THE IDENTIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE STIRLING HEADS

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HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND | ÀRAINNEACHD EACHDRAIDHEIL ALBA

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THE IDENTIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE STIRLING HEADS

THE STIRLING HEADS IN CONTEXT

Lineage and princely virtue

Humanist teaching counselled the Renaissance prince to win fame through virtue. The benefits of a virtuous rule should be made tangible through architecture and the visual arts. Architecture added dignity and order to the physical world the prince shared with his people, had the greatest capacity to awe and impress, and left an inherently enduring and monumental legacy. James V laid claim to Stirling Castle Palace through two representations of himself: a life-size stone sculpture on the north elevation and a carved ceiling boss in the King's Inner Chamber (Figs 1 and 2). On the north elevation he keeps company with the gods and allegorical figures, but the ceiling in the King's Inner Chamber is more multidimensional, including members of the court, ancestors, Roman emperors and chivalric heroes. The ceiling clusters ideas of magnificence, lineage and just rule with the overall function of honouring the person of James V.

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (d 1536) was arguably the most eminent of all 16th-century humanists and, as tutor (appointed 1515) to Charles Habsburg (1500–58), then Duke of Burgundy and Brabant and later Charles I of Spain and Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, he wrote *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), an example of the 'mirror of princes' literary genre. As he was also tutor to James IV's illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, at the university of Padua, and corresponded with James V,[1] it is appropriate to use this as a guide to understanding the motivation underpinning the ceiling in the King's Inner Chamber. Erasmus identifies illustrious ancestry and inherited wealth as essential to the assumption of high rank (and so territorial rule), but argues that, unsupported by appropriate and responsible conduct, parading these constitutes nothing more than vanity and will not secure lasting fame:

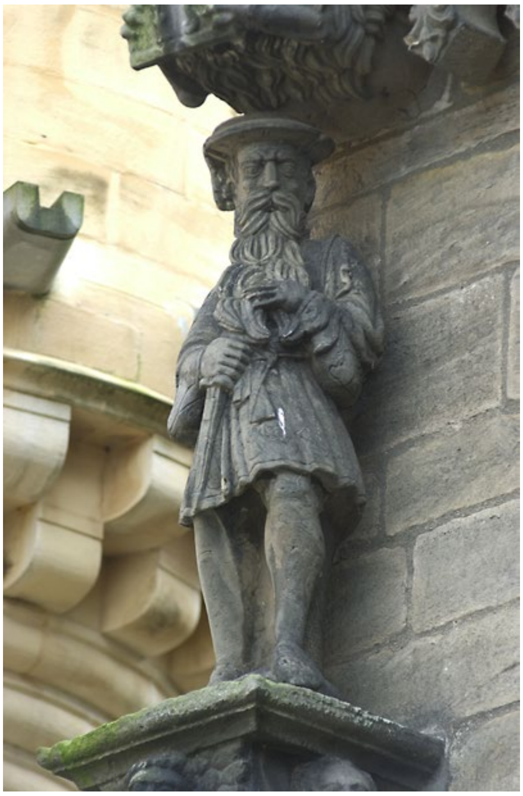


Fig 1 *James V*, north elevation, Stirling Castle Palace, (c 1540).

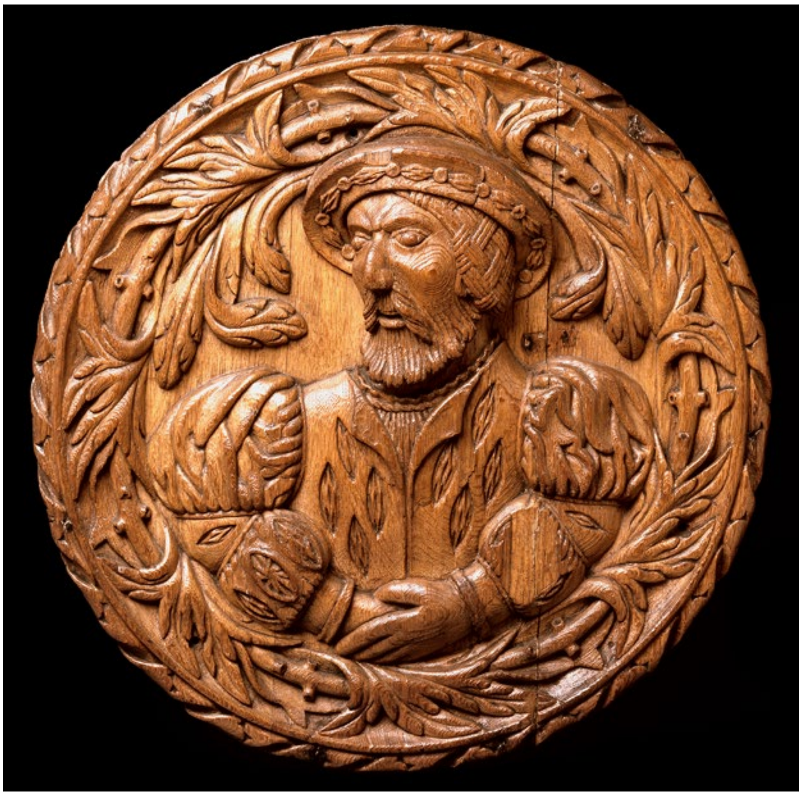


Fig 2 *Stirling Head No. 12: James V.* © National Museums Scotland.

> … nobility, statues, wax masks, family-trees, all the pomp of heralds, over which the great mass of people stupidly swell with pride, are only empty terms unless supported by deeds worthwhile. The prestige of a prince, his greatness, his majesty, must not be developed and preserved by fortune's wild display, but by wisdom, solidarity and good deeds.

And

> No one will gainsay that nobility in its purest form becomes a prince. There are three kinds of nobility; the first is derived from virtue and good actions; the second comes from acquaintance with good training; and the third from an array of family portraits and the [sic] genealogy or wealth. It by no means becomes a prince to swell with pride over this lowest degree of nobility, for it is so low that it is nothing at all, unless it has itself sprung from virtue. Neither must he neglect the first, which is so far the first that it alone can be considered in the strictest judgement. If you want to be famous do not make a display of statues or paintings; if there is anything praiseworthy in them, it is due to the artist whose genius and work they represent. Far better to make your character the monument to your good parts.[2]

Interestingly, he lists the means of parading ancestry over and above the traditional use of heraldry as being a gallery of family portraits, statuary, wax masks (death masks?) and family trees. Charles V inherited his father's Burgundian territories in 1506 and grew up in the Burgundian Netherlands in the care of his aunt, Margaret of Austria, who acted as regent until he achieved his majority in 1515. Her extensive collection of family portraits and genealogies of European dynasties on display in her palace at Mechelen would have been well known to him, and presumably also Erasmus. Arguably, the Stirling Heads demonstrated that James V met all of Erasmus' criteria for true nobility: being the last of a long line of kings, he had a legitimate and incontrovertible right to rule, his magnificence was enhanced by a glittering court but, also, he shared the virtues of the rulers and heroes of the classical and chivalric worlds.

Stirling Head No. 12, *James V*, is not merely a formulaic and idealised type in the tradition of medieval dynastic sequences. As a modern portrait of an identifiable person, it claims James V's specific place within the dynasty but, as a formally composed image with specific costume details, he is presented as the epitome of princely virtue and majesty. As such it conforms to humanist art theory as proposed by Alberti in *De Pictura*: realism or *imitatio* tempered by majesty or *decorum* achieved *dissimulato*.[3] The composition of Stirling Head No. 12 is typical of 15th- and early 16th-century Flemish portraiture: half-length figure in austere three-quarter profile with, normally, identifying attributes.

Dynastic marriages

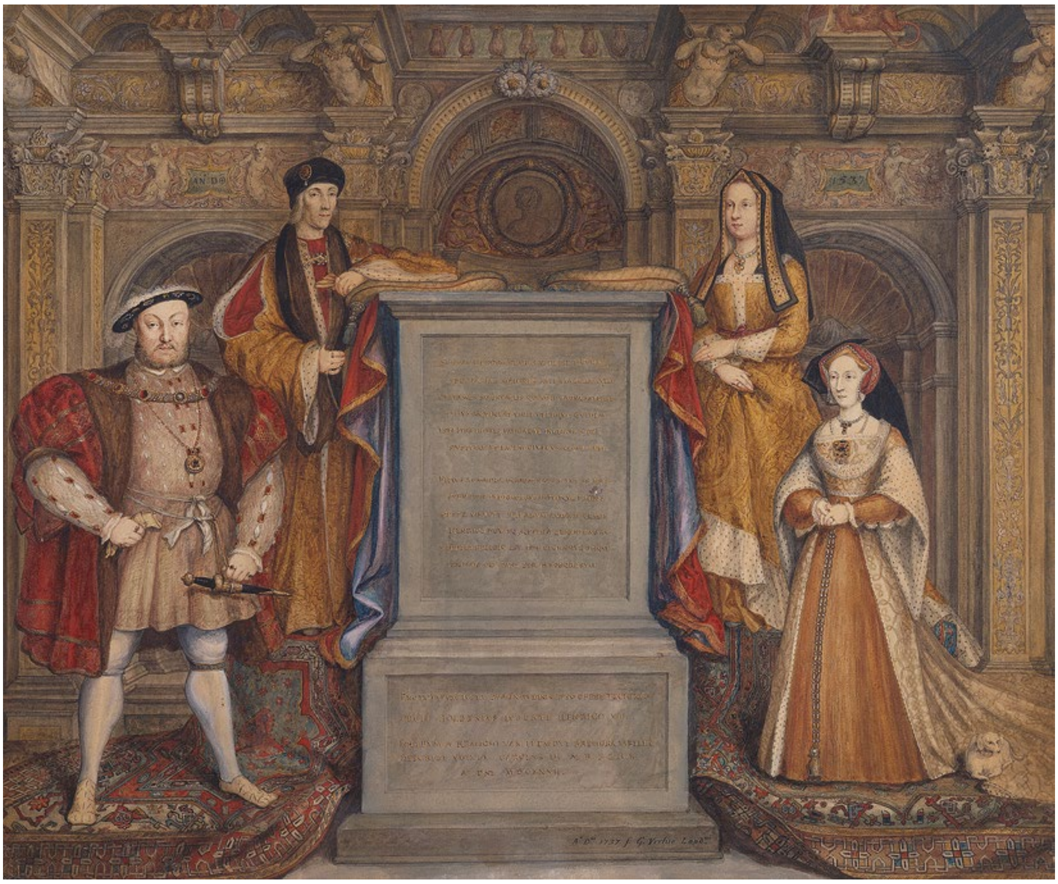
No matter how ancient and illustrious the line of ancestors, the Stewart dynasty had no future unless James V married successfully and fathered legitimate heirs. The dynasty also needed strong allies in order to survive and the French marriages represented James V's relative position within the arena of European politics. It would be incongruous if Madeleine de Valois and Marie de Guise, symbols of the continuity and future of the dynasty strengthened by a French alliance, were not present.

In support of a potential pairing of James V with Madeleine de Valois or Marie de Guise, the most immediate comparison would be with the mural painted by Hans Holbein the Younger for the Privy Chamber at Whitehall Palace, London in 1537 (Fig 3). This celebrated the three generations of the relatively young Tudor dynasty but also the strengthening of its fragile claim to the English throne through the marriage of Henry VII to the Plantagenet princess, Elizabeth of York. The founders of the dynasty, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, stand raised on a high step with Henry VIII and the mother of his only legitimate son, Jane Seymour (she died soon after the birth of Prince Edward in October 1537), on a low step in front. Like armorial supporters, both couples flank a stone monument inscribed with Latin verses:

> The *raison d'etre* of the wall painting was its celebration of Tudor genealogy, of the succession passed from father to son, from Henry VII to Henry VIII, described in the Latin verses as resembling heroes of the past, one establishing the dynasty and bringing peace, the other overcoming the pope and establishing the true religion.[4]

The Tudor palace had more component parts, both public and private, than its French or Scottish counterparts. At Stirling Castle Palace there is no equivalent space (the King's Bedchamber would be the nearest) to the Tudor Privy Chamber, which was only accessible to those attendant upon the king and high-ranking visitors. Seemingly not a particularly big space (22 or 24 feet wide by 34 feet long), it lay between the King's Presence Chamber and the King's Withdrawing Chamber and acted as a gateway to the king's extensive privy lodgings.[5] Although there was

Fig 3 George Vertue (1684–1756), Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, (1737), watercolour, 45.7 x 57.3 cm. After Remigius van Leemput's 1698 copy of the Whitehall Mural by Hans Holbein. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.



a dining chamber in the privy lodgings, Henry VIII may have dined publicly in the Privy Chamber.[6] Whitehall Palace (formerly York Place) was developed by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey as his London residence but, after he was dismissed from office 1529, it was taken over and remodelled by Henry VIII. It has been largely subsumed by the development of modern Whitehall but, fortuitously, the mural was copied by Remigius van Leemput (d 1675) for Charles II shortly before it was destroyed by fire on 4 January 1698. Susan Foister discusses how the painted classical architecture and grotesque ornament forming the background may have reflected the decoration of the room itself. The three niches suggest a triumphal arch, which, together with the profile medallion heads, presented the Tudor family as virtuous members of a classical hall of fame. She also argues that the mural was intended to be illusionistic and, being positioned no more than 18 inches above the floor, the almost life-size figures appeared to occupy the same space as the viewer.[7] The mural presumably occupied the wall opposite the entrance, which was lit by an oriel window.[8] Accordingly, as with the Stirling Heads, the mural was a synthesis of the Burgundian ancestral and genealogical portrait gallery and the classical visual (and literary) formula for immortalising famous men.

Portraiture and the dynastic family tree

Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), daughter of the Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, Regent of the Netherlands (1507–30) on behalf of Emperor Maximilian I and Emperor Charles V, amassed a significant collection of portraits (ultimately numbering about 100) which were hung in different areas of the Palais de Savoie, Mechelen (renovated and extended 1507–30). Inventories dated 1516 and 1523–4 record the location of items within the palace, and the listing of named secular portraits in the spaces generally accessible to courtiers of rank and foreign diplomats, the Première Chambre and Library, is particularly relevant to the argument that the Stirling Heads, in part, represent the Stewart dynasty and its political powerbase. Thirty secular portraits (all listed by name except one, and 19 of living persons) were on display in the Première Chambre, and Dagmar Eichberger and Lisa Beaven present a clear case for their having a carefully considered and coherent political function. They interpret the

Première Chambre as a visual family tree presented in a highly compelling spatial format, arguing that it was:

> … a dynastic portrait gallery with a distinctly political agenda, its display of pictures carefully shaped and constructed by Margaret of Austria to reinforce the importance of the Burgundian-Habsburg family and their allies …. The manuscripts and genealogical charts in the library provide a key to the reading of the portraits in both public areas of the palace.

And

> The regent intended the portraits in this room to convey very specific messages to her visitors. The systematic representation of Margaret's family, in both its core and satellite branches, clearly demonstrates one rationale behind the display. By showing her Burgundian ancestors and other important relatives, this portrait gallery provided support and justification for her position of authority in the Netherlands.[9]

Demonstrating the longevity of the dynasty was essential, and the primary Burgundian line (dating from the late 14th century) was traced almost without interruption. As securing the affections and loyalty of the indigenous population was one of the primary objectives, the secondary and alien Habsburg line was traced only partially. Maximilian I was represented as a member of the order of the Golden Fleece (the Burgundian order of chivalry) and hereditary ruler of the Burgundian Netherlands through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, rather than as a recently arrived Habsburg overlord. The strengthening of the dynasty through politically advantageous marriages was also showcased: the collection included portraits of Margaret's Spanish relatives (her brother Philip the Handsome married Isabella of Aragon-Castile, and she herself was married briefly to John of Aragon-Castile) and Henry VII of England and his family (at one point Margaret was a prospective bride for Henry VII, and Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, was a potential bride for Charles V). Henry VII was depicted as a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece and so an important political ally. The French, constantly engaged in territorial warfare with the Habsburgs in the first half of the 16th century, were absent.[10]

Eichberger and Beaven stress that these portraits were mostly copies of official images. They refer to Rogier van der Weyden's work as portrait painter to the Burgundian dukes and the circulation of multiple copies of a lost original official portrait of Philip the Good, one of which they suggest, from its description, was owned by Margaret. Both she and Henry VIII owned a copy of the official portrait of the young Emperor Charles V (Margaret's nephew) by Bernard van Orley (1516–18). Henry VIII had this copied again as a miniature. Margaret's own official image (not present in the Première Chambre) was also executed by Bernard van Orley and multiple copies were given away, one being sent to Henry VIII. Evidently, exchange of official portraits was standard between courts seeking to establish political alliances, and some official portraits of European rulers must surely have found their way to the Scottish court.

Margaret's collection of illustrated genealogies of the leading European dynasties offers an interesting explanation as to how portraits painted in oil on panel or pencil and chalk drawings of the Stewart dynasty and the Scottish court might have become carved medallions on a ceiling. She possessed 11 genealogies, including the lineages of France, Burgundy, Savoy, England, the Holy Roman emperors and the popes, all stored in the Library of the Palais de Savoie. In 1527 she acquired the *Genealogie abrégée de Charles V*, written by Jean Franco, Secretary to Charles V, and dedicated to herself. It traces her lineage over a 2,000-year period and included 27 richly decorated portrait medallions, Margaret being the only woman represented.

Eichberger and Beaven argue that:

> Margaret's strong interest in portraiture and genealogies was part of a pattern of patronage at both the Burgundian and Habsburg courts which manifested itself in the commissioning of illustrated family trees, genealogies, and heraldic displays. Her activities in this area complement many of the commissions generated by Maximilian and Charles V and need to be seen in a wider context.[11]

By way of comparison, they refer to a genealogy prepared for Charles V detailing his paternal line. Covering four scrolls of parchment mounted onto three panels, taking the form of a family tree displaying portrait medallions and heraldic shields, they suggest that it was intended to function as a miniature portrait gallery on display in his palace at Brussels. Here, the medallion displaying Philip the Good is based upon his official portrait by Rogier van der Weyden, and that displaying Mary of Burgundy upon the portrait of her by Michael Pacher (c 1490).

Accordingly, using the Habsburg genealogies as a comparison, it is possible to argue than the ceiling of the King's Inner Chamber in Stirling Castle Palace functioned, in part, as a visual family tree.

KINGS AND QUEENS

THE PORTRAIT QUESTION

John Dunbar retreated from the identification of the Stirling Heads depicting men and women in contemporary dress on the grounds of lack of evidence, commenting with reference to Stirling Head No. 12 (Fig 2):

> It has been suggested that this carving represents James V, and there is no doubt that it bears a general resemblance to that monarch as he is depicted in portrait paintings and in the 'bonnet piece' coinage of the last years of his reign. In the case of the paintings, however, this comparative material is itself secondary, and there is no proved portrait of the king done from life … The identity of the figure must therefore remain uncertain.[12]

The logic of this argument is hard to follow. As the surviving images of James V have clear similarities, they surely confirm the existence of one or more official images executed and circulated during his lifetime. Indeed, it would have been politically essential for such images to have existed, and highly improbable that James, no matter how inadequate the means available to him, did not conform to standard princely practice. That the surviving images are most likely copies of lost originals is irrelevant and does not undermine their usefulness for comparative purposes. Rather, Stirling Head No. 12 should be held up as an example of an official image of James V certainly in use during his lifetime. Moreover, the careful attention to distinguishing facial characteristics and costume detail in Stirling Heads depicting men and women in contemporary dress suggests that a range of portraits was made available to the carvers. Most of the Stirling Heads in question conform to the formula of 15th- and 16th-century Flemish portraiture rather than that of the more obvious model, the imperial medal: full upper body posed in a three-quarter view. Exploration of the use of portraits at contemporary European courts supports the argument that the Scottish kings necessarily commissioned official likenesses of themselves for political purposes and, as a demonstration of political authority, assembled portraits of their ancestors and important persons connected to them. Scholars have argued for a portrait culture at the early Stewart courts but, so far, these arguments have not been applied to the analysis of the Stirling Heads.[13]

The diary entries of 18th-century visitors to Stirling Castle suggest that they anticipated finding portraits of the Scottish monarchy incorporated into the decoration of the palace:

> And in the roof of the Presence-Chamber, are carved the Heads of the Kings and Queens of *Scotland*.[14]

> Two of these Ceilings [sic?] farther set-off with ye well carv'd Busts (in Irish Oak too) of ye Kgs. & Queens of Scotland, as I suppose.[15]

A century later, William Blackwood, the publisher of *Lacunar Strevelinense* (1817)[16] and those writing (Patrick Fraser Tytler) for *Blackwood's Magazine* were still confident that some of the Stirling Heads, including James V, were based on portraits:

> There can be no doubt … that many of the Stirling heads are portraits. There is a force, a character, and a spirited individuality about them which strongly proves this … The conjectures of the Editor appear to us, judging from the portraits of the eminent personages of this age which we have seen, to be happy and probable. The first is undoubtedly James V. The pictures of this monarch are not infrequent. They are all very similar to each other, a strong proof that they present a correct likeness, and they all strongly resemble the present carving.[17]

James Caw, a Scottish art historian and curator at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery writing in the early 20th century, believed that the Scottish kings had assembled portrait collections including their own likenesses and those of significant persons connected to them. He records that, on the occasion of Margaret Tudor's marriage to James IV in 1503, Henry VII sent a painter named Mynour to the Scottish court along with 'ye figures of ye King, Queen, and Princes of England and of oure Quene'. He argues, given the evidence of style and technique (oil on oak panels all measuring 41 x 33 cm approximately), that a series of portraits of the Stewart kings (given to the NPG in 1909) date from the 16th century and, importantly, are copies of earlier originals now lost:

> As regards the claims of these pictures to represent credibly the Stewart Kings, there is no reasonable doubt. While those of the first four Jameses must have been painted years after they were dead – James I was murdered at Perth in 1437 – the likenesses were almost certainly founded upon earlier portraits, then existing but now lost. Perhaps the variety of character, which plays through an obvious family resemblance, is not the least interesting feature of the series as such. Nearly all have thin pale faces with the boney structure showing beneath the skin, high cheek bones and chins of a marked type, hazel or brown eyes, and hair which, varying in hue, inclines to ruddiness. Yet each differs from the other distinctly and obviously represents and individual of personal character. In each case also the face has considerable resemblance to that in the oldest known traditional portrait, and the costumes are archaeologically correct.

He suggests that the portrait of James V (Fig 4) is a contemporary likeness:

> Compared with those of his predecessors, the looks of James V have never been in doubt. Contemporary portraits at Windsor and Hardwicke – the Duke of Devonshire's shows him with his wife, Mary of Guise – fix the type definitely, and that in the series conforms with these, as do two other panels of rather later date and inferior workmanship which have been in the Edinburgh collection for a good many years.[18]

Given that the rise of the Stewart dynasty coincided with the development of portrait painting in Flanders and that Scottish connections with this region were strong, the existence of portraits of James I, II and III by Flemish artists is not unlikely, the celebrated *Trinity College Altarpiece* executed for James III by Hugo van der Goes in the late 1470s and featuring full-length portraits of James III, Margaret of Denmark and the future James IV being a case in point. Margaret Toynbee (writing in 1946) remarks but offers no evidence that:

> In the case of the House of Stuart, there is almost unbroken continuity of representation over a period of more than five centuries … English, Scottish, French, German, Austrian and Tyrolese collections have yielded to research a fair crop of early Stuart portraits, the result, in part, of intermarriage with other royal houses.

She focuses on James I's daughter Isabella, Duchess of Brittany (c 1427–after 1494), but three of James I's other daughters made significant foreign marriages. Margaret, the eldest daughter, became Dauphiness of France, Eleanor married Sigismund, Archduke of Austria and became Duchess of Tyrol and Mary married the Count de Boucquan, son of the Lord of Campvere. It is generally recognised that the origin of portrait painting lies in manuscript illumination, and Toynbee illustrates Isabella's appearance in multiple illuminations. She suggests that an illumination in a book of hours now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, may be '… the earliest painted Stuart portrait on record (c 1442), antedating by a few years the coloured drawing of her brother James II of Scotland which figures in the Diary of the Swabian knight Georg von Ehingen'.[19]

In recent years, Alasdair MacDonald, Duncan Macmillan and Andrea Thomas have further scrutinised the evidence for a portrait culture at the early Stewart courts, and argue that the royal collections were either dispersed during the minorities of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI or, having been taken south by James VI in 1603,

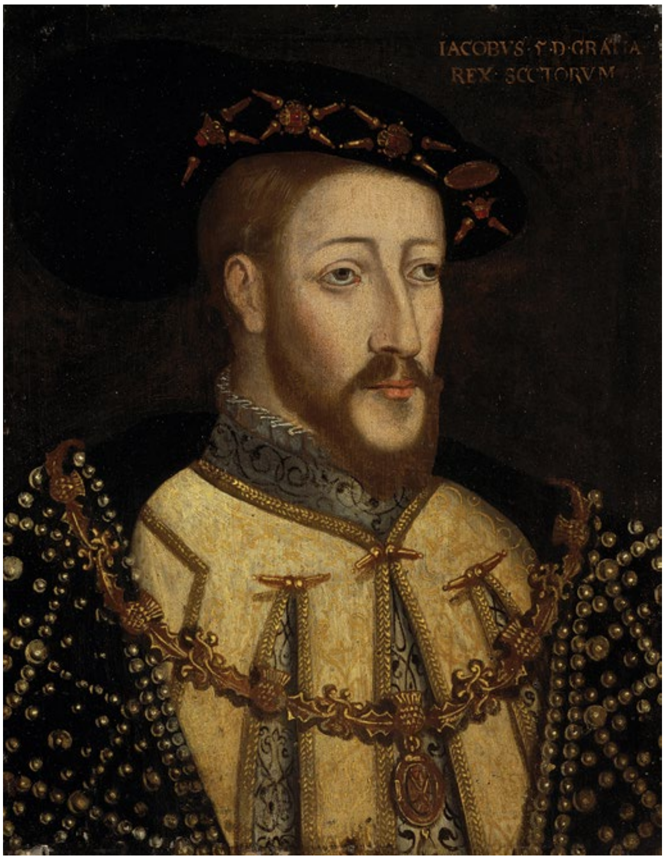


Fig 4 Unknown, *James V*, (c 1579), oil on panel, 41.30 x 33 cm. National Galleries of Scotland.

during the Civil War.[20] Certainly, as Caw identified, there was a collection of Tudor portraits at the court of James IV: in September 1502, as part of the negotiations of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace and an attendant inter-dynastic marriage, Henry VII sent James IV his own portrait and that of his wife Elizabeth of York, Prince Arthur (d 1502) or Henry, and the potential bride, Princess Margaret.[21] Although it is uncertain whether or not he was the author of these portraits, the courier, one Maynard Vewicke or Wewych (fl 1502–25, most likely of Flemish origin and usually known as Maynard), was a painter and remained in Scotland for a year, possibly working on a reciprocal portrait of James IV for display at the English court:

> September 1502, £14 (20 French crowns) paid 'be the kingis command, to the Inglis payntor quhilk brocht the figures of the king, queen and prince of England, and our quene'
>
> November 1503, £35 (50 French crowns) paid 'be the kingis command, to Mynours, the Inglis payntour, quhen he passit away'.[22]

Foister has gathered together the limited documentary evidence of his career and, most importantly, in 1511–12 he collaborated with the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiani on the tomb effigy of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's mother (London, Westminster Abbey).[23]

As Macmillan comments, 'Such portraits, and the presence of a painter, were a natural part of the diplomatic exchange surrounding the wedding'.[24] Miguel Falomir, in a broad discussion of the court portraiture in the 16th century and using the same brief entries in the Treasurer's Accounts, argues further for James IV's need for the services of a good portrait artist:

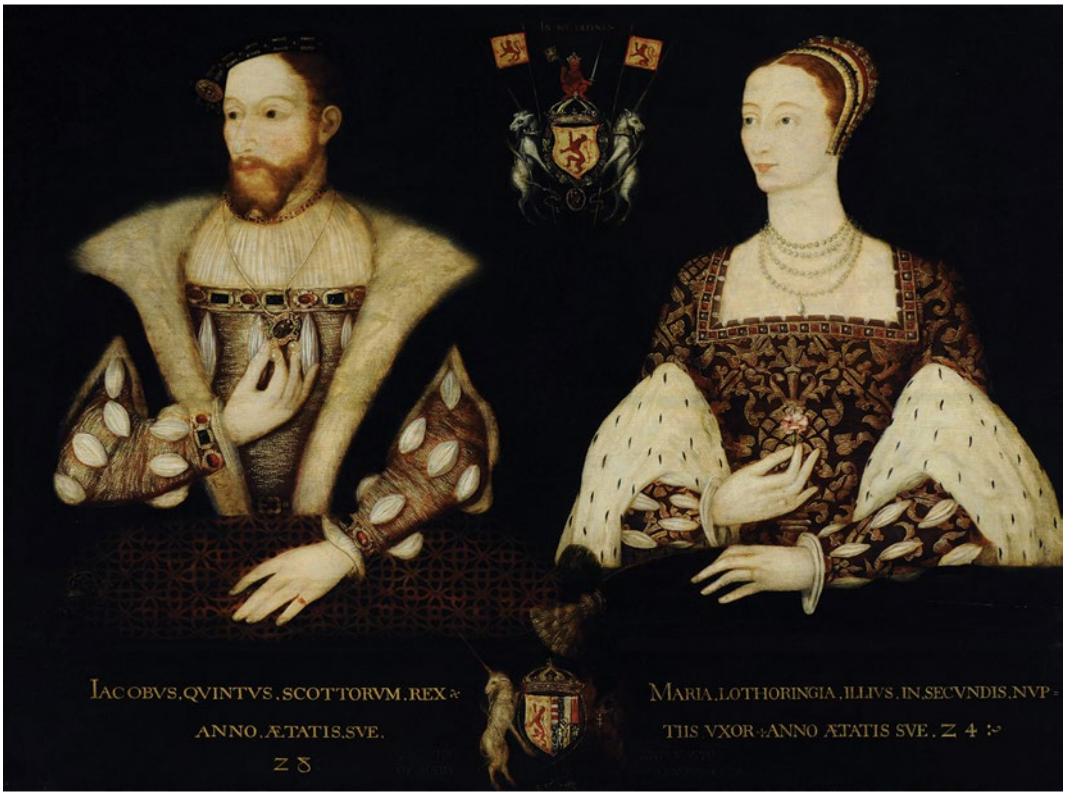
> The scarcity of skilled portraitists was legendary in Renaissance courts where they had to be constantly imported, principally from the Netherlands, the association between the portrait and the Netherlands was almost automatic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries … Keeping hold of portraitists from other courts was common; James IV of Scotland, for example, employed the Flemish painter Maynard Wewych – who had arrived from the English court in September 1502 bearing portraits of Henry VII and his family – for more than a year before allowing him to return.[25]

A fine portrait of James IV with a falcon was copied by Daniel Mytens (1590–1648) for Charles I but, while the copy survives (now in the Stirling of Keir Collection, Dunblane), the original has been lost. Charles Beard, however, cites entries in the Westminster Inventory (1542–7) and the Saint James's Palace Inventory (1548 or 1549):

> the ancient watercolour piece [of] Jacobbe Kynne of Skottes, with a hawke on his fiste
>
> table with the picture of *Jacobus quartus Rex Scotorum*.[26]

A sketch captioned *James IV* and possibly based on this portrait appears in the *Recueil d'Arras*, suggesting that a copy of it could be found among the Habsburg collections in the Burgundian Netherlands. The *Recueil d'Arras*[27] (seemingly assembled between 1566 and 1574) is a collection of portrait copies (originally 308), in black or red chalk, occasionally retouched in ink, and includes portraits of the Scottish, French and English royal families, the dukes and duchesses of Burgundy and the Habsburg imperial family. Lorne Campbell argues that the copies were drawn by Jacques Le Boucq of Valenciennes (d 1573), herald to Charles V and, possibly, the Order of the Golden Fleece, and who had a strong interest in genealogy, but that the *Recueil d'Arras* was assembled for Alexandre Le Blancq, a wealthy civil servant and intellectual based in Lille.[28] One portrait of James IV, dated 1507, survives in the Maxwell-Scott collection at Abbotsford, near Melrose. The French painter Piers (active in Scotland 1505–8) is the potential author of this, for, although he seems to undertaken much heraldic painting for James IV, he was sent to Flanders on the king's behalf and there is one record of an anonymous painter being paid for a 'tabill'.[29]

It is generally accepted, if not proven, that three of the surviving portraits of James V were executed during his lifetime: the double portraits of James V and Marie de Guise at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (c 1538) and Blair Castle (c 1538), and the single portrait in the Royal Collection (this is now on display at the Palace of Holyroodhouse and the date given is c 1540) (Figs 5, 6 and 7).[30] While the pose, facial characteristics and angle of the gaze are consistent, suggesting a single original model, the arrangement of the hands and the costume are different. Recent close inspection of the Blair Castle portrait has revealed that the bottom third is a modern replacement and that the king and queen were not originally holding hands, the awkwardness of the composition suggesting an amalgamation of two individual portraits.[31] It is the one in the Royal Collection which is closest in overall composition to Stirling Head No. 12. There is one other portrait of interest, which is discussed by Dana Bentley-Cranch and Rosalind Marshall.[32] There are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28
MARIA.LOTHORINGIA.ILLIVS.IN.SECVNDIS.NVP
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Fig 5 Unknown, *James V and Mary of Guise*, (16th century), oil on panel, 109.2 x 143.5 cm. National Trust Collections, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire. © National Trust Images.

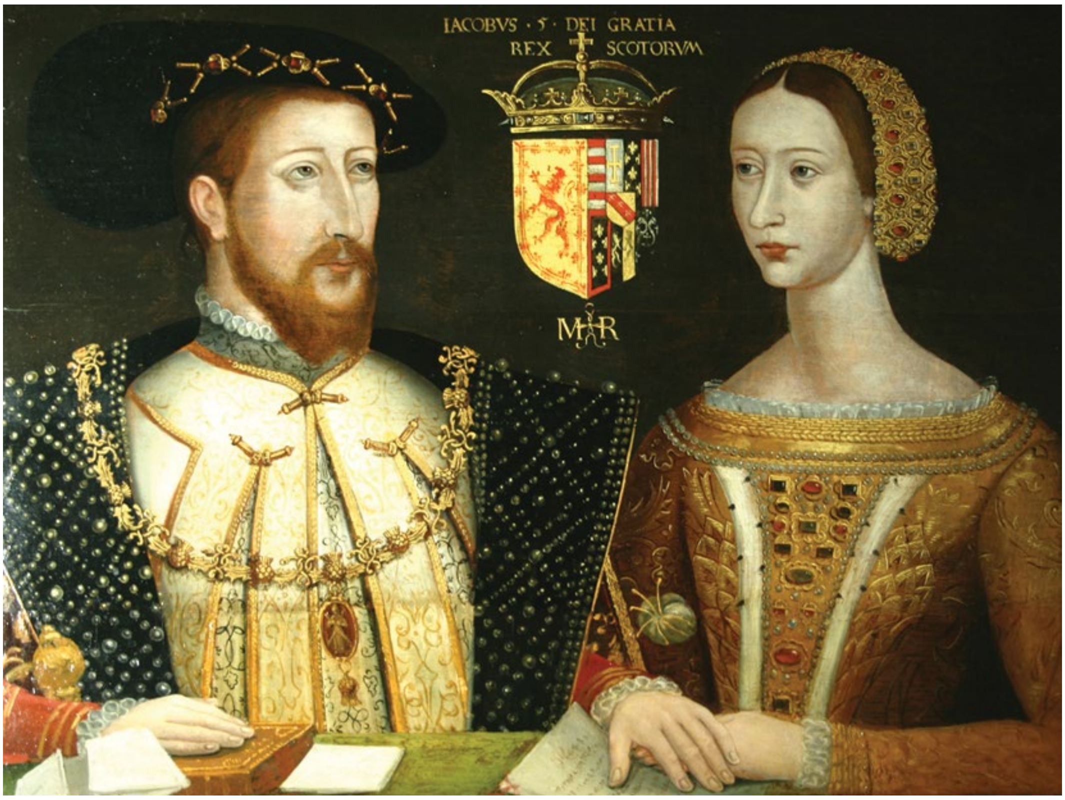
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Fig 6 Unknown, *James V and Mary of Guise*, (16th century), oil on panel, 63 x 89 cm. From the collection at Blair Castle, Perthshire.

