the portrait currently attributed to Arnold van Bronckorst, despite sharing little in terms of handling with the solidly attributed portrait *Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso* (NPG6919), and the artist's commission in 1580 when James was fourteen-years old. In the work, the young James is painted with pale skin and heavily lidded eyes, wearing a dark embroidered tunic with a high ruff, and a pearl-decorated bonnet. As in all versions, his right hand is upon his hip, and the hawk sits upon his left which is gloved. The execution of the costume, primarily the jewelled belt and subtle embroidery is at contrast with the heavy handling of the face and hand, which could allude to phases of restoration.

Full-length versions featuring the same sparrow hawk exist in the collections of Hardwick Hall (*figure 51*) and the National Portrait Gallery. *King James I (James VI of Scotland) as a Boy, aged 8* hangs in Hardwick Hall, painted for Bess of Hardwick by Rowland Lockey c.1592. In this portrait James wears a cream doublet with high white ruff, dark green velvet trousers and dark pink stockings. Similarly, *King James I of England and VI of Scotland* (NPG 63) features the young king in full-length, with a contrapposto left leg, green velvet pantaloons and matching rose-coloured tights and tunic. In both versions, he wears a high ruff and a feathered hat. Technical examination of the NPG portrait as part of the MATB project has discovered that the date of 1574 is copied from the original painting in the SNPG collection, and the initial attribution of the work to Rowland Lockey cannot be sustained due to stylistic differences between this and the Hardwick Hall version.

It is likely that this portrait of James was designed to call to mind the portrait of his great-grandfather James IV, similarly painted in a copy by Daniel Mytens with a hunting bird on his left arm (*figure 52*). Listed as *King James IV of Scotland, with a hawk* alongside two listings of *King James, with a hawk* in the 1758 inventory *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures & Belonging to King James the Second; To which is Added a Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the Closet of the Late Queen Caroline, With Their Exact Measures; And Also of the Principal Pictures in the Palace at Kensington*, the original work thought to

have been produced as part of marriage negotiations with Henry Tudor for the hand of Margaret calls to mind the long standing dynasty of the Stewarts, cementing James VI's place within their long history; "identity is produced primarily through resemblance to one's pictorial 'ancestors' – in role, if not in blood."²⁵³

3.2.1 Arnold Bronckorst

Bronckhorst may well have been a prolific painter. His style is so undistinguished and his paintings of such depressing quality that it is tempting to attribute to him the vast output of mechanical sub-Mor style portraits of Elizabethan court officials.²⁵⁴

Despite Strong's damning account of Bronckorst's abilities as a painter, the artist from Mechelen known both as Arnold and Arthur, was employed by Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso whilst in London (signed portrait, NPG 6919). He was an associate of renowned limner Nicholas Hilliard before becoming the painter of the Scottish King. Strong's temptation has indeed been succumbed to, with a baffling range of quality attributed to his name. The first concrete record of Bronckorst's presence in London is not recorded until May 1573 in a letter brought by an individual named Arnold to the Mayor of London, written by his cousin Cornelius de Vos.²⁵⁵ Arnold has been credited as the artist paid £4 6s 10d 'for my lord's pycture' by Henry Sidney c.1565, and as the 'Arnolde the paynter' paid 30s for 'Andramadas picture' by the Office of Revels in December 1572.²⁵⁶ In 1578, the only signed portrait made by Bronckorst was finished. Vertically written down the right-hand side of Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso (NPG, London) is inscribed 'A BRONCKORST FECIT 1578.' On the 6th December 1579, Nicholas, son of Arthure van Buntkhurst was baptised at St Vedast Foster Lane, the same parish in which Hilliard was resident, suggesting that the two artists would at least have been familiar with one another, if

²⁵³ Bathoe, W., *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures & Belonging to King James the Second; To which is Added a Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the Closet of the Late Queen Caroline, With Their Exact Measures; And Also of the Principal Pictures in the Palace at Kensington*, 1758, p.121; quote from Woodall, J., *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1997, p.87.

²⁵⁴ Strong, R., *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture*, Studies in British Art, the Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1969, p.135.

²⁵⁵ Town, E., 'A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters: 1547-1625' in *The Seventy-Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society*, 2014, pp.178-9.

²⁵⁶ "John Arnold, yeoman of the office for money by him paid to Arnolde the painter for the picture of Andromadas, 10s," Cunningham, P (Ed) *Extracts from the Accounts of Revels at Court*, Malone Society, 1844, p.35; "Item more for money by him paid to Arnolde the painter for and in full payment for Andromadas' pictures; 20s," (Ibid, p.43).

not more closely aligned between the time of Hilliard's return from Europe and Bronckorst's 1580 departure to Scotland.

Despite this vaguity, Arnold van Bronckorst is the central character in an exciting tale disseminated by Stephen Atkinson's 1619 publication *the Historie and Discoverie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland*:

About forty years by-past one Cornelius Devosse, a most cuninge pictur maker, and excellent in arte for triall of meneralls and menerall stones, sometimes dwelling in London, a young man well acquainted with Mr Nicholas Hilliard, a goldsmith, then principall drawer of small pictures to the late Queene Elizabeth, procured the same Hilliard to adventure with him into Scotland, and to send his servant and friend as an agent thither, by name Arthur Van-Brounckhurst; for at that time there was a great report and fame that went of the natural gold gotten within the kingdom of Scotland.²⁵⁷

Bronckorst himself is described by Atkinson as 'being knowne to be a good artist, skilfull and well seene in all sorts of stones, especially in meneralls and menerall stones.' Hilliard then 'ceased not, untill he had procured pattent, which was granted unto Cornelius Devosse.'²⁵⁸ The Antiquaries Society goes on with the story, stating that after obtaining Elizabeth's patent which was sanctioned by the Privy Council of Scotland, Bronckorst was sent to search the mines. He was forced to leave any findings at the mint-house in Scotland, despite being authorised to return with it to England by his patent. Atkinson went on to write:

that the Earl of Morton, being then Regent, would not give way unto Van-Bronckhorst his patent, although the said Bronckhorst became a suitor at least for the space of 4 months, and did not prevaile unto this day. And so at last he was forced to become one of his Majesties sworne servants at ordinary in Scotland, to draw all the small and great pictures for his Majesty; and by this means Mr Hilliard and Cornelius Devosse lost all their charges.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol.3, W & A Smellie for W. Creech, Edinburgh & T. Cadell, London, 1831, p.312.

²⁵⁸ Town, E., 2014, p.179.

²⁵⁹ Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol.3, 1831, p.312; see also Town, 2014, pp.178-9

This enduring tale of Bronckorst being forced into royal service for ‘all the days of his Lyvetime’²⁶⁰ by the pantomime-villain Regent Morton does account for his abrupt departure from London to the comparatively artistically limited Scottish court, but has been questioned recently by Dr. Michael Pearce. Pearce instead asserts that Bronckorst came to Scotland by English agency to paint James VI, perhaps commissioned by James’ mother Mary Stuart to further her cause for associated rule of Scotland with her son, negotiations which were supported by the English as they followed the guidelines of the peace with France protracting the Anjou Courtship.²⁶¹

In April 1580, Bronckorst was paid £130 for ‘certane portratouris paintit be him to his grace’.²⁶² On the 9th of September 1580 the artist was paid another £64 for two portraits of the king and one of George Buchanan, referring to Bronckorst as ‘paynter to the kingis majestie’ and granting him 100 merks as a salary:²⁶³

Certaine Pourtraictures maid be me at his Majesties command and delyverit laitlie to his Hienes quhairof I have resavit as yit na payment.

Ane portraict of his Majestie fra the belt upward, last delyverit, price thereof xvj lib; Ane other Portraict of Mr George Buchanane, viij lib; Ane other portraict of his Majestie full lenth, xl lib.

REX.

Thesaurair We greit yow weill. It is our will and We charge yow That ye Incontinent after the sycht heirof answer our lovit servitour Arnold Bronckhorst our Painter of the sowme of thrie score four pundis restand awand him for the thrie Portraictures and pieces abone mentionat maid and delyverit to us at our command; and siclyke of the sowme of ane hundredth merkis money quhilk we have grantit him as ane gratitude for his repairing to this country. To be thankfullie allow it to yow in your comptis, keeping this our precept together with the said Arnoldis acquittance therupoun for your warrant Sybscryvit with our hand At Halyrudehouse the nynt day of September 1580.
James R²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Town, E., p.179.

²⁶¹ Correspondence with the author, June 2016

²⁶² TA, 12, p.413.

²⁶³ Op Cit; Apted, M.R & Hannabuss, S., 1978, p.31.

²⁶⁴ NAS E.23/5/6; MacDonald, A., vol.3, 1831, p.313.

On the 19th of September 1581 James wrote in reference to Bronckorst;

Ane Letter maid to Arnold Bronckhurst, flemyng²⁶⁵, Makand, constituand and ordinand him ower Soverane Lordis Painter, and gevand him the office thairof for all the dayis of his lybetyme with all feis, dewiteis and casualties usit and wont: for using and exercing quhairof his Hienes gevis and grantis to the said Arnold ane yierlie pensioun of ane hundredth pundis money of this realme...At Glasgow the nynetene day of September the yeir of God Im vc lxxxi yeiris.²⁶⁶

His salary of £100 per year repeats in the Treasurer's Accounts until 11th November 1583, with one supplementary payment of £46 in September 1581 for 'certane picturis'.²⁶⁷

The first of the Scottish portraits attributed to Bronckorst is that of the infant James VI, dated to 1574 when the young king was of an age fitting to that in the portrait, a date which does not correspond with Bronckorst's first visit to Scotland some six years later in 1580, but which does correspond to the note in the TA referring to a 'French painter' who made a portrait of the young king in September 1573; a date supported by dendrochronological analysis undertaken by the MATB project which dates the support to 1567-1583.²⁶⁸ Additionally, the execution of these works bear distinct stylistic dissimilarities to the signed portrait of Oliver St John,²⁶⁹ and arguably a less confident hand, although both bear heavily lidded eyes and a sketchy loose approach to the face.

Additional works attributed to Bronckorst include the signed and therefore touchstone portrait of Oliver St John 1st Baron St John of Bletso (1578, NPG), Sir Henry Sidney (1573, Petworth House, NT, *figure 59*), James VI & I as a Boy, (c.1574, SNPG), James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton (c.1580, SNPG, *figure 60*), George Buchanan (1581, SNPG, *figure 61*), James

²⁶⁵ Further evidence of the haphazard approach to recording specific origins of 'alien' painters.

²⁶⁶ *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol.8, p.474; quoted in full in *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol.3, 1831, p.313 and in part in Apter & Hannabus, 1978, p.31.

²⁶⁷ See NRO, E.21/62 p.162, E.21/63 pp.46, 95, E.22/5 pp.97, 134, 184.

²⁶⁸ TA, 12, p.361; for a summary of the dendrochronological report see chapter 5, support.

²⁶⁹ The portrait of Oliver St John, 1st Baron of Bletso, National Portrait Gallery London, NPG6919, 1578) provides a very rare signature, reading vertically up the right-hand side of the portrait "AR BRONCKORST FECIT 1578". This portrait of Bletso demonstrates the skilled textile decoration and level of execution in the face which suggest an accomplished portraitist (Cooper, T & Howard, M., 'Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images in Tudor and Jacobean England' in Cooper et al. (eds) *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.11).

I & VI as a Youth (1583, Pittencrief House Museum) and a series of copies based upon these portraits. Bronckorst has also been attached to the copy of a portrait of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1573, Hatfield House), due to the included monogram AB. Comparisons made of the two portraits, 1st Baron of Bletso and 1st Baron Burghley carried out by the MATB project have established that these works have considerable stylistic differences and must be by different artists.²⁷⁰

Close stylistic examination by this thesis of the portraits attributed to Bronckorst including the portrait of the infant James VI and the 4th Earl of Morton has resulted in my questioning their attribution to the same artist capable of producing the portrait of Oliver St John. Due to the lack of information surrounding any artists working at the Scottish court at this time, the temptation is to attribute all pictures to the names available, a habit also seen in the attributions to Adrian Vanson, an artist who will be introduced shortly. Whilst not within the scope of this particular research, a full survey of Bronckorst and Vanson's attributed works should be considered vital in order to fully understand first the oeuvre of these named artists of James VI's early court, and perhaps more importantly to develop a picture of the nature of workshop practice at the time.

The main point of interest surrounding Bronckorst beyond his travels between England and Scotland is the variation in the quality attributed to his hand. This suggests that the Netherlandish painter may have run a workshop, accounting for similarities in style but not in quality. The Morton and James VI portraits are linked by the anatomy of the right hand, and bear considerable stylistic similarities to one-another which suggests that they were produced by the same artist. Despite their rarity as named artists at the Scottish court and the number of attributions in their name, these two primary artists of James VI's court could only benefit from further detailed scholarship examining their individual techniques and practices.

3.2.2 Adrian Vanson

Adrian Vanson (also spelt Vaensoun, Vansone, Vansoune, Vanyone, Van Son), thought to have been born in Breda,²⁷¹ was made King's Painter at the court of James VI in May 1584. Very little is known about Vanson, however a brief history of what we know about his

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p.11.

²⁷¹ Town, 2014, p.183.

work for the royal court can be summarised. In June 1581 Vanson was encouraged to move to the country by his cousin Abraham Vanson, a goldsmith to the king, resident in Edinburgh.²⁷² He was employed by the Scottish court before being granted official office, and was paid £8 10s for two pictures thought to depict James VI and John Knox, sent to Theodore Beza in Geneva for inclusion in his c.1580 work *Icones*. In January and February 1582, £10 is recorded as having been sent to ‘my lord Seytonis painter for certane pictuis of his majesties visage drawin be him and gevin to the sinkare to be graven in the new cunze’.²⁷³

Succeeding ‘the Dutche payntour’ Arnold Bronckorst as King’s Painter in May 1584 for £50 per half-year,²⁷⁴ Vanson settled in Edinburgh and in December 1585 was named a Burgess,

for guid and thankfull service to be done to the guid towne be Adrian Vanyone, Dutchemen, Paynter, speciallie for the service quhairin he is to be imployet be the town in his craft, and that he tak and instruct prenteisses, gratis.²⁷⁵

In order to work in trade or craft in Edinburgh, one had to be made a Burgess and in return share civic responsibilities, awarded by The Company of the Merchants of the City of Edinburgh, responsible for regulating trading rights. From 1584-1586 his fees as court painter were entered regularly, with £100 owed in 1587 and likely still owed in 1610 when his wife Susanna de Colone made claims for debts owed to her late husband. In 1594 he was awarded a medal by the king’s precept, describing him as ‘Our painter.’²⁷⁶ In 1601, Vanson was paid £20 to make the portrait of the king for a gold necklace, ‘ane greit cheinzie of gold with his heines portratt hingand thairat quhilke wes gevin to ane gentilman that come fra the duik of Magilburgh’, which cost £61 13s 4d.²⁷⁷ A variety of jobs were undertaken by court painters, and aside from his portrait painting Vanson was also paid for spear painting (£2 3s 4d paid in December 1587) and banner painting (£66 13s 4d for four trumpeter’s banners paid in May

²⁷²In the TA vol.13 a payment is recorded in November 1578 to an ‘*Andreas Ringsaysoun, Dutchemen*’ for £20. He is described here as a smith, however Pearce points out that £20 would be a huge amount to pay a blacksmith, and that Adrian’s relative Abraham was an Edinburgh goldsmith (Correspondence between Michael Pearce and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, date obscured, included in the archival file at the SNPG library on Bronckorst and Vanson).

²⁷³ NRO, TA E.21/62 fo.169.

²⁷⁴ NRO, TA E.22/6 fo.184, 219; Also ref’d in Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.98.

²⁷⁵ Edinburgh Burgh Records, 1583-1589, p.446.

²⁷⁶ NRO TA Various Accounts E.30/14 fo.5.

²⁷⁷ NRO, TA E.21/73 fos.89-90.

1590).²⁷⁸ In 1604, Vanson was in London working on the decoration of the triumphal archway erected by the Dutch community in the city for James VI and I's triumphal entry on 15th-March. This is the last record of his work before his wife's 1610 claim for the debts owed her deceased husband.

When considering the range of paintings attributed to him, and that he was awarded burgess status in Edinburgh upon the understanding that he employ apprentices, it is entirely possible that he ran a workshop. The main body of his attributed work consists of the portraits of the young monarch, James VI, around the age of fifteen. When examining portraits of figures of royalty and state at this time, it is important to understand the nature of workshop production. An audience was rarely granted to artists, particularly by royalty. With this in mind, it is not surprising that the majority of portraits of the monarch come in recognisable groups.

3.2.3 Reaching Majority

James announced his majority in March 1578, and called a meeting of Parliament for June 10th to make his kingship official. On the 30th April 1578, Mary wrote to her ambassador John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, to Albert V, duke of Bavaria, and the Holy Roman Emperor believing that her release from prison might be achieved through the intervention of her son.²⁷⁹

On 5th May 1579, Archibald Douglas wrote to Sir George Bowes, discussing the progress of a portrait of the king being made by an unnamed Flemish painter. The painter had been sent away from Stirling, but requested to see the king once more, 'to se the King's presence thrise in the daie, till the end of hys worke.' On the 3rd June 1579, Douglas reported that the king's portrait in full-length, 'according to his proporcon in all parts', was finished. He then requested that a messenger carry the portrait to London, to be presented to Queen Elizabeth by Robert Bowes, ambassador to Scotland.²⁸⁰ There is not enough evidence in the note to

²⁷⁸ NRO, TA E.21/66 fo.92, E.21/67 fo.202; see Richardson, G., *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V*, Reconstructions in Early Modern History, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2002, p.180 for comment on the multiple roles of the Renaissance court artist.

²⁷⁹ Mary, Queen of Scots to John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, 30 April 1578, British Library, Cotton MS, Caligula C.V, fols.130r-131r; Mary, Queen of Scots to the Duke of Bavaria, 30 April 1578, Mary to the Holy Roman Emperor, TNA: PRO, SP 53/11 fol. 8r-v.; Lockie, D.M., the Political Career of the Bishop of Ross, 1568-80: the background to a contemporary life of Mary Stuart, *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 4, 1953-4, p.99.

²⁸⁰ Thomson, D., 1975, p.9; Sharp, C., (Ed) *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569, 1840*, p.392.

determine which, if any, of the portrait-types of this period might be the original referred to in the missive. However, it does provide the context for this particular group.

After the dramatic narrative paintings by de Vogelaar and the portrait of 1574 attributed to Bronckorst, James is depicted multiple times at around age eighteen, as in the Blair Castle portrait. There are a number of similar versions in national collections portraying James at the age of his majority.

In Historic Scotland's collection at Edinburgh Castle hangs a portrait of James VI attributed to Adrian Vanson (*figure 53*). The records of the collection state that this is a rare portrait showing James before his marriage to Anne of Denmark in 1589. It is asserted that it was painted c.1583-5 when marriage negotiations began with Denmark, and that this may be the portrait sent to the Danish court. The inscription reading 'James the Sixth – King of Scotland' was likely added later in German, and the painting appears in an early inventory of Kronborg Castle, Denmark c.1600.²⁸¹ The assertion that this was the marital negotiation portrait is supported by the castle's history; Kronborg Castle was a medieval fortress upon the Baltic Sea, transformed ca.1585 into a courtly castle by King Frederick II, father of James' later wife, Anne.²⁸²

James VI and I as a Youth (1583, Pittencrieff House Museum, *figure 54*) is attributed both to the workshops of Arnold Bronckorst and Adrian Vanson; *James VI and I, King of Scotland, King of England and Ireland* (SNPG, *figure 55*) was painted by an unknown artist and is undated. English Heritage has a half-length portrait of James VI, featuring his feathered bonnet, at Audley End House (*figure 56*), which is also painted by an unknown artist and undated. A later version, dated to c.1600, previously attributed to the circle of Alonso Sanchez Coello and now to Adrian Vanson hangs at Falkland Palace (*figure 57*). The inscription marks James as twenty years old, dating the portrait to 1586 again to the time of marriage negotiations with Denmark. It bears similarities to the other portraits attributed to Vanson, including the bonnet and hairstyle.

²⁸¹ National Inventory of Continental European Paintings; <http://www.vads.ac.uk/flarge.php?uid=86723>.

²⁸² Christianson, J.R., 'Terrestrial and Celestial Spaces of the Danish Court, 1550-1650.', *The Court Historian*, 12:2, pp.129-153, 2014, p.129

All these works feature James in half-length or head-and-shoulders, with the majority in the three-quarter profile. All feature a peacock feather in his jewelled bonnet, though the decoration of the bonnet varies between jewels depicted, number of pearls and the gold metalwork. In the Vanson portrait at Edinburgh Castle the bonnet is set with two stacked pearls with large square rubies and emeralds set in gold, but in the Bronckorst/Vanson portrait at Pittencrief House we see the same feather with large rubies set in gold with alternating single pearls. The Bronckorst/Vanson costume is particularly similar to that in the Blair double portrait; crimson satin with golden embroidery, with James' hand resting upon the hilt of his sword, his black velvet cloak with red and orange edging over his shoulder and his hand on hip. The work is dated 1583 in the top left corner and bears the Stuart coat of arms in the top right. In the SNPG portrait of James, only his face and shoulders are painted, with the similar feather again in his black cap decorated with pearls and gold jewels. In this instance, the ruff is more elaborate, as is the embroidery in his red and gold doublet. All works also feature the high ruff, the red doublet in Stewart colours with elaborate embroidery and large silver buttons. Another common composition linked to Vanson is that of the king in adulthood, in a head and shoulders representation, again turned in a three-quarter stance dressed in much subtler but still very fine costume of cream and gold (*figure 58*). These repeated representations of James exist in a considerable range of qualities, but all of the same composition and design, suggesting workshop production.

The Blair double portrait could perhaps be seen as an effort to assert joint rule, but was certainly the last of its kind. When Esmé Stuart, *Dieur d'Aubigny*, ally to the Guise family and supporter of Mary arrived at the Scots court in 1579 and took James under his care, the Scottish queen saw an opportunity. With Esmé made Duke of Lennox by James, Mary proposed that she should be associated ruler with her son, appointing the Duke of Guise in 1581 as her agent '*spécialement aux ouvertures proposées entre nous et nostre très amié filz pour son association à la corone d'Ecosse.*' (particularly the proposed approaches between us and our most beloved son for his association to the scottish crown). Her argument was that since her abdication was forced, James could not be king until she shared the right with him as joint ruler of Scotland. Her threats to Elizabeth about the consequences of her imprisonment and Elizabeth's fear of Mary's catholic supporters led the English queen to send Beale to Mary to treat about her proposal of joint-rule of Scotland. These discussions

were interrupted by James' capture during the Raid of Ruthven, but were resumed in 1583,²⁸³ the date inscribed in the Blair double portrait. The 7th Earl of Atholl's assertion that this portrait was given by Mary to the Atholls is based upon a letter which survives in the castle archives, dated the 15th-March 1580 from Mary to Margaret, wife of the 4th Earl.²⁸⁴ The letter states that Mary had made a commission which she wished shown to her son by her secretary Claude Nau, 'for it had been for his well and myn too.'²⁸⁵ In this context, the commissioning of a double portrait of Mary and her son by the Scottish queen would seem appropriate, a visual prompt to raise support in Scotland or indeed amongst the foreign courts she frequently entreated.²⁸⁶ By 1584, with Esme Stewart's return to France as a Protestant, the collapse of the English Enterprise and the discovery of the Throckmorton plot Mary had most likely abandoned any hope that James would save her. Indeed in 1586, months before his mother's execution, James signed the Treaty of Berwick, a peace treaty with Elizabeth.²⁸⁷

James VI's patronage of Netherlandish artists is less obscure than that of his grandfather, with Arnold Bronckorst ('the 'Dutche' painter', active in Scotland 1580-1585) and Adrian Vanson ('Dutchemen', active 1581-1602) in the employ of his court during his youth. Bronckorst was employed as Painter-in-Ordinary to James VI whilst the monarch was still a child, initially engaged by the Protestant Regent Morton c.1580-1. This movement from the artistic influences of Catholic France and their Flemish painters under James V and Mary Stuart to that of the Protestant northern Netherlands may represent the change of religious direction in Scotland at this time. As Bronckorst and Vanson are only ever referred to loosely as Dutchmen in the records²⁸⁸ - a phrase used as a blanket term to refer to those from Northern Europe by the Scots - their patronage by the Scottish Court cannot comfortably be used as evidence for this. James' later court patronage however is clearer; DeCritz and Gheeraerts were both Protestants, from Antwerp and Bruges respectively, fleeing the Habsburg religious persecutions of the early sixteenth-century.²⁸⁹

²⁸³ Basing, P., *Robert Beale and the Queen of Scots*, *Electronic British Library Journal*, 1994, pp.65-67.

²⁸⁴ See appendix 1 for transcription.

²⁸⁵ For further discussion of the Blair family connection to the Stewarts see chapter 4 on the Atholl and Chatsworth connection.

²⁸⁶ See letter from Mary, Queen of Scots to supporters abroad, dated 8th April 1569, Add.MS.48049 f.266rv.

²⁸⁷ Smith, 2016, p.84.

²⁸⁸ Bronckorst was from Mechelen and Vanson likely from Breda.

²⁸⁹ See Rae, 2015 for further information on James' patronage of DeCritz.

3.2.4 Later Portraits of James VI in Scotland

A particularly fine portrait of James VI exists in a private collection, documented by the Philip Mould Gallery (*figure 58*). Dated to 1595, the work is a head-and-shoulders depiction of James at age twenty-nine. He wears a tall black hat encrusted with red gems, pearls and gold settings, with a collared white tunic decorated with golden embroidery and golden buttons. Over this he wears a black cloak lined with finely painted ermine. The golden hilt of his sword just appears over the bottom edge of the canvas. This portrait is one of many attributed to Adrian Vanson, but stands alone in its considerable quality of execution. The ermine is painted in soft brush strokes creating a very tactile, three-dimensional effect, and the shadows play effectively across the silk of the white tunic. The face is finely painted with a blonde beard and dark, heavily lidded eyes. This portrait exists in two considerably inferior versions, both inexplicably also attributed to Adrian Vanson. One is an oil painting, and one a miniature both in the collection of the National Gallery of Scotland (*figure 62*). These depictions feature the same striped white tunic, tall hat and ermine, with the miniature featuring an additional red sash and both later versions elaborating upon the design of the gold embroidered slashes with a branching effect.

The attribution of the two inferior versions of the Philip Mould portrait highlights one of the major problems around Scottish painting of this period; the blanket attribution of portraits to named artists with no consideration of quality or techniques of execution. This has been done with Arnold Bronckorst, as discussed earlier in this thesis, and Vanson in an attempt to validate portraits of low quality but considerable historic material value. In the future, more careful observation of these portraits must be carried out before attributions are made. It is very likely that Vanson ran a workshop, and as such perhaps these works could be attributed to students at an early stage of tutelage, but the prevailing method of random attribution betrays an inexact approach to Scottish portraiture of this time which only exacerbates the preconception of an inferior school of portrait production.

3.3 Concluding Discussion

The untimely death of James V ensured that his daughter Mary continued the Stewart tradition of a minority ruler; a pattern which once again caused subsequent unrest resulting in her mother removing her to her native France at age five, where she remained until 1565. As a result of this, Mary's early portraits were made at the French court, whilst she was betrothed and then wife of the Dauphin François II. At that time, François Clouet was *Peintre*

de Roi to King Henri II. He painted Mary in 1558, and drew her again in 1559. After the death of her father-in-law, her mother, and then her husband in quick succession, Mary was painted in mourning dress by Clouet; *la D'ueil Blanc*, the portrait of her which has been most often reproduced.

Mary returned to Scotland and married Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, and surviving works including the Hardwick Hall portrait would suggest that she was painted at least once at this point in her life. The face pattern used in the Hardwick Hall double portrait can be seen in a head-and-shoulders portrait in the NPG collection, and in miniature in the Rijksmuseum. The next group of paintings came out of her exile after the mysterious death of her second husband and ensuing imprisonment. Whilst in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, there is evidence that she both sat for and commissioned portraits, distributing miniatures amongst her supporters;

Il y a de mes amis en ce pays qui demandent de une peintures. Je vous pryé m'en faire quatre, don't il faudra qu'il en soyent quatre enchassex en or, et me les enboyez secrètement. (Among my friends in this country there are some who ask for my portrait. I pray you have four made for me, all of which must be set in gold, and send them to me secretly).²⁹⁰

Je pensois faire accompagner la presente d'un portraict de Sa Majestie, maid le peintre ne luy a sceu donner sa perfection avant le partement de cetter despeche. (I thought to accompany this letter with a portrait of Her Majesty, but the painter has not managed to finish it in time for me to send it with this).²⁹¹

The most recognisable portrait of Mary is the 'Sheffield' type; Mary stands in a black gown with white hood and ruff or collar, often with her right hand upon a table, wearing either a rosary or a pearl pendant necklace. The face pattern used in the Blair Castle double portrait is a version of this portrait, interestingly matched exactly in size and proportion to that in the Morton portrait, in the Glasgow Museums collection. These portraits clearly demonstrate the

²⁹⁰ Ibid, vol. IV, p.256.

²⁹¹ Ibid, vol. IV., p.390.

culture of copying prevalent in European sixteenth-century courts, seen in the (often deteriorating) reproductions of François I, Henry VIII, and Mary's father, James V.

This production of copies of copies of portraits of royal figures is demonstrated again with Mary's son, James VI. As discussed above, there are four clear portrait cycles of James VI before he took his place on the English throne; the unusual narrative portraits at Holyrood Palace and Goodwood House, the portrait of a young boy with a sparrowhawk, the coming-of-age portrait, and the particularly fine portrait once at the Philip Mould gallery, now in a private collection.

James VI's portrait cycles are particularly interesting as he was the first Scottish monarch with official court painters; Arnold Bronckorst and his successor Adrian Vanson.

Bronckorst's fantastical history of a portraitist sent from England by Hilliard to find gold in the Scottish mountains, then prevented from returning by the Regent Morton and forced into lifetime service of the Scottish king certainly makes for interesting reading, but the ranging quality of works attributed to him does not ring true. In particular, the attribution of the half-length portrait of *King James VI as a Boy with a Sparrowhawk* in the SNPG to the artist does not make sense. The boy in the portrait cannot be more than eight years of age, and Bronckorst was not corralled into service until 1580, when James was fourteen. An entry of 1573 in the TA regarding the employment of a French painter does however match up, when James would have been seven, demonstrating the continued international nature of the Scottish court. Adrian Vanson was made King's Painter to James in 1584. Unlike Bronckorst, very little is known about Vanson before he arrived at the Scottish court, but he followed James to London and was paid for the decoration of a triumphal archway in 1604. There are no further records until a request from his widow for his final salary in 1610.

Both Bronckorst and Vanson have a considerable array of portraits attributed to their names, varying most noticeably in quality and execution. This suggests that either one or both ran workshops, and further examination of this would be fascinating in terms of identifying a culture similar to that set up in England at the time; émigré-run workshops training native apprentices in Netherlandish techniques.

James VI is arguably the most widely depicted Scottish monarch, even before his move to England when he employed amongst others John de Critz and Marcus Gheeraerts. I propose that the reason for this is the greater need for a wider dissemination of his image; James was

careful to stay clear of his mother's scandal whilst she was alive, and then equally careful to manipulate her memory as a great queen and martyr upon Elizabeth's death. With Elizabeth's lack of heirs and connection to James which she established early on, it was in James' interest to promote himself as much as possible in the light of his concrete chance at the English throne. Although historically tumultuous, the Stewart claim to the throne was not contested as the Tudor reign had been across the border in England. Up until the death of Darnley and subsequent instability of Mary's rule, the portraiture of the Stewarts was largely functional in a marriage context rather than as a campaign of promotion. This changed for James VI, both with his need to establish himself as his forefathers did after a long minority rule, but also in anticipation of receiving the English throne, which had been accustomed to viewing Scotland as an enemy. It is in the portraits of James VI where the true function of portraiture becomes apparent; self-promotion and the dissemination of what would eventually become a familiar visage.

Chapter Four

Blair and Hardwick: the Atholl and Shrewsbury Connection

4.1 The Private Collection

The previous chapters of this thesis demonstrate that Scotland had a strong position within the artistic culture of the European courts, influenced particularly by the French and English monarchies. Although this has been approached broadly to this point, this research seeks to illustrate these contexts using central case studies; the four double portraits in the collections of Blair Castle (the Earls, now Dukes of Atholl) and Hardwick Hall (Countess of Shrewsbury, now National Trust). This thesis posits that the two sets of double portraits were never part of a royal collection and subsequently gifted by royalty, or inherited by these families, but were commissioned to form part of the collections of nobles linked to the royal family.

The inherent pageantry of the courts where these works were produced is clear, but these eight portraits are copies of original individual pictures, made within a royal context, and thus reproduced for a specific function. As with early heraldic painting, portraiture articulated the sitter's social standing. During the sixteenth-century, the portrait was rarely considered an art form by either patrons or the works' audiences. What these works offered was an opportunity for sitters to present the very best of themselves to their subjects or peers.²⁹² Previously the immortalising function of portraiture was heavily tied to ideas of class; only royalty and members of the court or upper aristocracy had the means to afford such extravagance.

Renaissance portraits were not considered works of art, but were tools for "immediate recognition (and) long-term recollection".²⁹³ In creating a portrait, by the fifteenth-century, high ranking patrons looked both to the established traditions of the past, such as devotional images, and to the new fashions, including manuscript illuminations and portrait medals.²⁹⁴ At its most basic level, portraiture presents an individual and a non-verbal impression of character and status. Smith cites Erving Goffman's 1959 work *the Presentation of Self in*

²⁹² Cooper, T., *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 2012, p.ix.

²⁹³ Rubin, P., 'Understanding Renaissance Portraiture' in Christiansen and Weppelmann (eds), *the Renaissance Portrait: from Donatello to Bellini*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, Yale University Press, 2012, p.5

²⁹⁴ Op Cit., pp.3, 5.

Everyday Life to draw parallels between the way humans interact in social encounters and the function of portraiture, drawing upon ‘performance’, ‘appearance’, ‘manner’ and ‘setting’.²⁹⁵ Portraiture’s primary function was not to document a physical likeness, but personal talents, virtues and social position. The manner in which this was executed depended strongly upon the social and religious norms of the time, any developments in technique, and geographic-specific developments in style.²⁹⁶ The presentation of a portrait emphasised legitimacy of lineage and the God-given authority of the social hierarchy, resulting in the depiction of the ‘body politic’ as a sustained, social presence. Early funeral monuments maintained this propaganda, presenting complex social sets incorporating the family and peer group established by the church and the local community, and constructing powerful symbols of rank and authority.²⁹⁷ Portraits of monarchs served the same purpose, and functioned as a visual record of family allegiances, patronage, holders of office, and to situate monarchs and courtiers within a complex social network.²⁹⁸ Any individualism included in a regal portrait had to be filtered through traditions of social form and etiquette.

4.2 The Market

The demand for painted portraits increased throughout the sixteenth-century. The business of portrait reproduction was inherently linked to this increase in demand; when faced with such an increase in orders, artists had to find ways to circulate close likenesses of sitters who they likely had no physical access to, and as a result portrait patterns were circulated between workshops and existing portraits were copied.²⁹⁹

Patrons of the arts in the sixteenth-century had a different attitude to the copying of paintings to that held today; as the MATB project discovered, a more nuanced contextual

²⁹⁵ Smith, D.R., *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*, UMI Research Press, Michigan, 1978, 1982, pp.4-5.

²⁹⁶ Cooper, 2012, p.6.

²⁹⁷ Llewellyn, N., *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp.272-4; Llewellyn, N., ‘The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, for the Living’ in Llewellyn, N. & Gent, L., *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660*, Reaktion Books, 1990, p.221.

²⁹⁸ Cooper, academic workshop abstract, The Making Art in Tudor Britain Project, National Portrait Gallery London, 2007-8.

²⁹⁹ Cooper, 2007-8; *Double Take: Versions and Copies of Tudor Portraits*, National Portrait Gallery, accessed online 15/05/2014 <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/case-studies/double-take-versions-and-copies-of-tudor-portraits.php>.

understanding is needed when examining contemporaneous versions.³⁰⁰ A prime version of a portrait may influence dozens of copies as templates were shared between studios, compositions were reversed,³⁰¹ and subsequent commissions were made in an age when to display the image of your monarch was a sign of loyalty.³⁰² England in particular had a long history by the sixteenth-century of usurped kings and ‘pretenders’; Richard II was deposed by the Lancastrian Henry IV, Richard III by Henry VII and Henry VIII and Elizabeth I’s legitimacy to rule were challenged throughout their reigns. In Scotland, no such volatility existed; the Stewart family ruled solidly from 1406, suffering uprisings from nobility, primarily the Douglas clan,³⁰³ and some internal civil war but their familial kingship was rarely shaken or questioned by interlopers.³⁰⁴ The promotional nature of portraiture was not so necessary in Scotland, but was instead used sparingly to present an image of strength and wealth effective on the European stage. This thesis considers that this is the reason for the surviving portraits largely depicting marital unions or monarchs of an age to be married into Europe.

The practice of portrait production in the neighbouring English court can be used as a comparison here, as there has been considerably more research undertaken recently, and exchange between the two kingdoms can be seen in surviving accounts. Elizabeth I sought to control the circulation of her image and therefore her presentation as monarch, but in contrast to her siblings Edward VI whose sanctioned official likeness was rendered by William Scrots,

³⁰⁰ Plender, S & Saltmarsh, P., ‘Calling Authenticity into Question: Investigating the Production of Versions and Copies in Tudor Portraiture’ in Gordon et al. (eds) *Authenticity and Replication: the ‘Real Thing’ in Art and Conservation*, Archetype Publications, London, 2014, p.140.

³⁰¹ Op Cit.

³⁰² *Double Take: Versions and Copies of Tudor Portraits*; Foister, S., ‘the Production and Reproduction of Holbein’s Portraits’ in Hearn (ed) *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, Tate Publishing, 1995, p.22.

³⁰³ Noble uprisings occurred in the years 1411, 1437, 1452 & 1455 (Lynch, M., *Scotland: A New History*, Random House, 2011, p.134).

³⁰⁴ As Lynch writes in his 2011 overview of Scottish history, the considerable influx of immigrants who moved in Scotland since the 6th century integrated rather than conquered. Society was bound together by kinship. Come 1357, the civil war between the Bruces and Balliols was finally concluded, and by 1460 the Stewarts established themselves as the new dynasty. Tracing their claim from the marriage of Robert the Bruce’s eldest daughter Marjorie to Walter the Steward, by the fourth Stewart reign the dynasty was firm. Despite an established nobility with a strong sense of self-interest, and a monarchy eager to establish their own authority, James I and II ruled effectively and ruthlessly. James II was challenged by the Douglasses in the 1450s, as one of the few surviving noble families of greater-nobility of the mid-fourteenth- century. Aside from the successful plot against James I in 1437, the sovereignty was never truly at stake. It is worth noting here that between 1437 and 1561, the Stewarts presided over fifty-eight years of minority rule, influenced by the regency of foreign dowager queens (Ibid, pp.xiv, 132-5).

and Mary I whose court painter was Hans Eworth, Elizabeth never paid a court painter. Instead she declared in a draft proclamation of 1563 preserved amongst the State Papers that;

...some speciall person that shall be by hir allowed shall have first fynished a portraicture thereof, after which fynished, hir Majesty will be content that all other payntours, or grauors... shall and maye at ther plesures follow the sayd patron or first portraictur.³⁰⁵

Elizabeth would allow her image to be painted by a chosen artist, and when approved by her, be copied by other artists' "at their pleasure." Of course, as we can see in the deteriorating nature of copies of portraits of James V and of Elizabeth's father Henry VIII, an approved original may not result in a flattering copy. This practice is in direct contrast to the system at the French Valois court where a *peintre du roi* was appointed, with the sole right to the manufacture of the monarch's portrait.

By the sixteenth-century, the art market was developing in such a way that commissioned works formed an increasingly small part of most painter's livelihoods. The sale of ready-made paintings was increasing, and so the repetition of images became an ever more important part of workshop practice. This technique was already a common aspect of Dutch and Flemish practice, where small compositions were replicated on a huge scale, often simultaneously, and sold at the large art fairs in the Netherlands.³⁰⁶ These replicas were made by a variety of methods, primarily tracing and pricking as methods of transfer, incorporating studio props such as blots of fabric for drapery and books of heraldry.³⁰⁷

The workshop system of replica production was formed around the establishment of a group of painters who were trained to reproduce the style of their master, who may himself have emulated another successful artist. Rogier van der Weyden (c.1399-1464, Brussels) and Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553, Wittenberg) both managed large workshops, with Cranach's incorporating a panel maker's studio. Such large establishments would employ the traditional artists' assistants, but also 'journeymen'; freelance painters in the process of

³⁰⁵ Strong, R., *Gloriana: the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, Thames and Hudson, 1987, pp.12, 14.

³⁰⁶ Campbell, L & Foister, S., 'The Artists of 'the North', their Drawings and Underdrawings' in Bomford (ed) *Art in the Making: Underdrawings in Renaissance Paintings*, National Gallery London, Yale University Press, 2002, pp.42-3.

³⁰⁷ Foister, 1995, p.22.

setting up their own workshops. The role of these journeymen is particularly important when discussing émigré communities of artists in Scotland and England, as it was through their travels that the Netherlandish practices spread across the continent.³⁰⁸ The MATB project has established that the Northern template of workshop practice can be seen in England, with guild regulations stating that a qualified master be supported by training apprentices and qualified journeymen. Such a model of collaborative working was assisted by the use of patterns, derived from drawings either made by the master or inherited, made from great works of art seen on tour, or made from successful commissions. These patterns could be constantly reused and turned into new commissions, allowing assistants to be involved in the making of major works.³⁰⁹

Templates were such an important part of production that they were often included in wills; William Heron, the Serjeant Painter, left ‘my paternes and working tools such as belong to the art of painting’ to his apprentice Randall Mason in 1580.³¹⁰ Such patterns were so valuable in fact, that lawsuits arose around them; in 1519, Ambrosius Benson took Gerard David to court, demanding that he return two chests belonging to him containing workshop models and patterns. The fact that these patterns were commonly listed separately in master-painters’ inventories and often signed suggests their great worth, both as tools for the craft but also as income-generating commodities which could be rented out to other workshops. In some cases, particular masters were approached only for the pattern or design component, with the final work being carried out by other craftsmen; Wilson notes the example of Lancelot Blondeel of Bruges who received a number of commissions for designs of artworks including stained glass and tapestries, and of Willem Walin, also of Bruges, commissioned for the design of a new ceremonial robe for the Guild of Saint Sebastian. It is clear from cases such as these that the relatively broad role of painters as picture-makers continued well into the sixteenth-century even as the nature of patronage was shifting.³¹¹

This chapter lists the variations of the surviving portrait types of the Stewart monarchs, discusses the techniques employed in their execution and the wider context of instructions in contemporary northern-European treatises, comparing the methods displayed by

³⁰⁸ See appendix 5 for a discussion of alien painters in England

³⁰⁹ Foister, 2015, p.206; Plender & Saltmarsh, 2014, p.142.

³¹⁰ Foister, 2015, p.206.

³¹¹ Wilson, J.C., ‘Workshop Patterns and the Production of Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Bruges’, *the Burlington Magazine*, 132:1049, 1990, pp.525-6.

contemporary copies made in the neighbouring court of England. The primary questions that must be asked of these multiple versions, which often do not have a clear chronology, are as those for this entire thesis: are they authentic images, under what circumstances were they produced, and can technical examination of their material composition support suppositions of a Netherlandish artistic influence? Additional questions raised by a series of existing versions are that of which, if any, is the original, are the later copies representative of a disintegrating quality due to the copying of inferior versions, and to what extent have they been influenced by the template's condition. Due to the dominance of Netherlandish craftsmen at this time, the paintings are likely to share characteristics of this school of painting, namely chalk grounds and the application of a coloured priming or imprimatura layer, but these questions of material production will be addressed in the following chapter.³¹²

4.3 Dissemination of the Official Royal Image

4.3.1 Series of Kings

The portrait sets of English monarchs and notable local figures gained popularity in the late sixteenth-century, alongside those of saints, reformers, historical figures and foreign kings. In the first half of the century, royal portrait collections inspired the later fashion picked up by less elite patrons. The first known set of posthumous portraits of English kings was probably produced in the early years of Henry VIII's reign, pictures which were then of considerable influence in providing 'authentic' or at least authoritative portrait types.' They set the convention for size and composition and were regularly used as prototypes for later copying.³¹³ They were most commonly displayed either in a domestic setting such as the long gallery, hall or parlour, and often hung up high, or used as part of a triumphant entry.³¹⁴ A

³¹² Rae, C & Burnstock, A., 'A Technical Study of Portraits of King James VI and I Attributed to John de Critz the Elder (d.1642): Artist, Workshop and Copies' in Hermens (ed), *European Paintings fifteenth-eighteenth-Century: Copying, Replicating and Emulating*, CATS Proceedings, I, 2012, p.64.

³¹³ Daunt, C., *Portrait Sets in Tudor and Jacobean England*, PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 2015, pp.167-8.

³¹⁴ The Royal Entry or Triumphant Entry was a city-wide pageant designed to introduce and display the new monarch to their people. Similarly to wedding entries and festivities, the events were highly choreographed to present a political and cultural strategy. The theatrical productions along the route, often incorporating allegorical scenes, accentuated the historical pedigree of the king and queen. One of the aims of the wedding parade of Cosimo de Medici and Eleonora di Toledo was that the vents be "chronicled, documented and reported to other heads of state." (Eisenbichler, K., 'Love and Politics at the Wedding of Eleonora di Toledo' in Eisenbichler (ed) *the Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo*, Routledge, 2004, p.21) The entire city would be filled with street performances, involving interaction between the actors and audiences, presenting a communal drama. Music and visual effects were particularly important, utilising pictures, images, tableaux, speeches and performances. Elaborate machinery would be used, and fountains would be made to run with wine instead of water. (Gray, D., 'the Royal Entry in Sixteenth-Century Scotland' in Mapstone & Wood (eds) *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Tuckwell Press, 1998, pp.11-13) The 'joyeuse entrée' is described in the Low Countries as 'an event which was held to have constitutional force because it created and ratified a formal compact between ruler and ruled.'

distinctive genre of Tudor portraiture, these pictures were commonly made by copying the same face patterns and compositions of the monarch with differing costume. The variations between the surviving examples of this technique of depicting monarchs suggest that these sets were produced in multiple workshops, which in turn indicates a vibrant market for such compositions.³¹⁵

From 1500 historical portrait series were produced for the royal court, usually to be bestowed as diplomatic gifts or used at ceremonial occasions. As discussed in chapter two, a group of portraits depicting Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Prince Henry and Princess Margaret was produced in London to celebrate the marriage of James IV of Scotland to the English princess in 1502, and it is probable that these provided the prototypes for later depictions of the monarchs at such occasions. Royal portraits owned by the crown are thought to have been the most authoritative templates for those seeking to reproduce likenesses, regardless of whether they were produced from life or not.³¹⁶ The acquisition of these sets was not exclusive to royal occasions or dynastic marriage however; the wealthy Draper Laurence Castell's will of 1559 recorded twenty portraits of emperors and kings, and William Lovelace, Sergeant at Law in Canterbury owned ten 'divers emperors and kings.' The Deanery in Ripon has a set of eighteen portraits depicting monarchs from Edward II to James I dating from the early seventeenth-century.³¹⁷

Examining Scottish collections, a series exists in the Royal Collection at Holyrood Palace, likely only part of a fuller set, and the National Gallery of Scotland has in its collection a series of Scottish kings, thought by Thomson to have been painted for James VI's triumphant entrance into Edinburgh, or arguably based upon those known to have been painted for the royal entry. These works were not meant to be closely examined as individual examples of high-quality portraiture, but instead were designed to decorate a room, likely high-up under the ceiling, or a triumphal archway, and be effective as a show of loyalty and sometimes

(Goldring, E., *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art: Painting and Patronage at the Court of Elizabeth I*, Yale University Press, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven, 2014, p.139).

³¹⁵ Cooper, T., 'The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in Hamling & Richardson (ed), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, Ashgate Publishing, 2010, p.162; Daunt, C., 'Heroes and Worthies: Emerging Antiquarianism and the Taste for Portrait Sets in England' in Cooper et al. (eds) *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.362.

³¹⁶ Daunt, C., 2015 (b), p.366.

³¹⁷ Cooper, 2010, p.165.

heritage from a distance. As with much of the portraiture at the time, these paintings were not objects of art, but of documentation and propaganda.³¹⁸ The first mention of painted images of the Stewart kings as part of the Royal Entry is at that of James VI's, when the genealogy of the Scottish kings was painted upon the Salt Tron. Prior to this the accounts of the planned and actual wedding processions of James V and royal entry of Mary, Queen of Scots make no mention of any form of portraiture.³¹⁹

In Mary, Queen of Scots' chamber at Holyrood Palace, a fractured portrait set is hung, largely made up of the Cornwallis collection, acquired by Queen Caroline, consort of George II in order to supplement the six existing examples of series of kings' portraits at Holyrood at the time. The six portraits already in the Royal Collection depict Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, Richard III and Elizabeth of York. The Cornwallis collection added fifteen additional portraits to this collection, originating from Charles Cornwallis, 1st Earl of Cornwallis (1700-1762) and likely collected when he was Groom of the Bedchamber c.1721. By adding to the collection Queen Caroline expanded it to include important figures such as Henry IV, Henry VII and his mother Lady Margaret Beaufort. The purchase also included a portrait of Henry VIII and two of his most famous wives, Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, and his successors Edward VI and Mary I. The Cornwallis set was made considerably post-mortem, copied by a journeyman painter from images in Westminster Abbey whilst the image of Edward III was derived from his tomb, featuring the king in head-and-shoulders composition wearing a crown and an ermine robe.³²⁰ The dating of these portraits to pre-1600 is supported by the extensive use of gold leaf in the costume and jewels of the figures, a technique which was replaced by the use of pigments such as lead-tin yellow as the developments of Netherlandish painting progressed through the country.³²¹

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery has five images in its collection likely originating from a fuller series of kings, collectively known as the *Five Jameses*. Featuring James I through to James V, the portraits are all head-and-shoulders with three-quarter profiles and naively executed dress. Regarding the origins of this set, Caw and Thompson disagree, with Caw

³¹⁸ Ibid, p.166.

³¹⁹ Gray, D., 1998, pp.23-28.

³²⁰ Collection information, Royal Collection, adapted from exhibition *The First Georgians: Art and Monarchy 1714-1760*, London, 2014. Accessed - <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/4/collection/404740/edward-iii-1312-77>.

³²¹ See chapter 5 and 6 of this thesis for more information.

stating that they were painted during the life of James V due to the difference in likeness between his portrait and the other four,³²² and Thomson believing that they are dated later and that the primitive design served their function. Thomson asserts that the most credible account for their commission is the entry of James VI in 1579, referring to the entry in the *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland 1561-1590*:

The forehowsis of the streits be the whilks he passit, war all hung with magnifik tapestrie, with payntit historeis, and with the effigeis of noble men and wemen.³²³

Due to the frequency of the use of these effigy portraits at royal entries, it is not conclusive that these works were the ones used for James VI. The execution of the portrait of his grandfather James V is less aesthetically uncomfortable than those of the four preceding kings, but this is most likely due to a later painter adding a portrait of James copied from the Blair and Hardwick type. By the seventeenth-century, the use of portrait sets to decorate triumphal entrances by newly crowned monarchs was not unusual, reminding those attending of the dynastic strength of their new king or queen. Although considerably more primitive than the individual portraits surviving from this time, their function as heraldic objects was well established, placing them on a par with heraldic shields rather than fine portraiture.

The continued use of series of portraits of monarchs in decorative schemes can be seen in the considerable collection of portraits at Holyrood Palace that were copied by Jacob de Wet in the late seventeenth-century, commissioned by Sir William Bruce, the King's Surveyor and Master of Works in Scotland. Having undertaken work for a number of the Scottish nobility, de Wet returned to Holyrood in 1684, signing a contract with the Royal Cashkeeper which stated:

The said James de Witte binds and obleidges him to compleately draw, finish, and perfyte The Pictures of the haill Kings who have Reigned over this Kingdome of

³²² In her Ph.D thesis, Daunt writes that documentary evidence suggests that sets of portraits of five or more were generally not produced in England before Elizabeth I, it would be beneficial to the continued understanding of this period of painting in Scotland to see if earlier sets could be found. (Daunt, 2015 (a), p.167).

³²³ Thomson, D, 1975, pp.20-1; Walker, P (ed), *Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland 1561-1590*, pp.30-31.

Scotland, from King Fergus the first King, TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND, OUR GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE who now Reignes Inclusive, being all in number One hundred and ten.

Ninety-seven of these portraits are still on display in the Great Gallery of Holyrood, with eighteen kings depicted in full-length and a final portrait of James VII & II commissioned upon his accession. The scheme narrates Scottish royal history, based upon the chronicles of Hector de Boece (*Scotorum Historiae*, 1527) and James VI & I's tutor George Buchanan (*Rerum Scoticarum Historiae*, 1582). The full series of over one-hundred Scottish kings feature those both real and mythological, and are largely based upon George Jamesone's series of one-hundred and nine Scottish kings painted for Charles I's 1633 Scottish coronation. Twenty-six of these still survive in Scottish collections.³²⁴ These series once again serve a propagandist argument, demonstrating the Stuarts' divine right to rule and the establishment of their dynastic history.

4.3.2 Reproducing Henry & Holbein

One of the most widely circulated images was that of Henry VIII of England, uncle and contemporary of James V of Scotland. Many portraits of Henry VIII were produced during his lifetime, and the development of portraiture in early sixteenth-century England and its use as a means of projecting power meant that his likeness was far more widely replicated than that of his predecessors. There are two clearly defined portrayals of Henry; the better known 'Holbein' portrait, with the wide-legged stance, (*figure 63*), and the image of the younger king in a scholarly position, sat a table with scrolls and quill to hand. These latter portraits depict Henry in his mid-forties, shortly before the artist Hans Holbein the Younger painted the Whitehall mural. It is possible that the original work depicting Henry VIII in his younger days, attributed to Joos van Cleve, (*figure 64*), was taken from life as a royal commission and approved image. The impact of these works should not be underestimated; every detail present serves to further the Monarch's claim of power, wealth and right to rule. The resultant copies and versions were likely derived from a pattern passed through a series of English workshops, and were most likely produced for general sale stock rather than at the request of an individual patron. It is extremely likely that a pattern was used to mark out the king's

³²⁴ Collection information, the Royal Collection, accessed <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/28/collection/403292/james-iv-king-of-scotland-1473-1513>.

likeness, evident in the significant similarities in the squareness of Henry's head, the angle of his head and the development of his costume. The deterioration of the quality of the replicas suggests a diluting effect from one pattern passed along (*figures 65-70*).³²⁵

This technique of portrait replication is also evident in surviving works of James V of Scotland. Taking the Blair Castle, Hardwick Hall, Royal Collection and SNPG depictions of James as the central group, there is variation in the costume and in some instances an inversion of the image, but the profile of the portrait is always the same. Interestingly, one version of James' portrait takes the hand and sleeves from the Hardwick Hall portrait, but the tunic and chain from the Blair portrait, suggesting that the artist had seen both works. The costume of the Hardwick portrait with its slashed doublet is markedly similar to that of Henry's in the Van Cleeve portraits, which may speak to its authenticity. It is the costume in the Blair portrait however, which is more often replicated (*figures 72-75*).

Artistic practice across Europe in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries relied upon the duplication of motifs, designs, and complete compositions. Yet in England, as a result of the demand from patrons for portraits of specific sitters and the lack of opportunity to take likenesses from the life, the persistent use of established portrait patterns was commonplace.³²⁶ These techniques of reproduction and dissemination are clearly evident in similar portraits of the Scottish court, putting paid to the prevailing assumption in earlier literature that Scotland was not concerned with art and had no concept of its courtly function. These works all exist within a wider context, related to each other directly or by degrees, and indicate a workshop practice familiar across Europe.

There are no contemporaneous records regarding the acquisition of the Blair Castle portraits within the family archive, nor any details beyond a description of the double portraits at Hardwick Hall in Bess' inventory of 1605. The paper provenance for these works cannot be relied upon, as it does not exist beyond Bess' inventory which confuses the two portraits with one another, and as such a material examination is essential. In preparation for the study of the techniques used in the creation of these portraits in chapter 5, here I will outline the

³²⁵ Bolland, C & Cooper, T., 2014, pp.43-55.

³²⁶ *Double Take: Versions and Copies of Tudor Portraits*.

relationship of the two families with the royal Scottish line and demonstrate a potential context for the commission of the double portraits as demonstrators of heritage and loyalty.

4.4 The Earls of Atholl

The Dukes of Atholl inherited the title of an ancient Scottish family, with ten creations dating from the early Mormaers and Earls of Atholl in 960, to the acquisition of the dukedom in 1629. Walter Stewart received the earldom from his father, King Robert II, and was executed in 1438 for his hand in the murder of James I, resulting in the title reverting to the Crown.³²⁷ In July 1439, Joan Beaufort, Regent of Scotland and widow of James I, married James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorne, who became step-father to James II. In 1457, James II handed the Earldom of Atholl to his half-brother, Sir John Stewart of Balvenie, oldest son of Sir James Stewart, and grandfather of John Stewart 3rd Earl of Atholl.³²⁸ The inclusion of the portraits of James V, Marie de Guise, Mary Stuart and James VI within the family collection therefore was not only to demonstrate loyalty and political allegiance, but also as a marker of the family's tangible link to the royal line.

The relationship between John Stewart 3rd Earl of Atholl and King James V was of a markedly political and sporting nature; in 1535, the lands of the Duke of Campbell were in the hands of the king after his death, and subsequently granted to John, 3rd Earl.³²⁹ When James was seventeen, he took part in a hunting expedition, hosted by the twenty-two year old Earl of Atholl in Perthshire. Atholl held the hunt to placate the King, who was questioning John's 'liberal' approach to his commission as keeper of law and order in Pethshire.³³⁰ Pitscottie tells the tale of a three-day hunt at Atholl in September 1529;

The King next summer past to the Highland to Hunt in Atholl, and took with him his mother, Margaret Queen of Scotland, and an Ambassador of the Pope's, who was in Scotland for the time. The Earl of Atholl, hearing of the king's coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a Prince, that he was as well served and

³²⁷ John, 7th Earl of Atholl, *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tulibardine Families*, vol.1, privately printed at the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh, 1908, p.27.

³²⁸ Op Cit.

³²⁹ *Compositionis warde, relevii et nonintroitus omnium et singularum terrarum in manibus regis existenium per mortem quodain Duncani Campbell de Glwnwrquhart, unacum maritagio Colini Campbell, filii et apparentis heredis dicti quondam Duncanorum, concessorum Johanni eomiti Athole* (TA, 6, p.243).

³³⁰ Cameron, 1998 (2011), p.146. Cameron describes the primary issue at this time being Atholl's attitude towards the Bailiary of Apnadull, held by Sir Robert Menzies since 1526, who petitioned to have that area removed from Atholl's authority in November 1529.

eased, with all things necessary to his estate, as he had been in his own Palace of Edinburgh. For I heard say this noble Earl gart make a Curious Palace to the King, to his mother, and to the Ambassador; where they were so honourably eased and lodged as they had been in England, France, Italy, or Spain, concerning the time and equivalent for their Hunting and Pastime; which was builded in the midst of a fair meadow, a fair Palace of green timber, wind with green Birks, that were green both under and above, which was fashioned in four quarters, and in every Quarter and Nuke thereof a great Round, as it had been a Block-House, which was lofted and geisted the space of three House-Height; the Floors laid with green Scharrets and Spreats, Medwarts and Flowers, that no man knew whereon he zeid, but as he had been in a garden. Further, there were two great Rounds on illi side of the Gate, and a great Portcullis of Tree, falling down with the manner of a Barrace, with a draw Bridge, and a great stank ^ of water of sixteen foot deep and thirty foot of breadth. And also this Palace within was hung with fine Tapestry and arrasses of Silk, and lighted with fine glass windows in all airths; that this Palace was so pleasantly decored with all Necessaries pertaining to a Prince, as it had been his own Palace Royal at home.

... and the Halls and Chambers were prepared with costly Bedding, vessel and Napry, according for a King: so that he wanted none of his orders more than he had been at Home in his own Palace. The King remained in this Wilderness, at the Hunting, the space of three days and three nights, and his company, as I have shown — I heard men say it cost the Earl of Atholl, every day, in expences, a thousand pounds.³³¹

The three-story palace born of the woodland was surrounded by a moat said to be sixteen-feet deep complete with drawbridge. Lucinda Dean, scholar of early modern ceremony in Scotland, credits Atholl's creation as a 'notable example of how outdoor spaces were masterfully transformed for Scottish royal ceremony and entertainment.'³³² Despite the collection of essays on humanism and the Renaissance on Scotland inspired by this event,³³³ and particularly the spectacular burning of the palace upon James' departure, the event itself

³³¹ Pitscottie, I, p.335-8; TA, 6, pp.xiii-xiv.

³³² Dean, L., 'Making the Best of What They Had: Adaptations of Indoor and Outdoor Space for Royal Ceremony in Scotland, c.1214-1603,' pre-published manuscript supplied by the author on 4th July 2017, p.2.

³³³ Houwen, L., Macdonald, A & Mapstone, S. (eds), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

has not been studied before Dean. Pitscottie writes that it stood in a meadow, indicating flat land, but was in the ‘highland’ setting of Atholl’s estate. Despite the temporary nature of the palace, Pitscottie’s account describes the luxurious decoration of the interior with rich fabrics, glass windows and painted ceilings, and floors made of turf and flowers. The natural floor is a particularly clever inclusion by the earl as it would have been markedly cheaper than laying a floor of wood, but was essential in the meeting of indoor and outdoor space.³³⁴ The 3rd Earl, as well as being a great conjurer of palaces of Arthurian tradition, also made considerable additions to Blair Castle including a large banqueting hall, and most interestingly for this thesis, owned a mansion at Dunkeld, north of Bishop’s Hill.³³⁵ It is very likely that it was this Earl who commissioned portraits of his monarch James V which would have, as the Duke later wrote in his accounts, resulted in the pictures being brought to the Castle from the family property at Dunkeld.

The only account in the TA of the hunt and stay at Blair Castle is as follows;

Item, the v day of September, to David Creichtoune of the gardrobe to fee tua careage hors to tus the Kingis bed and uthir graith to the hunting in Athole, and for the space of vjj dais thair to remane, to ilk hors on the day ij s.³³⁶

Upon consulting the archivist of Blair Castle, Jane Anderson, no accounts financial or otherwise have survived, and the Chronicles of Atholl compiled by John, 7th Duke of Atholl, only refer to Pitscottie’s account with no further insight.

The 3rd Earl was a key member of James’ circle, though not a primary figure in the court or government. After serving in the borders in 1533 he accompanied the king to France in 1536, and was employed to maintain order in Perthshire. As the description above suggests, he lived lavishly, and was so enthusiastic about his peace-keeping duties that he had regular clashes with the local aristocracy. He died between October 19th and November 9th 1542, whilst serving in the royal army.³³⁷

³³⁴ Dean, 2017, pp.4-5.

³³⁵ John, 7th Earl of Atholl, 1908, pp.32-34.

³³⁶ TA, 6, p.103.

³³⁷ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26491>.

The 4th Earl of Atholl is also of note in this context, as a staunch Catholic, supporter of Marie de Guise in 1554, and Mary Queen of Scots from her return to Scotland in 1561. Emulating his father's entertainment of James V, though on a lesser scale, in 1564 Mary was invited to a hunt at Atholl Forest, accounted by William Barclay, one of her party;

The Earl of Atholl had, with much trouble and vast expense, a hunting match for the entertainment of our most gracious Queen. Our people called this a Royal Hunting. I was then a young man, and was present on the occasion.

Two thousand Highlanders, or ' Wild Scotch,' as you call them here, were employed to drive to the hunting ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Atholl, Badenoch, Mar, Murray, and the counties about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly that in less than two months time they brought together 2000 red deer, besides roes and fallow deer. The Queen, the great men, and others were in a Gleni when all the deer were brought before them. Believe me, the whole body of them moved forward in something like battle order. The sight still strikes me, and ever will, for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved. This leader was a very fine stag, with a very fine head.³³⁸

In 1565 the queen gave the Earl of Atholl a commission of justiciary in the northern parts of the kingdom, but in 1567 he joined the association for the defence of King James VI, likely due to his dismay at her marrying Bothwell. He slowly returned to Mary, however, and in 1569 supported her restoration to the throne on the understanding that she would divorce from Bothwell. During the 1570 civil war triggered by Moray's assassination at Linlithgow he openly allied with Mary, an alliance that dwindled due to a lack of cooperation from the King's party and the disintegration of Mary's support. In 1577 John was granted the Office of Justiciary and Bailie of the Bishropic of Dunkeld, and on the 29th March 1578, the Earl of Atholl was appointed Chancellor of Scotland.³³⁹

³³⁸ John, 7th Earl of Atholl, 1908, p.37.

³³⁹ John, 7th Earl of Atholl, 1908, pp.37-41.

Atholl's opposition to Regent Morton was long-standing with the 4th Earl playing a leading role in the overthrow of the Regent in March 1578. When Morton attempted to claim power again in July of that year, Atholl and Argyll gathered a force, and negotiated a truce. The Earl was reported to have reconciled with Morton, and attended a banquet held by the former Regent in April 1579. His death however followed days later, the cause determined by his family and medical examination to be poisoning. Morton denied the murder of Atholl even upon the scaffold on 2nd June 1581, supported by Atholl pleading ill health in June 1578, his death likely caused by the effect of innocent food poisoning upon an already weak constitution.³⁴⁰

This suspected conspiratorial event inspired the exiled Mary Stuart to contact her aunt, the 4th Earl's wife. This letter has caused confusion over the provenance of the double portrait depicting the Scottish queen and her son, James VI in the chronicles compiled by John, the 7th Duke of Atholl:

Portraits of James V and his Queen, Mary of Lorraine, and also of Queen Mary and her son, James VI, are at Blair Castle. The latter picture was sent from England by the Queen to Margaret, Countess of Atholl, and the portrait of James VI was afterwards added in Scotland by a different artist.³⁴¹

The full text of the letter from Mary to the Countess can be seen in appendix 1, but the line referred to above reads thus:

I pray yow enquir quhat Dem Corsbi hes doon with the little goons. I would nou me soon had them, and knou off me soon iff he hes had me book and pictur; the Lord Seiton had the last, and G. the book.³⁴²

Contradicting the 7th Duke's theory, the letter itself states that a portrait is being sent to Mary's son, James, and not to her aunt, in the care of Lord Seton – "I would know of my son if he's had my book and picture... Lord Seton had the latter." The double portrait of Mary

³⁴⁰ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26491>.

³⁴¹ John, 7th Earl of Atholl, 1908, p.38.

³⁴² Transcript from original letter in the archive of Blair Castle, also ref'd in John, 7th Earl of Atholl, 1908, pp.45-6.

and James is more likely to be a composite of two separate portraits of the sitters, combined for a cheaper commission. As has been discussed by this thesis, the portraits of Mary and James used in the double portrait have established face patterns used in numerous additional individual portraits, adding further evidence to the double portraits being formed of four individual works in an effort to establish a collection.

The family records state that the double portraits came to hang in the Blair Castle in 1844, before which they were displayed at the family house at Dunkeld. Unfortunately, no inventory exists of the portrait collection at Dunkeld in the Atholl archives, and so it is difficult to place these two works within the context of a wider collection. In addition to the lack of inventory, it should be noted that Dunkeld has a complicated history. In the medieval period, the village consisted of the Cathedral and the residences of the Cathedral clergy, which passed into alternative secular ownership after the Reformation. In 1555 one of the houses was acquired by the Earl of Atholl, who then exchanged it for the Dean's house in 1566, which in turn was demolished by Cromwell's troops in 1654. Dunkeld expanded and the first house built by the Atholl family was erected in 1676. In 1828, the new Duke demolished this house which had survived the battle of Dunkeld, and began a new building in the style of Thomas Hopper about half a mile away from the original site. This was incomplete upon his death, however, and in 1900 it was demolished by the 7th Duke. The third house built upon the banks of the Tay is now a hotel. This history of the 'Dunkeld' Blair residence in mind, it seems careless to assume that the portraits were hanging in these properties until 1844 when the said property was half-built, and so the paintings must have spent time in some sort of storage. The date of 1844 is significant because Queen Victoria stayed at the castle at Blair Atholl for three weeks in a private visit organised by Prince Albert and the Duke of Atholl's brother. It is possible, therefore, that these portraits were moved into the house in anticipation of a royal visit to demonstrate the early royal ties of the Atholl line.

The commission of a portrait of James and his second wife Marie cemented the allegiance of the Earl of Atholl in the eyes of his peers and visitors, particularly during a time when his highly regarded commission was seemingly under threat.³⁴³ As will be examined in the following chapters, the techniques employed in the execution of the two double portraits are

³⁴³ Cameron, 1998 (2011), pp.147, 203.

different enough to comfortably suppose two different artists, and as such this research proposes that the first double portrait was made, as a composite, to represent the 3rd Earl's loyalty to his monarch. The double portrait depicting Mary Queen of Scots and James VI was then created as a companion work, also as a composite of existing works, to celebrate the 4th Earl's connection to the Scottish queen and her son. This work is made in similar proportions, with the Stewart crown between the royal pair, but in a later, less effigy-like style, and by an arguably more accomplished hand.

4.5 Elizabeth Talbot; Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury and Lady of Chatsworth and Hardwick

Bess of Hardwick's large collection incorporated furniture, fine tapestries, but was also comprised of a significant display of portraiture, articulating the Countess' gift for self-promotion. Described by Horace Walpole upon his visit to Hardwick in 1760 as consisting of 'bad tapestry, and worse pictures',³⁴⁴ it is nonetheless a historically important collection and one of the largest of its kind featuring ninety-seven paintings including sixty-seven portraits according to the inventory made in 1601, seven years before Bess' death and soon after the completion of the new hall.³⁴⁵ The majority of portraits were displayed in the Long Gallery on the second floor of Hardwick New Hall, a feature of the homes of the Elizabethan elite

³⁴⁴ Quoted in Girouard, M., *Hardwick Hall*, guidebook, London, 1989, reprinted 2000, p.59.

³⁴⁵ *Of Household Stuff: the 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick*, the National Trust, 2001, originals at Public Record Office, Probate 11/111 fols.188-92; Public Record Office, Prob 10/254; Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 & H/279/10; other inventories consulted which included no mention of the Scottish portraits are as follows - Devonshire MMS, Chatsworth, un-numbered document in a box marked 'Bess and Earls Misc.II'. Inventory of the contents of Northaw, c.1540-1552 (This inventory is undated however Cavendish owned Northaw between 1540-1552, and the notations identified in Bess' hand by White (thesis, vol.II, p.321) could only have been added after 1547 when she married Cavendish. The portrait of Henry VIII referred to as 'owr sou(er)ygne lord' puts a final date of 1547 on the inventory); Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers H/143/2, Inventory of Chatsworth and deed of entail 1553 (1559) inscription on envelope: 'Inventory of the goods of Sir William Cavendish and a deed to continue the same in the family, 1553' (Some dispute over date – writings have been externally dated 1553 which has been repeated in further documentation and accepted by some authors but in her thesis, White questions this. The inventory itself is undated and bears no internal evidence for dating. The deed attached is clearly dated 'the xxixth day of August in the fyrste yere of the raygn of O'Souerygn ladye Elizabeth' which dates it to 1559, backed up by Bess being widow of William Cavendish and soon to marry William St Loe. White proposes and I agree that it would be unusual to attach a deed to an inventory 6 years out of date considering the building and furnishing work carried out in the mansion during that time. (White, thesis, vol.II, p.373)); Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers H/143/6, fragmentary inventory of Chatsworth, 1560's (Undated but compiled before the 1570s when a new storey of rooms was added to the house); The Will of Bess of Hardwick (National Archives: Public Record Office PROB 11/111, fols.188-193) (A copy of the original will Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9. Dated 27th April 1601); White, G, 'that whyche ys nedefoulle and nesenary': *the Nature and Purpose of the Original Furnishings and Decorations of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire*, doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2005, vol.1, p.157.

which would allow families to exercise, receive visitors and impress their visitors with their collections.³⁴⁶

The largest contemporary collection of this type was that of John Lumley, 1st Baron Lumley. An inventory of c.1590 describes a collection which included portraits of nearly two-hundred sitters, displayed for their varied attributes including kingship, the holding of local office, military prowess, religious endeavour or renowned skills in medicine, navigation and learning.³⁴⁷ Other notable collections include those of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, whose collection included forty-five pictures at Kenilworth, and over 150 at Wanstead and Leicester House listed after his death in 1588.³⁴⁸ Although Bess' collection was smaller than those of Lumley, Leicester and Herbert, it would have been appreciated by visitors upon the understanding that a portrait collection was a 'necessary symbol of taste and position', and that the collection would be judged upon the figures and subjects featured and the quantity of those pictures, rather than the perceived quality of the works;³⁴⁹ Bess' collection should be seen as proof of her understanding of the need of an individualised response to the aristocratic fashions for portrait collection. She both bought and commissioned portraits of herself and her family, as well as key figures of her time and sets of early monarchs, popular religious figures and foreign rulers. Her collection 'signified her power, wealth and dynastic ambition.'³⁵⁰

As well as being long-term gaoler to Mary Stuart, who was in the custody of Bess' husband the Earl of Shrewsbury between 1569 and 1584, Bess had immediate family connections to the Stewart throne that she looked to strengthen as Elizabeth sought her heir. Bess' daughter, Elizabeth Cavendish (b.1555) married Charles Stuart, 1st Earl of Lennox and younger brother of Mary Stuart's second husband Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.³⁵¹ By this union Arabella Stuart was born, grandchild of Matthew Stewart, 4th Earl of Lennox and his wife Lady

³⁴⁶ Fletcher, J., 'the Renaissance Portrait: Functions, Use and Display' in Campbell et al. (eds) *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, National Gallery Company, London, Yale University Press, 2008, 2010 (paperback), p.59; Coope, R., 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration, Architectural History, vol.29, 1986, pp.51, 60 quoting H. Colvin (ed), *the History of the King's Works*, vol.IV, p.18, London, 1982.

³⁴⁷ MacLeod, C., Cooper, T. & Zoller, M., 'the Portraits' in Evans, M. (Ed) *the Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age*, the Roxburghe Club, 2010, p.59.

³⁴⁸ MacLeod, C., Cooper, T. & Zoller, M., 'the Portraits' in Evans, M. (Ed) *the Lumley Inventory and Pedigree: Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age*, the Roxburghe Club, 2010, p.62.

³⁴⁹ White, G., 2005, vol.1, pp.157-8.

³⁵⁰ Taylor, D., 2016, pp.71-2.

³⁵¹ See Wiggins, A., *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, Materiality, and Early Modern Epistolary Culture*, Routledge, 2016 and <https://www.bessofhardwick.org/> for important insight into Bess' life – unfortunately no mention is made of the Scottish portraits to support this discussion but it is an important resource.

Margaret Douglas, who was the daughter of Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus and most importantly Queen Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV of Scotland and sister of Henry VIII of England. Arabella was therefore a descendant of Henry VII of England, and had a valid claim to the English throne. Through these connections Bess' family was also closely linked to the Stewarts, which is the likely reason for the presence of the Scottish portraits in her collection.

Bess' collection by 1601 was large and inclusive of a great number of noble and famous sitters, ranging from personal family portraits of herself, her daughter and her husband, to Thomas Wyatt, Cardinal Wolsey and the European monarchs. Many of these were acquired by her husband William Cavendish, and his 'embryonic' set of portraits of English monarchs provides a markedly early foray into the fashion for collecting such sets that would become common later in the sixteenth-century.³⁵²

In the with drawing Chamber: ...The pictures of the Quene of Scottes, the same Quene and the King of Scotcs with theyr Armes both in one, the King and Quene of Scotcs hir father & mother in an other, the Erle of Leycester, Sir William Seyntlowe, the prodigall sonne, Marie the Countess of Shrouesbury, Sir Charles Cavendishe, Sir Charles his first wife, Ulisses and Penelope...³⁵³

In the high great Chamber: ...the Pictures of King Henry the Eight, Quene Elizabeth, Quene Marie, Edward the sixt, Duke Dolva, Charles the Emporer, Cardinal Woolsey, Cardinall Poole, Stephen Gardenner...³⁵⁴

In the Gallerie: ... The Pictures of Quene Elizabeth, Edward the second, Edward the third, Rychard the third, Henry the fourth, Henry the fyft, Henry the sixt, Edward the fourth, Rychard the third, Henry the seaventh, Henry the Eight, Edward the sixt, Quene Marie, Quene Elizabethes pictures in a less table, The King of Fraunce, Henry, King of Scottes, James, King of Scottes, The picture of Our Ladie the Virgin Marie, Queen Anne, Henry, the third King of Fraunce in a little table, the Duke of Bullen, Phillip, King of Spayne, Twoo twynns, Quene Katherine, the Erle of Southampton, Mathewe, Erle of Lenox, Charles, Erle of Lenox, George, Erle of Shrouesbury, My Ladie, Lord Bacon, The Marquess of Winchester, the Ladie Arabella, Mr Henry

³⁵² White, 2005, vol.1, p.165; Daunt, 2015 (a), p.114.

³⁵³ *Of Houshold Stuff: the 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick*, 2001, p.47.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp.47-8.

Cavendishe, The Lord Straunge, The Lord Cromwell, Mrs Ann Cavendishe, the Duke of Sommerset, Sir Thomas Wyet ...³⁵⁵

In the lowe great Chamber: ... the pictures of Quene Elizabeth, George, Erle of Shrouesbury...the Lord Burleigh, Lord Tresorer, The Ladie Margaret, Countess of Lenox, Charles, Erle of Lenox, her sonne, The Ladie Arabella her grandChilde, My Ladies picture, Sir William Cavendishe, Mr. William Cavandishe the elder, Mr. William Cavendishe the younger, The Virgin Marie, Mr. Thomas Cavendishe, father to Sir William Cavendishe...³⁵⁶

In the Prodigall chamber: ... the picture of the Lady Elizabeth Talbott...³⁵⁷

Key to this thesis are the inclusions of ‘The pictures of the Quene of Scottes, the same Quene and the King of Scotos with theyr Armes both in one, the King and Quene of Scotos hir father & mother in an other’ in the withdrawing chamber. They form part of a period of collecting when Chatsworth was being enlarged and refurnished in the 1570s and 80s, and for which there is no surviving documentary evidence. As well as upheaval at the house itself, this period also covers the height of Bess’ social career including the marriage of Elizabeth Cavendish to Charles Stuart. The documentary evidence around the period of acquisition c.1601, however, demonstrates that Bess has continuously enlarging her collection of monarchs. The purchase of portraits of non-contemporary figures such as Edward III shows her awareness of the fashion to display figures of royal history, though it should be noted that White’s research found that much of these additions to the collection were gathered largely out of availability rather than specific choice.³⁵⁸

These unusual double portraits, painted by either English or Anglo-Netherlandish painters as other portraits in Bess’ collection,³⁵⁹ are related to the double portraits in the Blair Castle collection not only by their rare composition but also in their featuring James V and his second French wife. James V and Marie de Guise sit beside one-another arms resting on the table in the foreground, both in three-quarter profile turned to the right. James wears a black bonnet, a cloth-of-gold slashed gown lined with ermine, with a shirt, doublet and then jerkin underneath. Marie wears a dark brown-purple cloth-of-cold brocade velvet gown with a

³⁵⁵ Ibid, pp.48-50.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, p.52.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, p.55.

³⁵⁸ White, 2005, vol.1, pp.167-8, 170-171; Daunt, 2015 (a), p.113.

³⁵⁹ Cooper, T. & Howard, M., 2015, p.24.

pattern of golden pomegranates, and sleeves lined with ermine fur as a mark of her royal status. Both sitters wear jewellery and their garments have jewelled borders, and both hold their left arm to their chests, James touching the pearls adorning his medal and Marie holding a pink gillyflower, a mark of betrothal. Mary and Darnley are somewhat awkwardly positioned with Mary holding a pair of leather gloves, an ostrich feather fan and a handkerchief in her left hand, her right arm twisted to place her hand on her husband's sleeve. Darnley wears a bright pink slashed doublet and hose and Mary a black velvet gown with standing collar and black bonnet embroidered with pearls. Contrary to the brief description in the 1601 inventory, the double portrait of Mary and Darnley no longer features coats of arms, though the portrait of her parents, James V and Marie de Guise does. It may be that the description was confused during writing, or that during restoration work upon the portrait of Mary and Darnley their coats of arms were removed. In the mid-nineteenth-century the portrait was 'in such bad condition that it was given away by the otherwise historically minded 6th Duke to "Mr Cribb (*recte* *Cripps*) the picture cleaner", from whom it had to be bought back by the 7th Duke.'³⁶⁰ When the double portrait was returned to Hardwick it was renamed as Charles Stuart and Elizabeth Cavendish, the Earl and Countess of Lennox and Bess' daughter and son-in-law. Evelyn Duchess of Devonshire wrote that:

in an early restoration, an attempt was probably made to make this fit the attribution made subsequently as Mary Q. of Scots and Darnley. Apart from any other argument against this – Lord and Lady Shrewsbury are not likely to have possessed - or wished to possess – a portrait of Q. Mary with her murdered husband. Whereas a Len(n)ox double portrait (a misreading of the 1601 inventory) was in this house in 1601. I can see no way of dealing with this canvas except by rubbing off all recent overpainting and putting back as much paint as is absolutely necessary to make the canvas presentable as a double portrait of the Countess of Len(n)ox and her youngest son Charles.³⁶¹

As will be discussed in further detail in chapter five of this thesis, however, the double portrait is certainly of Mary and Darnley, and can be seen in a number of versions including a

³⁶⁰ Laing, A., 'Rechristenings at Hardwick', *Country Life*, vol.183, 9th March 1989, pp.134-5, p.135.

³⁶¹ From a note by Evelyn, Duchess of Devonshire inserted in the Devonshire Collection: Archives and Library, Chatsworth, CH36/1/28, Catalogue of Pictures at Hardwick, Compiled and Illustrated by Lady Louisa Egerton, 1908.

reverse head-and-shoulders portrait of Mary in the National Portrait Gallery collection, wherein she wears the same plumed hat and pearl-embroidered standing collar (NPG 1766), the support of which has been dated by dendrochronology to between 1560 and 1592. The portrait of Darnley can be seen repeated in a miniature in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-4393) and a recently discovered miniature attributed to Levina Teerlinc (sold at Bonham's 20th November 1997, lot no.10). No inscriptions of dates are present upon the portraits apart from the marking of the age of the king and queen of Scots in the James V and Marie portrait, nor any records of their commission within the Chatsworth archives, however the presence of the portraits in the 1601 inventory and not the preceding inventory of the 1560s³⁶² provides a timeline of commission. Mary was placed into the custody of Bess and her husband on 26th January 1569, a mark of great trust from Queen Elizabeth. As well as this Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, tied Arabella to the royal line. These events mark Bess' collection as a tool for telling both the story of her dynastic line, and her part in the story of Mary, Queen of Scots. To further illustrate this, of the sixty-seven portraits in the New Hall, twenty-one are of English royalty, and ten depict connections of Mary.³⁶³ That is a striking proportion of the collection. The evidence strongly suggests that both double portraits were composites or copies of pre-existing works, copied by Bess for her collection, as was common practice at the time.

The double portrait of Mary's parents, James V and Marie de Guise, is of considerably higher quality than that of Mary and Darnley, though perhaps simply subjected to fewer cycles of restoration. It is likely present in the collection alongside the portrait of Margaret Douglas Countess of Lennox, Margaret Tudor's daughter by her marriage to Archibald Douglas, to mark Arabella's royal heritage as great-grand-daughter of the Tudor princess. Interestingly a portrait of Margaret Tudor is not listed in the inventories, despite her direct link to the Tudor dynasty, but perhaps due to the rarity of pictures made of the Tudor princess and Scottish queen.

The extensive collection of works acquired and commissioned by Bess of Hardwick demonstrates the fashionable means of collecting portraits of historical figures. The range of sitters included in the 1601 inventory suggests that Bess was building a personal history of

³⁶² Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers H/143/6.

³⁶³ White, 2005, p.160.

England and her connections abroad, strategically telling a story with her collection.³⁶⁴ By the time the inventory of 1601 was compiled and Bess was nearing the end of her life, her portrait collection revealed her understanding of the importance of the visual presentation of heritage and loyalty. In Bess' collection, historians can fully understand the motivations of such collectors.

4.6 Concluding Discussion

In the sixteenth-century, items such as silverware, tapestry, furniture and glassware were routinely valued at higher prices than those of paintings within inventories. From the 1530s onwards, however, portraits of monarchs formed parts of inventories of the wealthy.³⁶⁵

Hanno Wijsman has examined the role of the noble as patron of the arts, specifically of Southern Netherlandish painters commissioned by members of the fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Burgundian court. He has identified peaks in patronage of portraits during the periods in which Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden were active (1420-1450), for Hans Memling (1460-1500) and for Quinten Metsys (1510-1530). Wijsman's results state that patronage from the Burgundian princes and clergy groups remain fairly consistent, and that the contribution of the noble classes increases and then falls away, but that the contribution of foreign patrons expands consistently. He concludes that portrait painting was an art form that remained open to all of those who could afford it, unlike that of illuminated manuscripts, for example. When isolating three key periods, 1420-50, 1460-1500 and 1510-30, the results demonstrate that noble patrons dominate the upward peaks, and the middling sort³⁶⁶ the downward. Whilst identifying the important role that this middling group played during these years, the data suggests that princely and noble patronage remained important into the sixteenth-century, with indications that throughout the fifteenth-century noblemen were more likely to initiate the fashion for a particular workshop.³⁶⁷

It is interesting, even on quite a narrow scale as in Wijsman's study of 91 portraits, to see the influence of the nobility confirmed in patronage of portraiture. This is no surprise, as they were the group who had the most to demonstrate in terms of proximity to the royal family,

³⁶⁴ Taylor, D., 2016, pp.82-5.

³⁶⁵ Cooper, T., 2010, pp.158, 160; Foister, S., 'Paintings and Works of Art in Sixteenth-Century English Inventories', *Burlington Magazine*, 123:938, May 1981, pp.274-82.

³⁶⁶ The classification of the middle classes during this time.

³⁶⁷ Wijsman, H., 2006, pp.63-4.

both in lineage and loyalty, and the group who had the money to spend on such commissions. With this in mind, it is also no surprise that the Atholls might commission portraits of the Stewarts in order to demonstrate their link to the royal family via Joan Beaufort's second marriage, nor that Bess of Hardwick would wish to exhibit her own prestigious role as custodian of the Scottish queen, or perhaps her granddaughter's link to Mary Stuart's husband Lord Darnley, and therefore James VI and his great-grandmother Margaret Tudor via the same technique. Bess' inventory of 1601 demonstrates that she had portraits of a number of kings, queens, princes and nobles hanging in her halls, a practice common amongst the members of the court in an effort to place themselves within the context of their ancestry and notable position.

Queen Elizabeth's portrait was recorded by the Tudor Royal Proclamations as displayed by '*all sortes of subiectes and people both noble and meane*', and has been found in the house of an Edinburgh merchant in 1566 and in the Palazzi Signoria in Florence in 1594.³⁶⁸ The Earl of Leicester's portraits were also widely disseminated, a full-length depiction of himself executed in 1583 by the Antwerp painter Hubert Beuckelaer was given by Dudley to James VI in the mid-1580s.³⁶⁹ However, although Leicester did sit often, many of the portraits of him that circulated during his lifetime were copies, and indeed Goldring posits that some in circulation into the seventeenth-century would have been copies of copies. It was these versions that the 'middling sort' would purchase, produced to satisfy a steady demand for portraits of certain individuals. Elizabeth's chief advisor William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley appears to have sat only three times, generating three face patterns which were recycled to produce a number of portraits.³⁷⁰ Goldring has discovered anecdotal evidence which indicates that aristocratic patrons and collectors would occasionally lend one another works in order to have them copied.³⁷¹ There is, for example, a surviving face pattern, painted to a high finish, of Elizabethan courtier Sir Henry Sidney made by an unknown English workshop (varnished oil on paper, 30.5x27.9cm, National Portrait Gallery London), but these practices will be discussed more fully in chapter five.

³⁶⁸ Goldring, 2014, p.10; Hughes & Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1969, vol.II, p.241. For the Edinburgh merchant Goldring references the Earl of Bedford's letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 14 February 1566, and for the Florentine portrait see Strong, 1987 (2003), p.22, citing Fynes Moryson's diary.

³⁶⁹ Goldring, 2014, p.10.

³⁷⁰ Op Cit, p.8.

³⁷¹ Op Cit, pp.13-14.

A key scenario regarding the display of portraits as demonstrations of loyalty revolves around Mary Stuart, and the succession of her son James VI & I to the English throne. One month after the death of Elizabeth I the Secretary of the Venetian Embassy in London, Giovan Carlo Scaramelli, wrote to the Doge describing the arrangements for the queen's funeral, ordered by James VI to be carried out before his arrival, as was respectful. Scaramelli wrote that all over England portraits of Elizabeth were being replaced with those of Mary Stuart, assured that the only reason for her death was her Catholicism, and not her involvement in a plot to assassinate Elizabeth. These portraits represented political docility, and a smooth revision of living history in the martyrdom of the new monarch's mother. These copies of copies of a portrait were circulated widely and displayed to communicate a message of allegiance to the new regime, not as 'fine art'.³⁷² James VI himself was not immune to the impact of the image; as Elizabeth's tomb was being built, so was Mary Stuart's, thought to represent the absolving of the scandal attached to her name.³⁷³ It is unclear whether these historic revisions influenced the commissioning and display of the four double portraits that form the centre of this thesis. The Earls of Atholl were consistently supportive of Mary Stuart and her father, and so would not require the spreading tale of her victimisation to display their portraits. Similarly, Bess of Hardwick had reasons other than the support of the new king to display her double portraits; she had a leading role in one of the most widely told and scandalous stories of the time, and the promotion of her granddaughter in mind.

The techniques of copying will be discussed in the following chapter, positioning the Blair Castle and Hardwick Hall portraits within the stylistic and technical context of their fellow surviving works. Their versions, and the nature of copying at this time, evidenced in Scottish collections further demonstrates the interconnectivity of artistic production at this time across Europe.³⁷⁴ Although the documentary evidence available for these portraits is unable to provide any concrete evidence for the circumstances of their creation, the portraits themselves present multiple signs of a competent, likely Netherlandish-trained artist. Scotland was quietly but firmly on the threshold of artistic developments in Europe, aided by James V's two French marriages, and later by James VI's civil relationship with Elizabeth's court.

³⁷² Peacock, J., 'the Politics of Portraiture', in Sharpe & Lake (eds) *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, Stanford University Press, California, 1993, pp.199-200.

³⁷³ Llewellyn, 1990, pp.227-8.

³⁷⁴ Note that not all copies are inferior in execution: it was Titian's finer copy of Seisenegger's *Charles V with Dog* portrait which encouraged Charles' patronage c.1530 (Richardson, 2002, p.183).

Chapter Five

Materials & Techniques in the Blair Castle Portraits

5.1 Introduction

In this section of the thesis, technical evidence will be used to examine questions of artistic production, influence and authorship of the Blair Castle portraits within the wider context of Northern European court production. As discussed in the previous chapters, the Blair double portraits are most likely to have been produced by a Netherlandish or Netherlandish-trained artist, based upon the evidence of the fashion for the Netherlandish style and widespread employment of Netherlandish craftsman across the continent.

The influence of Northern European painting practice has been recognized by the MATB project to be of considerable importance when examining portraiture in England in the sixteenth-century, leading to the identification of an Anglo-Netherlandish school of painting in London.³⁷⁵ As it is likely that the works discussed here were produced by artists working in Scotland or England, influenced by Netherlandish painting practice, this influence becomes of importance when examining the surviving portraits of the sixteenth-century Scottish monarchs.

The painting techniques in the Blair Castle double portraits will be investigated through close examination of the painted surface, the study of infra-red images and analyses of paint cross-sections. The results will be compared to existing research carried out upon contemporary portraits in England and in Northern Europe, as well as to a range of English-language treatises which inform the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries. These include those by limners who devote some of their tracts to the discussion of oil painting practices in the context of portrait miniatures, such as the anonymous *A Very Proper Treatise, Wherein is briefly Sett For the Arte of Limming* (1573) and works written by the well-known miniaturists Nicholas Hilliard (c.1600)³⁷⁶ and Edward Norgate (1627-8, revised in 1648).³⁷⁷ The notes of the heraldic painter John Guillim (c.1582-1600) include information about oil painting in England,³⁷⁸ copying sections of Richard Haydocke's 1598 translation of Lomazzo's treatise

³⁷⁵ Burnstock, A., 'Material Practice: Introduction' in Cooper, Burnstock et al. (eds) *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.93.

³⁷⁶ Thornton, R.K.R & Cain, T.G.S (eds), 1992.

³⁷⁷ Muller, J.M & Murrell, J (eds), 1997.

³⁷⁸ Murrell, J., 1995.

Trattato dell'arte della pittura of 1584 which will also be utilised as a point of comparison.³⁷⁹ Henry Peacham, an English amateur artist, wrote two volumes; *the Compleat Gentleman* (1622, reprinted 1634)³⁸⁰ and *the Gentlemans Exercise* (1634),³⁸¹ and John Bate published his work *the Mysteries of Nature and Art* in 1635.³⁸² In addition to the English publications extracts from the notebook of the Royal Physician of the French and English courts, Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, *Pictoria, Sculptoria & quae subalternarum atrium* (1620-) will be examined.³⁸³

5.2 Painting Support, Preparatory Layers and Underdrawing

5.2.1 Support

Both *James V and Marie de Guise* (66 x 89 x 2.5cm) and *Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (64 x 86 x 2.5cm) are composed of three boards joined horizontally along the grain and are likely oak. There is a canvas strip and thin, likely contemporary, wooden frame around the cut edges of both pictures, and construction marks are evident. These marks strongly suggest the use of a large saw and chisels.

The lower panel of *James V and Marie de Guise*, six inches high, is a full restoration. There is a paper label on the verso, but it is too deteriorated to be legible. There is further evidence of restoration with a deteriorated putty fill between the two lower panels and white silk ribbon around the edge. (*figure 3*).

Mary Queen of Scots and James VI features a deteriorated label or repair on the verso, beside a chalk mark. A paper label on the back reads 'Mary Queen of Scotland and her Son James 6th', written in pencil. There is a canvas repair between the two lower boards (*figure 4*).

Dendrochronology was not a possibility for the Blair portraits without the removal of the fixed wooden frames attached around the outer edge, an intervention which could not be undertaken at this time, however the wider context of native and imported wood in Scotland can be examined. By the year 1400 Scottish woodlands could no longer meet the national demand for timber. Crone and Mills (2002) examined the use of wood in the context of

³⁷⁹ Lomazzo, , trans. Haydock, R. 1598 (sp coll q91).

³⁸⁰ Gordon, G.S (ed), 1906.

³⁸¹ Accessed via https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008547412.

³⁸² John Bate, 1635 (sp coll Ferguson Ai-b.53).

³⁸³ Fels, D.C., 2001.

buildings and found that very few constructed after this date contain native oak. The use of re-used timber and imported timber increased. Standard building timber was sourced from Scandinavia, whilst fine 'Eastland board' came from further east. Crone and Mills do advocate caution however; from 1550-1800, Scottish tree-ring study only has two chronologies based on oak from south/central Scotland which limits the ability to date home-grown material of this period.³⁸⁴

As part of the MATB project, dendrochronology was carried out by Ian Tyers upon two portraits from the sixteenth-century collection of the SNPG; *James VI of Scotland & James I of England, as a boy* (SNPG 992) and *James Douglas, Regent of Scotland* (SNPG 1857). *James VI of Scotland & James I of England, as a boy* was found to match against eastern Baltic reference data, with readings suggesting that the tree was felled between 1567 and 1583.³⁸⁵ *James Douglas, Regent of Scotland* also matched against eastern Baltic reference data and was dated to 1563.³⁸⁶

This analysis demonstrates that imported Baltic oak was being used in sixteenth-century Scotland for court commissions. As discussed in chapter three of this thesis, the portrait of James VI as a boy was likely that referred to as being painted by the 'French painter' in September 1573. The wood used in the construction of panel supports of this period can be divided geographically, with oak imported from the Baltic used by the Netherlands, England, Northern France and Northern Germany. It was the forests of the basin of the Vistula River, south of Kaliningrad and Gdansk that were regularly harvested and exported from well into the seventeenth-century. Come the end of the sixteenth-century however, political and religious upheaval dictated a change of route, just as the demand for panel paintings considerably increased, and new sources of oak were introduced to meet demand.³⁸⁷ The majority of surviving works from the sixteenth-century in neighbouring England were

³⁸⁴ Crone, A. & Mills, C.M., 'Seeing the Wood and the Trees: Dendrochronological Studies in Scotland', *Antiquity*, 76:293, 2002, p.790; see also Crone, A. & Fawcett, R., 'Dendrochronology, Documents and the Timber Trade: New Evidence for the Building History of Stirling Castle, Scotland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 42:1, pp.68-87.

³⁸⁵ Tyers, I., SNPG 992 James VI of Scotland, & James I of England, as a boy, DCL object reference OS485.

³⁸⁶ Tyers, I., SNPG 1857, James Douglas, Regent of Scotland, DCL object reference OS486.

³⁸⁷ Christensen, A.H et al., 'Christ Driving the Traders from the Temple: Painting Materials and Techniques in the Context of sixteenth-century Antwerp Studio Practice' in Hermens (ed) *On the Trail of Bosch and Bruegel: Four Paintings United under Cross-examination*, Archetype Publications, London, 2012, pp.23-24.

discovered by the MATB project to be painted on oak boards imported from the Eastern Baltic, with some on English oak and others on walnut wood or limewood.³⁸⁸

5.2.2 Preparatory Layers

5.2.2.1 Sizing

The Blair Castle portraits are prepared with a calcium-carbonate ground layer, with no visual evidence of a size layer (see appendix 6-8 for painting analysis data).

The size layer was commonly recommended for use on panel supports as a means of smoothing the coarse grain and securing the following ground layer, as well as preventing saturation of the support by the oil medium.³⁸⁹ The 2005 study of over 1500 recipes for preparing supports between 1600 and 1900 compiled by Witlox and Carlyle found that panel preparation most commonly involved a glue size, applied in either a fluid or gel state.³⁹⁰ The preparation of the support is described by John Gwillum, who states that the panel should be sized with glue, and then a layer of lead white applied, followed by lead white mixed with size. When this layer is dry, it should all be smoothed with a knife.³⁹¹

5.2.2.2 Ground

The SEM-EDX spectral analysis of the Blair Castle cross-sections reveals a typical thick chalk ground layer, featuring impurities such as aluminosilicates. No coccoliths are evident, suggesting that the chalk may be pulverised limestone. Considering the overall quality of the commission it is likely that the artist responsible for the portraits obtained his chalk from local sources, rather than imported from the continent (see BCA 6, spectra 12, BCA 8, spectra 46, see accompanying backscatter electron image Ca K series). In support of this, various geological surveys have found that limestone mining took place across Scotland.³⁹²

The type of ground most commonly found in Northern European paintings of the sixteenth-century consisted of calcium carbonate (chalk) bound in animal glue, commonly rabbit skin

³⁸⁸ Plender, S., 2015, p.118.

³⁸⁹ Dunkerton, J., Foister, S. & Penny, N., 2002, p.218.

³⁹⁰ Witlox, M. & Carlyle, L., 'A perfect ground is the very soul of the art' (Kingston 1835): Ground Recipes for Oil Painting, 1600-1900' in Verger, I. (Ed), *ICOM Committee for Conservation, fourteenth-Triennial Meeting, the Hague, 12-16 September 2005, Preprints*, London, 2005, p.520.

³⁹¹ Murrell, 1995, pp.11-12, 18.

³⁹² See 'A GIS of the extent of historical mining activities in Scotland: explanatory notes', Groundwater Systems and Water Quality Commissioned Report CR/03/331N, 2003, pp.7-11, 14; Oldham, T., *the Mines of Scotland: a Bibliography*, 2007.

or calf skin, linseed or walnut oil, or animal fat and egg.³⁹³ The application of the ground layer was a delicate task, as the consistency would determine the stability of the overlying paint layers. If the chalk was too highly concentrated within the binding medium, the ground would shrink and crack. If too weak, the overlying oil medium would be absorbed. Indeed the upper layer of ground in cross-sections often appears yellow-brown as a result of penetration of the oil.³⁹⁴ These ‘penetration’ layers were applied as an insulating absorption layer to protect the chalk ground, and were often then sealed with a pigmented layer, as found in the Blair double portraits.³⁹⁵ Consequentially the application of the ground was often left to specialists, *witters* (whiteners), who would also make the panel and apply the size layer.³⁹⁶ This aspect of workshop structure was present in the Netherlands from the early fifteenth-century onwards, wherein the painters would do very little figurative painting if any, but instead prepare grounds, apply underpaint, and prepare gilding finishes.³⁹⁷

In Britain, as determined by the MATB project, portraits were consistently prepared with a chalk (calcium-carbonate, CaCO₃) ground, followed by an oil-based toned priming layer.³⁹⁸ The use of a chalk ground instead of a gesso (calcium sulphate) ground is a recognised Northern European technique,³⁹⁹ though the use of it can be dependent upon on the training or habits of the individual artist. The Blair Castle portraits are well situated within the widespread techniques of the time, seen in both Netherlandish and Anglo-Netherlandish examples.⁴⁰⁰ Although no concrete provenance can be provided for the paintings before the

³⁹³ Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), *Let the Material Talk: Technology of Late Medieval Cologne Panel Painting*, Archetype Publications, London, 2014, p.47.

³⁹⁴ Billinge, R. et al., ‘Methods and Materials of Northern European Painting in the National Gallery, 1400-1550,’ *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, vol.18, 1997, p.23.

³⁹⁵ Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, p.49.

³⁹⁶ Christensen, A.H. et al., 2012, pp.27-28; Nadolny, J., ‘One craft, many names: gilders, preparers, and polychrome painters in the fifteenth-and sixteenth-centuries’, *ICOM Committee for Conservation fifteenth-Triennial Conference New Delhi, 22-26 September, 2008*, pp.10-17.

³⁹⁷ Nadolny, J., 2008, pp.10-11.

³⁹⁸ Jan van den Berg, K. et al., ‘Binding Media in Tudor and Jacobean Paintings’, in Cooper et al., (Eds) *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, the British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.148.

³⁹⁹ Van Hout, N., ‘Meaning and Development of the Ground Layer in Seventeenth-Century Painting’ in Hermens (ed) *Looking Through Paintings: the Study of Painting techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, Uitgeverij de Prom & Archetype Publications, 1998, p.202; Fels, D.C., 2001, p.155.

⁴⁰⁰ See Billinge, R. et al., *Gossaert’s Adoration of the Kings*, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 18, 1997, p.89; Foister, S et al., ‘Holbein as a Painter and the Making of The Ambassadors’ in Foister, Roy & Wyld (eds) *Making and Meaning: Holbein’s Ambassadors*, National Gallery Publications, London, 1997, p.79; Dunkerton, J., Burnstock, A. & Smith, A., *Two Wings of an Altarpiece by Martin van Heemskerck*, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 12, National Gallery Publications, 1988, pp.16, 23, 26, 28; Caspers, C. & Seymour, K., ‘A Reconstruction of Maerten van Heemskerck’s De Calvarieberg (1543): Accuracy and Visual Interpretation’, in Hermens & Fiske (Eds) *Art Conservation and Authenticities: Material, Concept, Context*, Archetype Publications Ltd., 2009, p.118; Jones, R., 1995, pp.128, 231-6; Christensen et al., 2012,

7th Duke of Atholl's c.1900 assertion that they were brought to the Castle from Dunkeld in 1844, the evidence presented by the natural chalk ground and tinted priming layer securely place the portraits within the sixteenth-century.⁴⁰¹

5.2.2.3 Priming

Cross-sections taken from the Blair Castle double portraits reveal a simple layer structure, with a coarse chalk ground, a reddish-brown priming layer, and subsequent two or three paint layers (see images and analysis of paint cross-sections in appendix 6). The priming present in the double portrait *King James V of Scotland and his wife Marie of Guise* has a red-brown colour, and is comprised of lead white, earth pigments and carbon black (see BCA 2, spectra 105; BCA 6, spectra 23, 25; BCA 8, spectra 48; BCA 11, spectra 71). This layer is present in the majority of cross-sections extracted from the work, excluding those which do not contain the full layer spectrum, and as such appears to cover the entire painting corresponding to the evidence of infrared photography. In the double portrait *Mary Queen of Scots and her Son, James VI of Scotland*, those cross-sections featuring a priming layer suggest that it is a grey-yellow layer composed of lead white, carbon black, and copper and earth pigments (see BCB 1, spectra 79, BCB 3, spectra 91), paler than that in James V and Marie of Guise. The brush strokes are not as prominent in the infrared photographs of the work, suggesting a smoother, thinner application but still indicating the use of this preparation technique (see BCB 1, spectra 82; BCB 3, spectra 87).

The priming layer was favoured by sixteenth-century painters as a preparatory layer. The translucent or semi-translucent pigmented mixture in oil or a mixture of oil and glue was applied over the whole surface of the painting in a thin layer over the chalk ground. As well as isolating the absorbent chalk grounds against the oil medium of the subsequent paint layers, the priming was often pigmented to soften the stark white of the chalk and provide a mid-tone for the work. The toned mixture was acquired by some painters from their *kladpot*, or *pencelier*, a vessel in which brushes were kept keeping the bristles soft, which resulted in a

pp.29-30; Rae, C. & Burnstock, A., 2012, p.60; Rae, C., 'Marcus Gheeraerts, John de Critz, Robert Peake and William Larkin: a Comparative Study' in Cooper et al. (Eds) *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.172; Witlox, M & Carlyle, L., 2005, p.523; Billinge, R. et al., 1997 (a), p.21.

⁴⁰¹ Billinge, R. et al., 1997 (a), p.21.

brown-toned pigmented mixture, so this intermediate layer was not always coloured to a specific mid-tone.⁴⁰²

A white chalk ground was too absorbent for the oil medium used in the overlying paint layers, and as such artists would apply an additional layer of drying oil, often pigmented with lead white to shorten the drying time. By the sixteenth century, this priming (English), imprimatura (Italian), or primuersel (Flemish) layer was widely used on panel paintings.⁴⁰³ The study carried out by the NG found that the majority of Early Netherlandish and many German paintings had this layer, often with variations in brushstroke visible under infrared or raking light, as has been found in the Blair portraits. These strokes bear no resemblance to the overlying image, and have been found in paintings by Memling, Bouts, and Gossaert.⁴⁰⁴

The examination of National Gallery works from the sixteenth-century found that Jan Gossaert (active in Antwerp and Brussels, c.1478-1532) used tinting in his priming layers, to lessen the earlier stark white effect, with lead-tin yellow found in the *Adoration of the Kings*, red lead in *Man with a Rosary*, and charcoal and vermilion in the *Virgin and Child*.⁴⁰⁵ A similar golden-effect priming is identified in two panels by Martin van Heemskerck in the National Gallery London (NG 6508a, 6508b), comprised of lead white, charcoal or vegetable black and an iron-oxide yellow in a medium-rich layer.⁴⁰⁶ Pigmented intermediate layers were found in twenty of the twenty-nine paintings examined as part of the ‘Let the Material Talk’ (hereafter LTMT) project which examined early fifteenth-century paintings produced in Cologne. This project dismissed the terminology described above as imprecisely defined, and instead described it as;

...a layer with a single, more or less strong pigmentation applied to the whole or to part of the panel surface before the picture was painted. As a preparatory step this was applied over the ground and either above or below the underdrawing(s). Unlike local underpaintings, the coloration of the pigmented intermediate layer is largely independent of that of the paint layers above.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰² Christensen et al., 2012, pp.29-30.

⁴⁰³ Dunkerton, J., Foister, S. & Penny, N., 2002, pp.218-9; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, pp.49-50.

⁴⁰⁴ Billinge, R. et al., 1997 (a), pp.22-23.

⁴⁰⁵ Dunkerton, J., Foister, S. & Penny, N., 2002, p.219.

⁴⁰⁶ Dunkerton, J. et al., 1988, p.28.

⁴⁰⁷ Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, p.50.

With few exceptions, the LTMT project found that the pigmented intermediate layers present in the early fifteenth-century Cologne paintings were pale or white, containing lead white pigment. These pale layers were not only used to isolate the ground, but also to mute the underdrawing and reflect the overlying paint layers. They were mostly bound in drying oil, with occurrences of animal glue, egg and resin. The change to coloured pigmented intermediate layers is not generally found until the sixteenth-century.⁴⁰⁸

5.2.3 Underdrawing

‘Underdrawing’ identifies the first preparatory marks made on a prepared painting support, prior to applying colours. These range from minimal outline sketches indicating position to detailed, full worked-up drawings.⁴⁰⁹

The Blair double portraits both feature some carbon-based underdrawing under infrared photography which plays a low-level, perfunctory role in the preparation of the works. The infra-red image shows very little underdrawing, with some faint lines in a dry medium around the eyes, nose and jaw-lines. The lack of movement or *pentimenti* in *King James V of Scotland and his wife Mary of Guise* (apart from in the narrowing of the neck of Marie which might be due to bringing the background in to the figure, *figure 78*) as well as the fixed drawing style with no sketching or freehand strongly suggests that these portraits were made from templates, a suggestion supported by the repetition of this particular face pattern of James and the similarity between this portrait of Marie and her portrait in the Hardwick Hall collection. There is some *pentimenti* in the hands of *Mary Queen of Scots and her son James VI of Scotland*, specifically the shortening of James’ fingers on his right hand holding the sword-hilt, and the narrowing of Mary’s little finger on her right hand (*figure 81 & 82*). The faces in the second portrait are however similarly prescribed as those in the first, and both also have extant versions once again suggesting the use of a template (*figures 79 & 80*).

The considerable change in style and handling of preparation in the lower third of *King James V of Scotland and his wife Mary of Guise* demonstrate that it is a restoration, supported by the obvious change in paint handling and the difference in the cross-section extracted from

⁴⁰⁸ Op Cit.

⁴⁰⁹ Billinge, R., 2015, p.138.

this area (*figure 83*). The heavy, prescribed underdrawing present here does however suggest that the restorer had some record of the original to work from, if not the damaged panel itself, though the extremely uncomfortable composition presents aesthetic difficulties. The hands are clumsily outlined with some minor movement between the heavy lines and the painted version.

The development of Infrared imaging techniques has resulted in the ability to identify and explore underdrawings in paintings, to establish changes in composition and identify the ‘hand’ of the artist.⁴¹⁰ In many cases, however, underdrawing is not detected via infrared photography which is considerably limited in comparison to infrared reflectography. There are several reasons for this; there is no underdrawing present, the overlying paint layers are too dense to be penetrated by the Infrared radiation, or the material itself is not visible in Infrared.⁴¹¹ Red chalk and silverpoint, for example, were common instruments for drawing and will not show up under IR. The MATB project determined that the majority of underdrawing present in the featured portraits was executed in red or black material, based upon a cartoon or tracing, particularly for facial profiles and features.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Billinge, R., *Looking Beneath the Surface: Infrared Reflectography and the Making Tudor Art Project*, online abstract, 2010 - Available at: <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/tudor-and-jacobean-painting-production-influences-and-patronage-december-2010/extended-abstracts-and-videos/looking-beneath-the-surface-infra-red-reflectography-and-the-making-tudor-art-project.php>.

⁴¹¹ There are two primary but distinctly different imaging methods for infrared in technical examination – infrared photography, and infrared reflectography. Infrared photography, as was used in the examination of the Blair Castle portraits, was done with an adapted camera, but which was only sensitive up to 1000nm. Infrared reflectography equipment will detect up to 1700nm. At the lower wavelength, the infrared photograph will only capture IR transmitted from lighter colours such as whites and reds, but not greens and blues. This considered, examination by infrared reflectography could yield further results from the Blair portraits.

⁴¹² Infrared radiation lies beyond the red end of what the human eye can perceive on the electromagnetic spectrum. Near-infrared comprises of light with wavelengths of 700-2000 nm, the range used for studying underdrawing. The infrared wavelengths pass through the binding media (egg, oil or glue) and are reflected or absorbed by pigment particles. Carbon blacks and some blue and green pigment particles absorb infrared strongly and are therefore visible under infrared examination. Popular drawing materials, however, such as iron gall ink, red chalk and silverpoint are extremely difficult or impossible to see under IR. Iron gall ink was one of the most popular writing mediums, and translated into underdrawing for paintings. It can be confused with carbon based drawing media upon surface examination, however will not show up under IR. Carbon based underdrawing can also be obscured from the IR camera by any layers of paint, restoration or original, or dirt which absorbs the IR, preventing it from reaching the underdrawing layer (Billinge, R., 2015, pp.138, 140, 143-4).

5.3 Surface Layers and Pigment

5.3.1 Binding Media

Unfortunately, this research was unable to incorporate analysis of the binding medium of the extracted samples from the Blair portraits, however recent study will be summarised here.

As discussed, above, binding media used in fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Europe ranged from egg and milk proteins to gums and oils to waxes, with multiple examples often present in any single painting.⁴¹³ Linseed, poppy-seed and walnut oil have been identified across sixteenth-century paintings, with linseed oil the most commonly encountered drying oil medium.⁴¹⁴

5.3.1.1 Oil Binders

In the fifteenth-century, the dominant binder used was linseed oil, alongside walnut and sometimes a mixture of the two. Walnut oil has been identified in early northern European painting, and in late-medieval Cologne panel painting. The benefit of linseed oil is in its quicker drying time, whilst walnut oil is less prone to yellowing rendering it particularly suited to pale pigments such as blues and whites.

Boiled linseed oil was found in the LTMT project much more frequently than unboiled linseed oil, likely due to the reduced drying time this results in. Lead, copper, and zinc siccative were also added during this period of painting. SEM-EDX analysis of dark areas often revealed copper, suggesting the addition of Verdigris during tempering.⁴¹⁵

5.3.1.2 Proteinaceous Binders

Protein binders usually take the form of egg or animal glue. If only a small amount of animal glue is detected, it could be contamination from later restoration phases, specifically consolidation measures. In his 2014 study upon black pigments in sixteenth-century portraits from the National Portrait Gallery, van der Berg identified that bovine animal glue was most commonly used in the ground layers, with black pigments bound in linseed oil and some pine

⁴¹³ Johnson, M. & Packard, E., 'Methods Used for the Identification of Binding Media in Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth Sixteenth Centuries', *Studies in Conservation*, Vol.16, 1971, pp.145-164.

⁴¹⁴ Vandenabeele, P. et al., 'Analysis with Micro-Raman Spectroscopy of Natural Organic Binding Media and Varnishes Used in Art', *Analytica Chimica Acta*, Vol.407, 2000, pp.261-274; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, pp.47-8.

⁴¹⁵ Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, pp.140-141.

resin.⁴¹⁶ Quantification of protein to oil binders can only be roughly estimated particularly due to the degradation over time as a result both of ageing and interaction with the oil binder.⁴¹⁷

The analysis of organic binding medium within the MATB project has discovered that although no contemporary English painting treatises discuss the use of oil as a binding media, the samples analysed reflect contemporary European sources and similarly analysed Netherlandish paintings. The analyses found that the bovine animal glue was a common inclusion in ground layers, though some results were affected by the drying oil used in liquid underdrawing, and so the use of oil in ground preparation could not be excluded as no clear distinction could be made. In paint layers, oil medium was identified via ATR-FTIR analysis of samples, in both medium-rich layers and through the lead or copper carboxylates caused by the reaction of the oil with lead white or verdigris pigment.⁴¹⁸

5.3.2 Pigments of Note Identified in the Blair Portraits

Although we know little about the artists working at the Scottish court and whether they followed their European colleagues in the establishing of workshops, there are records in the Treasurer's Accounts from the mid-sixteenth-century which offer evidence of the materials they used;

Item, xxje Octobris, send to Hammyltoun to Walter Bynnyng, paynter, xvj dosane of gold and silver fulzeis, price of the dosane iij s; summa xlvij s. Item, ane pund of asure, price thair of xlvij s. Item, ane pund of wermeling, price thair of xvj s. Item, ane pund of reid leid, price thair of vj s. Item, for glew send to hym, v s. Item, foure quaris Lumbart paper, and foure quaris uthir paper, price of the quare of the Lumbert ij s. and of the uthir xij d; summa xij s. Item, to ane paynter for his laubouris sekand the colouris, v s. Item, for ane ledder poik to turs thir colouris in, to Linlythqw, xx d.⁴¹⁹(1551)

⁴¹⁶ Van der Berg, K., Binding Media in Tudor and Jacobean Portrait Paintings – Distinguishing between Original Paint and Conservation Additions, ICOM-CC seventeenth- Triennial Conference, Melbourne, 2014, pp.1-7.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, pp.144-145.

⁴¹⁸ Jan van den Berg, K., Keune, K., de Groot, S & van Keulen, H., 2015, p.154.

⁴¹⁹ TA, 10, p.22.

In the above account, Walter Binning, prominent painter at the court, is to receive gold and silver leaf, an amount of “asure”, likely the copper pigment azurite, of “wermeling”, vermilion, and “reid leid”, red lead.

Item, xx Maii, send to Hammyltoun foure pundis of wermyling, price of the pund xvj s; summa iij fl iij s. Item, vj pund reid leid, price of the pund ij s viij d; summa xvj s. Item, thre pyntiis oille lingett, price of the pyntt ix s; summa xxvij s. Item, to the payntour that coft the collouris, for his laubouris, iij s. Item, Maister Andro send to Hammyltoun with thame, and his wage, x s.⁴²⁰ (1552)

In the next account, “oille lingett”, linseed oil⁴²¹ is ordered, as discussed in the ‘binding media’ section above. The palette suggested by the research at the Tate Britain and National Portrait Gallery forms a point of comparison for the materials found in the Blair Castle portraits, and those pigments shared between the multiple documented works at the Tate Britain and National Portrait Gallery.⁴²²

5.3.2.1 *Smalt*

When examining cross-section BCA 11, SEM-EDX spectra 66, smalt is clearly present, marked by the inclusion of cobalt (Co), arsenic (As), potassium (K), nickel (Ni) and bismuth (Bi). Arsenic, nickel and bismuth are present due to the cobalt ore used in the manufacture of smalt. The primary use of smalt in flesh painting, other than as a drier, was to add a cool tint, toning down the red lakes.⁴²³ The lack of permanence of smalt and of red lake over time is likely the cause for James’ pale, sickly pallor in the Blair portrait.

As natural ultramarine was over one-hundred times costlier than any other pigment during the sixteenth-century, artists were required to be resourceful; a trait which Libby Sheldon has found to characterise Northern European if not British painting practice. Five other blue pigments were identified by the MATB project, the two closest to ultramarine in colour being

⁴²⁰ TA, 10, p.82.

⁴²¹ <http://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/linget>, accessed 10.02.2016.

⁴²² The following pigments have been identified in portraits studied as part of the Making Art in Tudor Britain project; white - Lead White, Calcium Carbonate, Calcium Sulfate (Gypsum); black - Ivory Black, Charcoal Black, Lamp Black, Bone Black; red - Vermilion, Red Lake, Red Earth, Red Lead; blue - Azurite, Smalt, Ultramarine, Indigo; green - Copper Resinate, Verdigris; yellow - Yellow Ochre, Lead Tin Yellow, Yellow Lake, Yellow Earth; brown - Cologne Earth, Sienna, Umber (Rica Jones, correspondence, 2011).

⁴²³ Sheldon, L., 2015, pp.134-5.

azurite, a copper blue, and smalt, made from cobalt-containing crushed glass. The identified patterns of use show that azurite predominated the first half of the sixteenth-century but was succeeded by smalt. Smalt can be characterised in cross-sections by large reddish-blue particles, as when ground too finely it loses its colour. The MATB project identified smalt in *King Edward VI* (c.1546) and in *Henry, Prince of Wales* (c.1610) where the notoriously difficult to handle pigment was spread with a combing instrument, when bound in oil. Smalt loses its colour as it ages, changing the blue to a light brown-grey, seen in the *Darnley portrait* of Elizabeth I wherein the dull orange raised embroidery was compared to that protected by the frame which contained red lake and large particles of smalt, suggesting that the dress was originally embroidered in bright purple.⁴²⁴

Samples taken from portraits painted by Anglo-Netherlandish and English artists have been found to contain siccativ, primarily ground glass or smalt, red lead, elemental zinc and azurite.⁴²⁵ In Spring's 2012 study of colourless powdered glass as an additive in paintings from this period, it was found that the ash type differed geographically; soda ash was found predominately in Italian paintings, as well as five German works analysed and one Netherlandish. The glass in the other German and Netherlandish paintings featured a low sodium content and was prepared from the ash from terrestrial plants such as ferns, used in north-west European glassmaking between the year 800 and 1800. The chemical make-up consists of silica, potassium, calcium and magnesium. After 1300, wood ash was prepared with a higher proportion of wood due to the demand for production, resulting in an ash richer in calcium. This siccativ has been found across a large number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings, however its purpose is not laid out in documentary sources until the latter part of the sixteenth-century, when it begins to be recommended as a drier, an effect which is unconfirmed, or transparent extender for weaker pigments, or in a priming layer.⁴²⁶ The use of glass as an additive appears most commonly in red lake pigments, however the blue pigment smalt, a cobalt based pot-ash glass, has been widely identified in European paintings from the end of the fifteenth-century. In a number of cases, as discussed by Spring et al. in their 2005 study of degraded smalt and noted above in the *Darnley portrait*, the pigment does not hold its blue colouring and instead deteriorates to a brown-yellow colour over time.

⁴²⁴ Sheldon, L., 2015, pp.133-5.

⁴²⁵ Ground glass or smalt was discovered in the majority of samples taken from Gheeraerts' Thomas Lee (Tate) and Unknown Lady (Tate).

⁴²⁶ Spring, M., *Colourless Powdered Glass as an Additive in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century European Paintings*, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 33, National Gallery Company Limited, 2012, pp.16-18.

The study also identified that by the sixteenth-century, only one type of ore was used in blue glass manufacture, containing Co, As, Fe, Ni and Bi.⁴²⁷ In a follow-up study focusing specifically upon Netherlandish, German and French works of art in the National Gallery collection, Spring identified two primary additives; colourless powdered glass, and zinc sulphate. Powdered glass was found to be more common, identified by the jagged shapes of particles and conchoidal fracture lines seen in cross-sections.⁴²⁸ These translucent shapes can be seen in cross-sections from both Blair portraits, most clearly in BCA7, BCA 11, BCB 1 and BCB 3 (see appendix 6).

5.3.2.2 Red Lakes

The SEM-EDX analysis strongly suggests that red lake pigment is present in both portraits, particularly in the jewels in the costume of Marie in *King James V of Scotland and his wife Mary of Guise*, and James VI's tunic in *Mary Queen of Scots and her son James VI of Scotland*. The identification of the source of a red lake pigment, be it insect or plant, is not possible using SEM-EDX analysis alone, as the raw dyestuffs contain the same series of elements. A particularly high peak for phosphorus (P) in SEM-EDX could indicate an insect dye, but not definitively (see BCA 11, spectra 67).⁴²⁹ In order to specifically identify the organic make-up of a red lake pigment, gas chromatography-mass spectrometry (GC-MS), High-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) and Fourier transform infrared microscopy (FTIR) are required. Such analysis was outside the scope of this research but identifying the type of lake used here could be very helpful in determining period of production and the extent of European influence.

Between the fourteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, documentary sources suggest that the dye prepared from kermes, cochineal and madder was often extracted from recycled textiles originally dyed with these colorants.⁴³⁰ This factor once again makes clear identification of

⁴²⁷ Spring, M., Higgitt, C. & Saunders, D., *Investigation of Pigment-Medium Interaction Processes in Oil Paint Containing Degraded Smalt*, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 26, National Gallery Company Limited, 2005, pp.56, 63.

⁴²⁸ Spring, M., *New Insights into the Materials of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings in the National Gallery, London*, Heritage Science, 5:40, 2017, pp.1-2.

⁴²⁹ Kirby, J., Spring, M., & Higgitt, C., *The Technology of Red Lake Pigment Manufacture: Study of the Dyestuff Substrate*, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 26, 2005, p.74.

⁴³⁰ The red dye was leached out of the recycled material using lye, and the lake precipitated by the addition of slum or lime and then dried. This was a complex, variable process which meant that the colour and material composition of the resulting lake pigment varied widely. (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, note 16, p.171); Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, pp.134-5 quoting Kirby & White, 1996, Kirby et al., 2005, p.77.

the source of the dye difficult, as the expected high phosphorus peak for an insect-based dye will likely have been diminished, depending upon solubility. Additionally, red lake was made from the shearings of dyed wool, a preparation which results in notable peaks for sulphur in EDX, with little aluminium, influenced both by wool proteins and a strong alkali. Red lake made from the shearings of dyed silk will result in only a trace of sulphur under EDX analysis, but will often feature traces of ellagic acid, detectable by HPLC, used to restore weight. Those pigments made using direct extraction from the raw material involved grinding the entire insect, including the sticklac resin secreted by lac insects, extracted with alkali and mixed with alum. A similar range of elements are in both plant and insect origins, including P, K, Mg and S with additional elemental traces including Cu.⁴³¹

As well as being used in the blue pigment smalt, as discussed above, powdered glass is commonly found in red lakes, identified in works by Dirk Bouts, Raphael, Marinus van Reymerswaele,⁴³² and Hans Holbein the Elder.⁴³³ This technique has also been used by the Blair portrait artist (see BCB 3, spectra 100), which is particularly interesting as Spring found that fewer examples of the use of ground glass in northern European paintings have been found compared to their Italian contemporaries, though it is almost exclusively found in red lake samples.⁴³⁴ The presence of zinc in the Blair samples suggests the use of a zinc compound such as white vitriol or zinc sulphate added as a siccative or during precipitation to alter the hue. Zinc was identified by the LTMT project in red lake glazes used by Stefan Lochner and the Master of the Heisterbach Altarpiece, as well as by the National Gallery conservation department in Stephan Lochner's *Three Saints* (c.1450, NG 705).⁴³⁵

5.3.2.3 Lead Tin Yellow

The Blair portrait yellow particles largely feature markedly low proportions of tin (see BCA6 spectra 1, 14, BCA8, spectra 54, 55), suggesting that the pigment could either be a type of lead yellow, such as massicot, with a small proportion of tin or that it is simply very cheap grade pigment. One sample in James V and Marie de Guise however (BCA8, spectra 49, 56) demonstrates the more expected, typical levels of tin. Overall the paintings feature a fairly

⁴³¹ Kirby, Spring & Higgitt, 2005, pp.74-8.

⁴³² Spring, 2012, pp.5, 10-11.

⁴³³ Dietz, S. et al., 'Ground Glass in Holbein the Elder's Work' in Wallert (Ed) *Painting Techniques: History, Materials and Studio Practice*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2016, pp.43-46.

⁴³⁴ Spring, 2012, pp.8, 10.

⁴³⁵ Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud (Eds), 2014, pp.139-140.

limited selection of pigments, and so rather than multiple yellow pigments this research asserts that the lead-tin yellow used elsewhere is somehow dilute, or quite likely an inferior quality of pigment. It is not possible to identify the type of lead-yellow with SEM-EDX, but only XRD or Raman, therefore the yellow pigment in the Blair portraits could be massicot with a small proportion of tin.

Lead-tin yellow has been identified across European paintings of the sixteenth-century, and earlier. Its bright, cool tones were well suited to the depiction of gold and it was often used to add detail to clothing, armour and jewellery.⁴³⁶ The inclusion of a lead-tin yellow has been divided into two types; I, a lead stannate PbSnO_4 , and II, a lead tin oxide, PbSnO_3 or PbSnSiO_3 . Additionally, Naples yellow (lead antimonate, PbSbO) was developed during the seventeenth-century and was used widely between 1750 and 1850.⁴³⁷ In regard to replacing the use of gold and silver leaf in the rendition of gold thread, golden armour and jewellery, artists were not faced with many options. Lead-tin yellow's bright tones made it an obvious, relatively inexpensive choice, and is found across Netherlandish painting from the fifteenth-century onwards in works by Van Eyck, van der Weyden, Van der Goes and Bouts.⁴³⁸

5.4 Key Techniques

5.4.1 Painting Jewels and Gemstones

Much of the instructions on painting jewels can be found in miniaturist or limner's treatises, and only sparsely in those referring to larger scale painting. The limning treatises instruct that first the painter should apply metal leaf, such as silver, followed by a paint layer containing pigments such as azurite or ultramarine, or an intensely coloured red lake made from cochineal.⁴³⁹ Examining jewels depicted in Netherlandish oil painting, the use of metal leaf appears to have fallen out of fashion in sixteenth-century renderings of jewels,⁴⁴⁰ and is not present in either of the Blair Castle portraits, though it is seen in a number of contemporary

⁴³⁶ Sheldon, 2015, p.130.

⁴³⁷ Hradil, D et al., 'Microanalytical Identification of Pb-Sb-Sn Yellow Pigment in Historical European Paintings and its Differentiation from Lead Tin and Naples Yellow', *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 8, 2007, pp.377-8.

⁴³⁸ Van Duijn, E., 'All that Glitters is not Gold: Some Aspects of the Imitation of Gold-Brocaded Velvets in Early Netherlandish Painting' in Wallert (Ed) *Painting Techniques: History, Materials and Studio Practice*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 2016, p.51.

⁴³⁹ Thornton & Cain (eds), 1992, pp.78-9; Muller & Murrell (eds), 1997, pp.250-1; See Coombes, K et al., 'a multifaceted approach to the study of Tudor portrait miniatures: a case study of the Croker miniatures' in Hermens E, Fiske T (Ed). *Art Conservation and Authenticities; Material, Concept, Context*, Archetype Publications, 2009, p.126 for details of reconstructions undertaken at the V&A.

⁴⁴⁰ Whalley, 2013, pp.85, 87.

and later portraits made in England.⁴⁴¹ The glazing methods described by Haydocke and Bate to create light and depth do however translate into oil painting practice.