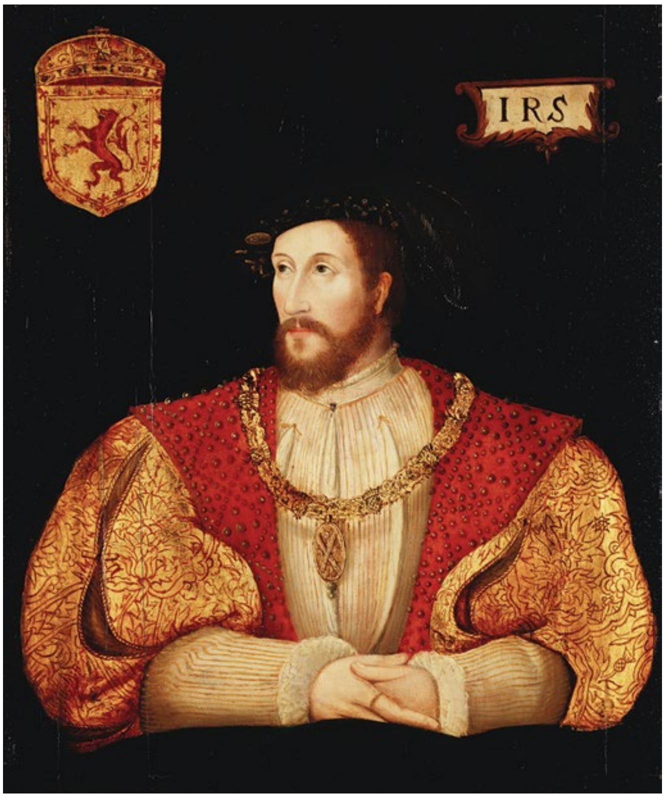


Fig 7 Unknown, *James V*, (16th century), oil on panel, 52.3 x 39.3 cm. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

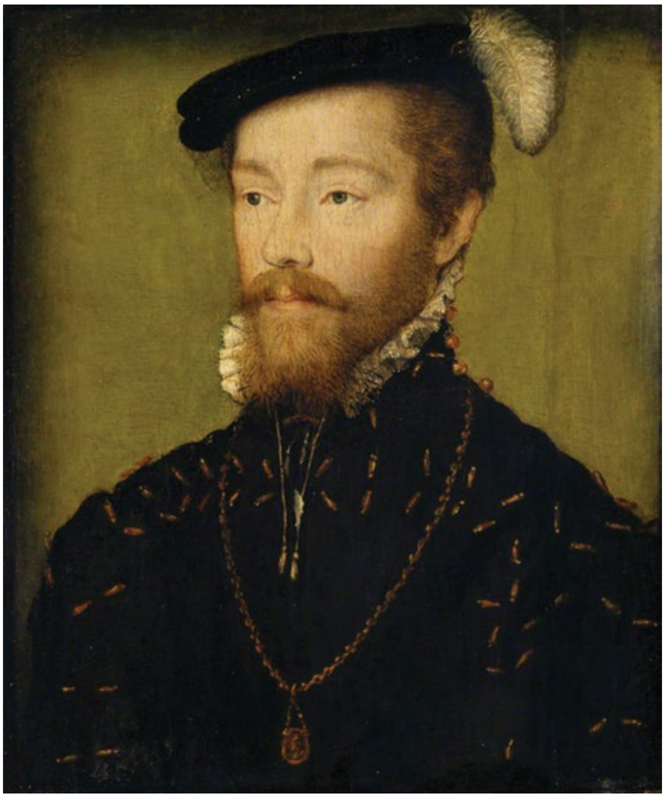


Fig 8 Attrib Corneille de Lyon (1500/10–75, Dutch), *James V*, (c 1536), oil on panel, 16 x 13.5 cm. National Trust Collections, Polesden Lacy, Surrey. © National Trust Images/Derrick E Witty.

three surviving versions of a portrait of man who, with the exception of the nose, resembles James V.[33] Being in the style of Corneille de Lyon (or Corneille de la Haye, b Le Hague 1500–10, d Lyon 1575), it can be argued that this was painted in 1536 when James V travelled south to meet Francis I, who was using the city of Lyons as a base during Charles V's invasion of Provence. James V, however, met up with Francis I at Chapelle, near Saint-Symphonen de Lay, north-west of Lyons, after the court had left the city and was making its leisurely way back to Paris via the hunting grounds in the Loire valley.[34] That three copies exist testifies to the importance of the sitter (and the circulation of the image). On the back of one version, that now in the National Trust Collections at Polesden Lacey, Surrey (Fig 8), is the inscription 'Le Roi âgé 25', which would be approximately correct for James V (born in April 1512). In this version also the sitter wears the badge of the French order of chivalry, the Order of Saint Michael, around his neck. The original could have been painted as a companion piece to the portrait of Madeleine de Valois also in the style of Corneille de Lyon, of which two copies survive.[35] If, as was the case with Margaret Tudor, the Scottish king was furnished with portraits of his new wife and her family, a copy of this portrait of Madeleine may have been in the Scottish royal collection and available to the carvers of the Stirling Heads.

The primary sources related to James V's trip to France identify the possible existence of a further portrait that must have been painted in Scotland, perhaps specifically for the negotiation of his marriage to Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vêndome. As soon as he arrived at Dieppe on 9/10 September, James headed for the Vêndome court at Saint Quentin. He had attempted to disguise his true identity, presumably wishing to inspect his bride before committing to the marriage, but 'He was known there by his picture …'.[36]

Caw introduces '… Pierre Quesnel, who accompanied Mary of Guise to Scotland …',[37] and the suggestion that, just as James V sought the services of foreign stonemasons and tapissiers to realise his ambitions for Falkland Palace and Stirling Castle Palace, a foreign portrait artist was considered essential to the forging of his new image. Given the seriousness with which Francis I and Henry VIII pursued the creation of an iconic image through the employment of Flemish or German portrait painters, it would not be surprising if James V had attempted a similar exercise using

Quesnel. An official portrait must have been copied, perhaps as a miniature, as James sent Antoinette de Bourbon, Duchess of Guise, his portrait along with a diamond in 1539. Antoinette wrote to her daughter Marie: 'I find his picture so handsome that you would be jealous if you knew how much I loved him.'[38] This exchange of portraits between the Scottish court and the Guise household also demonstrates the importance of portraits to fragmented families and may have included images of Marie's young son by her first marriage, François d'Orleans. In a letter of 1539, Antoinette writes of having a portrait made of François as soon as a suitable artist can be found. Hopefully, the miners recruited to extract gold from the hills of Sherrifmuir will bring it with them. Even the Duchess of Guise, however, found it difficult to secure the services of a good portrait painter (presumably willing to travel to Joinville). In 1541, when he was six years old, his grandmother again wrote of finding a painter and sending his mother a portrait so that she could see for herself how tall and handsome he was growing up to be. He himself later writes of his grandmother sending him to his mother in the form of painting.[39]

The Quesnel story originated with Michel de Marolles (1600–81), Abbé de Villeloin and an early collector of prints, and was given currency by the French art historian Louis Dimier in *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*.[40] Rosalind Marshall and Andrea Thomas show that he was appointed 'huissier de chambre' or *valet de chambre* to Marie de Guise, a position normally given to court painters (eg Jan van Eyck and Jean and François Clouet). Thomas, assuming that Quesnel and the anonymous 'Queen's painter' mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts are one and the same, argues that his comparatively low rate of pay points to his being nothing more than a decorative painter, but this may reflect the low material value of panel paintings in the first half of the 16th century.[41] Back in Paris in 1557, however, according to Dimier, he was considered a competent enough figurative artist to design a stained glass window representing the *Ascension* for the church of the Grands Augustins, Paris (destroyed). Dimier adds: 'Sprung … from a family of portrait-painters, he practised … historical painting …'. Lousie Leates suggests that Quesnel arrived in Edinburgh c 1536 to work for James V and Marie de Guise, but this would be two years before their marriage, and Oxford Art Online also gives conflicting dates for his death (c 1574 and c 1580). Michael Apted and Susan Hannabus state that he married Madeleine Digby and that their eldest son, Francis, was born in 1543 'dans le Palais Royal d'Edimbourg'.[42] Francis Quesnel (1543–1619) was later employed as a portrait painter by the French court and worked in the manner of the Clouets. He also designed coins, medals and tapestries.

All along, however, confirmation that there was indeed a collection of dynastic portraits at the court of James V, and that this 'went south', has been available but, because it is to be found in the inventories of the possessions of Mary Queen of Scots compiled half a century after the carving of the Stirling Heads, it has remained unnoticed. James V's daughter kept close by her until the very end portraits of James II, III and IV, her father, and her mother, Marie de Guise. Given that it was the purity of her royal blood and the strength of her claim to English throne that was the critical issue, this portrait collection must have served to reinforce this visually during the long years of her captivity. This information comes from the footnotes of Joseph Robertson, *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France; catalogues of the jewels, dresses, furniture, books and paintings of Mary Queen of Scots, 1556–9*.[43] Robertson seemingly had access to an inventory of Mary's possessions made at Chartley Castle, Staffordshire, in August 1586, where she was imprisoned from December 1585 to September 1586 before finally being transferred to Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire and executed on 8 February 1587. The location of this inventory is still unclear, but the Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland confirms that on her death 'certen pictures of the sayd late Quene's ancestors [sic]' were delivered to James VI.[44] Robertson says that it lists, together with a less complete inventory made at Fotheringhay in February 1587, oil paintings (presumably on panel) of:

- James II
- James III
- James IV
- James V
- Mary Queen of Scots
- James VI (two portraits)
- Marie de Guise[45]
- Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine (her uncle)
- Francis, Duke of Guise, (her uncle)
- Henry, Duke of Guise (her cousin)
- Charles IX of France (1550–74, king from 1560 – her first husband's brother and her childhood companion)
- Henry III (1551–89, king from 1574 – her first husband's brother and her childhood companion)
- Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre

Miniatures of:

- Mary Queen of Scots
- Henry, Lord Darnley (her second husband)
- James VI
- Francis II of France (1544–60, king from 1559 – her first husband)
- Catherine de' Medici (her first mother-in-law)
- Marie de Guise
- Countess of Lennox (her second mother-in-law)
- Marguerite de France (1523–74), daughter of Francis I, sister of Madeleine and Duchess of Savoy
- Henry III of France and Louise de Lorraine his wife
- Mary I of England
- Elizabeth I of England

Other pictures (and miniatures?) may have been left behind in Scotland as, further to this, Thomas Thomson's transcription of an inventory of items to be found in Edinburgh Castle in 1578 includes:

> *Ane little auld pictour of King James the Fyft*
> *Ane pictor of King Frances the Secund*
> *Ane pictor of the constable of France* (Anne de Montmorency)[46]

The 'little old picture' of James V may have been one and the same as a miniature enamel portrait in a round[47] gold case listed as being in Mary's possession in 1561 and stored along with other precious items in a cabinet:

> *Vne petite pomme dor ou il y a le feu Roy Descosse*

This inventory also lists (not in the cabinet) a miniature enamel portrait of Henry II of France in a case ornamented with white and red enamels and initials or ciphers:

> *Vne cincture esmaille de blanc et rouge a chiffres ou il y a vne pinture du feu Roy Henry*[48]

Much work needs to be done on the provenance, dating and physical integrity of the Scottish royal portraits and, in the absence of this, Stirling Head No. 12 remains one of the most authentic of the surviving images of James V. It, alongside the other portrait heads, should also be read as compelling evidence of an active portrait culture at the Stewart court.

The politics of dress

Stirling Head No. 12: James V

Stirling Head No. 12 (Fig 2) is not directly modelled upon any of the surviving portraits of James V, but it has the flat, formulaic quality of an official state portrait. The compositional arrangement of the head and arms, and the direction of the gaze, compares most closely to the portrait in the Royal Collection.

Can it be argued that James V's dress gives out clear signals of political affiliation? Does it say 'I married the daughter of the King of France'? Given the tendency of European courts to imitate the fashions of another regardless of political affiliation and for different national fashions to be worn at the same time, it is difficult to pursue this argument. It is perhaps more relevant to argue that he aspired to dress in the dominant fashions worn at the leading European courts and to keep pace with change. Maria Hayward has considered to what extent and why Henry VIII adopted foreign styles of dress:

> … in terms of dress, the basic garments were held in common throughout north-western Europe. Even so, there were subtle variations in details such as necklines, colour preference and styles of decoration that created the distinctive nature of dress at the different European courts … French styles of dress were influential at the English court. In a letter dated 17 November 1497, Andreas Franciscus described England and the English. He noted that 'They dress in the French fashion, except that their suits are more full, and, accordingly, more out of shape.' This comment emphasises the role of France as the arbiter of fashion in northern Europe, while hinting that the English could not, or would not, always follow their lead … By 1547 Henry had garments in a range of foreign styles in his wardrobe, including items in the French, Spanish, Italian and Turkish mode, as well as French and Milan bonnets. By adopting garments from other countries, Henry VIII could express a sense of his cosmopolitan taste, make overtures of friendship or make an alliance explicit.[49]

In both the portrait in the Royal Collection and the Blair Castle double portrait, together with the single portrait which is either the model for this or vice versa in the NMS collection, James V is wearing a *gown* with a pearl-encrusted folded-back collar, and this fashion detail is evidently essential to his official image. While official portraits of Henry VIII show pearls used more sparingly in conjunction with other types of

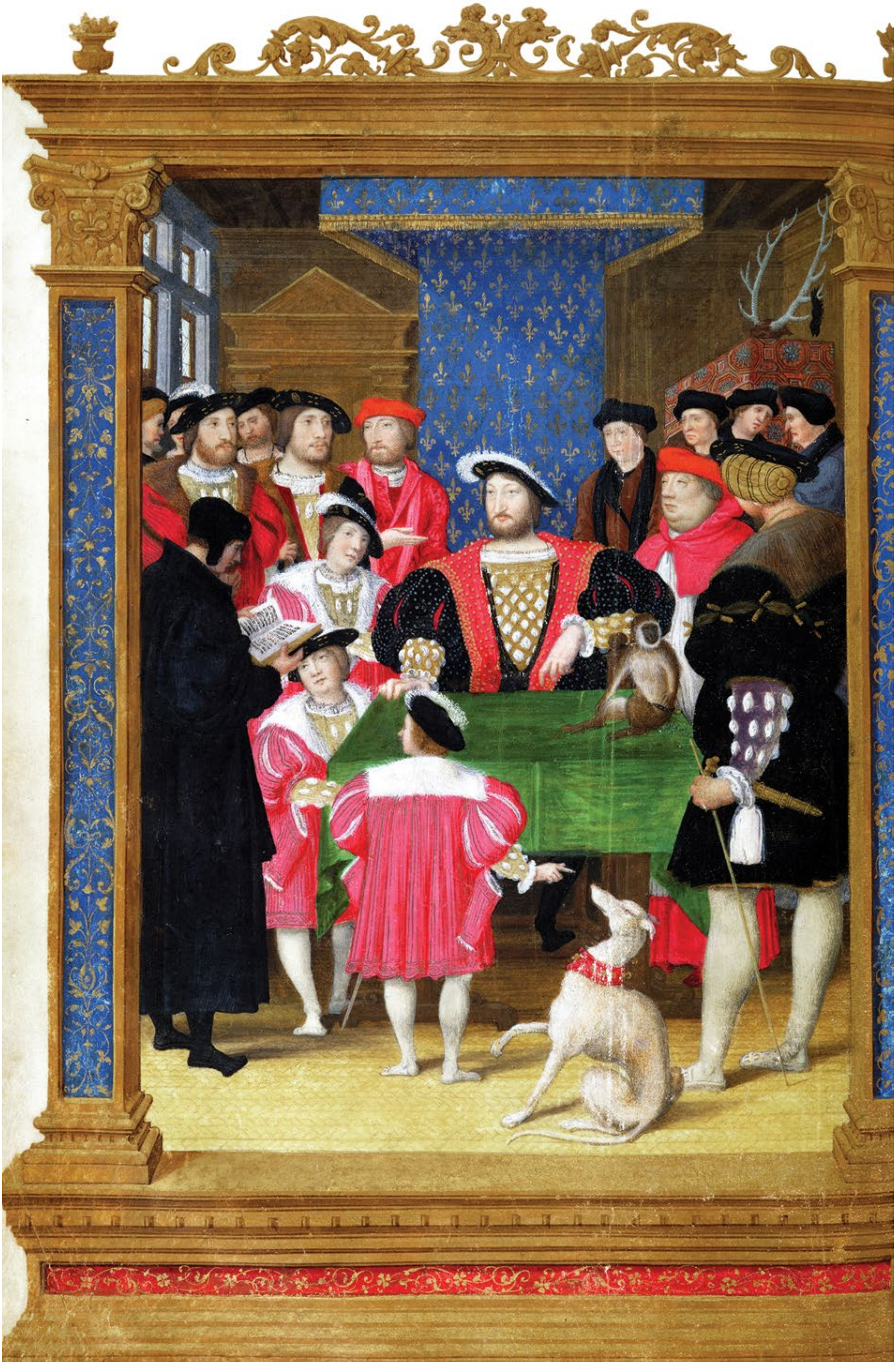


Fig 9 Unknown miniaturist, *Francis I Listening to Antoine Macault Reading his Translation of the Antiquities by from Diodorus Siculus*, vellum, (c 1532), MS 721/1672 f 1. © Musée Condé, Chantilly / Bridgeman Images.

ornament, James V may have been deliberately adopting a fashion detail favoured by his father-in-law and epitome of the Renaissance prince, Francis I. An illumination entitled *Francis I Listening to Antoine Macault Reading his Translation of the antiquities of Diodorus Siculus* (Fig 9) shows him wearing a gown very similar in cut to the one James V is wearing in the portrait in the Royal Collection. While the folded-back collar of James V's gown is red and stitched with pearls in a diamond pattern and the open-seamed sleeves are cloth-of-gold, the red collar of Francis I's gown is stitched with gold beads and the open-seamed black sleeves are stitched with pearls. James V has his arm through the full sleeve whereas, as with the figures of Francis I's young sons, the tubular fore-sleeve could be worn hanging down behind, leaving the doublet sleeve on display. The gown seen in the portrait in the Royal Collection corresponds to the records of the one made for his first wedding. The latter was made of figured cloth-of-gold lined with crimson satin, and the collar gleamed with a staggering 49,500 pearls and gold buttons set with three pearls each: '… ane gowne of freis claith of gold bordourit with perle of gold lynit with crammasy satyne the hude and parliament of the samyn all set with fine orient perle to the noumer of xlix/m v/c furnist with buttonis of gold and every buttoun contenand thre orient perle'.[50]

Like James V, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's livery colours were yellow and red (and white), but in his dress he often exchanged yellow for cloth-of-gold.[51] Was James V making the same colour reference with his wedding gown? Certainly, in the Royal Collection portrait and the Seton Armorial, the red and gold of James V's attire corresponds to the royal coat-of-arms appearing behind him.

The problem with No. 12 (as with other Stirling Heads, and the exterior sculpture of James V) is that the costume as depicted seems to suggest rather than record what James V actually wore. Presumably technical issues related to stone and woodcarving required the abbreviation of certain costume items. With No. 12, two or even three items, the gown, the *vest* (with a skirt) or *jerkin,* and the *doublet* may have been merged into one. For whatever reason, the carver of No. 12 seems to have omitted the folded-back collar of the gown, possibly made the vest and doublet one slashed garment open at the front and merged the puffed sleeves of the gown with the body of the vest/doublet. In so doing, they have suggested a recognisable French 'shape', while ensuring a clearly legible image and economising on detail. Given that No. 12 was a public image of a ruling monarch and that costume detail was a visual expression of status, this apparent abbreviation is difficult to account for, as is the absence of the Order of the Thistle/Saint Andrew. Arguing that official portraits were intended to be copied and circulated, Eichberger and Beaven explain:

> It was considered essential to depict the face of the ruler consistently from the same angle, and he was often shown gazing into the distance. The insignia as well as the dress had to be rendered faithfully. The position of the hands and the attributes held by the sitter were variable …[52]

Whether or not James did found/revive the Order of the Thistle/Saint Andrew in 1540 seems to be clouded with uncertainty, but only the Hardwick Hall double portrait shows him without its insignia.[53]

The curious vogue for slashed garments with linings pulled through to form puffs, at its height c 1520–35,[54] is credited to the extravagant parti-coloured uniforms of Swiss mercenary soldiers or *landsknechten*. It seems to have first become popular in Germany before spreading to France, England and being more cautiously taken up in Spain.[55] Apparently, following their victory over Charles the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy in 1476 at Granson, the impoverished Swiss used the Burgundian parti-coloured campaign tents to make new, crudely assembled uniforms. Francis I had a personal Swiss Guard.[56] Garments with the seams left partially open, the fabric taking the form of partially fixed ribbons to reveal a contrasting lining, were a development of slashing.

James V's headgear sets No. 12 apart from his portraits and allows for further opportunity to discuss French influence. He is wearing a *chafferon* (Scots) or *caul* or *crespin* (caul: an openwork coif or skull cap often made with silk or metal threads; crespin: a hair net or fine liner caul, often embroidered with silk or metal thread)[57] beneath his French-style flat, split-brimmed bonnet. A clear, three-dimensional example of how it was worn at the beginning of the century is the walnut bust by Conrad Meit of Philibert II, Duke of Savoy (1486–1504) and husband of Margaret of Austria, (Fig 10) and this may be the origin of the more ornate *Milan* cap, also worn with a caul.[58] Scrutiny of group portraits of French male courtiers reveals some extraordinary golden headdresses beneath caps worn on one side of the head (Fig 9) There is no illustration of Francis I wearing a caul, but the long, angular cut of his hair in his portraits is matched by that of James V in No. 12. In all his portraits, however, James V has short-cropped hair.

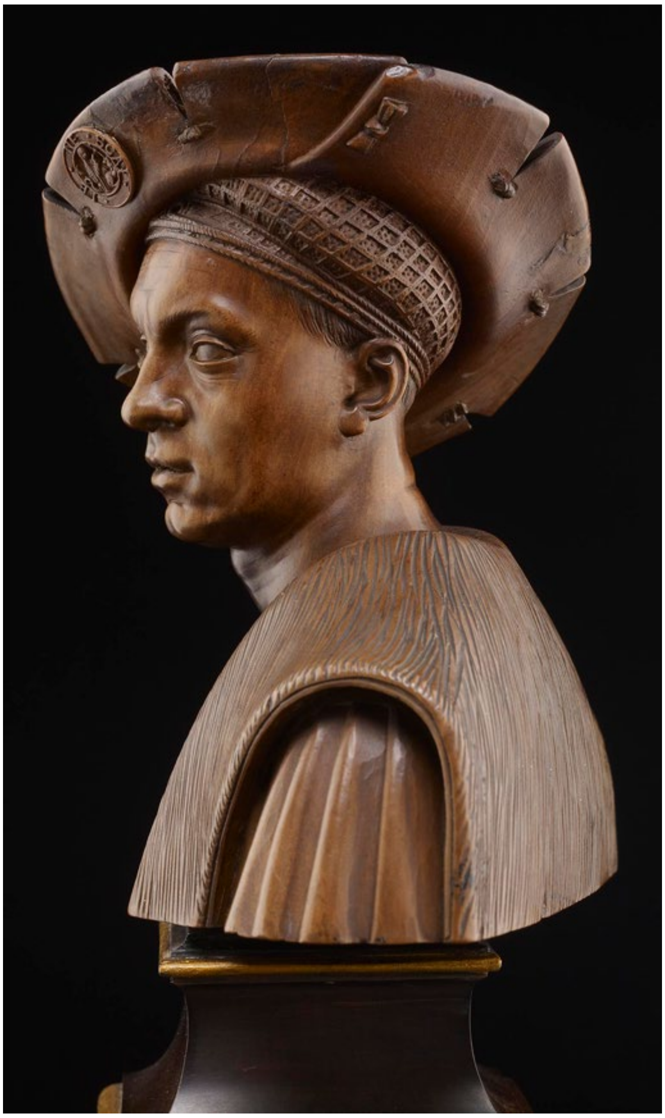


Fig 10 Conrad Meit (c 1475–1550/1, German), *Philibert II, Duke of Savoy (1486–1504)*, (c 1515–25, Mechelen), walnut, 29 cm H x 12 cm W. © Trustees of the British Museum.

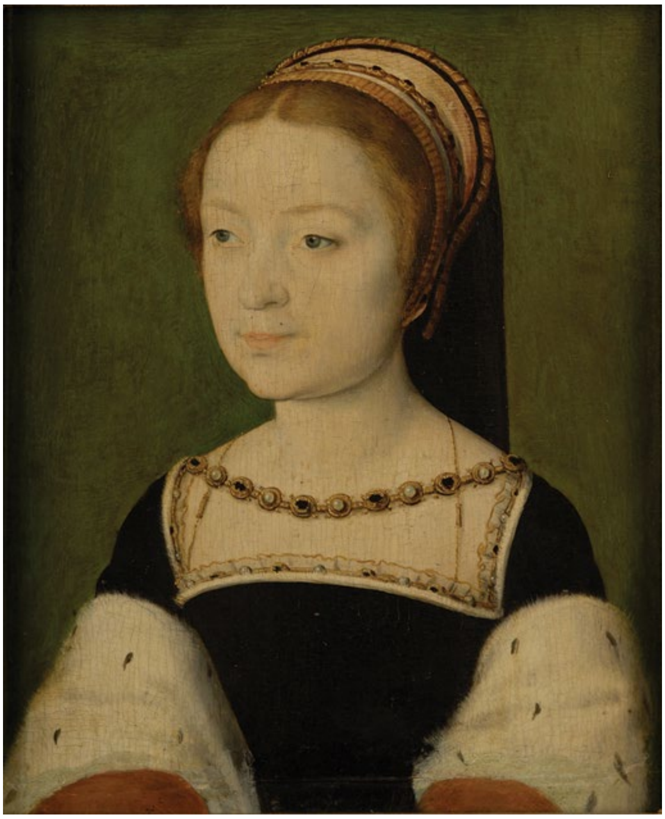


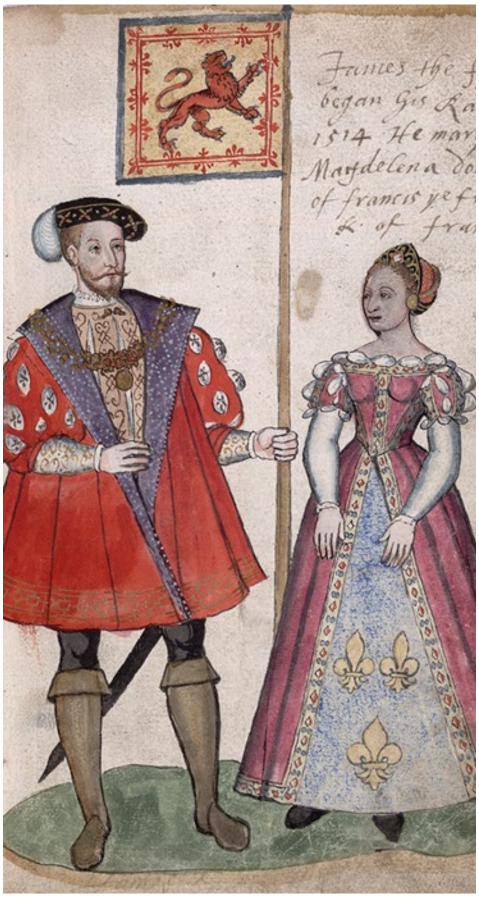
Fig 11 After Corneille de Lyon, *Madeleine de Valois (1520–37)*, (c 1537) oil on panel, 31 x 22 cm, Musée National des Château de Versailles et de Trianon. Copy of the version at the Musée de Blois. © Château de Versailles, Dist. RMN © Jean-Marc Manaï.

Stirling Head No. 26: Madeleine de Valois?

William Blackwood proposed that Stirling Head No. 40 was Madeleine de Valois (1520–37), but there is no visual connection between Stirling Head No. 40 and the surviving portraits of her attributed to Corneille de Lyon (or the school of) (Fig 11).[59] These show her wearing contemporary French court dress, but the Seton Armorial presents a very different image of Madeleine (Fig 12). She is wearing a 'round'[60] gown (no train) with a Spanish farthingale beneath and opening at the front in an inverted 'V' to reveal an embroidered *forepart* (a separate triangular item attached to the undergarment and usually elaborately embroidered). Both the low neckline and over sleeves have 'pullings through'. Her elaborately structured headdress compares to Stirling Head No. 26 (Fig 13) as does her aquiline profile, similar to her father's.

The Seton Armorial employs a specific iconography for each king and queen, and the representation of those from the 15th and 16th centuries relates closely to the known portraits. The representation of Madeleine may be based on a lost portrait of her in ceremonial dress. While not identical, the sleeves of Madeleine's gown in both Stirling Head No. 26 and the Seton Armorial are full with open seams and the upper bodice is edged with a jewelled band.

Stirling Head No. 26 is an anomaly, being neither fantastic nor realistic. The acanthus epaulets and a winged cherub on the breast in what otherwise appears to be a portrait of a young woman in fashionable dress are difficult to explain. If the cherub is read as the Christian equivalent of a pagan *apotropaic* (power to ward off evil) device, this supports the identification of Stirling Head No. 26 as Madeleine de Valois who died tragically young on 7 July 1537.[61]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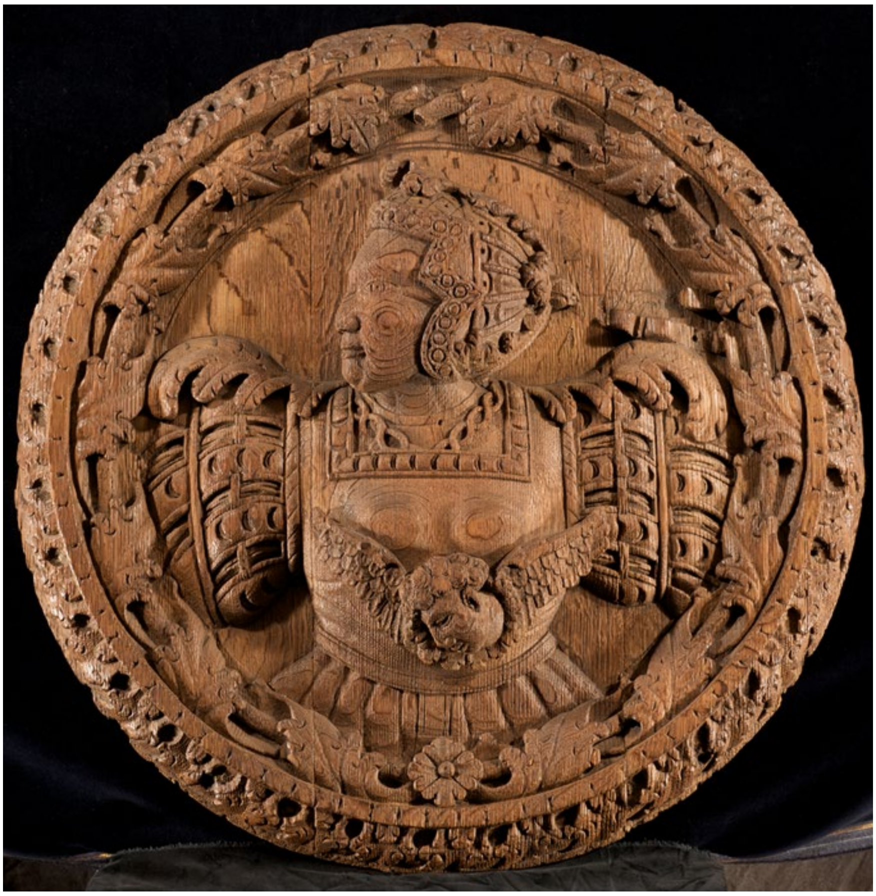


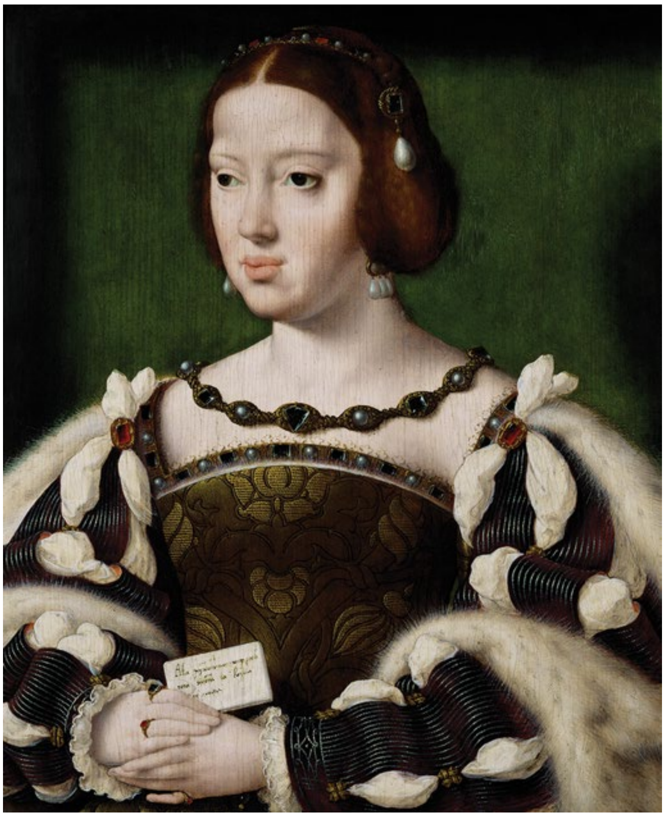
Fig 12 (*above left*) 'James V and Madeleine de Valois', *The Seton Armorial*, (1591). Acc. 9309.f.18. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

Fig 13 (*above right*) *Stirling Head No. 26: Madeleine de Valois/France.*

Stirling Head No. 40: Marie de Guise?

Four of the surviving Stirling Heads, including No. 40 (Fig 14) identified by Blackwood as being Madeleine de Valois, are wearing a netted caul (Nos 18, 25, 26 and 40). These fashion items may have been elaborated by the carver in the way they cover the hair completely, have shaped jewelled borders framing the face (Nos 18, 25 and 26), tassels and ribbons hanging down behind (Nos 25 and 40) and seem to be crowned with acanthus leaves (Nos 25, 26 and 40). The fashion for wearing the hair in a netted caul, sometimes studded with pearls or jewels, is principally associated with Eleanora de Toledo (1522–62), and, although it was evidently a high fashion item in Italy and France before this, its status may have increased following her marriage to Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–74) in 1539.[62] Spanish fashions arrived at the French court with the marriage of Francis I to Eleanor of Austria in 1530 (Fig 15).

With Stirling Heads Nos 18, 25 and 40 the hair is worn down over the shoulders and, in the case of No. 18, bound with ribbons. The appropriate Italian terminology for describing these Spanish/Italian hairstyles and headdresses is:



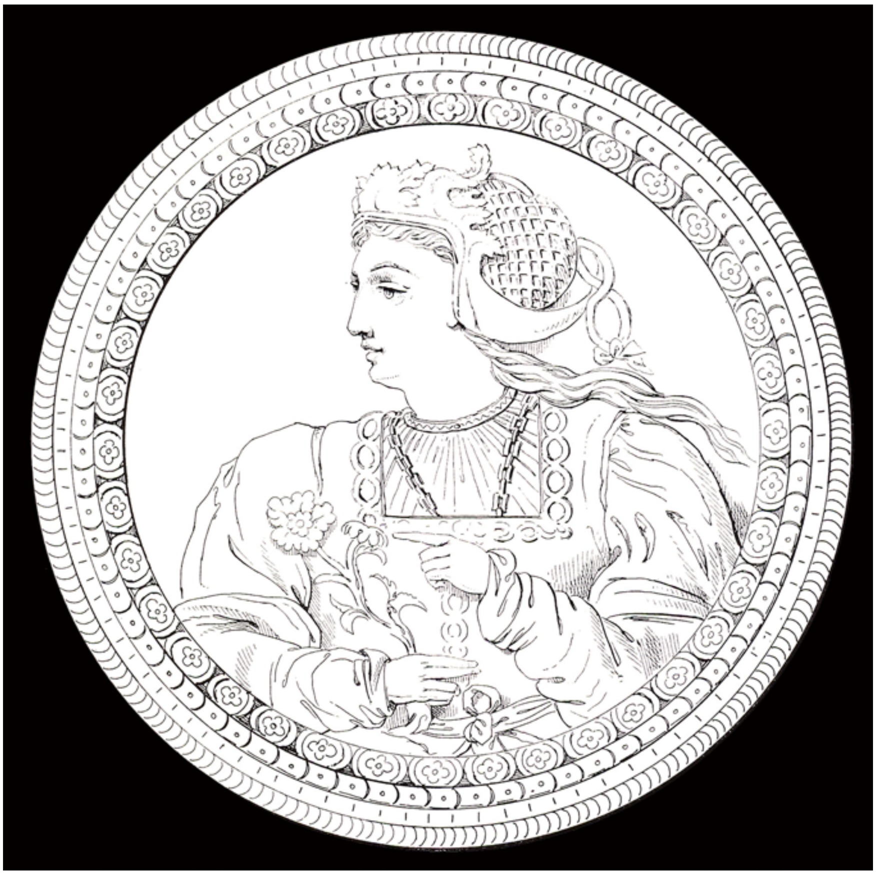


Fig 14 (*left*) *Stirling Head No. 40: Marie de Guise.*

Fig 15 (*above*) Joos van Cleve (c 1485–1540, Flemish), *Eleanor of Austria*, (c 1530), oil on panel, 35.3 x 29.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, picture gallery.