Richard Haydock's 1598 English translation of Gian Paolo Lomazzo's 1584 manual on oil painting states that;

The Oile Painters use these colours ("Lake, Verdigrease, and verditer") to counterfeit all cleere transparent bodies, as Carbuncles, Rubies etc. which being first grosly wrought with couterfeit mixtures of dead colours void of transparancie and brightnes, are afterwards laxeered over with simple, pure and cleane lake, which doth most artificially represent those lightes and shaddowes, which in truth are not there, making them seeme as if they were covered ouer with burning glasse, whereby they doe most neerely resemble the life.⁴⁴²

John Bate echoes these instructions in 1654, writing more briefly; "For precious stones: to make Carbuncles, Rubies etc you must first lay theyr counterfeit grounds, then with transparent colours (such as are Lake, Verdigrease, and Verditer) give them a shining gloss."⁴⁴³ In the jewels that decorate Marie de Guise's gown and hood in the Blair Castle portrait these techniques can be identified. The area of the jewel was likely left in reserve, with the orange-red priming used to indicate the deeper shadowed areas of the golden setting. The gold was then heightened with bright strokes of yellow to mimic a high shine. The gem itself is executed with a red lake paint applied over a dark background with shape indicated by the light on the left-hand side of the jewel and a bright stripe of white on the right-hand edge. There are small losses in the red pigment where the dark underlayer shows through but the transition from shadow to light is still evident. This effect, as well as the illusion of reflection added with the white highlight suggests a three-dimensional form. A cross section from one of the red gems on Marie's hood (BCA9) shows a very fine layer of bright red lake with large particles of black and white, and some orange-red vermilion particles.

⁴⁴¹ See online reports of portraits examined via the MATB database; see Henry VIII (NPG1376), Mary I (NPG428), Katherine Parr (NPG4451) for examples.

⁴⁴² Lomazzo, Haydock Translation, 1598, book 3, chapter IX, p.107.

⁴⁴³ Bate, 1654, book 3, p.175.

The treatises devoted to miniature painting provide more detailed instructions for painting pearls but are also recognisable in those written for oil painting. Hilliard writes;

The pearls layed with a whit mixed with a little black, a little Indy blewe, and a little masticot, ... That being dry, give the light of yr Pearle with silver some what more to the light side then the shadowe side, and as Round and full as yo cane, then take good whit delayed with a littel Masticot, and underneath at the shadowe side give it a Compassing stroke wch shows the reflection that a Pearle hath then without that a smale Shadowe of Seacole undermost of all.⁴⁴⁴

Similarly, in reference to oil painting, Bate writes;

For Pearles: for to make Pearles you must temper Charcoal-black with white-Lead, untill it become a perfect Russet; then make your Pearl with it: and give it a speck of white-Lead, onely to make it shine: note, that the glizening Ceruz which was mentioned in the Art of Limming, being tempered with Oyl of white Poppy, is most excellent to highten up pearles.⁴⁴⁵

The sample taken from a pearl decorating the edge of James' black velvet gown (BCA4) shows the ground layer, followed by the reddish priming and then a thick layer of dark colour with large particles of black and some bright yellow particles, topped with a stroke of bright white to indicate the highlight. When studying the surface of the portrait, the pearls decorating Marie's neckline are applied over a dark background in a blue and white mixture, with strokes of brighter white to indicate shape and shine. Beneath each pearl is a stroke of dark red for shadow. Alternatively, for the pearls on James' gown, the blue-white mix is painted in a circle and topped with a yellow circle which is then highlighted with a circular dot of bright white and often white strokes around the outside.

The pearls in James VI's bonnet are similarly painted, with some executed in a grey mixture with yellow-white highlights to the edges to indicate shape and bright white highlights for light, using the black of the velvet bonnet for the background. Some feature circles or strokes

⁴⁴⁴ Thornton & Cain (eds), 1992, p.78; this instruction regarding limning is also given in Bate, book III, p.166.

⁴⁴⁵ Bate, 1654, book III, pp.174-5.

in a gold tone used with the same white highlights, likely to imitate reflection of the gold settings on either side. The pearl sampled on James VI's feathered bonnet (BCB2) shows a layer structure of a thick smooth white ground with a large inclusion of orange pigment and some red lake. Above this is the brown priming layer present across the painting (see also BCB1), and then a dark layer with some sporadic inclusions of bright orange and a white highlight in the centre.

The teardrop pearl which Mary touches at the end of her ruby or garnet pendant has suffered some losses to the upper layers, and is very simply painted in a grey mixture, with white edging and a bright white highlight. In contrast in the Hardwick Hall portrait (*figure 91*), and over the fabric of Master John's Katherine Parr (NPG4451, c.1545) the pearls are painted in extremely lightly, with a translucent white circle over the top of the textile painted beneath, highlighted with the familiar white strokes.⁴⁴⁶ These pearls could have been applied with a lighter hand to complement their surroundings rather than stand out, or the paint could have become translucent with age, but a more delicate application was certainly made in these instances. In the same portrait of Katherine Parr, we see boldly painted pearls along the neckline of her gown, with blue-white strokes applied over a flesh coloured background and black outlines with a single white dot to highlight.⁴⁴⁷

5.4.2 Painting Golden Settings and Chains

The techniques for painting gold demonstrate a variety of methods ranging from using gold leaf to using pigments such as lead-tin yellow in oil to simulate gold, as can be seen in the Hardwick Hall portrait of James V (*figure 92 & 93*). In one of the NPG's portraits of Henry VIII (NPG1376) attributed to an unknown Netherlandish artist and dated to c.1535-40, gold leaf is used for the gold band of a diamond ring on the monarch's right hand. The diamond stone is painted black over the top of the gold leaf with no setting, and a dot of white to indicate shine.⁴⁴⁸ Similarly the NPG portrait of Mary I by Master John, 1544 (NPG428) uses mordant gilding and gold leaf for the jewels decorating her hood, gown and brooch.⁴⁴⁹ The

⁴⁴⁶ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw01957/Katherine-Parr?#surfaceexamination>, image 7 of 18, micro 08.

⁴⁴⁷ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw01957/Katherine-Parr?#surfaceexamination>, image 16 of 18, micro 20.

⁴⁴⁸ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw03084/King-Henry-VIII?#paintsampling> see image 5 of 18, micro 08.

⁴⁴⁹ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw04264/Queen-Mary-I?#paintsampling> see image 14, 17, 18 of 20.

execution of these jewels are more sophisticated than in the portrait of Henry VIII, with decorative tooling of the gold leaf for the settings and strokes of off-white used to indicate shape of the stones with bright white highlights and variation in colour to imitate reflection. Master John once again uses metal leaf for the jewels and costume in his portrait of Katherine Parr (NPG4451, c.1545).⁴⁵⁰ When studying the reports on the paintings techniques of the c.1538 portraits of the English court examined by the MATB project, it is apparent that the use of metal leaf was much more prevalent than the new techniques of using layered paint to imitate gold.

A sample was taken from the chain worn by James V (BCA12, *figure 94*) showing the upper layer with large particles of orange-yellow and white, with some clear shards and a dark upper layer likely indicating shadow. No gold leaf is present in the Blair portraits, in the case of James' gold chain the form is first painted in using a dark red pigment, followed by broken strokes of bright yellow with sections of black and dark red coming through the 'gold' to create shadow and depth. White highlights are applied to the edges and ends of the patterns to imitate reflection. This same technique is used for the settings of the jewels sewn into Marie's clothing (*figure 95-97*). In some jewels, the left-hand side of the setting is only painted in the dark red pigment, suggesting heavy shadow.

In the portrait of Mary Stuart and James VI, the ruby set in James' bonnet is painted using the same technique; a dark red-brown underlayer followed by the yellow-white thick gold application and then highlights and thinner strokes of yellow to indicate shadow and depth. The ruby or garnet itself is painted in a red lake over the red-brown layer and shaped using strokes of black, white and a central reflective panel which appears of be a mixture of white, black and green or blue.

Although the Blair Castle, SNPG and Hardwick Hall portraits of James V use oil paint to create illusions of gold in both fabric and jewellery, the Royal Collection portrait of James, considered to be one of the more authentic images of the Scottish monarch, features the technique dominant in English portraits of this period; using gold leaf (*figure 98*). In the Royal Collection portrait James' large sleeves (*figure 99*) and chain (*figure 100*) are both executed using gold leaf with black paint detailing edging and embroidery, more closely

⁴⁵⁰ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw01957/Katherine-Parr?#paintsampling>.

resembling the trend in England at the time but lacking the modern techniques seen in the Blair portraits.

5.4.3 Painting Flesh

One of the key aspects of portraiture, and often considered one of the most challenging, is the realistic depiction of flesh tones.⁴⁵¹ The flesh tone used in a portrait can indicate age, wealth and social standing, and as this section goes on to discuss, many artists' treatises devote space to the discussion on the successful depiction of skin, often in relation to whether the subject be "swarthy" or pale.

The lifelike representation of human skin is so widely discussed in the treatises (see appendix 4), that it is evidently a key objective of artists in the pursuit of realism. Whilst appearing uniform, flesh makes constant subtle transitions between tone, texture and colour, making it one of the most difficult aspects of a portrait to paint. As Willem de Kooning states, 'oil painting was invented to paint flesh,' with earlier artists battling with fast-drying opaque proteinaceous media.⁴⁵²

The samples taken from the edges of the faces of James V (BCA11, *figure 101*) and Mary Queen of Scots (BCB6, *figure 104*) demonstrate the use of this traditional formation for skin-tone in both Blair Castle double portraits; large inclusions of red lake and black in a dominantly white upper paint layer. The sample taken from James' skin-tone again shows a rough chalk ground and the consistent red-brown priming. The simplicity of the rendering of the skin-tone in these works corresponds to the instructions given by the English treatise writers, and by those techniques discovered in works outlined above. It is likely, particularly in the case of the portrait of *Mary Queen of Scots and her son James VI of Scotland* that the artist followed instructions as laid out by Bate;

Colour for faces

First, lay upon the cheeks little spots of Lake or red Lead, then come all over it with white, and a little Lake; shadow it with Lam-black or Umber, and white Lead.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ Lehmann, A-S., 'Fleshing out the Body: the 'colours of the naked' in workshop practice and art theory, 1400-1600' in Lehmann & Roodenburg (eds) *Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art*, Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 2007-2008, vol.58, Wanders Publishers, Zwolle, p.88.

⁴⁵² Bol, M. & Lehmann, S.A., 2012, p.216; Lehmann, S.A., 2007-2008, p.88.

⁴⁵³ Bate, 1654, book III, p.148.

The red lake pigments included in the mixture for both subjects in the 1583 portrait have likely faded with age, leading to Mary's grey complexion and James VI's extremely pale skintone (*figures 103 & 104*), as seen in *Elizabeth I* (NPG 2082, c.1575).⁴⁵⁴ The double portrait of James V and Marie de Guise show no such fading (*figures 101 & 102*), though the cross-section does suggest the inclusion of red lake. The explanation for such a difference in ageing could be attributed to storage differences, and exposure to light.

In the analysis undertaken by Jones upon English portraits in the Tate collection, lead white was found in all three, as well as vermilion and red lake.⁴⁵⁵ Azurite was identified in Bette's *an Unknown Man in a Black Cap*,⁴⁵⁶ and cologne earth in Kettel's three family portraits of the Smythes.⁴⁵⁷ When examining flesh paints in nine Gheeraerts portraits, Rae found that lead white was present in all samples. Vermilion was the preferred red pigment, identified in all but one, alongside red lake in five portraits. Smalt was identified in two portraits, *Portrait of an Unknown Woman* and the NPG *Lady Scudamore*, and black pigments in seven of the nine.⁴⁵⁸

The inclusions of black, smalt, red lake, earth tones and lead white in James V (see BCA11, spectra 65-74) and Mary Stuart's (see BCB6) flesh-tone closely resemble the pigments suggested in both the Strasburg Manuscript, and two entries in the De Mayerne Manuscript.⁴⁵⁹ In findings by the MATB project regarding portraits made ca.1538, *Anne Boleyn* (NPG668, c.1533-6) features flesh paint which was thinly applied and composed of a mixture of lead white, charcoal black, vermilion, red lake and some yellow ochre. In *Henry VIII* (NPG1376, 1535-40), vermilion, charcoal and azurite make up the flesh paint, with azurite also used in the whites of the eyes. Similarly to the Blair portraits, the portrait of *Sir Richard Southwell*, after Holbein (NPG4912, 1536) was found by the project to contain vermilion, red lake, lead white and some black particles. In portraits examined that date to ca.1583, similar findings were identified. In *Queen Elizabeth I* (NPG200, c.1580-90), samples from the overlying and underlying faces were taken. Results showed that the flesh

⁴⁵⁴ Bolland, C & Cooper, T., 2014, p.167.

⁴⁵⁵ Jones, R., 1995, pp.228, 231-2, 235-6.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid, p.231-2.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid, p.228.

⁴⁵⁸ Rae, 2015, table A4.16, volume 2, page 617.

⁴⁵⁹ Kinseher, K., 'Painted Skin: Reconstruction of Recipes for Flesh Colours in Artists' Manuals' in Clarke, Townsend & Stijnman (eds) *Art of the Past: Sources and Reconstructions*, proceedings of the 1st symposium of the Art Technological Source Research Study Group, Archetype Publications & ICN Amsterdam, 2005, p.137.

tone used in both portraits were a mixture of lead white, vermilion, red lake, and black. The use of red lake in the considerably greyed flesh-tone corresponds to the deterioration seen in *Mary, Queen of Scots and her Son James VI of Scotland*. In *Sir Edward Hoby* (NPG1974, 1583), the deteriorated flesh-tone has also been found to consist of red lake, vermilion and lead white.⁴⁶⁰

The comparison of the Blair portraits to those examined as part of the MATB project, alongside the written tracts of the period, demonstrates that there was a standard pigment mixture for flesh-tone, consisting of red lake, vermilion and lead white. Pigments such as ochre and azurite have been identified, but always on the base of those three key colours.

As noted above, comparatively little has been written on the techniques of achieving realistic flesh tones in Renaissance portraiture. After reviewing the literature that does exist and making comparisons between the Blair Castle portraits and their English contemporaries examined as part of the MATB project, this may be due to the startlingly standard approach to the rendering of skin. The treatises remark upon how to present those of different social standing based upon their complexions, but the techniques used appear uniform, with a set of pigments used varying only in their concentrations and mixtures. The most common flesh mixtures contain white lead, lake and vermilion, with ivory black, coal black added for shadows, and pure lake for the ‘mouth stroke’. Peacham and Gwillim both instruct on the single stroke of lake for the mouth, and such a technique has been widely identified by the MATB project.⁴⁶¹ Such a technique cannot be confirmed in the Blair portraits; however, it looks extremely likely in the case of the portrait of James VI.

5.4.4 Painting Textiles⁴⁶²

Before discussing the techniques of painting costume, the costume present in the portraits should first be identified. In the Blair Castle portrait of James V and Marie de Guise, James wears a shirt, doublet, jerkin and gown in keeping with the style of the 1530s. Marie wears a French-style hood and gown with a rarely-seen straight neckline in gold damask, patterned with red leaves. The ruffled edge of her smock appears along her neckline. In the portrait of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI, Mary wears a black gown and white cap, and James

⁴⁶⁰ See online Making Art in Tudor Britain database for full reports on all pictures included in the project.

⁴⁶¹ Plender, S., 2015, p.123.

⁴⁶² See appendix 4 for a more detailed overview of gold-thread textile painting.

wears a red silk doublet in the style of the 1570s.⁴⁶³ In the Hardwick Hall double portraits James V wears a bronze damask slashed doublet with white tufts of his undershirt and a jewel-decorated neckline. Over this he wears the black velvet gown seen in the Blair portrait, edged with rich fur. Marie de Guise wears a dark red brocade velvet gown embroidered with pomegranate patterns with slashed sleeves and heavy ermine over-sleeves. Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, wears a bright pink satin doublet with gold embroidery, and Mary Queen of Scots wears a bronze damask gown with a black velvet coat embroidered in golden thread. She wears a high collar and ruff, and black pearl-embroidered cap with a feather.

5.4.4.1 Preparatory Layers for Textiles

In the Blair portrait of Marie de Guise, the layer structure is composed of a chalk ground with a streakily painted oil isolation layer or *priming*⁴⁶⁴ (visible in infrared), and an orange-brown base layer in the area of the painted damask. The gown is then painted with an overall gold-brown colour, patterned with impasto strokes of red and white, with yellow-white highlights to indicate light and raised texture. The majority of the various depictions cited here show a systematic build-up very similar to that of the Blair portrait; the chalk ground onto which underdrawing, if present, is applied, followed by an isolating layer and a localised coloured base layer under the area of fabric. The colour of the textile is then painted in a mid-tone and shadows and lights applied to indicate depth and drape, the pattern painted in and the highlights applied (see cross-sections BCA2, 6 & 7).

5.4.4.2 Textile Underdrawing and the Use of Patterns

As noted earlier in this discussion, very little evidence of underdrawing can be found in IR imaging of the Blair Castle portrait of Marie of Guise. There is very little evidence of a free hand, and no hatching or shading indicated. In the costume there are no indications of drawing in IR,⁴⁶⁵ however it is possible that any underdrawing would be clearer in the deeper penetration of IRR, or that it was applied in a medium invisible to infrared, such as iron gall ink⁴⁶⁶ or red or white chalk.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ Correspondence with Maria Hayward, 5th July 2017; Mikhaila, N & Malcolm-Davies, J., *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing sixteenth-Century Dress*, Batsford, London, 2006, pp.12-13, 97.

⁴⁶⁴ An isolation layer of pigments bound in oil medium, applied on to chalk or gesso grounds prevents the medium in subsequent paint layers being absorbed by the ground. This layer is often coloured, and can be opaque or transparent. (Van Hout, 1998, pp.199-200).

⁴⁶⁵ The replaced lower third of the work features strong dark lines of underdrawing in the textile pattern, but as this is a much later addition it is of no relevance to this discussion.

⁴⁶⁶ Van Duijn, 2013, p.31.

⁴⁶⁷ Bambach, 1999, p.55; Cooper, 2009, p.8.

Although little physical evidence of the use of patterns exists, surface examination can allude to the techniques of application. The Blair portrait of Marie of Guise features an ornate leaf motif, on a gold-coloured background. The outline of the leaf pattern is painted in red over the gold-coloured background, with the sheen of the damask indicated by short, loaded brushstrokes of yellow-white paint (see cross-sections BCA 6 & 7). The direction of light is indicated by the execution of a strong stripe of light-reflecting sheen in the centre of her gown and a gradual transition into shadow across her left arm. The leaf pattern is executed to indicate height, raised from the cloth-of-gold by intensive stripes of light. The Blair portrait of Marie of Guise uses a similar technique to that of Engebrechtsz, whose detailing was painted on top of the warm underlayer, with no evidence of a pattern transfer found. Van Duijn puts this down to the likely use of white chalk in the transfer, favoured by artists for applications of this kind due to its invisibility once painted over.⁴⁶⁸

5.4.4.3 Achieving Texture

After tracing the pattern in the Blair portrait, the cohesion between the opposite sides of motif is roughly executed and suggests that the design may also have been painted freehand. Compared to the Hardwick Hall gown (*figure 105-107*) the motif is not complicated, but when inverted does match sufficiently to indicate the use of a template or prepared pattern, as described above. However, the motif of the long leaf repeated on the sleeves are poor matches for each other, with some shapes only featuring once. This suggests that, although familiar with the techniques of his contemporaries in portraying rich textiles, the Blair portrait artist was certainly competent, but not expert.

5.4.4.4 Painting the Golden Embroidery

Impasto brushstrokes, as seen in *Mary I* (1554, NPG 4861), *Elizabeth I* (c.1575, NPG 2082)⁴⁶⁹ and the Blair portrait of Marie de Guise were used to form ridges with bright yellow hatches placed on top to suggest reflection. A very similar technique was used by Hugo van der Goes in the brocades of the *Portinari altarpiece*, where he painted the gold thread using impasto ochre brushstrokes forming small ridges. Again, bright yellow hatches on top of the ridges mark highlights in the drapery folds.⁴⁷⁰ The Blair portrait employs these techniques of

⁴⁶⁸ Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, pp.3-7; Dijkstra, J., 'Technical Examination', in Ridderbos et al. (eds) *Early Netherlandish Paintings: Rediscovery, Reception and Research*, Amsterdam University Press, 2005, pp.292-296.

⁴⁶⁹ For photomicrographs of techniques for both portraits see Bolland & Cooper, 2014, pp.124-5, 165.

⁴⁷⁰ Duits, 2008, pp.59-60.

diagonal and flat brush strokes with yellow highlights, with impasto red outlines of the leaves and some impasto yellow lines to indicate sheen, successfully indicating comparatively coarse embroidery. Lead-tin yellow was commonly used to achieve the bright yellow of lit gold, a technique which can be seen throughout Engebrechtsz's work,⁴⁷¹ in Van Eyck's *Virgin with Canon Van der Paele*,⁴⁷² and in the Tudor portraits of *Henry VII* (1505, NPG 416), and *Mary I* by Hans Eworth (1554, NPG 4861).⁴⁷³

Despite the initial impression of naiveté in the rendering of costume in the Blair portrait *King James V of Scotland and his Wife Marie of Guise*, close examination suggests that these new, fashionable skills are being used in the execution of the golden gown. In the portrait of Marie of Guise an orange-brown base layer is visible in losses in the area of the fabric, a priming layer confirmed by examination of the cross-sections extracted from the portrait. The gown is then painted with an overall gold-brown colour, patterned with impasto strokes of red and white, with yellow-white highlights to indicate light and raised texture.

When examining the paint cross-section extracted from the yellow edge of Marie's gown (see BCA2) a pale chalk ground with white particles is visible, over which lies a lead white and earth priming layer. This is followed by a layer of lead-tin yellow mixed with red, black and white, with a darker red lake layer on top likely representing the red embroidery detailing on the dress with large pigments of black, red, yellow and some blue. Another sample taken from the left sleeve of Marie's dress (BCA6) demonstrates a clearer layer structure with a granular white ground and thin red priming layer, followed by a thick layer of bright yellow with inclusions of orange particles, dark red and some black. A sample of red lake (BCA7) taken from one of the leaves on Marie's dress also shows the red priming, followed by the bright yellow layer with red lake and lead-tin yellow inclusions, and finally a similarly thick layer of red lake with some yellow and lead white inclusions.

5.4.4.5 Painting Black Velvet

James V wears a white shirt embroidered in black-work, with a standing collar and small ruff. Over this he wears a gold edged white damask doublet, which opens in three sections to show the shirt below and is fixed with gold embroidered fasteners (*figure 108*). The white damask

⁴⁷¹ Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, pp.3, 9-10.

⁴⁷² Duits, 2008, p.57.

⁴⁷³ Bolland & Cooper, 2014, pp.35, 125.

is decorated in a light floral pattern with gold thread (*figure 109*). Over this he wears a black velvet coat decorated with large pearls (*figure 110*). Just above where the reconstructed lower third begins a deep red lake section of sleeve with golden embroidery is present (*figure 111*), but below this the painted sleeves cannot be trusted to be accurate reproductions of the original painting, as with Marie's fitted cuffed sleeves.

In the Hardwick Hall portrait, Mary Stuart wears a black velvet tunic embellished with black-work embroidery pearls (*figure 113*) and golden embroidery with bronze damask sleeves (*figure 112*). The matching single head-and-shoulders portrait in the NPG collection matches a miniature in the Uffizi collection identically in costume, dated to 1560-5 and thought to be a copy of a lost painting. Strong originally believed that this portrait was an eighteenth-century copy after the miniature,⁴⁷⁴ but dendrochronology dates the portrait support to 1560-92.⁴⁷⁵ In the Hardwick Hall portrait, as in the NPG portrait, the dress appears to have been painted in using black pigment in reserve, followed with modelling. The thread-of-gold edging was then painted in using a yellow pigment, likely lead-tin yellow.

Much of the techniques used for painting black velvet correspond to those discussed above when approaching golden damask. The height and depth of pile must be indicated using grey and white shadows and highlights. The treatises include little specifically related to black velvet, apart from in Bate, who writes;

For black Velvet take Lamp-black and Verdigrease, for your first ground; when that is dry, take Ivory-black, and Verdigrease; shadow it with a little white Lead mixed with Lamp-black.⁴⁷⁶

Monnas notes that in Venetian dyers' manuals, a great deal of space was devoted to the creation of a high-quality black, produced with a mixture of dyestuffs including oak galls, tannins, woad and madder or kermes. Dyeing the pile of velvet was particularly difficult as the material was extremely absorbent. The high level of skill required in the creation of black

⁴⁷⁴ Strong, 1969, p.215.

⁴⁷⁵ MATB entry in the Tudor and Jacobean Database.

⁴⁷⁶ Bate, 1635, Book 3, p.172.

silks and velvets resulted in it being one of the costliest fabrics to purchase, second only those of deep reds and purples due to the amount of insect dye required for a saturated result.⁴⁷⁷ The black velvet of James' jacket is painted in extremely simply using a flat black background with sporadic short strokes of grey to indicate pile. The pearls, discussed in the following section on jewels, are then painted over the top, and the golden edge of the garment is painted in two layers, red-brown followed by a broken line of yellow-gold, indicating shadow and shine.

It is unclear whether the black garment Mary wears in *Mary, Queen of Scots and her Son James VI* is intended to be velvet, perhaps due to the overall abrasion of the painter surface. The saturated black of the cloth is painted over a dark brown layer, with some indications of pale strokes used to suggest creases under the arm on the left sleeve (*figure 114*).

5.4.4.6 Painting Lace

In the Blair Castle portrait, Mary's costume is simple, depicting her in the black and white, traditional to portraits depicting her after her abdication. The sample taken from Mary's white cap (BCB1) demonstrates a clear layer structure, with a similarly granular white ground to that seen in the double portrait of her parents, brown priming layer featuring large particles of yellow, orange and black, and finally a white layer with large black particles and evidence of charcoal as well as some yellow and red. Her black dress features no embroidery or design, and is extremely simply painted. Over this she wears a sheer white collar, painted thinly with long stripes of thicker white pigment to indicate folds or creases (*figure 115 & 116*).

Her lace ruff is quite finely painted with repeated patterns, embroidery around the edge and folds of fabric. The ruff is fastened with a cluster of white orbs, which are painted in a similar way to the pearls; grey circles with white outlines and a central white highlight. A similar pattern in lace is seen in the NPG portrait *Sir Edward Hoby* by an unknown Netherlandish artist, dated to 1583 (NPG1974), the same year of this portrait of Mary.⁴⁷⁸ Hoby's ruff is painted in a very similar way to Mary's, with a thin grey layer followed by white highlights.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ Monnas, 2008, pp.24-5.

⁴⁷⁸ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw03170/Sir-Edward-Hoby?>

⁴⁷⁹ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw03170/Sir-Edward-Hoby?>, image 7 of 20 (micro 06), image 13 of 20 (micro 12), image 16 of 20 (micro 17).

Little is written on lace in the English treatises, however John Bate does include a brief note in his section on ‘Colours for Apparel’:

For Ruffs take Charcoal black, and mix it with white Lead, make it darker or lighter at your pleasure; but then you make your lace on Ruffs, Cuffs, or such like, you must put to it a little Oyl and Smalt; you must remember (as I have already told you) to temper all your colours for Linnen with Oyl of Nuts, for Linseed Oyl will turn yellow.⁴⁸⁰

The lace edging in the Blair portrait is a brighter grey, with white highlights to distinguish it from the embroidered fabric of Mary’s ruff and the dark background.

5.4.4.7 *Painting Satin*

In high contrast to the simple clothes worn by his mother, James VI is painted in bright scarlet silk with gold embroidery. The sample taken from James VI’s finely painted red tunic (BCB3) shows a thick, granular ground with black inclusions followed by the priming layer, followed by a pale pink layer with large particles of red lake, bright lead white and charcoal, and finally a thick layer of saturated red lake with some inclusions of white. Surface examination of James’ silk tunic suggests that a pink mid-tone is applied overall with contrasting stripes of pure red and brown folds (*figure 118 & 119*).

The bright pink satin worn by James in the Blair portrait is similar to the doublet worn by his father, Henry Stewart, in the Hardwick Hall portrait (*see image 120*). The quality of painting seen in Darnley’s outfit has suffered from abrasion, loss and restoration, as in the Rijksmuseum head-and-shoulders version, but the embroidery convincingly follows the shape of his body and creases in the sleeves. Instead of the large ruff worn by James, Darnley wears a high collar with a small ruff and matching cuffs (*figure 121 & 122*). Leonardo does not display any great advances in technique compared to Cennini in his fifteenth-century treatise;

If you want to present woollen cloth draw the folds from that; and if it is to be silk, or fine cloth or coarse, or of linen or of crape, vary the folds in each and do not represent

⁴⁸⁰ Bate, 1635, Book 3, pp.171-2.

dressess, as many do, from models covered with paper or thin leather which will deceive you greatly.⁴⁸¹

The only specific silk weave mentioned is satin, but the instruction seems to apply for all light silks;

Above all, diversify the draperies in narrative scenes; in some make the folds faceted with breaks, and do this with the dense fabrics, and some should have soft folds with sides that are not angular but curved. This occurs in the case of serge and satin and other fine fabrics such as linen, veils and the like.⁴⁸²

Different techniques to those described thus far were used in achieving a realistic texture when painting *changeant* fabric. Vandivere and Clarke have identified “sophisticated” representations of these fabrics in early fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting, using two medieval manuscripts to demonstrate the prevalence of these techniques pre-Van Eyck; the *Compendium Artis Picturae* (Flanders, c.1200) and the Montpellier *Liber diversarum arcium* (Northern European, c.1400).⁴⁸³ In the *Liber diversarum arcium* (LDA), eight colour combinations are listed specifying colours for the base tone and highlights. In the case of a red silk fabric, as James wears, the red is offset by either a blue or pink undertone;

Vestimenta. Biset imple vestimentum, tractra fiantcum azuro, ... Purpura pingatur cum cinaprio et defloretur alba (Clothing. Fill in clothing with biset (pale blue), lines are made with azure. The purpura (shot silk or ‘changeant’ effect) is painted with cinnabar and finished with white)

“Purpura. Minio plus mixto cinaprio albo mixto (read: mino vel cenobrio albo mixtro) imple vestimentum, et tractra fiant cum cinaprio puro Purpura pingatur cum exudra, deloretur cum albo vel auripigmento (Purpura. With minium or cinnabar mixed with white, fill in clothing, and lines are made with pure cinnabar. The purpura is painted with exudra (brown outline colour), flourished with white or orpiment).⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸¹ Duits, 2008, p.24; Richter, 1939, vol.1, p.270, no.392.

⁴⁸² Duits, 2008, p.25; Richter, J.P. & Pedretti, C., *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, the Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art, University of California, 1977, p.289.

⁴⁸³ These treatises date from considerably earlier than the focus of this research, but no instruction on the painting of this fabric has been found in sixteenth-seventeenth-century artists’ tracts.

⁴⁸⁴ Vandivere & Clarke, ‘Changing drapery, recipes and practice,’ Postprints of the conference *Vision and Material: Interaction between art and science in Jan van Eyck’s time*, Vlaams Academisch Centrum,

The technique described by Da Vinci can be seen in portraits of the Tudor court, specifically *Katherine of Aragon* (unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, c.1520, Lambeth Palace) and *Elizabeth I* (att. Guillum Scrots, c.1546, Royal Collection). The silk in the portrait of Katherine of Aragon is less artfully executed, with heavy, broad strokes of pale pink or white indicating light moving from the shoulders down the waist. In Scrots' *Elizabeth I*, the young Elizabeth is dressed in figured silk embroidered with a large but simple floral motif.⁴⁸⁵ The folds of the fabric are indicated by dark shadows for creases, and the curve of the gown around her body is successfully realised with a dramatic gradation from dark to light. The depiction of the light moving across the silk is sophisticated in this portrait, similar to that of James VI's tunic in the movement from deep red shadow into pale pink light.

Patterned fabrics, particularly embroidered velvet as worn by Marie de Guise in the Hardwick Hall portrait, are listed in fabric inventories of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries amongst the most costly fabrics available.⁴⁸⁶ A high level of technical expertise was required in the manufacture of such textiles, and the raw materials such as gold thread, silk and organic dyes were costly.⁴⁸⁷ Nothing was wasted as the scraps were used to make cushions, sleeves or shoes or donated to the Church for vestments.⁴⁸⁸ The embellishment of rich fabrics with gold weft can be traced back to documents of the late 1420s, where King Henry VI of England's wardrobe accounts refer to 'velvet over velvet with gold over gold'.⁴⁸⁹ These types of textiles were often requested as specific conditions from patrons for commissions of both religious and secular paintings. For example, that the Madonna be clad in cloth-of-gold with patterns of ultramarine and linings of red lake or green gold brocade with considerable emphasis upon the quality of materials used, such as ultramarine and gold leaf.⁴⁹⁰ Viewed as a luxury item, richly decorated fabrics feature prominently in portraits of European monarchs and their courtiers.

Brussels, Belgium, November 2010, M. De Mey, M.P.J. Martens and C. Stroo (eds.), published 2012, pp.236-7; see Hans Holbein, *Henry Brandon, 2nd Earl of Suffolk*, c.1541, Royal Collection for an example of a changeant sleeve.

⁴⁸⁵ Bolland & Cooper, 2014, p.136.

⁴⁸⁶ Devolder, 2009, pp.62-63.

⁴⁸⁷ Monnas, 2008, pp.24-25; Devolder, 2009, pp.62-63; Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, p.1.

⁴⁸⁸ Duits, R., 'Figured Riches', *JWCI*, 62, 1999, pp.67-69; Duits, 2008, p.92; Devolder, 2009, p.62; Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, pp.1-2.

⁴⁸⁹ See Il Sicillo's treatises on the meaning of colours; 'the primary metal to show colour is gold, which by its nature is the noblest of all metals, being naturally clear, bright, virtuous and pleasing'; 'ancient laws ordained that nobody should have the audacity to wear gold, or gilded items, who was not of noble blood, and a knight'; 'kings and grand lord wear gold as a sign of their valour.' (Duits, 2008, pp.189-190).

⁴⁹⁰ Duits, 2008, pp.4-5.

The likelihood of the Blair Castle portraits being taken directly from life is low, and as such it is more probable that repeated face patterns were used and the bodies and garments of the sitters imagined or painted from descriptions. However, the singular French-style gown in extremely costly fabric worn by Marie de Guise in the Blair portrait suggests that the portrait was taken either from life or from a pre-existing portrait from life as such an unusual gown is unlikely to have been fiction. The artist would have been more likely to imagine her in a gown closer to the style in the Hardwick Hall portrait which was a widespread style of the time.

5.5 Concluding Discussion

It is in the careful examination of the techniques of such surviving works that the art historical hurdles presented by the lack of documentation relating to artists or commissions can be overridden, and information key to the working practices of these anonymous craftsmen revealed. These techniques for painting jewels, for example, were well-known amongst practicing artists, as evidenced by their inclusion in the treatises, and finding them repeated in these works suggest that they were executed by artists educated in the established methods of their craft. The level of skill and correspondence to contemporary techniques revealed in the rendering of these jewels goes some way to reveal more about the presence of artists of quality working in sixteenth-century Scotland, reflecting the influence of the continent upon the Scottish Court and further counteracting the longstanding assumption of it as a court without culture.

Traditionally in the medieval and Renaissance periods, painters learnt their trade through working and practicing in a workshop, under the tutelage of a master and established assistants. There was little theoretical teaching, however; towards the end of the sixteenth-century there was a rising interest in painting as an honourable pursuit for gentlemen, leading to the publication of instructive and discursive treatises. These treatises have been widely used in the examination of paintings of the period, as they have been in examining the Blair Castle portraits; however, a note of caution must be sounded regarding their literal application, and the motives of their publication, particularly when considering tracts devoted to oil painting did not appear until the end of the seventeenth-century. Additionally, as the

Blair Castle portraits largely pre-date the sources, care must be taken when making direct comparisons.⁴⁹¹

One of the key findings in the examination of the Blair Castle portraits was that of an overall tinted, streakily applied priming or priming layer. When examining works painted in England in the sixteenth-century, the dominant technique identified by the MATB project was the application of a warm grey layer. In the Blair Castle portraits, the cross-sections reveal a red-toned priming, in keeping with the instructions provided in the treatises by Peacham and Gwillim, and in a work examined by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger at Tate Britain. The presence of a red-toned priming in the Blair portraits further confirms the suggestion of Northern European influence, first implied by the streaky application of the intermediate layer.⁴⁹² In terms of pigments identified, analysis will need to be carried out upon the Blair Castle cross-sections to confirm the presence of the pigments which would be expected in a European work of this period.

All the above research into the techniques used in the Blair Castle portraits including textiles, jewels and flesh painting place these portraits firmly within the sixteenth-century. The painting methods identified and materials preliminarily identified correspond to those found in research carried out on similar portraits of the period and with the instructions in the painting treatises written up to the mid-seventeenth-century. The level of skill in the handling of the materials varies considerably between the two double portraits, and between their surviving versions, but regardless of this the techniques used are recognisably of the period and of both Anglo-Netherlandish and Northern European influence. When considering the likelihood of the Scottish portraits being executed by a Netherlandish or Netherlandish-influenced hand, one might look to their European neighbours. The popularity and great success of the Netherlandish high realism ensured that this particular painting style was dominant in Europe in sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, in works ranging from high level commissions to the mass production of pictures for international sale. Oil painting had been the dominant medium in Europe since the medieval period, and the most common supports for portable paintings were wooden panel, canvas, or fine linen cloth. The type of wood used varied geographically, however oak, as used in the Blair portraits, was most common

⁴⁹¹ Plender, S., 2015, pp.117-8, 126.

⁴⁹² Ibid, p.118.

throughout the Northern part of the continent.⁴⁹³ Jo Kirby-Atkinson's work on the operation of the materials market and examination of documentary evidence such as port records demonstrates that England benefited from the common availability of the European materials,⁴⁹⁴ and when considering Scotland's links with the mainland as demonstrated in chapter two, it is extremely likely that they benefited similarly.

⁴⁹³ Foister, S., 2015, pp.204, 206.

⁴⁹⁴ See Kirby, J., Nash, S. & Cannon, J. (Ed.), *Trade in Artists' Materials; Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700*, London: Archetype Publications, 2010.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

How different our perception of medieval Scotland would be if we could still see in their full glory the cathedrals of St Andrews and Elgin, or the abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose, great works of art whose counterparts on a larger scale have survived largely intact south of the border! Similarly, had the Stuart palaces at Stirling, Linlithgow and Falkland – which can stand comparison with some of the lesser chateaux of the Loire – suffered less abuse and neglect, Scotland could now more confidently claim her modest place in the history of Renaissance art. Sadly, the toll of destruction – resulting from the Earl of Hertford's invasion in 1544, the religious iconoclasm of 1559-60, and the civil war that followed Mary's abdication in 1567 – was not confined to buildings but also extended to their contents.⁴⁹⁵

6.1 Portraiture at the Scottish Court

This research originated with three primary questions; are the Blair Castle portraits authentic images? How do they fit into the contemporaneous culture of court portraiture production in Northern Europe and across the border in England? Does the physical evidence support the notion of Netherlandish influence? It aimed to present surviving documentary evidence of the painterly aspects of the courts of King James V and his grandson King James VI, and to use the results of interdisciplinary technical analysis to explore whether the materials and techniques of the Blair portraits and their surviving counterparts demonstrate enough Netherlandish influence to propose that a Scoto-Netherlandish school of painting could have existed in the sixteenth-century.

The literature review carried out by this research demonstrates the limited examination of the surviving works of this period exhibited by previous art historical scholarship. The work of Lorne Campbell aside,⁴⁹⁶ historians have largely glossed over the surviving portraits in Scotland despite a recent surge in interest in the period overall. Writers such as Thomson⁴⁹⁷ and Macmillan⁴⁹⁸ began the work, identifying surviving portraits and speculating upon the

⁴⁹⁵ Cherry, 1987, p.10.

⁴⁹⁶ Thompson, C & Campbell, L., 1996.

⁴⁹⁷ Thomson, D., 1975.

⁴⁹⁸ Macmillan, D., 2000; Macmillan, October 2014, November 2014.

circumstances of their commission, but initiatives such as the Making Art in Tudor Britain project have raised the bar. Secondary scholarship and speculation are no longer the limit; the discipline of technical art history has opened doors on portraits long since dismissed as ‘problem pictures’, the Scottish survivors included. The considerable advances in our understanding of painting techniques and circumstances of commission during the Tudor and Elizabethan periods in England stand testament to the significance of technical research and surface examination in this context. The Scottish school of painting deserves the same attention. One of the most significant demonstrations by Campbell is that the artistic relationship between Scotland and the Low Countries can be found as far back as James I; he notes the interest the compilers of the *Recueil d’Arras* took in notable Scottish figures in the 1560s,⁴⁹⁹ and the importance of the Trinity College Altarpiece as one of the most notable masterpieces commissioned by the Scottish monarchy.⁵⁰⁰ All surviving records identified by previous scholarship together with this thesis demonstrate that the Scottish court was a lively one. The surviving portraits are notably few compared to those across the border, but the quality of and evidence supplied by these works strongly suggest that Scotland was not immune to the artistic advances moving across the continent but were involved from an early time and keenly aware of the new fashions and influences of the Low Countries. Although no well-known painters or ‘king’s painter’ existed before James VI’s rule, the records of the painter-craftsmen employed throughout the reigns of James V and Mary, Queen of Scots demonstrate a vibrant court, and considerable insight into the decorative work undertaken in upkeep and celebrations on a regular basis. From maintaining the royal houses to painting guns and trumpet banners, these men were the primary portrayers of the royal image, and the projection of the royal body. Come 1531, the young James V was asserting his authority, and alongside the international outreach and political assertion at arms over the Douglas family and Macdonald of Islay and Maclean of Duart,⁵⁰¹ was the sending to Flanders for ‘fyne picturis.’⁵⁰² James may not have employed an artist of the Low Countries as a member of his household before Marie de Guise brought over her ‘Queenis payntour’, but this key entry in the TA demonstrates that James knew where the fashionable pictures were to be bought.

⁴⁹⁹ Campbell, 1996, pp.89-90.

⁵⁰⁰ Thompson & Campbell, 1974.

⁵⁰¹ Cameron, 2011, pp.52-66, 73-79, 122.

⁵⁰² TA, 6, p.250.

Even if the King lacks any profound understanding of artists and scholarly talents, he must be sure to attract them because of the reputation it gives him in the world.⁵⁰³

The works collected or commissioned by his father and grandfather strongly suggest that James VI would have been familiar with the importance of gathering artists and art. Additionally the employment at his court of Arnold Bronckorst, King's Painter, reveals that Morton and those around him had a fuller understanding than might have been suspected of the importance of strong portraiture and the circulation and presentation of the young king as ruler of the country. A key indicator of this is that the three portraits of the young James around age eight all feature the sparrowhawk, a poignant symbol possibly representing the portrait of his great-grandfather, James IV, husband of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

The majority of the surviving Scottish royal portraits depict James VI in his adolescence. This thesis posits that the lack of interest perceived in Scottish monarchs for portraiture was due to the lack of need for promotion of their royal inheritance, whereas James VI suffered by association with the scandal of his mother. Whilst she was alive, he had to be promoted as a strong and able leader of the country. Upon her death and the death of Elizabeth I, he was careful to manipulate his mother's image to present a martyred queen who died for her faith. Additionally, upon his ascension to the English throne, the image of the new Scottish king was disseminated far and wide across the country, presenting what would become a familiar visage to the people.

The dissemination of the royal image as a means of contact with the people, and the developing fashion for the collections of portrait sets amongst the elite, presented portraiture as a symbol of learning, lineage, and status. They were not prized for their likeness, but for the visual language of symbolism included within them;⁵⁰⁴ from birds and flowers symbolising loyalty and fidelity, to the rich costume and jewels worn by the sitter presenting their wealth and sophistication. Similarly, the Blair Castle portraits are not to be valued for their clumsy likenesses. The skill of the painter lies in depiction of the costume and the jewels, presenting images of wealth and accomplishment; kings and queens able to take their places upon the international stage.

⁵⁰³ Bernini's advice given to Louis XIV's chief minister Colbert, quoted in Warnke, M., *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, Cambridge, 1993, p.227.

⁵⁰⁴ Daunt, 2015 (a), p.174.

These findings place the study of the Scottish arts of the period within the investigations being made by scholars such as Dean, Thomas and Juhala, providing a wider view of the context and procedure of image production. A better understanding of the production of royal portraiture reveals political and personal motivations and aids our understanding of royal and aristocratic promotion.

6.2 Assessment of Methodology

There have been notable advances in technology since the early pioneering work of Roy Strong was carried out. Portable digital cameras, infra-red imaging, portable microscopes and the development of analytical methods including SEM-EDX and XRF have radically facilitated the examination of painting in-situ and drastically broadened the comparative data available to art historians. However, this technology still has its limitations; this research had access to an adapted IR camera and not IRR equipment, considerably limiting the information that could be gained from infrared imaging. Indeed, IRR itself can only detect carbon-based underdrawing and technical studies have shown that a range of materials were used in preparatory drawing including chalk and ink, undetectable by infrared imaging. Additionally, the interpretation of this data leaves room for human error and a subjective element.

This research realised the limitations presented by varying degrees of access to vital works, and the difficulties encountered when in-situ paintings could only be examined in limited or no light when hung in inaccessible positions in country houses. The condition of works must also be considered; the lower third of the Blair portrait of James V and Marie de Guise has not been previously questioned in the literature but had to be disregarded for historical authenticity as it was entirely reconstructed with no knowledge of whether the original was copied or the space was filled from imagination. The Hardwick Hall portrait of Mary Stewart and Darnley would also benefit considerably from a survey of remaining original material. A number of other portraits were badly affected by early restoration and deteriorated restorations and damages. To counter this, conservation records were consulted when provided, and an awareness of the implications of damage or restoration were considered.

The inability to undertake dendrochronological analysis upon the Blair portraits presented a considerable disadvantage to the possibility of definitively dating the works. The subsequent pigment analysis supports their production within the sixteenth-century, but an identification of the wooden support and felling date would have enabled a more accurate placement of the

portraits within the lifetime, or not, of their subjects. X-radiograph imaging would have also been beneficial, as it would have provided a clearer picture of the structure of the support and would be of particular interest when considering the lower addition to the portrait of James V and Marie de Guise.

Similarly, identification of the red lake pigments used in the portraits via GCMS, HPLC and FTIR analysis would shed more light upon the preparation and use of a key pigment to the period. The identification of the inclusion of smalt as an additive was a particularly interesting finding, as research by Spring identified that this inclusion was more commonly found in Italian works than Netherlandish, though almost exclusively in red lake samples when found in Northern works, as it is in the Blair portraits.⁵⁰⁵

Although underdrawing was identified in the Blair Castle portraits via infrared photography, deeper investigation using infrared reflectography would give a more definitive view of the extent of preparatory drawing. There was enough preparatory drawing visible in the infrared photographs to surmise that the portraits were outlined in the nature of copies with only minor *pentimenti*, but no evidence of gridding or heavy outlining which would further support this theory. The nature of the portraits and existence of counterparts in other collections strongly suggests that the double portraits are composite works, but further technical evidence would present a stronger case for their origins.

6.3 The Physical Evidence of the Blair Castle Portraits

This research used a technical approach to reassess the long-held view of Scotland's inferiority in sixteenth-century portrait production, and to bring the study of this aspect of the Scottish court to the same level as recent examinations of court pageantry, literature and architecture. It has provided the first technical examination of the Blair Castle portraits, long referenced by historians of the period but never investigated, and the first coherent overview exclusively of painterly practice at the court. The technical art historical approach contributes to the still-growing understanding of the Netherlandish influence around Europe, and the development of a Scoto-Netherlandish practice as identified in England as an Anglo-Netherlandish school by the MATB project and associated study.

⁵⁰⁵ Spring, 2012, pp.8, 10.

This interdisciplinary study of the Blair Castle portraits can now provide a point of reference for further study of the materials of Scottish portraiture, such as those in the SNPG, National Trust and in the NPG London. The data collected provides a basis for comparisons with these collections and will aid in the identification of an active workshop within Scotland at the time. The examination of the portraits provides a starting point for informed discussion of working practice including the use and supply of the painting support, the structure and materials of the ground and intermediate layers, and methods of paint handling and application.

The definitive techniques of Northern Europe within this period have been defined by previous studies, but this study demonstrates their reach into Scotland. Particularly remarkable was the identification of a tinted priming. Further examination of the medium of this layer would be extremely interesting for this study, as chapter five demonstrated the range of materials used across Northern Europe, both oil- and protein-based. The findings of the contemporary challenging pigment smalt blue, and lead-based yellows in place of metal leaf additionally reflects the spread of Netherlandish techniques across the continent.

The techniques and materials used in flesh-painting in the Blair portraits are also revealing, with smalt identified, an inclusion recommended by Northern texts such as the De Mayerne manuscript.⁵⁰⁶ The convincing depiction of flesh was considered to be one of the most difficult painterly skills to achieve, with Bol and Lehmann asserting that the painting of translucent substances including skin was one of the great achievements of the early Netherlandish oil painters, namely Rogier van der Weyden and Jan van Eyck.⁵⁰⁷

A key discovery for this research was the lack of gold leaf used across the surviving portraits, the Royal Collection portrait of James V aside. A cursory survey during this research of the portraits examined by the MATB project reveals that the use of gold leaf to imitate cloth of gold, gold jewellery and gold embroidery was still prevalent in England. The fashion at the time was to replace the use of metals with textured paint, particularly lead-based yellows, which were convincingly manipulated to imitate shine and height. Despite the comparative naivety in the faces of the portrait of James V and Marie de Guise, the use of these techniques

⁵⁰⁶ Kinseher, K., 2005, p.137.

⁵⁰⁷ Bol, M & Lehmann, A-S., 2012, pp.215-17.

with some skill reveals that the artists working in or for Scotland were aware of the fashions coming out of the Low Countries at the time.

The technical examination of the Blair Castle double portraits, recognised as important but problematic in their quality and condition, has contributed to the identification of a culture of copying present in Scotland, as seen in England and on the continent at the time. All four individual portraits can be identified in at least one other collection, allowing, in collaboration with the technical findings, speculation about the use of circulated patterns and methods of replication. An outcome of this research is evidence that a system of workshop production existed in Scotland, and further technical examination of portraits of Scottish origins could further define the reach of those workshops and begin to allocate oeuvres of work to individuals or specific geographical areas within the country. The widespread practice of sharing face patterns between workshops makes definitive attribution difficult, but a wider study incorporating the examination of specific technical approaches to features such as eyes, costume and flesh-tone would assist here. Only extremely expensive commissions were carried out by a singular artist, the majority shared between members of a workshop making it harder to identify characteristics; however, if those characteristics are seen across a number of paintings commissioned within a geographical area, the existence of a workshop could be considered.

6.4 A Scoto-Netherlandish School?

Contemporary art historical scholarship upon painting in England in the sixteenth-century has divided surviving works into two groups: English School, and Anglo-Netherlandish School. ‘English’ defines works produced by native artists, and ‘Anglo-Netherlandish’ by émigré or alien artists working in England. As time progressed, however, this definition becomes problematic as the Netherlandish artists settled in England and began to teach native English painters new techniques coming out of the Low Countries. Caroline Rae’s thesis discussed the usefulness of the term Anglo-Netherlandish in this context, and determined that despite the notable similarities in technique and materials used, the term was still useful for when determining origin when examining flesh painting, the significance of decorative elements included in the works, and the degree of realism.⁵⁰⁸ As was demonstrated in chapter two of this thesis, Netherlandish artists had been producing works now in Scottish collections at

⁵⁰⁸ Rae, 2016, pp.283-4.

least since the commission of the Trinity College altarpiece for James III, and European artists were frequently brought to Scotland with émigré queens. A fuller technical survey will be required to fully understand the extent of Netherlandish influence in Scotland, but the presence in the Blair portraits of recognisably Netherlandish techniques, as demonstrated in chapter five, strongly assert that such research is worth undertaking.

The survival of copies and evidence of a workshop practice and market-production in Scotland and the number of face-patterns of James V and James VI in particular supports the theory of this thesis that the Blair Castle portraits were not original royal commissions or gifts to the Atholls, but instead either ready-made and bought by the Duke, unlikely as the double portrait format is relatively unusual, or more likely specifically commissioned double portraits formed from copies of existing individual portraits. The nature of copying outlined above might aid in the explanation for the awkward composition and proportions of the two sitters in the case of James V and his wife Marie de Guise, and the implied narrative in Mary, Queen of Scots and her son James VI, and indeed in the uncomfortable placing of Mary Stuart and Darnley in the Hardwick double portrait.

As with stylistic surface analysis, material analysis must be considered carefully. The use of particular pigments, grounds or supports are helpful in the identification of the same hand or workshop, but techniques in execution such as those described here can also be just as revealing. The close analysis of the manipulation of materials and their function within the overall work tells us much about the origin and function of the work itself, whether as a copy or a one-of-a-kind high-level commission. In the case of the Blair Castle portraits, their position within the wider context of Stewart portraiture can be mapped, and the prevalence for copying portraits of such high-ranking sitters reveals much about the environment of portrait production in sixteenth-century Scotland

6.5 Potential for Further Study

This study represents the first in-depth technical study of an example of sixteenth-century Scottish portraiture. A number of Scottish portraits have been examined by the MATB project, but no paint analysis was undertaken. However, although this study has provided insight into the methods and techniques used by Scottish painters during the period, there are a number of areas with the potential for interesting and vital further study.

In particular, the artists employed by James VI's Scottish court, Bronckorst and Vanson, require full technical investigation to establish the reach of their workshops. This research found no evidence of Bronckorst having run a workshop despite the considerable variance in quality in works attributed to him, but in December 1585, Vanson was named a Burgess of Edinburgh in the understanding that he would set up a workshop and teach apprentices in his craft;

...for guid and thankfull service to be done to the guid towne be Adrian Vanyone, Dutchemen, Paynter, speciallie for the service quhairin he is to be imployet be the town in his craft, and that he tak and instruct prenteisses, gratis.⁵⁰⁹

Additionally, Bronckorst is interesting because of his work in England prior to his employment or imprisonment by Morton, and his relationship with Nicholas Hilliard. The works attributed to him in Scotland are of such poor quality compared to those produced in England, that it is quite possible that these were two different artists, or that he himself ran a workshop for reproduction of royal commissions.

So, what conclusions can be drawn from the similarities between the evidence offered by the Blair portraits and the practices of Netherlandish artists? The materials used were widely available across the continent, used in England and the rest of Northern Europe. The collaborative methods of working established by workshops enabled the spread of fashionable and cutting-edge techniques, and tools such as stock pattern books and face patterns were circulated. The Netherlandish style of painting dominated throughout Europe in the sixteenth-century, and was absorbed into local practice across the continent. It is unlikely that Scotland, with its trade links to the Netherlands and geographical proximity would have offered an exception. In London, Foister states that native English artists aimed to create works that were indistinguishable from their widely successful immigrant colleagues, presenting the considerable difficulty of distinguishing between a painting produced in England in the Netherlandish style, and a painting produced in the Low Countries. She argues that there is nothing distinctive or different between local or foreign practice in England during this period, and indeed this examination of artistic practice in Scotland clearly presents the same conundrum.

⁵⁰⁹ Edinburgh Burgh Records, 1583-1589, p.446.

What is interesting, however, is that despite the historical assumption that Scotland remained separate to the continental fashions and demonstrated little interest in artistic developments, the Netherlandish presentations of the techniques seen in the Blair portraits directly contradict those assumptions. This further assimilates the Blair portraits and indeed other Scottish works examined by this thesis into contemporary Netherlandish artistic practice, countering the comparatively old-fashioned prevalence of the material in some similarly ‘effigy’-like English portraits of the time. It is likely that Scotland had been highly aware of the fashions of the painted arts since the commission of the Trinity College altarpiece, perhaps encouraged by the Binning-van der Weyden-van der Goes networks described in the first chapter of this thesis.

One of the most fascinating links between the Low Countries and Scotland, sadly outside the scope of this project, was of the network between the Binnings and the Early Modern masters Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes. Sandy the Scotsman’s (Alexander Binning’s) membership of the Ghent Guild of Painters and Sculptors as an illuminator, sponsored by the masters van der Goes and Joos van Wassenhove⁵¹⁰ in 1468/9 makes it very likely that a native Scotsman had a hand in the masterpiece of Scottish collections, the Trinity College altarpiece.⁵¹¹ Robert Benning (ac.1538-47), Walter (ac.1540-84, a decorative artist), Thomas (ac.1563-86, a glasswright or glass painter) David (ac.1567-9), and John (ac.1617-33) all worked for the Scottish court, presenting a painterly dynasty that stretched from Scotland across to the continent. As Alexander was sponsored by Hugo van der Goes and went on to marry a relation of his, Kathelijm, and similarities in their style have been noted by art historians in the past, it is very likely that he trained with the master.⁵¹² In turn, Alexander’s daughter was wed to the Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Netherlands, Andrew Halyburton. Alexander’s sister married the son of Rogier van der Weyden, Goswijn, and Alexander’s son, Simon Bening, renowned illuminator, was the father of Levina Teerlinc, who went on to become a painter to Henry VIII, and then to Mary I and

⁵¹⁰ Borchert, 2002, p.41.

⁵¹¹ Alexander is attributed as the artist for the Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae and the Tournament Book, both commissioned by Louis de Gruuthuus and now housed in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris and the Grimani Breviary. His eldest son, Simon Bening was also a miniaturist and has the Genealogy of the Kings of Portugal (British Library), the Hennessy Book of Hours and the History of the Golden Fleece (both in the Royal Library, Brussels) attributed to him. Simon’s daughter, Lievine Bening also worked as an artist travelling to England and working at the Tudor courts of Henry VIII to Elizabeth, achieving the title of “Maistris Levyn Terling paintrix” and a pension. (McRoberts, 1959, pp.95-6).

⁵¹² Ibid, p.95, quoting Count Paul Durrieu, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1981, ii, p.61.

Elizabeth.⁵¹³ With these connections, the Bennings were linked with three of the primary artistic families of the Low Countries.⁵¹⁴ It is quite likely, in view of these connections, that the fashionable Netherlandish techniques were at least transmitted between Bennings, if not through other avenues, and from the date of the Trinity altarpiece. A full study of the interactions of the Bennings with each other, Haliburton, Bonkil and the van der Weyden and van der Goes families would be a revealing and important insight into the communication of artistic techniques, and more specifically, the palpable links between Scotland and the Netherlands.

Another enlightening aspect of this research but again outside the time and reach of this particular project, is the role of the queen consort as an agent of cultural transfer. With James V's trip to France for his first queen, Madeleine, came his exposure to French fashion and pageantry. With his second wife, Marie, came the unnamed French and Flemish artists and tailors, and evidence of the long-term employment of 'alien' craftspeople at the Scottish court. Scotland had a long history by the seventeenth-century of foreign queens, and a deeper understanding of their contribution to the presence of continental arts in Scotland would contribute significantly to recognising the placement of Scotland within the network of European kingdoms.

Since the 1995 publication of Hearn's *Dynasties*, with the chapter on technical examination by Jones, and the birth of the MATB project, there has been a shift away from traditional connoisseurship in art historical scholarship. The new methodology is more holistic, combining the virtues of connoisseurship with both documentary and technical study in order to create a larger picture of contemporaneous practice. The evidence of this study, and those before it, demonstrates the difficulties of identifying particular hands or even schools of painting, and as such this exhaustive interdisciplinary approach is required. By gathering and contributing to the comparatively limited technical study conducted upon Scottish portraits to date, this research encourages further technical study.

To return to the original research questions of this thesis, the technical examination of the Blair Castle portraits and identification of the face patterns used demonstrate that the double

⁵¹³ Strong, 1983, pp.52-57.

⁵¹⁴ McRoberts, 1959, p.92; Thompson & Campbell, 1974, p.50; L. Campbell, 1996, p.90.

portraits are authentic images. These works fit into the contemporaneous culture of court portraiture production in Northern Europe and England by demonstrating the fashions for collecting amongst the elite, and the message that including portraits of royalty confers within a collection. More definitively, the material analysis conducted upon the portraits demonstrates contemporary techniques, primarily in the use of the tinted priming and substitution of metal leaf with lead-based yellow oil paint. The study of portraits of this period, particularly ‘problem portraits’ such as the Scottish works, present significant challenges, but the application of this interdisciplinary methodology has shed considerable new light upon sixteenth-century portrait production in Scotland.

Above all else, this study’s aim was to significantly draw into question the prevailing opinion of the Scottish court as backwards and inferior in terms of royal portrait production. The research undertaken here demonstrates the Scottish monarchs’ understanding of the vital role of portraiture, and the significant links held with the Low Countries. The hope of the author is that this starting point will invite further in-depth exploration of the surviving portraits in both national and private collections to further establish Scotland’s position in sixteenth-century art historical study.

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The Context and Material Techniques of Royal Portrait Production within Jacobean
Scotland: The Courts of James V and James VI.

Volume II

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Transcription and translation of letter from Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots to the Countess of
Atholl in the Blair Castle Archives

My good Anti, I hard, be my Secreterai, your fethful good will and keer touards me, as also off yowr too sisters, and am herteli sori that he miht not shou his commission to my soon, for it had been for his well and myn too, as he is lik to perseeaeu, be the dealings off our fals traitours, that, not content off yowr good lord death be poisinig him so vikedli, bot, as I hir zet, conself yowr soon to agri with his murtherer and meri on off his greatest frindes fauchter, a great enemy to me, by yowr consent, that I am sur yow would neuuer hauue giuuen on makin yowr frindes privi to it. Wel, qhuosouuer is wise hath cause nou to look about them, for me soon, and all thes he lyks or trust in, ar in as great deanger nou as euuer they war, and my poor boy as sor enuied as euuer I was, for as young as he is; bot the Stuarts nou is all in on rank lyk to fil that they war neuer med off bot to serve vthr folkes tournes. I am sur yow schal hir mor. Nau seeth that he understood not be yowr sister that yow wald hauue had the toknes, for he wald wilingli haif lef them with yow. I pray yow enquir wuhat Dem Corsbi hes doon with the litle goons. I would nou me soon had them, and knou off me soon iff he hes had me book and pictur; the Lord Seiton had the last, and G. the book. I pray yow let me hir the treuth of his helth, fro sum fires me that he is sikli and not lyk to liue. I had me self a great siknes and indigestion off stomak in his zeres, and vill not fir fort that; bot let me knou if he hes any schort end or host; for God's seek tak his to him and see him offt. God wats qihou sor I hauue forthocht that I pat him not at the furst with yow, qhuan I was so great a ful as to truth that vnthankful fals woman. God will redres all our wrangs on day, qhuom I besik to hauue you and yours in his protection. Commend me to yowr sisters and yowr dauchter. This xvii off Marche.

Your loouing and asured good cusignes and friend.

Marie R.

My good Aunty, I heard from my Secretary of your faithful good will and care towards me, and also of your two sisters, and I am heartily sorry that he might not show his commission to my son, for it was for his good as well as mine, as he is likely to pursue, by the dealings of our false traitors, that, not content with your good lord's death by poisoning him so wickedly, but, as I hear it, council your son to agree with his murderer and marry off his great friend's daughter, a great enemy to me, by your consent, that I am sure you would never have given on making your friends privy to it. Well, whosoever is wise has cause now to look about them, for my son, and all those he likes or trusts in, are in as great danger now as ever they were, and my poor boy as depressed as ever I was, for as young as he is – but the Stuarts now are all likely to feel that they were never made but to serve other folk's turns. I am sure you shall hear more. Now see that he understood not by your sister that you would have had the tokens, for he would willingly have left them with you. I pray you enquire what Dem Corsbi has done with the little gowns. I would know my son had them, and know if he has had my book and picture; Lord Seton had the last, and G the book. I pray you let me hear the truth of his health for some scare me that he is sickly and not likely to live. I myself had a great sickness and indigestion of stomach in his years, and will not fear for that: but let me know if he has any short end or host: for God's sake take this to him and see him often. God wats qihou sor I had forthought that I put him not at the first with you, when I was so great a fool as to trust that unthankful, false woman. God will redress all our wrongs one day, whom I beseech to hold you and yours in His protection. Commend me to your sisters and your daughter.

This eighteenth- of March,

Your loving and assured good cousin and friend,

Marie R.

Appendix 2

Entries in the Treasurer's Accounts referring to payments made to painters

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 5 (1515-31)

Page Ref, Date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
26, 1515	Alexander Chalmour	Item, the xxij day of Julij in the yere of God jmvc and xc yeris deliverit be Master George Langmure in the compt giffaris name to Alexander Chalmour, paynteour, for ane hundreth and xl payntit armyis to the obsequijs of our souerane lord King James the ferd, quham God assolze, this day deliverit in Sanct Gelis kirk price of ilk pece twelf pennys; summa viij ii
156, 1517	Not named	Item, to the payntour for his werkmanschip (ref to the king's banner)
324, 1527	John Kilgour	Item, the xxij of Julii, to Johne Kilgour, chapellane, for paynting of the Kingis pailyeon, and the armys thairto... iij ii (ref to painting the king's pavilion and arms)

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 6 (1531-38)

Page ref, date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
185, January 1534	Laurence Kirkpatrick	Item, to Laurence Kirkpatrick for thre picturis brocht hame to his grace v fl.x s
250, October 1535	George Steill, Johne Broune	Item, send with the said George certane fyne picturis of Flandris coft fra Johne Broune to the Kingis grace, price thairof xvij fl.

334, 8 th July 1537	Not named	Item, the viij day of Julii, deliverit to payntouris for iije armyis at the quenis obit xl. fl
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Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 7 (1538-41)

Page Ref, Date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
181, 1539	Not named	Item, deliverit to the payntour for vj dosane of armes to put about the queir and upoun torchis and candillis, price of ilk dosane xx s.; summa, vj fl.
189, 1539	Schir Johnne Kylgour, Andro Watsoun, Archibald Rewle, Robert Galbraith	Item, gevin to Schir Johnne Kylgour, Andro Watsoun, Archibald Rewle and Robert Galbraith, payntouris, and thair servandis for making of the armys and facis about the said bark, colouring of thame with gold and asure and painting of hir mastis, salis and airis witht oley colouris, as thair compy subserivit with Johnne Bartanys hand beris, xxxvij fl. x s.
217, April 1539	Not named	Item, gevin to ane payntour for dighting, colouring, and ourelayig of lx of irne barsis and thair ixxx of chalmeris, at the maister of artailzeris command, price of the pece coloring, witht hir thre chalmeris, witht reid leid ij s. vj d; summa, vij fl. x s
230, September 1539	Not named	Item, gevin to ane payntour for ourelaying of ten chanys to putt upoun the rigging of the said wirk and gavillis of the samin witht gold, and paynting and

		ourelaying of the irne wek of the wyndo is of the said wek witht leid iij fl
348, 1539-40	Andro Michelsoun, Archibold Roule, Walter Byning	Item, gevin to Andro Michelsoun, Archibold Roule, and Walter Byning, payntouris, for paynting and ourlaying of the samin artalzery, to the noumer of xlix pece, witht reid leid, price of the pece ourlaying, witht thair chalmeris, slottis, and bandis v.8; summa xij fl. v s
455, 1541	Peyer (Pierre Quesnel?)	Gifts of clothing to Maister Peyer Paintour, servand to the Quenis Grace...
466, 1541	Andro Watsoun	Item, to Andro Watsoun, paintour, for the painting of v dusan armes v fl.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 8 (1541-46)

Page Ref, Date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
59, February 1542	The Quenis Paintour	Item, gevin to the Quenis paintour to by colouris to paint witht in Falkland, xj fl.
77, May 1542	The Queernis Paintour	Item, gevin to the Queenis paintour for ane monethis wage fra the thrid day of this monetht, to be pait to him monethtlye: as it cumis upone the day to ij s vj d for him and his servand, as the precept directed thairaspone beris, iij fl. x s
84, June 1542	The Quenis Paintour	Item, gevin to the Quenis paintour for his wageis fra the last day of Maii to the xxviiij day of this monetht, ilk day ij s vj d; summa iij fl x s

91, 1542	Andro Watsoun	Item, gevin to Andro Watsoun, paintour, for furnesing of v dosane armes, iiij fl
92, July 1542	The Queenis Paintour	Item, gevin to the Queenis paintour for his wageis, and his servandis, fra the thrid day of Julii to the first day of August nixt to cum, takand un the day for him and his servand iij s; summa iij fl x s
132, 1542	Archibald Roule	Item, gevin to Archibald Roule, paintour, for ourlaying of the mullerris witht blak x s
135, 2 nd August 1542	Archibald Roule	Item, the secund day of August, gevin to Archibald Roule for dighting, colloring and ourlaying of xliij irne hagbusches witht thair chalmeris witht reid leid and ule xlv s
142, 1542	Andro Watsoun	Item, gevin to Andro Watsoun, painter, for painting of the banar witht gold and fyne collouris iiij fl.
142, 1542	Robert Denys	Item, gevin to Robert Denys, painter, for colloring of the Dolorus Chapell witht the clubbis, speris, chandelaris and uther wark in the kirk, all of blak collouris. As his compt beris, iiij fl
192, May 1543	Andro Watsoun	Item, deliverit to Andro Watsoun, painter, to be twa trumpet bannaris, twa elneis 1/2 elne reid teffites of cord, price of the elne xx s; summa, 1 s
192, May 1542	Andro Watsoun	Item, gevin to him for laif silver frenzeis of silk and fyne colloris furnesit thairto and warkmanschip of the samin, in all expensis, xiiij fl.
335, 1544	Patrik Broun	Item, to Patrik Broun, paynter, thre elneis taffate to be ane standart to his grace, price liiij s

347, February 1545	Walter Bynnyng	Item, to Walter Bynnyng, payntour, for ane bord of the ymage of... ¹
446, 1545-6	Not named	Item, to the paintour for his laubouris and colouris upon the said hous iij fl.
452-3, 3 rd April, 1546	Archiebald Bowle	Item, to Archiebald Bowle, pantear, for his laubouris in coloring chalmer and hall doris of the said place, x s (the expensis debursit upoun wark and warkman wirkand upoun my lord governoris logeing withtin the castell of Edinburgh this moneth of Aprile 1546)

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 9 (1546-51)

Page ref, date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
178, 1548	Not named	Item, to the paynter for his culloures and warkmanschip, xliij s, item, for ane speir to this standart and paynting of it reid, xij s
281, 1548-9	Walter Bynnyng	Item, to Walter Bynnyng, painttar, for coloring of the ruf of my lorde governoures house, iij fl. x s.
352, 1549	Not named	Item, to the painter for painting of my lorde governoures armes upoun the foresaid tua flaggis of taffateis and gold fulze to thame, xij s
435, 1550	Bynnyng	Item, to Bynnyng, paintar, for gold fulze and gylting to the wark of Hammiltonn

¹ This entry states that the court painter and frequent craftsman for the court, Walter Binning, was commissioned to paint an image on panel, called 'bord.' Although the rest of the entry is lost due to damage it appears amidst entries under the Lord Governor's expenses leading up to the Battle of Ancrum Moor.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 10 (1551-9)

Page ref, Date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
22, 1551	Walter Bynnyg	Item, xxje Octobris, send to Hammyltoun to Walter Bynnyng, paynter, xvj dosane of gold and silver fulzeis, price of the dosane iij s; summa xlvij s. Item, ane pund of asure, price thair of xlvij s. Item, ane pund of wermeling, price thair of xvj s. Item, ane pund of reid leid, price thair of vj s. Item, for glew send to hym, v s. Item, foure quaris Lumbart paper, and foure quaris uthir paper, price of the quare of the Lumbert ij s. and of the uthir xij d; summa xij s. Item, to ane paynter for his laubouris sekand the colouris, v s. Item, for ane ledder poik to turs thir colouris in, to Linlythqw, xx d.
50, 1551-2	Walter Bynnyg	Item, xiiije Januarii, to Walter Bynnyng, paynter, for xx futtis of glas to the wyndoys of my lord governouris chalmer in Edinburght, price of the fute ij s. summa, x1 s.
82, 1552	Hammyltoun	Item, xx Maii, send to Hammyltoun foure pundis of wermyling, price of the pund xvj s; summa iij fl iiij s. Item, vj pund reid leid, price of the pund ij s viij d; summa xvj s. Item, thre pyntiis oille lingett, price of the pyntt ix s; summa xxvij s. Item, to the payntour that coft the collouris, for his laubouris, iij s. Item, Maister Andro send to Hammyltoun with thame, and his wage, x s.

96, 1552	Hammyltoun	Item, xx Julii, coft and send to Hammyltoun, ane stane of reid leid, price of the unce ij d; summa xlij s, viij d. Item, half ane stane of wemeling, price of the unce xij d; summa vj fl viij s. Item, foure pundis asure, price of the unce iij s; summa ix fl x s. Item, foure pundis orpyment, price of the unce vj d; summa xxxij s. Item, xv unce of flury, price of the unce xvj d; summa xx s. Item, xiiij unce knopcenopar, price of the unce ij s vj d; summa, xxxij s. vj d. Item, ane stane of Flanderis ocker, price of the pund iij s; summa, xlvij s. Item, ane galloun oille lyngett, price of the pintt x s; summa, iiij fl. Item, xij unce of Inde, price of the unce xx d; summa xx s. Item, xij stanys of calk, price of the stane xx d; summa, xx s. Item, for carying the samyn furtht of Leith to Edinburcht, x d. Item, for ane can to put the oille lynget in, xij d. Item, for crelis to put the culloris in, xvij d. Item, to the paynter that walit the culloris, for his labouris, v s. Item to James Persale for tway hors wae to turs the samyn to Hammyltoun xxviij s.
97, 1552	Hammyltoun	Item, xxij Julii, coft and send to Hammyltoun xvj faddom of grete cordis to hyng chandlaris in my lordis hall, price of the faddome vj d; summa viij s. ... Item, for ane quart of oille lynget send to Hammyltoun, price xxiiij s vj d.

		Item, lxiiij dosane gold fulze send to the paintaris of Hammyltoun, price of the dosane iij s; summa, ix fl. xij s. Item, ane pund of ceres send thair to the saidis painttaris, price thair of xiiij s. Item, ane boy to turs the said oille and culloris to Hammyltoun and his wage, vj s. ... Item, ultimo Julii, coft and send to Lynlythqw to the painttaris of my lord governouris lugeing, ane stane of glew, price thair of xij s.
115, 1552	Walter Bynnyng	Item, x Octobris, deliverit to Watte Bynnyng, paintour, to by cullouris with for paynting of his graces lugeing in Lynlythqw, v fl.
194, 1553	Walter Bynnyng, Hammiltoun	Item, viij Augusti, to Walter Bynnyng, painter, to by certane coloures send to Hammiltoun, xxxiiij s, iiij d. Item, ane hors hyrit to turs the said Walter warkelumys to Hammiltoun.
204, 1553	Walter Bynnyng, Hammiltoun	Item, ane hors hyrit to Hammiltoun with glas, deliverit to him be Walter Bynnyng, x s.
225, 1554	Walter Bynne	Item, for gold and werkmanschip thair of to Walter Bynne, the pantour, x fl.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer (TA), 11 (1559-66)

Page ref, date	Artist/Workman/Agent	Quote
26, 1560 ²	Walter Bynnie	Item, to Walter Bynnie, vij fl.

² The following list appears to consist of the names of the Queen Dowager's household, who had these payments made to them at the time of her death. It will be seen that a large proportion of them are French.

347, 1564-5	Not named	Item, to the painter fo rthe mask on Fatronis evin to Marie Levingstonis mariage xij fl.
439, 1565	Not named	Item, to the painter for painting of the torbullioun, panigzear, and certane werk lumes, xiiij s.

Appendix 3

Brief Biographies of the French Court Artists Jean Clouet, Francois Clouet and Corneille
de Lyon

Jean Clouet

Jean Clouet (also spelt Jeannet, Jehannet, Jamet or Jehamet) began work for the French king in 1516 and became the principal court painter and valet de chamber of François I in 1533.³ Jean retained this title until his death in 1540-1, enjoying a strong reputation and clients from the whole of François I's court.⁴ Silver notes that the one securely attributed work by Jean Clouet is the portrait of the scholar Guillaume Budé, (c.1536, Metropolitan Museum New York), a foundation leading to the attribution of a collection including 125 chalk drawings (mostly in Chantilly). None of the fourteen paintings attributed to Jean are signed, but are often dated, such as *Portrait of a Banker*, 1552 (sold via auction by Wildenstein & Co, New York 1925). Clouet consistently used the above-mentioned three-quarter profile in bust portraits with hands often featured resting in front of the sitter.⁵ In terms of working practice, it is suggested that Jean would visit his sitter in their home, and make careful coloured chalk drawings. Once detailed drawings had been acquired the artist completed the work in his studio, aided by annotations made on his sketches, sometimes contributed to by the requests of his sitter.⁶ This technique is well established, and seen in Holbein's practice⁷ which may go some way to account for the confusion often met with attributions. Jean Clouet is declared to be one of the first painters of the French Renaissance, who "retained nothing of the immediate or transmitted Italian influence but a correctly classical manner, largeness of design, an aim at fullness, simple and not excessively broken drapery; in short, all that is opposed to the complexities and grimaces of the old style."⁸

³ Silver, L., Early Northern European Paintings, St Louis Art Museum Bulletin, 16:3, summer 1982, pp.1-47. p.26.

⁴ J.B.M, 1922, p.21.

⁵ Silver, 1982, p.26.

⁶ J.B.M, 1922, P.21.

⁷ See Hope Walker's 2013 thesis on Holbein, *The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Younger: Function and Use Explored through Materials and Techniques*, The Royal College of Art/Victoria & Albert Museum, submitted May 2013, pp.184, 274 (drawn portrait of *Jacob Meyer zum Hasen*), 296 (drawn portrait of *Sir Richard Southwell*), 300-1 (drawn portrait of *Lady Elizabeth Audley*).

⁸ J.B.M, 1922, p.22 quoting L. Dimler, *French Painting in the XVI Century*.

Corneille de Lyon

Corneille de Lyon (also known as Claude Corneille, maistre Corneille le painctre flamman, Corneille le painctre du Roy, and Corneille de la Haye) was born at The Hague c.1498⁹, 1505¹⁰ or 1515¹¹, and is supposed to have died in 1574-5 as the Archives of Lyon contain no reference to him beyond those dates.¹² Corneille is first mentioned in France in 1533, when he was visited by the Netherlandish poet Jean Second, and by 1534 he was painter to Eleonore of Austria, wife of Francois I (see the reverse of the portrait *Pierre Aymeric*, Musée du Louvre, Paris). In 1540 he married the daughter of a master printer in Lyon, had two sons, Christophe and Jacques, and a daughter Clémence. 1541 he was made painter to the Dauphin Henri II, and became Peintre et Premier Valet de Chambre in 1547 when Henri ascended to the throne, the same year that Corneille received his citizenship.¹³ In 1531, Giovanni Capello visited Corneille's studio in Lyon, and described it as containing "many small pictures depicting with great naturalism all the members of the French court", and similarly Pierre de Bourdeille Brantome recounts a visit made by Catherine de Medicis and Charles IX in 1564, when they were shown a large room containing portraits of a great number of the court, including princes and princesses.¹⁴ Hand posits that two hundred small bust-length portraits have been attributed to Corneille de Lyon or his workshop, always with his trademark flat green or blue backgrounds. None of these, however, were signed by Corneille, until in 1976 the Musée du Louvre acquired a portrait of Pierre Aymeric which featured on the verso an inscription written by Pierre identifying himself as 26 years old and the painter as Corneille de la Haye, painter to Eleonore Queen of France. He titles himself a native of St Flour living in Lyon, and the date as April 11th, 1534. This valuable piece of information led to scholar Anne Dubois de Groer undertaking the preparation of a Catalogue Raisonné of Corneille, and declaring at least 158 portraits to be autograph. Corneille had an active studio in Lyon, which was a city of great merchant activity and therefore saw a great number of foreign travellers. It is noted that Jan van der Straet spent six months working in Corneille's studio whilst on his

⁹ Bentley-Cranch, D., *a Portrait of Clément Marot by Corneille de Lyon*, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 25:1, 1963, pp.174-77, p.175 quoting Michiels, A., *L'Art Flamand dans L'est et la Midi de la France*, Paris, 1877, p.276.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.175 quoting Moreau-Nélaton, E., *Les Clouets et leurs emules*, Paris, 1924, p.85; Hand, J.O., *French Paintings of the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century*, the Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue, Washington D.C., 2009, p.123.

¹¹ Bentley-Cranch, 1963, p.175 quoting Adhémar, J., *French Drawings of the XVI Century*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1955, pp.106-7.

¹² Ibid, p.175.

¹³ Hand, 2009, p.123.

¹⁴ Op Cit.

way to Italy. As well as this, Corneille established a traditional family studio with his two sons, daughter and son-in-law Jean Maignan becoming painters and likely assisting him. Despite the considerable number of painted portraits associated with the artist, no drawings have thus far been attributed to him. It is likely that Corneille did keep a stock of portraits which would be replicated on demand as Hand goes on to assert (see chapter 5 of this thesis for further information on such practices) however his assumption that the lack of surviving drawings may indicate a different working practice to that which was traditional at the time is unlikely to be true; the established practice was that artists would make chalk or graphite sketches of the subject during short sittings before working up a painted panel, but unfortunately it is quite common that drawings not survive or get lost without any solid attributions..¹⁵

François Clouet

François Clouet worked for François I from 1541, holding the title of Peintre et Valet de Chambre until 1547. Interestingly, there are no known works produced by Clouet during this period, apart from some copies of his father Jean's work. Adhémar points out that this is particularly interesting because he was salaried by the year and so the French monetary issues of 1540-47 cannot be to blame for his lack of output. He was, however, responsible for the funeral of the king at the beginning of Henri II's reign, and is attributed with the making of the regent's funeral mask (see François Clouet, *Portrait of François I*, Chantilly, Musée Condé).¹⁶

When Dauphin, Henri II had his own painter, as had his elder brother and other siblings. François, Henri's elder brother and first Dauphin had Corneille de Lyon for his painter, who left Paris when the Dauphin died. Henri had Guillaume Boutelou, who retained his title despite François Clouet's maintenance of his role as Peintre du Roi, but offered no competition and eventually left the French court for Blois.¹⁷ Henri demonstrated limited interest in paintings and portraits, so Clouet was patronised not as much by the king as by the queen, Catherine de Medici's. The Italian mother of a large family, Catherine had come to value portrait drawings as means of news of her children, who were brought up away from her. Furthermore, portraits of her children were essential in the managing of marriage

¹⁵ Op Cit.

¹⁶ Adhémar, 1980, p.155.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.160.

proposals, a subject which Adhémar states dominated the queen's correspondence.¹⁸ As well as employing Clouet at court, she also employed a Peintre des Enfants de France, and copyists who would reproduce chalk drawings.¹⁹

Francois Clouet was likely sent to Italy during his post as Peintre et Valet de Chambre; study of Italian artists' techniques was a highly valued pilgrimage for ambitious European artists, and it would explain the similarities to Bronzino noted by Dimier, and his softer more mannerist style compared to his father. As well as these stylistic suggestions, there were portraits of the queen's family at the French court executed by Italian artists, with Clouet likely acting as agent in their procurement. Peintre de Roi from 1547 until 1548 Clouet was considerably productive, with members of the royal family and court posing for him at the request of the queen, as François I's court had done for Corneille de Lyon. In 1559, Clouet signed a receipt for his salary of 240 livre per year, but then largely disappears from the court records until 1572,²⁰ the year of his death, when he was again paid 240 livres.²¹ Adhémar notes that his lack of work for the French court come 1559 was abrupt and unforeseen, his work being widely praised by contemporary critics and even compared to Michelangelo by one anonymous flatterer. Henri II died in 1559, the funeral of whom Clouet helped organise, and there are no firm records of his working for Francois II during his brief reign of September seventeenth- 1559 – December 5th, 1560, or for Francois' widow Mary Stewart. Clouet made a portrait of the Queen Mother while she was *rehabillee* as a widow before July 10th (see François Clouet, *Portrait of Catherine de Medicis*, c.1550-9, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet de Estampes) and his likeness of Francois II was likely made during the early days of his reign, possibly for the celebrations of the wedding of his sister Elisabeth to Philip II. The drawing of Mary Stewart (see François Clouet, *Portrait of Mary Stuart*, c.1558-9, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) could have been executed at either of two dates; 1559 in mourning for her father-in-law or 1560 in mourning for her young husband. Upon the ascension of Charles IX to the French throne, Clouet was replaced by Marc Duval, another French court painter obscured by art history.²²

Despite his removal from court and suspected illnesses, Clouet comes back into favour in 1572. Commissioned to create an alum of chalk drawings, some of which were based upon paintings belonging to Queen Catherine as models, and to prepare for the Court festivals

¹⁸ Op Cit.

¹⁹ Op Cit.

²⁰ Adhémar notes irregular records of his employment for "special tasks" from the years 1569, 1570, 1571 and 1572 (1980, p.160).

²¹ Op Cit.

²² Op Cit.

ultimately interrupted by the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, including the marriage of Marguerite de Valois and the future Henri IV. Having returned to favour, Clouet died on September 22nd, 1572, three weeks after the massacre, and was succeeded as Peintre de Roi by Jean de Court and Pierre Gourdelle, preferred to those employed in Clouet's atelier.²³

Appendix 4

²³ Adhémar, 1980, p.167.

Further Notes on Painting Flesh and Fabric

Painting Flesh in the Treatises

The subject of painting flesh features throughout art history from Byzantine and early medieval treatises, with Lehmann identifying the earliest recipes in the fourth-century *Mappae Clavicula*. In Theophilus' *An Essay Upon Diverse Arts*, c. 1125, thirteen subchapters have been identified devoted to the various recipes for depicting faces and bodies of different ages, as well as the differences between depicting life and death. At the beginning of the fifteenth-century, Frenchman Jean le Begue added to his compilation of recipes a list of terminology for flesh colour;

canatura, alia membrane, alia cedar, alia holcus vel olcus, alia lumina, alia veneda seu venedra, alia fulvus, mensch, prasis, poesch, cerusa, purpureus, folium, synopsis, ruscus, succus, menech, exedra

many of which relate to hues not used in the painting of pink flesh-tones but to the addition of facial features, such as “venedra” used to paint eyes. “Carnatura” became the main word for flesh-colour in French and Italian recipes, and has clear links to the term Carnation, used by English miniature painters Hilliard and Norgate. In Valentin Boltz von Ruffach's treatise *Illuminierbuch* (1549), he includes instructions for mixtures to be used when painting children, women, middle-aged people, pale people, dark people, dead people, plain people and old people amongst others. The *Illuminierbuch* was one of the first printed instructive tracts for painters, and such collections of guidelines enabled artists to populate large scenes such as those in depictions of the Last Judgement. Lehmann notes that although bodily proportion and correct anatomical construction could be taught using diagrams and mathematical measurements, effective rendering of flesh tones required an experienced, practised artist implicitly familiar with the processes and potential manipulations of materials. Convincing skin tones speak more for the material talents of the artist, as convincing proportions speak for their draftsmanship.²⁴

²⁴ Ibid, pp.89-90, 101; see this publication for an extensive overview of instructions included in historic treatises until 1600.

Bol and Lehmann posit that the painting of translucent substance such as water, glass and skin was one of the great achievements of the early Netherlandish oil painters such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden. In order to depict skin accurately before slow drying oils were used as a medium, painters used complex layer systems often based upon a dark, green toned under-layer and fine applications of strokes on the surface to suggest a transition of light and the presence of texture. When oil was introduced however, transitions between shadow and light became smoother and enabled the depiction of semi-transparency, adding to the achievable extent of realism when painting flesh. Published cross-sections of the flesh painting of Van Eyck show one or two layers of paint thinly applied over a light, white ground, exploiting the translucent qualities of the medium, a technique developed from that used in polychromy. Works by Rogier van der Weyden and the Campin/Flemalle group have demonstrated a different approach, influenced by those techniques used in tempera painting. A dark under-layer is applied, with a complex system of up to four layers of flesh coloured paint on the surface. In later works by van der Weyden, his technique begins to emulate Van Eyck, and by the early sixteenth-century this technique is frequently encountered in Netherlandish panel painting.²⁵

The text of sixteenth-century English artists' treatises that survive today similarly include extensive instructions for the working painter; they instruct upon how an artist should prepare his canvas or panel, how he should mix the priming paint layers that will reduce the absorbency of the support, how he should lay down his initial sketch lines for later guidance, how he should source and prepare his pigments, but more than any of this, how he should render the skin-tone of his subject. Haydocke (1598), Guillum (c.1600) and Peacham (1622 & 1634) all appear to be in agreement that vermilion and red lake pigments should be used for the basic flesh tone, as they "make the colour of ripe strawburies, roses, red lippes, rubies, bloud and scarlet",²⁶ that a more concentrated mixture of the vermilion and lake with less lead white be used for the "blush" of cheeks, and that shadows should be rendered using brown tones such as umber, burnt verditer, ochre and lamp black.

In the anonymous, "*A Very Proper Treatise*" (1573) the author instructs that the painter should first apply white and then vermilion, or mix two parts of vermilion with one part

²⁵ Bol, M & Lehmann, A-S., 'Painting Skin and Water: Towards a Material Iconography of Translucent Motifs in Early Netherlandish Painting', in Campbell et al. (eds) *Rogier van der Weyden in Context: Papers presented at the Seventeenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting held in Leuven, 22-24 October 2009*, Peeters Publishers, Paris & Leuven, 2012, pp.215-7.

²⁶ Kirby-Talley, M, *Portrait Painting in England: Studies in the Technical Literature before 1700*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1981, p.28.

“cereuse” white. In specific reference to painting faces, the author advises the use of “oker de luke” (yellow ochre) or “oker de rouse” (red ochre) for painting hair and beards.²⁷ In John Guillum’s *“A Heraldic Painters Vade Mecum”* (c.1600) he advises that for painting the flesh of the face, a mixture of vermilion, lake and lead white. For the blush of cheeks, a pinker mix of vermilion, lake, and less lead white. For the lips a similar concoction of vermilion, lake and very little lead white, and for shadows of the face brown ochre, lamp black, Spanish red and umber, sometimes also mixed with vermilion and lead white. Guillum writes that Spanish brown and lake should be used for the lips for a person with a “Cholericke” complexion, a mixture of red lead, red lake and Spanish red for a “flegmaticke” complexion, or Spanish red, red lake, brown ochre and white for a “melancholike” complexion.²⁸ In Henry Peacham’s first publication *“The Compleat Gentleman”* (1622) he instructs that after the facial features are drawn in, the painters should apply the flesh tone using a mixture of lead white, vermilion and red lake, and then create shadows using ivory black, lead white, vermilion, red lake and sea coal black. The cheeks and lips should be shadowed with a mixture of vermilion and lake, and the stroke of the mouth with lake only. For “swarthy” complexions mix lead white, red lake and yellow ochre with umber and sea coal black for the shadows. The same mixtures are used for hands and the shadows between the fingers.

When painting a portrait, Peacham writes that the painter should begin by painting the eye, using lead white and charcoal black, followed by the nose, the jawline, mouth, ears and then hair. The nose should be finished by touching the tip with a red shadow, then paint the iris. For grey eyes one should use charcoal black and lead white, and for black umber, sea coal black and white. The pupil should be added using lamp black and Verdigris, used as a drier with black pigments.²⁹ In his later tract *“The Gentleman’s Exercise”* (1634) he adds that if the complexion is “swarthy”, add “sea coale” or lamp black for shadow, and for paler complexions white lead or ceruse with “roset” and vermilion with “turnesoile” for shadow.³⁰ The *De Mayerne Manuscript*, c.1620-46 instructs briefly that for flesh painting in the face the artist should use “white lead, yellow, ocher, brown red. For shading: white lead, yellow ocher, ivory black.” He writes that for strengthening shadows ivory black, Dutch pink and “brown red” should be used, that if the face is dark use more “brown red”

²⁷ Ibid, p.20.

²⁸ Murrell, 1995, pp.19-20.

²⁹ Peacham, 1622, pp.130-132.

³⁰ Peacham, 1634, pp.25-6, 62-3, 73; Kirby-Talley 1981, p.59.

and yellow ochre for highlights, and to brighten a face to use white lead with “a little lake” and yellow ochre.³¹

A Brief History of Textile Painting

Gold-detailed textiles have historically been depicted in two ways in painting; in literal or ‘imitative’ representations, and in illusionistic representations. Before the emergence of oil painting it was common artistic practice to use tin and gold leaf in three-dimensional or ‘literal’ representations of richly decorated textiles. This technique would attempt to reproduce the texture and shine of actual gold brocaded textiles, using engraving or Sgraffito³², tooling³³, pastiglia³⁴, or by leaving areas of gold leaf exposed. Despite the prevalent demand for the depiction of these fabrics in painting, the contemporary artists’ treatises hold limited information. Cennino Cennini’s late 14th-century treatise is the most instructive, though restricted in the distinction between different textiles and concerned with tempera painting and gilding, not oil. Cennini instructs in the designing of gold brocades;

If you want to make a mantle, or a gown, or a little cushion, out of cloth of gold, lay the gold with bole; and scratch in the folds of the drapery... Then, if you want to make the cloth red, lay in with vermilion over this burnished gold. If you need to put any dark on it, put it on with lac; if you need to put on lights, put them on with

³¹ Fels, 2001, no.191, p.219.

³² The pattern is engraved into the preparation layer and the gold leaf applied over, a technique Devolder states is most often found in Italy but also in Northern European works. Sgraffito is a technique that involves glazing the gold leaf and then scratching a pattern into the paint layer revealing the gold beneath. (Devolder, B.J.C., ‘the Representation of Brocaded Silks and Velvets in 15th and early 16th century Netherlandish Paintings: Methods & Materials’, Parkin, H.M (Ed), *AIC Paintings Specialty Group Postprints, Papers presented at the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic & Artistic Works, Denver Colorado, April 21-14 2008*, Volume 21, 2009, pp.61-74, pp.64-5).

³³ Tooling is when metal punches are hammered into a gilded layer, creating imprints and a three-dimensional surface (Ibid, pp.64-65).

³⁴ Pastiglia involves the outlines of the textile being applied on the preparation layer in free-hand drawing or pouncing. The pattern was then created in multiple layers with a brush wet-in-wet and is then gilded. This is a technique which often involves pre-modelled sheets of tin. The tin is shaped on a wooden or stone mould, and then filled with materials such as chalk, paper or pigments mixed with glue, resins, wax or oils. Once dry, the tin sheet was removed from the mould and fixed to the painting. In some cases the lower parts of the moulded metal were painted with the higher sections glazed in a yellow pigment to imitate gold. This technique was popular from the 15th century until the mid-16th century, particularly in Germany (Ibid, pp.64-5).

red lead; all tempered with yolk of egg...And in the same way, if you want to make them green, black, or any way you like.³⁵

The technique described here is traditional for tempera painting on gold-leaf. Bole is followed by metal leaf which is then painted. The pattern is then pounced onto the painted surface and repeated to create the motif;

Then you prepare your pounce patterns according to the cloths which you want to make; that is, first draw them on parchment; and then prick them carefully with a needle, holding a piece of canvas or cloth under the paper... When you have got them pricked, take dry colors according to the colors of the cloths upon which you have to pounce... Make your repeats so that they register well on each side.³⁶

To paint the gold or silver brocades Cennini describes the *sgraffito* technique. A common technique for reproducing the texture of gold thread, *sgraffito* was first introduced in Siena 1333 and had spread to Northern workshops by 1400. It involves covering the entire drapery area in gold leaf which is then painted with the required colour of the textile. The pattern is then outlined on the paint layer, and the paint layer is scraped away to reveal the gold beneath;³⁷

Take a little style of birch, or hard wood, or bone; with a point, like a regular style for drawing at one end; and a little edge at the other, for scraping. And with the point of this style, sketch in and shape up all your cloths; and with the other end of the style, scrape and remove the color from them, nicely, so as not to scratch the gold. And scrape whichever you please, either the ground or the pattern, and whatever you uncover, you stamp afterwards with the rosette³⁸. And if you cannot get the rosette into the little strokes, take a single little iron punch with a point like a drawing style.³⁹

³⁵ Cennini, T.M.CXLI, pp.86-87.

³⁶ Cennini, T.M.CXLI, p.87.

³⁷ Duits, R., *Gold Brocade and Renaissance Painting: A Study in Material Culture*, London, 2008, pp.6-7, 54

³⁸ A 'rosette' is identified by Thompson as a stamping tool in the design of a cluster of small points. In medieval gold stamping they are generally seen on a rectangular surface, and vary in number of points and the size of the stamp surface (Cennini, p.88, note 6).

³⁹ Cennini, pp.87-88, T.M.CXLII.

In Northern Europe, and to a lesser extent in Italy in the 15th century richly decorated fabrics were sometimes imitated in gilded tin-foil reliefs applied to the picture surface and painted with coloured glazes, known as the Preßbrokat technique.⁴⁰ This use of a mould and malleable filling material was a relatively simple and effective way of reproducing an accurate pattern across the painted surface. The technique rarely survives in works executed before 1350 but is part of a long tradition originating in the Romanesque art of Southern Europe. Between 1350 and 1420 the method was a popular aspect of workshop practice. During the 14th-century, this technique of imitation began to focus upon the representation of gold textiles, as patrons demanded that their execution in the visual arts reflected the cloth's considerable value.⁴¹ The repeating motifs were rarely included as individual elements but more often included as an overall repeating pattern linked by stems or branches, which also served to accentuate the appearance of embroidery. In an early attempt to achieve realism, artists used successive paint layers and glazes to indicate volume and depth. The use of tempera began to give way to oil-based binding media in the Northern Countries in the 13th century, with linseed oil identified in Norwegian altar frontals dating from that time,⁴² a considerable prelude to the realism attained by Van Eyck and his contemporaries Robert Campin and Rogier van der Weyden c.1430.⁴³

The techniques used in the Blair portraits, however, relate to the 'illusionistic' technique of representation, largely executed using multiple layers and glazes to produce texture and depth⁴⁴ with pigments such as lead-tin yellow replacing gold leaf in the rendering of gold thread. Marie de Guise is depicted in a gown of cloth-of-gold damask with a large leaf motif (*figure 108*), with ermine fur panels (*figure 109*) and a central panel set with large

⁴⁰ For more information on the techniques used in gold leaf and tin relief see Monnas, L., *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300-1550*, Yale University Press, 2008; Darrah, J.A., 'White and Golden Tin Foil in Applied Relief Decoration 1240-1530' in Hermens (ed) *Looking Through Paintings: the Study of Painting techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research*, Uitgeverij de Prom & Archetype Publications, 1998, pp.49-80; Nadolny, J., *The Techniques and Use of Gilded Relief Decoration by Northern European Painters, c.1200-1500*, Ph.D Thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001.

⁴¹ Geelen, I., Steyaert, D., *Imitation and Illusion: Applied Brocade in the Art of the Low Countries in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Brussels, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 2011, pp.25, 29.

⁴² Such as the Heddal Altar Frontal *Christ in Majesty with Apostles*, c.1250-1265, oil on panel, Oslo, Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Kirby, J., 'Aspects of Oil: Painting in Northern Europe and Jan van Eyck' in De Mey et al. (eds) *Vision & Matter; Interaction between Art and Science in Jan van Eyck's Time*, KVAB Press, 2012, pp.257-8.

⁴³ Geelen & Steyaert, 2011, p.30; Kirby, 2012, p.255.

⁴⁴ An extremely dramatic example of the impasto application to create texture can be seen in *Elizabeth I* (unknown continental artist, c.1575, NPG 2082).⁴⁴ In this portrait, the patterned raised embroidery and the three-dimensionality of the jewels and pearls are extremely effectively executed by creating high texture in paint. This technique is used resulting in a less dramatic effect in the Blair portrait of Marie, where the raised red lines of the leaf pattern suggest the raised texture of the embroidery, highlighted with raised yellow strokes.

jewels that match her hood. The relative simplicity of the pattern here is complimented by the elaborate pearl strands along the neckline and the ermine and jewels embellishing the stomacher. Although the shift in technique from literal texture to illusionistic representations was a gradual transition, by the late fifteenth-century the techniques were being well received;

(Cyriaco d'Ancona on Rogier van der Weyden, 1449) so many garments and differently colored cloaks, others excellently enriched with purple and gold... gold as if it were real gold, pearls, gems etcetera, such that you would call them not the works of human hands, but the products of Mother Nature herself.⁴⁵

The greatest advance in the interest of optical cohesion is widely suggested to have originated from Jan van Eyck.⁴⁶ The use of oil-based mediums in Netherlandish workshops at this time led to the achievement of the demanded realism, precipitated by marked stylistic advances.⁴⁷ In contrast to Cennini's emphasis on technique over fabric variation, Lomazzo's treatise lists five main fabrics; brocade, silk, wool, linen and leather⁴⁸, and distinguishes between types of silks; velvet, satin, sendals (veils), ormesini (light silk) and damask,⁴⁹ whilst lacking actual technical instruction.⁵⁰ Lomazzo writes at length about the correct depiction of the folds of drapery, warning, like Leonardo da Vinci,⁵¹ not to use a model draped in paper for a study as the fall of the fabric will look incorrect for its weight;

⁴⁵ Duits, R., *Gold Brocade in Renaissance Painting; an Iconography of Riches*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Utrecht, 2001, p.21; Devolder, 2009, p.65.

⁴⁶ See Lomazzo, book 2, p.7; Duits, 2008, pp.12-13, 57-60; Monnas, 2008, pp.97-98, 111-119; Van Duijn & Roeders, 'Gold-Brocaded Fabrics in the Paintings by Cornelis Engebrechtsz', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 4:1, 2012, pp.7-8 for support of Van Eyck as greatest innovator in oil painting; See Streeton, N., *Perspectives on the Painting Technique of Jan van Eyck*, Archetype Publications Ltd., London, 2013, pp.10, 22 for alternative arguments from scholars. Jo Kirby (2012, p.255) notes that recent scientific examination of Northern European 13th-14th-century works of art has revealed that oil paint was being used proficiently for several centuries pre-1400. Van Eyck and his contemporaries are perhaps more fittingly described as being innovators in the development of the use of the media, rather than inventors.

⁴⁷ Kirby, 2012, p.258.

⁴⁸ Lomazzo, Book 2, Chapter XXII, p.89.

⁴⁹ Lomazzo's treatise is the first art historical source which lists all gold thread woven silks as 'brocade', despite the term being in use since the late 14th-century. Duits, 2008, pp.30-31; Lomazzo, Book 2, pp.160-2, 294-6.

⁵⁰ Duits, 2008, pp.30-31; Lomazzo, 1973-4, vol.2, pp.160-2, 394-6.

⁵¹ Duits, 2008, p.24; Monnas, 2008, p.149 "How draperies should be drawn from nature: that is to say, if you want to represent woollen cloth draw the folds from that; and if it is to be silk, or fine cloth, or coarse, or of linen or of veiling, vary the folds in each and do not represent dresses as many do, from models covered in paper or thin leather which will deceive you greatly" (quoted from Richter, J.P., *The Literary works of Leonardo da Vinci compiled from the original manuscripts by Jean Paul Richter*, 1939, vol.1, p.270, no.392).

Foldes or plaites, ought to runne out every way like boughes from the stemme & body of the tree: and must be so made that one plait rise from another, as one bough or one streame of water issueth from another; in such wise, that there be no part of the cloth wherein there appeare not some of these motions.⁵²

...and because all sortes of cloth have their motions, aswel as bodies, it must needs be that they differ betweene themselves, according to the differences of the clothes themselves... grosse and dull shadowes are found in stiffe clothes, where the plaites are fewe and grosse, so that they are capable but of slow motions & therefore they sinke downwards and can hardly fall close to the bare skin by reason of their own grossenesse which sustaineth them. And these motions doe chiefly appeare in cloth of golde, felt, thicke leather &c, in which the aire can have little force or none.⁵³

Similarly, Peacham puts a considerable degree of emphasis on the quality of depicting the folds of drapery, writing;

...giving to every fold his proper naturall doubling and shadow; which is great skill...insomuch that if I would make triall of a good worke-man; I would finde him quickly by the folding of a garment, or the shadowing of a gowne, sheete, or such like.⁵⁴

Preparatory Layers for Textiles

After the preparatory stages, described earlier in this chapter, the application of an overall toned base colour over the area of the planned textile has been noted in the examination of Netherlandish works of this period.⁵⁵ When comparing all of Geertgen tot Sint Jans' gold-brocaded textiles, two variations of under-paint have been identified by Van Duijn; the first type is dark brown, often ochre-tinted. The second is much lighter, with a pink-grey tone.⁵⁶ The portraits of *Sir Philip Sidney* (NPG 5732), *Queen Elizabeth I* (NPG 5175) and *Robert*

⁵² Lomazzo, Book 2, Chapter XXII, p.88.

⁵³ Lomazzo, Book 2, Chapter XXII, p.89.

⁵⁴ Gordon, 1906, book 1, chapter XIII, p.43.

⁵⁵ Bomford, Roy & Smith, *The Techniques of Dieric Bouts: Two Paintings Contrasted*, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, vol. 10, 1986, pp.46, 54, 56; Van Hout, 1998, p.205; Van Duijn et al., 'Developments in the Underdrawing and Painting Technique of the Sixteenth-Century Leiden School, in particular the workshops of Cornelis Engebrechtsz and Lucas van Leyden' in Spring & Howard (eds) *Studying Old Master Paintings*, National Gallery Publications, 2011, p.106; Vandivere, 2011, p.3; Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, p.3; Van Duijn, 2013, p.32.

⁵⁶ Van Duijn, 2013, p.32.

Dudley (NPG 447) similarly all feature either an overall pale grey priming or localised grey textile modelling composed of white, red and black pigments.⁵⁷ The under-modelling layer has consistently been found to have been painted from light to dark, modelling the folds of drapery by applying the lightest colour first and then working towards the darker shadows.⁵⁸

The application of the oil paint in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin with Canon Van der Paele* creates an optical effect based on strongly contrasting tonal values, seen in the cope of St Donatian, where the gold thread is applied above a dark brown under-layer with modelling in two tones. Where the drapery catches the light, the dark ground is supplemented with very bright highlights in lead-tin-yellow, giving an impression of light sparkling on gold. A dark brown under-layer has also been found under the drapery in Dieric Bouts' *Virgin and Child* (NG London) again providing an optical contrast between the sheen of the velvet and the gold thread.⁵⁹ Alternatively, Engebrechtsz has been found to have used a warm, orange-brown under-layer beneath his golden fabrics,⁶⁰ a comparable colour to a paint layer visible in minor damages on Marie's gown and identified in cross-sections. Similarly, the black velvet pomegranate pattern on golden background in Hans Memling's *Triptych of Jan Floreins* (1479, Bruges, Memlingmuseum, internal central panel) uses an ochre hue, giving the entire groundwork of the drapery a golden colour.⁶¹

Underdrawing and the Use of Patterns

During the fifteenth- to sixteenth-centuries pattern drawings were used in Italy and Northern Europe, precluding the need to copy fabrics from life.⁶² Three such examples have been identified by Stephen Goddard from the workshop of the Master of Frankfurt (Antwerp, 1460-c.1533). Goddard compared several paintings produced by the Master of Frankfurt and recognised these three examples reproduced in the same size (so often varying in scale depending upon the size of the decorated fabric). These demonstrate a range of motifs; one a complicated entwining vine and bud motif which alternately branches into two large curved leaves or a cluster of pomegranate apples (as seen in the

⁵⁷ National Portrait Gallery London Making Art in Tudor Britain project database reports accessed online - <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/matbsearch.php>.

⁵⁸ Van Duijn, 2013, pp.32-3.

⁵⁹ Bomford, Roy & Smith, 1986, pp.46, 54, 56.

⁶⁰ Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, p.3.

⁶¹ Duits, 2008, pp.57-60.

⁶² Ames-Lewis, F., *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, Yale University Press, 1981, pp.49-50. Ames-Lewis notes that it is important to distinguish between model-books (used by Monnas, 2008, p.125) and pattern or portfolio drawings. The term "model-book" generally refers to late medieval books of drawings, bound and meticulously executed. The pattern drawings for workshop textiles were more likely to be loose leaf portfolios, used as versions for workshop training, for the sharing of motifs between workshops and sometimes to transfer the motif onto the finished work.

Hardwick Hall portrait), one of thin vines with small pomegranate apples framing two stylized flower designs, and one of a cluster of five pomegranate apples on stalks within a tear shaped wreath of leaves and additional pomegranate apples. These motifs feature separately in a number of the Master of Frankfurt's works, and all three are found in his most celebrated work, the *Holy Kindred Altarpiece* in Frankfurt. Goddard writes that these motifs were always reproduced in the same size, and flatly with no attempt to mimic the contour of the underlying drapery. Once again in these instances no traces of underdrawing have been found. Goddard posits that this is due to the pouncing dust being removed during the process of painting.⁶³ Jean Wilson also presents pouncing as the most likely technique of transfer used in textile patterns, accounting for the lack of underdrawing identified in portraits to this point.⁶⁴

Underdrawing of drapery has been found in some contemporary Netherlandish and Anglo-Netherlandish portraits. The IRR images of Geertgen tot Sint Jans' *Lamentation* examined by Van Duijn clearly feature underdrawing. In the sleeves of the figure of Mary Magdalene in this work the contours and folds of the fabric have been drawn out prior to painting.⁶⁵ Considerably detailed underdrawing in the fabric was also found in Engebrechtsz's *Crucifixion Triptych*. For the gold-patterned fabrics in particular, the drapery has been modelled using a fluid medium and brush, but the pattern for the motif itself is not visible. Detailed underdrawing in Engebrechtsz's *Crucifixion* was carried out in dry carbon material, with long lines and hatching.⁶⁶

Some underdrawing of drapery has been identified in a number of near-contemporary royal or aristocratic portraits examined by the MATB project. In *Katherine Parr* (att. Master John, oil on panel, c.1545, 180.3x94cm, NPG 4451) some light, sketchy lines were found indicating the structure of the red textile and fur hanging sleeves, and around the tufts of the undershirt pulled through the slashes in her fitted sleeves.⁶⁷ In *Queen Mary I* (Master John, oil on panel, 1544, 71.1x50.8cm, NPG 428) IRR revealed underdrawing outlining the shoulder and sleeve on the left, with some evidence of pouncing along the original edges of the lower sleeves.⁶⁸ Similarly to the Blair portrait, however, a number of works have been

⁶³ Goddard, S.H., 'Brocade Patterns in the Shop of the Master of Frankfurt: an Accessory to Stylistic Analysis', in *The Art Bulletin*, 67:3, 1985, pp.403-404.

⁶⁴ Wilson, 1990, pp.523-525, 527.

⁶⁵ Van Duijn, 2013, p.31.

⁶⁶ Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, p.4.

⁶⁷ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw01957/Katherine-Parr?>; Bolland & Cooper, 2014, pp.109-110.

⁶⁸ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw04264/Queen-Mary-I?>.

identified with very few or no indications of underdrawing indicating that the lack of preparatory marks is not unusual. In *Queen Elizabeth I* for example (unknown English artist, oil on panel, c.1600, 127.3x99.7cm, NPG 5175), no underdrawing was identified in her richly painted gold gown or in her face, and only very little in the hands.⁶⁹

Achieving Texture

One of the primary concerns of the technique of painting fabric was that of achieving realism; a pursuit taken from classical writings which stated that to imitate nature was to seek perfection.⁷⁰ As well as this it demonstrated that the patron was rich or important enough to commission an accomplished artist, as well as to own the sumptuous fabrics depicted. A realistic representation of the type of cloth and the folds in the drapery was required. In order to appear as lifelike as possible painted draperies contained folds; this required the employment of painterly tricks to suggest that the pattern followed these folds.⁷¹ The standard solution was to render the pattern flat with no foreshortening at all, thereby relying upon the existing fabric folds to present the illusion of a three-dimensional object.⁷²

In creating the pattern, Peacham writes;

Of Diapering;⁷³ ...in English to pass or cast over, and it is nothing else but a light tracing or running over with your pen (in Damaske branches, and such like) you other worke when you have quite done (I meane folds, shadowing and all) it chiefly serveth to counterfeit cloath of Gold, Silver, Damaskbrancht, Velvet, Chamler, &c. with what branch, and in what fashion you list.⁷⁴

Peacham continues,

if you Diaper upon folds, let your worke be broken, and taken as it were by the halfe: for reason telleth you that your fold must cover somewhat unseene, which being drawne forth at length and laid plaine, sheweth all faire and perfect... you

⁶⁹ <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw02070/Queen-Elizabeth-I?>

⁷⁰ Rubin, P., 2011, p.4.

⁷¹ Jan van Eyck (*Ghent altarpiece*, organ playing angel) and Rogier van der Weyden (*Deposition*, gown of Joseph of Arimathea) both show height of understanding of how the pattern should be rendered foreshortened – complex patterns distorted by complex folds with no obvious errors in composition.

⁷² Duits, 2008, pp.49-53.

⁷³ The term 'diaper' refers to a fabric with a repeating pattern of small diamonds (Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins, 2014, p.54).

⁷⁴ Peacham, 1634, book 1, chapter XIV, p.45.

must moreover in diapering, let your worke fall out so, that there may be an affinitie, one part with the other, maintaining one branch of the same worke throughout, setting the fairest in the most eminent place, and causing it to runne upward: otherwise one might imagine some foolish Tailor had cut out his Ladies gowne the wrong way.⁷⁵

John Bate lists his rules for painting drapery, paying particular note to the folds of the fabric and how the pattern should correspond:

Of Diapering

Diapering is a passing or over-running your works (after it is quite finished) with branches or other worke.

Rules for Diapering;

1. If you diaper upon folds, you must make your Worke to breake off accordingly
2. You must have a care to continue the same Worke throughout the whole

Garment

3. You must set the fairest in the most eminent and perspicuous place
4. You must cause your branches to run all upwards, else your Worke will be ridiculous.⁷⁶

The use of ‘branches’ to describe the pattern is understandable considering the popularity of the intertwined flowing appearance of a pattern of leaves or flowers, and the concerns voiced by Bates are reflected in paintings adopting the technique. In Petrus Christus’ *Portrait of a Goldsmith* (1449, Metropolitan Museum of Art), a young woman wears a velvet gown with a large pomegranate motif, but it is inaccurately rendered as the principal elements change in style and positioning between the sleeves and the skirt.⁷⁷ Although the Blair patterning is on the bodice, and therefore does not need to correspond to the more complicated folds of a skirt or draped sleeve, the pattern shows some indication of curving to fit the body. The indication of three-dimensional shape is achieved through the movement of light across the fabric, and the use of the strong red lines on the left-hand side to indicate a more pronounced definition.

⁷⁵ Peacham, 1634, pp.45-46, book 1, chapter XIV.

⁷⁶ Bate, 1635, Book 3, p.145.

⁷⁷ Monnas, 2008, p.128.

This fragmented pattern technique became more ‘freehand’ by the sixteenth-century, particularly in the rendition of simple brocaded textiles. In Juan de Flandes’ *Adoration of the Magi* (c. 1508/1519, National Gallery of Art Washington), the pattern has been found to be painted freehand on top of the finished, shadowed textile. This technique did not use underdrawing but sometimes a template placed on top of the paint surface.⁷⁸

Painting the Golden Embroidery

The final stage of painting the fabric requires the depiction of gold thread. The depiction of gold thread advanced considerably during the Renaissance due to the increasing demand for realism, moving from physical recreations of texture in tooled gold leaf and tin relief to the use of highlights and shadowing in oil medium.⁷⁹ There were two main styles of gold thread embellishment; *allucciolato*, pulled woven threads, and *bouclé*, an area of massed gold embroidery.⁸⁰ As the use of metal leaf waned, techniques for imitating gold in oil paint developed. The height of the pile of the featured textile was first established through the creation of light and shadow, the raised gold threads are then indicated with yellow-white paint applied in diagonal lines and cross-hatches, with yellow highlights turned into a representation of the weaving pattern.

Engbrechtsz applied highlights on the orange-brown underlayer, left visible between pattern elements. Yellow and orange-pink paint was used for highlights, the yellow touches imitating the gold threads catching the light and the orange-pink touches used to indicate shadow. These final touches were applied as Cennini suggests, in small separate dots or in short lines of high relief paint. For the imitation of *allucciolato*, comma-shaped strokes were used.⁸¹ In Geertgen tot sint Jan’s *Tree of Jesse*, the gold thread highlights were painted on before the pattern was applied. Highlights were painted over the entire surface to indicate a cloth of gold, with the areas of raised thread applied in impasto paint. Van Duijn notes however that this is an extremely unusual technique.⁸²

When examining costume of cloth-of-gold, it is interesting to see the differences between the London Painter-Stainers guild, initially hostile to the Netherlandish newcomers, and those Flemish artists working at Elizabeth’s court. Examining two portraits of Elizabeth’s favourite Robert Dudley painted c.1575 it is clear that the same portrait pattern is used, however the rendering of the costume differs considerably. One features gilding, a technique rapidly becoming unfashionable during this period, and simple procedures

⁷⁸ Devolder, 2009, p.71.

⁷⁹ Duits, 2008, pp.53-56.

⁸⁰ Monnas, 2008, pp.111-115.

⁸¹ Van Duijn & Roeders, 2012, pp.1, 6.

⁸² Van Duijn, 2013, pp.31-36.

reminiscent of the heraldic habits of the Painter-Stainers. In the other portrait, the effects are more optical, produced subtly through the layering of oil paint, use of glazes and texture created by impasto and blotting. Most notably the gold stitching of the costume is indicated using lead tin yellow pigment rather than gold leaf, demonstrating considerable technical sophistication.⁸³

⁸³ Scholten & Woodall, 2014, p.30.

Appendix 5

Netherlandish Artists in England

As well as establishing the surviving portraits within a wider context of production at the Scottish court, this research examines the likelihood of a Netherlandish school of painting developing in Scotland. Here, the establishment of the Anglo-Netherlandish school is summarised.

The thirty-nine Netherlandish artists who are noted to have settled in London compensated for their slight numbers with the immediate and long-standing impact they had on artistic practice in England.⁸⁴ The popularity of Netherlandish artists across Europe ranged in commissions from the prestige of certain project carried out for the Burgundian court or wealthy Italians, to the mass production of works shipped abroad to places such as England. Despite the more general nature of the consumption of art from the Low Countries in England, they were not exempt from developing a taste for the highly developed Netherlandish style. High illusionistic effects in landscape, textiles, flesh and expressions encouraged the import both of works and of artists.⁸⁵

The primary craft guild in Antwerp was that of the Guild of St Luke, and both native painters and migrants were permitted membership; in fact between 1500 and 1579, 70% of the master painters were not native to Antwerp.⁸⁶ The majority came to England fleeing religious persecution, however those arriving in London found the local livery companies and painters' guilds hostile to aliens and foreigners. Despite their acknowledged skills and demand in London, the Painter-Stainers' guild refused access to the Netherlandish painters, likely in direct response to the competition these new arrivals posed. In preventing membership, the Painter-Stainers maintained the tactical advantages presented by networking and training at least.⁸⁷ Come 1571, the rules of the company seem to have relaxed. The November 1571 Returns of Aliens describes Netherlandish painters Jacob Worgos and Balthazar Kerreman as 'paynter stayner', which implies membership of the

⁸⁴ Walker, 'Netherlandish Immigrant Painters and the Dutch Reformed Church of London, Austin Friars, 1560-1680', (Ed) Scholten, Woodall & Meijers, *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move 1400-1750*, Brill Publishing, 2014, p.59.

⁸⁵ Foister, S., 'Distinctive or Different? English Artistic Practices in a European Context', in Cooper et al. (eds) *Painting in Britain 1500-1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, British Academy, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.204-215, p.204.

⁸⁶ Walker, 2014, pp.60-1.

⁸⁷ Ibid, pp.62, 65.

guild. The member rolls for the guild do not survive for this period, so it is difficult to know why the change of practice, but it is possible that the guild implemented a new system mirroring that of the Stationer's Guild; this allowed for alien membership but with reduced benefits and rights. By 1583, alien painters were being granted full guild membership and paid comparable rates, and Hope Walker posits that this considerable change in policy may have been down to the sheer numbers of émigré painters now arriving with sought-after skills.⁸⁸ Despite the relatively hostile reaction of the Painter-Stainers, Netherlandish artists began to dominate royal and noble patronage in England.

As with heraldic painting, portraiture articulated the sitter's social standing. Apart from the clear demonstration of rank, portraiture also flourished because artists had lost the bountiful religious commissions due to the reformation elsewhere in Europe, and because portraiture was something of a grey area as far as the Elizabethan Protestants were concerned, with visual images distinguished by their function not their imagery in determining idolatry.⁸⁹ Although Scotland had not been affected by the reformation in the 1530s, this shift in artistic practice could not help but affect their interaction with painting of the European mainland and their English neighbours.

Taking the example of the most prolific sitter in Elizabethan England, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, it has been determined by scholar Elizabeth Goldring that he sat for a new portrait of himself at least twenty times during his thirty-year position at the centre of Queen Elizabeth's court. Elizabeth herself did not sit often, but is known to have been painted from life several times, by artists such as Nicholas Hilliard, Federico Zuccaro, Cornelis Ketel and William Segar.⁹⁰ Despite the fashion of portrait commissioning trickling down to the 'middling sort' by this time, the primary patrons in England during the sixteenth-century were the ruling and aristocratic classes.⁹¹ Although Leicester is not royalty, he was very close to Elizabeth and at the height of the English court and so his collecting and commissioning practices shed considerable light on the artistic habits of the upper echelons of the English court.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.66.

⁸⁹ Goldring, E., *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and the World of Elizabethan Art: Painting and Patronage at the Court of Elizabeth I*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2014, p.5.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.7

⁹¹ Ibid, pp.6-8.

Leicester's inventories credit the Netherlandish painter Hubbert or Hubbard with three works, none of which are known to survive; a double portrait of Leicester's son and wife Denbigh and Lettice, a full-length portrait of Leicester, recorded as in the house in 1583-4, and 'a device... on clothe of a butcher and a maide buying meate', present in the collection from 1584.⁹² Two examples of such genre-work exist attributed to Hubert, monogrammed HB or signed in one case, Beuckler. Likely born in the late 1530s, Hubert Beuckler worked as Anthonis Mor's assistant in Antwerp c.1560, after training in Agnolo Bronzino's workshop in the mid-1550s, and so trained by artists of high quality. In 1567, he was reported to be travelling in order to practice his painter's trade and earn a living, and settled in England some time prior to 1586. It is unknown whether Hubert travelled to England to escape the political and religious unrest in his native country, or in the hope of securing patronage, but he seems to have put down roots in the country, with 'Daniell Buckler, picture maker of the parish of St Giles in the Fields' making his will in 1625 and almost certainly the son of that name born to Hubert and his wife in Antwerp in the 1560s.⁹³ It is not known how Hubert came to work for the Earl of Leicester, but the earl may have encountered the artist during his visit to Antwerp in February 1582. Leicester was present in Antwerp accompanied by Sir Philip Sidney amidst others to represent Elizabeth at the installation of Francois, Duke of Anjou as the Duke of Brabant. This was an event designed to demonstrate England, France and the Netherlands' united stance against Spain.⁹⁴ Antwerp's picture dealers provided substantial stock during this period, for such patrons as travelling dignitaries. Seemingly taking advantage of this, Leicester added over twenty new paintings to his collection at Leicester House in May 1582, the majority of which were likely bought by Leicester in Antwerp that February, with subjects including genre paintings, religious narratives and mythological narratives.⁹⁵ It is worth noting that prior to February 1582 Leicester had always acquired his pictures from the continent via an agent.⁹⁶

This observation of Leicester's habits also presents the suggestion that Chatsworth and Atholl may well have had contacts in the Netherlands which they used in the production of

⁹² Ibid, p.129.

⁹³ Goldring, 2014, p.129.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.132.

⁹⁵ Ibid, pp.132-3.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.135; Art agents were essentially middlemen, a means of employment that is thought not to have existed before the Renaissance and subsequent shifts in the art market. (Elam, C., 'Art in the Service of Liberty: Battista della Palla, Art Agent for Francis I', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, vol.5, 1993, pp.33-109, p.34 quoting Wackernagel, M., tr. A. Luchs, *the World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, Princeton, 1981, (original German version 1938) pp.283-5).

the portraits of the Stewart monarchs, or indeed that the work at Blair Castle was copied from works commissioned from Netherlandish artists from the monarchs themselves.

Queen Elizabeth's portrait was recorded by the Tudor Royal Proclamations as displayed by '*all sortes of subiectes and people both noble and meane*', but also in the house of an Edinburgh merchant in 1566 and in the Palazzi Signoria in Florence in 1594.⁹⁷ Leicester's portraits also travelled, a full-length depiction of himself executed in 1583 by the above-mentioned Hubert Beuckelaer gifted by himself to James VI in the mid-1580s.⁹⁸ However, although Leicester did sit often, many of the portraits of him that circulated during his lifetime were copies, and indeed Goldring posits that some in circulation into the 17th-century would have been copies of copies etc. It was these versions that the 'middling sort' would purchase, produced to satisfy a steady demand for portraits of certain individuals. Goldring also suggests that she has discovered anecdotal evidence which indicates that aristocratic patrons and collectors would occasionally lend one another works in order to have them copied.⁹⁹ There is for example a surviving face pattern, painted to a high finish, of Elizabethan courtier Sir Henry Sidney made by an unknown English workshop (varnished oil on paper, 30.5x27.9cm, National Portrait Gallery London), but these practices will be discussed more fully in chapter 3 of this thesis.

Regarding specific Netherlandish artists working for the English court, the writer Francis Meres wrote in his 1598 *Palladis Tamia* (Wits Treasury) of the talents of several Flemish or Dutch artists including John de Creetes (de Critz), William and Francis Segar, Thomas and John Bettes, Marcus (Gheeraerts) and most interestingly for this thesis; Arnold, identified by Cooper and Howard as Arnold or Arthur Van Bronckhorst, court painter to the infant James VI.¹⁰⁰

When specifically examining the portrait of Oliver St John, 1st Baron of Bletso, 1578 (National Portrait Gallery London, NPG6919) Arnold van Bronckhorst has provided a very rare signature, reading vertically up the right-hand side of the portrait "AR BRONCKHORST FECIT 1578". This portrait of Bletso demonstrates the skilled textile decoration and level of execution in the face which suggest an accomplished portraitist.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.10; Hughes & Larkin, 1969, vol.II, p.241. For the Edinburgh merchant Goldring references the Earl of Bedford's letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 14 February 1566, and for the Florentine portrait see Strong, 2003, p.22, citing Fynes Moryson's diary.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 2014, p.10.

⁹⁹ Goldring, 2014, pp.13-14.

¹⁰⁰ Cooper, T & Howard, M., 2015, pp.4-28, p.10.

Cooper and Howard posit that Blesto likely knew van Bronckhorst personally from his patronage of other artists, and such Bronckhorst felt he could claim authorship of this work directly, as opposed to more anonymous commissions for influential courtiers.¹⁰¹ As will be discussed later, further works attributed to Bronckhorst include a portrait of the infant James VI and James Douglas 4th Earl of Morton (both Scottish National Portrait Gallery), however the execution of these works bear distinct stylistic dissimilarities to the portrait of Blesto, and arguably a less confident hand, although all three bear heavily lidded eyes and a sketchy loose approach to the face. Bronckhorst has also been attached to the copy of a portrait of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1573, private collection of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House), due to the included monogram AB (or AR). Comparisons made of the two works, 1st Baron of Blesto and 1st Baron Burghley, carried out by the MATB have established that these works have considerable stylistic differences and therefore must be different artists.¹⁰² The work of Bronckhorst will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

The most dominant foreign artist working in Tudor England was Hans Holbein the Younger, who worked briefly in England initially from 1526-1528, and who then returned to serve Henry VIII and his court from 1532 until his death in 1543. The quality of illusion produced by Holbein's portraits could be replicated by very few artists across Europe, and as a result finding his successor capable of producing such high-quality portraits must have proved challenging. From 1544-6 several royal commissions were given to a painter known as 'Master John', about whom very little is known but who by his style has been identified by the MATB project as English. One of these identifiable techniques was his use of gold and silver leaf in the depictions of costume, a technique which had fallen out of fashion with continental artists such as Holbein who replicated such effects with pigments such as lead-tin yellow in oil. By 1545 the English court was once again without an artist, until the Netherlandish artist Guillim Scrots was employed as King's Painter with a considerable salary of £62 10sh per year.¹⁰³ By the mid-Elizabethan period the stylistic differences between native English and foreign-trained artists were beginning to dissipate, likely due to the increased demands for the innovative techniques and higher quality works displayed by the Netherlandish artists in the capital. Confident wet-in-wet painting and highly finished decorative details as well as heightened realism in faces are all considered

¹⁰¹ Cooper & Howard, 2015, p.11.