- *Coazzone*: A broad plait or roll of hair, often decorated with ribbon or braiding, which hangs down the back.
- *Cuffia*: A close-fitting cap or bonnet.
- *Reta*: A knotted net of silk or gold threads, which often incorporated pearls and sometimes other gems, worn over the hair.
- *Vespaio* (wasp's nest): A netted headdress often made of strings of pearls.[63]

In the late 15th century and at the time of the first French incursions under Charles VIII, northern Italian fashion trends were set by the sisters Isabella d'Este (1474–1539, married to Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua) and Beatrice d'Este (1475–97, married to Lodovico Sforza of Milan). The *coazonne* was the Lombardic term for the Spanish fashion of wearing the hair in a braided plait/roll down the back, together with the *reta* which was also of Spanish origin, introduced to northern Italy when Leonora of Aragon and Naples, daughter of Ferdinand I, King of Naples and granddaughter of Alfonso V of Aragon, married Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara in 1473 (Fig 16).[64]

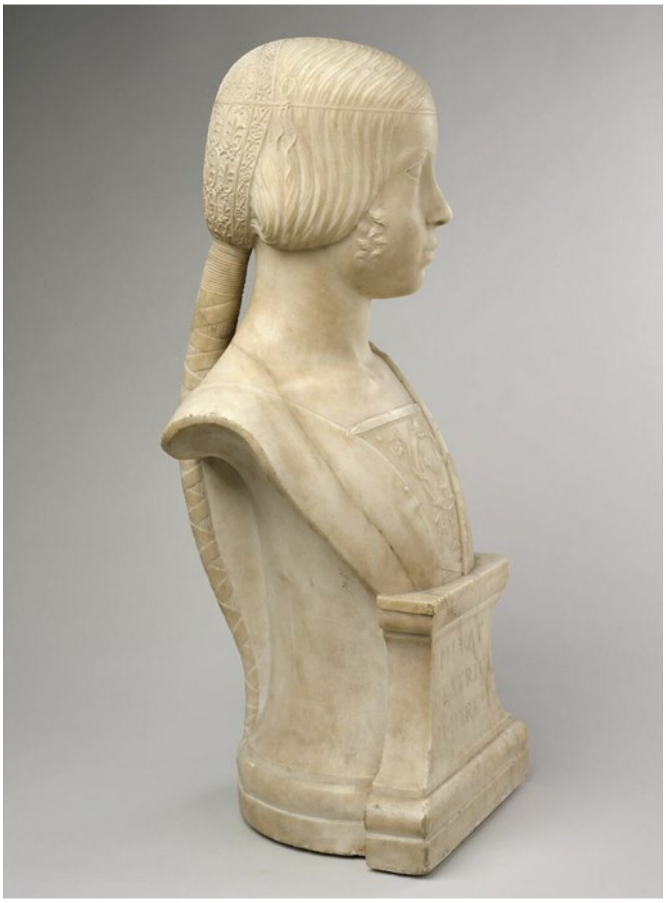


Fig 16 Giovanni Cristoforo Romano (c 1470–1512, Italian), *Beatrice d'Este*, (c 1490), marble, 59 cm H. Musée de Louvre. © 2019 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) Stéphane Maréchalle.

Beyond the French occupation of northern Italy up until the Battle of Pavia in 1525, Isabella d'Este was the primary vehicle by which the fashions of northern Italy were transmitted to France. Following his victory at the Battle of Marignano in 1515, and in line with his general appropriation of Italian culture, Francis I instructed Isabella's son, Federico Gonzaga, hostage at the French court,[65] to write to his mother and request that she send him: '… a doll dressed in the fashions that suit you of shirts, sleeves, undergarments, outer garments, dresses, headdresses, and hairstyles that you wear …' Her distinctive style of headdress seemed to have particularly caught Francis I's attention, and Federico counselled: '… sending various headdress styles would better satisfy his Majesty, for he intends to have some of these garments made to give to the women in France'. Isabella replied:

> To satisfy the wish of His most Christian Majesty, we will gladly have a doll made and dressed in all the fashions we wear on our body and on our head, although his Majesty will not see anything new, for the styles we wear are equally worn in Milan by the Milanese ladies.[66]

Federico's secretary, Stazio Gadio, reported home (11 July 1516): 'That Sunday, the king threw a banquet and feast and had fourteen ladies dressed in the Italian manner, with rich garments that his Majesty brought from Italy.'[67] Isabella visited France herself in 1517.

Maria Hayward suggests that by the late 1530s the netted caul was essential to French court dress:

> A crespin was a caul or hairnet made from metal or silk thread. John Husse wrote to Lady Lisle on 5 May 1539 about some French crespins, noting that 'it were a pity but they should be conveyed with some messenger, for they be very fair … Mrs Katharine desireth to have a crepyn. She thinketh there will be none [to be] had in the country'. The letter highlights how French craftsmanship was valued over items produced in England. Living in Calais, as she did, Lady Lisle was better placed than many to admire and buy French goods.[68]

Maria Hayward also mentions a decorative band that was sometimes worn on the forehead, a *frontlet*, together with the caul.[69]

On her wedding day, New Year's Day 1537, Madeleine wore 'a precious close crown of gold upon her head,

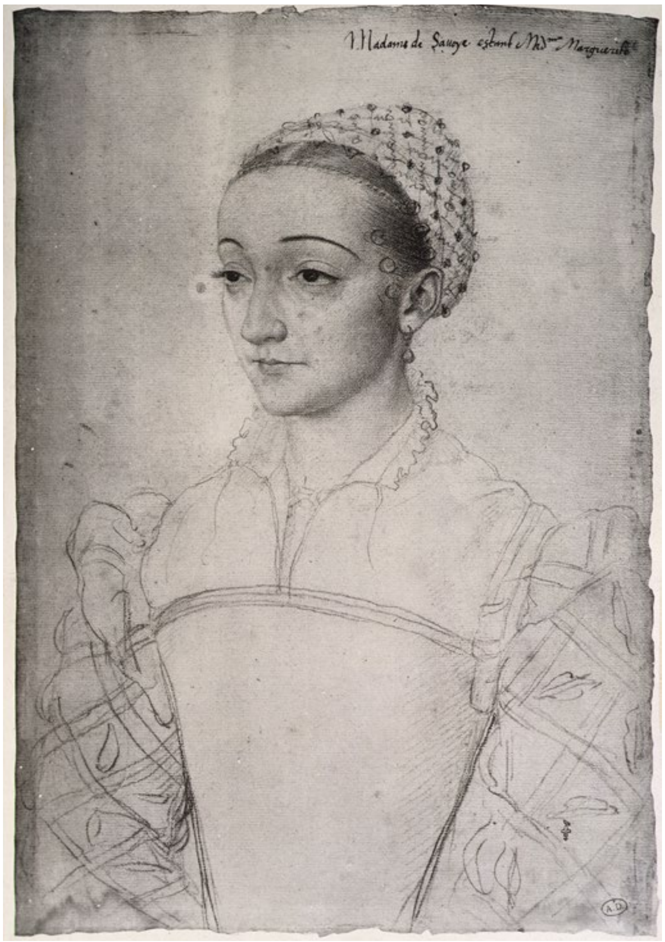

Madame de Sauoye estant Mde Marguerite

Fig 17 François Clouet (c 1515–72, French), *Marguerite de Valois/France, Duchess of Berry then Savoy (1523-74)*, (c 1540), black and red chalk on paper with watercolour, 33.9 x 23.3 cm. © Archives Charmet / Bridgeman Images.

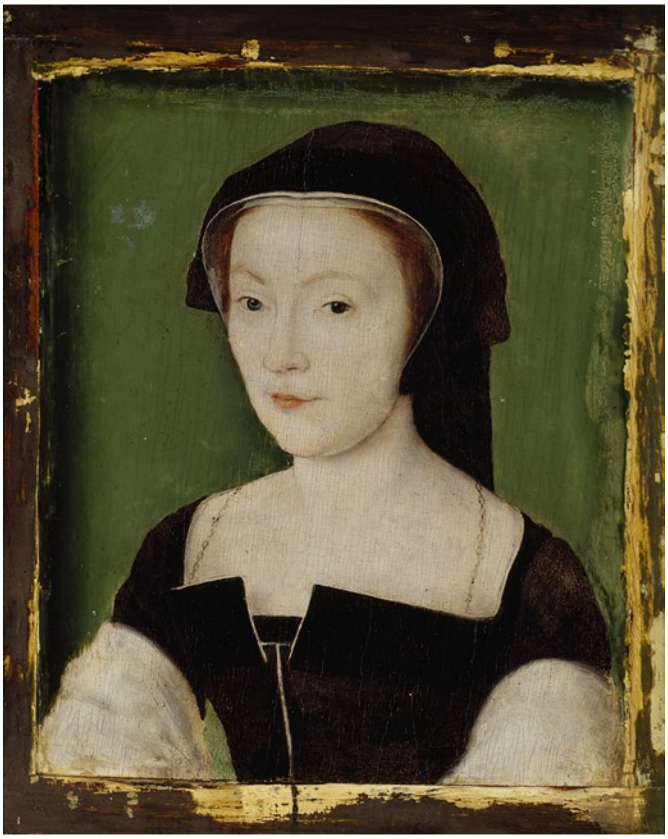


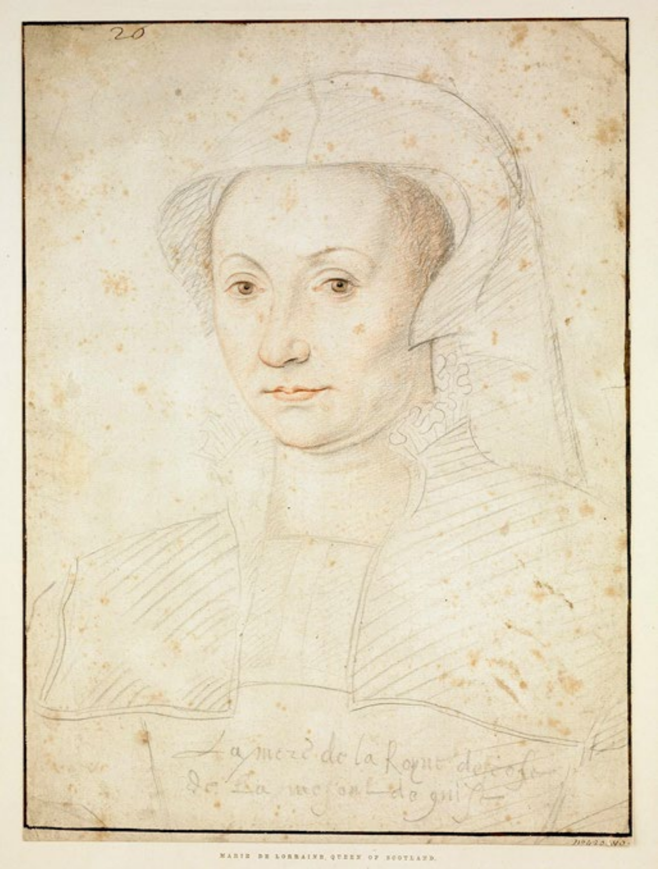
Fig 18 Corneille de Lyon (c 1500/10–c 1575), *Marie de Guise (1515–60)*, (c 1537), oil on panel, 22 x 15.10 cm. National Galleries of Scotland. Presented by E P Jones 1950.

and under it a coif of gold set with stones very precious with other sumptuous apparel according to her degree'.[70] In the Blair Castle double portrait Marie de Guise wears a netted caul worked in gold thread and jewels and a cloth-of-gold gown with a boat-shaped neckline and bodice trimmed with ermine and set with large jewels (Fig 6). In this portrait, therefore, are we looking at a record of Marie de Guise's wedding attire and a visual declaration of the of the Franco-Scottish alliance?[71] The figure of Marie de Guise in the Blair Castle double portrait may have been based on a drawing similar to that of Madeleine's sister, Marquerite de Valois (1523–74). (Fig 17)

The figure in Stirling Head No. 40 holds a flower (a gillyflower?), a traditional symbol of betrothal or marriage, as does Marie in both of the double portraits. As Stirling Castle Palace showcased the marriage of James V and Marie de Guise, it is unlikely that this Stirling Head marks the king's earlier marriage to Madeleine de Valois.

Dana Bentley Cranch and Rosalind Marshall argue that the portrait of Marie de Guise attributed to Corneille de Lyon depicts Marie in mourning for her first husband, Louis de Longueville (1510–37), that she sat for Corneille in Lyon at the same time as James V and Madeleine in autumn 1537 (the date should be 1536), and copies were made at the time of the negotiation of her marriage to James V (Fig 18).[72] As the sitter does not appear to be as young as the Marie seen in the double portraits marking her marriage to James V, their argument is not convincing. Subsequently, Rosalind Marshall has put forward the alternative argument that it may have been painted when she returned to France for a year between September 1550 and October 1551.[73]

The potential value of the portrait of Marie de Guise attributed to Corneille de Lyon, and the drawings related to it, to the interpretation of the Stirling Heads must be assessed, if only to draw attention to the greater value of the other portraits. One of the drawings is attributed to François Clouet (*c*. 1516–72,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MARIE DE LORRAINE, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

Fig 19 After François Clouet, *Marie de Guise*, (undated), black and red chalk on paper, 30.2 x 22.4 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

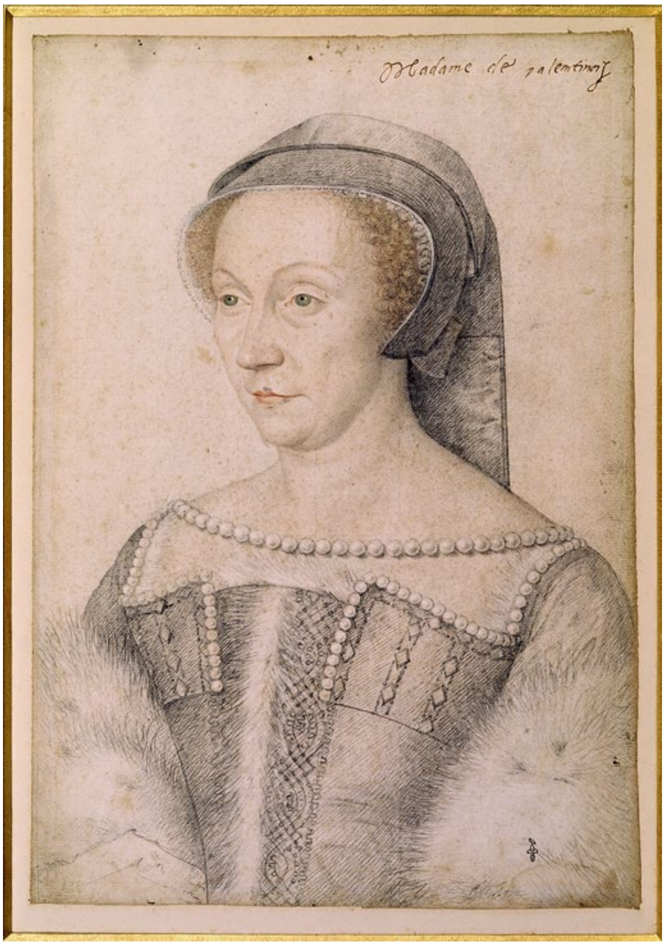


Fig 20 François Clouet, *Diane de Poitiers*, (1550–75), (c 1555), black, red and white chalk, and blue crayon on paper, 33 x 22.2 cm. © Musée Condé, Chantilly / Bridgeman Images.

painter and *valet de chambre* to Francis I from 1540 and later Henry II and Catherine de' Medici) and is in the British Museum, while the other by an unidentified artist is in the Musée des Arts et de l'Enfance, Fécamp (Fig 19).[74] They are both labelled (probably by the collector), Marie being described as a dowager and mother of a queen, but not as the bride of James V:

> *La mere de la Royne descose, de la mesan de guise*

and

> *M LA DOVRIERE DEQOSE SEVR DE M DE GVISE*

In her biography of Marie de Guise, Rosalind Marshall describes how, when she was planning what she would wear for her return to France in September 1550 (to negotiate her daughter's marriage settlement) and mindful that her father, Claude, Duke of Guise had recently died (12 April 1550), she wrote to Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566), Henry II's mistress and presumably arbiter of fashion at the French court, asking for guidance. The reply was that black would be appropriate, but that only on the death of a husband should a queen adopt full mourning.[75] According to Herbert Norris, having been widowed in 1531, Diane de Poitier's court style was that of *Petit Deuil* or half-mourning: 'This authorised silk as well as velvet and might be in the latest fashion.'[76] It is helpful to compare a drawing of Diane de Poitiers attributed to François Clouet to the portrait of Marie de Guise attributed to Corneille de Lyon (Fig 20). Both are wearing a similarly styled gown where a short outer-bodice covering the breast only (for modesty?) is open at the front, the under-bodice joins at the front and pendant over-sleeves are lined with fur. Diane de Poitier, however, allowed herself pearl and brocade trimmings. The plain black headdress or hood has a front band which projects over the forehead, dips at the centre and curves away from the temples to accommodate a rolled or puffed hairstyle typical of the mid-16th century and very different from the flat, centrally parted hairstyles seen in portraits of the 1530s. Herbert Norris identifies such a headdress as an *attifet* that came into fashion in the mid-16th century, the bow-shaped front being achieved using wire.[77] Marie is also wearing, however, a further shoulder covering, open at the front and with a frilled neckline. Was this the court dress of the widowed French woman typical of the 1540s and 1550s? Was the portrait of Marie actually executed at the French court by the Clouet atelier and copies distributed among her French relations? Was one of these copies the painting brought back to Scotland in 1563 by William Maitland of Lethington[78] and then taken to England by Mary Queen of Scots?[79]

Stirling Head No. 17: Margaret Tudor

Stirling Head No. 17 is the only one that John Dunbar ventures to identify on account of the woman depicted holding a collared greyhound.[80] Unfortunately, there are no surviving portraits which can be identified confidently as depicting Margaret Tudor. The portrait brought to Scotland by Maynard Wewych in 1502, which would have shown Margaret at no more than 13 years old, must be considered as a possible model. There is a sketch in the *Recueil d'Arras* labelled 'Margaret Tudor', but Charles Beard and Roy Strong take issue with this and argue that this has been misidentified and more likely represents her mother, Elizabeth of York (d 1503).[81] Similar uncertainty surrounds a portrait formerly in the collection of the Dukes of Hamilton at Lennoxlove House which could be either Elizabeth of York or Margaret Tudor (Fig 21).[82] As the sitter is holding a flower, this may be a betrothal or marriage portrait. Maria Hayward discusses Margaret Tudor's fondness for clothes and illustrates the 17th-century full-length portrait of Margaret Tudor (Fig 22) copied by Daniel Mytens from a lost original half-length portrait painted during her stay in England between

Fig 21 Scottish School, *Margaret Tudor (1489–1541)*?, (c 1515), oil on panel, 38 x 25 cm. Lennoxlove House, East Lothian (sold 2005). © Lennoxlove House Ltd. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

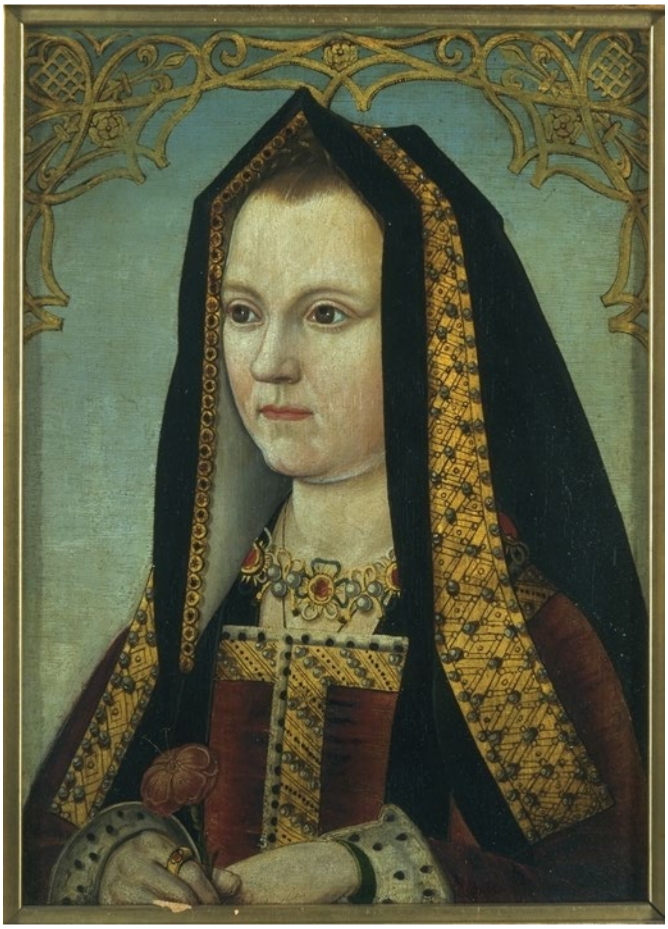


Fig 22 Daniel Mytens (c 1590–1647), *Margaret Tudor, (c 1620-38)*, oil on canvas, 238.8 x 141.3 cm. Based on a lost original half-portrait. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

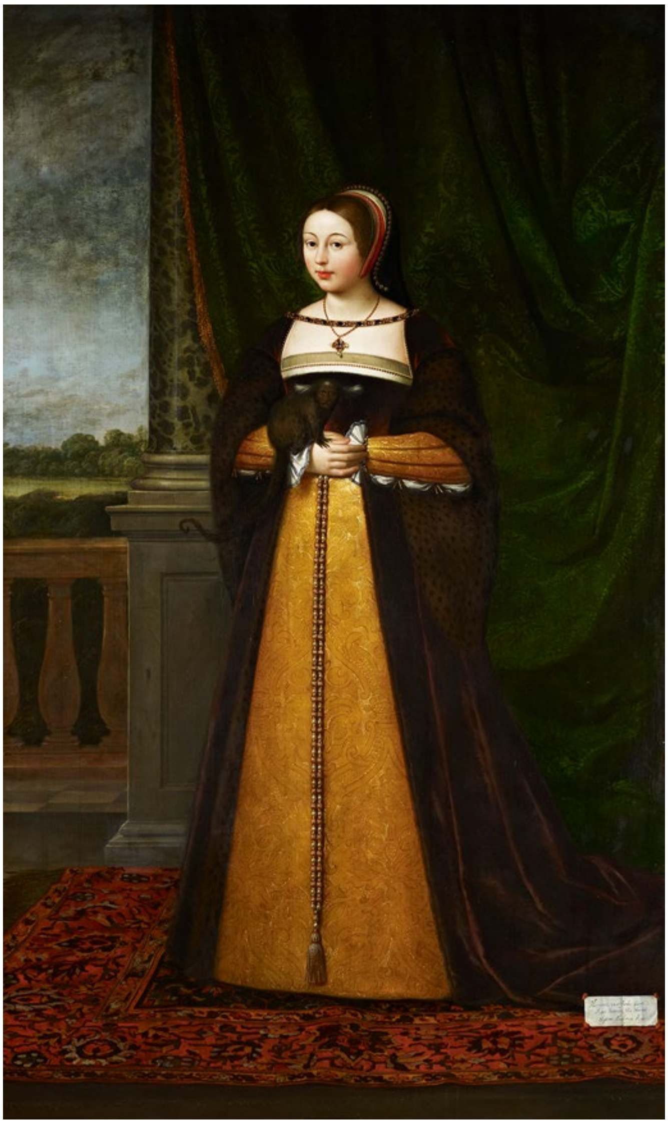
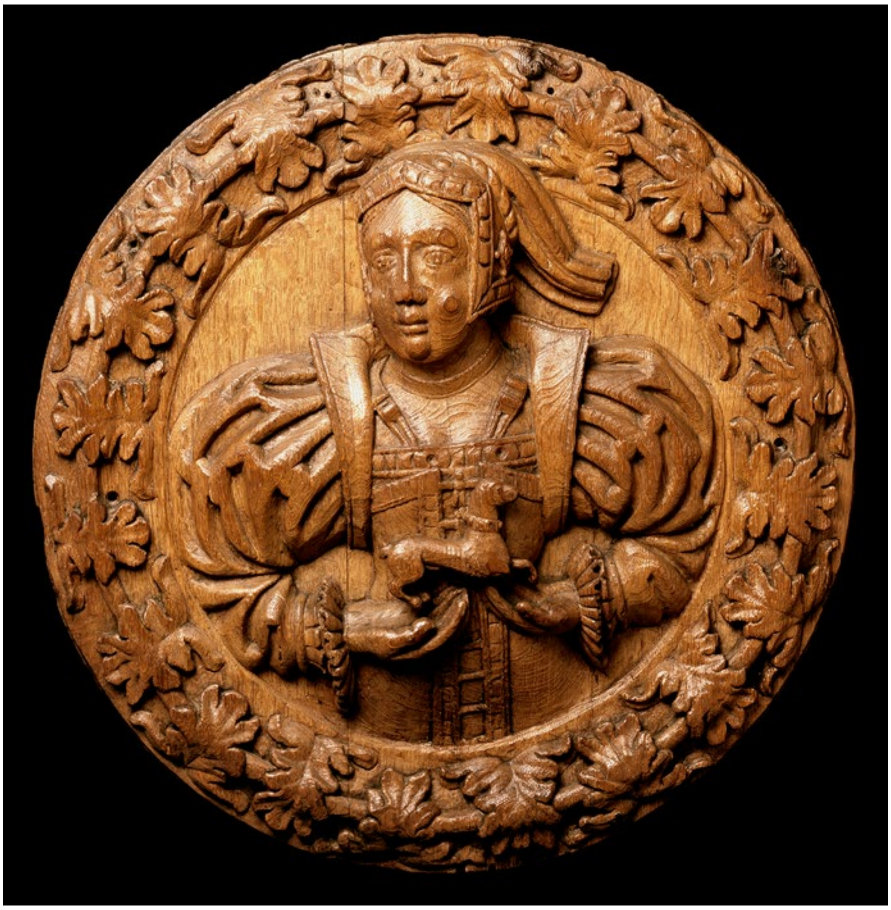


Fig 23 *Stirling Head No. 17: Margaret Tudor.*
© National Museums Scotland.



1515 and 1517 and depicting her 'in a Black habbitt with yallow sleeves with a little Monkey houlding upon her hands'.[83] The black gown with yellow sleeves is French in style and she wears a classic French hood.

Stirling Head No. 17 (Fig 23) is distinctive in that the woman depicted is the only one wearing a 'gabled' hood typical of English court dress of the 1520s and 1530s. The gabled headdress in the Lennoxlove House portrait is an earlier version of this with *lappets* falling onto the shoulders. This evolution of the gabled hood is clearly illustrated by Holbein's Whitehall Mural which depicts both Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour as virtuous English queens whose sons perpetuated the Tudor dynasty. With No. 17, therefore, we may be looking at – with respect to changing fashions – an updated version of the portrait of Margaret Tudor brought to Scotland in 1502. Altogether, No. 17 seems to be a hybrid. The passementerie around the upper bodice and down the front of the gown features in the Lennoxlove House portrait and partly reflects English fashion c 1500. Meanwhile, the collar enclosing full sleeves is difficult to account for, while the position of the hands holding up the greyhound and the frilled cuffs of a chemise point to the lost portrait copied by Mytens.

Both the 1502 portrait and a copy of the one made in 1515–17 may have been available to the carvers of the Stirling Heads. An image of his mother based on the more recent portrait of her wearing French court dress, probably in imitation of her sister Mary who was briefly married to the aged Louis XII (d 1 January 1515), and Queen of France, and returned to England to marry (they were initially married secretly) Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk on 13 May 1515, would not have served James V's purposes. Margaret Tudor needed to appear to be quintessentially English and not be confused with the heads representing his French wives and their households. The political message was that he had a legitimate place within the Tudor dynasty and, as proved to be the case, his offspring might inherit the English as well as the Scottish throne. Herbert Norris comments regarding the English hood (no reference given) that 'Margaret Tudor introduced it into Scotland, but it was not generally adopted in that country.'[84] According to Maria Hayward, Jane Seymour (queen from 30 May

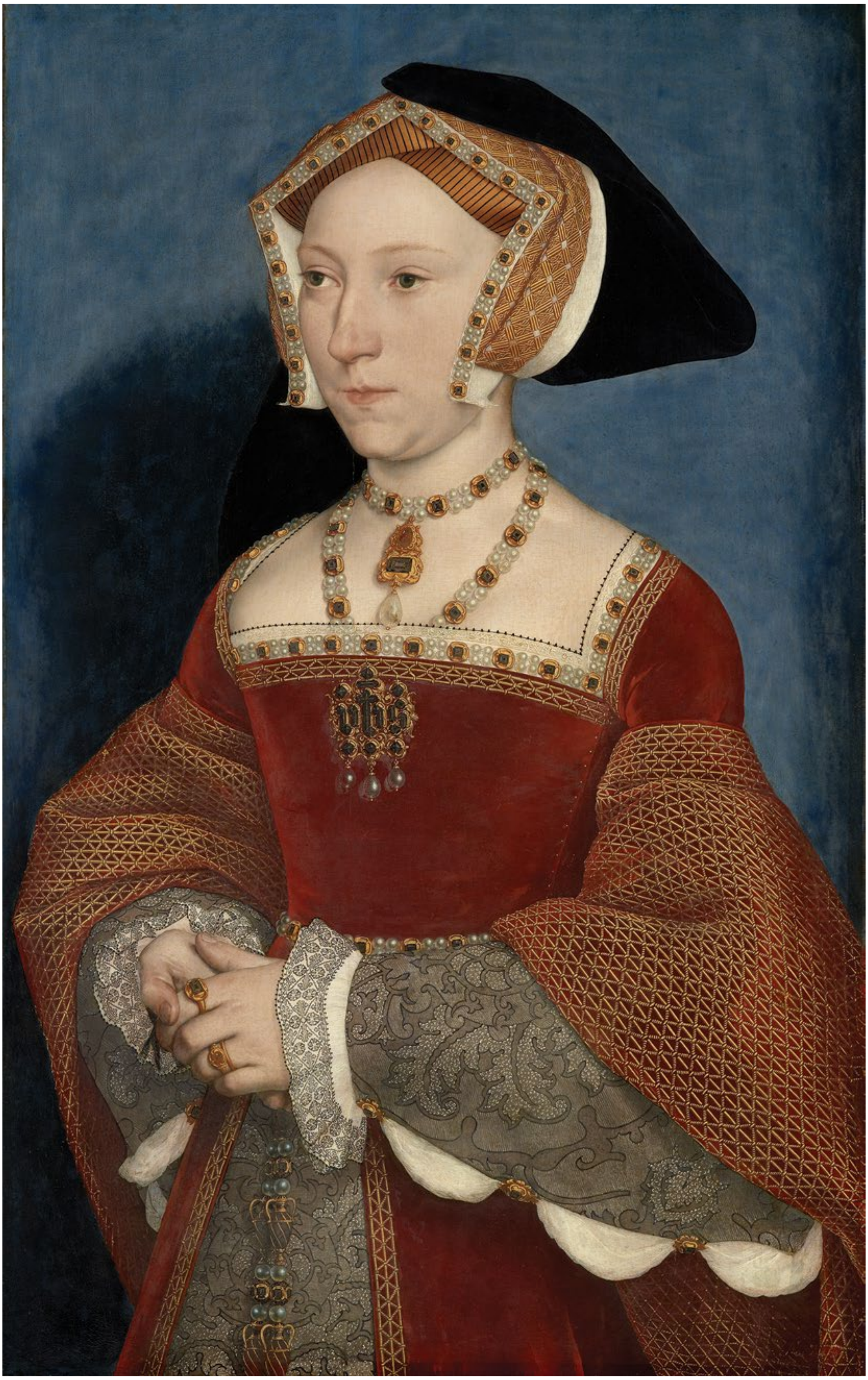


Fig 24 Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543, German), *Jane Seymour (1508–37)*, (1536), oil on panel, 66.5 x 41 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, picture gallery.

1536 to 24 October 1537) forbade her attendants to wear the French hood, probably because of its associations with Anne Boleyn and disloyalty to Henry VIII.[85] She discusses the evolution of the English hood with reference to Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait of Jane (Fig 24):

> The English hood or gable headdress was so named because of the pointed arch of the front resembling a gable, with lappets that initially hung down but later were pinned up onto the headdress and fabric draped over the back of the hood and hung down the back of the wearer. Later this fabric was pinned up at the back … Jane Seymour … wears the final variant of the English hood where the velvet fall was treated in an asymmetrical manner. Half the fall of black velvet hangs down her back while the other half is coiled up on itself, forming the shape of a whelk shell.[86]

Is this dynastic message the explanation for the inconsistency of costume detail in No. 17?

Margaret Tudor died in 1541, but it seems that the 1502 portrait fixed her official image as Queen and Dowager Queen of Scotland. This continued into the 17th century after her great-grandson, James VI, succeeded to the English throne. Dynastic family trees illustrating his Stewart and Tudor ancestry, such as the broadside *The most happy unions contracted between Princes of the Blood Royall of theis towe famous kingdomes of England and Scotland* (engraved by Renold Elstrack for John Speed, 1603) present Margaret in a hood with an exaggeratedly pointed gable and long lappets falling down onto her shoulders (Fig 25).

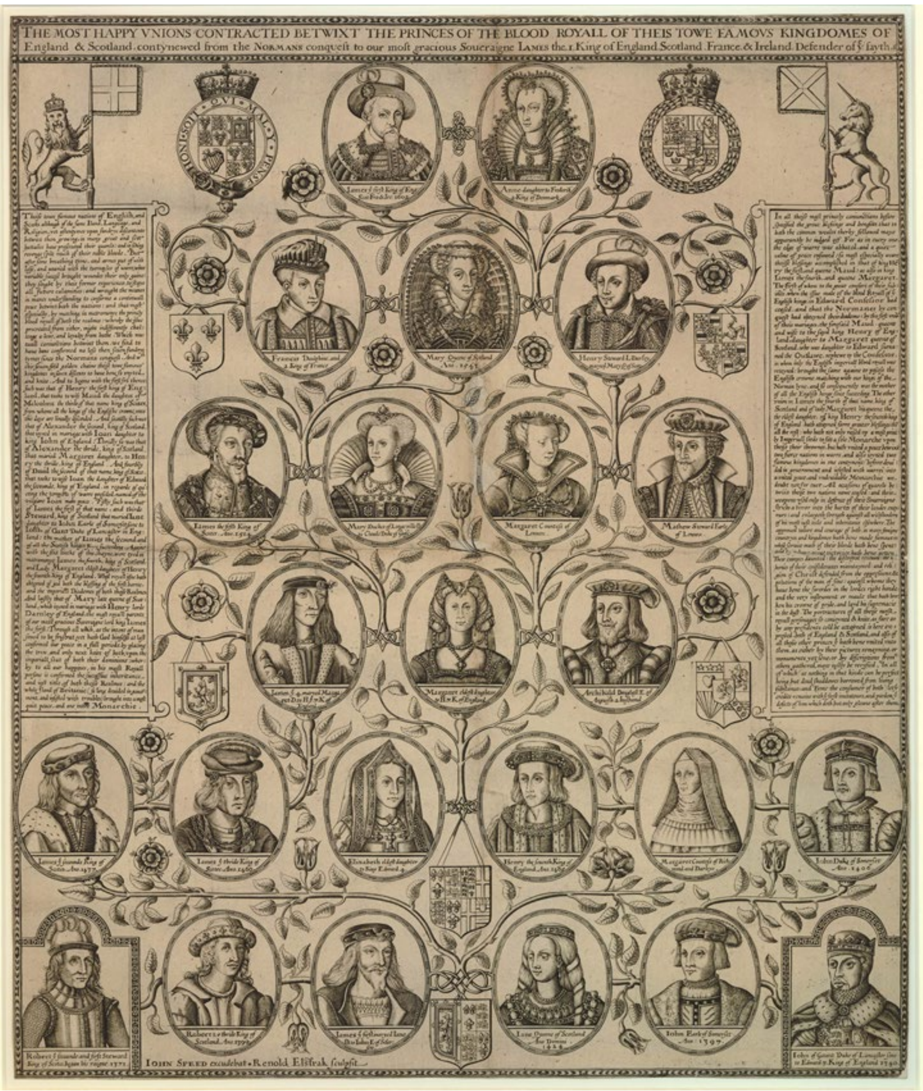

THE MOST HAPPY VNIONS CONTRACTED BETWIXT THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ROYALL OF THEIS TOWE FAMOVS KINGDOMES OF England & Scotland contynewed from the NORMANS conqueſt to our moſt gracious Soueraigne IAMES the I King of England Scotland France & Ireland Defender of ye fayth
IOHN SPEED excudebat · Renold Elſtrak ſculpſit

Fig 25 Renold Elstrack (1570–1625, English), Broadside print *The most happy unions contracted between Princes of the Blood Royall of theis towe famous kingdomes of England and Scotland*, (1603), engraving, 46.4 x 39.3 cm, published by John Speed (1552–1629). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Mixed messages

Stirling Head No. 39: Henry VIII, hero or tyrant?