¹⁰² Op Cit.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.13

common to the work of the émigré artists and therefore attributed to an Anglo-Netherlandish School of painters emerging at this time.¹⁰⁴

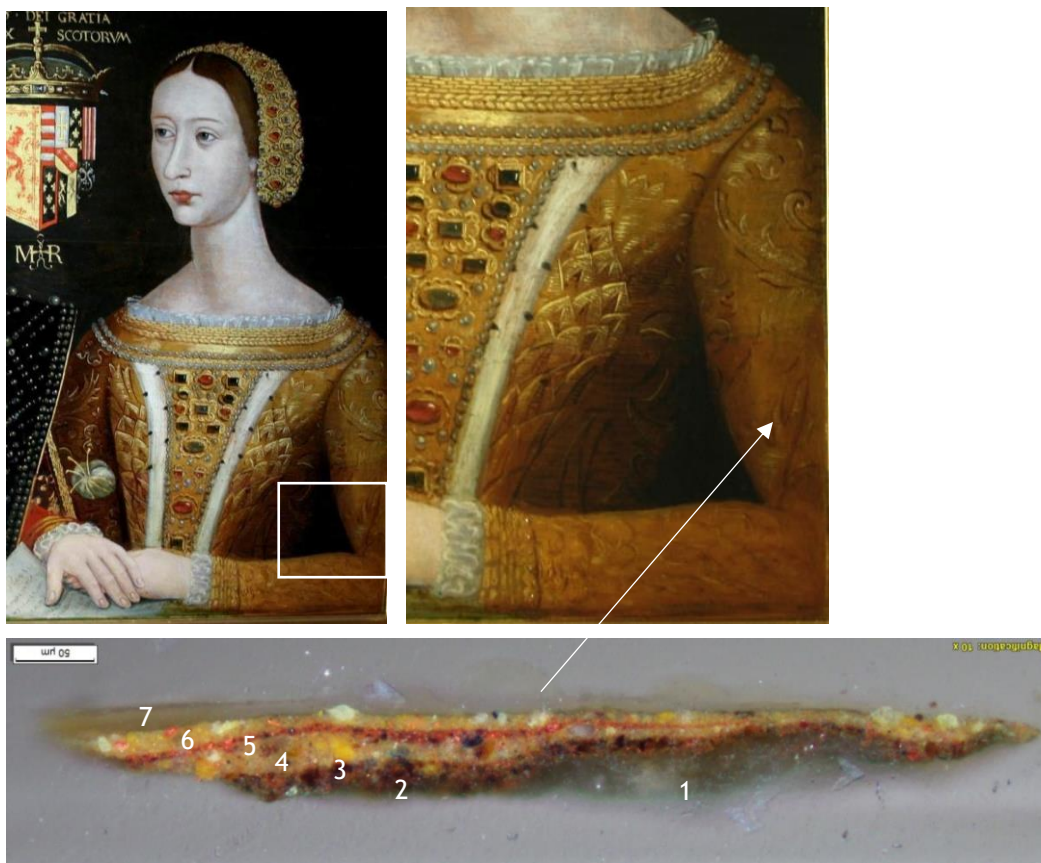
Appendix 6

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.15.

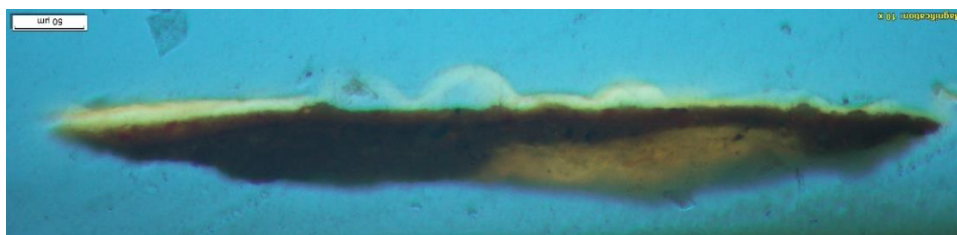
Blair Castle Painting Cross Sections

King James V and his Wife, Mary of Guise (BCA)

BCA 2



BCA2, DF, 100x mag.

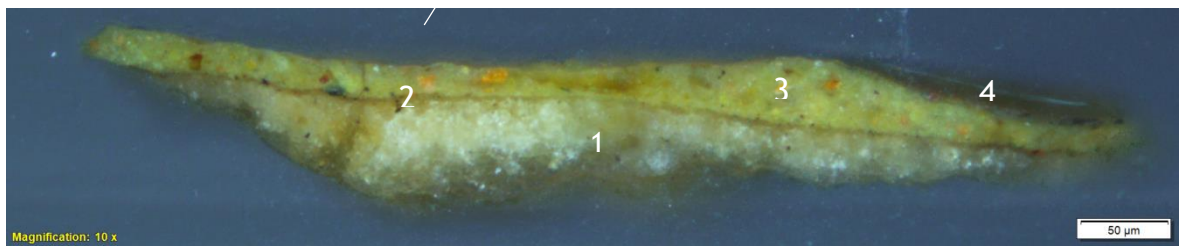
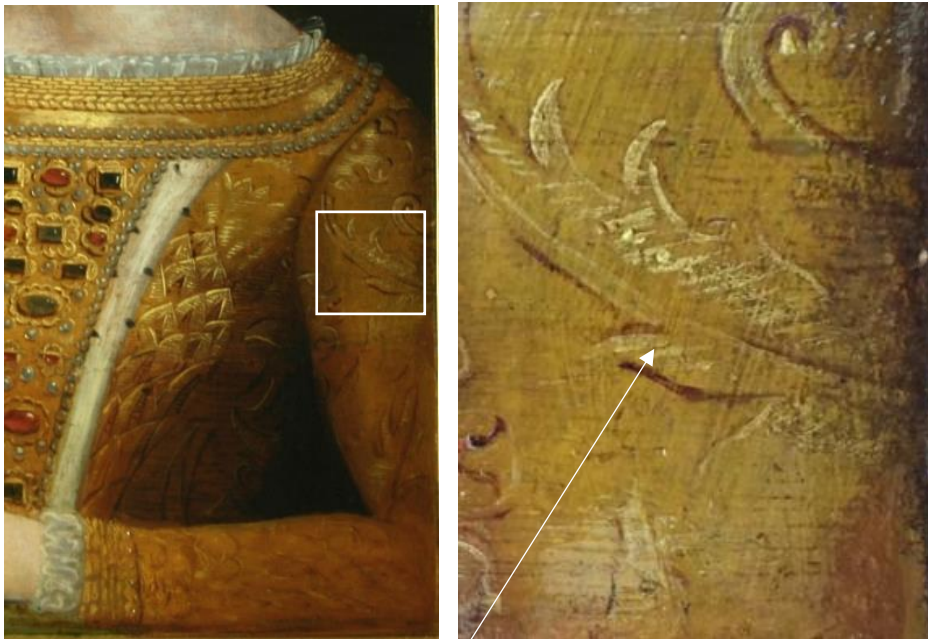


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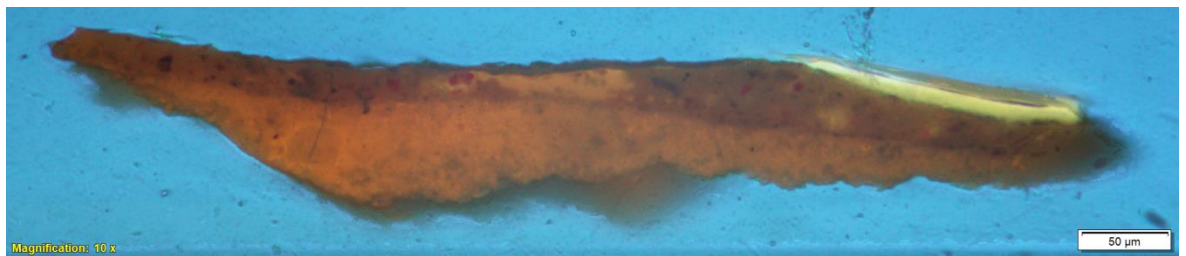
Stratigraphy (lower third reconstruction)

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1 ground layer | 6 yellow, highlight |
| 2 brown layer, discoloured ground or preparation layer | 7 varnish |
| 3 priming | |
| 4 yellow, gown | |
| 5 red, embroidery | |

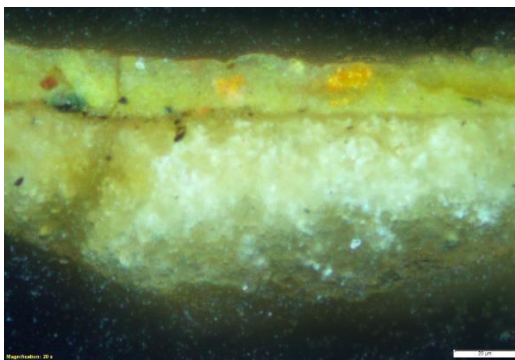
BCA 6



BCA6, DF, 100x mag.



BCA6, UV, 100x mag.

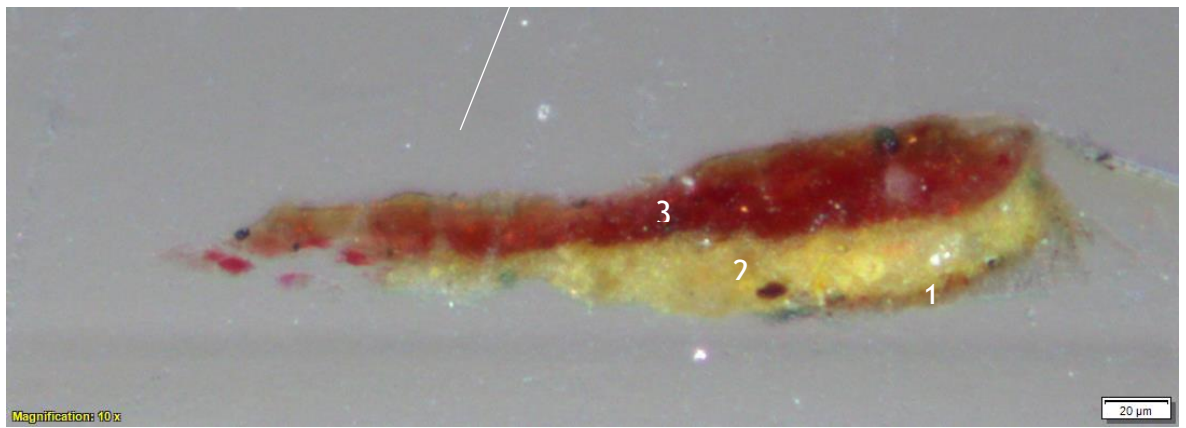
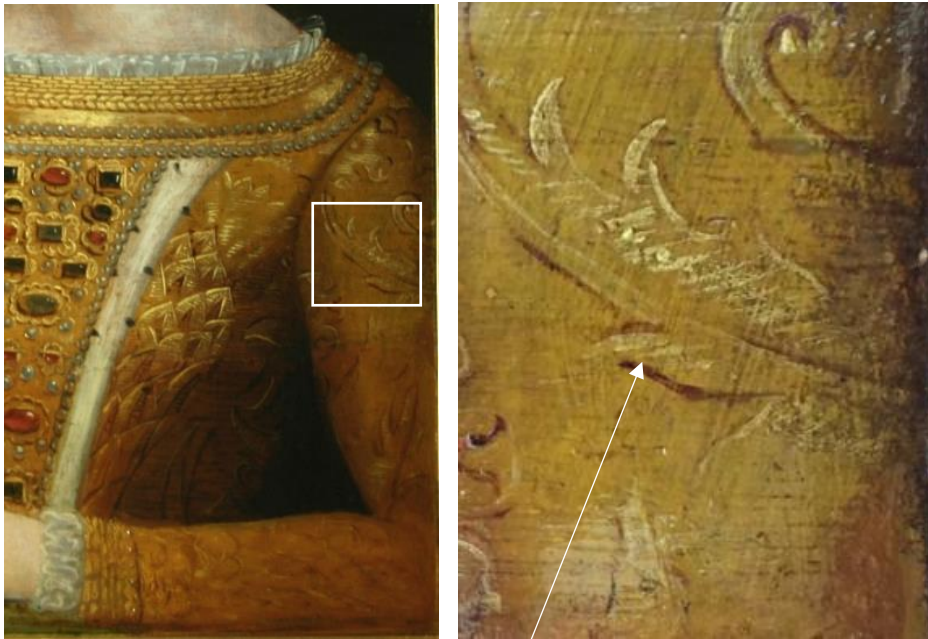


BCA6, DF, 200x mag.

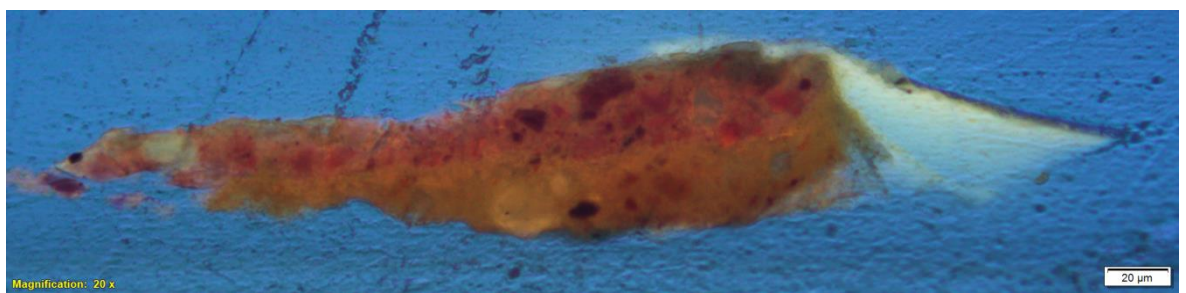
Stratigraphy (original yellow sleeve)

- 1 ground layer, chalk
- 2 priming, red/brown tint
- 3 yellow, gown
- 4 varnish

BCA 7



BCA7, DF, 200x mag.

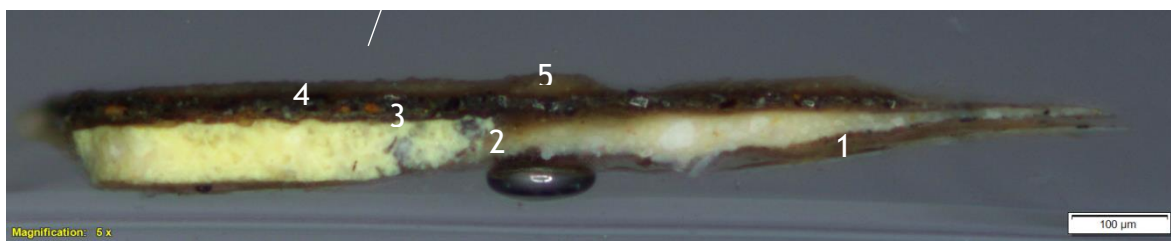


BCA7, UV, 200x mag.

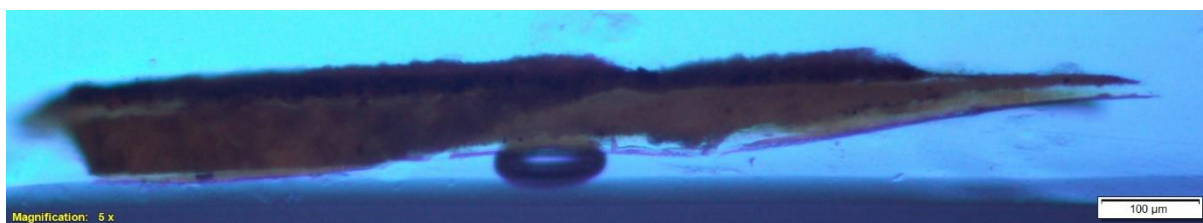
Stratigraphy (original red embroidery on sleeve)

- 1 priming, red-brown
- 2 yellow, gown
- 3 red, embroidery

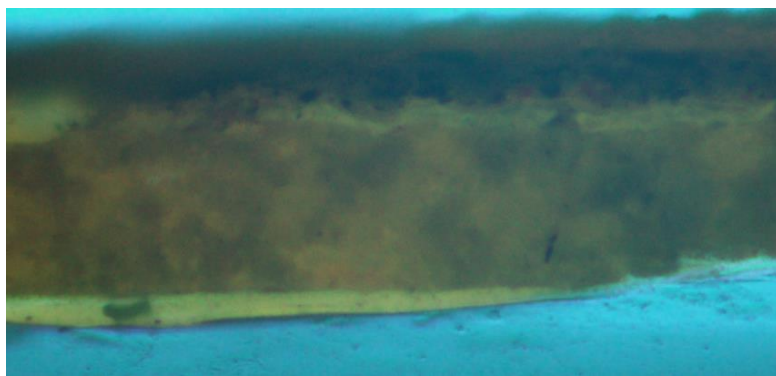
BCA 8



BCA8, DF, 50x mag.



BCA8, UV, 50x mag.

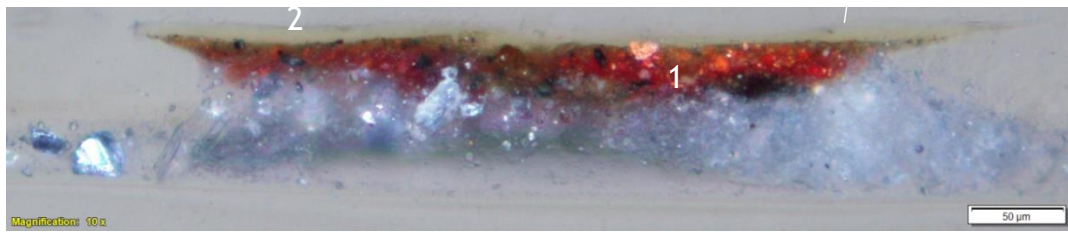
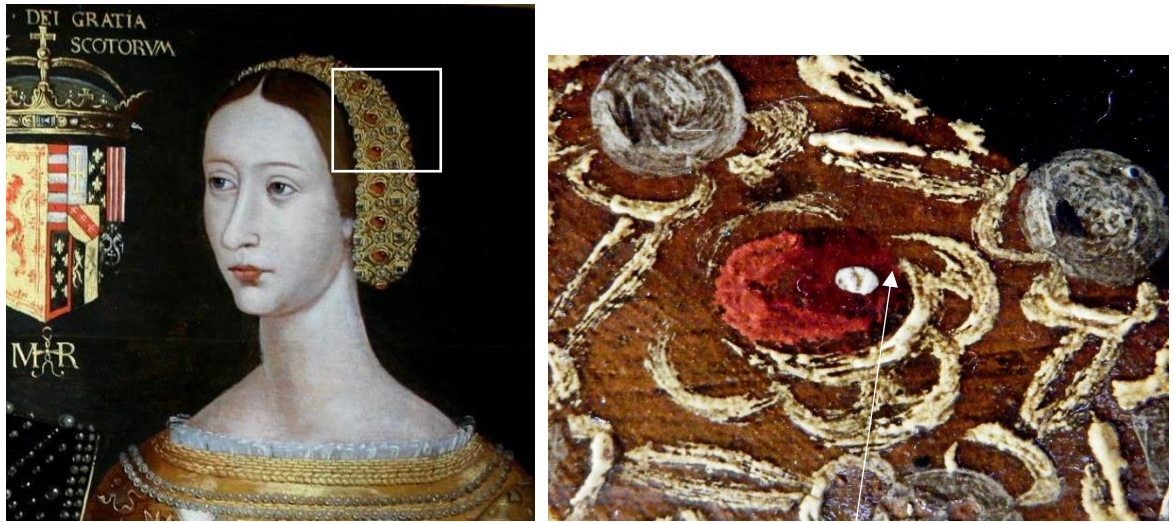


BCA 8, UV, detail

Stratigraphy (yellow coat of arms):

- 1 possible size layer, strong fluorescence
- 2 ground layer
- 3 priming
- 4 black background
- 5 thin, binding-rich yellow surface

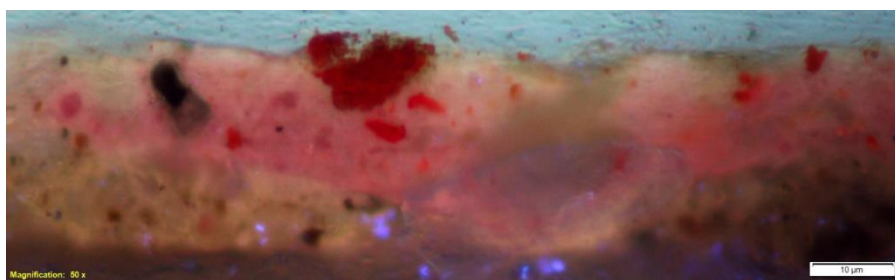
BCA 9



BCA9, DF, 100x mag.



BCA9, UV, 100x mag.

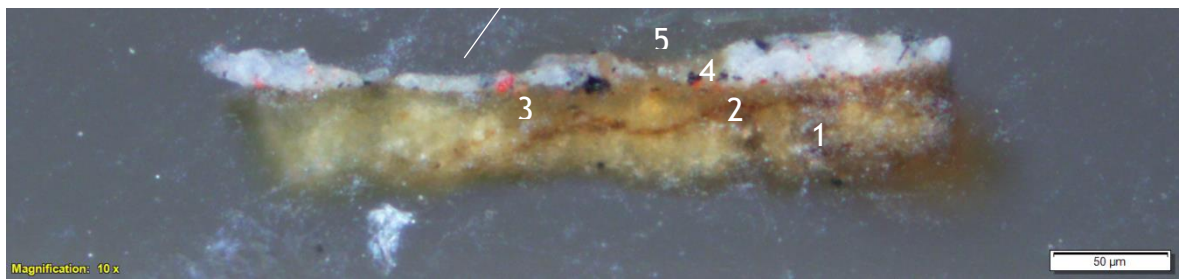
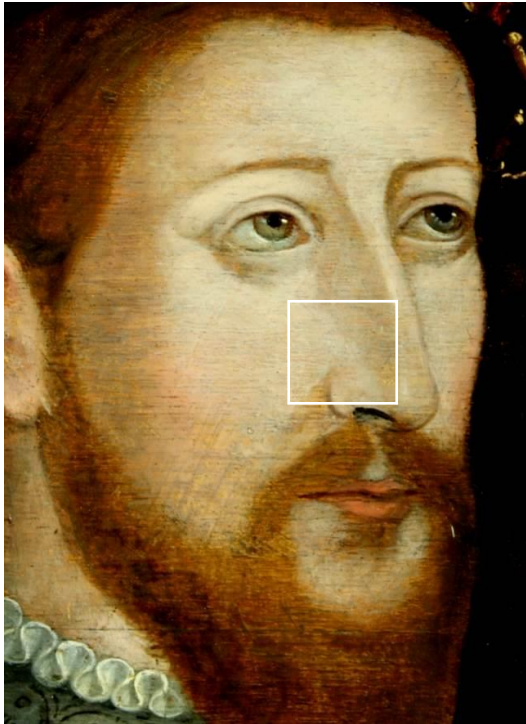


BCA9, UV, 500x mag.

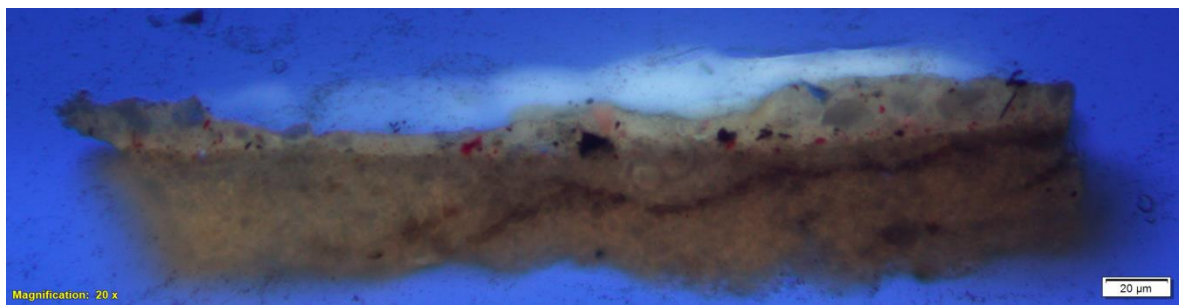
Stratigraphy (Jewel from Marie's hood):

1 red lake jewel

2 varnish



BCA11, DF, 100x mag.

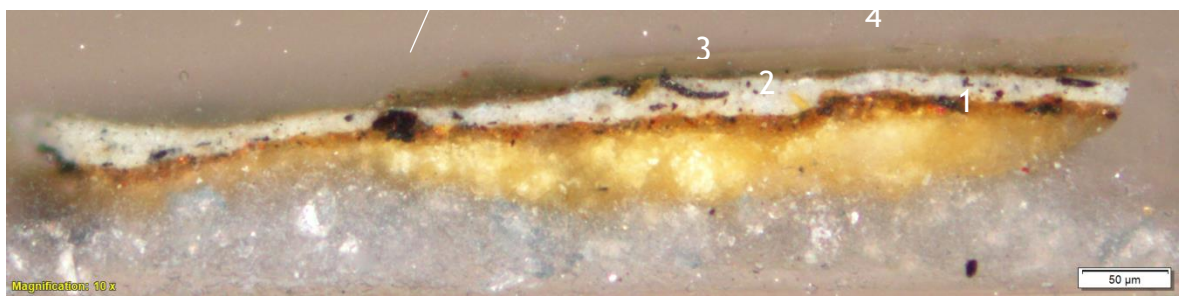


BCA11, UV, 200x mag.

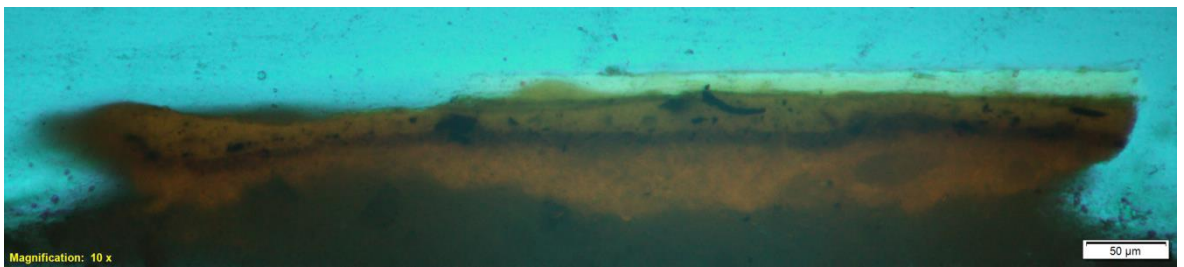
Stratigraphy (James V's flesh tone):

- 1 ground, chalk
- 2 priming, red-brown
- 3 flesh tone, chalk
- 4 pink highlight, white, black, vermillion
- 5 varnish

Mary, Queen of Scots and her Son James VI of Scotland (BCB)

BCB 1

BCB1, DF, 100x mag.

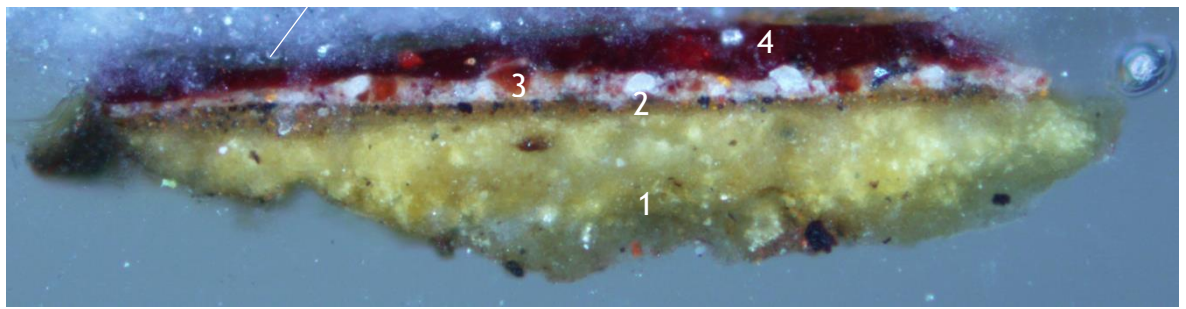


BCB1, UV, 100x mag.

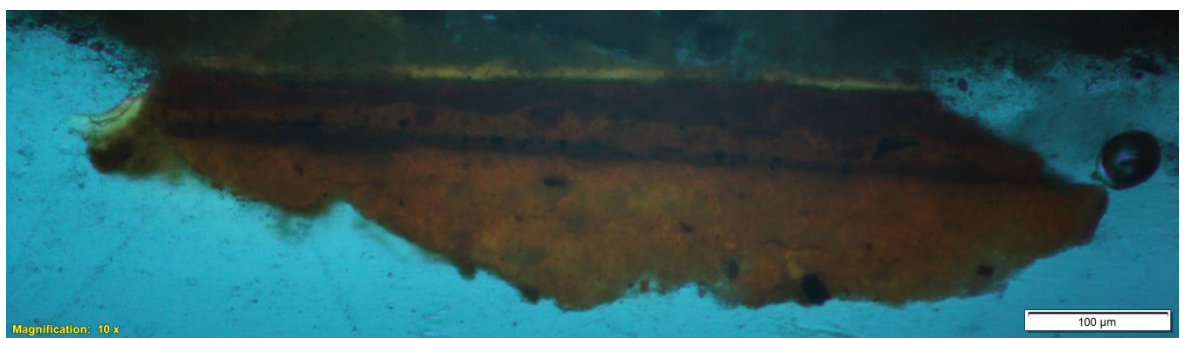
Stratigraphy (Mary Queen of Scot's cap:

- 1 ground, chalk
- 2 priming, red-brown
- 3 white layer with charcoal inclusions
- 4 varnish

BCB 3



BCB3, DF, 50x mag.

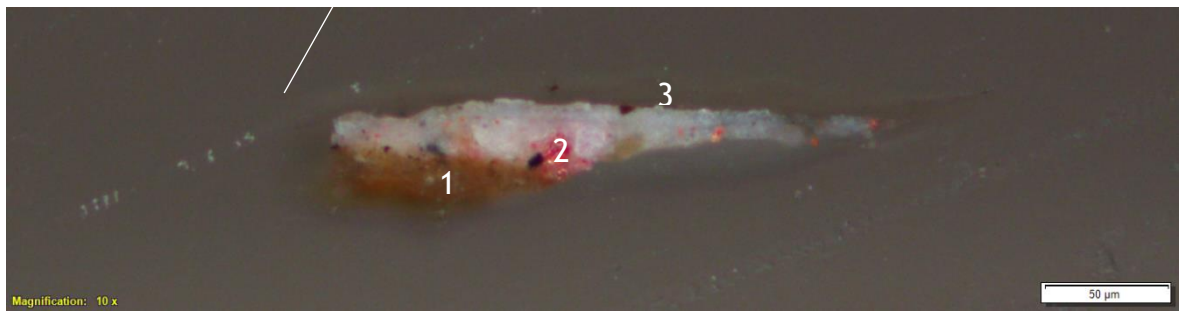


BCB3, DF, 50x mag.

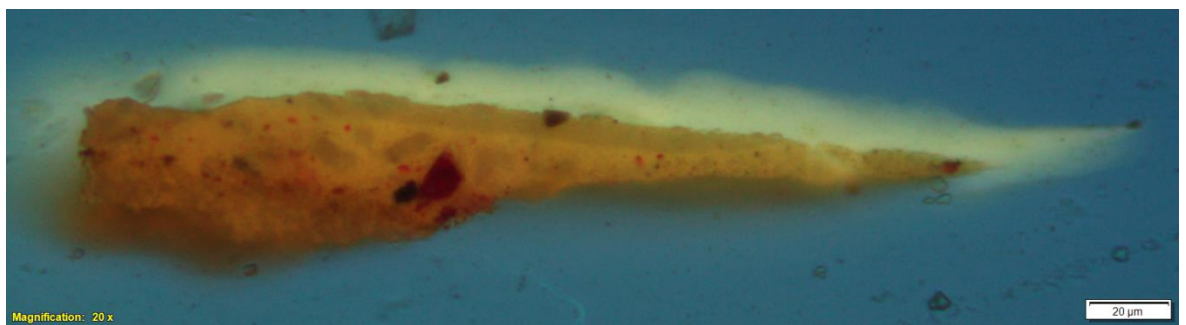
Stratigraphy (James VI's red tunic):

- 1 ground, chalk
- 2 priming, red-brown
- 3 white underlayer, large chalk particles, red lake
- 4 red lake surface layer

BCB 6



BCB6, DF, 100x mag.



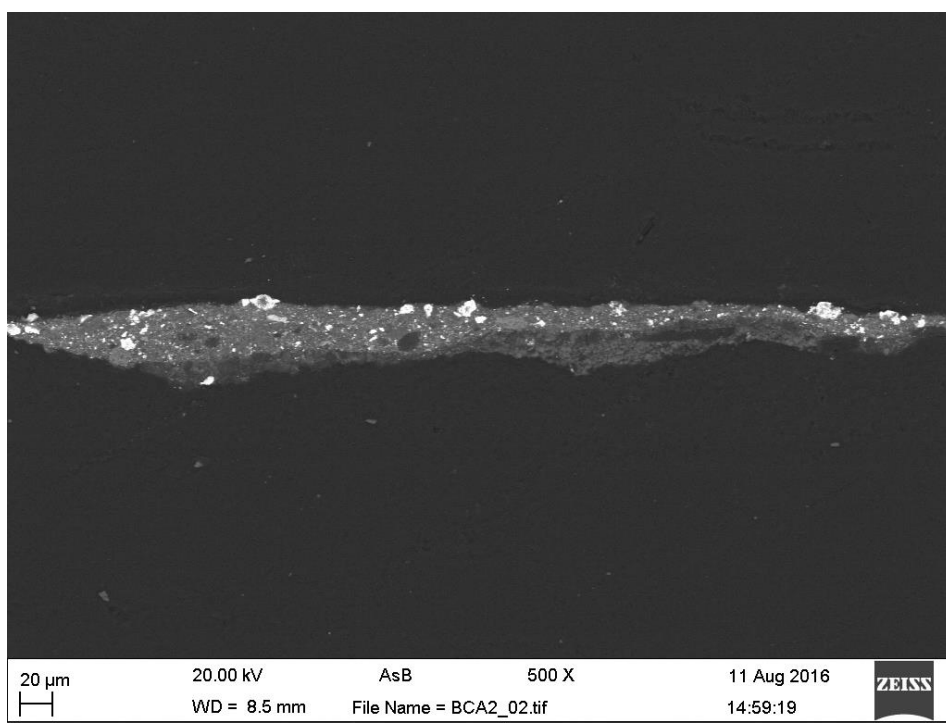
BCB6, UV, 200x mag.

Stratigraphy (James VI's flesh tone):

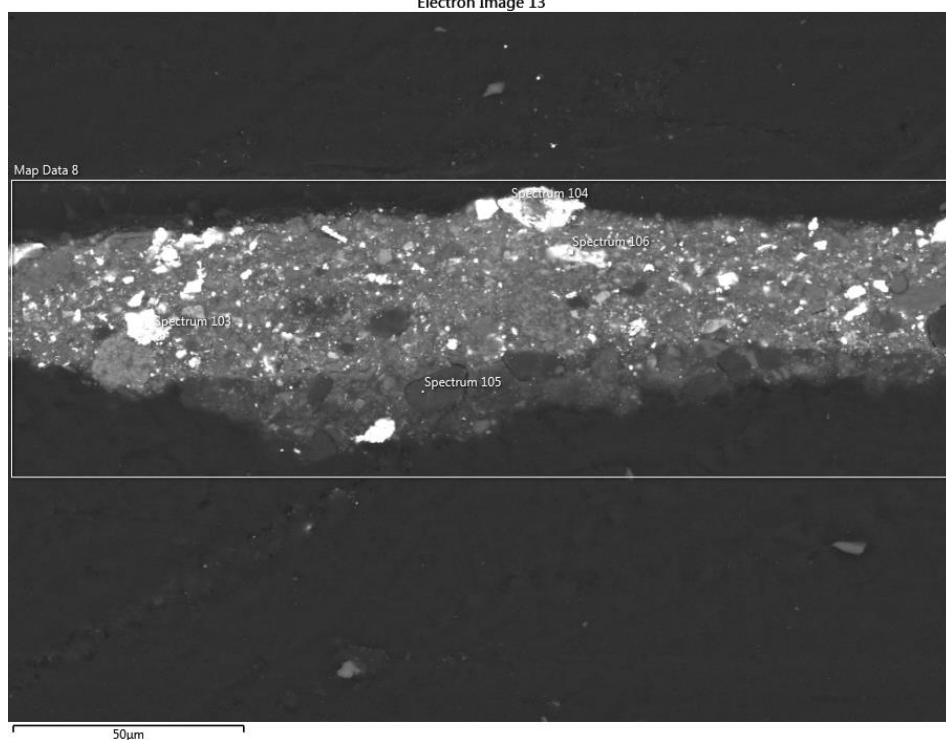
1 under-layer, priming?

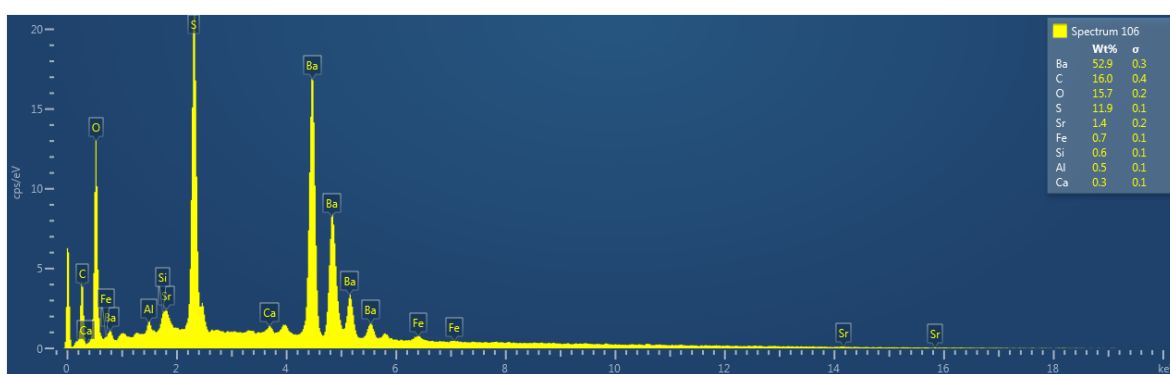
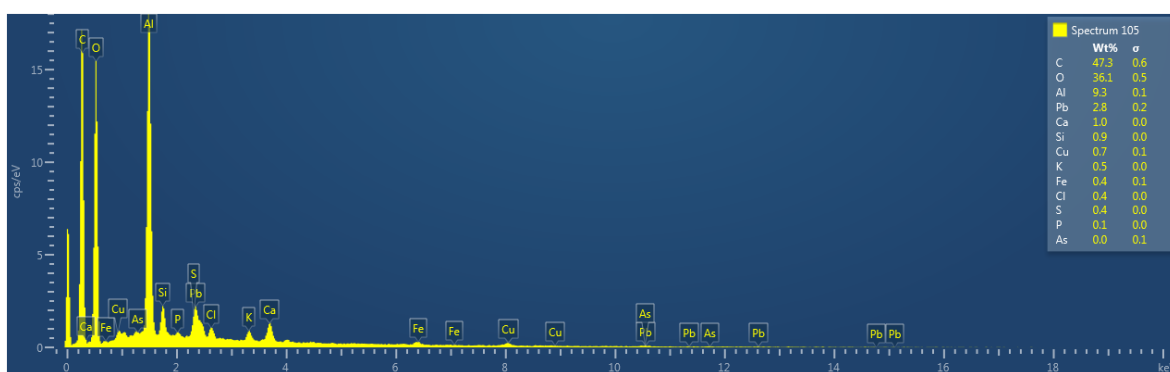
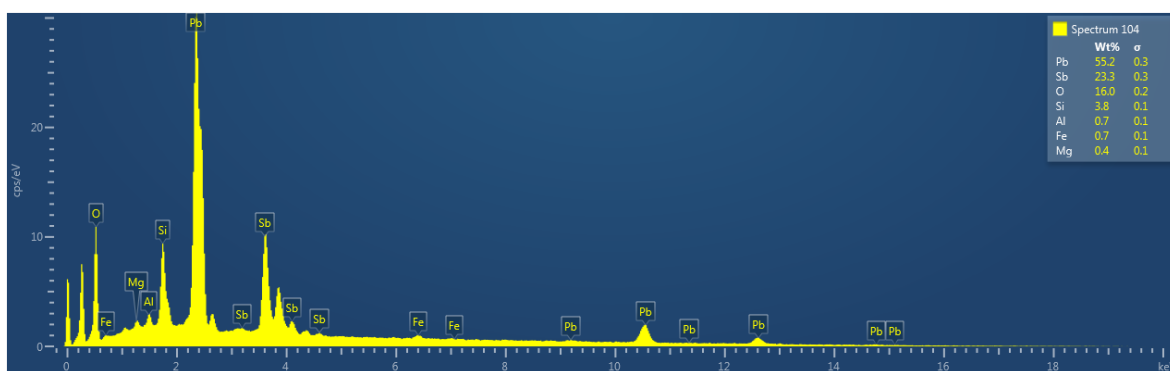
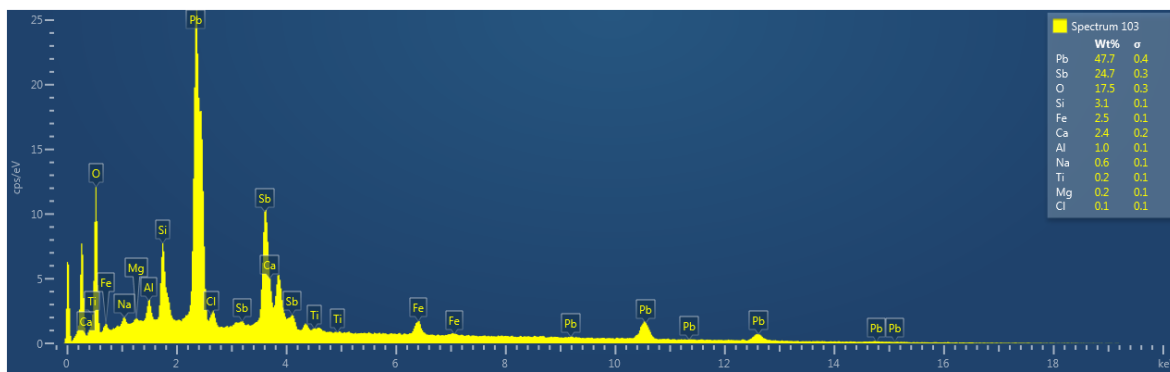
2 flesh tone

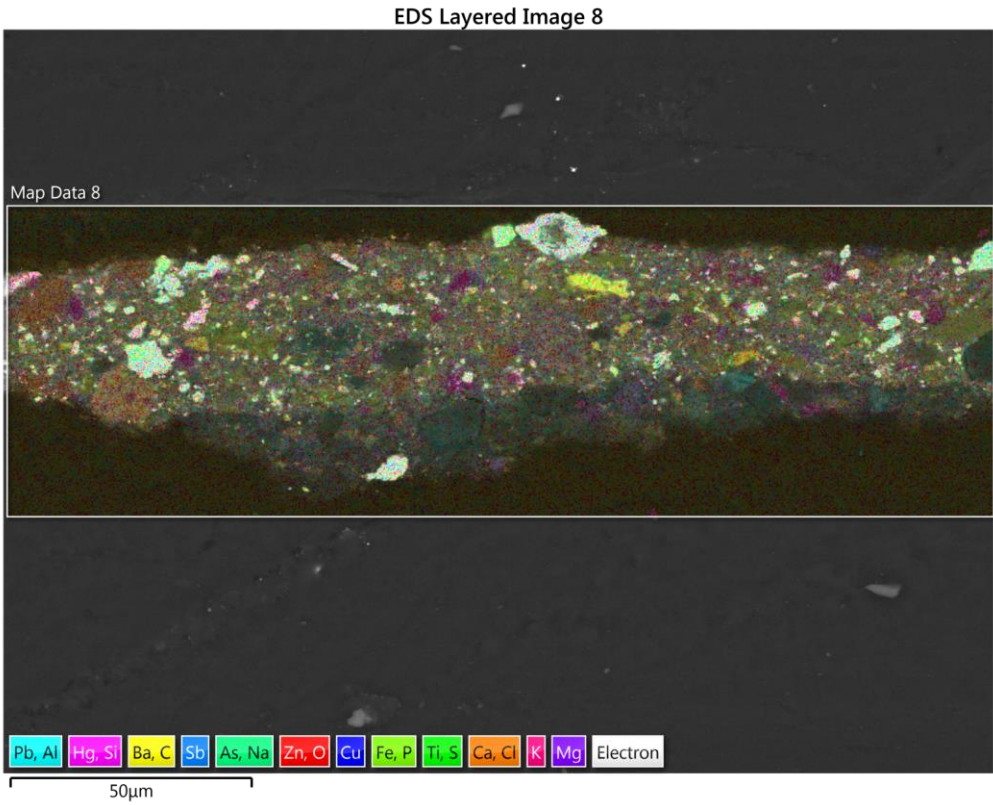
3 varnish

Blair Castle Painting SEM-EDX Spectra**King James V and his Wife, Mary of Guise (BCA)****BCA 2**

Electron Image 13

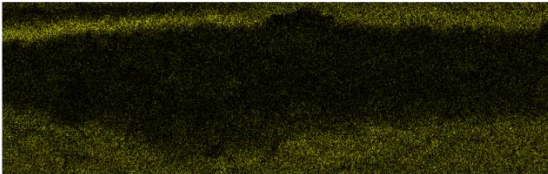






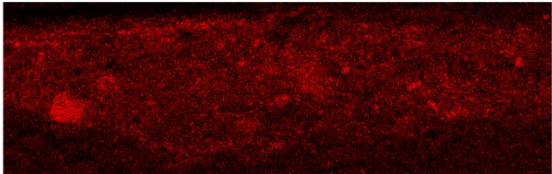
C K series

O K series



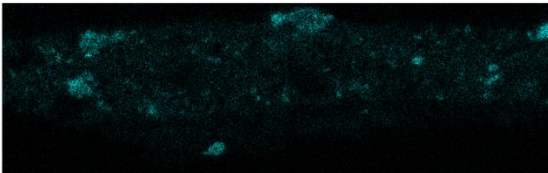
50µm

Pb M series

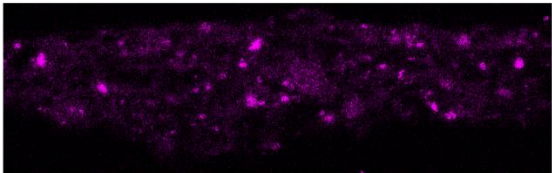


50µm

Si K series

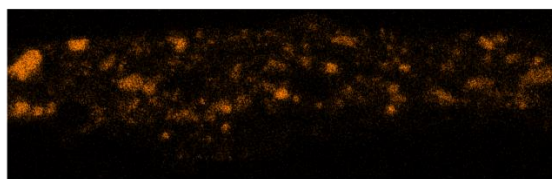


50µm



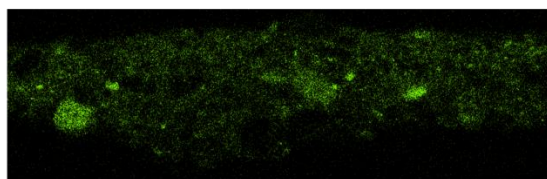
50µm

Ca K series



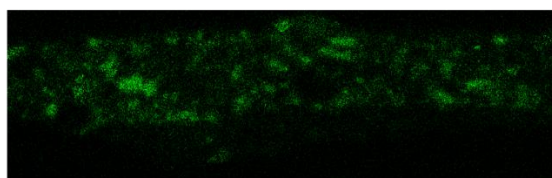
50μm

Fe K series



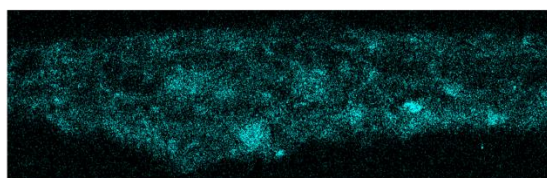
50μm

S K series



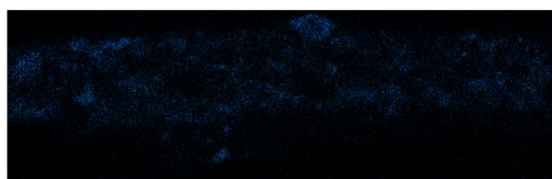
50μm

Al K series



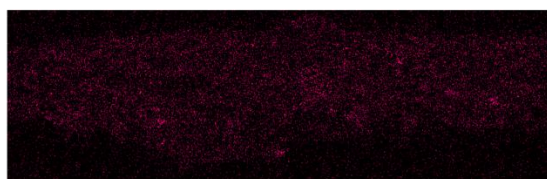
50μm

Sb L series



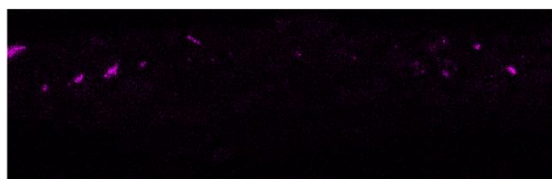
50μm

K K series



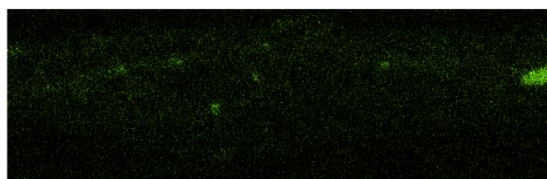
50μm

Hg M series



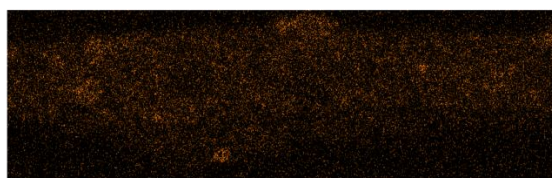
50μm

P K series



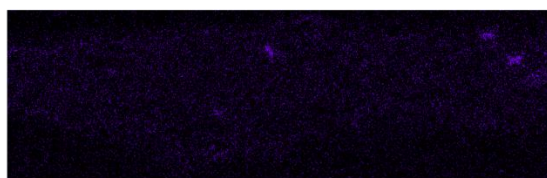
50μm

Cl K series



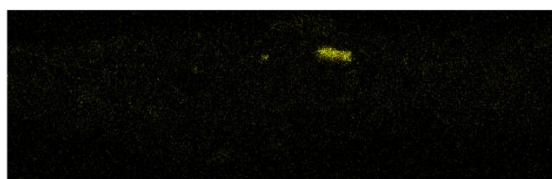
50μm

Mg K series



50μm

Ba L series



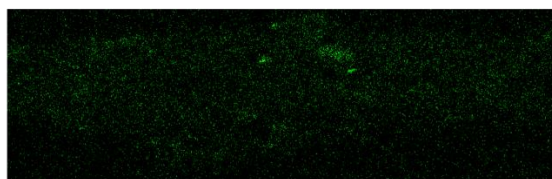
50μm

Cu K series



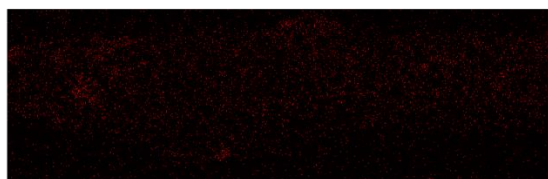
50μm

Ti K series



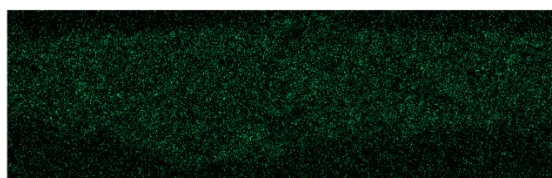
50µm

Zn K series



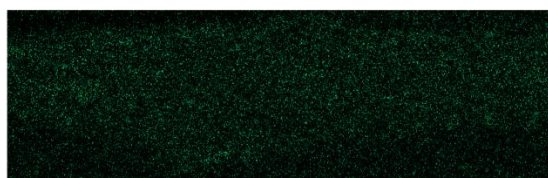
50µm

As L series



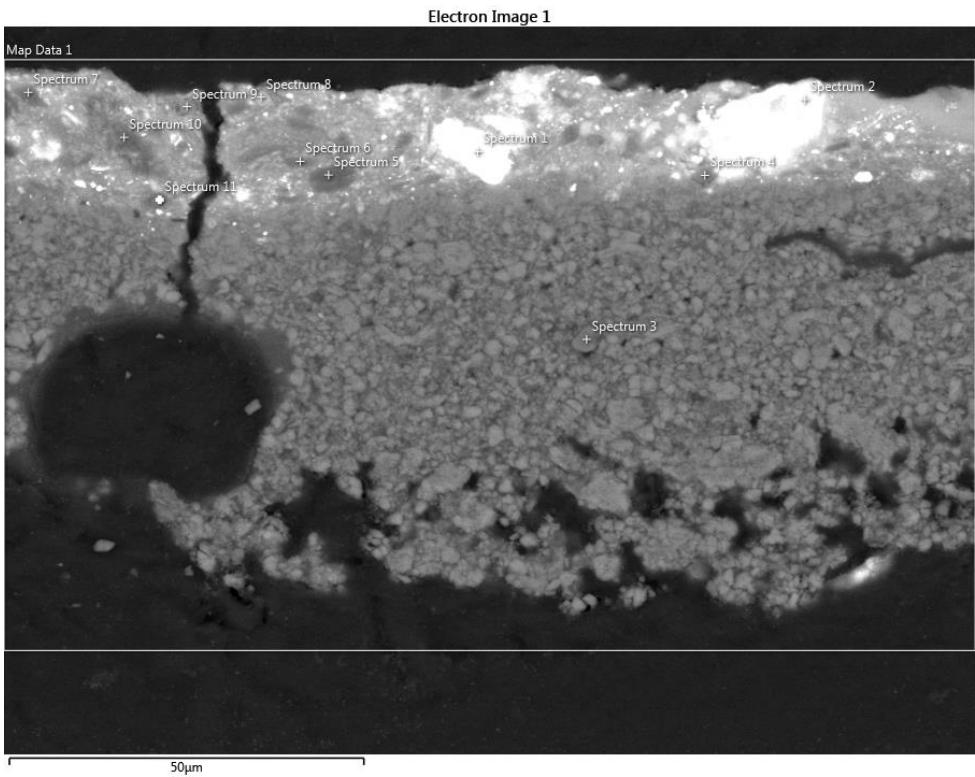
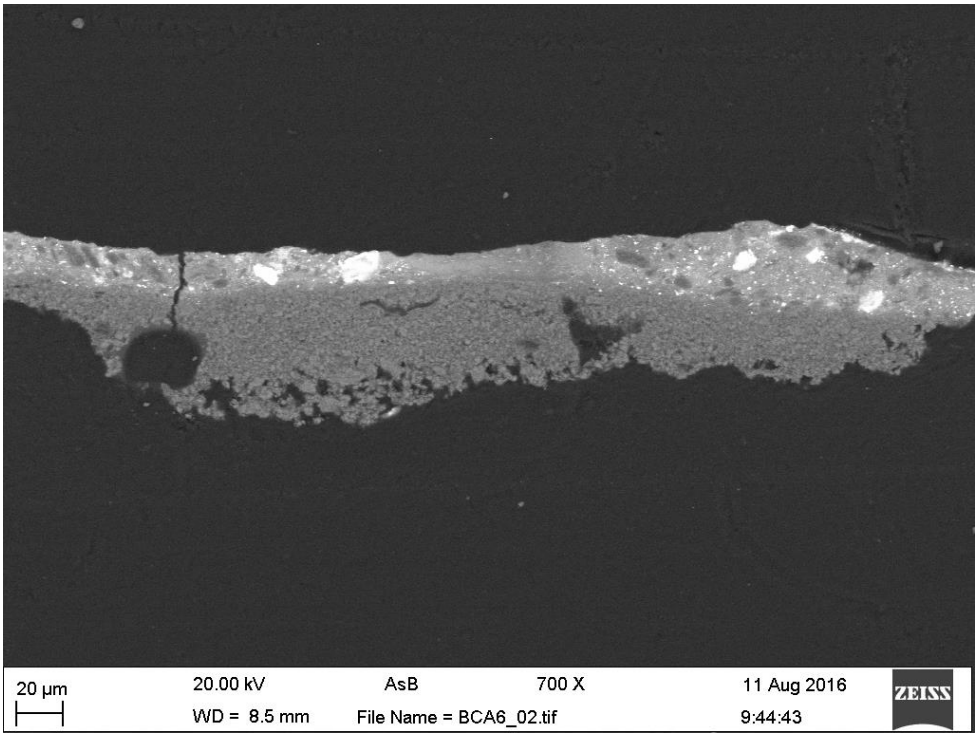
50µm

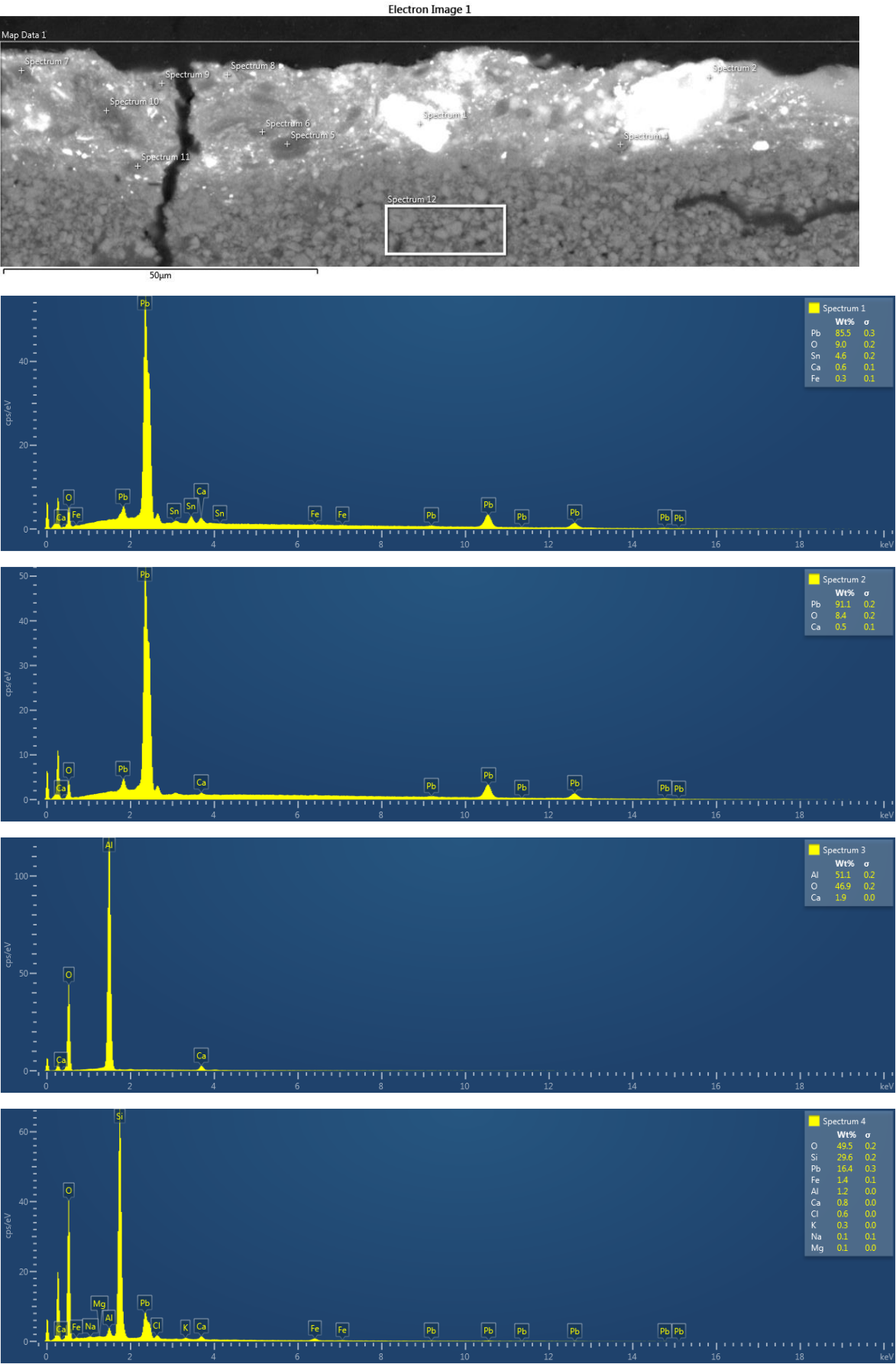
Na K series

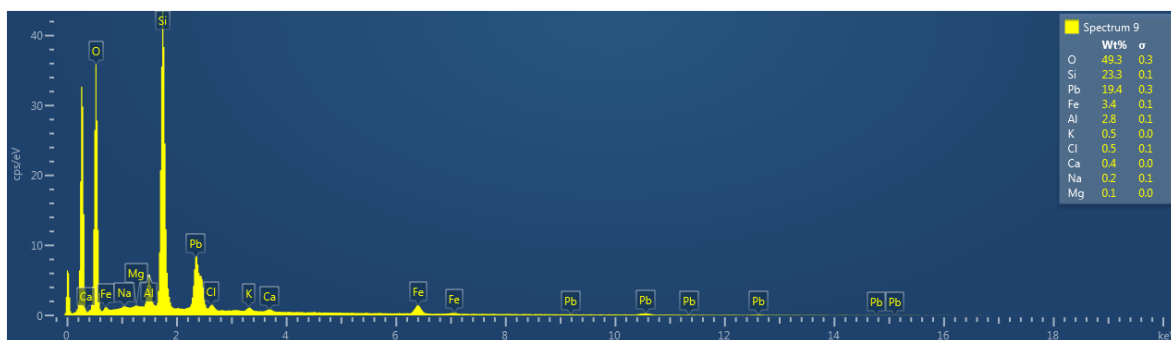
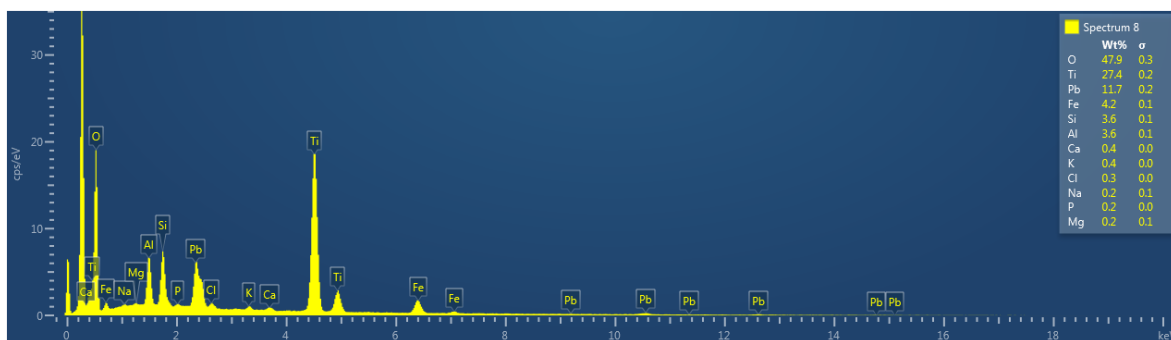
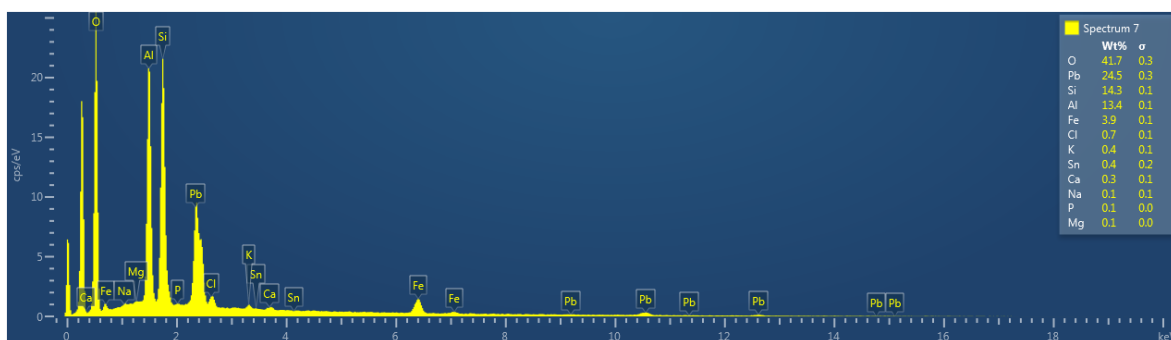
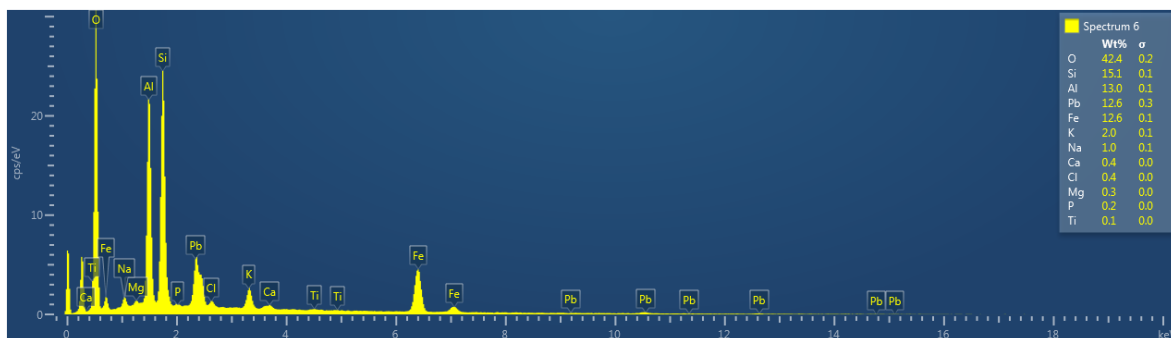
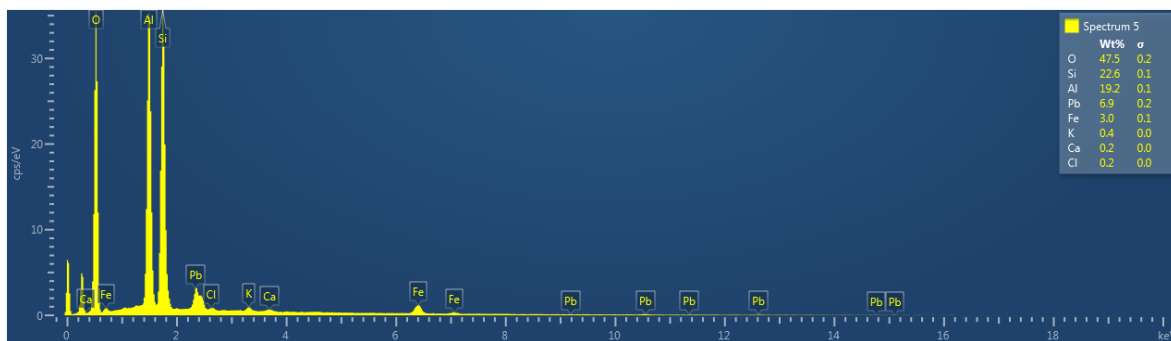


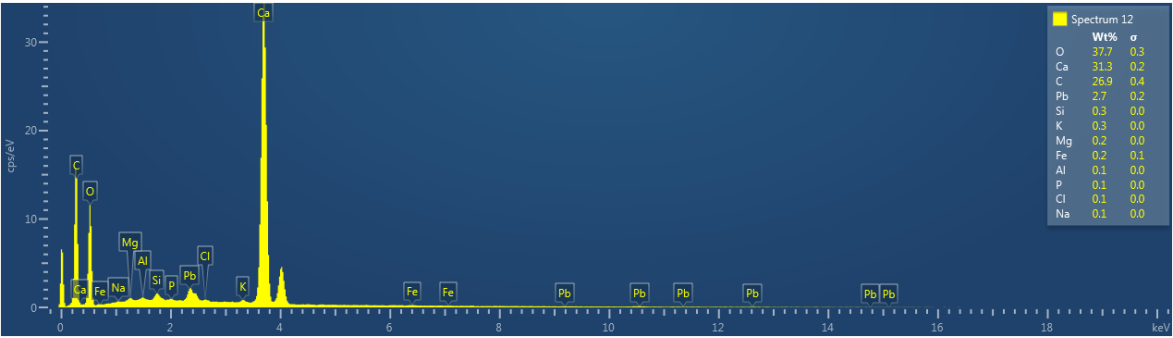
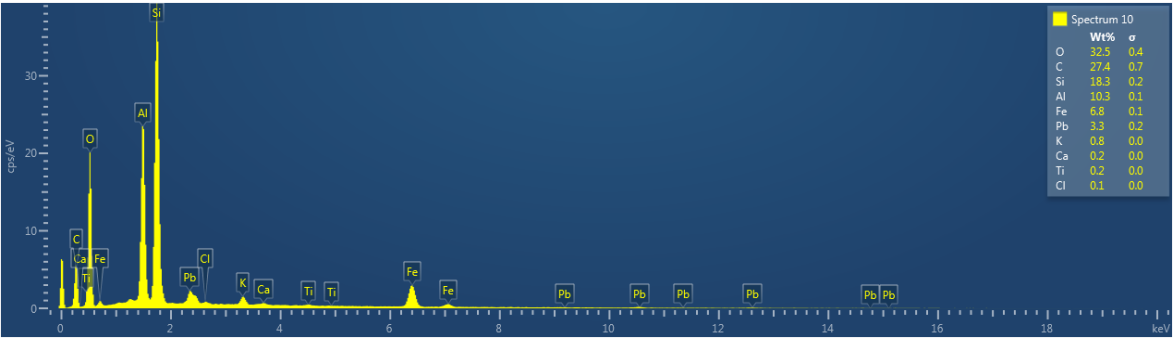
50µm

BCA 6

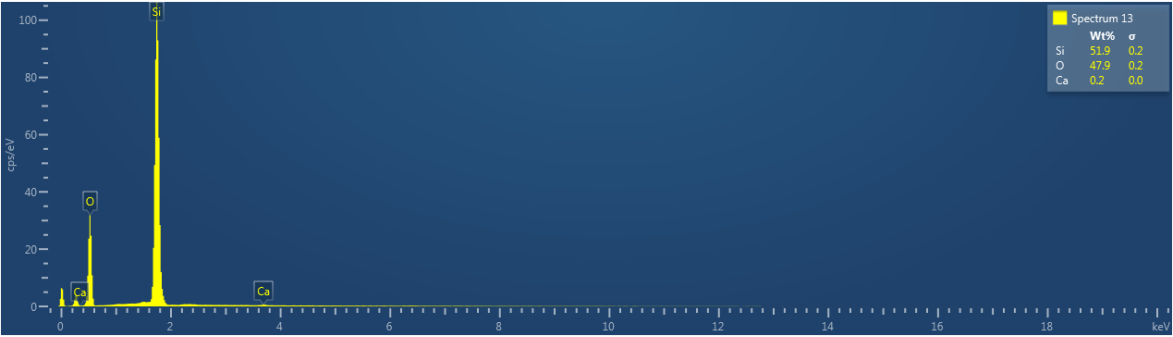
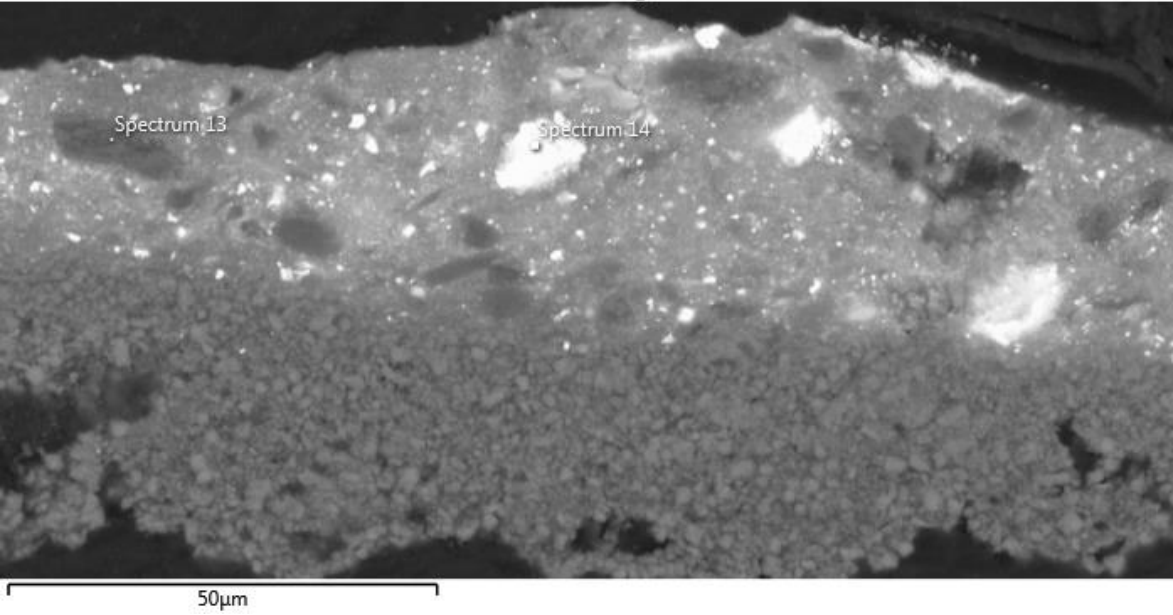


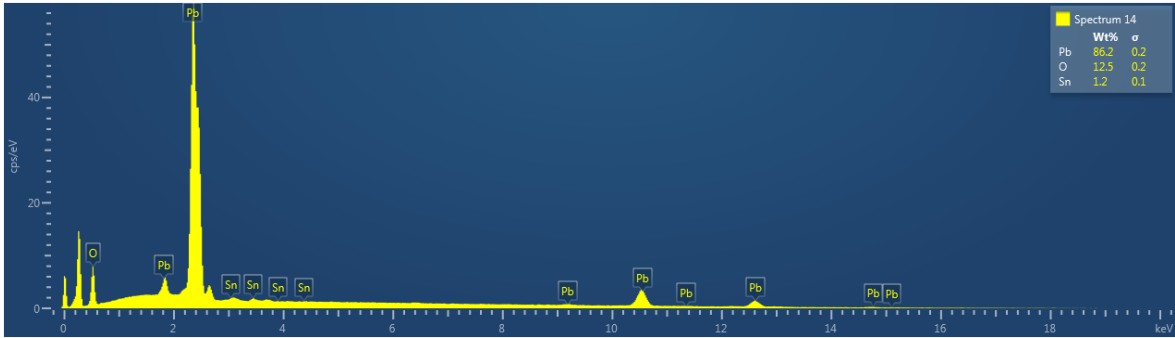


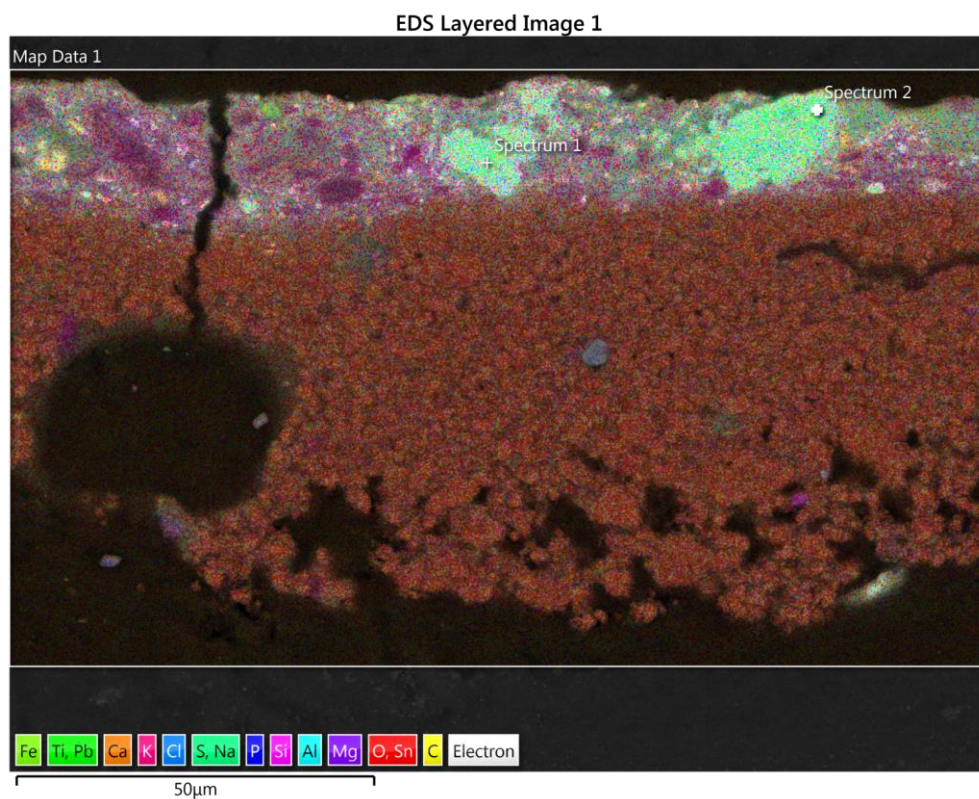




Electron Image 2

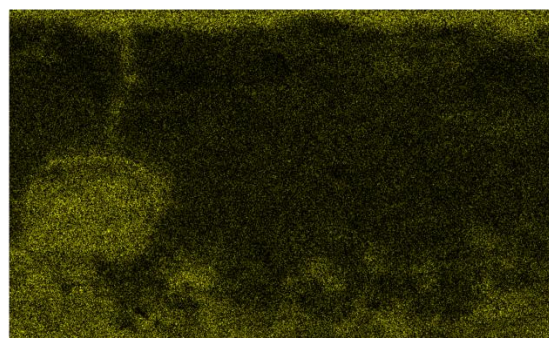
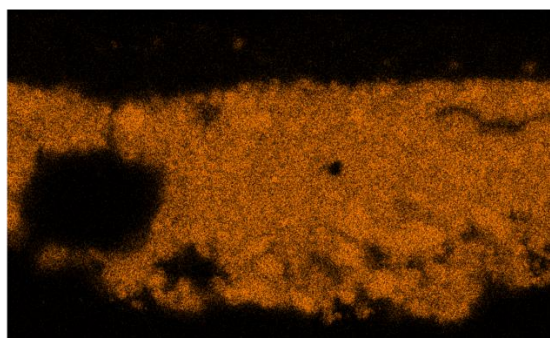






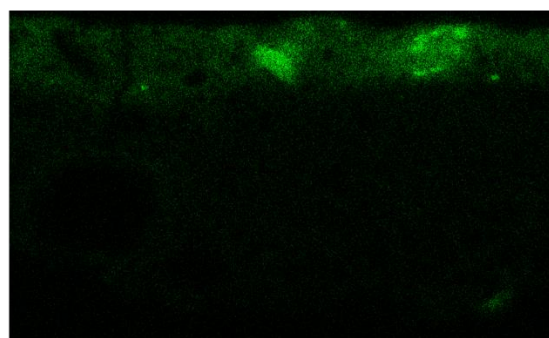
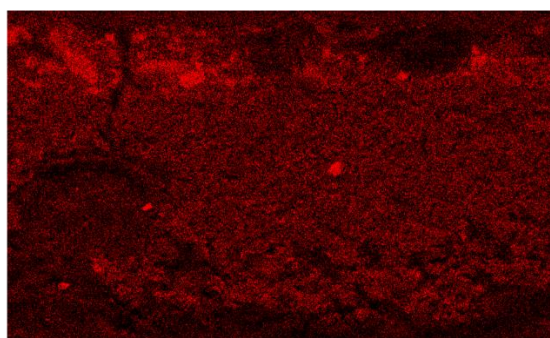
Ca K series

C K series

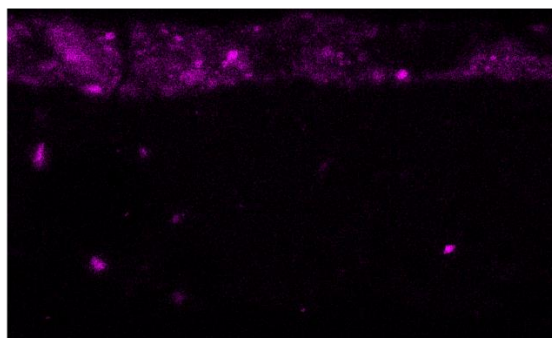


O K series

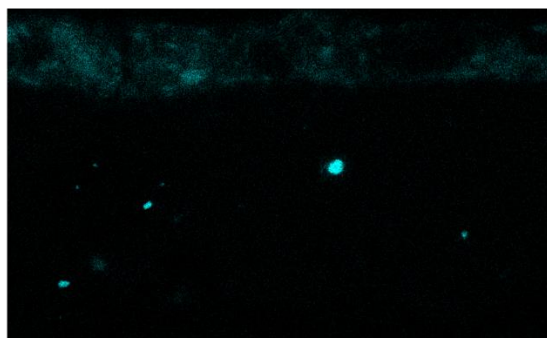
Pb M series



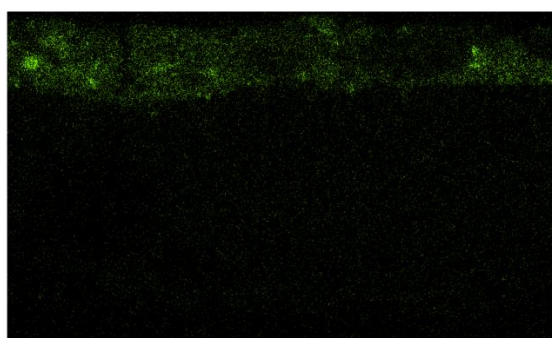
Si K series



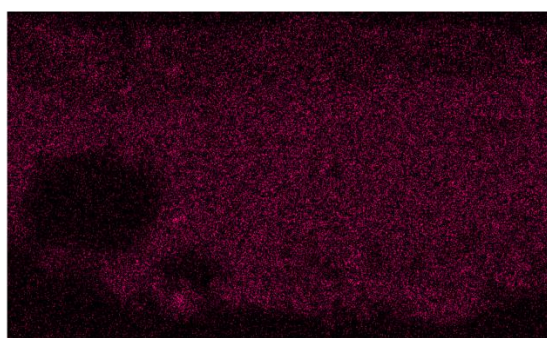
Al K series



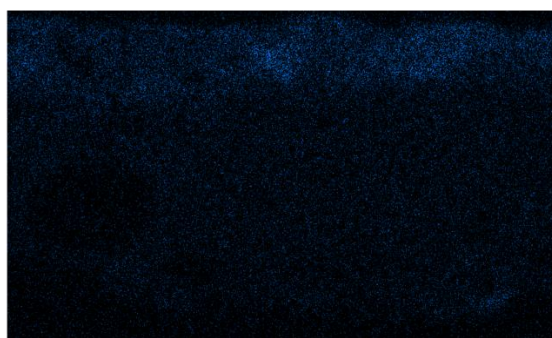
Fe K series



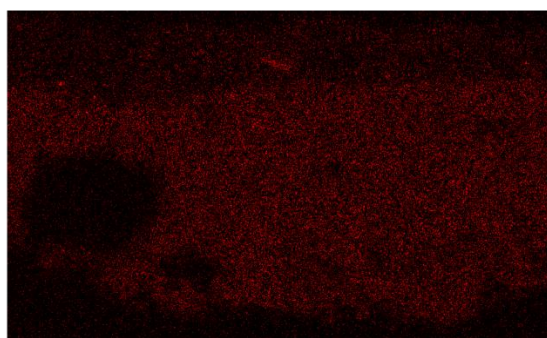
K K series



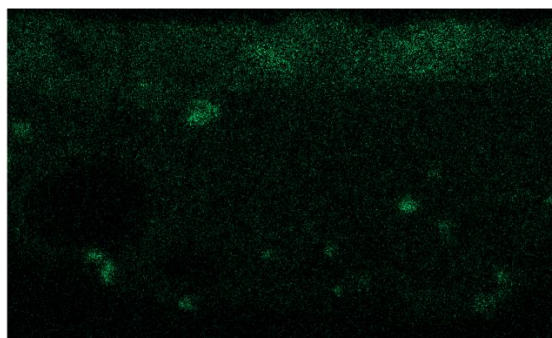
Cl K series



Sn L series

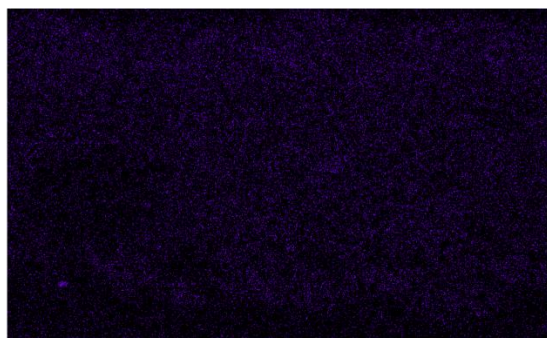


S K series



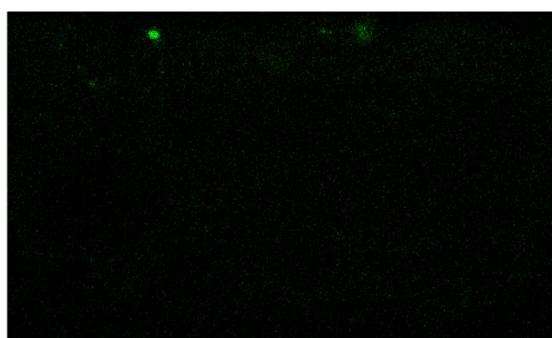
50μm

Mg K series



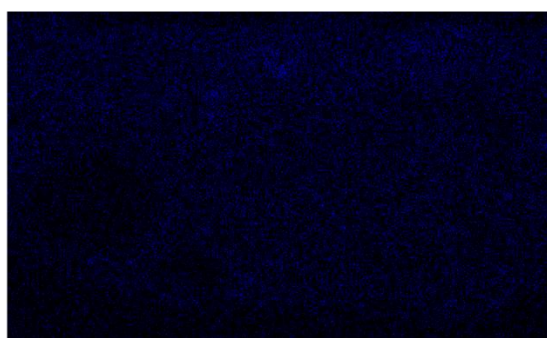
50μm

Ti K series



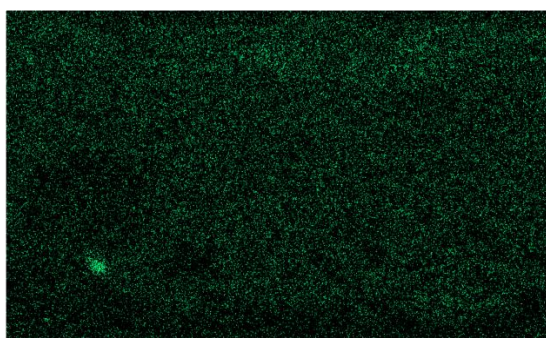
50μm

P K series



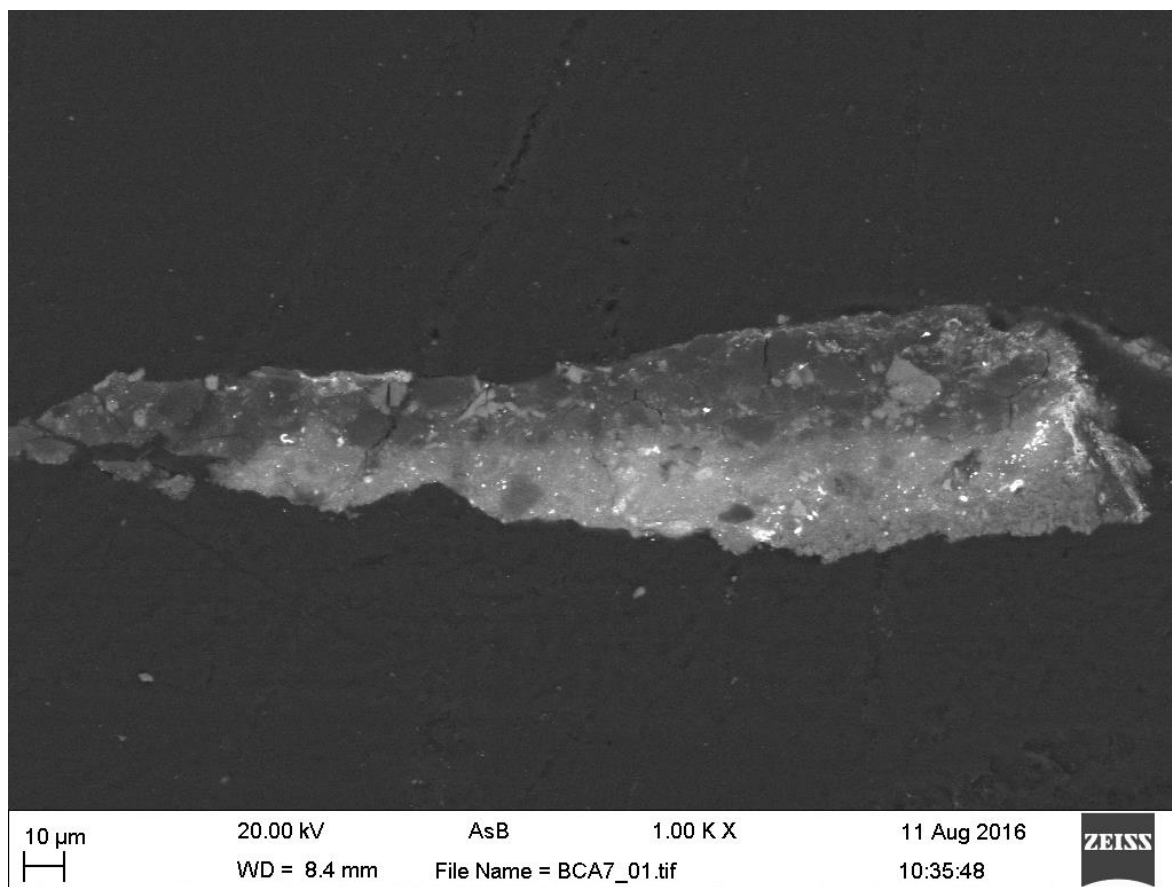
50μm

Na K series

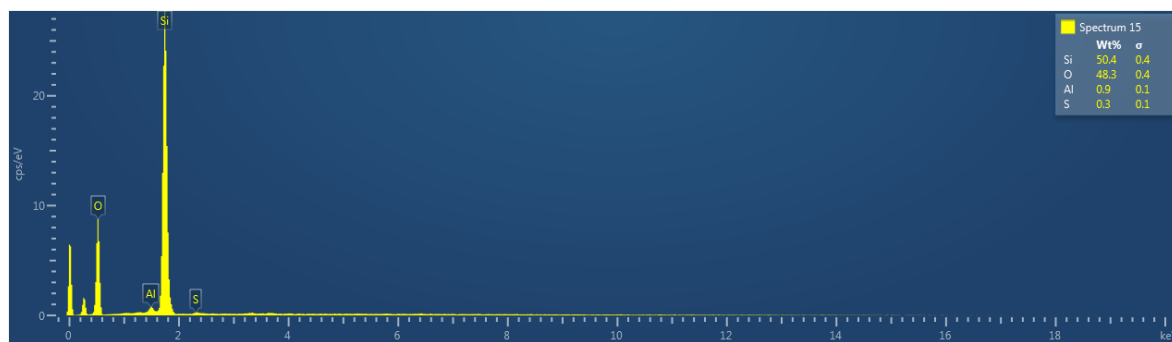
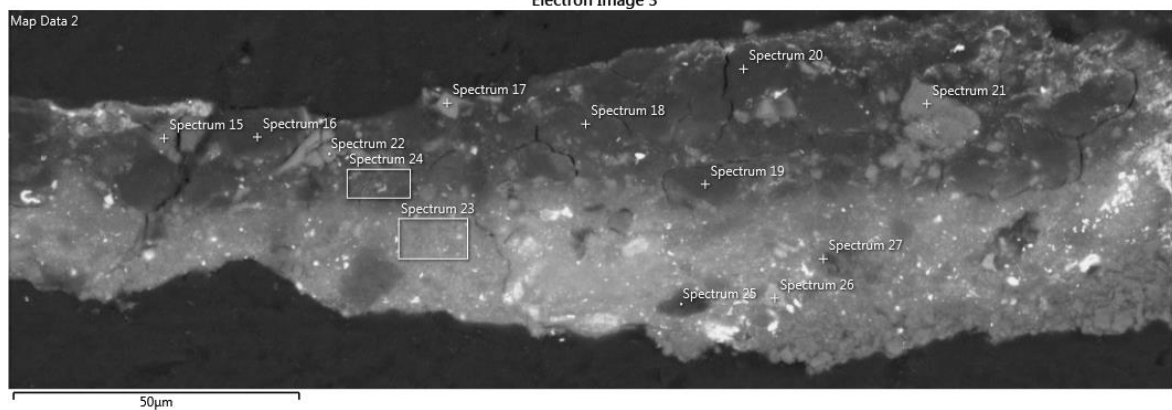


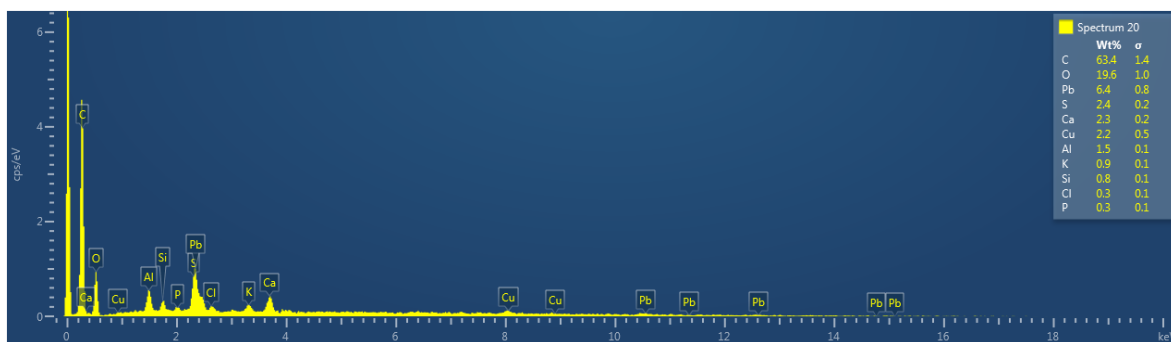
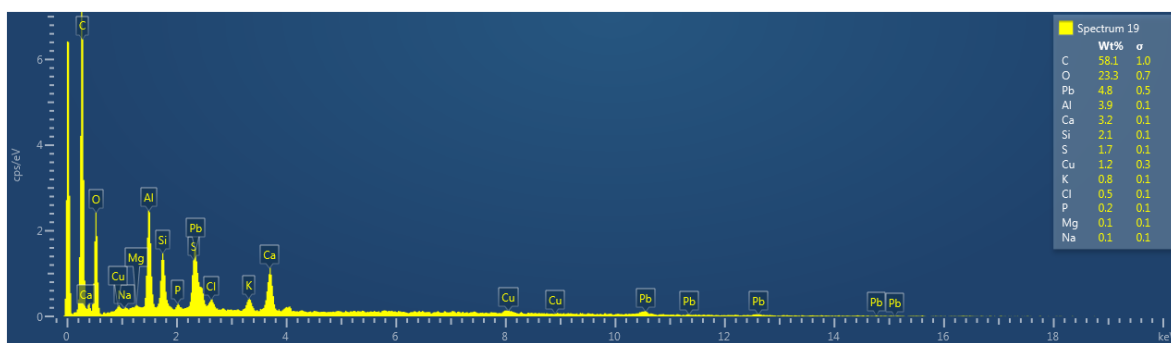
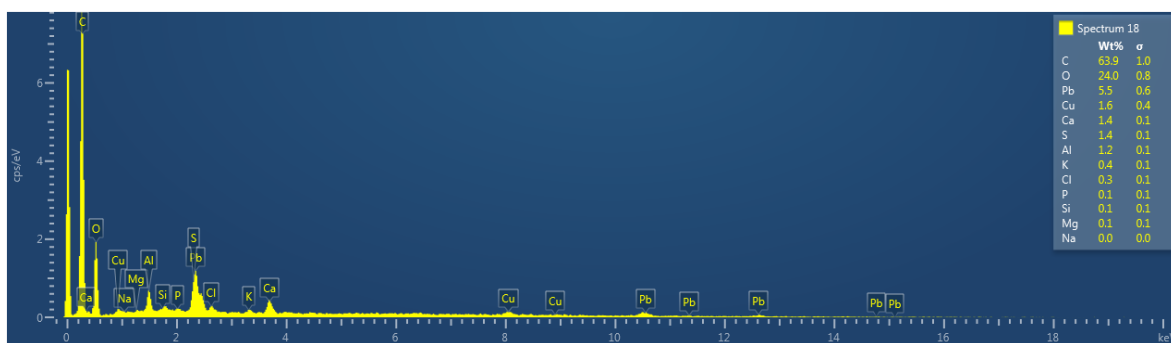
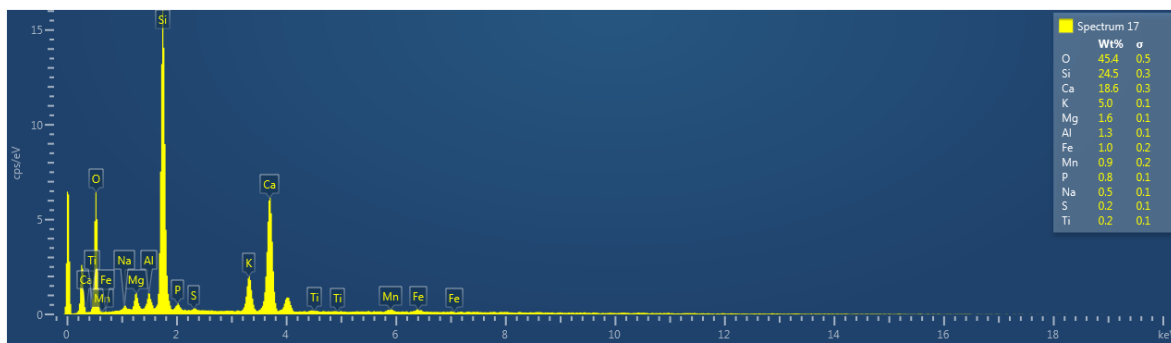
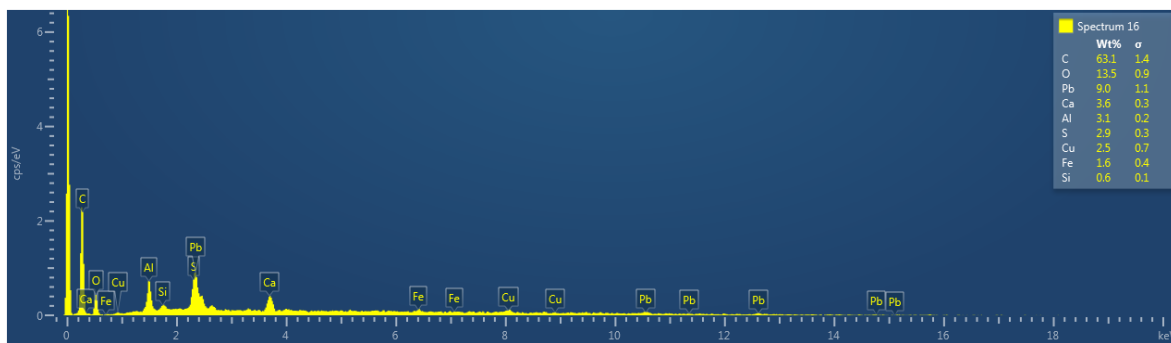
50μm

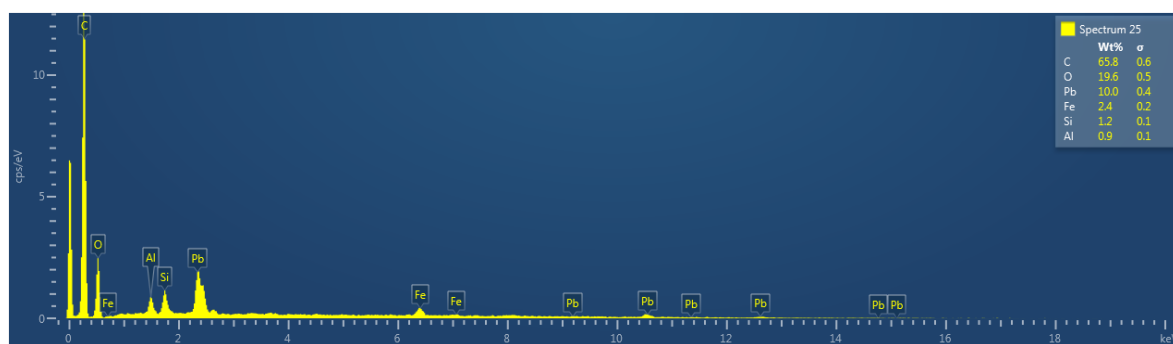
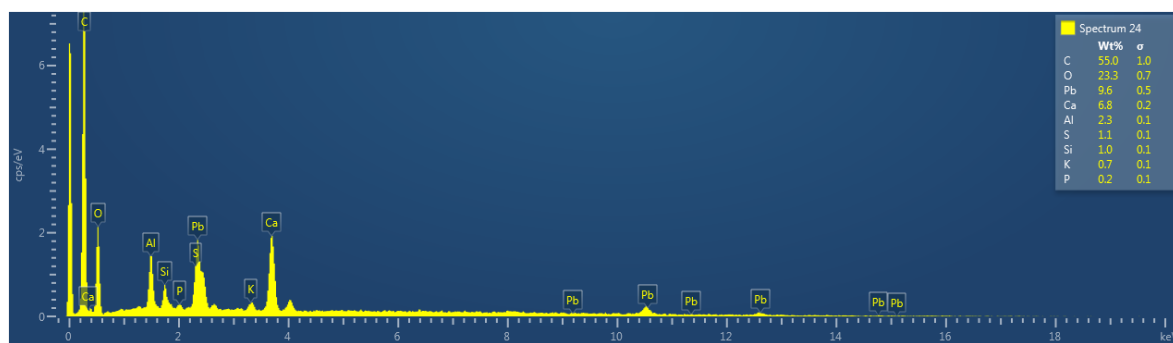
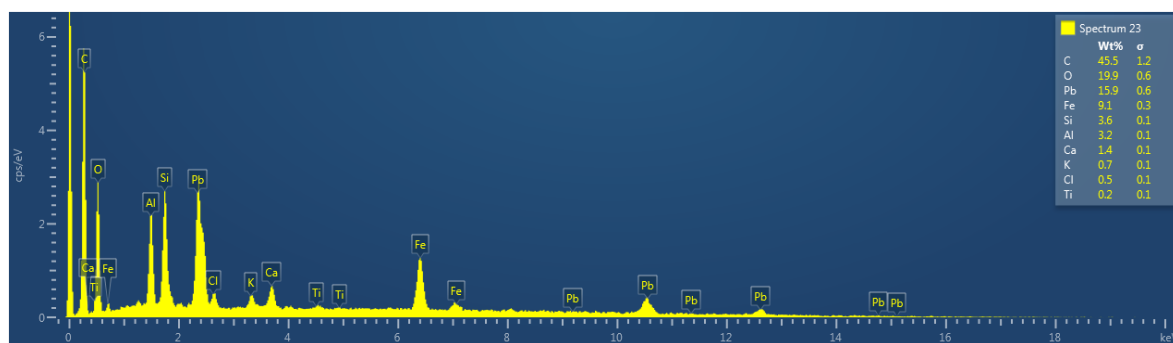
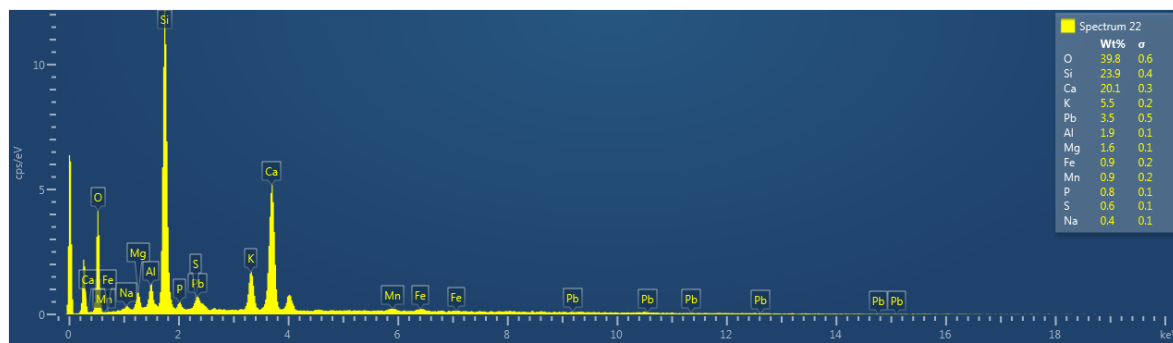
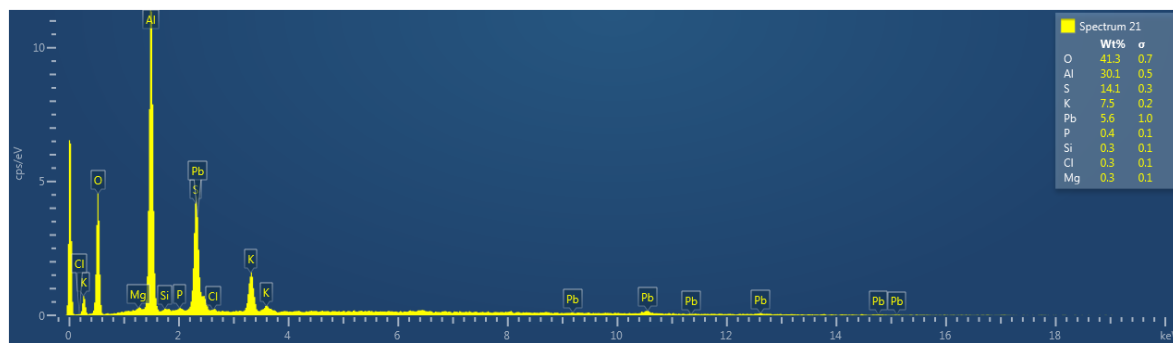
BCA 7

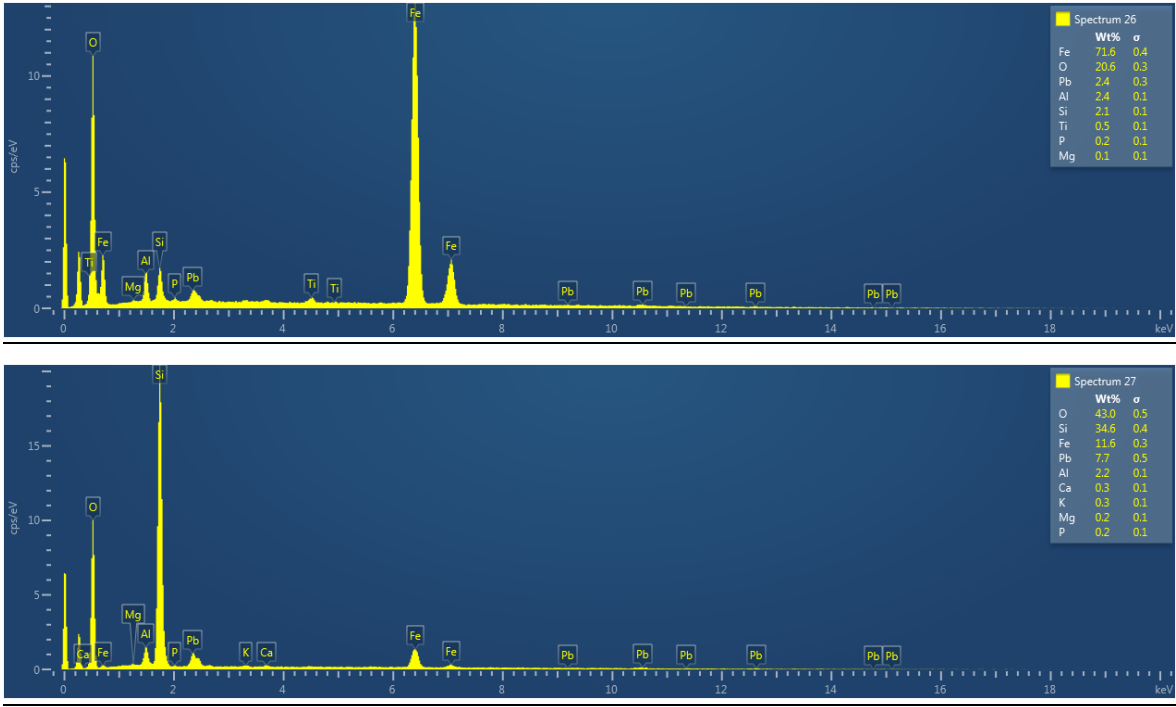


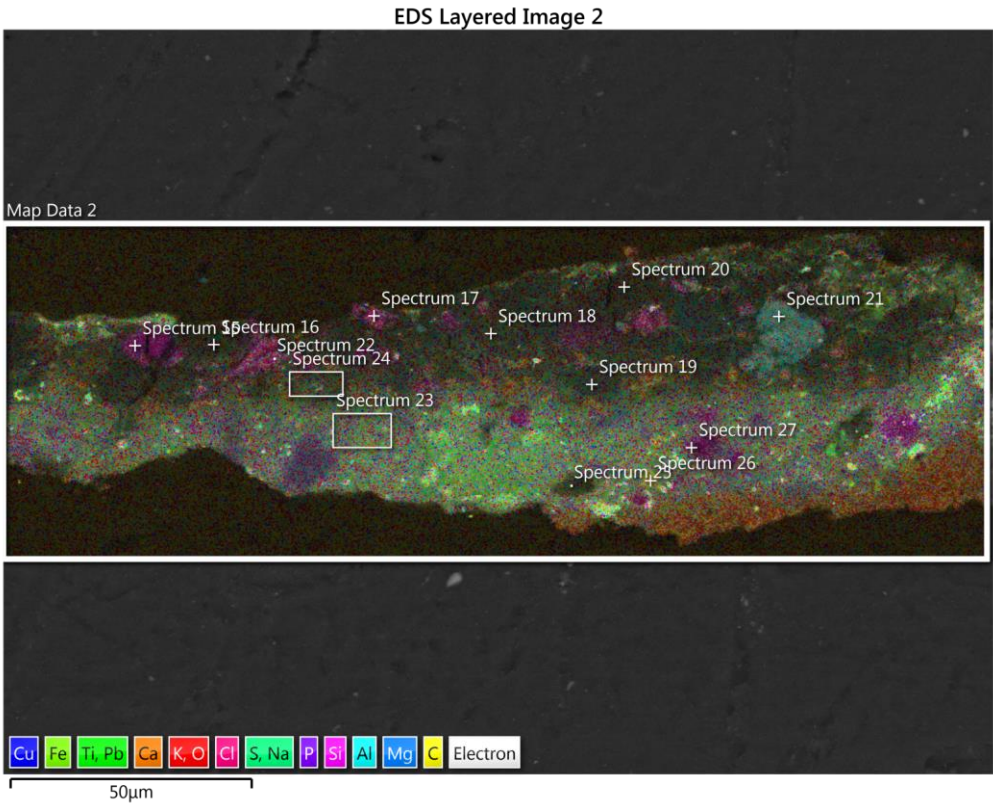
Electron Image 3











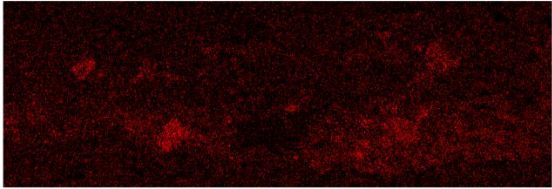
C K series

O K series



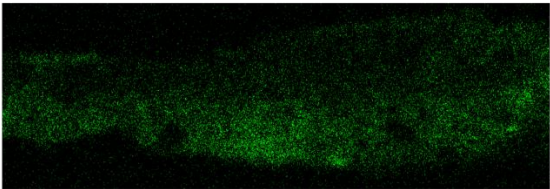
50µm

Pb M series

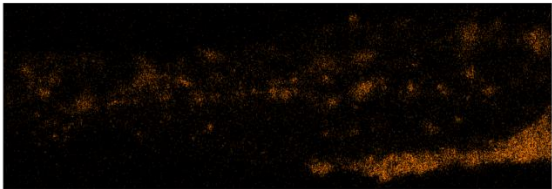


50µm

Ca K series

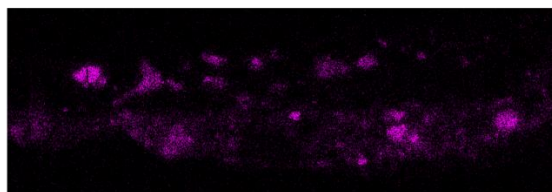


50µm



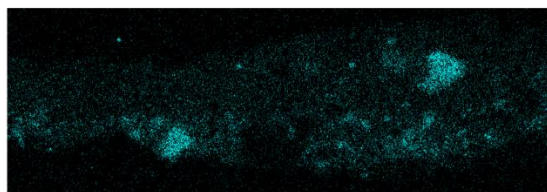
50µm

Si K series



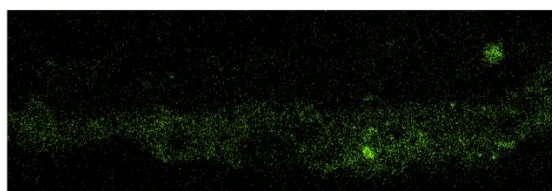
50μm

Al K series



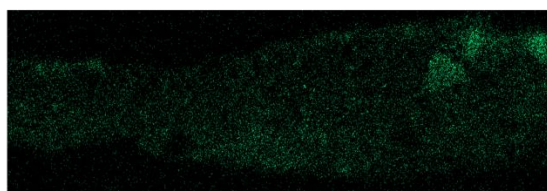
50μm

Fe K series



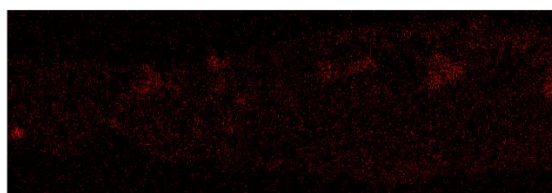
50μm

S K series



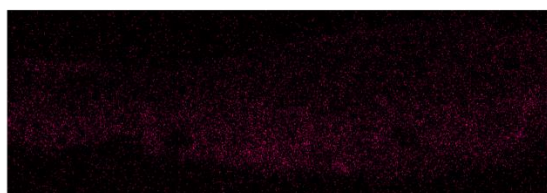
50μm

K K series



50μm

Cl K series



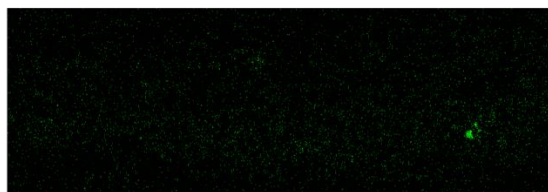
50μm

Cu K series



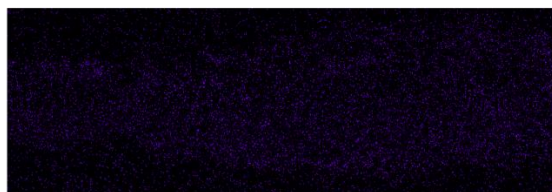
50μm

Ti K series



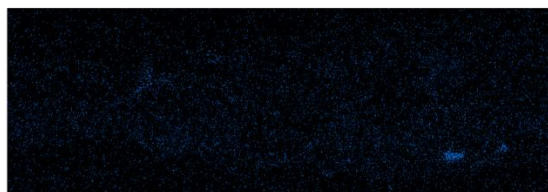
50μm

P K series



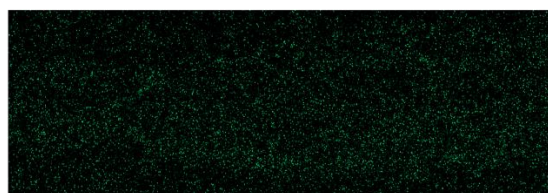
50μm

Mg K series



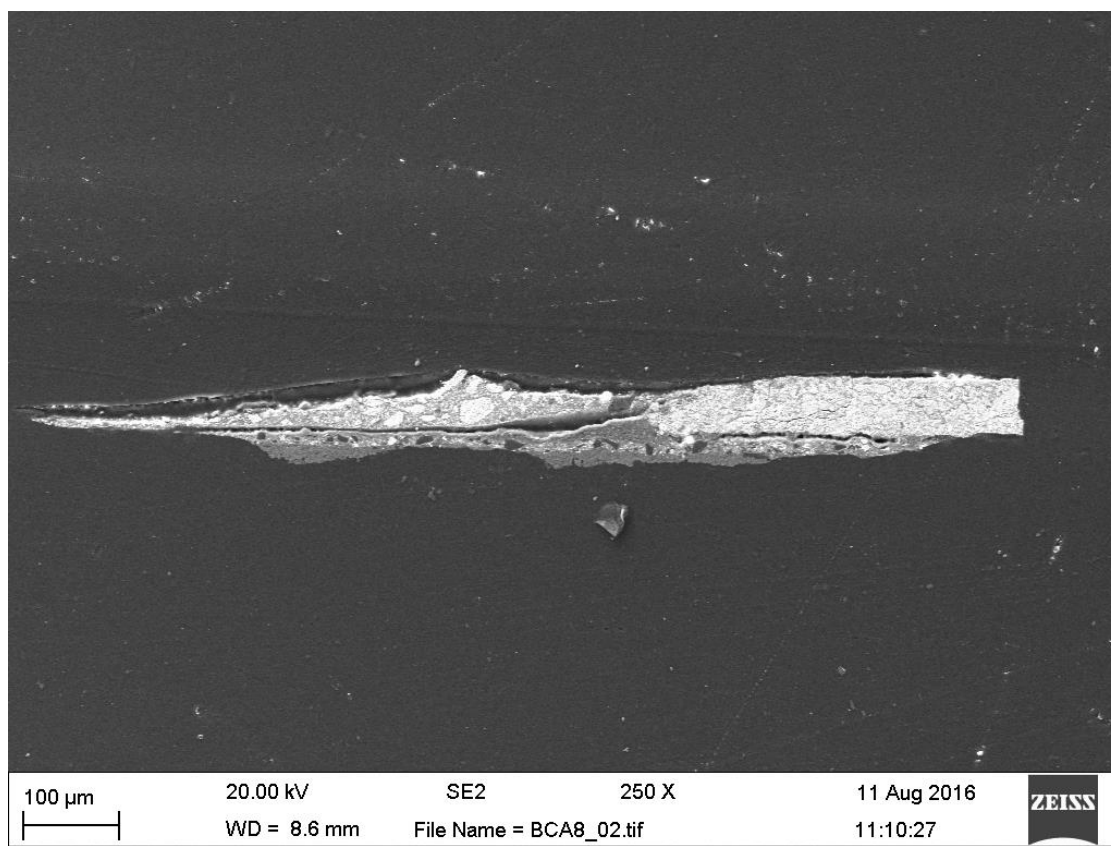
50μm

Na K series

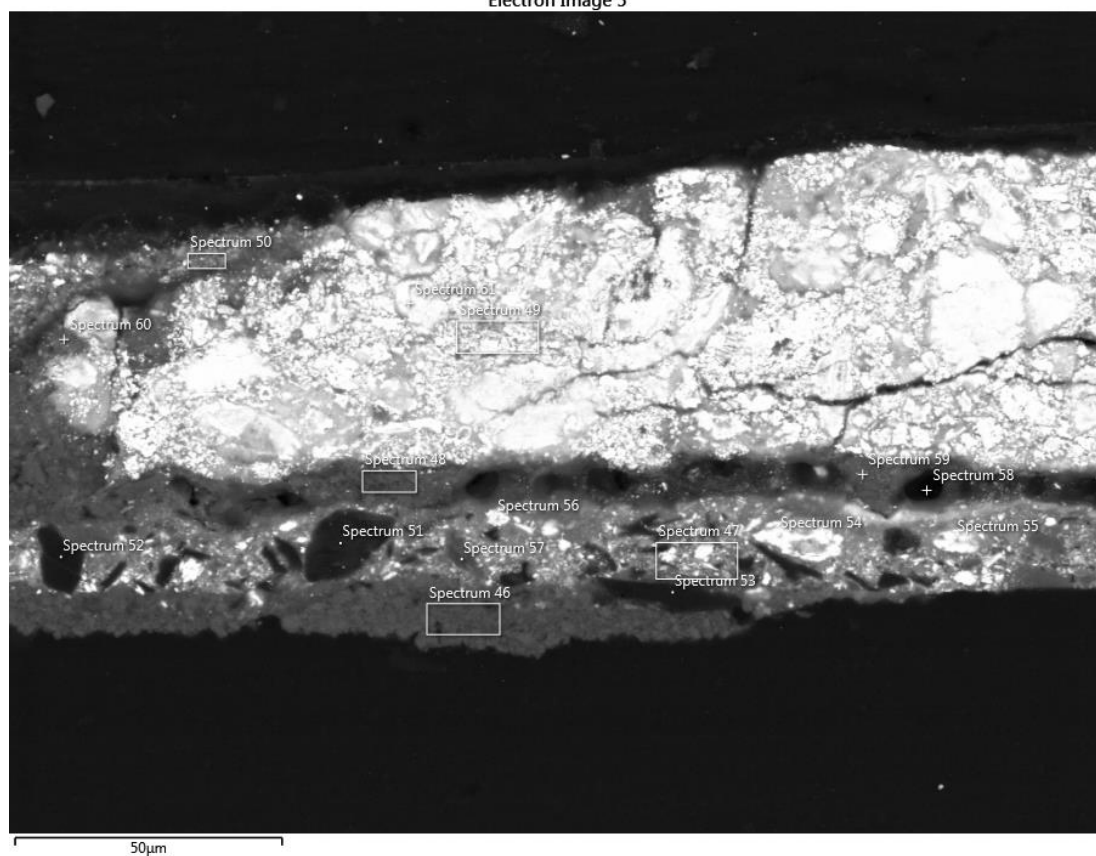


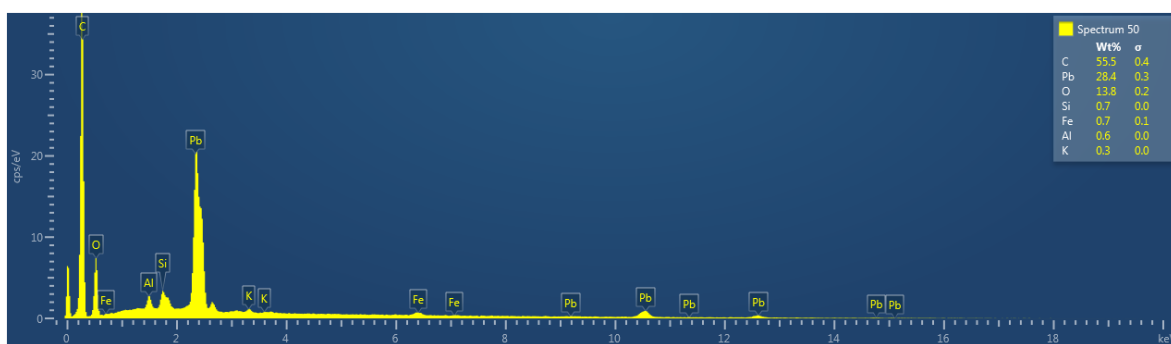
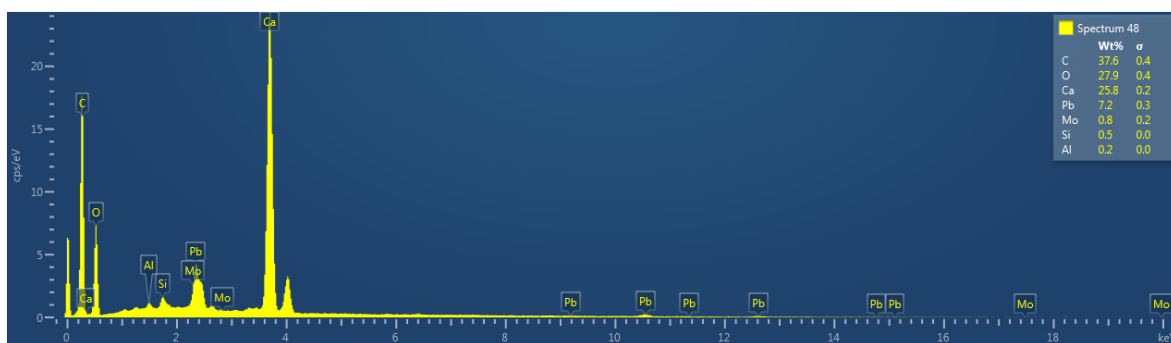
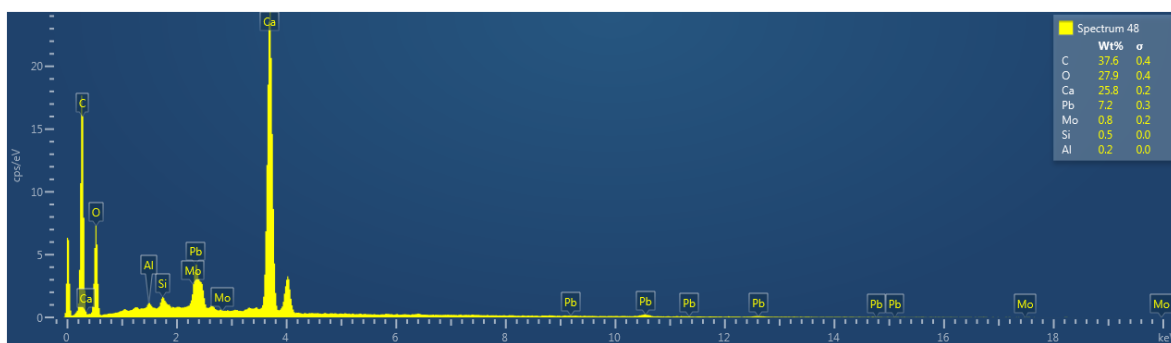
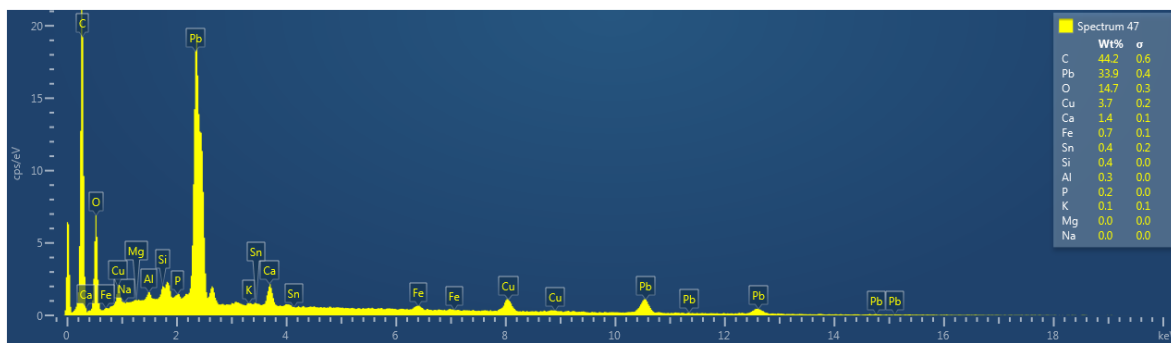
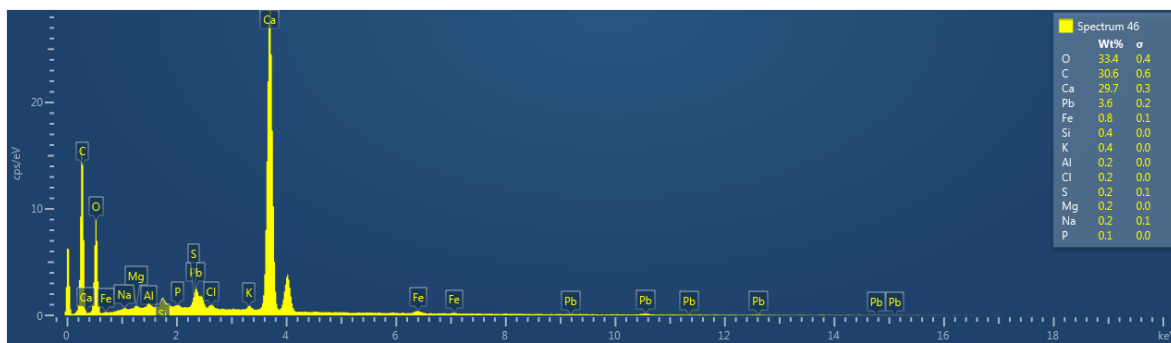
50μm