(lost and known only from the drawing in *Lacunar Strevelinense*)

The *Lacunar Strevelinense* remarks on the heroic quality of Stirling Head No. 39 (Fig 26):

> This is evidently intended to represent some personage equally conspicuous for prudence and for valour. The owl on his breast-plate, and the lion on his shoulder, seem at least to be emblematical of such qualities. If it may be permitted to hazard a conjecture, this is not improbably a likeness of Sir William Wallace. The features and costume resemble, in a considerable degree, those of the print commonly prefixed to Blind Harry, which is supposed to have been taken from an original picture executed during the residence of Wallace in France. In this case the lion on his shoulder may perhaps refer to the popular story respecting Wallace, that he was continually attended by an animal of that species while abroad.[87]

Wallace died in 1305, and the idea of a portrait likeness and iconography of Wallace being transmitted from so early a date is improbable.[88]

Stirling Head No. 39 is distinctive in that it is the only one where the subject faces the viewer directly. Facially, the bearded subject bears some resemblance to Henry VIII (1491–1547), James V's uncle. Neither the lion crouching on his shoulders (like an ancient Roman epaulet) nor the winged figure with three owls (Mrs Graham's interpretation) serving as an allegorical *aegis* on the imperial breastplate can be ignored. The costume is not consistent: the subject is presented as a ruler-hero wearing classical armour with a military cloak but a 16th-century plumed cap. The owl as the emblem (wisdom or prudence) of the goddess Athena or Minerva became the symbol of the city of Athens and standard to Athenean coinage, otherwise known as the 'owl'.[89] Three owls together with a winged figure, however, are difficult to explain. Athena herself bore a Gorgon/Medusa aegis. According to William Newton in his *Display of Heraldry*, three owls together occur frequently in coats of arms, but the family names listed (Prescot, Hewett, Appleyard, Hucks and Burton) are of no apparent significance. The virtues associated with the owl are a more likely explanation for their

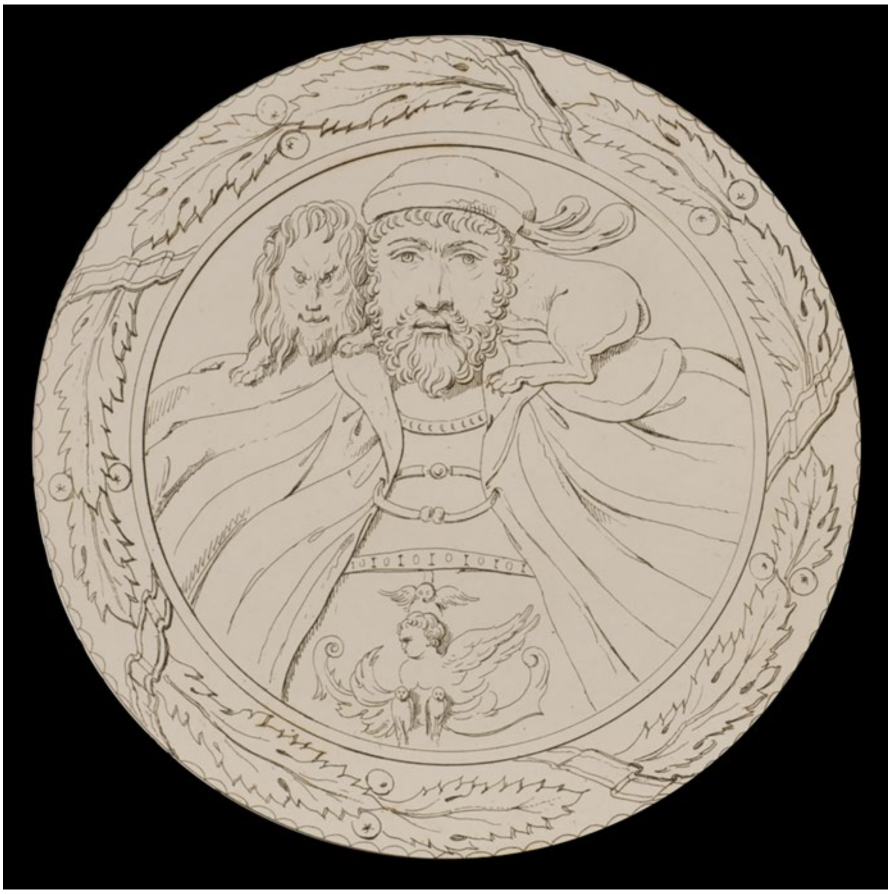


Fig 26 *Stirling Head No. 39: Henry VIII.*

appearance on the breastplate of Stirling Head No. 39. Newton quotes John Guillim's (1565–1621) *Display of Heraldrie* (London, 1610): 'The owl in armoury signifieth prudence, vigilance, and watchfulness by night: it is the bird of Minerva, and was borne by the ancient Athenians for their armorial ensign.'[90]

Alexander the Great, one of the Nine Worthies, was associated with the lion in multiple ways. His father, Philip of Macedon, claimed descent from Hercules and, as a great military ruler, Alexander was often seen as the re-embodiment of Hercules:

> In the Late Classical period Heracles had become the moral paradigm of the man who chose the road of virtue. Heracles conquered death and gained eternal life; but first he had to struggle and suffer. Alexander had to go through ordeals too, to conquer the world.[91]

The place of the lion and the lion hunt in iconography of Alexander the Great are discussed by Olga Palagia.[92] She draws attention to a story of Alexander, like Hercules and the Nemean Lion, killing a lion with his bare hands and Plutarch's (AD c 46–c 120, Greek historian and Roman citizen) description of the royal lion hunt as an allegory of the struggle for power in his *Life of Alexander*. More abstractly, according to Plutarch, Alexander's heroic character was apparent in his face or physiognomy, and the court sculptor Lysippus alone was perceptive and skilful enough to capture this:

> The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed.[93]

Bente Kiilerich discusses the ancient representations of Alexander with reference to the Greek understanding of the science of physiognomy and the physical characteristics of the ideal leonine man. She concludes: 'Alexander's image, then, is the image of *andreia* [physical strength, fortitude] and *areté* [courage and strength in the face of adversity, daring]. Alexander is shown as the king of men, just as the lion is the king of beasts.'[94] Alexander was Macedonian and, although he ruled over a united Greece, he is not directly associated with Athens and so it is difficult to argue for a symbolic connection between the owls and the lion.

Such records within classical literature of the mechanism of generating an official image suggestive of superior virtue and moral authority can possibly assist with the interpretation of the Stirling Heads. If the comparison is with Alexander the Great, what is the message? Henry VIII may have been James V's uncle, but at the Battle of Flodden (1513) he was the enemy responsible for the death of James IV. This and subsequent Scottish invasions into the north of England (1513, 1522, 1546) were always in response to English aggression towards Scotland's primary ally, France. As a humanist and pacifist, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) equated military aggression with tyranny and plunder and was sceptical about Alexander the Great as a moral exemplar. Erasmus repeats the much-cited story of Alexander and Dionides the pirate who, when captured and asked to account for his actions, argued that conquerors were also thieves. He adds tellingly that conquerors are more dishonourable than pirates, having 'greater forces and a bigger fleet to harass a larger part of the world with their plunderings'. Shakespeare later used the story to structure his examination of the morality of war in *Henry V*.[95] More generally in terms of 16th-century political criticism, Robert Adams explains:

> Few aspects of the criticism of literature and society by More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives [Juan Luis Vives, 1492–1540] … have been less well understood than their attack upon medieval romance and its imaginative world.
>
> They were against, above all, tyrants and tyranny in all forms, against the idea that the king can do no wrong and that the right of a ruling class is its might. They were against the idea that tyrants should be glamorised in either history or romance. They were against the idea that romance, history, or biography should be admired when it represents tyrants or military conquerors (such as Alexander or Caesar) as 'great' and good men, worthy to be imitated by modern princes.[96]

It must be stressed, however, that this association of Henry VIII with Alexander the Great is mere speculation, and no 16th-century models have been identified to support this interpretation.

Unlike Francis I and Charles V, there are no surviving images of Henry VIII presented as a classical hero or ruler. Even the profile images on medals present him in court costume. Stirling Head No. 39, however, can be compared to the terracotta heads of Roman emperors commissioned by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey from the Italian sculptor Giovanni da Maiano (1486/7–c 1542–3) for Hampton Court (1521) which, unusually, present the subjects full-face in high relief rather than in full or three-quarter profile. Six years later, Holbein and Maiano worked together on the temporary banqueting house and theatre for the Greenwich Revels of 1527, Maiano being responsible for antique heads to decorate the triumphal arches dividing the two spaces and forming the proscenium arch of the theatre. The object of the revels was to receive and discomfort a French embassy, and the reverse of the first triumphal arch featured a large-scale painting on canvas of the French defeat at the Battle of Thérouanne in 1513. Could these antique heads have included Henry VIII in imperial guise, and was it Maiano who prompted Holbein to adopt the full-face format for his portraits of Henry VIII (Fig 27)?[97]

The head is too individualised to be anything other than a portrait, and the use of the plumed cap rather than a classical military helmet was intended to guarantee that the subject was recognised. Not only does Stirling Head No. 39 resemble Henry VIII, albeit in idealised form, but, from the 1530s, the full-face portrait was associated with Holbein's later portraits of the English king, as confirmed by Henry Peacham's *The Art of Drawing* (1606). Foister summarises the three types of portrait described by Peacham:

> These are the three-quarter view, which he refers to as a Netherlandish convention – 'as our Flanders and ordinary pictures are'; the profile, or 'halfe-face', which he illustrates with reference to the type of Roman emperors' head found on classical coins and medals; and the full-face, which, over sixty years after Holbein's death, he associates with a single image, that of Henry VIII – 'ful faced, as comonly [sic] we see king Henry the 8 drawne.'[98]

Initially, Lucas Horenbout (1490/5–1544), whose father Gerard was court painter to Margaret of Austria at Mechelen, was responsible for creating a realistic and individualised portraiture of Henry VIII in the Flemish manner. While Foister argues that Henry was not concerned with contriving and controlling his public persona in the way that Francis I and later Charles V were following Holbein's depiction of Henry VIII in the Privy Chamber at Whitehall Palace as 'a victor, a hero and man of action', Henry is generally represented full-face rather than in Flemish three-quarter view. She comments upon the power of the Whitehall Palace portrait:

> Holbein's wall painting may well have been startling in its combination of a full-face head with a full-length figure, legs astride and visible, not seated crowned and swathed in the traditional royal robes. It is likely that the pose and lack of formal clothing, as much as the direct gaze, ensured the memorability of Holbein's image of Henry.[99]

Late 16th-century visitors to Whitehall Palace comment on its startling and even shocking impact, saying that it 'abashed and annihilated' those who stood before it.[100]

Stirling Head No. 39 may have transmitted defiant messages about James V's Tudor blood. Henry VII and James IV signed the Treaty of Perpetual Peace in 1502, and Margaret Tudor was married to the Scottish king the following year. While his father, believing that England would inevitably remain the dominant power, was unconcerned about the proximity of Margaret's heirs to the English throne, Henry VIII was troubled by the idea. James V repeatedly asserted his independence from his uncle, particularly in his pursuit of a French bride. In the Stirling Heads, the iconography of both Henry VIII and Margaret Tudor are reminders of Holbein's monumental essay on the virtues of the Tudor dynasty, the Whitehall mural.

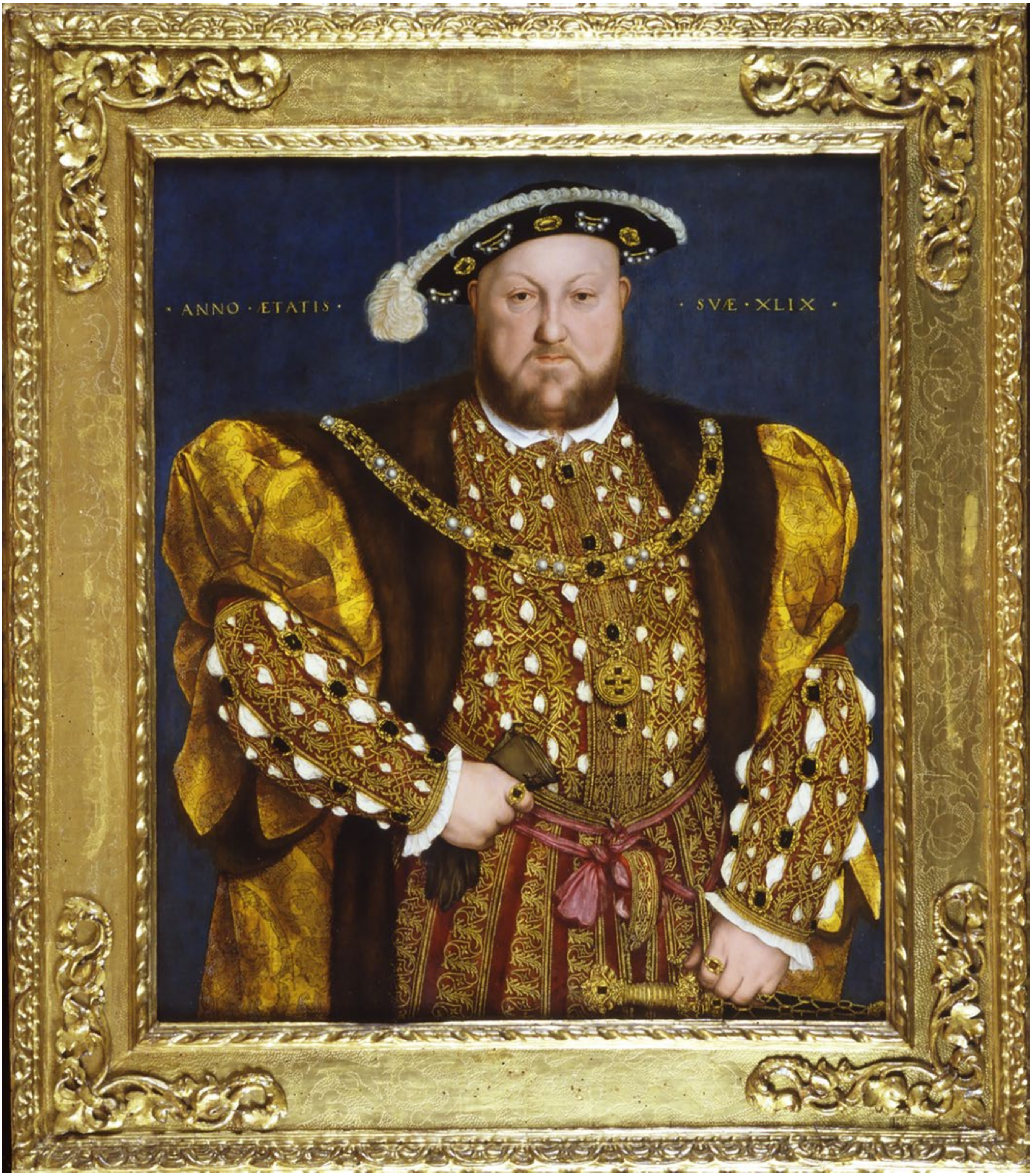

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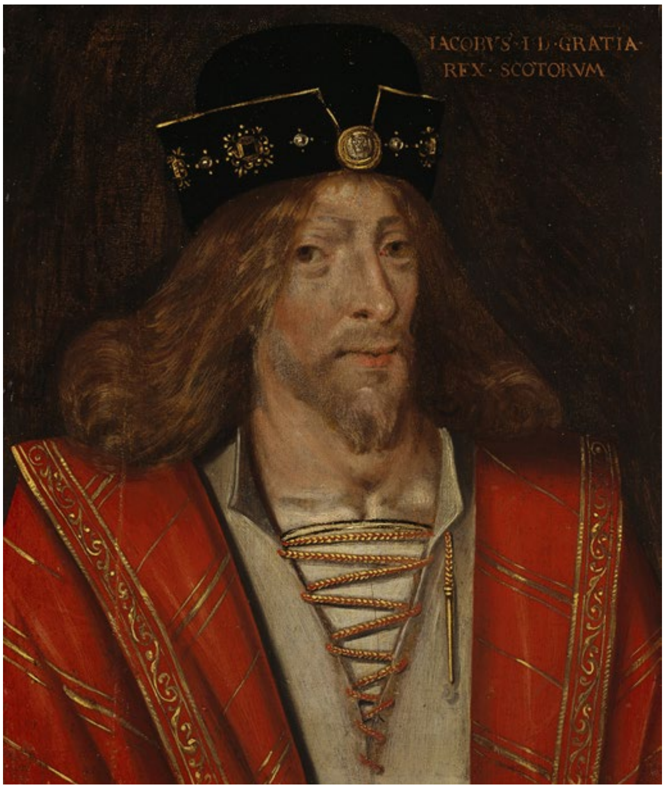
Fig 27 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, (1540), oil on panel, 89 x 75 cm.
© Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini.

Dynasty

Stirling Head No. 9: King James I (1394–1437)

It has always been generally accepted that the subject of Stirling Head No. 9 (Fig 28) is James I. When the *Lacunar Strevelinense* was published, John Johnston's (c 1570–1611) *Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum* (1602) was the comparative source. Since then, in 1909 and as described above, the National Galleries of Scotland have acquired a series of portraits of the first five King Jameses. While these may all post-date the Stirling Heads, their marked individuality suggests that they are based on original likenesses. The NGS portrait of James I is arguably the best of the series in that it is the least wooden, the most dramatically composed and the subject stares directly at the viewer (Fig 29). What exactly this says about its authenticity requires more thought and attention. The Johnston engravings of the first five Jameses are either based upon these portraits or the same original likenesses. Again, as with Stirling Head No. 12, Dunbar's argument that the likeness is not close enough to justify a positive identification can be reversed and Stirling Head No. 9 presented as evidence that an original portrait of James I (or some



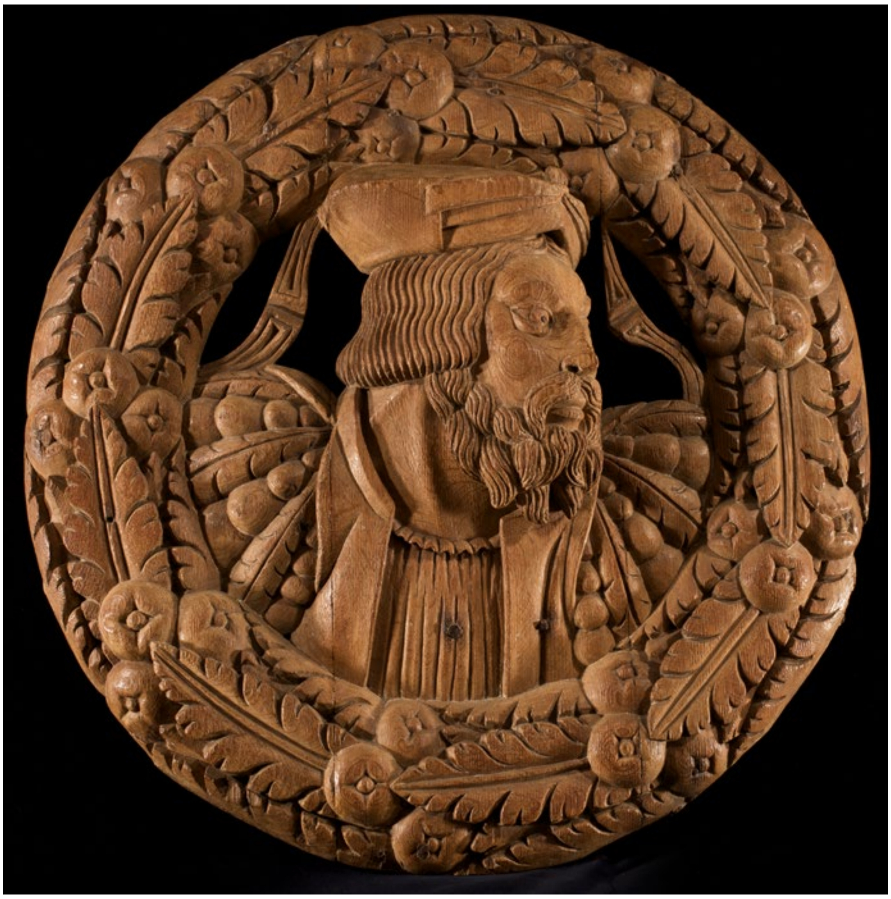


Fig 28 (*left*) *Stirling Head No. 9: James I.*

Fig 29 (*above*) Unknown, *James I (reigned 1406–37)*, (c 1579), oil on panel, 41.2 x 33 cm. National Galleries of Scotland.

form of copy) must have been in the Scottish royal collection c 1540. Frustratingly, James I is the only early Stewart monarch not listed as being in Mary Queen of Scots' portrait collection (see above).

During his 18-year captivity at the Lancastrian English court under Henry IV and Henry V, James I had plenty of time to absorb the cultural developments brought by the English military campaigns abroad. Given the active portrait culture at the English court, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a portrait of him could have been painted during his 18 years of captivity[101] or that he sought the services of a portrait artist on his return to Scotland. The foreign marriages negotiated for his daughters may have required the exchange of portraits in the Burgundian manner. His son, James II, married Mary of Guelders, grand-niece of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1449.

With the exception of the stylised treatment of the sleeves, the costume seen in Stirling Head No. 9 is more typical of the first half of the 15th century than that seen in the NGS portrait. This supports the argument that Stirling Head No. 9 is an adaptation of an original portrait of James I in the royal collection and is an authentic portrait in its own right. It is not inappropriate to compare it to Burgundian portraits from the time of James I's contemporary, Philip the Good of Burgundy, who pioneered the mass circulation of the official royal portrait. In a miniature by Rogier van der Weyden (1400–64) opening *Les Chroniques de Hainaut*, Philip and his courtiers are depicted wearing a doublet with full sleeves gathered at the shoulder and stand-up collar which is open at the front to reveal a low-necked lawn shirt (Fig 30). In the NGS portrait, James I wears a loose coat with deep revers over a doublet laced up at the front

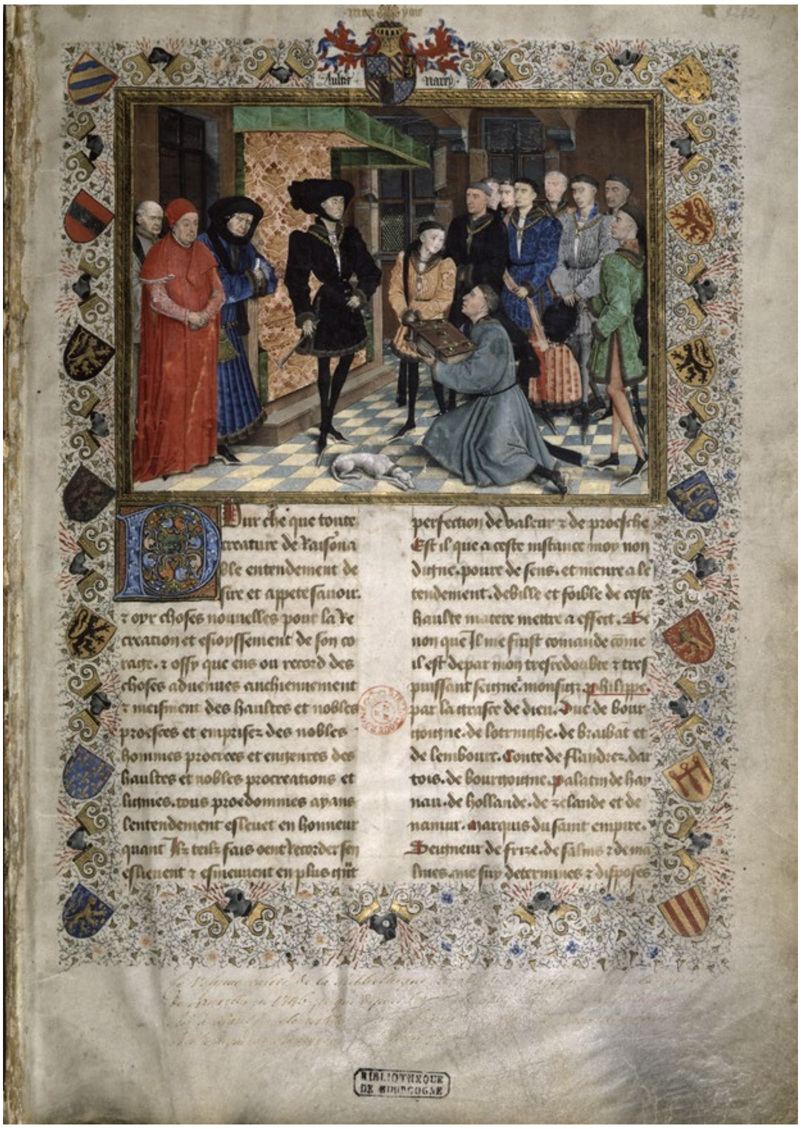


Fig 30 Rogier van der Weyden (1400–1464, Flemish), 'Jean Wauquelin Presenting his Chronicles of Hainault to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy', frontispiece miniature of *Les Chroniques de Hainaut*, I, folio 1, (1448–1453). MS. KBR. 9242. © Bibliothèque Royal de Belgique, Brussels.

with a shirt beneath, and it is difficult to match this costume to a 15th-century model.

In Stirling Head No. 9, the stylised ornament forming the sleeves which matches the border suggests distance in time and lack of familiarity, and contradicts the strength of the portrait itself.

Stirling Head No. 27: James IV?

Stirling Head No. 27 (Fig 31) is particularly strange and difficult to explain. The subject appears to be wearing nothing more than a shirt or chemise and their gender is ambiguous. The pose, however, is authoritative and formal. Putting dress to one side, the plumes behind the subject's head exactly match Stirling Head No. 12, *James V*. Multiple ostrich plumes were typical of noble jousting helmets and marked out senior nobles and kings in battle.

The most sensible explanation for the undergarment worn by No. 27 which does not conflict with the subject's obvious dignity is that it is a penitential shift. James IV's involvement in the murder of his father undermined his political authority and tainted James V's claim to the throne. As Alasdair MacDonald explains, 'ostentatious penitence' was necessary to counter any challenge that James IV had forfeited his right to the succession:

> Not only did the *coup d'État* set a potentially dangerous precedent, it was also sacrilegious for a prince to rebel against his crowned and anointed father …. The disculpation of the new ruler involved a programme of penitential activity, in an attempt to expunge the imputation of regicide.[102]

As James IV had committed a crime against a sacred institution, God alone could absolve him.

If the Stirling Heads were partly a display of dynastic legitimacy, it would be essential to present James IV, father of the present king, as a rightful monarch and virtuous man. It is well known that, on the advice of his confessor, he wore an iron chain around his waist as an act of penance and the weight of this was increased every year. Although presumably it would have been worn next to his skin, the chain becomes essential to the iconography of James IV. In the *Recueil d'Arras* and the Seton Armorial it is clearly visible around his waist and, while easily misread as a ceremonial chain or clasp, it is even included in the NGS head-and-

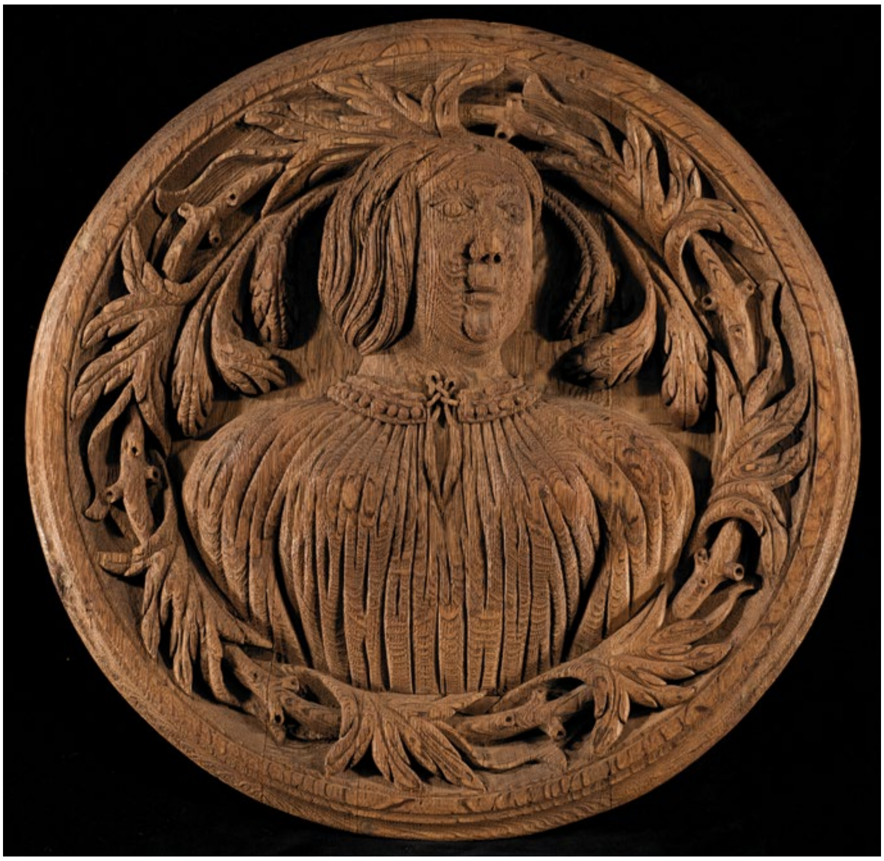


Fig 31 *Stirling Head No. 27: James IV.*

shoulder portrait (Figs 32 and 33). Also, James IV made public, and sometimes barefoot, pilgrimages to the shrines of Saint Duthac at Tain and Saint Ninian at Whithorn. If he was barefoot, he was also most likely wearing a penitential shift.[103]

James IV's public penance for an act of violence demonstrates a merging of knightly and Christian virtues in the demonstration of *humilitas* and so worthiness to serve in God's name. His barefoot pilgrimages, generous alms giving and founding of religious establishments[104] can be related to Lancelot's penance for the slaying, in order to rescue Guinevere from the stake, of Gareth and Gaherys, brothers to Gawain and nephews to King Arthur in Thomas Malory's *Tale of the Death of Arthur* (first published in 1485 by William Caxton). As a peaceful alternative to a war of revenge, Lancelot proposes to found chantries where priests will pray for the souls of Gareth and Gaherys which have been endangered by their untimely deaths and to undertake public penance in his 'shearte' and barefoot.[105] Apparently, to be in one's shirt, means to be coatless rather than trouserless, and the ritual of public penance was to be seen 'to be walking in a public place wearing clothing which suggests humility in exhibiting no symbols of one's worldly calling'.[106] The sexual ambiguity of Stirling Head No. 27 can possibly be explained by a correlation between the ideas of penance, humility and emasculation.

So, does Stirling Head No. 27 look like James IV? The comparisons show some correlation in the shape of the eyes and nose, and the shoulder-length hair as seen in the portrait copied by Daniel Mytens. The most convincing comparison, particularly in the way the hair is tucked into the nape of the neck, is with the representation of the young James IV in the *Trinity College Altarpiece* by Hugo van der Goes (c 1436–82) (Fig 34).

Fig 32 *James IV and Margaret Tudor*, *The Seton Armorial* (1591). Acc. 9309.f.18. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

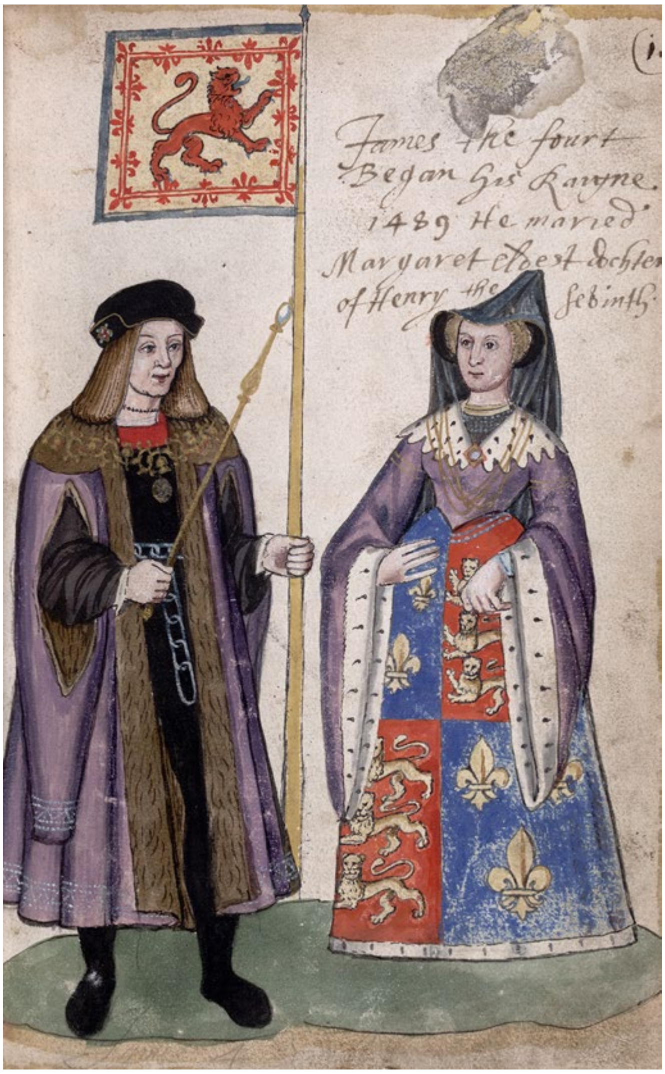
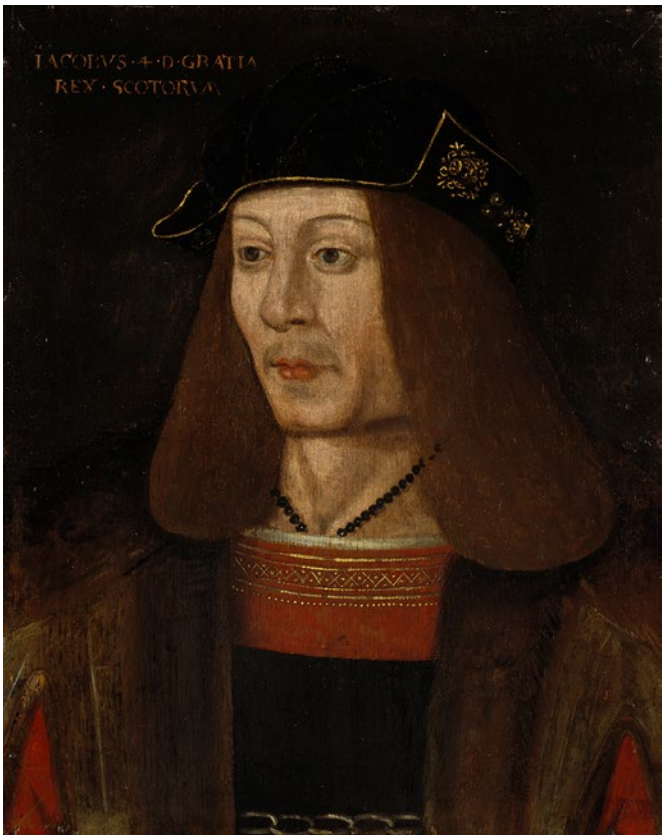


Fig 33 Unknown, *James IV (reigned 1488–1513)*, (c 1579), oil on panel, 41.2 x 33. National Galleries of Scotland. Purchased 1909.



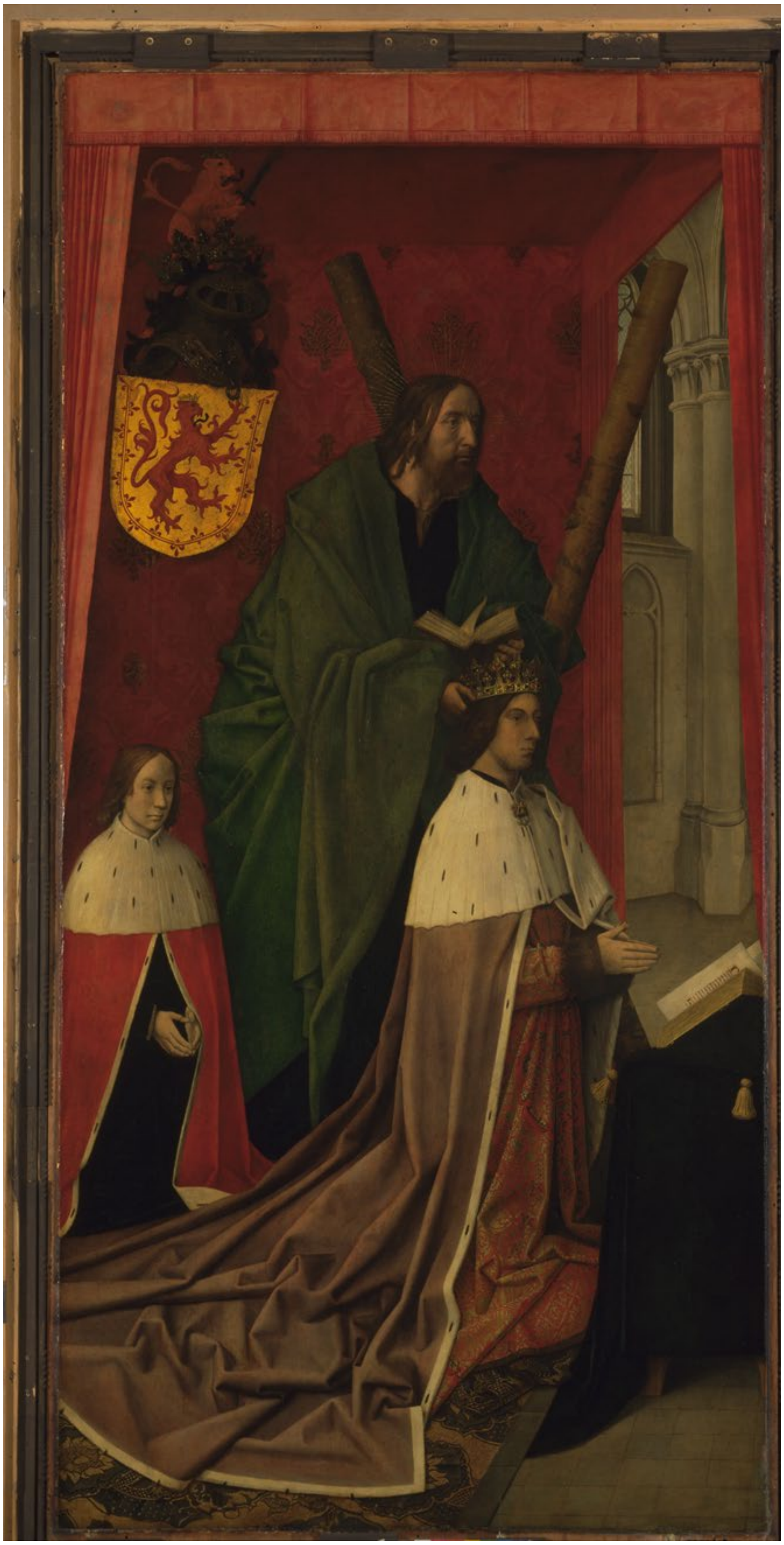


Fig 34 Hugo van der Goes (c 1440–1482, Flemish), 'James III and Prince James Presented by St Andrew', *Trinity College Altarpiece, (c 1478–9)*, oil on panel, 202 x 100.5 cm. National Galleries of Scotland, on loan from the Royal Collection. © The Royal Collection 2001, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Peers

Stirling Head No. 13: Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor?

Stirling Head No. 13 (Fig 35) is one of the finest of the Stirling Heads in terms of force of expression and subtlety of character, and eclipses Stirling Head No. 12, *James V*. It must be based upon a high-quality portrait and surely represents a person of significance beyond the Scottish court.

Charles V (1500–58, Holy Roman Emperor from 1519) invested James V with the Order of the Golden Fleece in April 1532. Cameron explains: 'James's quest for a bride went beyond France and the English alternative of Mary Tudor; he considered the various imperial options on offer, and this brought him the Order of the Golden Fleece.'[107] Scotland had an important part to play in the ever-shifting balance of power between France, England and the Holy Roman Empire. Although Francis I and Charles V fought over the territorial control of northern Italy, during the years Stirling Castle Palace was most likely being constructed (1538–42) they were at peace and James V was drawn in to their political scheming against Henry VIII: 'More alarming for Henry was the fact that Francis I and Charles V met in July 1538, and by early 1539 were contemplating carving up England with James's assistance.'[108]

If Charles V sent an image of himself along with the Order of the Golden Fleece, what form might this have taken? The collar was accompanied by a book of statutes which may have been illuminated with a portrait of Charles V.[109] Unfortunately, the year 1532 falls within a relatively blank space in the portraiture of Charles V:

> … Charles's restless life, dictated by political and military events, rarely allowed him to sit for artists. In his youth he posed occasionally for court artists of his aunt, Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, at Malines. In his later years he was fortunate in securing the services of Titian and Leone Leoni, and refused to be portrayed by others; for he appreciated not only their extraordinary talents but even more their concept of him as a ruler.[110]

There are, however, some portraits of Charles V, or copies of portraits, painted by northern European artists in the early 1530s. Most notably, Margaret of Austria sent Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen to Augsburg in 1530 to make a portrait of her nephew, and various copies of this survive (Fig 36). This portrait compares

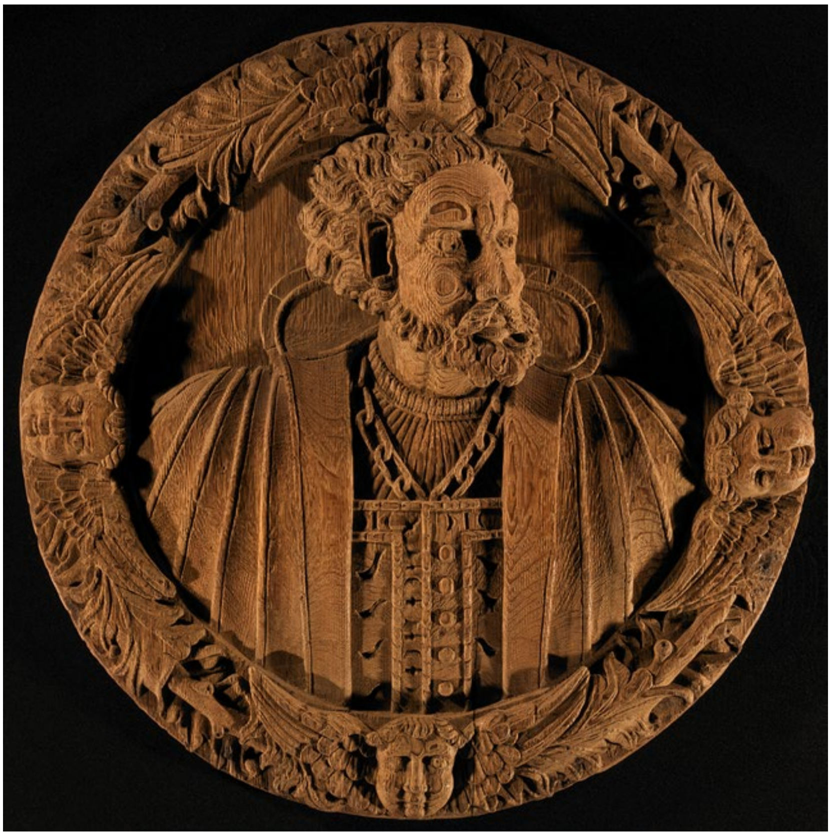
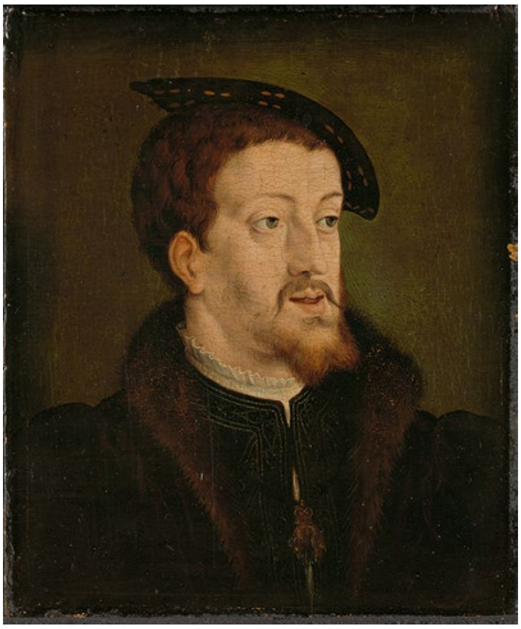


Fig 35 (*left*) *Stirling Head No. 13: Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.*

Fig 36 (*below*) Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (c 1500–59, Netherlandish), *Charles V*, (c 1530), oil on panel, 16.4 x 14 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



closely to Stirling Head No. 13: the angle of the head (facing right and slightly down), the very distinctive long jaw, arched nose, staring eyes and short hair curling back off the face are strikingly similar. One characteristic feature, the emperor's open mouth, has been omitted.

The style of slashed doublet and shirt, however, is closest to the widely circulated portrait of the young Charles V by Berneart van Orly (1514–16), a copy of which was in Henry VIII's collection (Fig 37). The cloak worn by Stirling Head No. 13 is distinctive and, presumably, deliberately so. It falls from the shoulder in multiple folds and the revers seem to form a hood behind. According to Maria Hayward:

> The cloak was less common as an outer garment in the earlier part of Henry's reign than the gown ... However, from the 1540s onwards the cloak became increasing popular. Worn over the doublet, it was predominantly a short, knee-length garment, circular or semi-circular in shape.

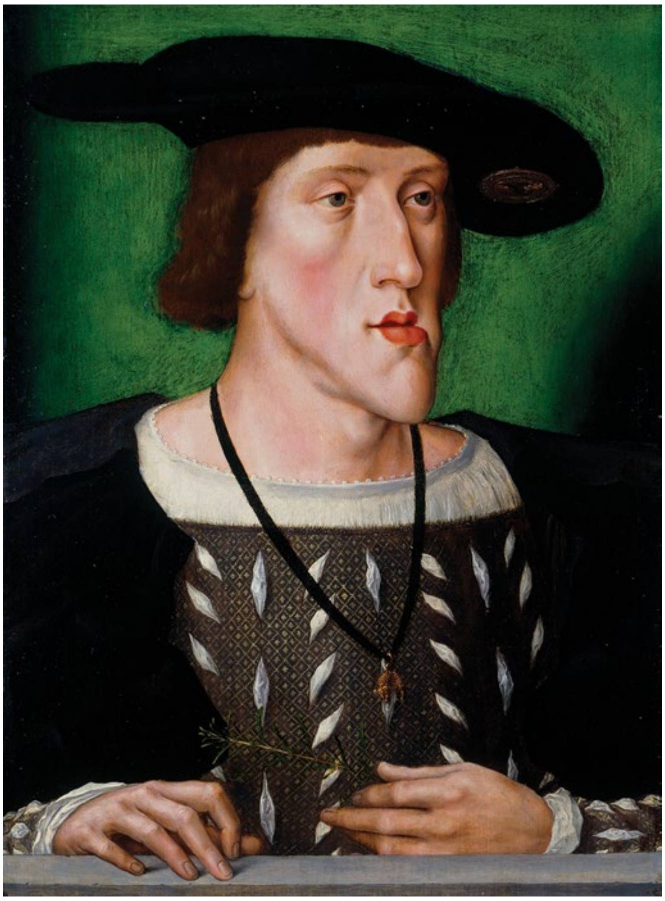


Fig 37 Flemish School, after Berneart van Orly (1491/2–1542, Netherlandish), *Emperor Charles V (1500–58)*, (c 1515), oil on panel 43.8 x 32.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022

> A specific type of short, circular cloak was referred to as the Spanish cloak, and during this period it was very much in fashion at court.[111]

Norris calls the Spanish cloak a *muceta* and says that, being circular or almost circular, it fell in numerous folds and normally had a hood.[112] The lining could be turned back to form revers and a collar (Fig 38). The 1539 inventory of James V's wardrobe lists four black 'Spanye Cloikis', three of which had passementerie borders.[113]

Is Stirling Head No. 13, therefore, meant to say 'Spain'? Through the strategic intermarriage of the Habsburg, Valois, Castilian and Aragonese dynasties, Charles inherited territories in Austria, Burgundy (the Burgundian Netherlands and Franche-Comté) and Spain. As Charles I, he was the first king to rule over both Castile and Aragon. He himself married Isabella of Portugal. Charles V is always depicted wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece, and this is absent here. Neither, however, is James V wearing the Order of the Thistle/Saint Andrew in Stirling Head No. 12. The significance of the cherub border needs clarification, but it probably suggests high and quasi-divine status. If Charles V was present, it is highly likely that Francis I was, too.

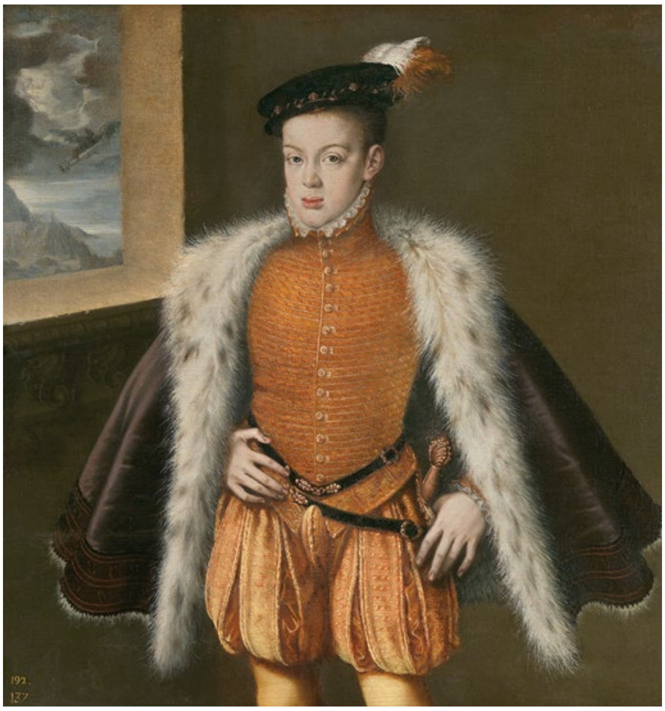


Fig 38 Alonso Sanchez Coello (1531–88, Spanish), *Prince don Carlos of Austria, son of Philip II (c 1558)*, oil on canvas, 109 x 95 m. © Museo del Prado, Madrid.

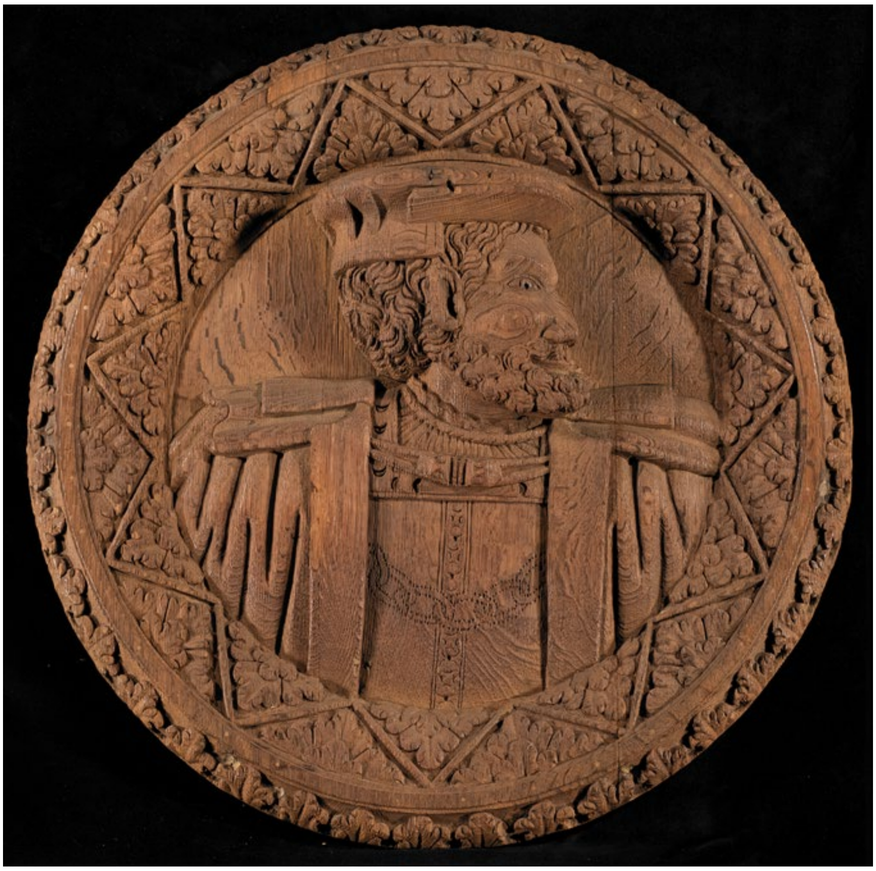


Fig 39 *Stirling Head No. 24: John Stewart, 2nd Duke of Albany (1484–1536)?*

Stirling Head No. 24: John Stewart, 2nd Duke of Albany?

Given that the subject is wearing a substantial chain, Stirling Head No. 24 (Fig 39) must represent an important member of the Scottish court. Like No. 13, they may also be wearing a cloak, this time with a fastening across the chest. The figure wears a plain, full-crown, split-brim bonnet with the brim turned down at the back and no feather. Given the rounded shape of the nose and the set of the mouth, could this be John Stewart, 2nd Duke of Albany and grandson of James II (c 1484–1536), regent to James V from 1515 to 1524 (Fig 40)?

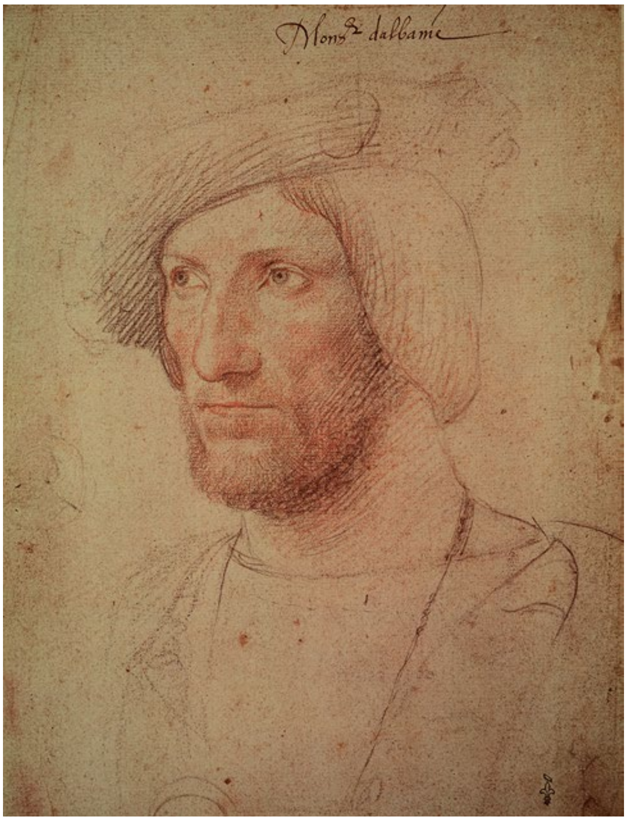


Fig 40 After Jean Clouet (1485/90–1540/1, Flemish), *Jean Stuart, duc d'Albany, comte de La Marche*, (c 1533), black and red chalk on paper, 25 x 18.5 cm. © Musée Condé, Chantilly / Bridgeman Images.

COURTIERS

ITALIAN DRESS

Stirling Head No. 18: Female courtier in Italian dress

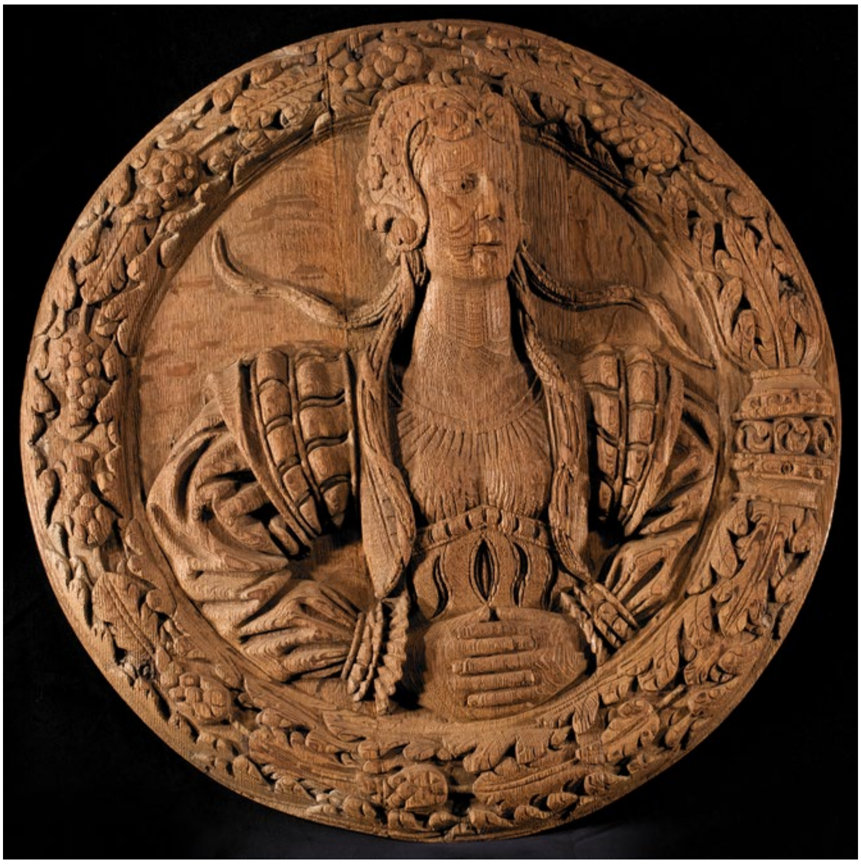
While the carving of the face is not so fine, like Stirling Head No. 13, Stirling Head No. 18 (Fig 41) must be based upon a high-quality portrait and, again, this raises questions as to the significance of the person represented. Stirling Heads Nos 16, 25 and 28 also represent female members of the court but are conventional in comparison to Stirling Head No. 18 where the subject emerges from the frame in three-quarter view, including the hands.

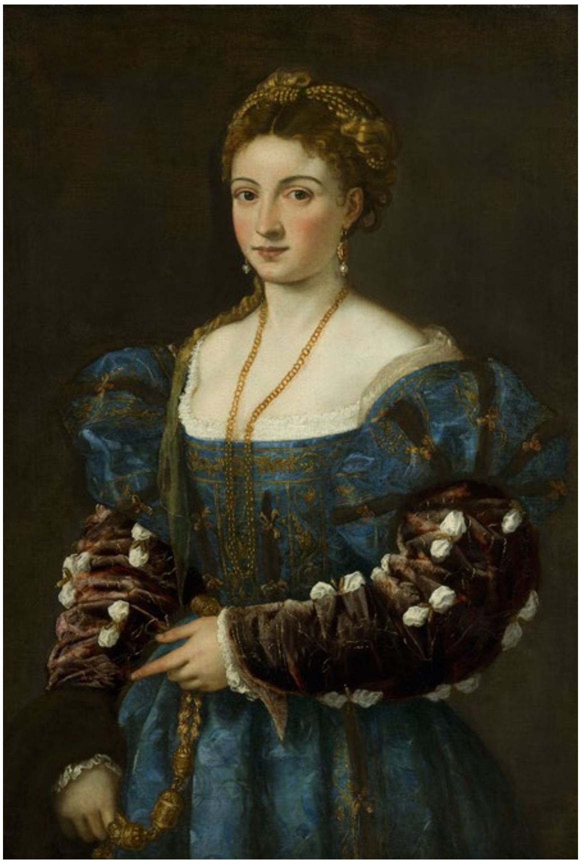
As a celebrated womaniser, northern-Italian female fashion appealed to Francis I in that it was contrived to enhance and give emphasis to a new voluptuous Venus-like aesthetic of female beauty. The wide over-sleeves, gathered cuffs of the lower sleeve and the full skirt gathered into a natural waistline are typical of Italian fashion in the first half of the 16th century. The low, square-cut bodice sitting beneath the bust, however, was specific to northern Italy and Venice.[114] Modesty does not seem to have been an issue with Stirling Head No. 18, and the breast is barely concealed by a low-cut chemise.

Titian's (1490–1576, Venice) *La Bella* (1536) (Fig 42) may represent an ideal north Italian beauty rather than an actual woman. The dress seen in various Italian portraits of the 1520s, 1530s and 1540s compares closely to that seen in Stirling Head No. 18.

Fig 41 (*below left*) *Stirling Head No. 18: Female Courtier in Italian dress.*

Fig 42 (*below right*) Titian (Tiziano Vecellio, 1490–1576, Italian), *La Bella* (1536), oil on canvas, 89 x 76 cm. © Galleria Palatina/Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Bridgeman Images.

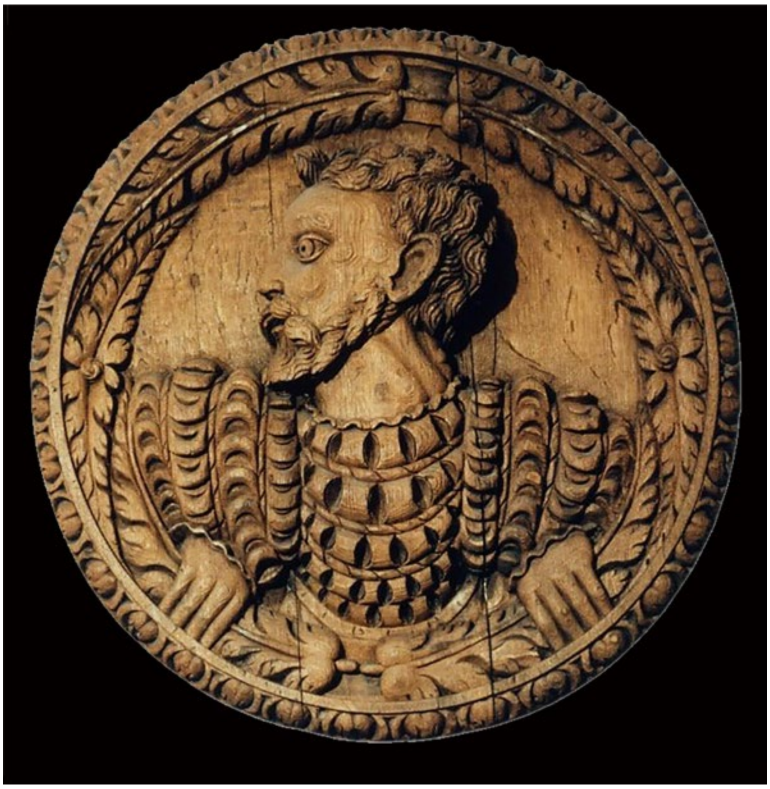




The most telling comparison, with reference to both hairstyle and dress, is with Titian's *La Bella*. The sitter's hair is elaborately braided forming the equivalent of a headdress, and one bound tress (presumably there are more) is laid over her shoulder. She wears wide, low-cut bodice with the chemise just showing and full over-sleeves.

Stirling Heads Nos 22 and 23: The slashed doublet

Stirling Heads Nos 22 and 23 (Figs 43 and 44) are the only two Stirling Heads where the subject grasps the frame. Neither is wearing a dignifying gown or chain. They appear to be wearing just a doublet with a shirt appearing as ruffs at the high, round neck and bottom of the sleeve. In both cases the doublets are slashed, but not in the manner of the doublets seen in portraits of James V, Francis I and Henry VIII. The closest comparisons are with doublets seen in portraits Italian courtiers and literati such as Agnolo Bronzino's *Portrait of a Young Man*



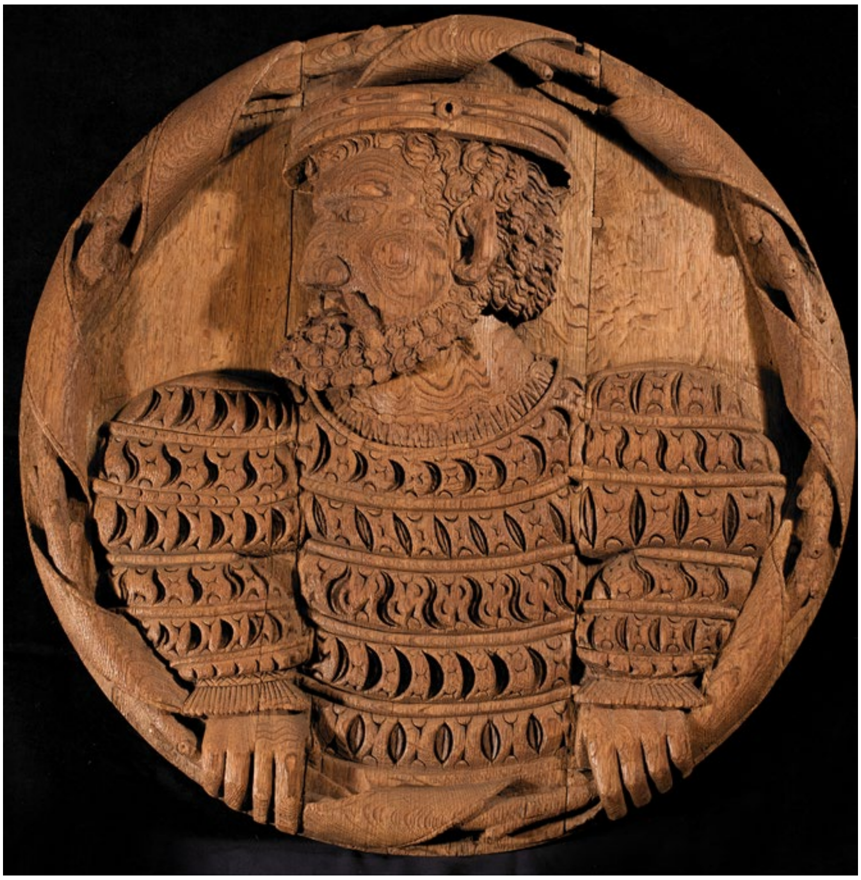


Fig 43 (left) *Stirling Head No. 22: Male Courtier in a Slashed Doublet.*

Fig 44 (above) *Stirling Head No. 23: Male Courtier in a Slashed Doublet.*

(c 1540) (Fig 45). The fabric is made up of ribbons held together by parallel bands, creating a three-dimensional tiered effect full of movement more accurately recreated by the carver of Stirling Head No. 23 than the carver of Stirling Head No. 22. These doublets may represent elegant Italian male fashion, although the older subject of Stirling Head No. 22 wears his with a certain awkwardness. Here there may be a military reference. The origin of the doublet was a quilted double-layer garment worn as a cushioning layer under armour.

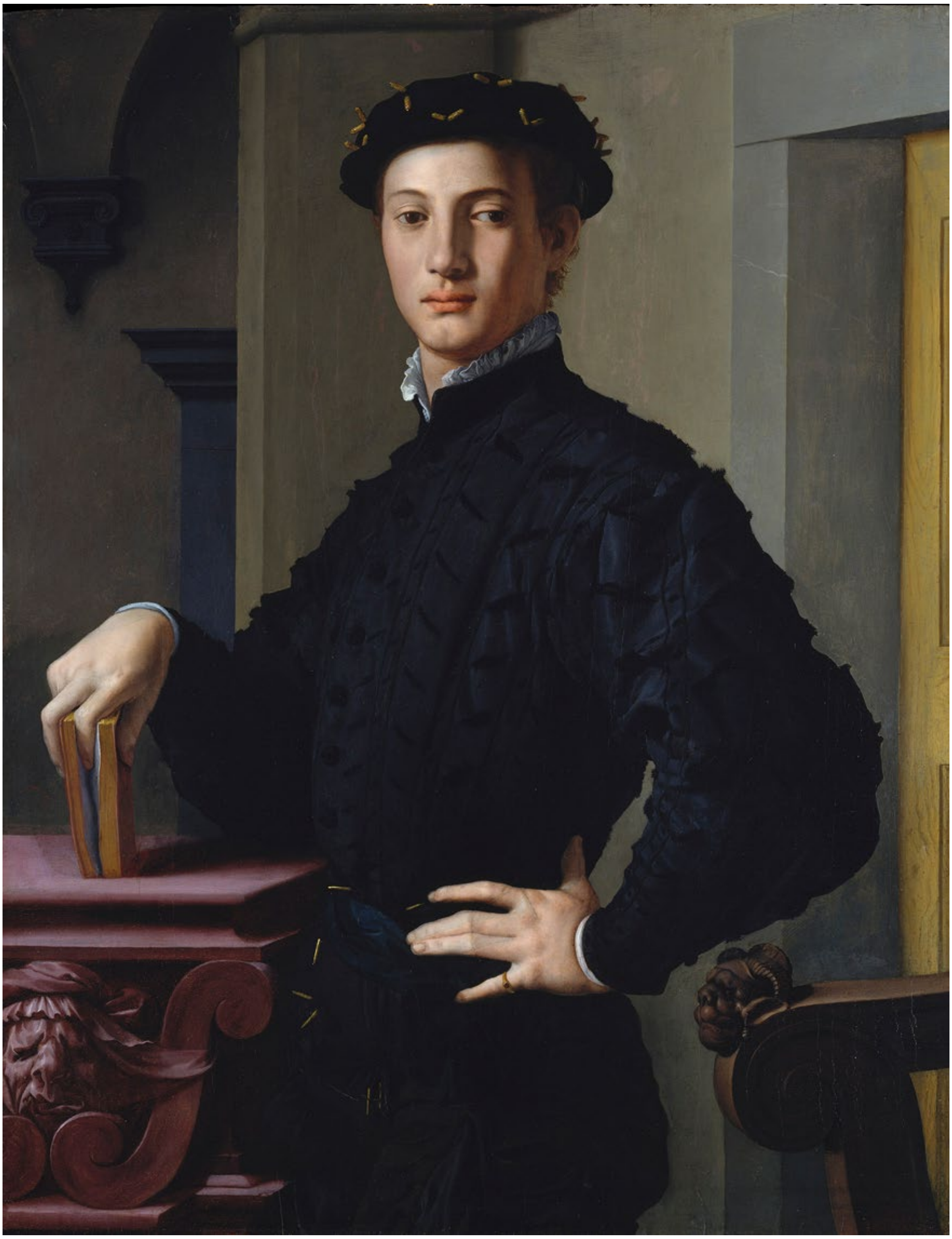


Fig 45
Agnolo Bronzino (1503–72, Italian), *Portrait of a Young Man* (1530s), oil on wood, 96 x 75 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

Stirling Head No. 14: The poet?

Stirling Head No. 14 (Fig 46) is wearing a similar doublet to Stirling Heads Nos 22 and 23, but with a sleeveless jerkin over it similar to that seen in Bronzino's portrait of Bartolomeo Panciatichi (c 1540) (Fig 47). What the explanation of the ballet-leap pose might be remains unclear. The pose and trailing ribbons suggest a poetic interpretation. The hand-on-heart in homage to a woman is seen in Elizabethan miniature portraits such as *Young Man among Roses* by Nicholas Hilliard (Fig 48). Most singular is the border made up of heads of birds with hooked beaks. If these are parrots, they may be a reference to Sir David Lyndsay's (1490–1555) *Testament and Complaynt of Our Soverane Lordis Papyngo* (completed 1530) (Fig 49).