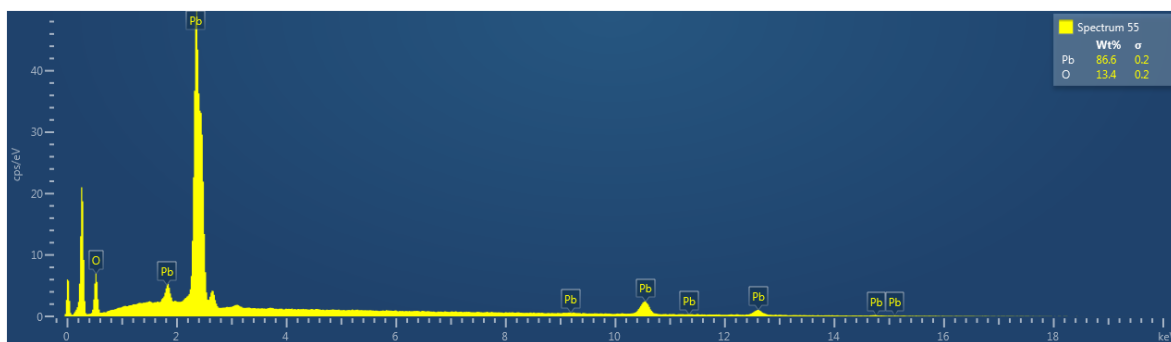
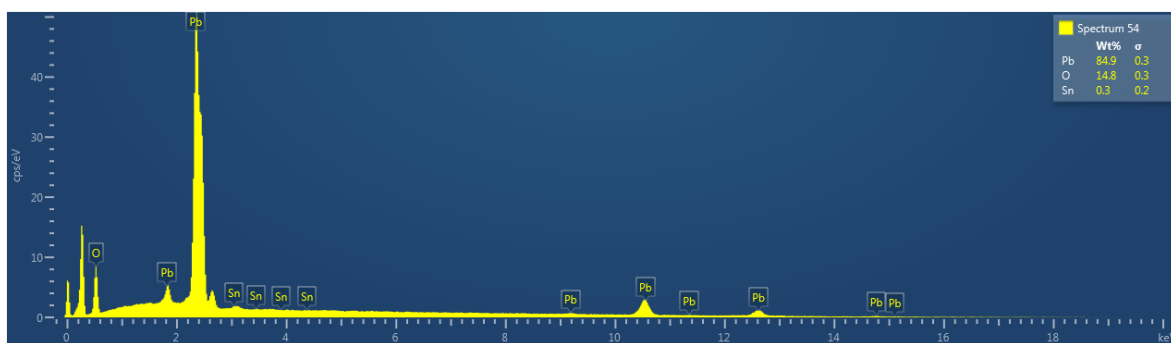
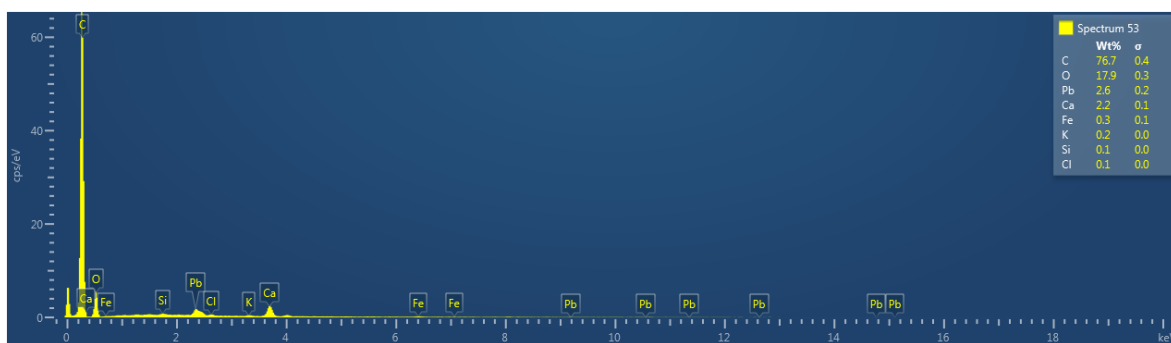
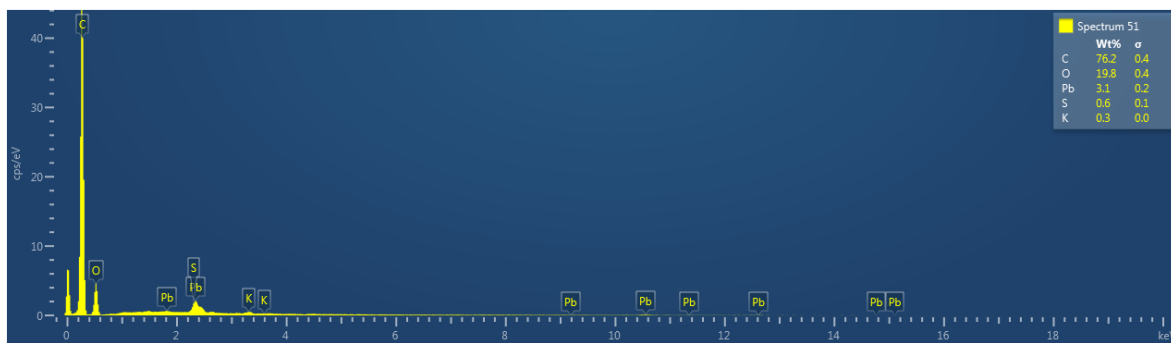
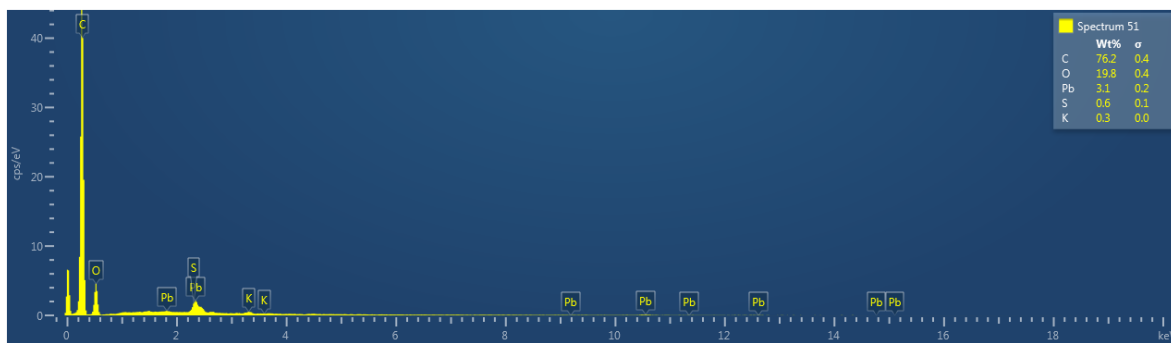
BCA 8

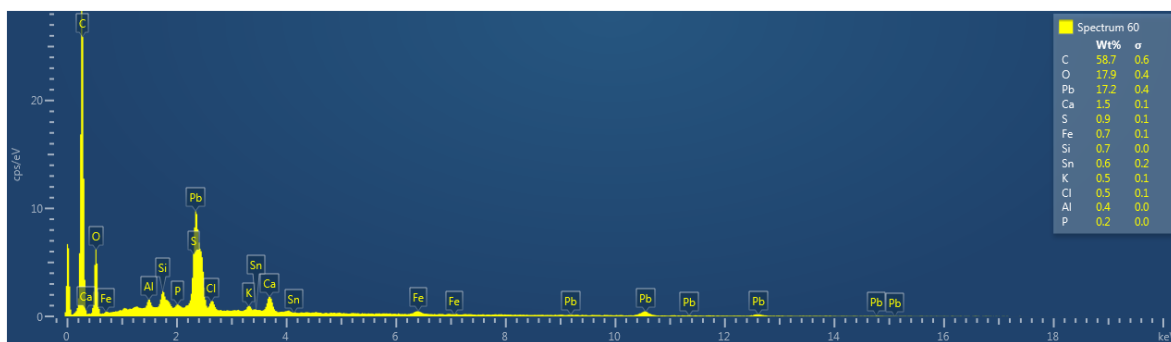
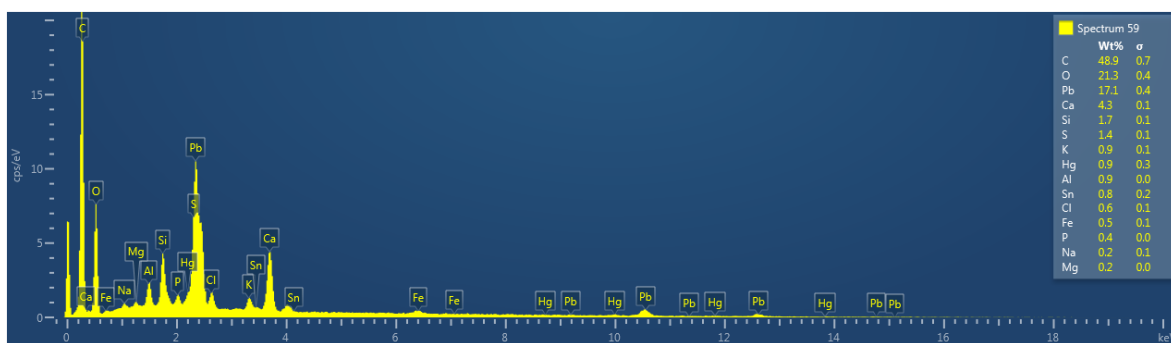
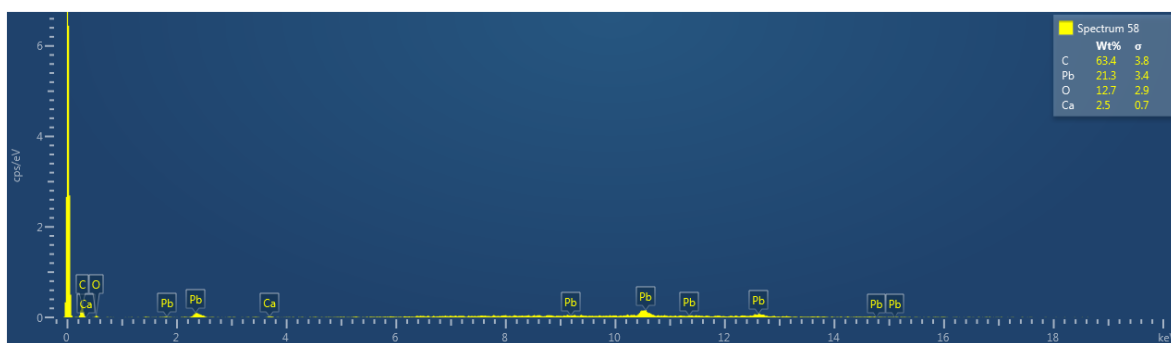
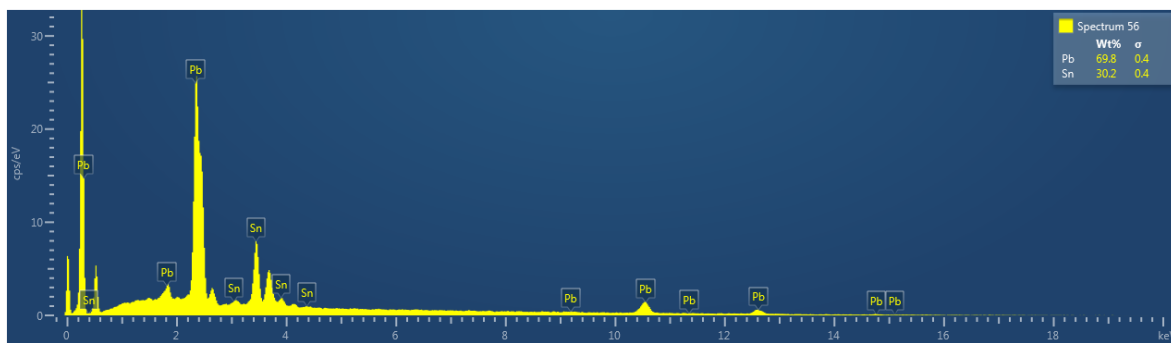
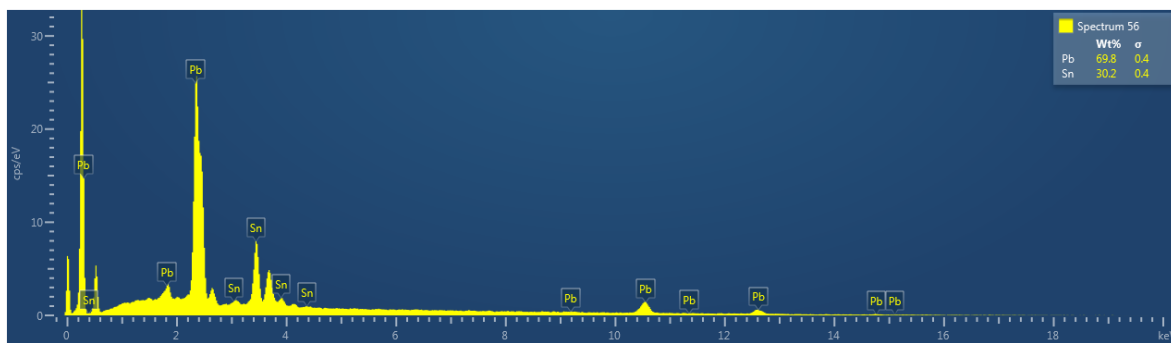


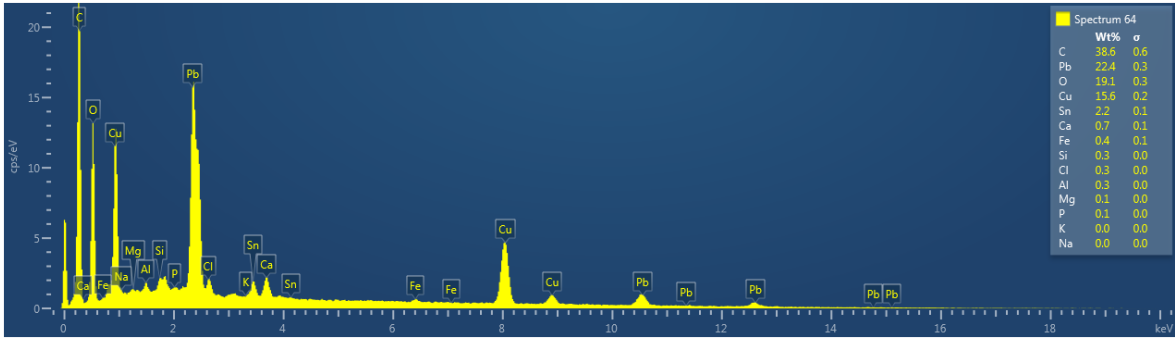
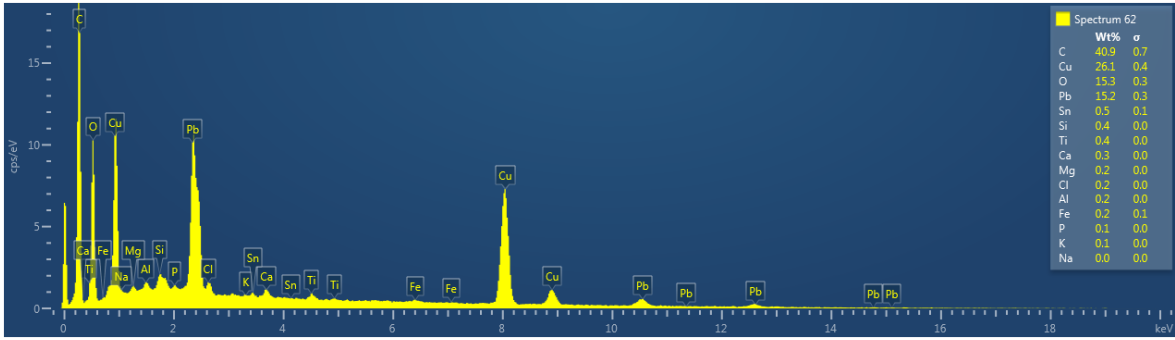
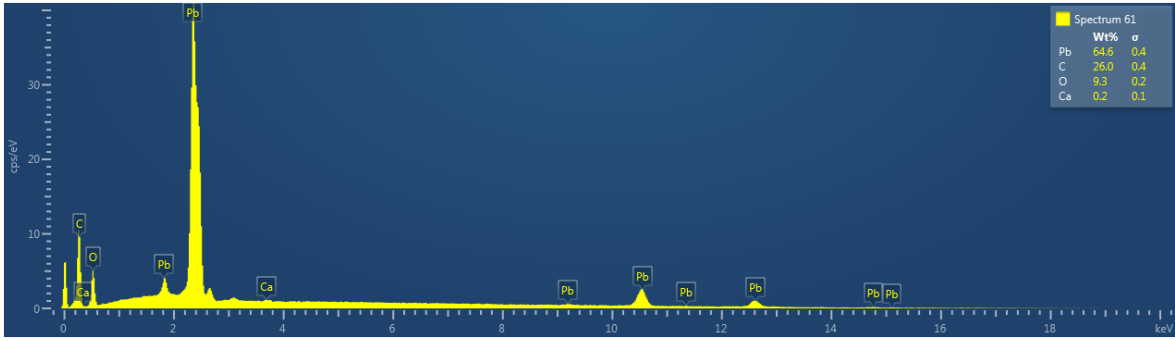
Electron Image 5

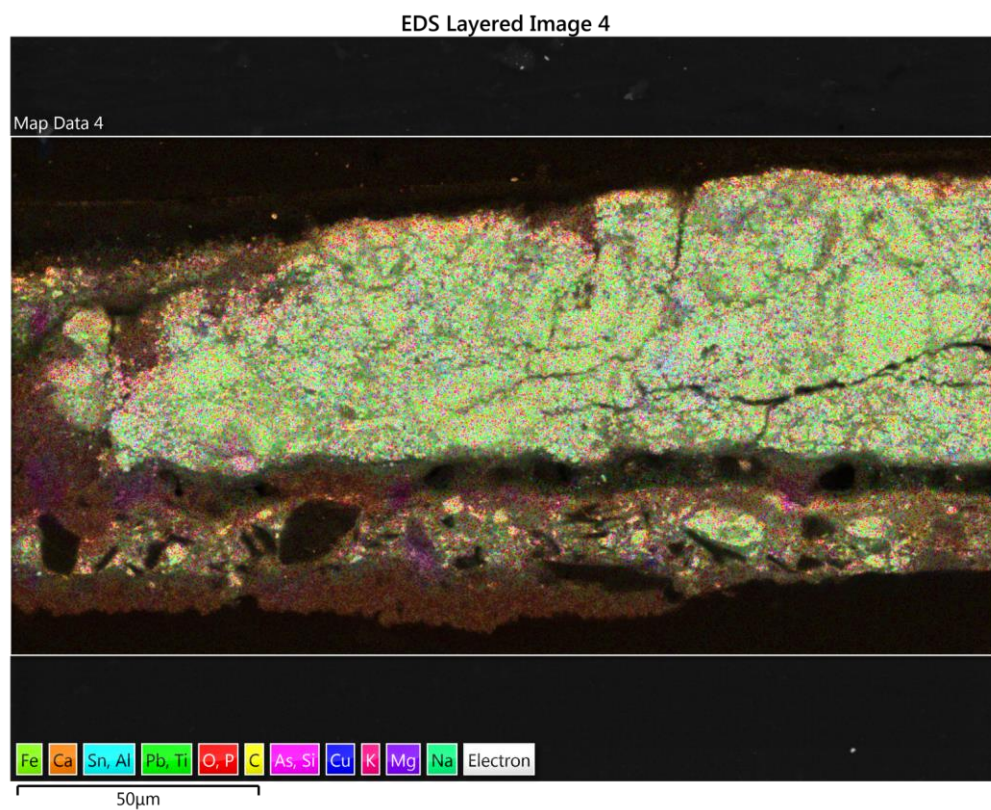






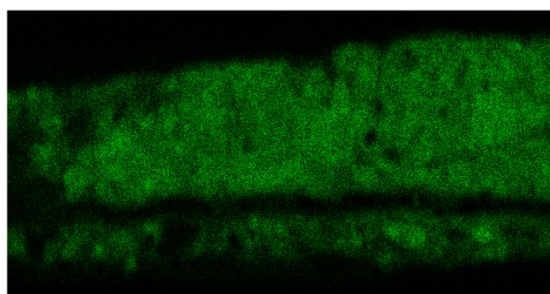




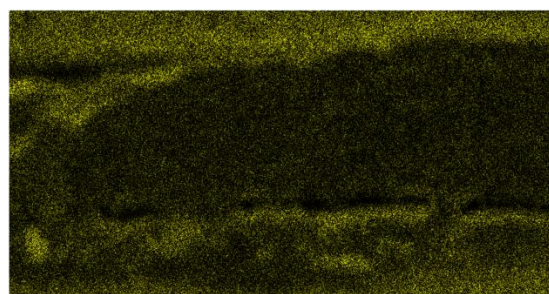


Pb M series

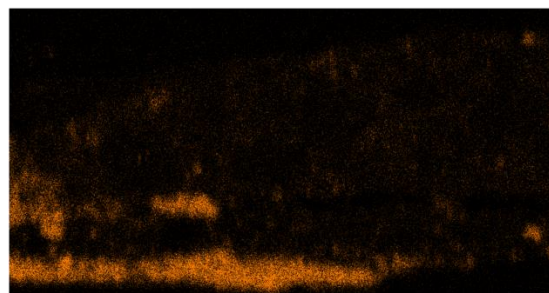
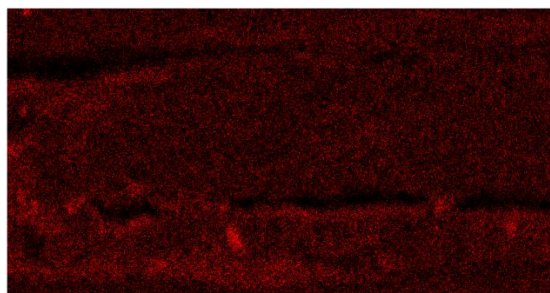
C K series



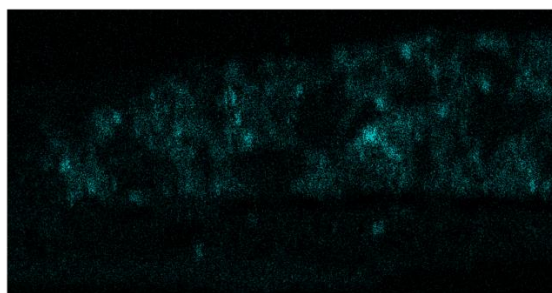
O K series



Ca K series

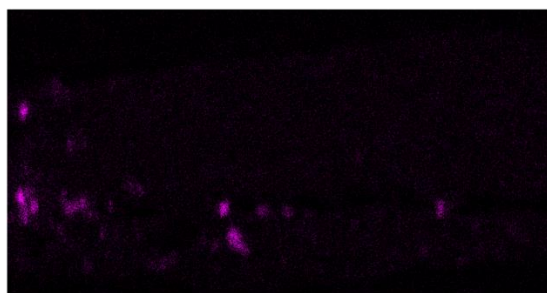


Sn L series



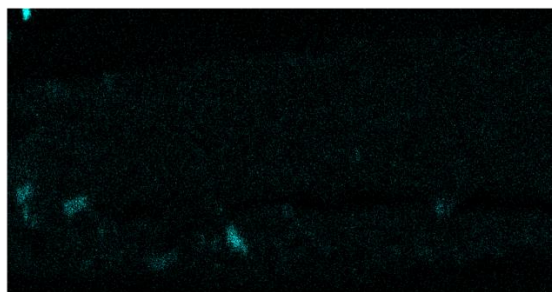
50μm

Si K series



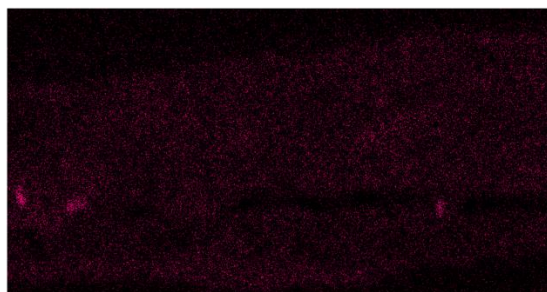
50μm

Al K series



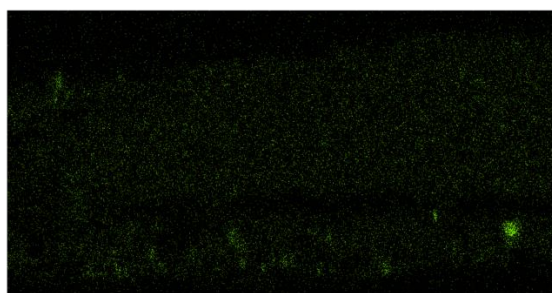
50μm

K K series



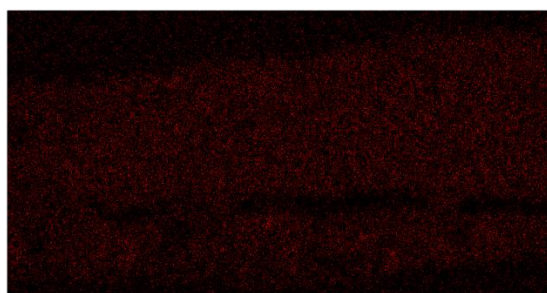
50μm

Fe K series



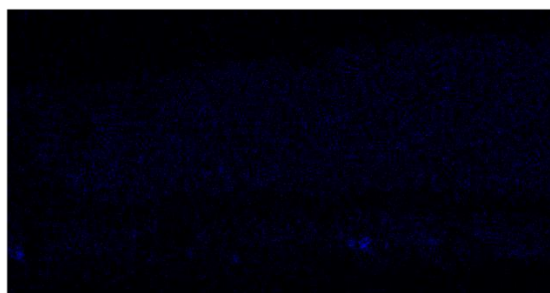
50μm

P K series



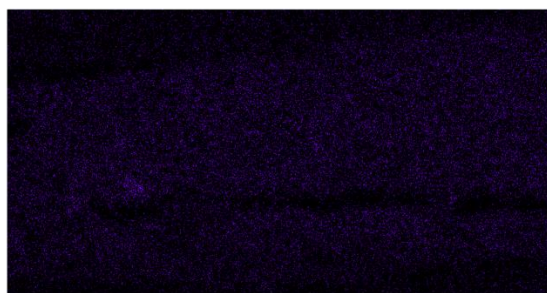
50μm

Cu K series



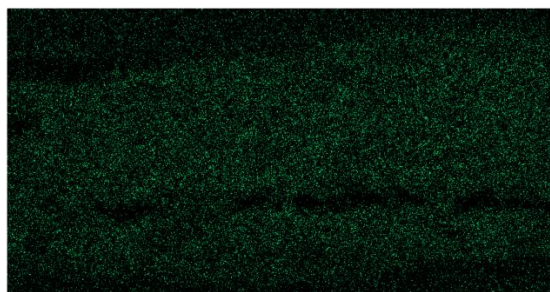
50μm

Mg K series



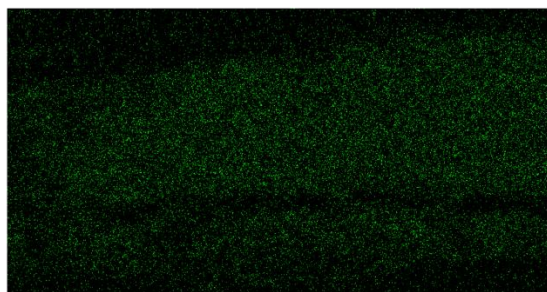
50μm

Na K series



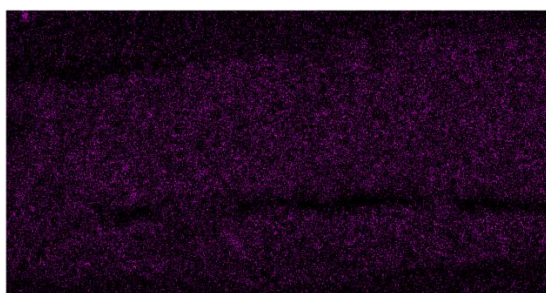
50μm

Ti K series



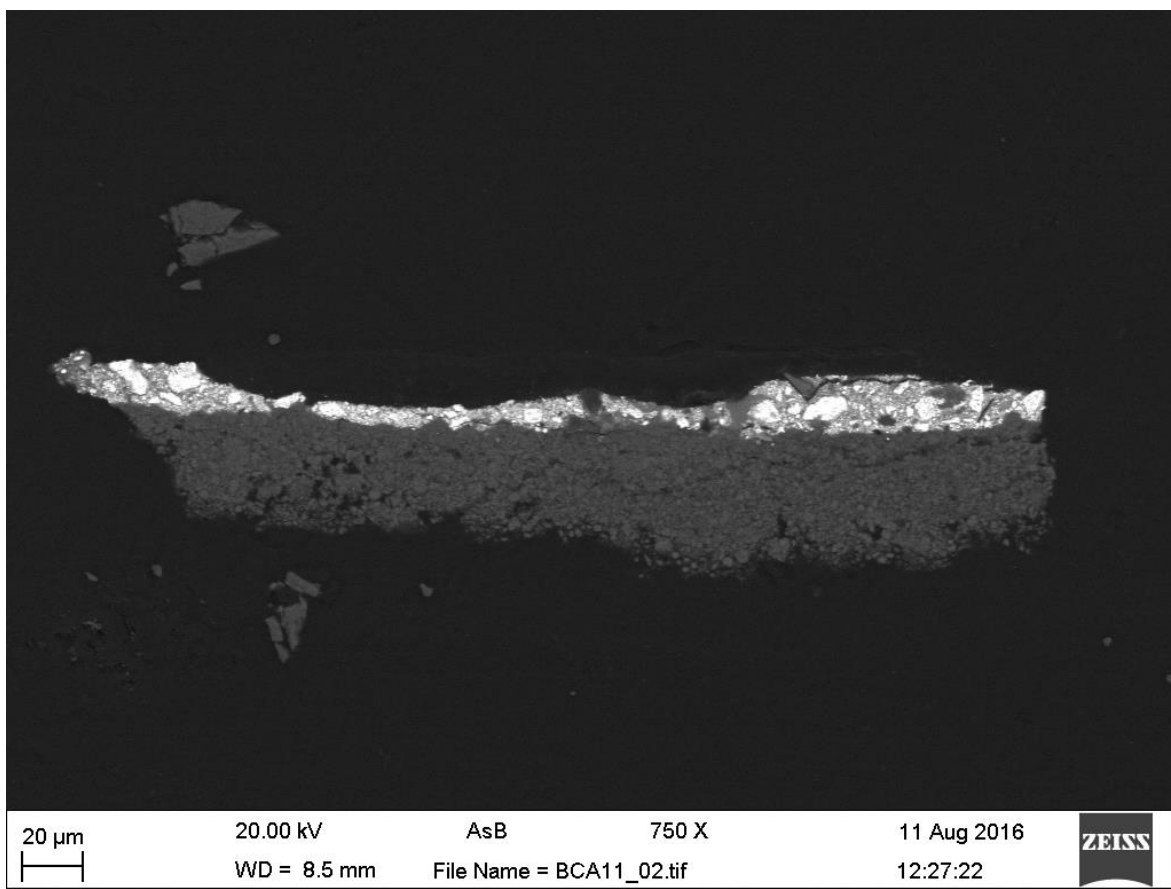
50μm

As L series

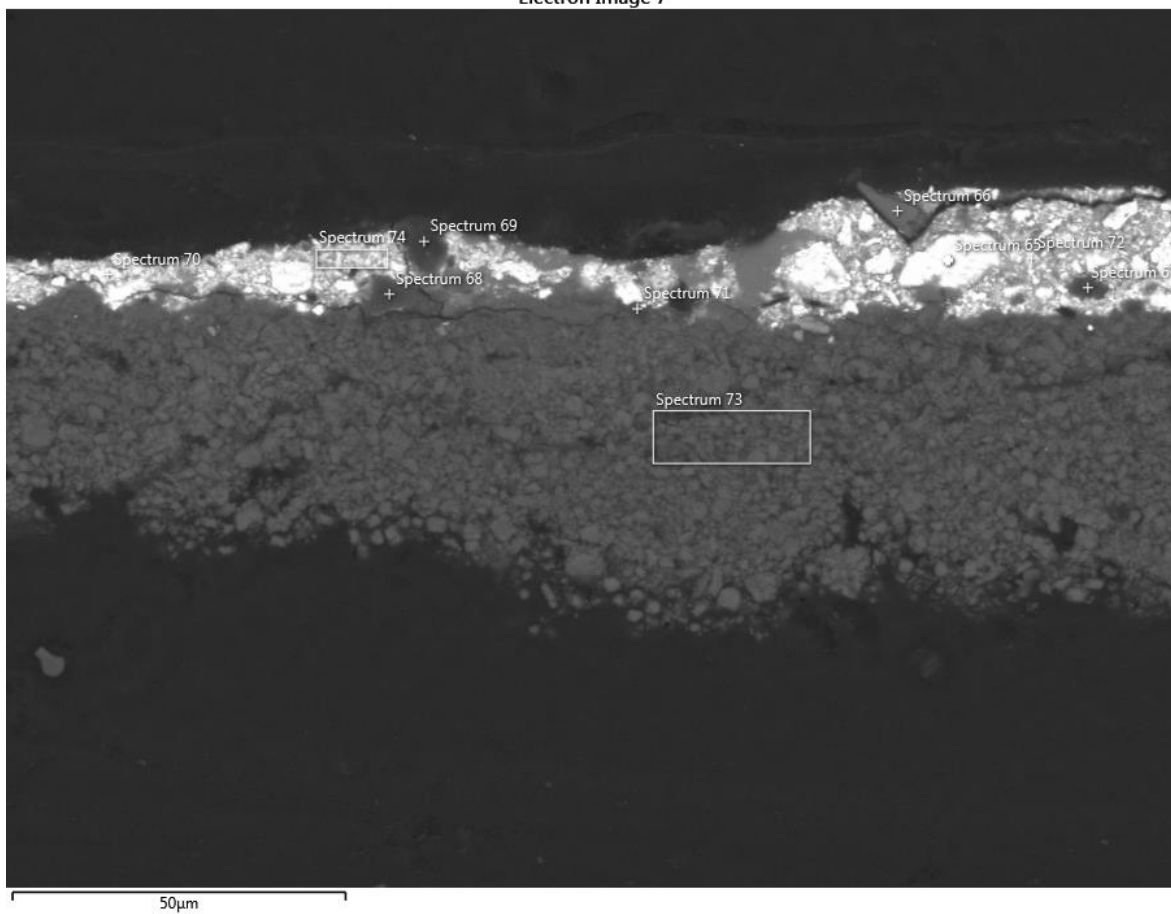


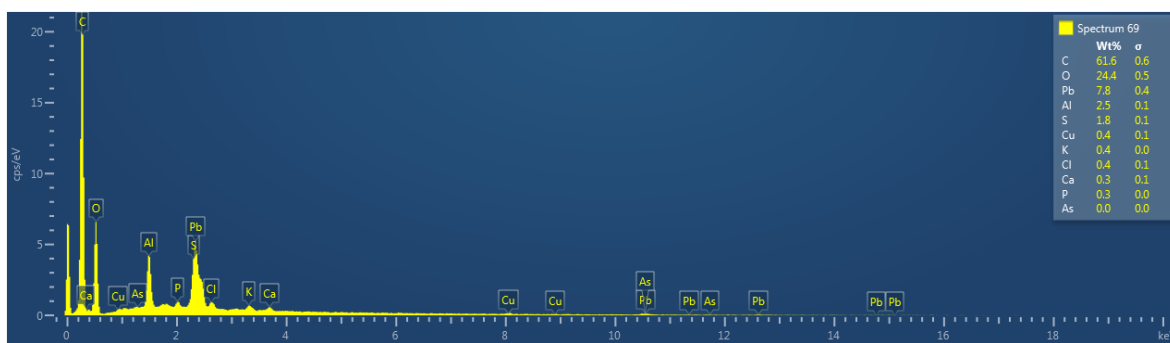
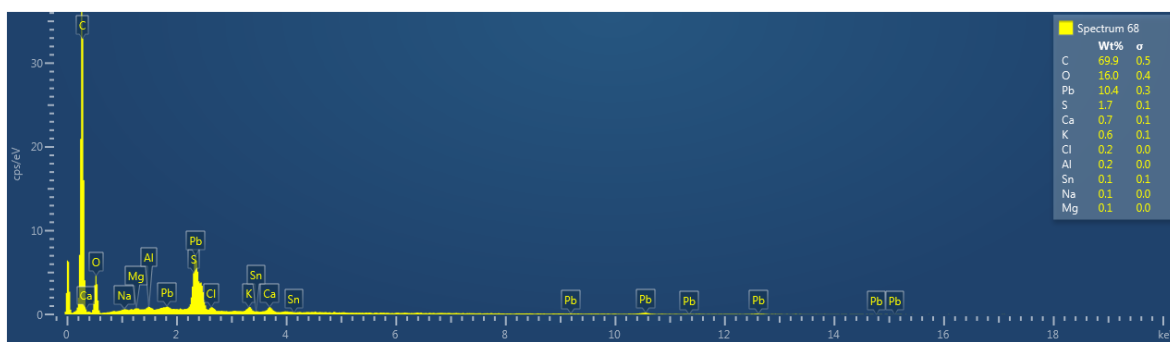
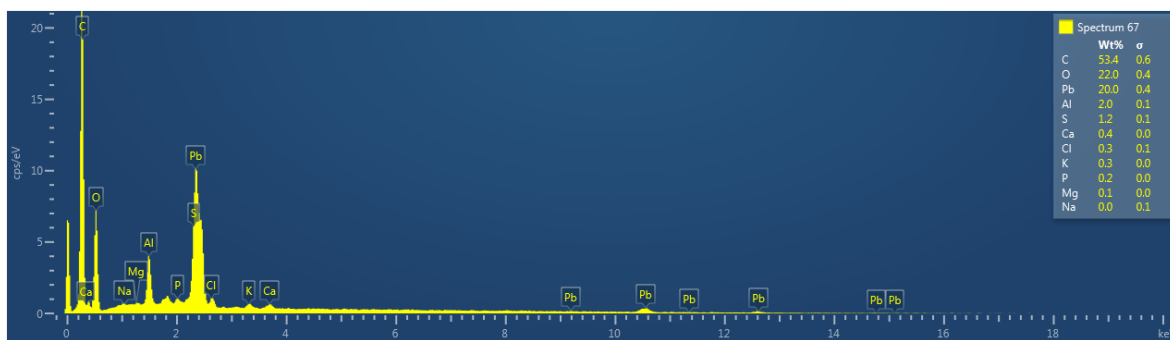
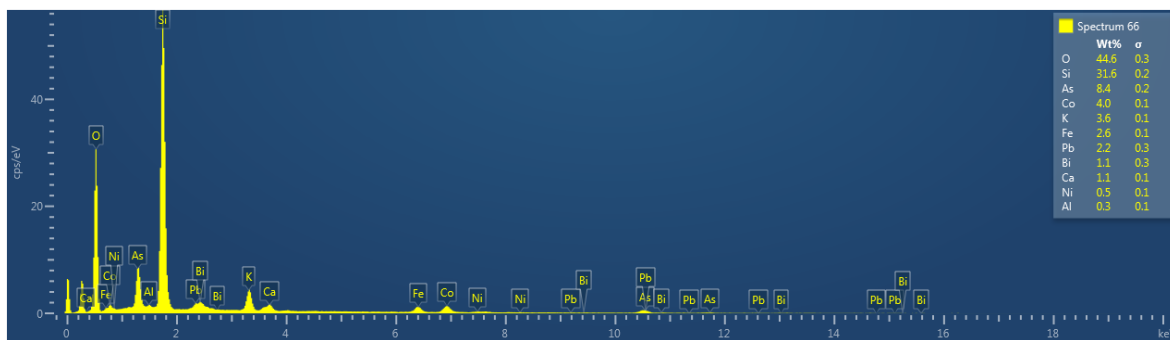
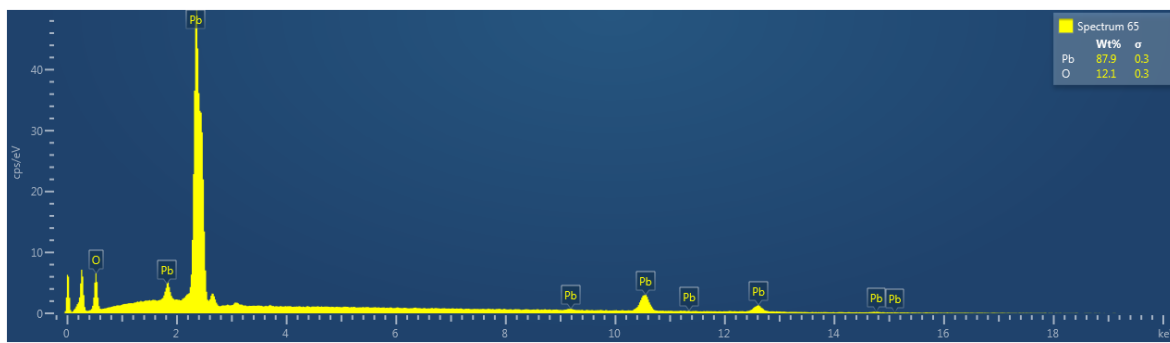
50μm

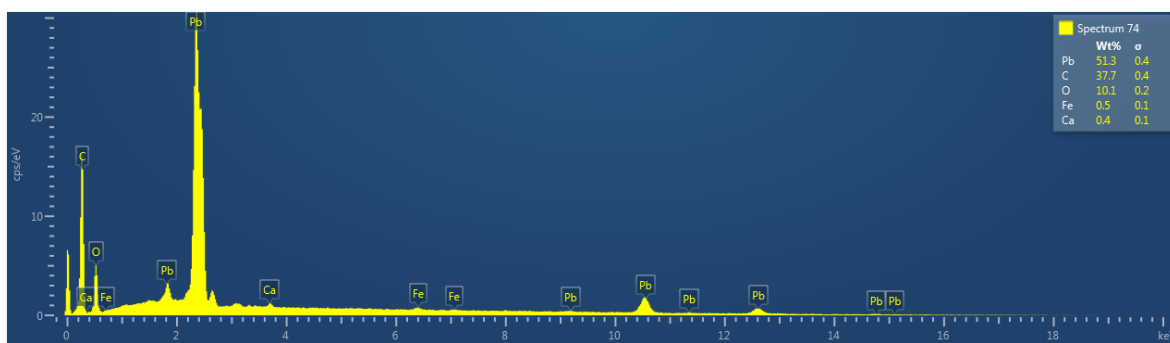
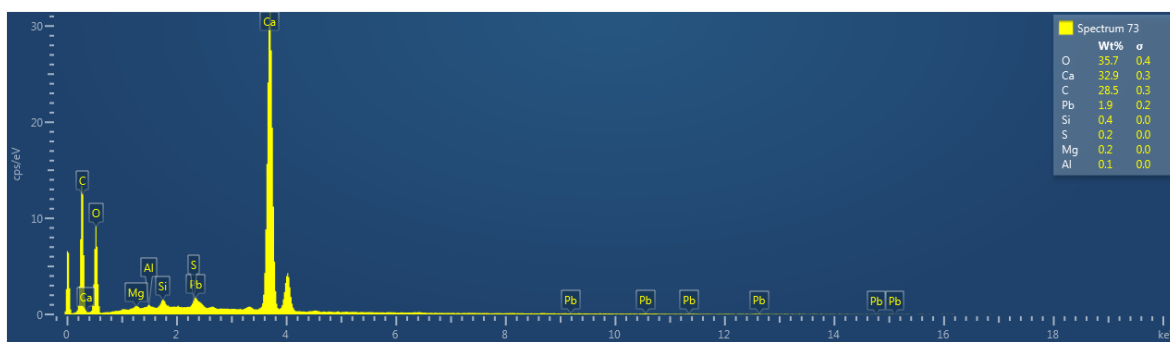
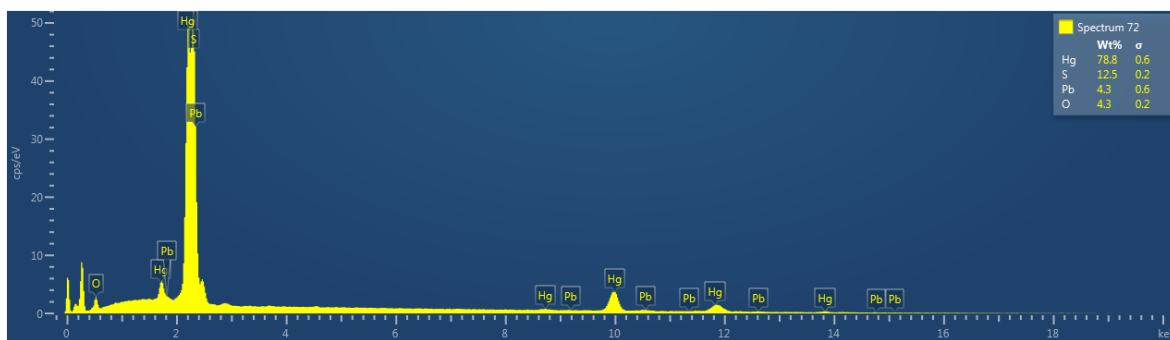
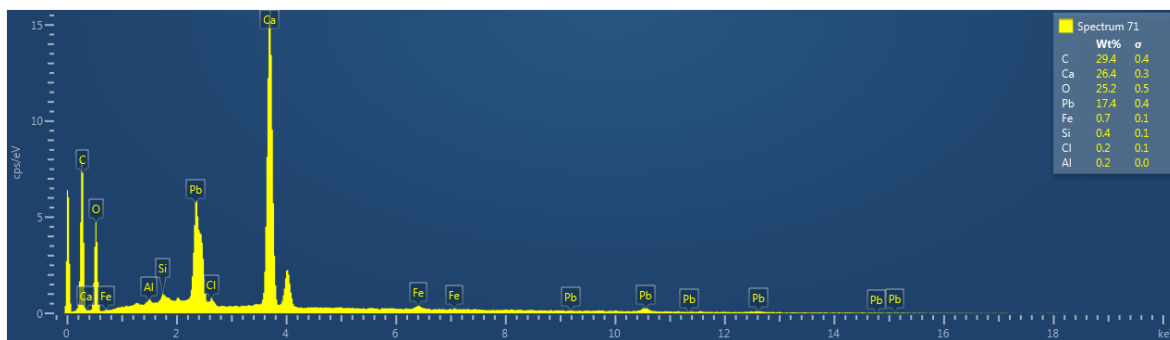
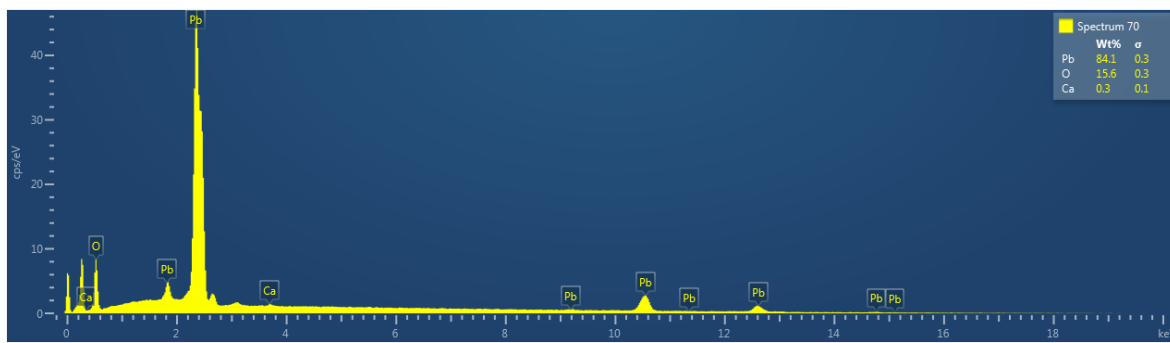
BCA 11

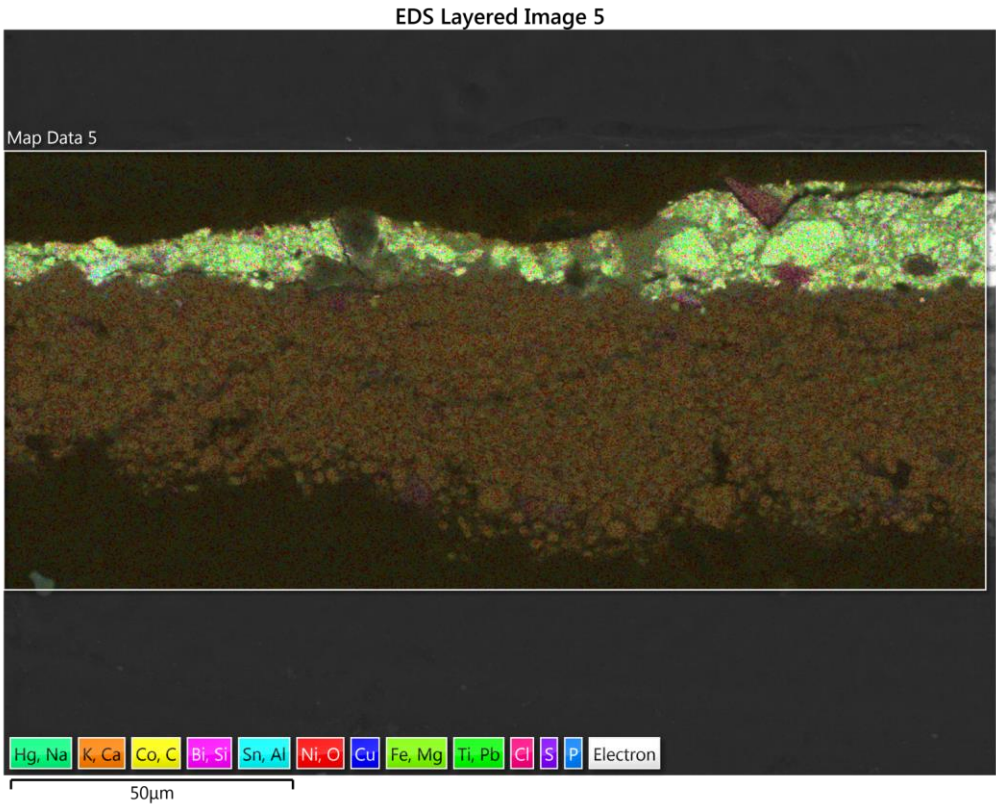


Electron Image 7



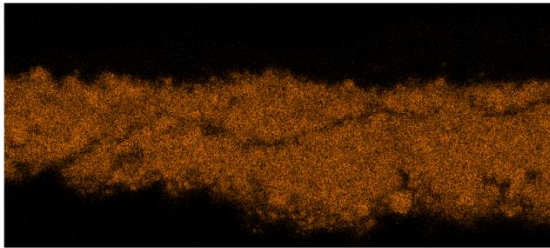






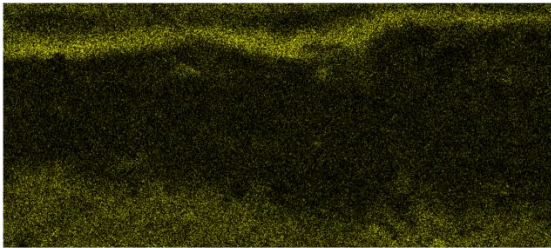
Ca K series

C K series



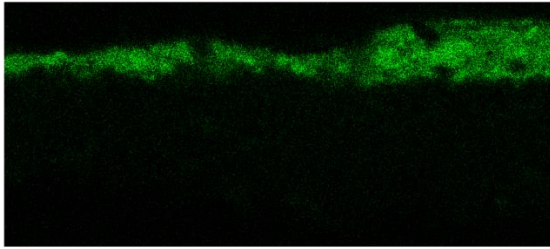
50µm

Pb M series

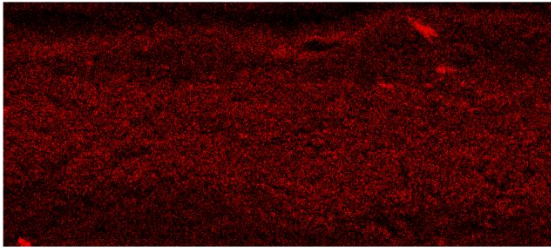


50µm

O K series

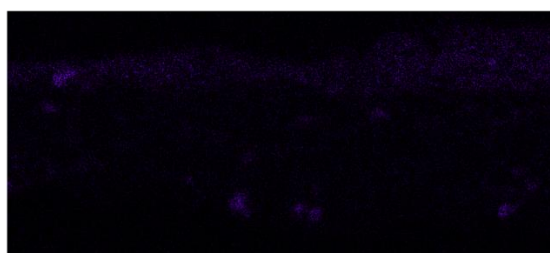


50µm



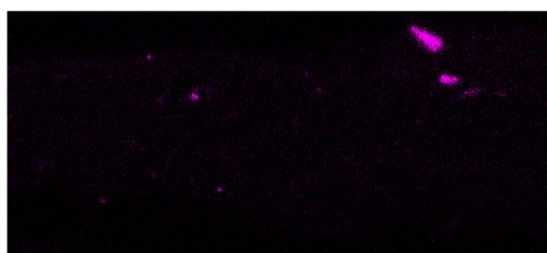
50µm

S K series



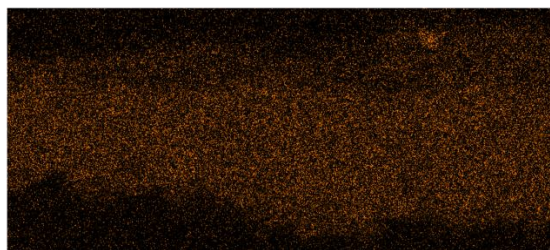
50μm

Si K series



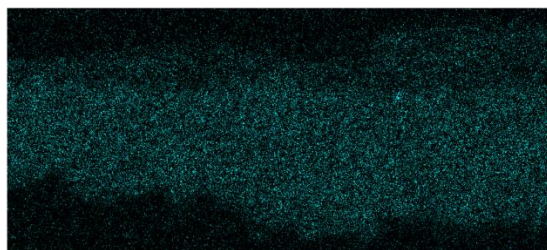
50μm

K K series



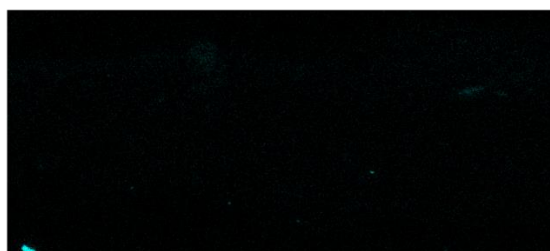
50μm

Sn L series



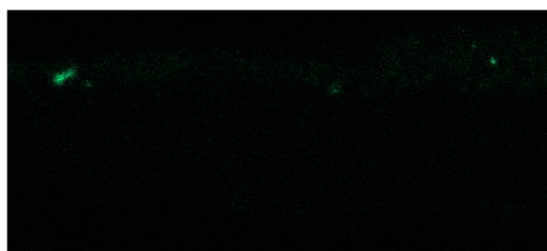
50μm

Al K series



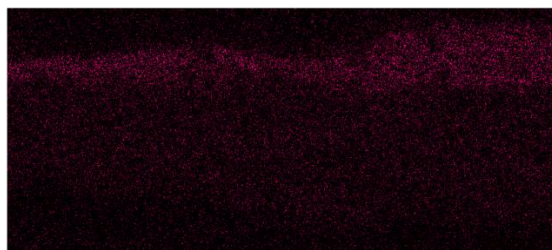
50μm

Hg M series



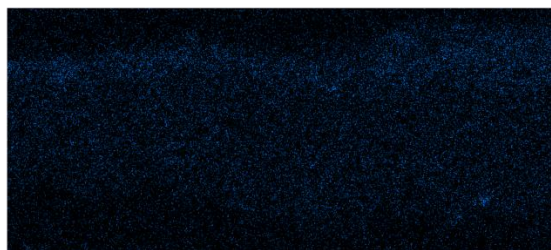
50μm

Cl K series



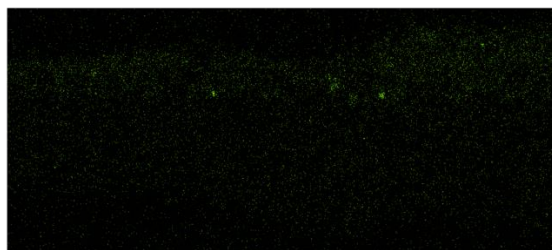
50μm

P K series



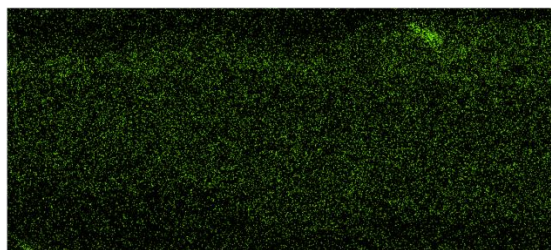
50μm

Fe K series



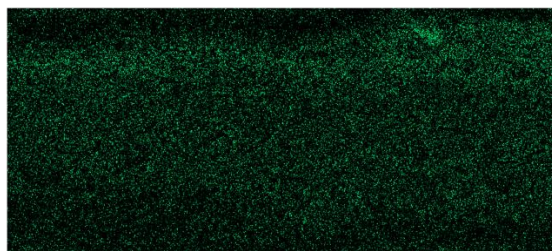
50μm

Mg K series



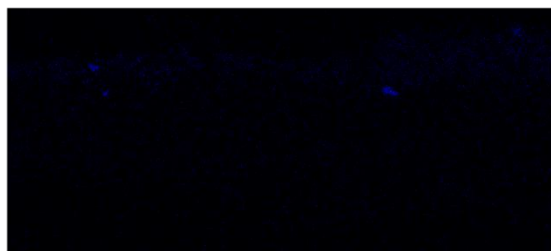
50μm

Na K series



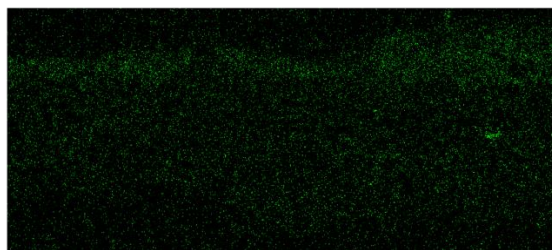
50μm

Cu K series



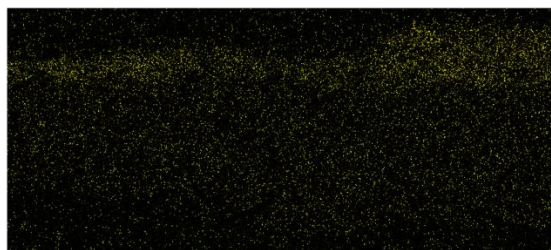
50μm

Ti K series



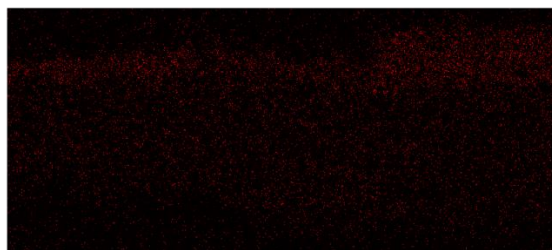
50μm

Co K series



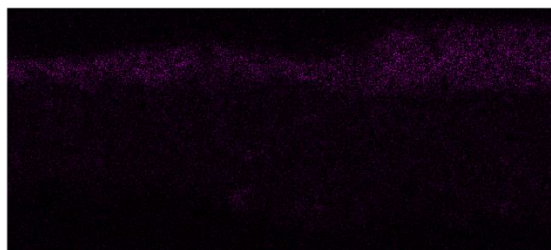
50μm

Ni K series

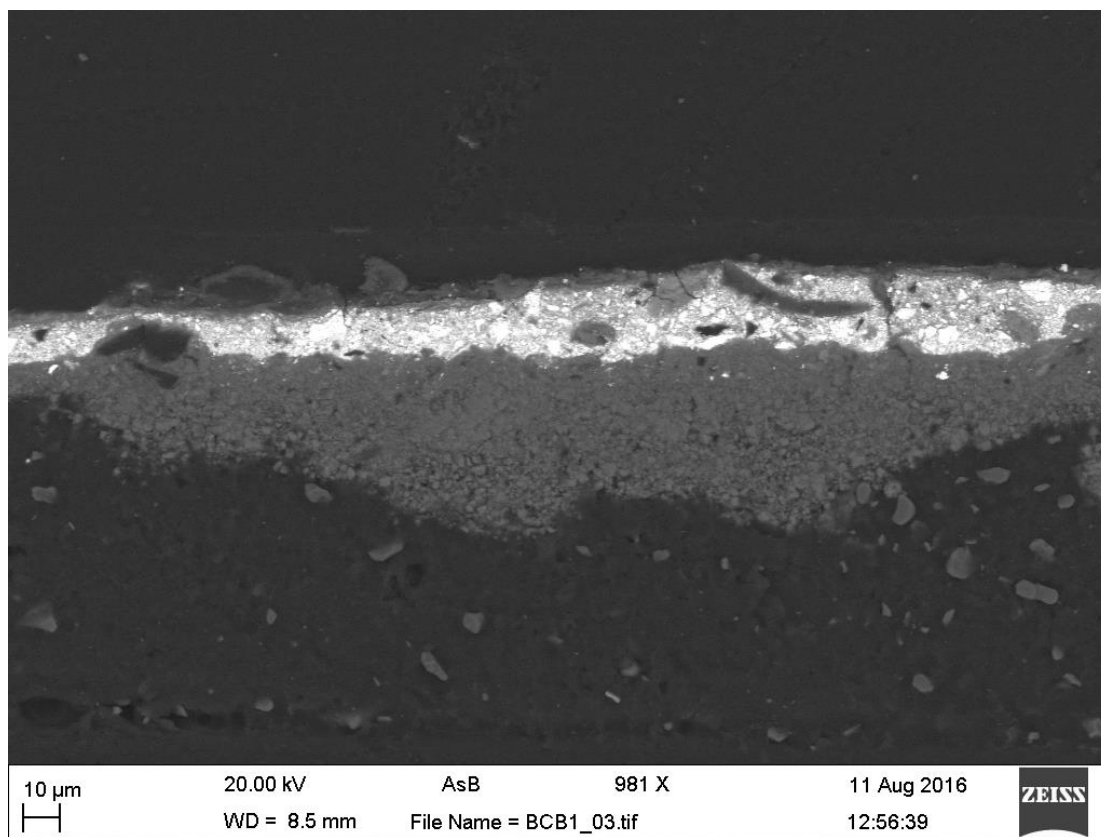


50μm

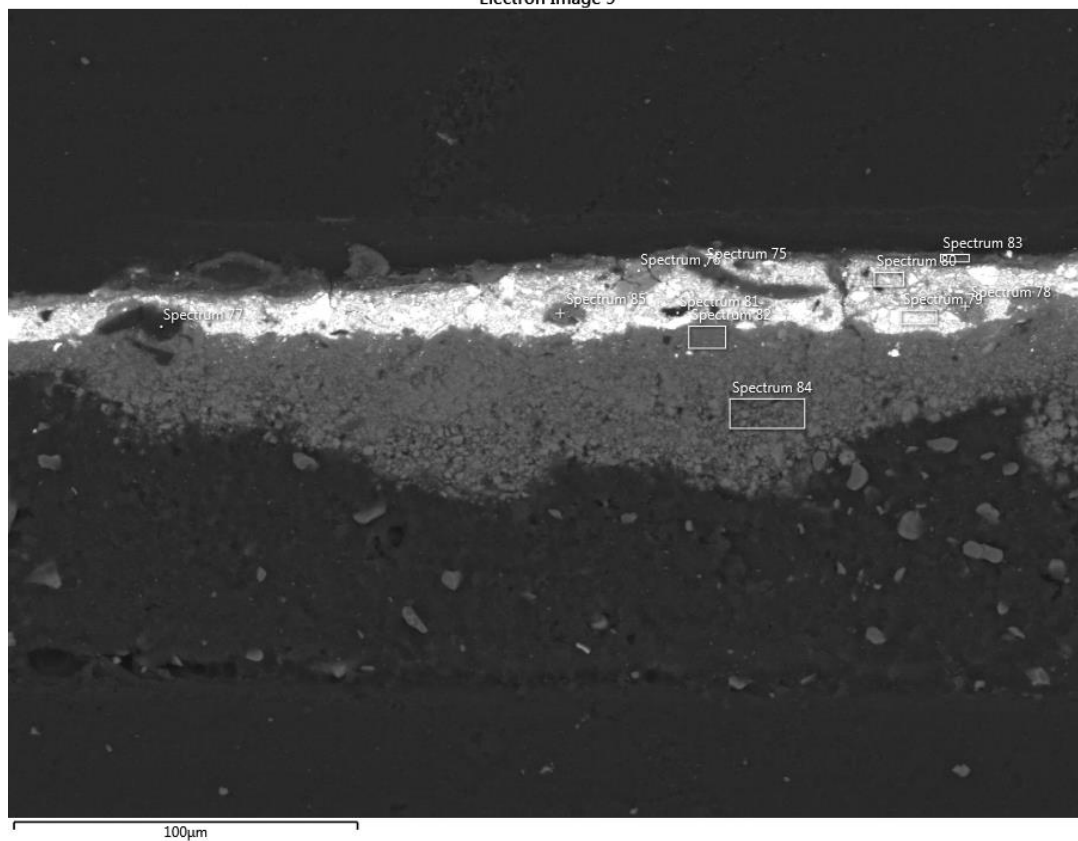
Bi M series

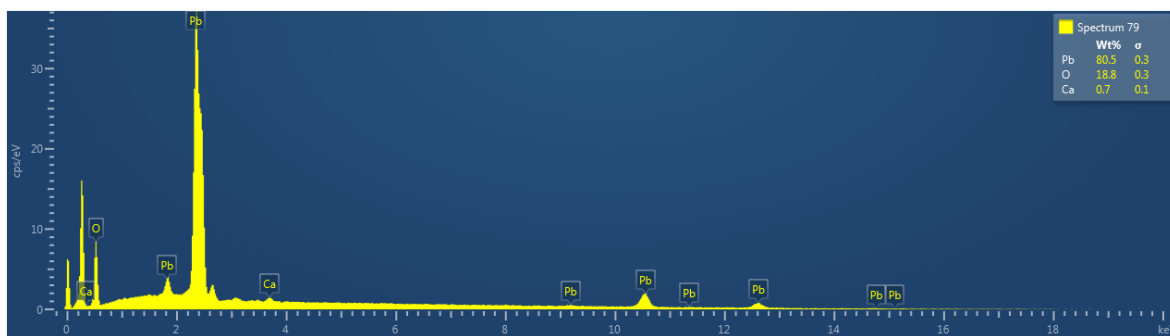
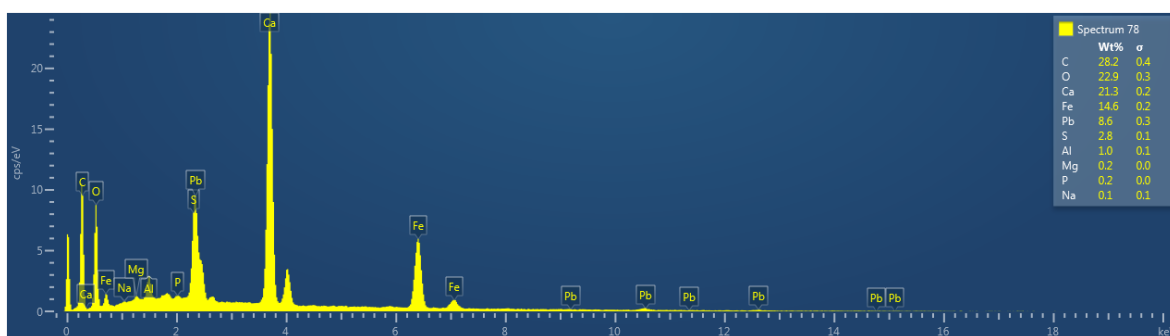
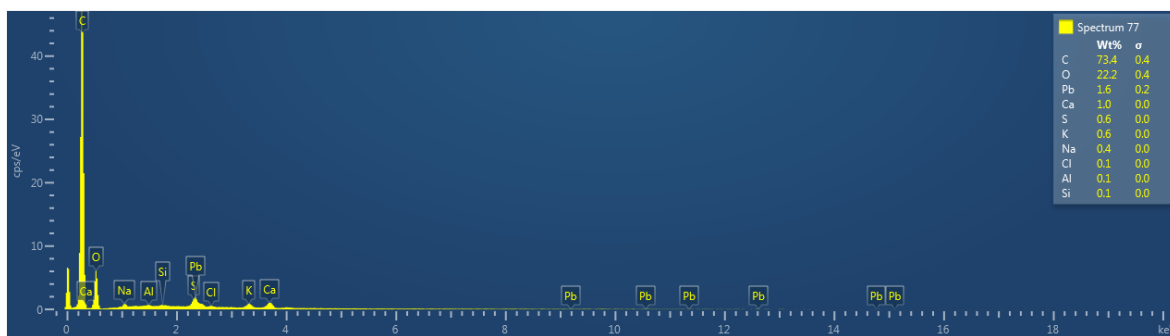
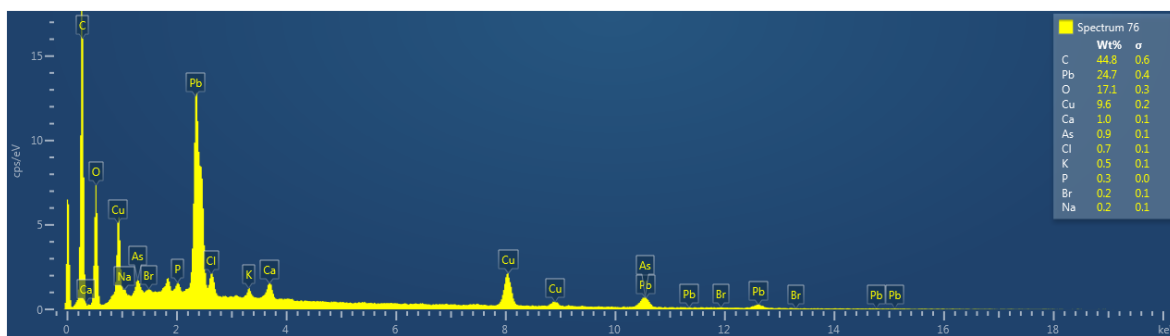
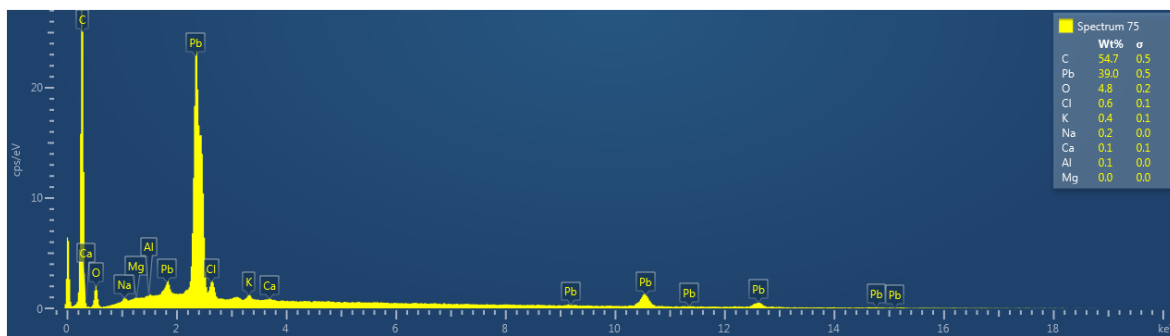