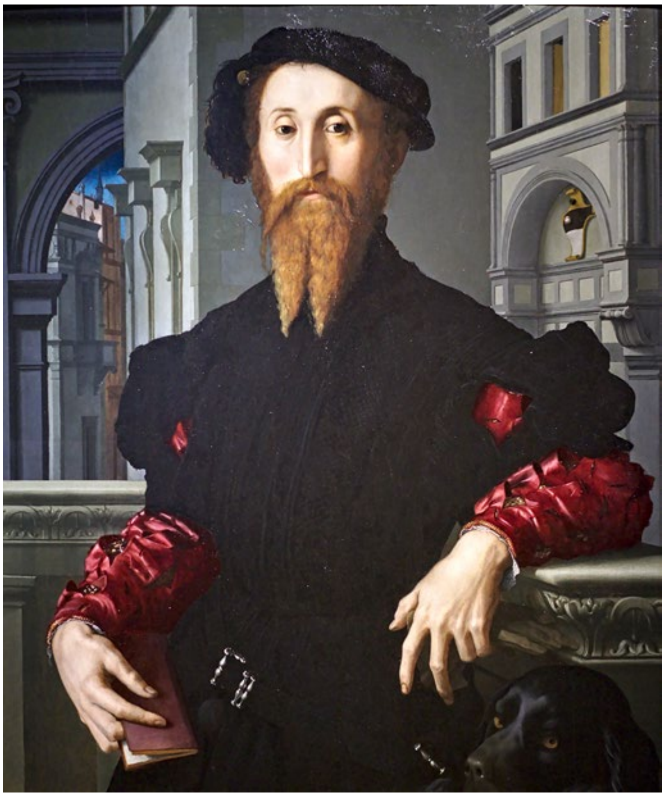


Fig 46 (*below*) *Stirling Head No. 14: A Poet (Sir David Lyndsay?).*

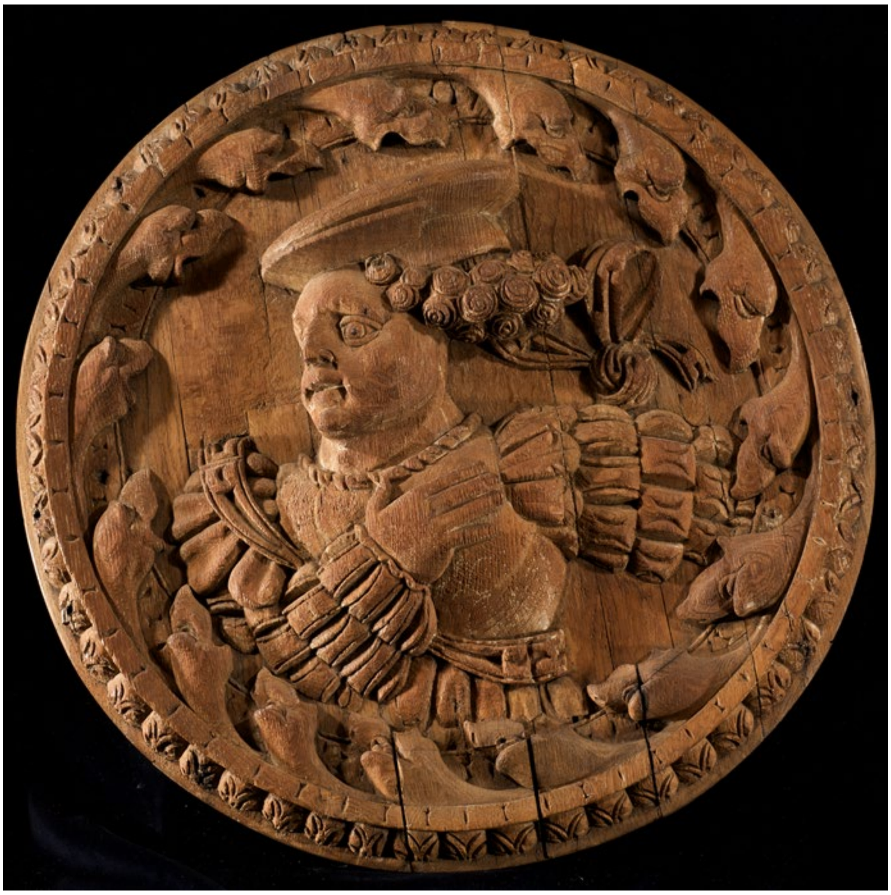


Fig 47 (*above*) Agnolo Bronzino, *Bartolomeo Panciatichi*, (c 1540), oil on wood, 104 x 84 cm.
Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Mondadori Portfolio/Archivio Antonio Quattrone/ Antonio Quattrone/Bridgeman Images.

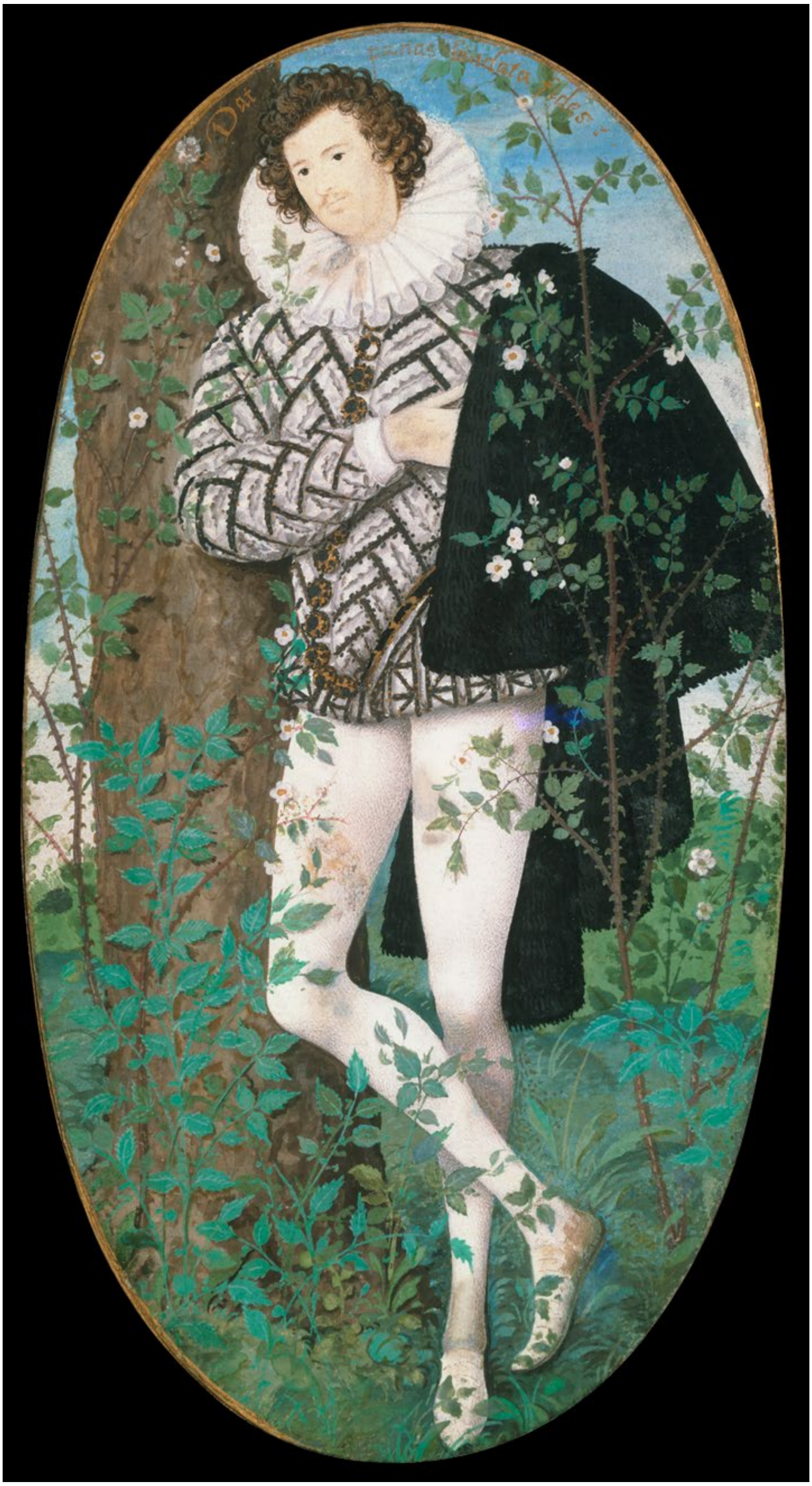


Fig 48 Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619, English) Y*oung Man Among Roses*, portrait miniature, possibly Robert Deveraux, 2nd Earl of Essex, (1585-95), (c 1587), watercolour on vellum stuck onto card, 13.5 x 7.3 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Bequeathed by George Salting.

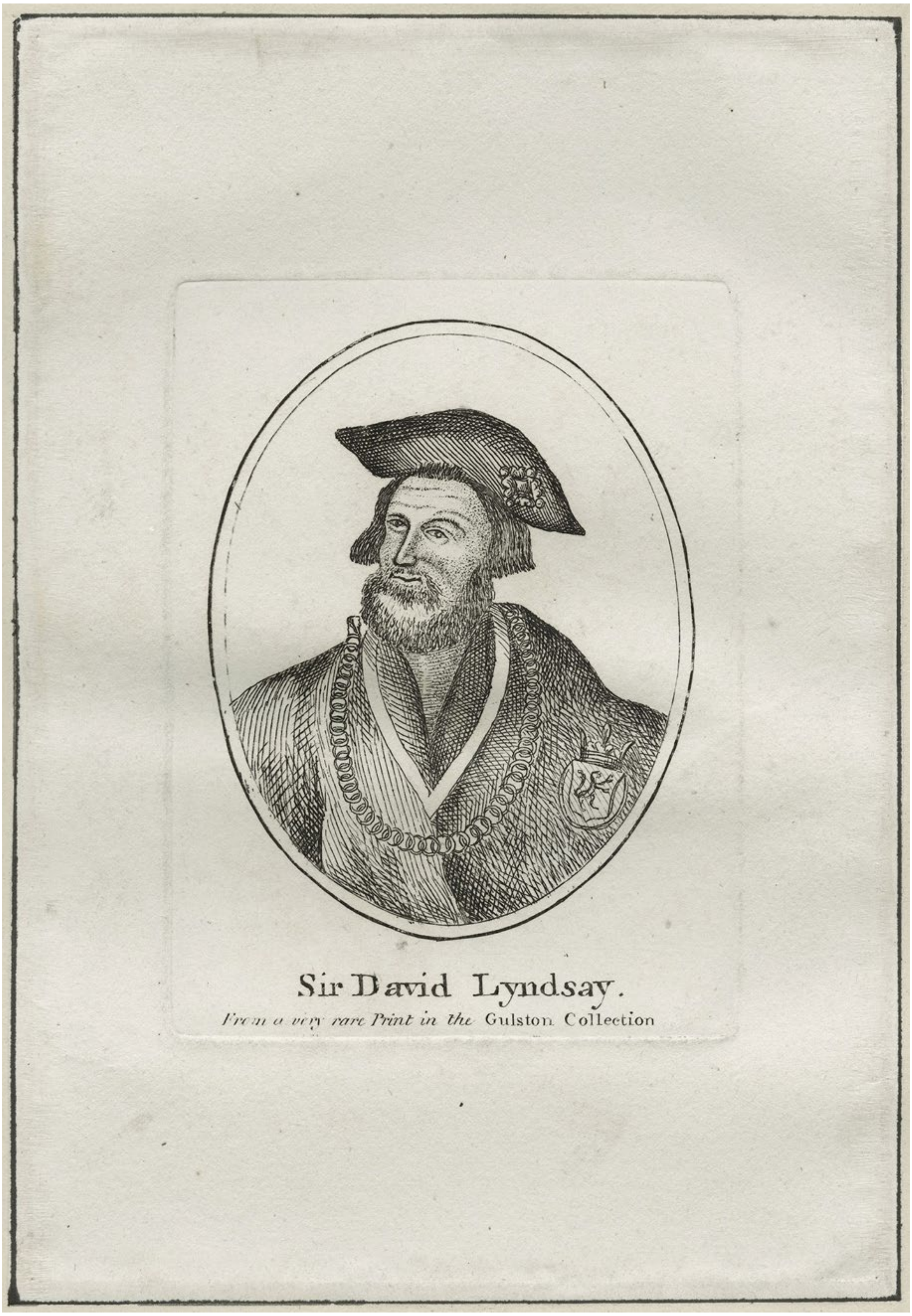

Sir David Lyndsay.
From a very rare Print in the Gulston Collection

Fig 49
Unknown, *Sir David Lindsay, poet and Lyon King at Arms (1490–1555)*, line engraving, late 18th century. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

FRENCH DRESS

Stirling Head No. 16: A 'woman of France'

The dress of Stirling Head No. 16 (Fig 50) is singularly French, and the message is clearly 'a woman of France'. As the subject is wearing a French hood, the message might also be modesty and virtue. Herbert Norris quotes Rabelais (c 1494–1553) on how women at the French court varied their style of headdress according to season and occasion: 'In spring the Spanish, in summer the fashions of Tuscany, except on Holydays and Sundays at which time they were of the French mode, because they accounted it more honourable, and better befitting the garb of grave purity.'[115]

The French hood enjoyed a long period of popularity; introduced in the 1520s, it was in high fashion at the time the Stirling Heads were carved and did not disappear until the early 17th century. Given its longevity and assimilation into English and Flemish/Netherlandish fashion, its structure was subject to variation.[116] Its classic early structure and ornament is well known from the portraits of royal and noble women, both French and English (Fig 51). It was a shallow (2 to 3 inches), stiff (could be wired), close-fitting band (satin or velvet, seemingly usually black, red or white) which, while it arched back from the forehead revealing the hair (centrally parted), swept forwards to cover the ears. It flared slightly outwards and upwards towards the crown. Typically, the front and back edge of a French hood were ornamented with *billements* or *habillements*, bands made of silk, satin or velvet, lined with sarcenet or silk, and serving as a support for pearls or jewels. Alternatively, and exceptionally, they might be fabricated from gold. The *upper billement* swept down to the neck behind the ear and the *nether billement* swept forwards over the ear and onto the cheek. The French hood carried a drape, a single piece of double fabric, normally black and sometimes pleated, which fell with a soft 90-degree fold to the shoulders. An undercap would be worn and its embroidered or pleated edge/fringe would be visible at the front.[117] The French hood worn by Stirling Head No. 16, however, is very plain and has no *billements*. There is a contradiction, however, between the plainness of the French hood and the elaborate detail of the gown. While a central parting is visible, suggesting that it is meant to appear set

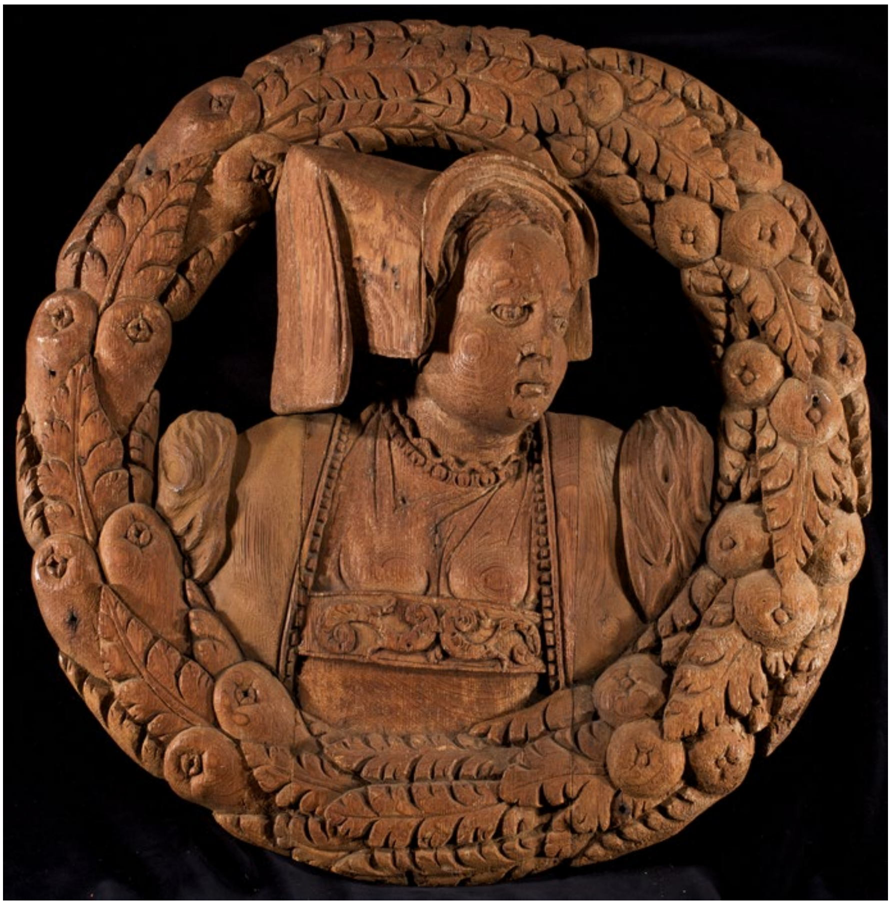
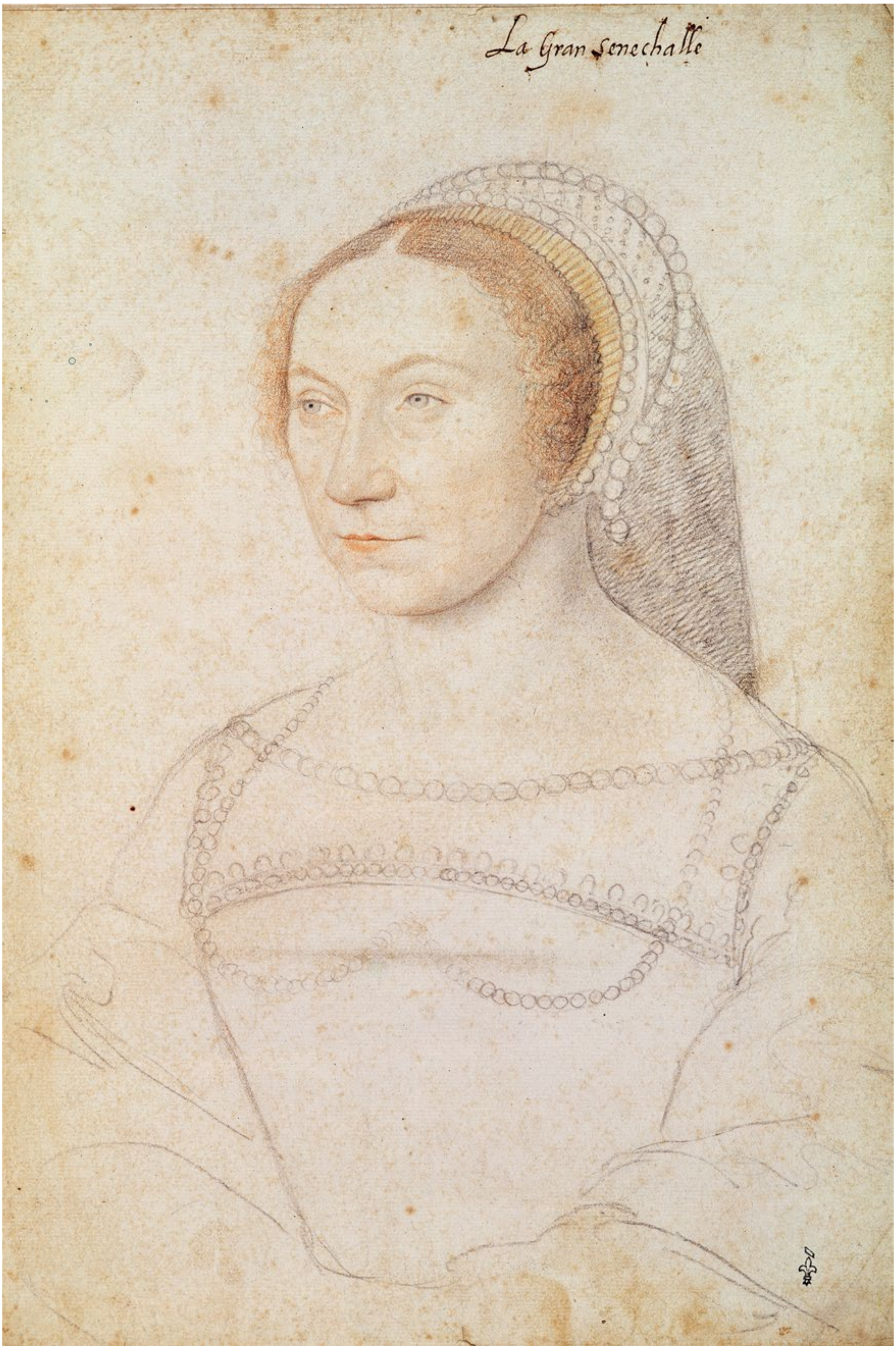


Fig 50 (*left*) *Stirling Head No.16: Female Courtier in French Dress.*

Fig 51 (*opposite*) François Clouet, *Diane de Poitiers, Duchesse de Valentinois*, (c 1540) black and red chalk with pastel on paper, 32.6 x 22 cm. © Musée Condé, Chantilly / Bridgeman Images.


La Gran senechalle

back on the head, it does not conform to the classic French hood described above in that the edge of the undercap seems to be turned up, the sides are straight and do not sweep forwards and it is very deep. The explanation may be simply that the carver was trying to reproduce an unfamiliar fashion item only partially visible in the portrait or drawing being used as a model.

The *Lacunar Strevelinense* identified No. 16 as Margaret Tudor, probably due to the presence of what in the 19th century was thought to be a portrait of her by Holbein in the collection of the Marquis of Lothian at Newbattle Abbey. The unidentified woman in the portrait is wearing French court costume (Fig 52).[118]

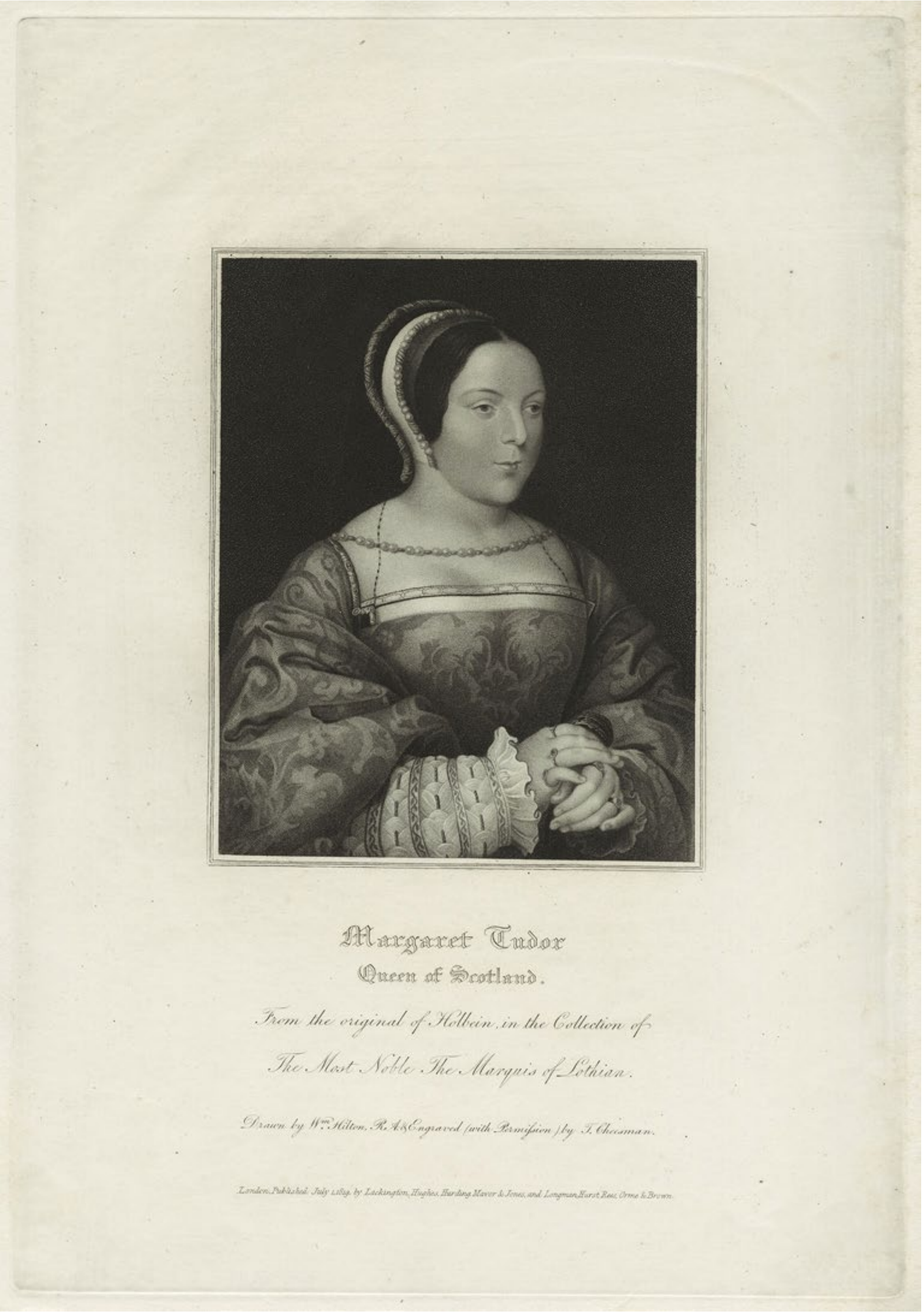

Margaret Tudor
Queen of Scotland.
From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of
The Most Noble The Marquis of Lothian.
Drawn by Wm. Hilton, R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by T. Cheesman.
London, Published July 1819 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding Mavor & Jones, and Longman Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown.

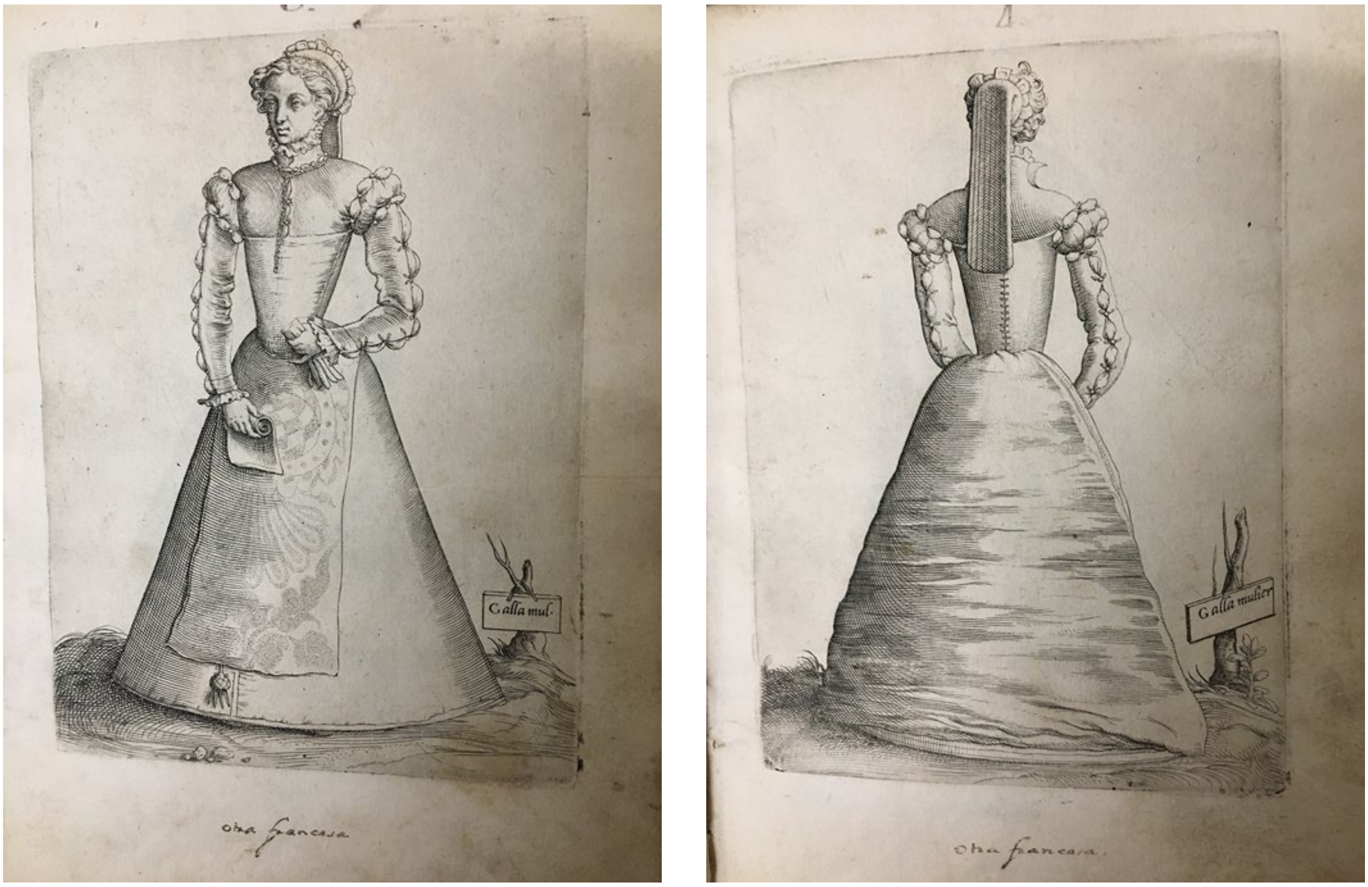
Fig 52 Thomas Cheesman (1760–1834, British) after Jean Clouet, *Marie d'Assigny, Madame de Canaples* (*1502–58*), engraved as Margaret Tudor by Hans Holbein, (published 1819 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown), stipple engraving, 37.8 x 26.4 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

The bodice and sleeves seen in Stirling Head No. 16 are typical of the fashions worn at the French court after the arrival of Eleanor of Austria, Francis I's second wife and sister of Charles V. Following Francis I's defeat at the Battle of Pavia in 1525 and the consequent confirmation of the political supremacy of the Habsburg Empire, it was inevitable that Spanish fashions would begin to dominate European dress.[119] According to Boucher, by the mid-16th century Spanish female fashion had two essential characteristics, the tight bodice and the farthingale:

> A stiff, high bodice ending with a point at the waist, lined with stiff canvas and edged with wire, the *corps* imposed a virtually geometrical form on the bust and lengthened the waist, compressing the breasts until they almost disappeared. The *farthingale* was a stiff, bell-shaped underskirt to which were sewn hoops made of supple switches of wood (*verdugo*) to hold out the skirt which was not gathered at the waist, thus accentuating the slimness of the body … Thus the general outline from head to foot was a stiff cone.[120]

The sitter in No. 16 wears a low, tight-fitting and square-cut bodice edged with a band of grotesque pattern embroidery. This seems to come to a point at the waist. Typically for the mid-16th century, a fine chemise (undergarment) or separate *partlet* (covering for the neck) is visible underneath and has a low stand-up collar with a frill at the neck.[121] A string of beads or a chain falls from the shoulders. The carving of the sleeves suggests that they were puffed: the seams of the sleeves could be left open and either the sleeves of the fine lawn chemise beneath or a white lining pulled through ('pullings out')[122] to form tiers of puffs. Janet Arnold interprets the sleeves seen in the drawings labelled a 'Woman of France' by the Italian Enea Vico in his treatise on national dress, *Habitus Nostrae Aetatis* (c 1556), as being 'open at the seam, with puffs of smock pulled through' (Figs 53A and 53B).[123] The fashion for exaggeratedly puffed sleeves may have arrived in France with Eleanor of Austria (see Fig 15). When she entered the city of Bordeaux on 13 July 1530:

Fig 53A and 53B Enea Vico (1523–67, Italian), 'A French Woman', *Habitus Nostrae Aetatis*, (c 1556), engraving. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

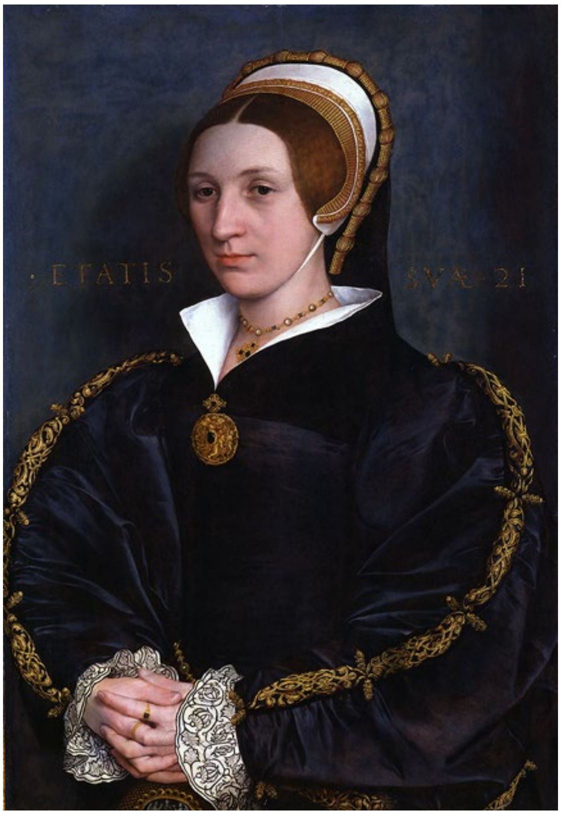


> The Queen … dressed in the Spanish manner, had on her head a coif or crispine of cloth of gold made of golden butterflies and in which was her hair, wound with ribbons, and hanging down to her heels. She had a bonnet of crimson velvet covered with gems and trimmed with a white feather … Her dress of crimson velvet was lined with white taffeta and from its sleeves, which were covered with gold and silver embroidery, white taffeta was puffed out instead of the chemise.[124]

Vico's drawings also illustrate the conical Spanish farthingale (an underskirt with hoops of wicker, wood, wire or whalebone) with the lowest hoop visible beneath the gown in the back view.

Stirling Head No. 28: The 'bongrace'

The headdress with the veil folded and pinned on top of the head seen in Stirling Head No. 28 (Fig 54) may be an attempt to represent a *bongrace* or sunshade. This was an adjustment of the veil normally worn with the French hood, intended to shade the eyes from strong sunlight. Stirling Head No. 28 seems to be wearing a severe version of the French hood, the *billements* turning at 90 degrees around the forehead, with a chin strap (Fig 55). The carver of Stirling Head



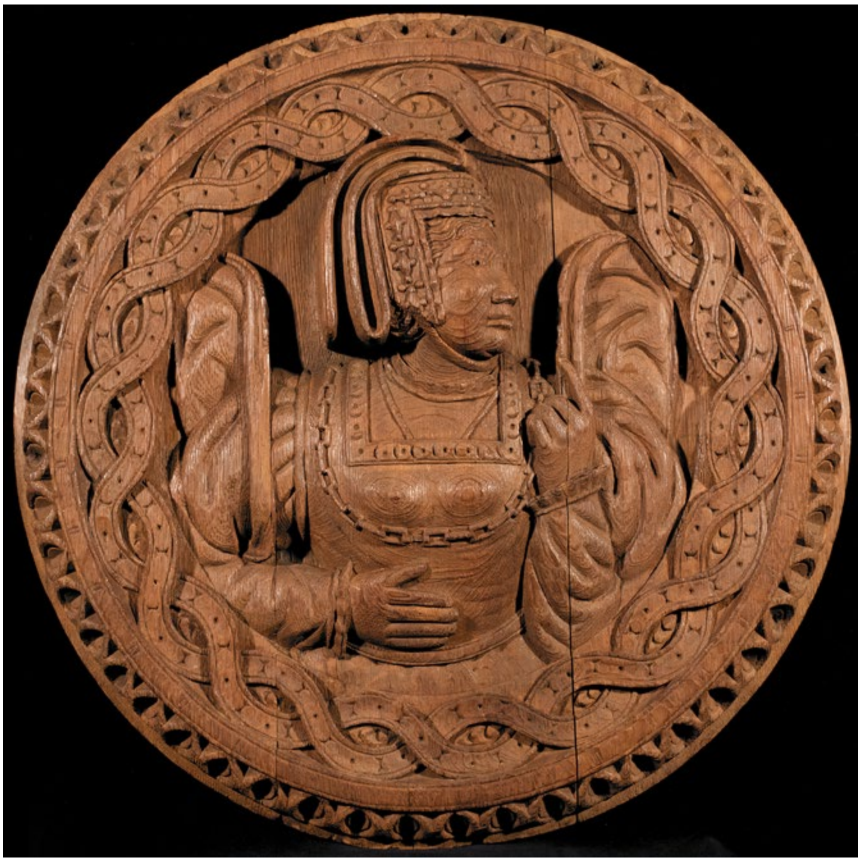


Fig 54 (*left*) *Stirling Head No 28: The 'bongrace'.*

Fig 55 (*above*) Hans Holbein, *Unknown Woman, probably a member of the Cromwell Family, formerly known as Catherine Howard*, (1535–40), oil on panel, 72.1 x 49.5 cm. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo. Photography Incorporated, Toledo.