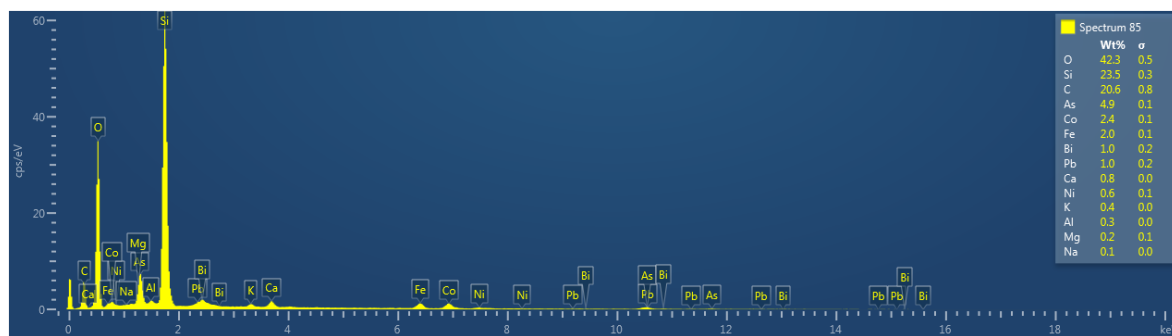
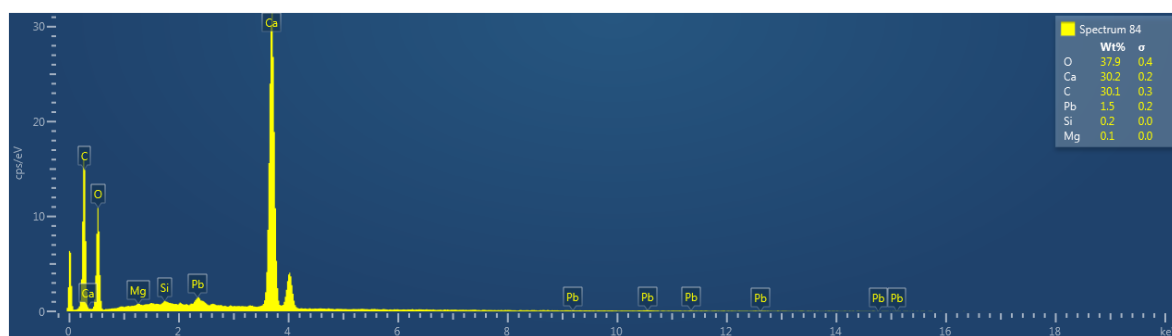
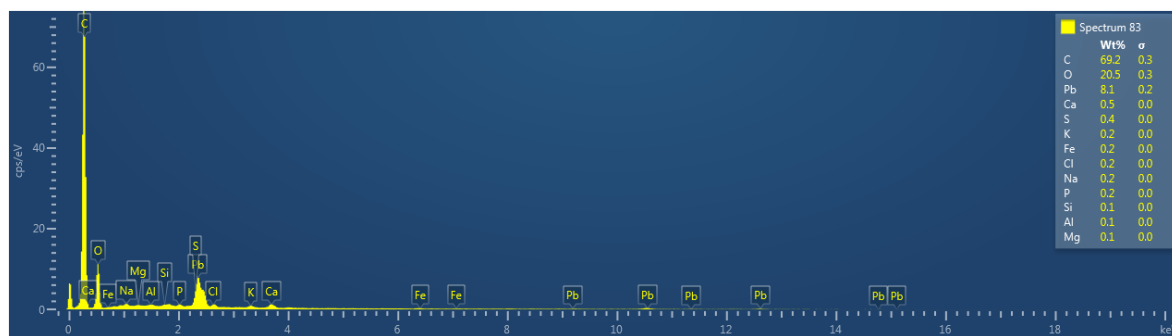
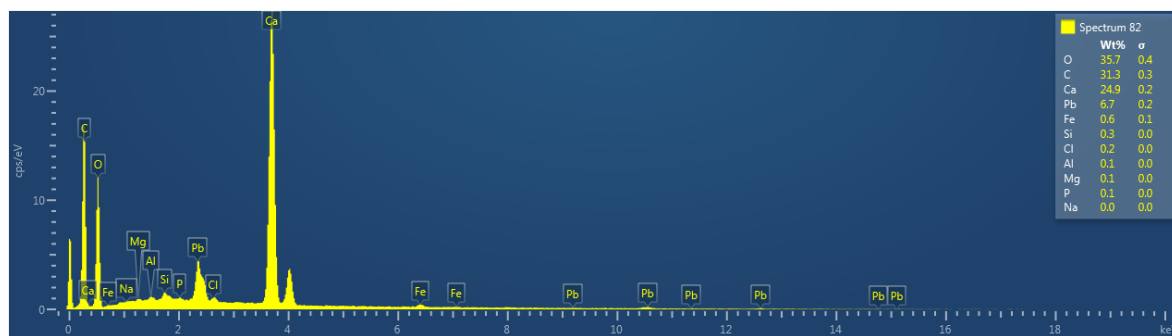
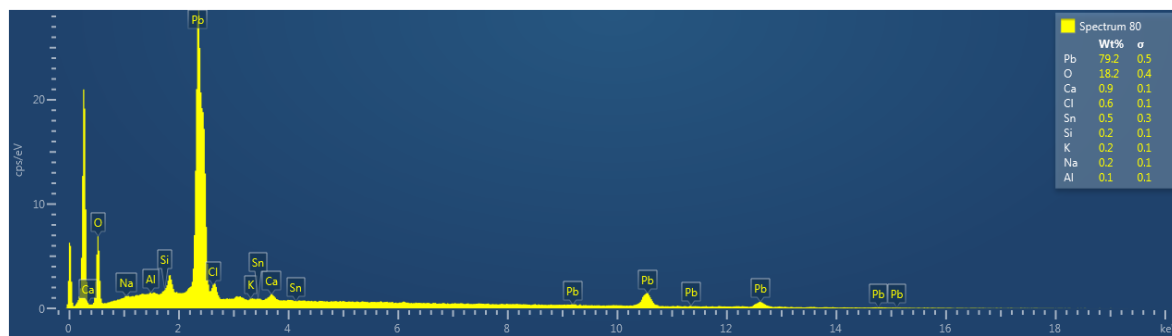
50μm

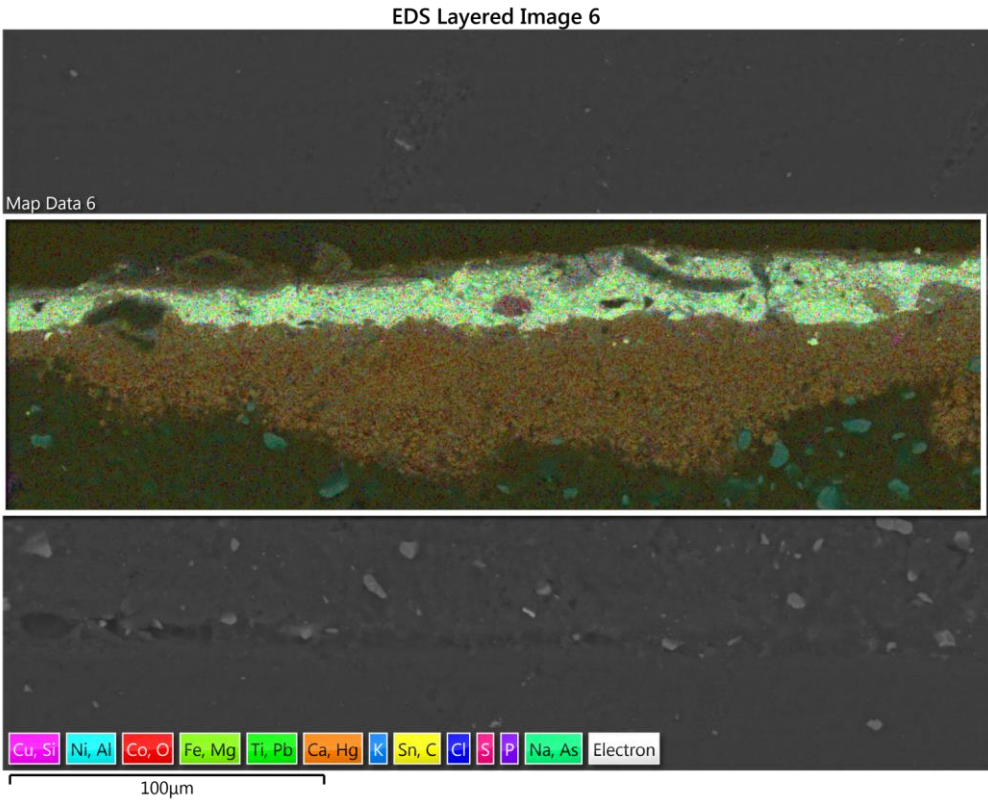
Mary, Queen of Scots and her Son James VI of Scotland (BCB)**BCB 1**

Electron Image 9



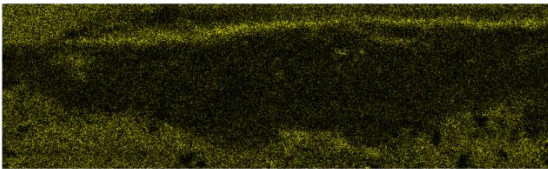






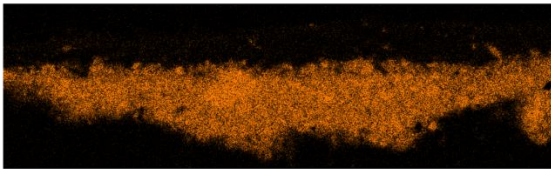
C K series

Ca K series



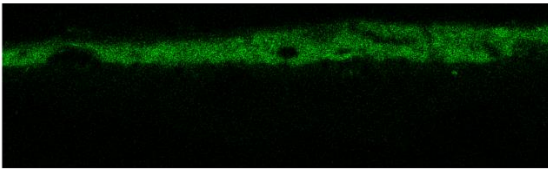
100µm

Pb M series

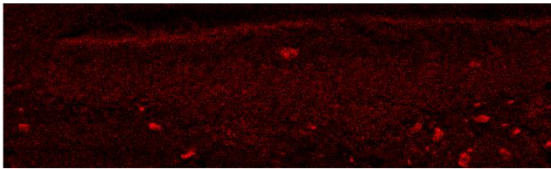


100µm

O K series

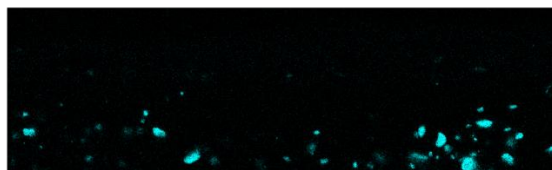


100µm



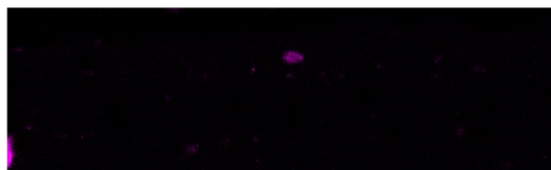
100µm

Al K series



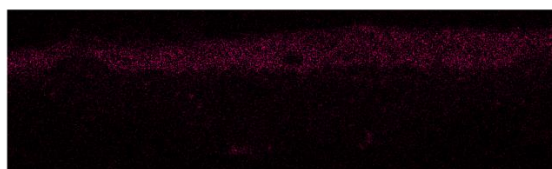
100μm

Si K series



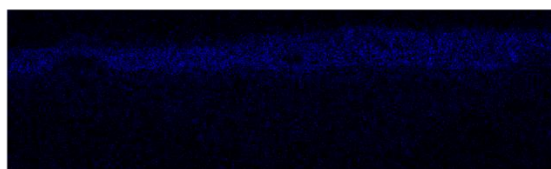
100μm

S K series



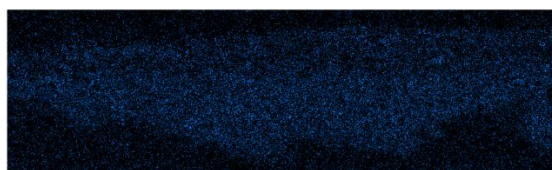
100μm

Cl K series



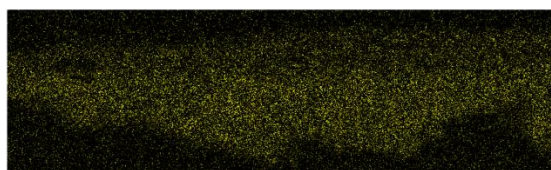
100μm

K K series



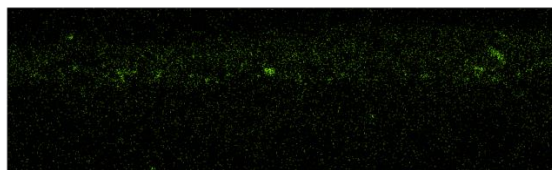
100μm

Sn L series



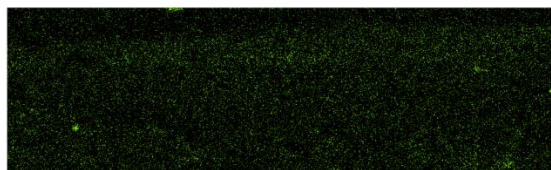
100μm

Fe K series



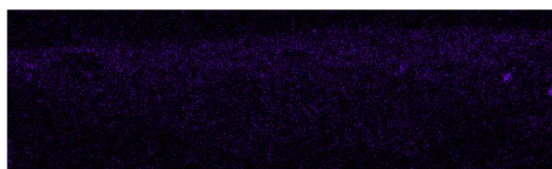
100μm

Mg K series



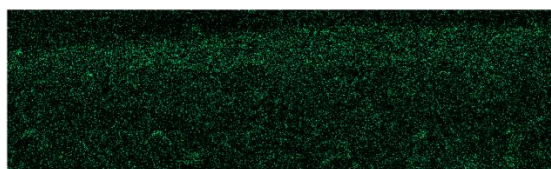
100μm

P K series



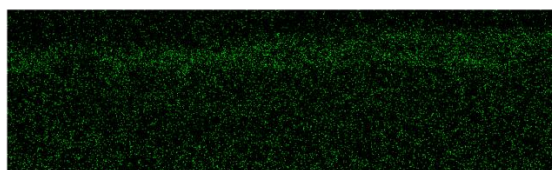
100μm

Na K series



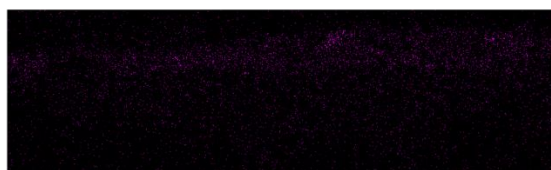
100μm

Ti K series



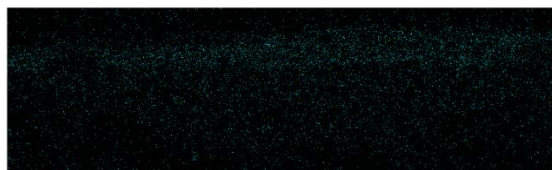
100μm

Cu K series



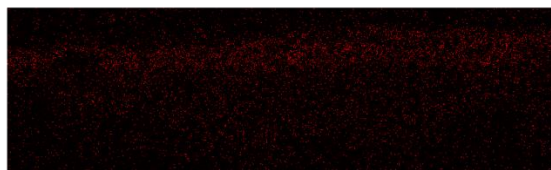
100μm

Ni K series



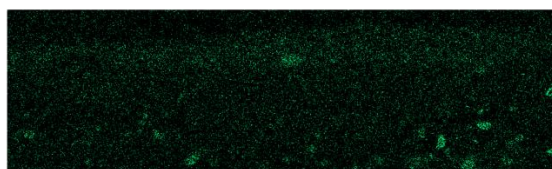
100μm

Co K series



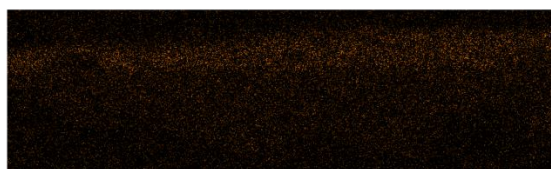
100μm

As L series



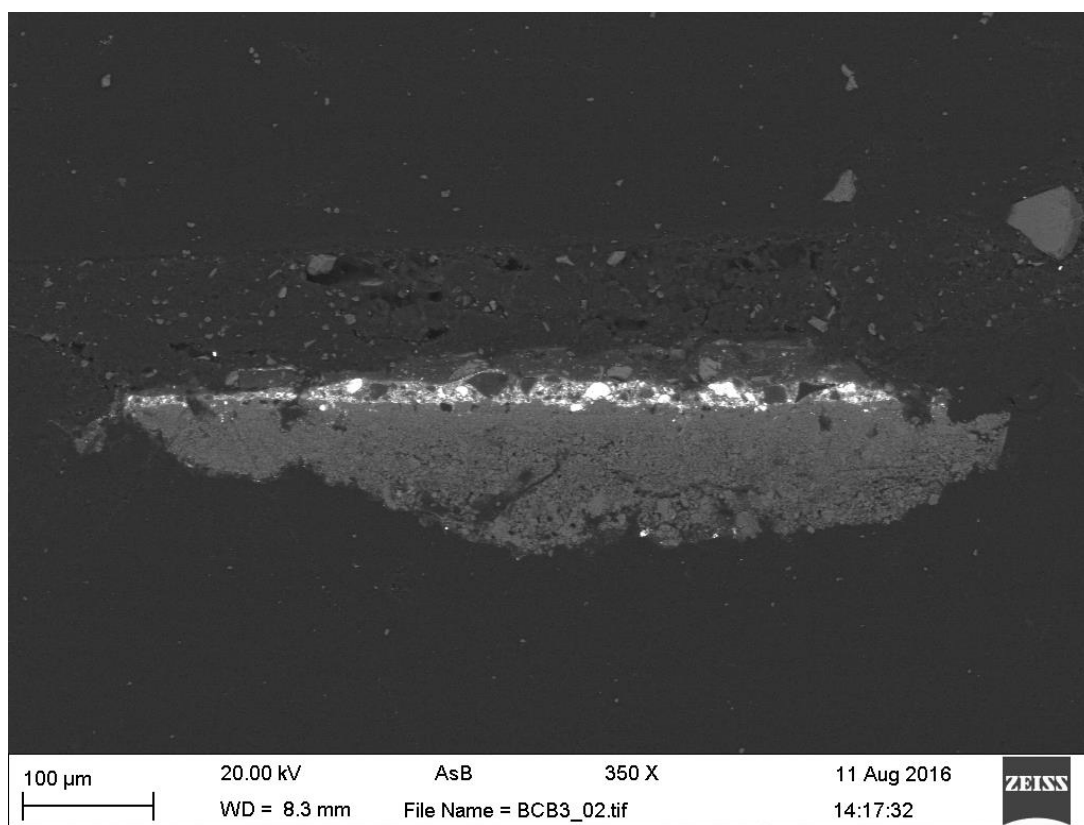
100μm

Hg M series

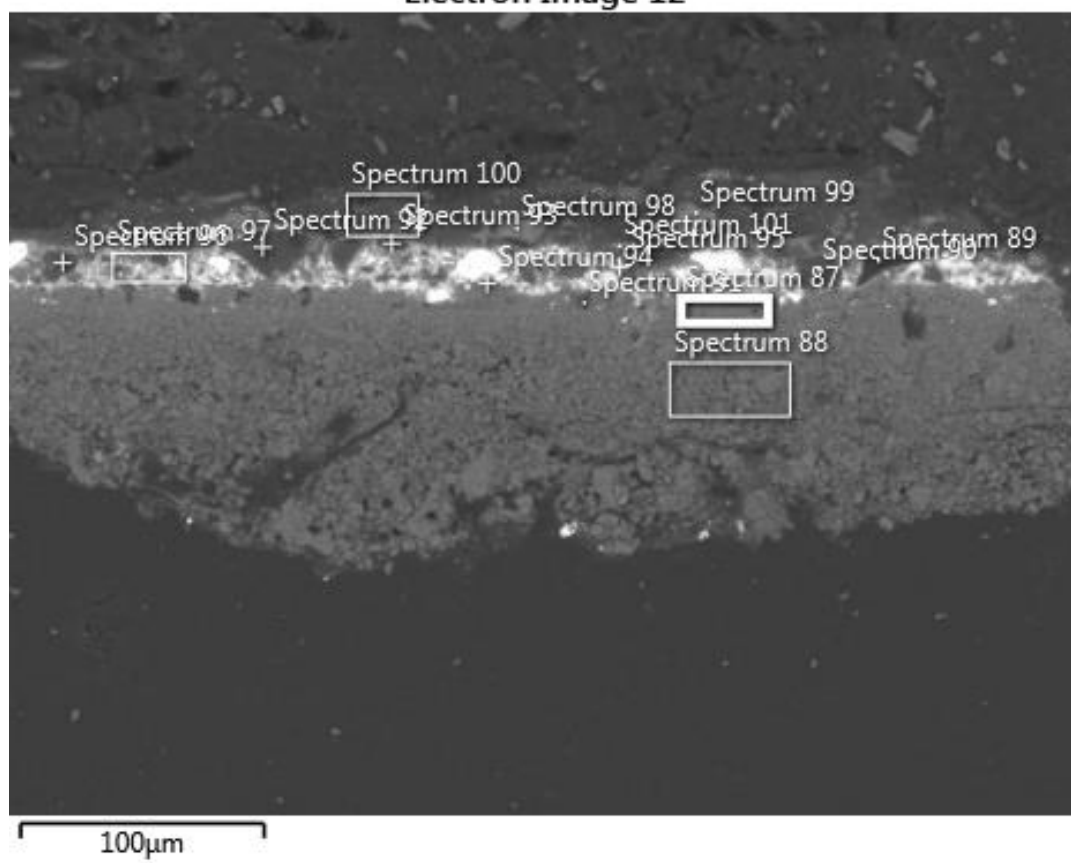


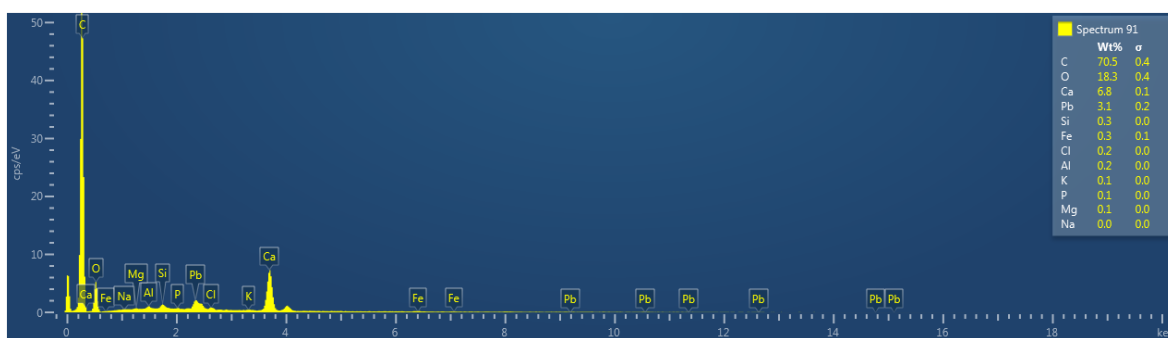
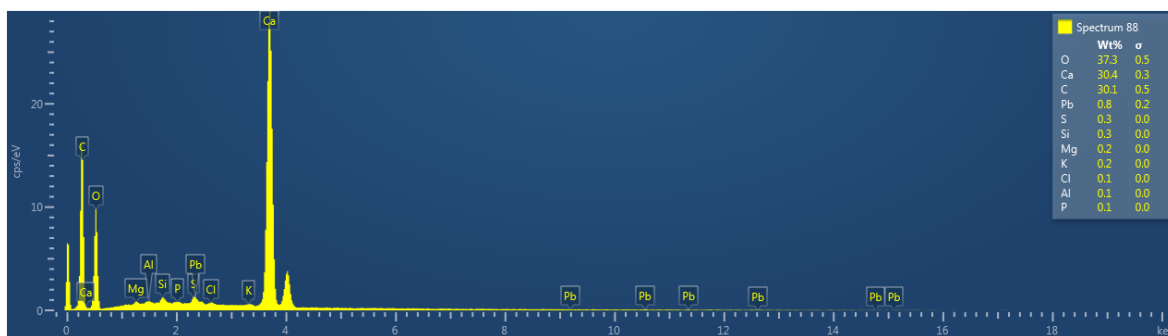
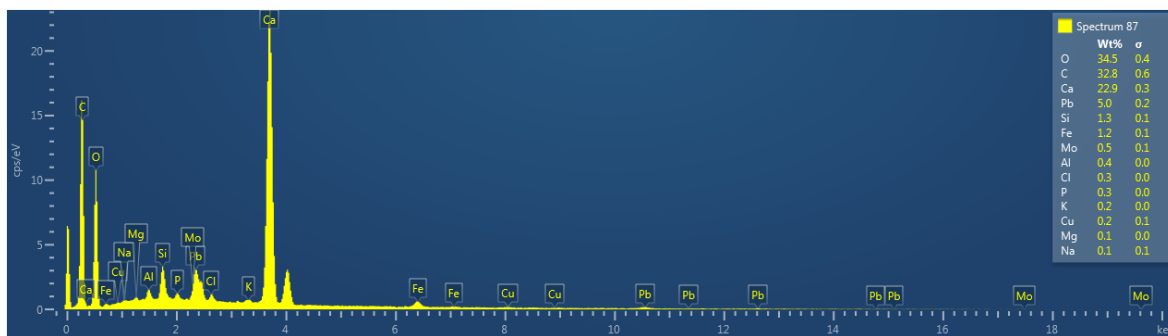
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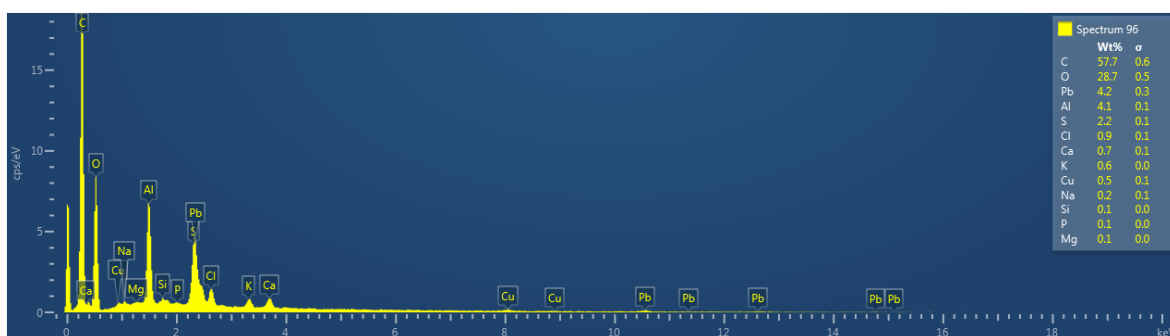
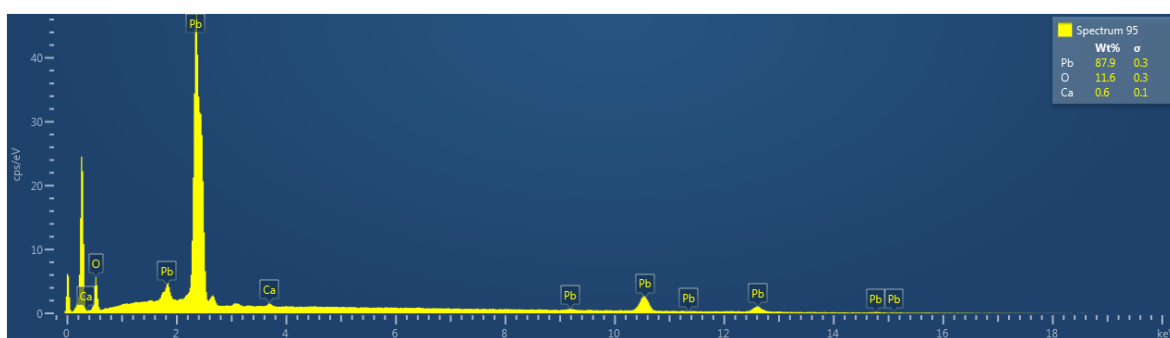
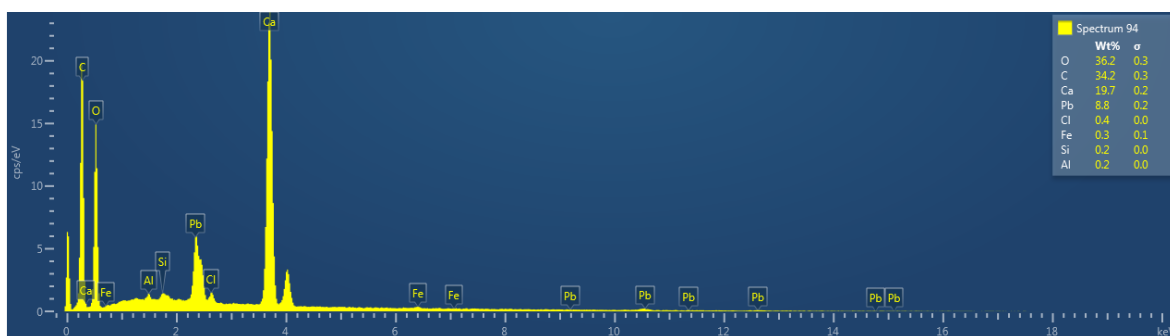
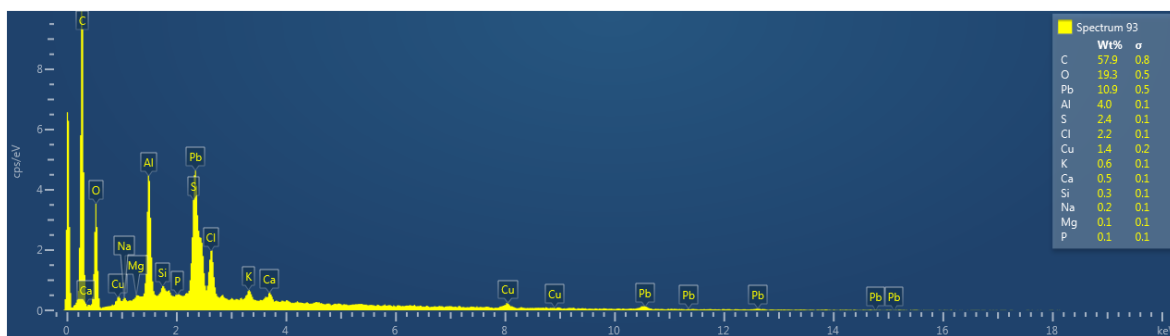
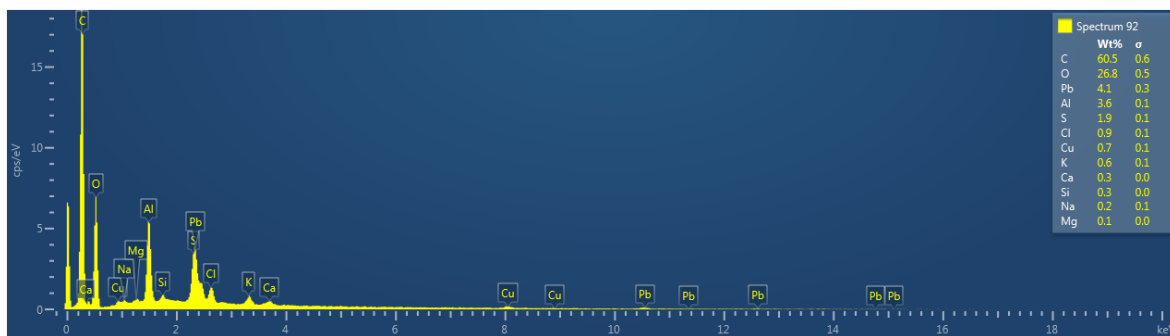
BCB 3

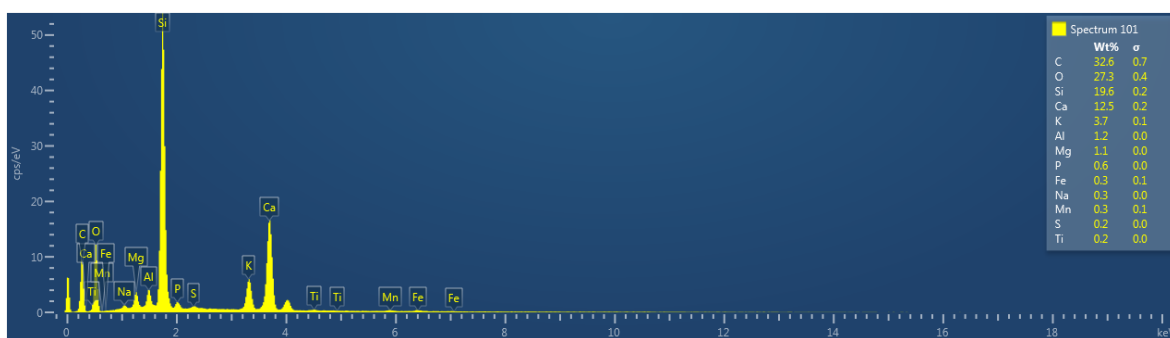
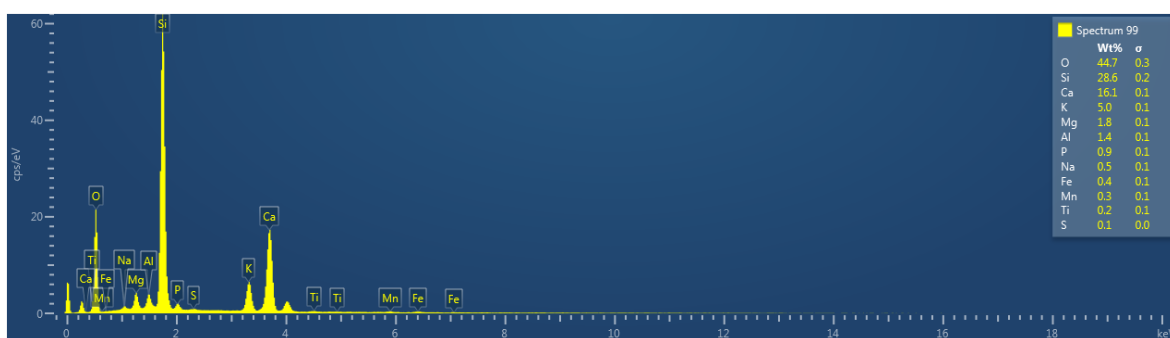
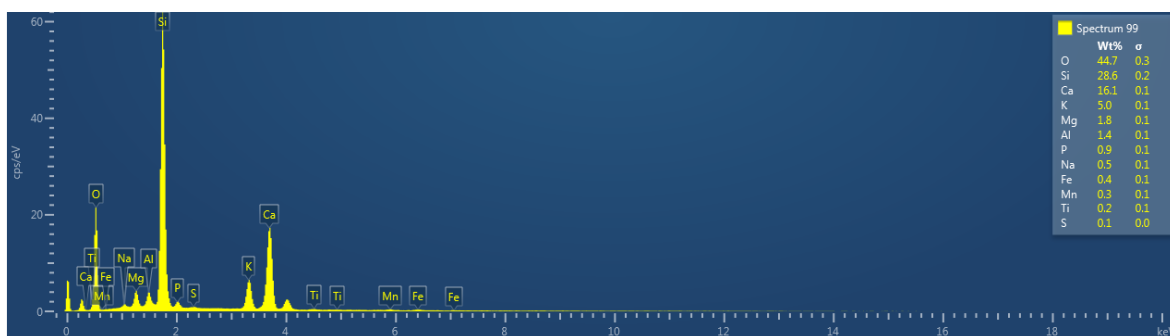
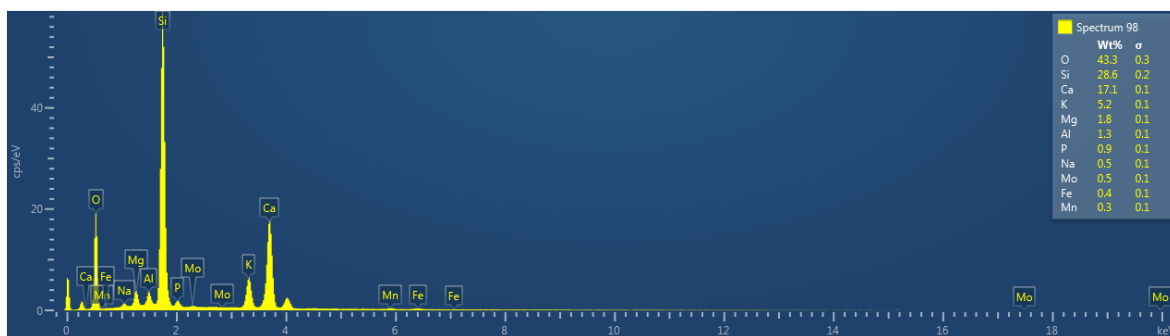
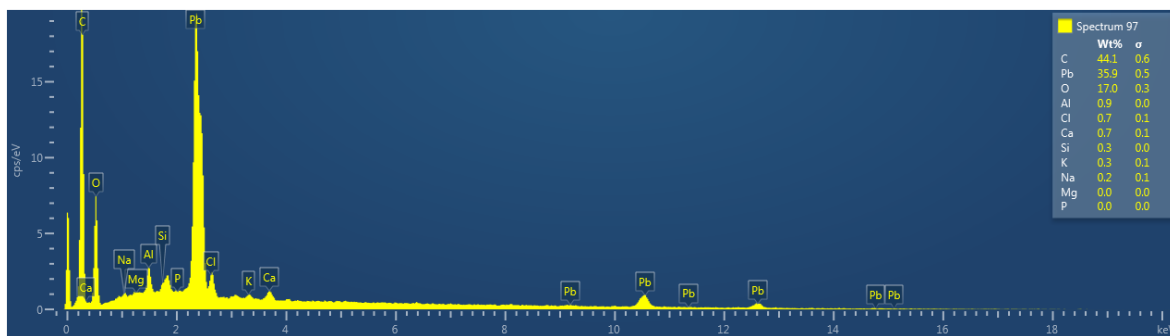


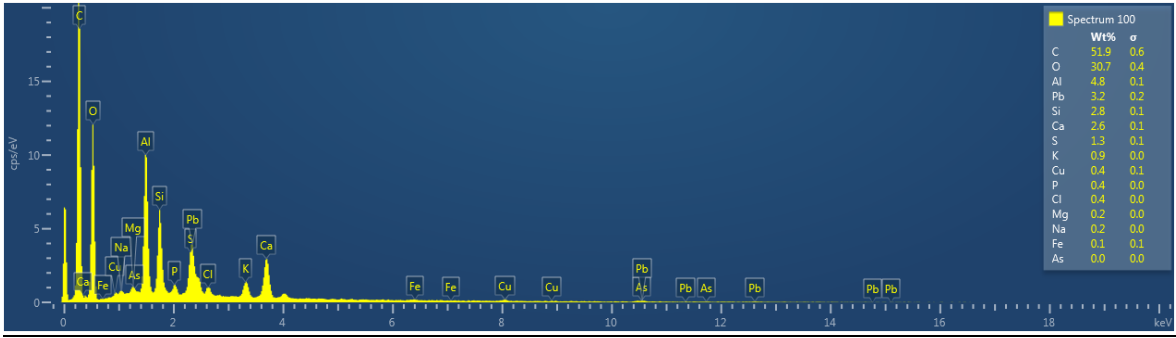
Electron Image 12



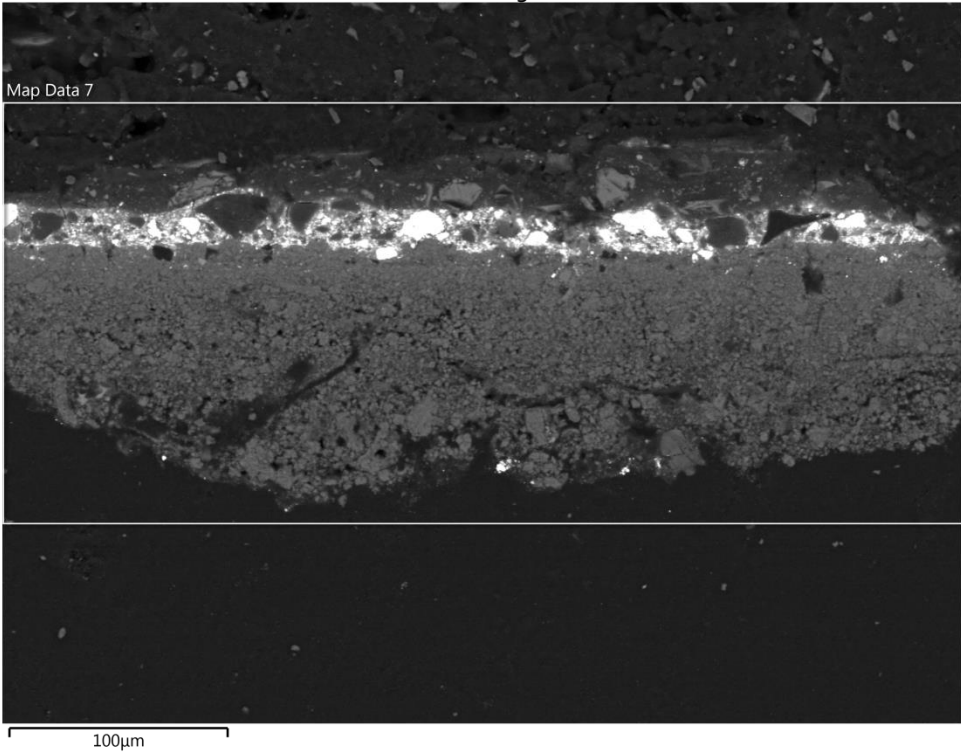




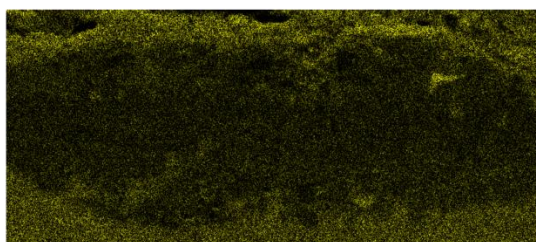




Electron Image 11

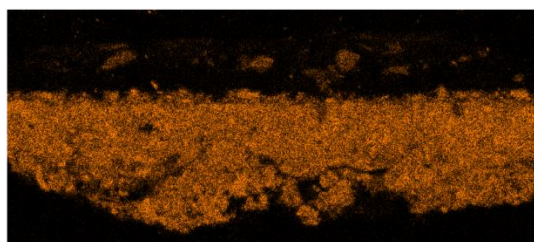


C K series



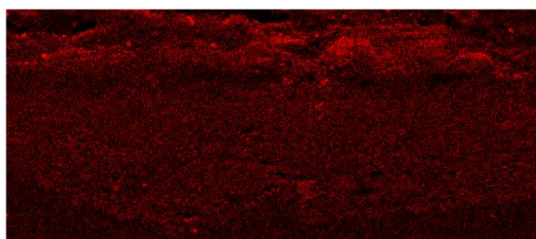
100μm

Ca K series



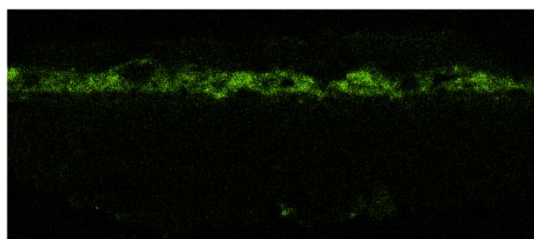
100μm

O K series



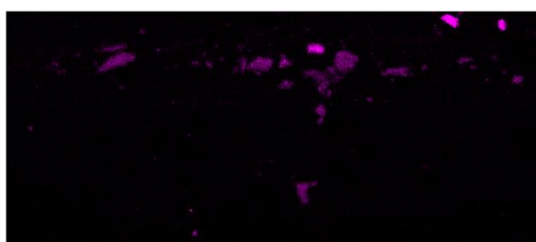
100μm

Pb M series



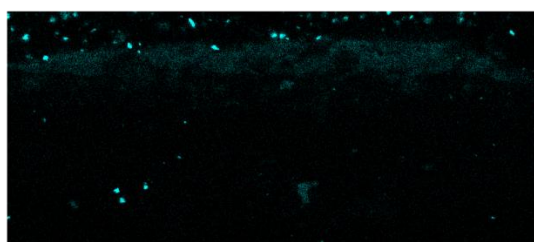
100μm

Si K series



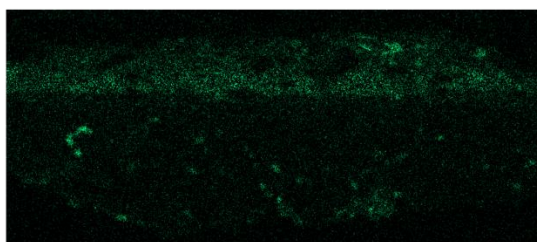
100μm

Al K series

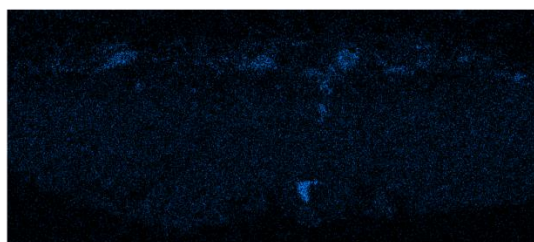


100μm

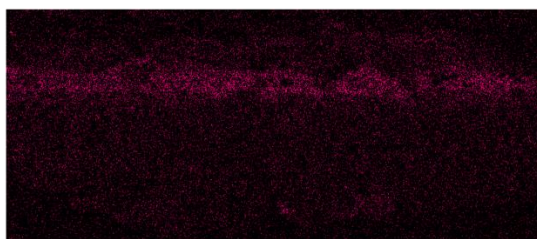
S K series



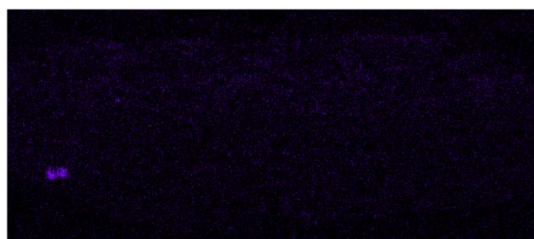
K K series



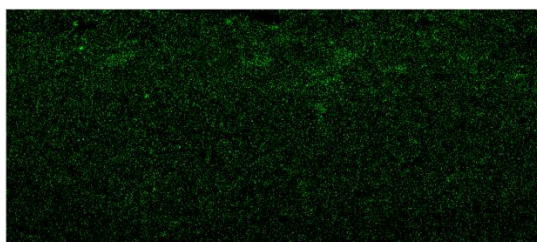
Cl K series



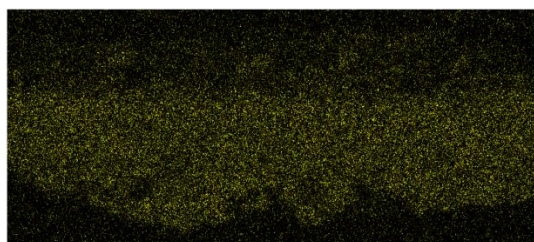
P K series



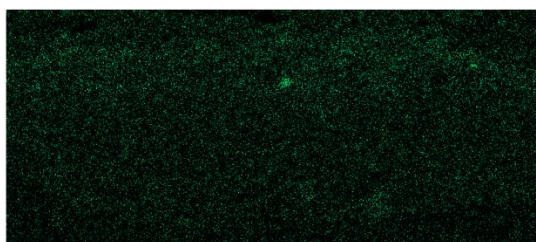
Mg K series



Sn L series

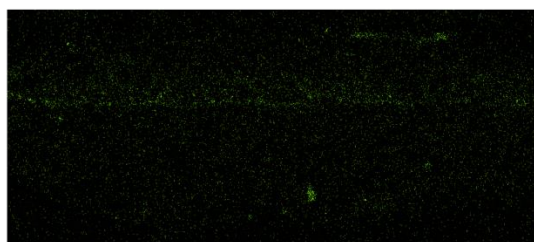


Na K series



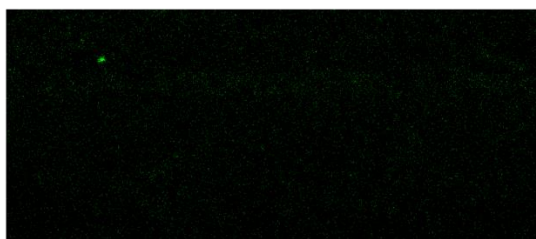
100μm

Fe K series



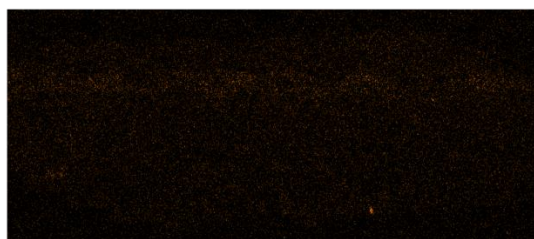
100μm

Ti K series



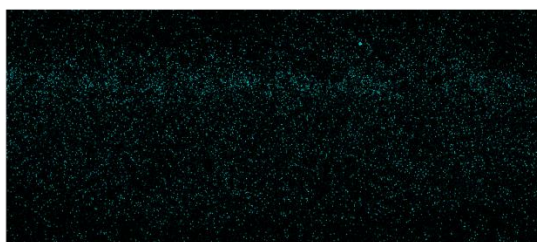
100μm

Hg M series



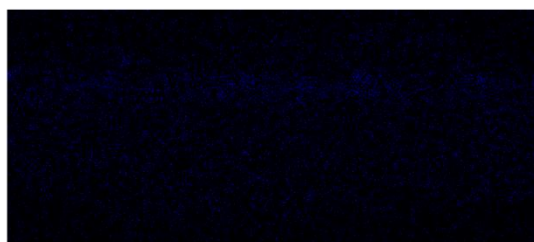
100μm

Cu K series



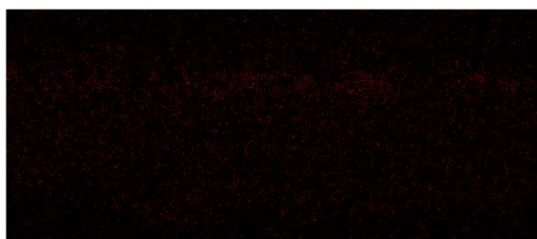
100μm

Co K series



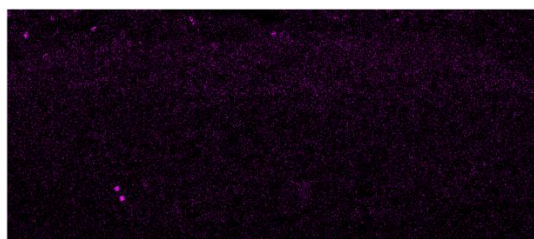
100μm

Ni K series



100μm

As L series



100μm

Appendix 8

Elemental Analysis of the Blair Castle Cross-Sections Table

Cross-Section	XRF Spectra	Area of cross-section	Major Elements	Minor Elements	Pigments Present
BCA 2	103	Yellow particle in upper layer	Pb, Sb	O, Si, Ca, Al, Mg, Fe, Ti, Cl	Likely lead antimonate, earth pigment
	104	Large yellow/white particle on top of sample	As above		As above
	105	Red particle in coloured ground	Al	C, O, Pb, Ca, Si, S, Cl, K, Cu, Fe, As	Clay/earth pigment, lead white
	106	Red layer	Ba, S	O, Si, C, Ca, Al, Fe	Barium sulphate white (could be contamination but if not dates reconstruction to post 1782)
BCA 6, original yellow sleeve	1	Yellow particle in upper layer, bright red under UV	Pb	Ca, Sn	Lead yellow

	2	Larger yellow particle in upper layer, bright red under UV	Pb	Ca	Lead yellow, lead white
	3	Ground layer	Al, O	Ca	Particle with high content of Al and O
	4	Dark particle in upper yellow layer	Si, Pb, O	Al, Fe, Al, Ca, Cl, K, Na, Mg	Glass particle
	5	Dark particle in upper yellow layer	Si, Al, Si	O, Pb, Fe, Ca, K, Cl	iron oxide pigment with aluminosilicates
	6	As above	As above		As above
	7	As above	As above		As above
	8	Gray particle on surface of cross-section	Ti, O	Pb, Fe, Si, Al, Ca, K, Cl, Na, P, Mg	Earth pigments, iron oxide deposits
	9	Grey particle on surface	See spectrum 4		See spectrum 4

	10	Reddish particle	Si, Al	O, Fe, Pb, K, Ca	Red earth pigment with aluminosilicates (bole?)
	11	Brown particle	Si	O, Fe, Al, Fe, K, Al, Ti, Cl	Iron oxide earth
	12	Grey particle	Ca	O, Pb, Si, K, P, Al, Mg, Na, Fe	Chalk, aluminosilicates
	13	Dark inclusion	Si	O, Ca	Quartz
	14	Yellow particle	Pb	O, Sn	Lead tin yellow
BCA 7, red decoration on Marie's sleeve	15	Upper layer	Very high Si	S, Al, O	Quartz
	16	As above	C, O, Pb, Ca, Al	S, Cu, Fe, Si	Red lake
	17	Deeper red particle	O, Si, Ca	K, Mg, Al, Fe, Mn, P, Na, S, Ti	Glass particle, contamination possible
	18	Upper layer	C, O, Pb, Cu, Ca	S, Al, K, Cl, P, S, Mg, Na	Red lake
	19	As above	See spectrum 18,		As above

			higher Al content		
	20	As above	Similar to spectrum 18 C, O, Pb	Si, Ca, Cu, Al, K, Si, Cl, P	As above
	21	Large white/glassy particle	Very high Al	Pb, S, Mg, K	High Al content suggests result of lake pigment preparation
	22	Small white/glassy particle	O, Si, Ca	K, Pb, Al, S, Mg, Fe, Mn, P, S, Na	Glass
	23	Coloured imprimatura	Si, Pb, Al	Mg, Na, Fe	Lead white mixed with earth pigments
	24	Upper layer (red glaze)	C, O, Pb, Ca	Al, S, Si, K, P	Mixture of red lake pigment, pulverised glass, binder with lead drier
	25	Dark red particle in coloured preparatory layer	C, O, Pb	Al, Si, Fe	Red earth, similar composition to red bole

	26	Orange particle, imprimatura	Fe, O	Pb, Al, Si, T, P, Mg	Iron oxide
	27	White/glassy particle in ground	O, Si, Fe, Pb	Al, Ca, K, Mg, P	glass
BCA 8, yellow coat of arms with background	46	Yellow-white ground	O, C, Ca	Pb, Fe, Si, K, Al, Cl, S, Mg, Na, P	Calcium Carbonate ground
	47	Dark background	C, Pb, O	Cu, Ca, Fe, Sn, Si, Al, P, K, Mg, Na	Lead white, carbon black, lead tin yellow, pale orange earth, copper-containing component
	48	Thin pigmented organic layer (strong UV fluorescence); size or isolation layer	C, O, Ca	Pb, Mo, Si, Al	Chalk, carbon black
	49	Pale yellow layer	Pb, Sn, O		Lead tin yellow, lead white

	50	Top cream coloured layer, rich in binding medium	C, Pb, O, Si, Fe, Al, K		Lead white, yellow earth
	51	Large black particle	C, O	Pb, S, K	Carbon black
	52	As above	C, O	Pb, Ca	As above
	53	As above	C, O	Pb, Fe, Ca, K, Cl, Si	As above
	54	Bright orange particle	Pb, O	Sn	Lead based yellow - very low proportion of tin
	55	As above	Pb, O	Sn	Lead tin Yellow
	56	As above	Pb, Sn		Lead tin yellow
	57	Pale beige-yellow inclusion	O, Si, Al	Fe, K, Pb, Mg	Yellow earth similar to yellow bole; high proportions of Al and Si which indicate clay components
	58	Black pigment particle	C, Pb, O	Ca	Carbon black
	59	Grey-yellow	C, O, Pb, Ca, Si	S, K, Hg, Al, Sn,	Lead white, carbon black,

		local priming for coat of arms		Cl, Fe, , Mg, Na, P	chalk, lead tin yellow, earth pigments
	60	Top cream coloured layer, rich in binding medium	C, O, Pb	Ca, S, Fe, Si, Sn, K, Cl, Al, P	Lead white with traces of lead tin yellow, yellow earth pigment
	61	Pale yellow	Pb	Ca	Lead white
	62	Black background	C, Cu, O, Pb	Traces of Sn, Si, Ti, Ca, Fe, Mg, Al,, P, K, Na	Copper based blue or green, lead white, carbon black and earth pigments See Spectrum 47
	64	Transition from ground layer to Imprimatur a layer	C, Pb, O, Cu	Sn, Fe, Ca, Mg, Al, Na, P	Lead white, carbon black, lead tin yellow, pale orange earth pigments, green or blue copper pigment
BCA 11, James' flesh tone	65	Glassy white particle	Pb	O	Lead white
	66	Bluish glassy particle	O, Si	As, Co, K, Fe, Pb, Bi,	Smalt

				Ca, Ni, Al	
	67	Bright pink particle	C, Pb, Al	Ca, K, Mg, Cl	Lake pigment
	68	Black particle	C, O, Pb	S, Ca, K, Cl, Al, Sn, Na, Mg	Carbon black
	69	Pale pink particle	C, O, Pb	Al, S, Cu, K, Cl, Ca, P	Lake pigment
	70	Very pale upper layer	Pb, O	Ca	Lead white
	71	Thin imprimatur a layer	C, Ca, O, Pb	Fe, Si, Cl, Al	Chalk, lead white, earth pigment
	72	Bright pink particle	Hg, S	Pb, O	Vermilion
	73	Ground	Ca, C	Al, Si, Pb	Chalk
	74	Pale upper layer	Pb, C, O	Ca, Fe	Lead white, earth pigment. In the elemental maps you can also see particles of glass as an additive to this layer. These particles were not targeted by EDX so it is only visible in the element maps (Si, O, Na, Mg,

					K). There is also an inclusion of copper (Cu) which may indicate a blue copper pigment.
BCB 1, Mary's white cap	75	Long black particle	C, Pb	Al, Mg, Na, Ca	Charcoal
	76	Yellow/brown particle	C, Pb, O, Cu	Cl, Ca, As, Na, As, K	Unidentified pigment
	77	Black particle	C, O	Pb, Ca,, S, K, Na, Al, Cl	Carbon black
	78	Yellow particle	C, O, Ca, Fe	Pb, S, Al, , Ca, Mg, Na, P	Yellow iron earth
	79	White layer	Pb, O	Ca	Lead white
	80	White layer	Pb, O	Ca, Cl, Sn, Al, Na, K	Lead white, chalk, lead tin yellow
	81	Black particle	C, Pb, O	Ca	Carbon black
	82	Imprimatur a layer under white layer	O, Ca, C, Pb	Fe, Cl, Al, Mg, Si, P, Na	Calcium carbonate, earth pigments
	83	Topmost rather	C, O, Pb	Ca, S, K, Fe, Cl,	Lead white, earth pigments

		organic layer, brownish yellow		Mg, Na, Si, Al	
	84	Ground	O, Ca, C, Pb, O	Mg, Si	Chalk ground
	85	Glassy particle	O, Si, C	As, Co, Fe, Bi, Pb, Ca, Ni, K, Al	Smalt
BCB 3, James' red tunic	87	Imprimatur a	O, C, Ca	C, Pb, Si, Fe, Mo, Al, Cl, P, K, Cu, Mg, Na	Chalk, earth pigments, carbon black, blue pigment
	88	Yellow-white ground	O, Ca, C	Pb, S, Si, Mg, K, Cl, Al, P	Chalk
	89	Black particle	C	O, Al, Si, S, Ca	Carbon Black
	90	Dark red particle	C, O	Al, Pb, S, Cl, Cu, K, Ca, Si, Mg, P	Red lake
	91	Black pigment, imprimatur a layer	C, O	Ca, Pb, Si, Fe, Cl, Al, k, P, Mg, Na	Carbon black

	92	Red particle Lake pigment	C, O	Pb, Al, S, Cl, Cu, K, Ca, Si, Na, Mg	Red lake
	93	Red particle	C, O	Pb, Al, S, Cl, Cu, K, Ca, Si, Na, Mg, P	Red lake
	94	White particle	O, C, Ca, Cl	Pb, Fe, Si, Al	Calcium carbonate
	95	Pale lower layer	Pb, O	Ca	Lead white
	96	Red particle	C, O	Al, Pb, S, Cl, Ca, K, Cu, Na, Si, P, Mg	Red lake
	97	White-pink layer	C, Pb, O	Al, Cl, Ca, Si, K, Na, Mg, P	Lead white, red lake, organic black
	98	Glassy grey particle	O, Si, Ca	K, Mg, Al, P, Na, Mg, Fe, Mn	Glass
	99	Glassy particle	O, Si, Ca	K, Mg, Al, P, Na, Mg, Fe, Mn, Ti, S	Glass

	100	Top dark red glaze layer	C, O	Al, Pb, Si, Ca, S, K, Cu, P, Cl, Fe, Mg, As	Red lake, glass
	101	Glassy particle	O, Si, Ca	K, Mg, Al, P, Na, Mg, Fe, Mn, Ti, S	Glass