No. 28 has also made the sleeves distinctive: they appear to be blowing back on themselves. These may be the bell-shaped over-sleeves of a French gown, intended to be folded back on themselves (see Fig 5).

Stirling Head No. 29: The masque

The only explanation for Stirling Head No. 29 (Fig 56) is that the subject is wearing a masquing costume. The open mouth and raised chin suggest that they are singing, but it would have been unusual for a lady of rank taking part in a masque to have either sung or revealed her face.

The Stewart court under James VI and I and Charles I nurtured the art of the masque as a vehicle of self-justification and self-homage. Roy Strong explains:

> The masque as an art form centred on the Monarch and, although it was elaborated over the years down to 1640, its actual content remained unchanged. It was always a triumph of King and Court over base-minded enemies, of the masquers over the anti-masquers who preceded them … In the masque world the immutable vanquishes the mutable, the virtues, the vices. It was, at its best, a superb Baroque psychomachy, a manifesto in poetry, paint, music and the dance, of the principles of the Divine Right of Kings.[125]

and

> Costume in the designs was always conditioned by two factors: function and rank. The masquers themselves as people of royal and noble rank (it was tradition that they never spoke and concealed their features with masks) always had the richest and most splendid attire … anti-masquers wore exaggerated and bizarre attire.[126]

In its evolved 17th-century form:

> The masque proper starts with a spoken or sung presentation or invocation, sometimes in the form of an incantation or transfiguration; after this the masquers, representing celestial beings, mythological persons or mere products of poetic fancy, descend from the upper stage, led by similarly motivated torchbearers, and dance their Entry or First Dance. After this, optional speeches or dialogues, and usually a song, lead to their second, or Main Dance. As this, a figure dance,

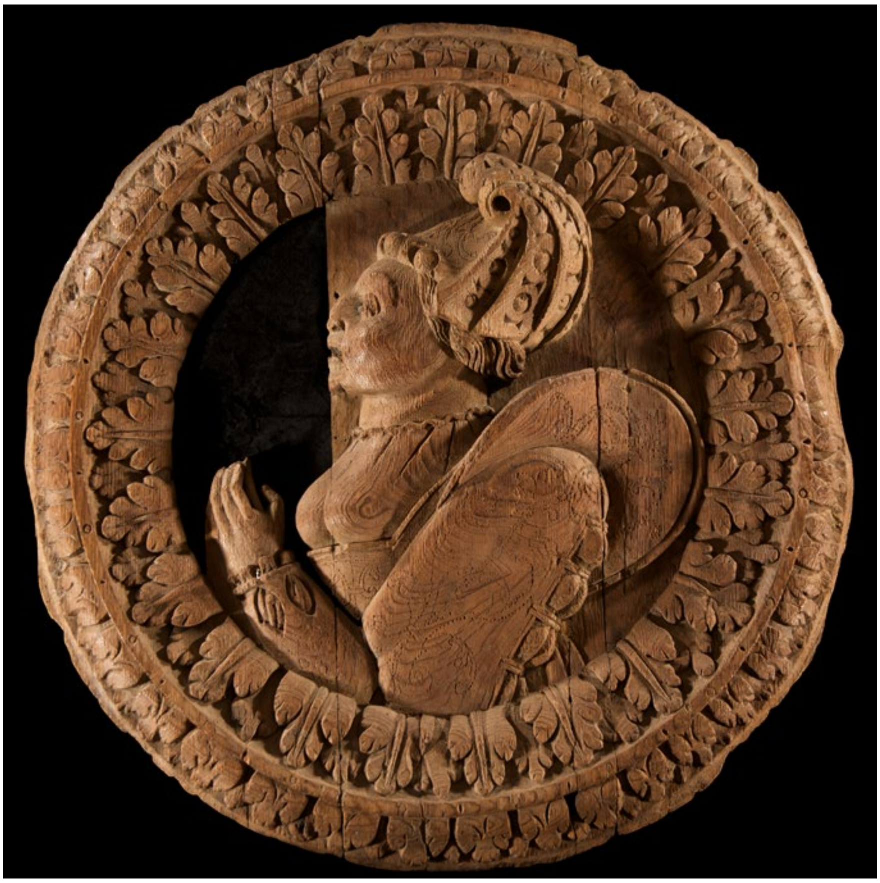


Fig 56 *Stirling Head No. 29: Female Courtier in Masquing Costume.*

> ends, the speaker exhorts the masquers to do the traditionally obvious: to proceed to what was called the Revels, i.e., to take out members of the opposite sex from among the courtly spectators and dance with them a series of dances, starting with a 'Measure' and continuing with Galliards, Corrantos, Voltas, and other lighter dances, for about an hour. In due time the speaker calls them off and after an appropriate song the masquers dance their Last or Departing Dance. A speech or song may follow, during which the masquers return to their original hideout in a rock or cloud and the scene closes.[127]

Arguably, the Stirling Heads and, more pertinently, the sculptural programme on the exterior of Stirling Castle Palace are a static masque or play. The presence of Stirling Head No. 29 may reflect a new cultural trend imported to both Scotland and England from northern Italy via France:

> The Italian custom of masquerading developed during the 15th century in Ferrara and Modena under the active participation of the Este court, became a fashionable entertainment of the *galant* circle of Francis I of France. English noblemen who eagerly picked up the new pastime, so thoroughly enjoyed by the young men of the court and so thoroughly hated by the bourgeoisie of Paris, attempted to transplant it to England. There the traditional disguising or mumming had prepared the ground for the new masquing, and more refined customs in the court reduced its libertine features to *galanterie*.[128]

This line of interpretation needs careful testing with regard to the development of the masque in France c 1540, but the nature of the festivities following the marriage of James V and Madeleine in Paris on New Year's Day 1537 may suggest a context for Stirling Head No. 29. Andrea Thomas has looked at the relevant documents and reports briefly:

> … the evening feast … was followed by dancing and masques, led by James, the dauphin and the cardinal of Lorraine.[129]

Although of a later date (early 17th century), Inigo Jones' (1573–1652) costume designs for an unidentified masque (dated c 1600–5) afford close comparisons. Lady masquers appear in costumes with exotic headdresses, stiff bodices set beneath a barely concealed bust and wings which would be appropriate for a performance of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Fig 57).[130]

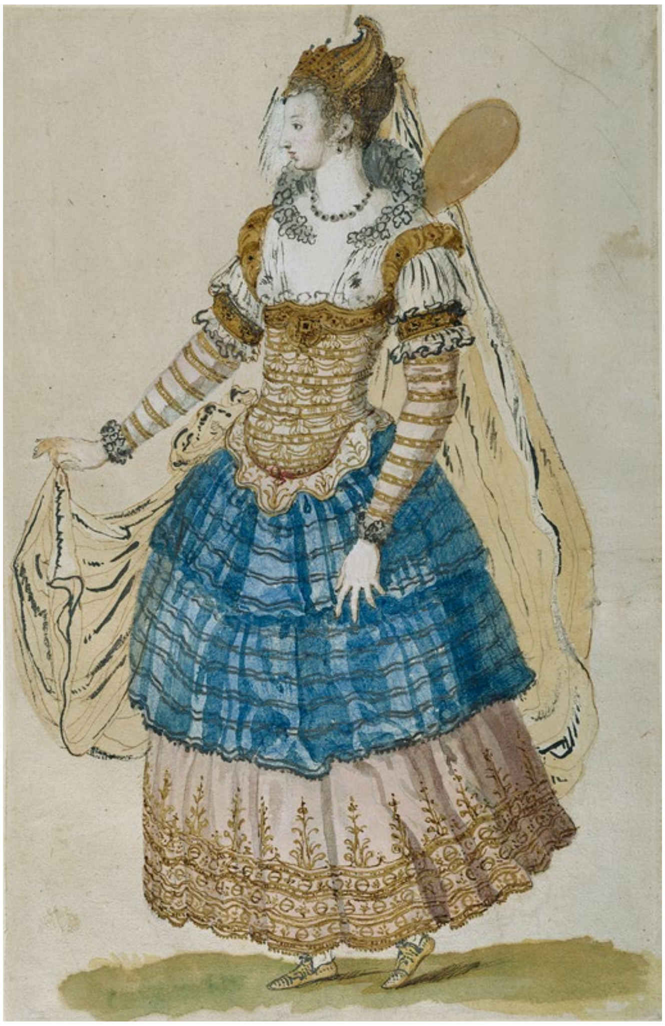


Fig 57 Inigo Jones (1573–1652, English), *Winged Lady Masquers from an Unknown Masque*, (early 17th century), water colour on paper. © Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth / Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees / Bridgeman Images.

THE NINE WORTHIES AND THEIR FEMALE COUNTERPARTS

CHIVALRY AND SCOTLAND

By the 16th century the Nine Worthies were perceived to be historic figures whose deeds exhibited exemplary moral virtue, but, unlike the humanist *uomini famosi*, within a Christian and knightly rather than secular context. Chivalry was already, following the Burgundian model, an important part of the culture of the Scottish court, but Katie Stevenson comments:

> James V … fostered the cult of chivalry at the royal court. Prominence was given to mounted joust [sic] and tournaments, the art of heraldry and the European orders of knighthood. James V presented himself as the ideal Christian knight and was eager for crusading duties, and he led his army on military campaigns.[131]

The Nine Worthies were exemplars of chivalric virtue and crusading endeavour, and were divided into three triads, which embraced pre-Christian and Christian military achievement:

- Pagan Law: Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar
- Old Law: Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus
- New or Christian Law: King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon (ancestor of Marie de Guise).

Maurice Keen explains:

> The three Jewish heroes remind us that the Old Testament is the story of God's chosen nation, which was the spiritual vessel of His purpose for mankind, and through whose service of the one true God the way was made ready for the coming of Christ. Christ's mission, though, was not to the Jews only, and the pagans had a part too in preparing the way for the New Law. Christ came as the Prince of Peace at that point in time when the Romans had conquered the world and established their peace in it … It was the Roman peace, built on the achievement of pagan chivalry – Trojan, Greek and Roman – that made possible the journeys of the apostles, their evangelisation of the gentiles, and the establishment of the Christian church … The three Christian heroes represent the armed force of His new chosen people, the Christian nation, whose mission derives from the earlier traditions; it being to uphold His Peace, to spread His Law, and to guard His Holy Places.[132]

It is thought that these nine heroes were first assembled by the French writer Jacques de Longuyon in *Les Voeux du Paon* or *The Vows of the Peacock* (c 1312), commissioned by the Bishop of Liège, and appeared four years later in a pageant at Arras.[133] As the Middle Ages advanced and kings and princes sought to curtail the power of the nobility, chivalry became increasingly symbolic of loyalty and service to dynastic authority. Chivalric orders were a political tool, which established a reciprocal relationship of obligation and honour between the head of the order and its members. The influence of Humanist texts arguing for an essential connection between virtue and true nobility at the Burgundian court under Philip the Good afforded members of the Order of the Golden Fleece (founded 1430) a moral superiority and so increased obligation.[134] During the reign of James II, who married Mary of Guelders (Philip the Good's great-niece) in 1449, Burgundian influence in Scotland was particularly strong, but the king had to contest leadership of Scotland's chivalric culture with the Douglas family.[135]

Therefore, while the presence of the Nine Worthies among the Stirling Heads may simply confirm James V's credentials as a virtuous prince, given his early struggles with the Scottish nobility, the intended message was probably more politically complex. In dialogue with architecture and the decorative arts, James V used jousting and the rehearsal of the chivalric values of loyalty and service to focus the attention of the nobility upon the court and the king.

While James V received the Orders of the Garter, Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece and is depicted in his official portraits wearing what appears to be the collar of the Scottish equivalent, the Order of the Saint Andrew (later the Order of the Thistle), historians are still debating whether or not there was a Scottish order of chivalry before the 17th century. In 1687, James VII and II 'revived' the Order of the Thistle, but its previous history remains unclear. Before this there is no evidence that a knight received the badge of the order or was styled Knight of the Order of Saint Andrew/Thistle.[136] Meanwhile, however, the appearance of the Order of Saint Andrew in the official portraits of James V requires explanation. Was this merely self-aggrandisement and recognition of the political need for a Scottish order of chivalry with the king at its head, which he never fully succeeded in implementing? The 16th-century Scottish historian John Lesley describes how significant membership of the Orders of the Garter, Saint Michael and the Golden Fleece was to James V's perceived status as a European monarch and his political ascendancy. Saint Andrew was also the patron saint of the Order of the Golden Fleece and, seemingly, the feast days of each order were taken as an opportunity for James V to present himself as a virtuous prince whose worth was internationally recognised:

> The king kept the feasts of these orders with great pomp, and on each occasion wore the corresponding order, so that the princes from whose bounty they had been received might not think them badly bestowed, or shorn of their dignity, but rather increased in lustre by these proofs of gratitude.[137]

The Nine Worthies certainly had a place within Scottish literary culture as *Ane Ballet of the nine Nobles* (c 1440) elects Robert the Bruce as an honorary tenth worthy.[138] Further, John Barbour's (c 1316–95) *The Bruce* (c 1377) compares Robert the Bruce to Judas Macabeaus.[139]

The Stirling Heads representing the Nine Worthies do not compare to any medieval models.[140] The one female worthy among the Stirling Heads compares to the female worthies executed by Lambert Barnard (fl 1508–36, English) in the Queen's Room at Amberley Castle (residence of the Bishops of Chichester) c 1526 for Robert Sherborne (c 1450–1536), Bishop of Chichester.[141]

THE NINE WORTHIES AND MARRIAGE

The worthies were essentially connected with the duty of the prince to secure peace for his people. As royal marriage was a brokering of peace and concord between two nations, there may have been a tradition of pageants of the Nine Worthies, with their female counterparts, being performed at weddings (evidence is fragmentary and the sources are unreliable and vague). A pageant of the Nine Worthies and their female counterparts seems to have formed part of the celebrations for the marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip II (1554). There was a strongly Arthurian theme to the marriage celebrations of Margaret Tudor and James IV, and these may have included such a pageant.[142] The royal entry staged for Margaret Tudor by the city of Aberdeen in 1511, known only from William Dunbar's poem *Blyth Aberdeane*, included a monumental figure of Robert the Bruce as a symbol of James IV's chivalric prowess.[143]

The list of the male Worthies is relatively fixed, but that of the female worthies was reinvented to suit different political agendas. Being a female equivalent of the 'man of action' seems to have been important:

> A female Worthy is a queen or leader manifesting the same kind of excellence as a Hector, a David, or an Arthur … Above all, each of them was warlike … Parallels may be drawn between Hector and Penthesilea, Alexander and Semiramis, David (or Joshua) and Deborah, Judas Maccabaeus and Judith (or Esther), Arthur and Boadicea (or Ethelfleda).[144]

At the wedding of Mary Tudor (1554) the female worthies included Boadicea, Ethelfleda, Margaret, Matilda and, as honorary members, the queen and her sister Elizabeth.[145] Burgkmair's female Worthies were appropriate to the cultural context of Augsburg in the early decades of the 16th century and the political agenda of his patron Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor:

> Lucretia (Chastity); Veturia (defended Rome against defeat by her son Coriolanus); Virginia (Chastity); Esther; Judith; Jael (Judith and Jael – assassination of a leader opposed to Israel); Helena (Roman empress); Bridget of Sweden; and Elizabeth of Hungary (ancestress of Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor).

IDENTIFICATION

There is no fixed iconography for the Nine Worthies and they are normally identified by their coats of arms.[146] As these are absent within the Stirling Heads, none of the Nine Worthies, or their female counterparts, can be identified with any certainty except for Stirling Head No. 7, *Julius Caesar*. The criterion for selection is that the subject is wearing armour, and a helmet with a raised visor in particular, of a fantastical rather than historic type. Often, but not always, long beards are used to imply that the male Worthies belong to the distant past.

MALE WORTHIES

Stirling Head No. 7: Julius Caesar?

Stirling Head No. 7 (Fig 58) compares so closely to Hans Burgkmair the Elder's *Julius Caesar* (1516–19) (Fig 59) in respect of the radiate crown, bound hair, tilt of the head, muscular neck and Roman armour, that the latter can be assumed to be the model.

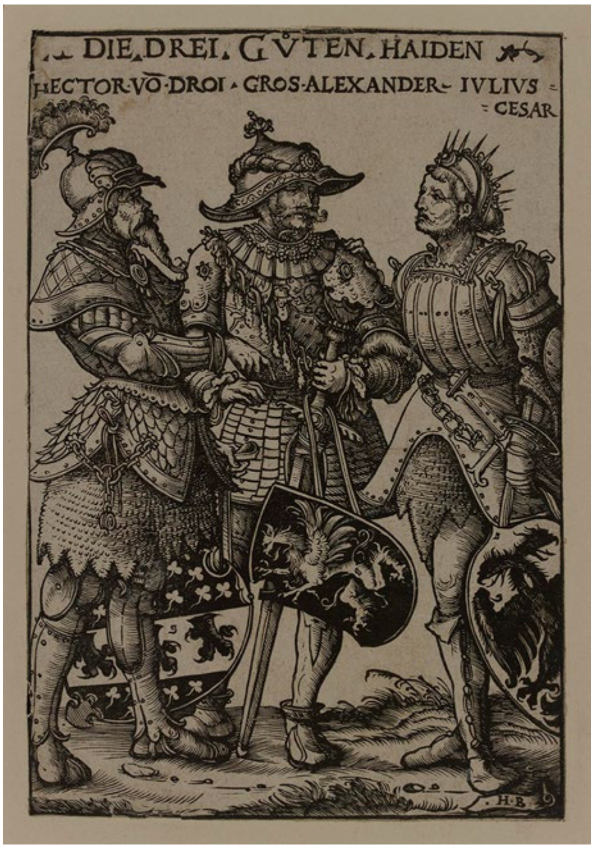
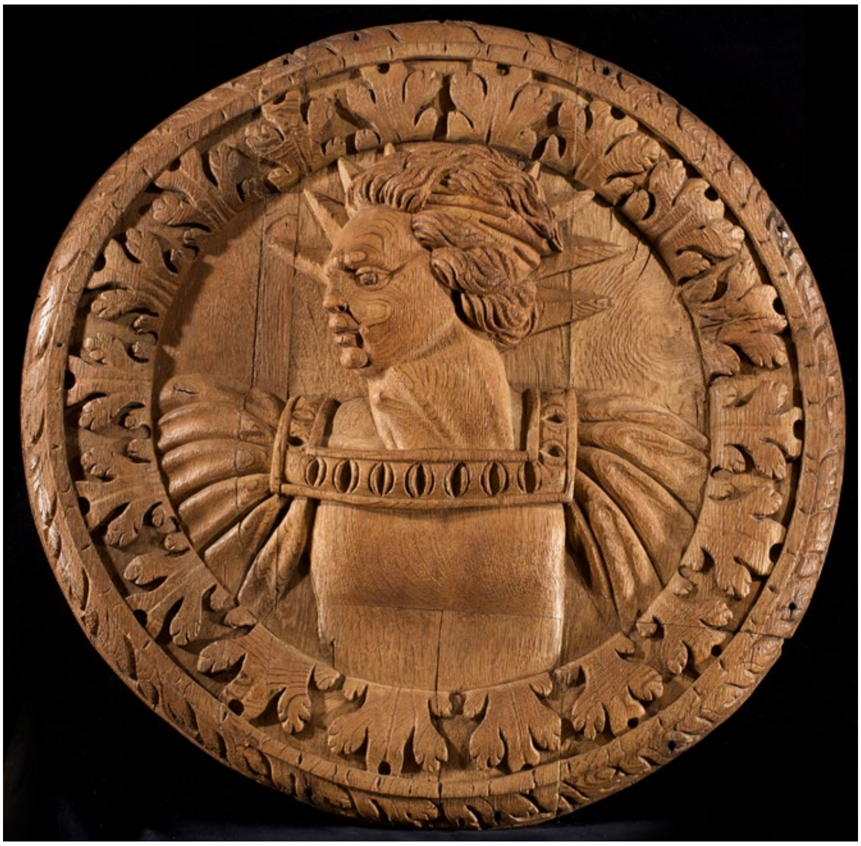

DIE DREI GVTEN HAIDEN
HECTOR VO DROI · GROS ALEXANDER · IVLIVS CESAR
H·B

Fig 58 *Stirling Head No.7: Julius Caesar?*

Fig 59 Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531, German), 'The Three Pagan Heroes: Hector, Alexander and Julius Caesar', *Heroes and Heroines*, (1516–19, Augsburg), woodcut on paper, 19.5 x 13.2 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Stirling Head No. 3: Male Worthy

The helmet of Stirling Head No. 3 (Fig 60) is decorated with curling acanthus leaves similar to Joshua in Hans Burkmair the Elder's three Jewish Worthies (Fig 61). The subject wears Roman armour and the carving of the hair and beard is highly stylised.

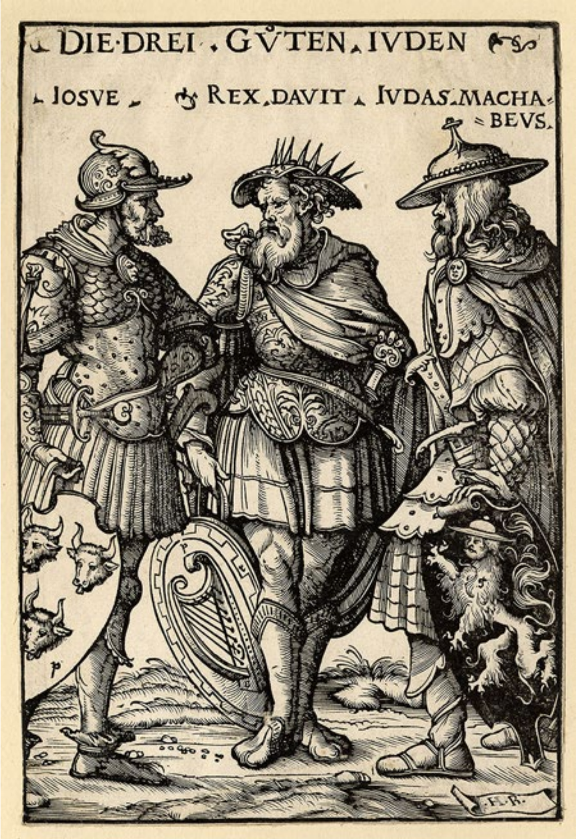
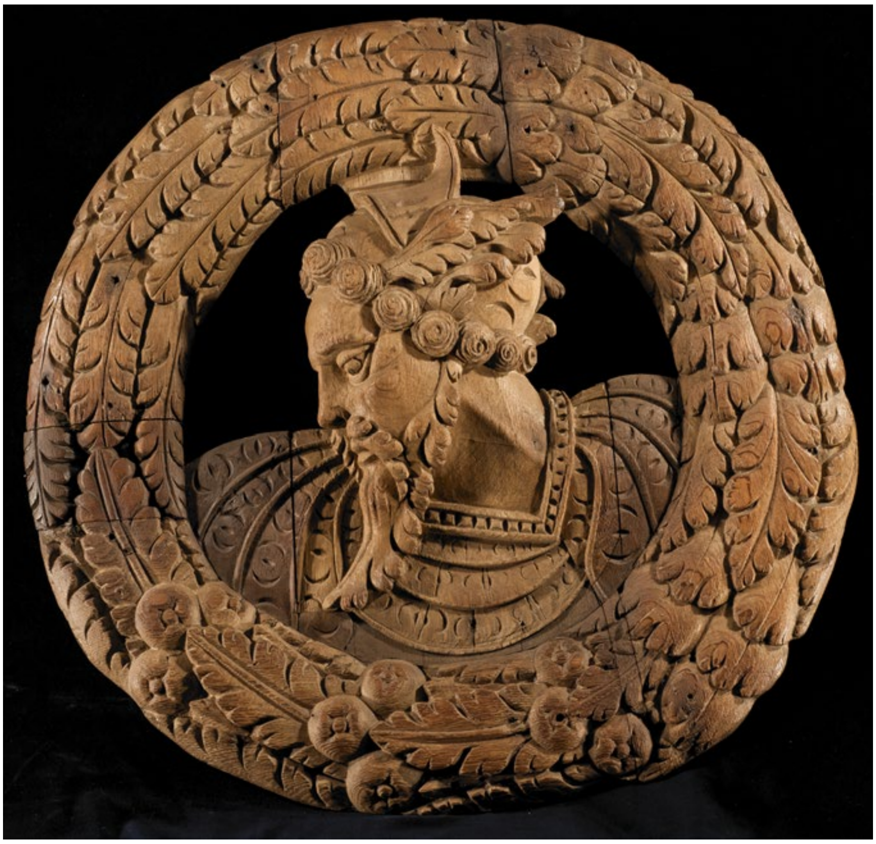


Fig 60 *Stirling Head No. 3: Male Worthy.*

Fig 61 Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531, German), 'The Three Jewish Heroes: Joshua, King David, Judas Macabeus', *Heroes and Heroines*, (1516–19, Augsburg), woodcut on paper, 19.5 x 13.1 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Opposite page:

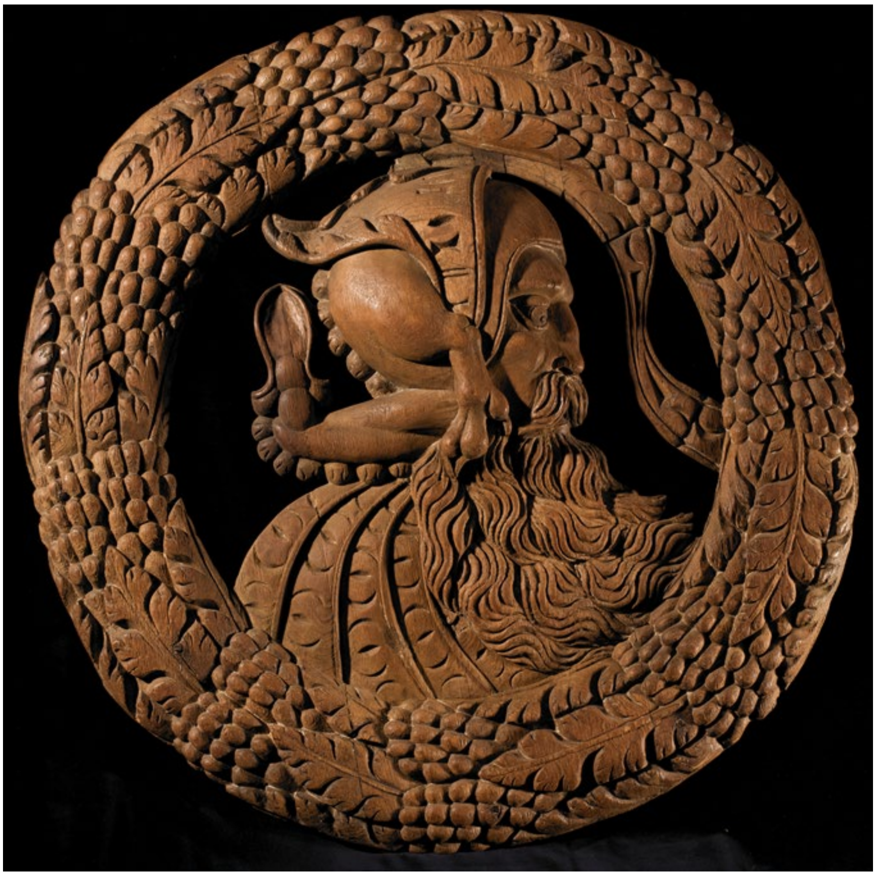
Fig 62 (*above right*) *Stirling Head No.1: Male Worthy.*

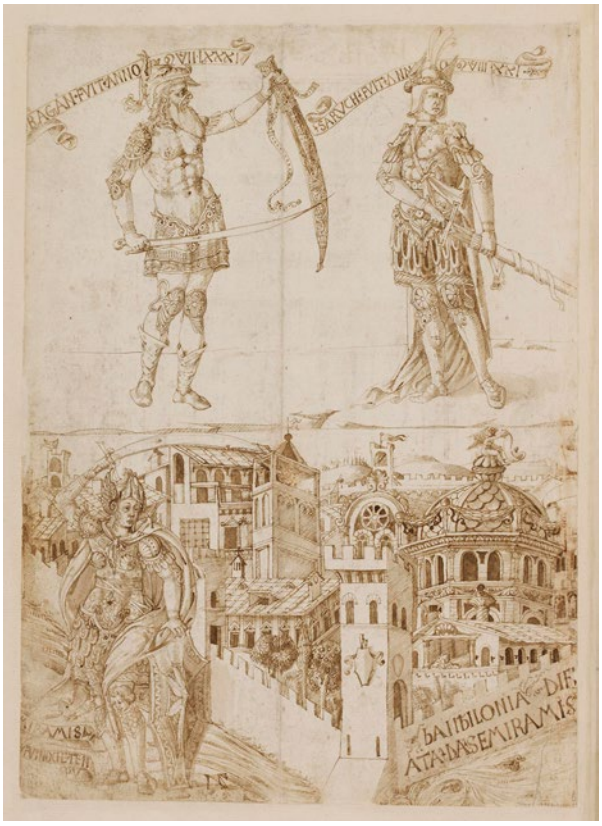
Fig 63 (*right*) School of Maso Finiguerra (1426–64, Italian) and School of Baccio Baldini (c 1436–87, Italian), 'Reu, Serug and Semiramis outside Babylon', Florentine Picture Chronicle, (c 1470–75, Italy), drawing, pen and brown ink and wash over black chalk on paper, 32.6 x 22.6 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

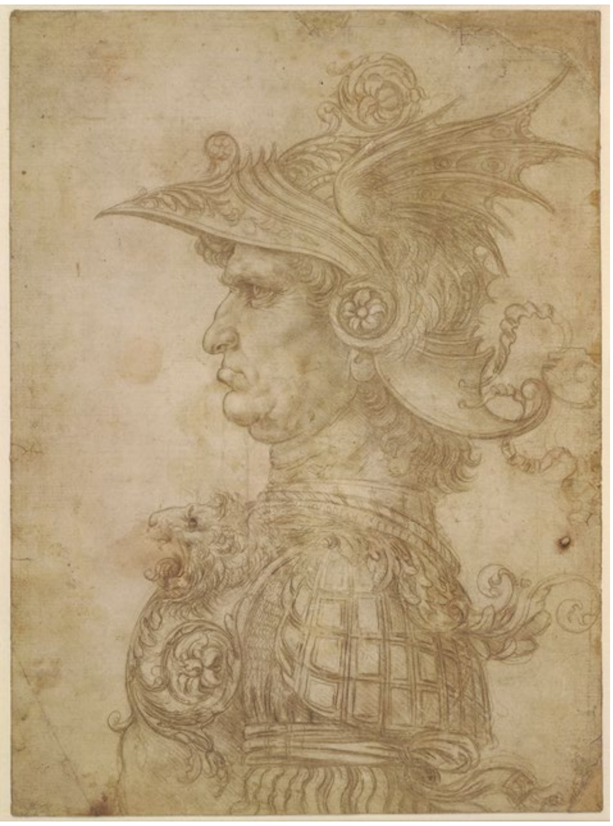
Fig 64 (*far right*) Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519, Italian), *Warrior*, (1475–80), drawing, silverpoint on paper, 28.7 x 21.1 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Stirling Head No. 1: Male Worthy

Stirling Head No. 1 (Fig 62) is wearing a zoomorphic helmet often seen in images of ancient warriors, dating back to the Middle Ages. The hind quarters and tail of a beast form the helmet itself, and the long neck seems to extend from the visor. A particularly rich source of such fantastical images is the *Florentine Picture Chronicle* (British Museum) which illustrates the history of the world before Christ and includes illustrations of ancient heroes and heroines, and Old Testament biblical figures. The drawings are thought to be by the School of Baccio Baldini and the School of Maso Finiguerra between 1470 and 1475 (Fig 63).[147] While taking into account that these are drawings, they represent an illustrative trend that later circulated in print form (Fig 64).







Stirling Heads Nos 4 and 10: Male worthies

Stirling Heads Nos 4 and 10 (Figs 65 and 66), being beardless, are the most ambiguous of those identified as worthies. The models may be prints of generic classical and heroic heads intended as a source for those working within the decorative arts (goldsmiths, woodcarvers, etc). The helmets and the caricature faces compare to those seen in a set of male heads by Daniel Hopfer (c 1470–1536, Augsburg) (Fig 67).

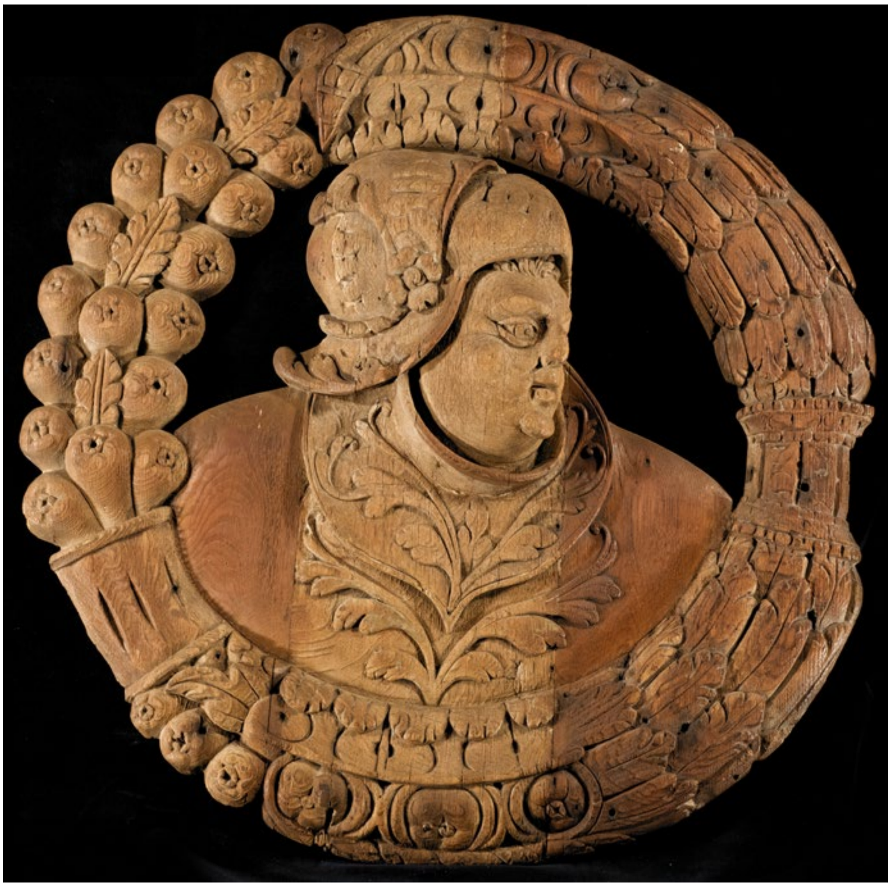


Fig 65 *Stirling Head No. 4: Male Worthy.*

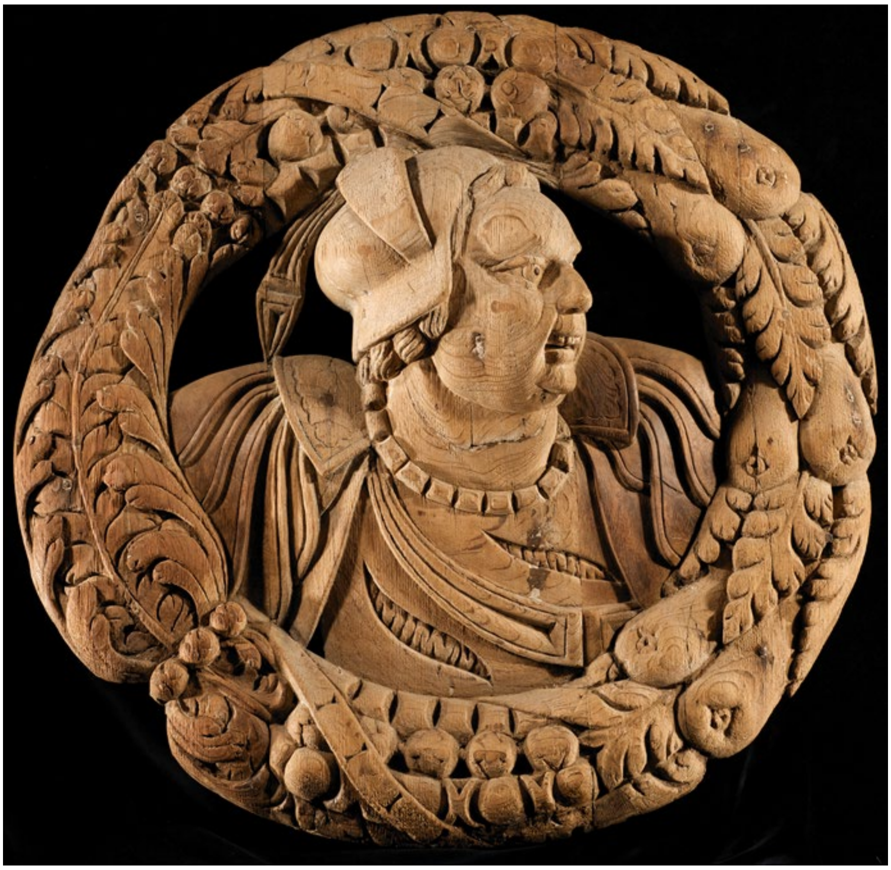
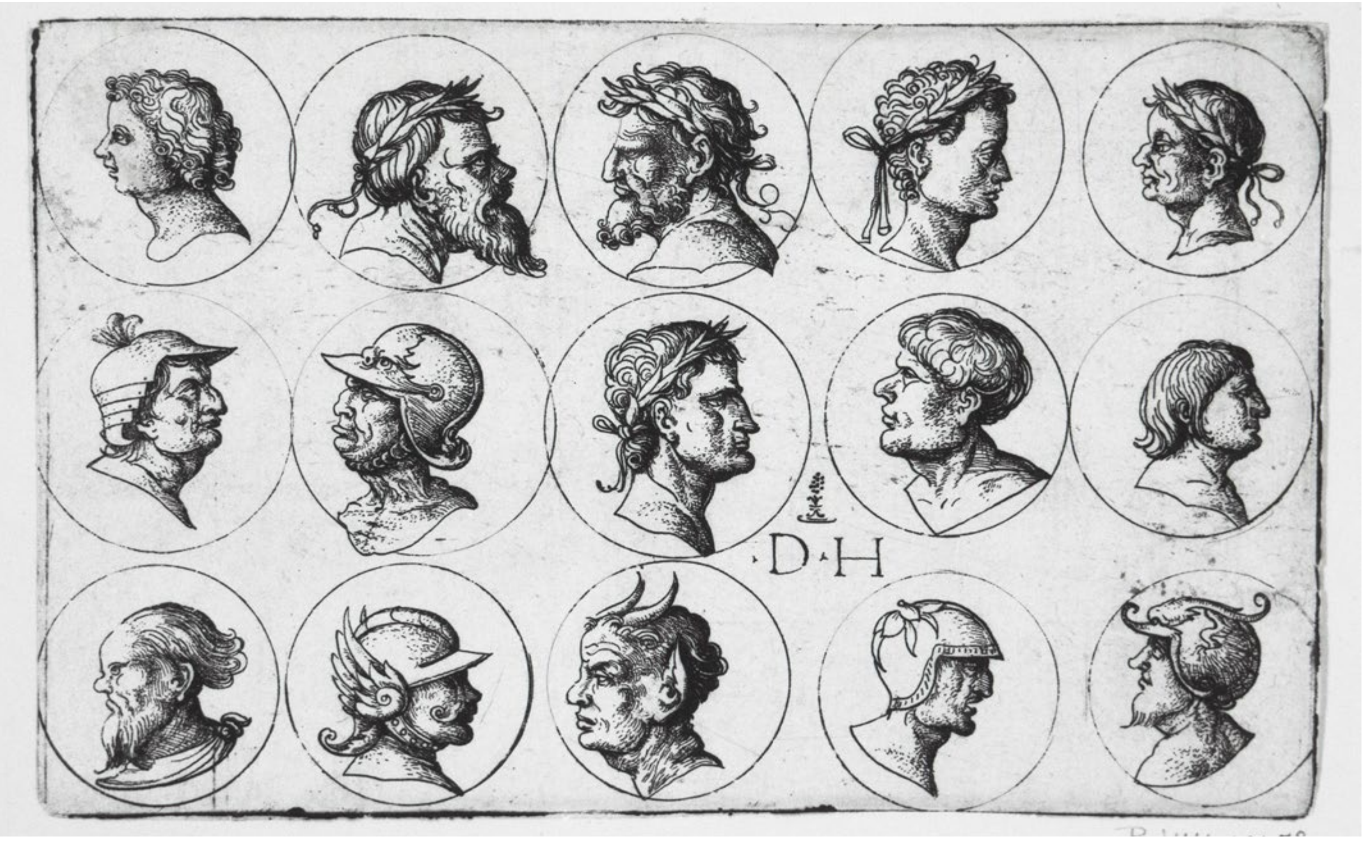


Fig 66 *Stirling Head No.10: Male Worthy.*

Fig 67 Daniel Hopfer (c 1470–1536, German), *Fifteen heads; of male figures in profile and within small circular frames; arranged in three rows*, (1505–36), etching, 8.3 x 13.5 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.



FEMALE WORTHIES

Stirling Head No. 20: Female worthy

Stirling Head No. 20 (Fig 68) wears an elaborate helmet embellished with acanthus leaves, her hair flowing out beneath, and Roman armour. On her breast is the *apotropaic* cherubim also seen on Stirling Heads Nos 26 and 39. As a type, she compares to the female Worthies from Amberley Castle and the heroines depicted in the *Florentine Picture Chronicle* (Fig 69 and see Fig 63).

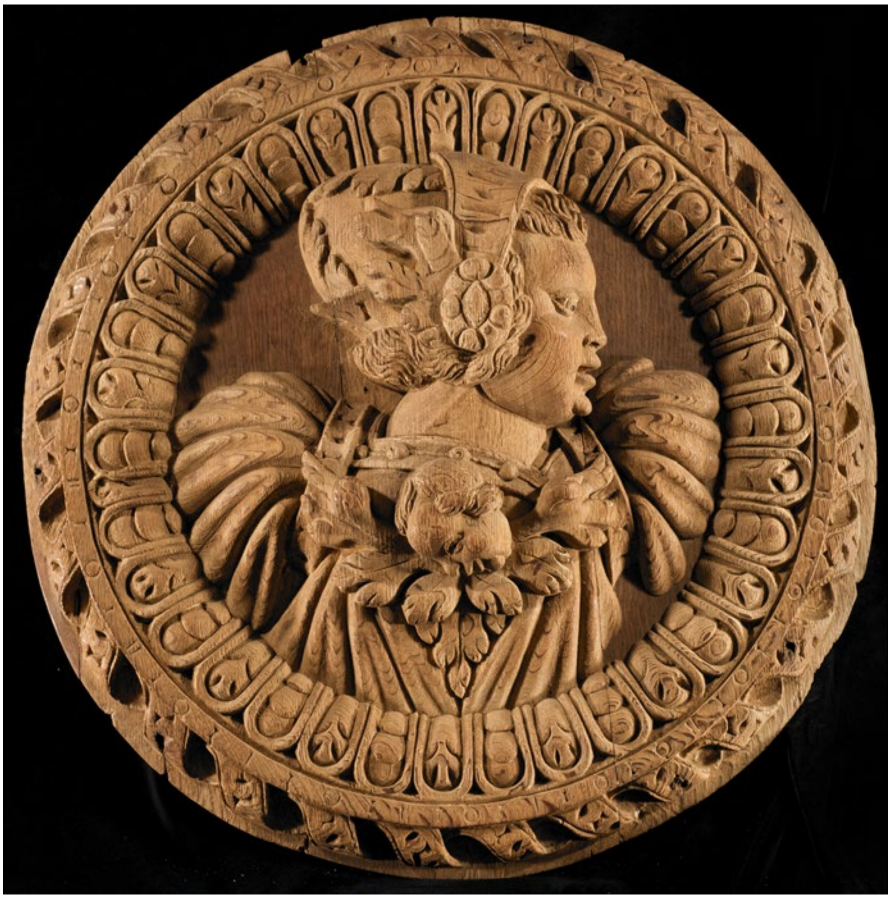


Fig 68 *Stirling Head No. 20: Female Worthy.*

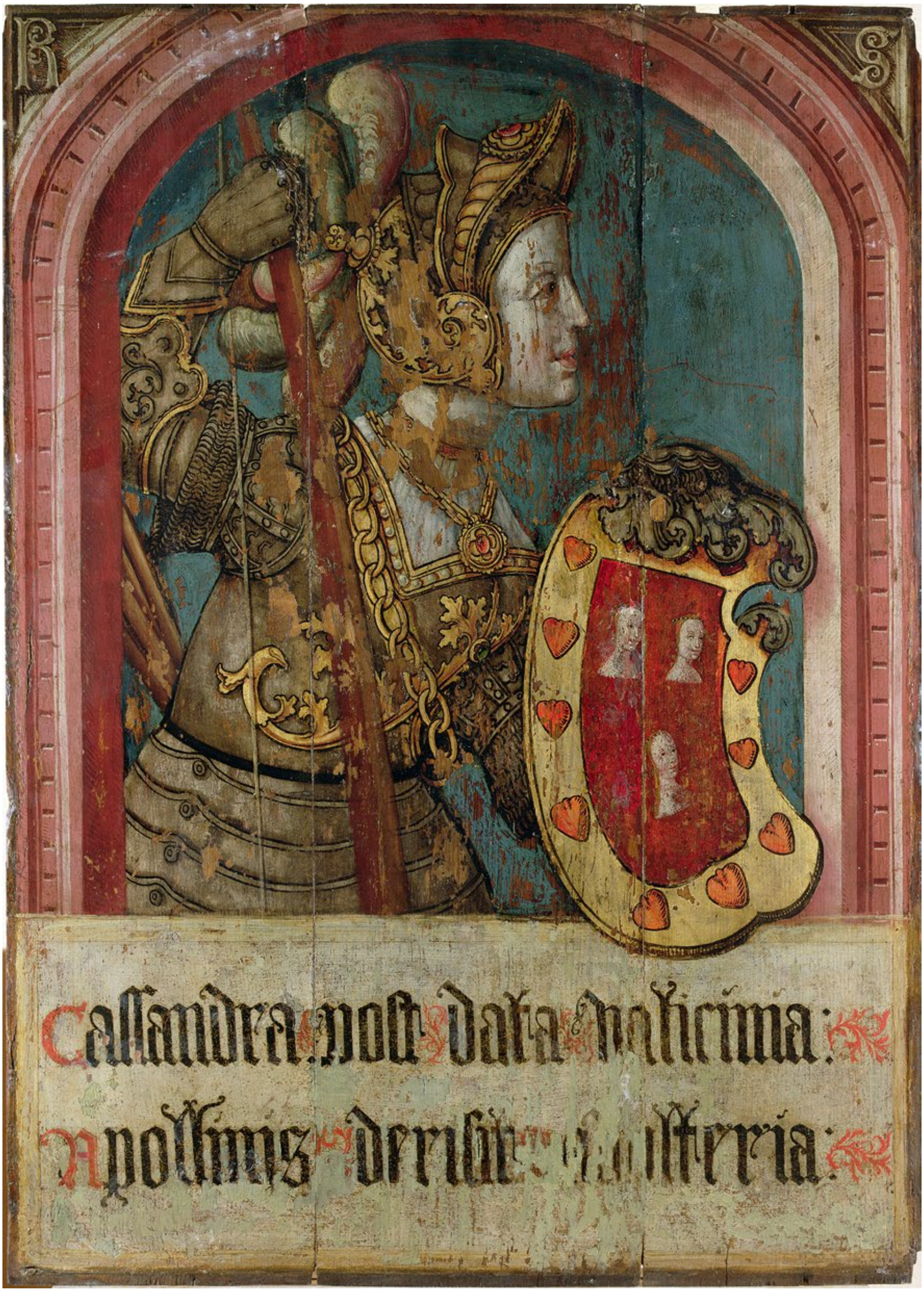

R
S
Caſſandra post data vaticinia:
Apollinis derisit adulteria:

Fig 69 Lambert Barnard (fl 1508–36, English) Cassandra, Trojan Princess, from the Amberley Panels, (c 1526), oil and tempera on panel, 115 x 86 cm. Originally Amberley Castle and now at the Pallant House Gallery, Chichester. © Pallant House Gallery / Chichester District Council, purchased with support of the / Bridgeman Images.

PHILOSOPHERS

Stirling Head No. 2: Prophet or philosopher?

Stirling Head No. 2 (Fig 70) is singular and difficult to place. The lengthy beard suggests a Worthy, but there is no suggestion of a military helmet or armour. Meanwhile, the hat and costume seem archaic rather than contemporary with 16th-century fashion. The most plausible suggestion is that the subject represents an Old Testament prophet or an ancient philosopher such as Aristotle. (Fig 71).

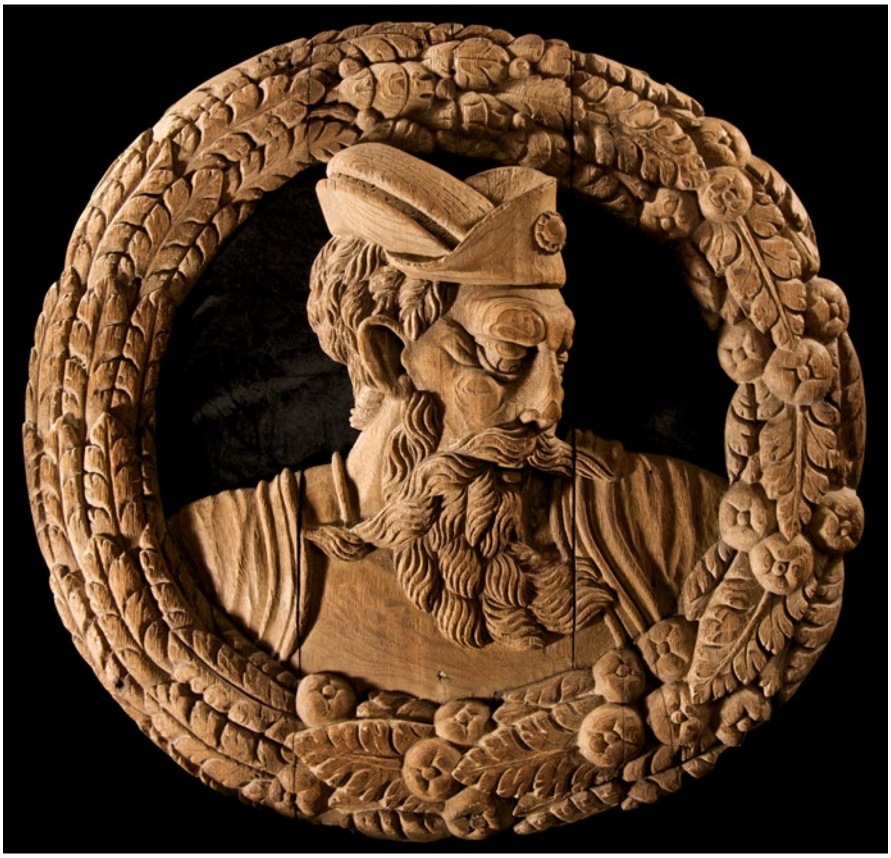
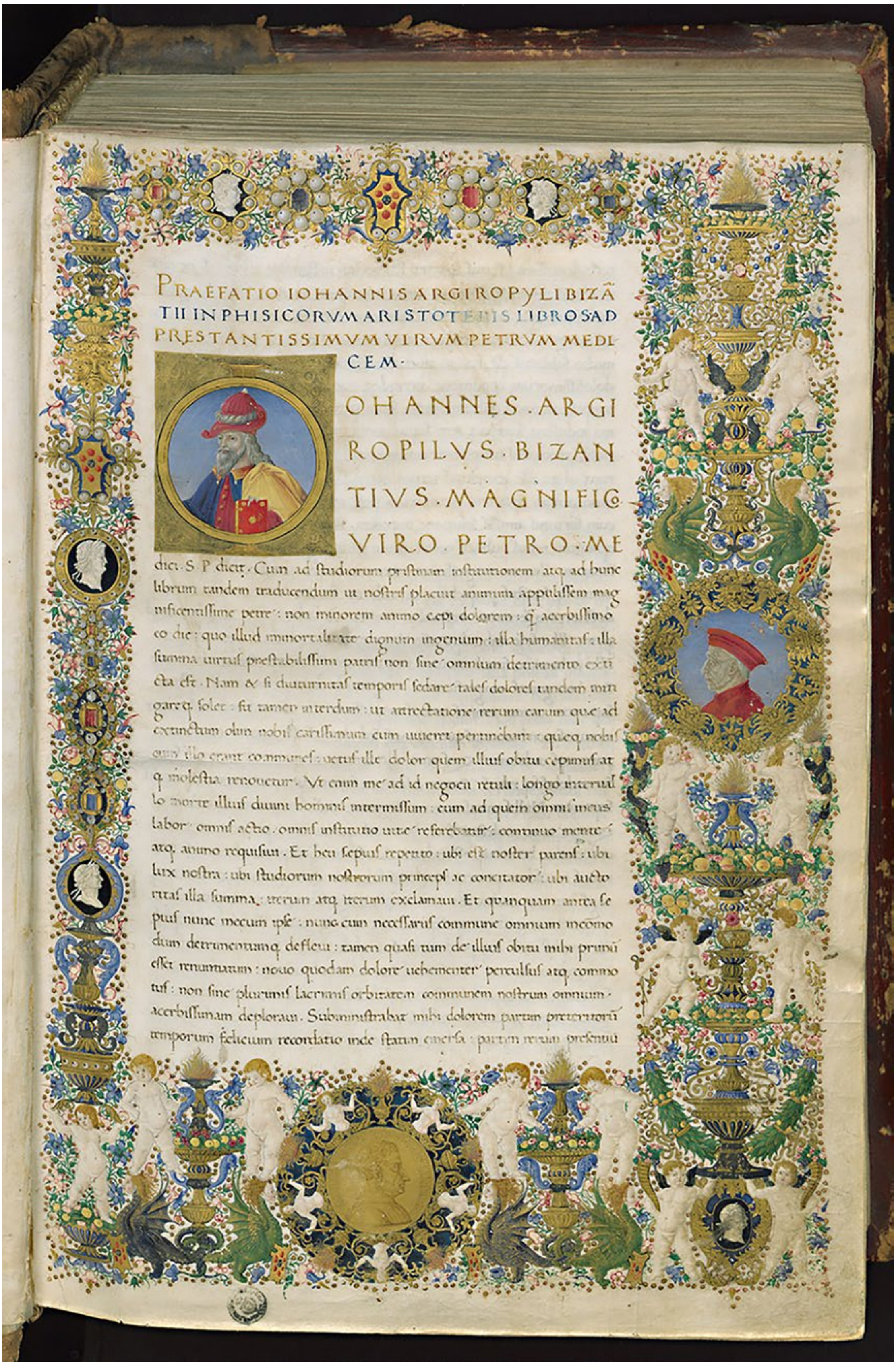


Fig 70 (*below*) *Stirling Head No. 2: Aristotle?*



PRAEFATIO IOHANNIS ARGIROPYLI BIZĀTII IN PHISICORVM ARISTOTELIS LIBROS AD PRESTANTISSIMVM VIRVM PETRVM MEDICEM.

IOHANNES. ARGIROPILVS. BIZANTIVS. MAGNIFICO VIRO. PETRO. MEdici. S. P dicit. Cum ad ſtudiorum priſtinam inſtitutionem atq; ad hunc librum tandem traducendum ut noſtris placuit animum appuliſſem magnificentiſſime petre: non minorem animo cepi dolorem: q̄ acerbiſſimo eo die: quo illud immortalitate dignum ingenium: illa humanitas: illa ſumma uirtus preſtabiliſſimi patris non ſine omnium detrimento extincta eſt. Nam & ſi diuturnitas temporis ſedare tales dolores tandem mitigareq; ſolet: fit tamen interdum: ut attrectatione rerum earum que ad extinctum olim nobis cariſſimum cum uiueret pertinebant: queq; nobis cum illo erant communes: uetus ille dolor quem illius obitu cepimus atq; moleſtia renouetur. Vt enim me ad id negocii retuli: longo interuallo morte illius diuini hominis intermiſſum: cum ad quem omnis meus labor omnis actio omnis inſtitutio uite referebantur: continuo mente atq; animo requiſiui. Et heu ſepius repetito: ubi eſt noſter parens: ubi lux noſtra: ubi ſtudiorum noſtrorum princeps ac concitator: ubi auctoritas illa ſumma: iterum atq; iterum exclamaui. Et quanquam antea ſepius nunc mecum ipſe: nunc cum neceſſariis commune omnium incomodum detrimentumq; defleui: tamen quaſi tum de illius obitu mihi primū eſſet renuntiatum: nouo quodam dolore uehementer perculſus atq; commotus: non ſine plurimis lacrimis orbitatem communem noſtrum omnium acerbiſſimam deploraui. Subminiſtrabat mihi dolorem partim preteritorū temporum felicium recordatio inde ſtatim euerſa: partim rerum preſentiū

Fig 71 Francesco Rosselli, portrait of Aristotle, – Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. 84.1, f.2r. Su concessione del MiBAC.

UOMINI FAMOSI

Stirling Heads Nos 6, 7 (Julius Caesar and therefore also one of the Nine Worthies), 8, 11, 31 and 32 can be grouped together as Roman Emperors. All have short Roman-style haircuts, but Nos 6, 7 and 8 are clean shaven while Nos 31 and 32 are bearded. Nos 6, 7, 8 and 31 are presented as military heroes wearing armour (No. 31 under a military cloak) while No. 32 seems to be wearing a toga. As such, they may be the remains of a series consisting of Julius Caesar and the following 11 Roman Emperors (Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), the collective biographies of whom were compiled by Suetonius (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, AD c 70–c 160), a Roman historian and antiquarian who had worked as an imperial secretary under Trajan (and so had access to the imperial archives), as the *De Vita Caesarum* or *Lives of the Caesars* (early 2nd century AD).

The Nine Worthies were a medieval precedent for the celebration of heroic action, but their selection was determined by a chivalric and essentially Christian agenda. The Renaissance *uomini famosi* epitomised secular virtue duly rewarded with honour and fame. Catalogues of *uomini famosi* served two purposes: the rehearsal of ancestral or political lineage (more applicable in an Italian context) and the encouragement of noble behaviour through moral example. Decorative schemes featuring the Nine Worthies or *uomini famosi* were intended for public rather than private spaces and served a didactic purpose.

The Stirling Heads reflect trends seen in the noble and civic building programmes of 15th- and 16th-century Italy:

> So popular was this system of exemplary memorialisation to become by Cinquecento times and thereafter in the decoration of municipal edifice, princely palace, judgment chamber, and throne room that it must be considered a major form of monumental secular art of the Renaissance in Italy, from where it spread to other European centres, forming the basis of modern ‘public’ art.[148]

One of the most well-known surviving examples is Andrea del Castagno’s fresco scheme for the loggia of the Villa Carducci at Legnaia, near Florence (mid-15th century).[149]

While the French presence in northern Italy may have been significant to the transmission of Renaissance culture to Scotland, given that reference to the *uomini famosi* of the classical past for the purposes of moral instruction was reinvented by Italian humanists using classical literary models, the Scottish connections with the University of Padua must not be forgotten. Given the possible presence of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80 and too late to be included in Suetonius), the emperors featured in the Stirling Heads may be following the Paduan model.

Petrarch (1304–74), author of *De viris illustribus* (biographies of famous Romans), is primarily associated with the both the literary reinvention of the *uomini famosi* theme and its visual interpretation. Born in Arezzo, his family moved to Provence in 1311 and Petrarch remained there until 1353. On his return to Italy, he lived in Milan (under the patronage of the Visconti) and then Padua, Venice and Pavia. The *uomini famosi* scheme in the *Sala Virorum Illustrium*, Palazzo Carraresi, Padua, was modelled on *De viris illustribus*. The history of this scheme has been discussed by Theodor Mommsen and, interestingly in the context of Stirling Castle Palace, he identifies that the original 14th-century scheme was almost completely destroyed in a fire (only the portrait of Petrarch survived) and a new scheme was executed by Domenico Campagnola and Stefano dall’Arzere in 1539/40 (restored in 1928 and again in 2001, now the assembly hall of the University of Padua). On account of figures being more than life-size, the room was subsequently known as the *Sala dei Giganti*.[150] Mommsen argues that the new scheme, determined by two prominent citizens of Padua, was not faithful to Petrarch’s critieria for a *vir illustris*, namely that they should be a great man of action (a general or a statesman). The new scheme included five additional emperors (Petrarch only included four as well as Julius Caesar: Augustus, Vespasian, Titus and Trajan): Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Constantine, Theodosius and Charlemagne. The six kings, Julius Caesar and nine emperors are isolated, reflecting the autocratic tone of 16th-century government rather than Petrarch’s more republican principles. They are presented in chronological order from Romulus to Charlemagne.[151] Mommsen argues that the original scheme was completed between 1367 and 1379 for Francesco (il Vecchio) da Carrara, governor of Padua to whom Petrarch dedicated *De viris illustribus*. The candidates for its execution are Guariento of Padua (d 1370) and Jacopo Avanzo of Padua (fl 2nd half of the 14th century), or Ottaviano Prandino of Brescia (fl 1370–1420) and Altichiero of Verona (d c 1370).[152]

Christiane Joost-Gaugier argues that the assembly of historical biographies for moral instruction dates back to the 1st century BC. Cicero's *Brutus* (c 46 BC) may be the earliest known example. Towards the end of the 1st century AD, this was followed by Plutarch's *The Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* which argues that virtue will always triumph over vice. Also, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* listed the key personalities within designated areas of accomplishment as a means of demonstrating social and cultural development. Livy (59 BC–AD 17) is particularly associated with the recording of history as a succession of dramatic occasions involving human judgement and action.[153]

While Renaissance humanists read about the paintings, statues and busts of illustrious men to be found in the houses and gardens of ancient Romans, no examples of such visual programmes survived into the Renaissance. Accordingly, the Renaissance reinvented the visual form of the *uomini famosi* based on literary references to antique practice. Therefore, Renaissance representations of classical heroes are largely fanciful and seldom based on archaeological evidence. This must also be the case with the Stirling Heads.[154]

Stirling Head No. 8: Emperor Titus?

The identification of this head rests on visual comparison alone and, as no antique model definitely known to the Renaissance world of c 1540 has been traced, is tentative. Titus (AD 39–81) was the second son of Vespasian and ruled briefly between AD 79 and 81. Under his father he was a celebrated military commander: he suppressed the Jewish rebellion and destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple. As Emperor, he finished the most significant building project of the Flavian dynasty, the Flavian Amphitheatre or Colosseum, and supported his people through disaster: the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 and the destruction of Rome by fire in AD 80. Suetonius celebrated him as the 'delight and darling of the human race'.[155]

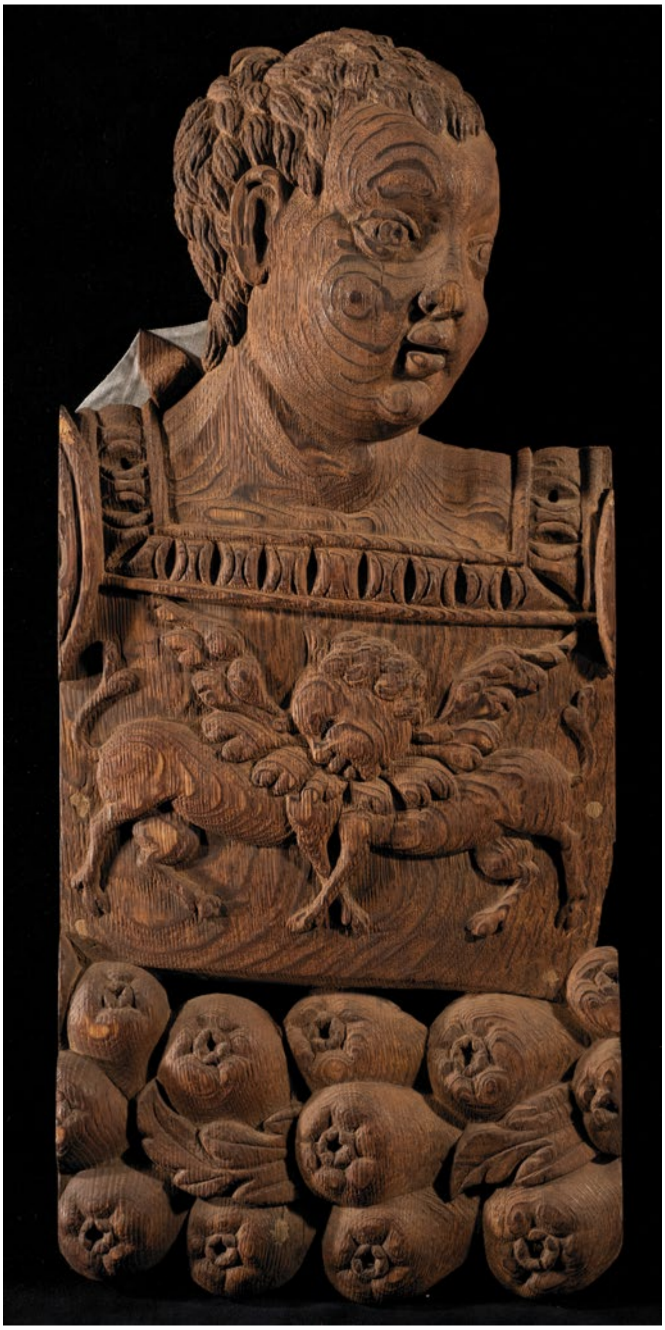


Fig 72 *Stirling Head No. 8: Emperor Titus?*

Stirling Head No. 8 (Fig 72) is distinctive in that it is seemingly based upon a 'cuirassed statue', where the figure is wearing a breastplate moulded to suggest ideal muscle definition and usually decorated with triumphal motifs. This is a recognised type of Roman portrait commemorating a victorious emperor, general or military hero, and such statues display the parade armour worn for a triumphal entry. A *paludamentum* (military cloak) would normally be worn over the cuirass. Multiple versions survive (more than 600), the most famous being that of Augustus (Prima Porta) now in the Vatican.[156] It is, therefore, possible that examples were known in the 16th century.

Titus belonged to the Flavian dynasty (AD 69–96) and the breastplate seen in Stirling Head No. 8 loosely conforms to that typical of the Flavian period (the griffin motif came into use in the 1st century AD). There is a 'cuirassed statue' of Titus which has two griffins on either side of a candelabrum on the cuirass in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.[157] The paired griffin motif is very common in cuirass decoration.[158] In eastern and ancient Greek cultures, griffins (half-eagle and half-lion) guarded gold. In heraldry, they represent the combined qualities of the eagle (watchfulness) and the lion (courage). The breastplate in Stirling Head No. 8 displays two beasts with cloven feet (the devil?) and a winged cherub forming a single head (victory of good over evil?). While this is not an exact copy of a Roman model, the two animals and the wings of the cherub are suggestive of the Roman griffin motif. More importantly, the standard presence of an *apotropaic* (power to ward off evil) device or aegis on the Roman cuirass, usually a Gorgon's head (three monstrous sisters with snakes for hair and staring eyes from Greek mythology),[159] explains the presence of the winged cherub on the breast of Stirling Heads Nos 8, 20, 26 and 39. The Christian device replaces the pagan one.[160] On the cuirass displayed in Stirling Head No. 8, therefore, we have a synthesis of the aegis and the victory device separate on a Roman cuirass.

Stirling Head No. 32: Emperor Marcus Aurelius?

The c 1539/40 *uomini famosi* scheme in the *Sala Virorum Illustrium*, Palazzo Carraresi, Padua, included Marcus Aurelius. His inclusion corresponds to his resurrection as a model ruler by Charles V's image-maker, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the relocation of the ancient bronze equestrian statue of the emperor to the Capitoline Hill in Rome.

Within the canon of 16th-century humanist thought, responsible government by a virtuous ruler brought peace, justice and religion to the people. Marcus Aurelius was the ancient Roman equivalent of the perfect prince:

> As the best of all the Roman emperors he represented the supreme example of ancient virtus. His life and writings provided an elevated standard of comportment not only for the ruler, but also for all men. As both a philosopher and powerful lord he deserved to be emulated, for he set the highest standards in his personal behaviour and in fulfilling the weighty responsibilities of governance.[161]

The bronze equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius had remained outside the Lateran Palace since the early Middle Ages and possibly since ancient times but, until the early 16th century, was thought to represent the Emperor Constantine. When it was moved to the Capitoline Hill in 1538 as part of a redevelopment project of the ancient site instigated by Pope Paul III, through the inscription on its new base (designed by Michelangelo), it was formally identified as Marcus Aurelius.[162]

> Thus the statue served the future as an exemplum virtutis just as it had served the Romans when first raised. After fourteen centuries, the original function and meaning were reunited and the virtues of the philosopher-emperor honoured.[163]

Various writers extolled Marcus Aurelius's virtues (pious and virtuous philosopher-emperor) during the 16th century: Julius Capitolinus, *Historia Augusta* (several editions from 1475 but, most importantly, Erasmus' authoritative edition published in 1518) and Andrea Fulvio, *Illustrium imagines* (1517). It was only about 1530, however, that Marcus Aurelius was singled out as an exemplary ruler, specifically by Fray Antonio de Guevara (1480–1545), as a role model and alter ego of Charles V. Guevara wrote the *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio* (begun in 1518 as a *speculum principis* for Charles V as Charles I, King of Spain, but not published until 1528). In the *Relox de Principes* (first published Valladolid in 1529, first Italian edition 1543), he concludes:

> Of all the good princes I have enumerated in describing justice, the last to be mentioned is our Marcus Aurelius, so that he might remain to support the others. And however much we read of the worthy works of many princes, works which may be consecrated to immortality and which may be read of and known, no less, everything which Marcus Aurelius said and did merits being known and imitated.[164]

Guevara's writings were part of the construction of Charles V's image Holy Roman Emperor and overlord of Italian territories. Charles was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope Clement VII in Bologna in 1530.

The first Roman edition of *Libro Aureo* (in Spanish and included Book III of *Relox*) was published the following year.

> Book III of the Relox stressed the primacy of justice for the well-being of the state and the prince's duty in seeing that justice is maintained. The inclusion of this section, undoubtedly inspired by Charles's historic coronation, was a reminder to everyone interested in good government of the heavy responsibilities the ruler bore. The following year a Venetian edition of the Libro Aureo appeared which contained even more material from the Relox. Thus, from an early date, important sections of the Relox were available to the Italian audience, sections that added a political and moral dimension to the personality of Marcus Aurelius. Whatever impact publication of the Libro Aureo had in Rome during the early years of the 1530s, interest in the work and its author was undoubtedly heightened when, in April of 1536, Charles V made his triumphal entry into Rome accompanied by Fray Antonio de Guevara. The presence of Guevara, who in the Spanish community was referred to as 'Marco Aurelio,' also must have focused attention on his books at the Papal court.[165]

Stirling Head No. 32 (Fig 73) conforms to the official iconography for Marcus Aurelius: curly hair and protruding eyes. The meditative downcast gaze is that of the philosopher emperor seen both in antique busts and in the ancient bronze equestrian statue (Figs 74 and 75). There is no suggestion of armour, and so the garment draped and knotted around his neck is more likely a toga, indicative of peace-time government and law-giving, rather than a military *paludamentum*.

The restoration and copying of antique sculpture was centred in northern Italy around the ducal court at Mantua. Seven life-size bronze *all'antica* busts have been attributed to Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolosi of Mantua, c 1460–1528), two of which are of Marcus Aurelius.[166] These were adaptations of antique prototypes rather than copies, and demonstrate a general interest in the iconography of Suetonius' first 12 Caesars.[167] Exactly what these were based upon needs further research.

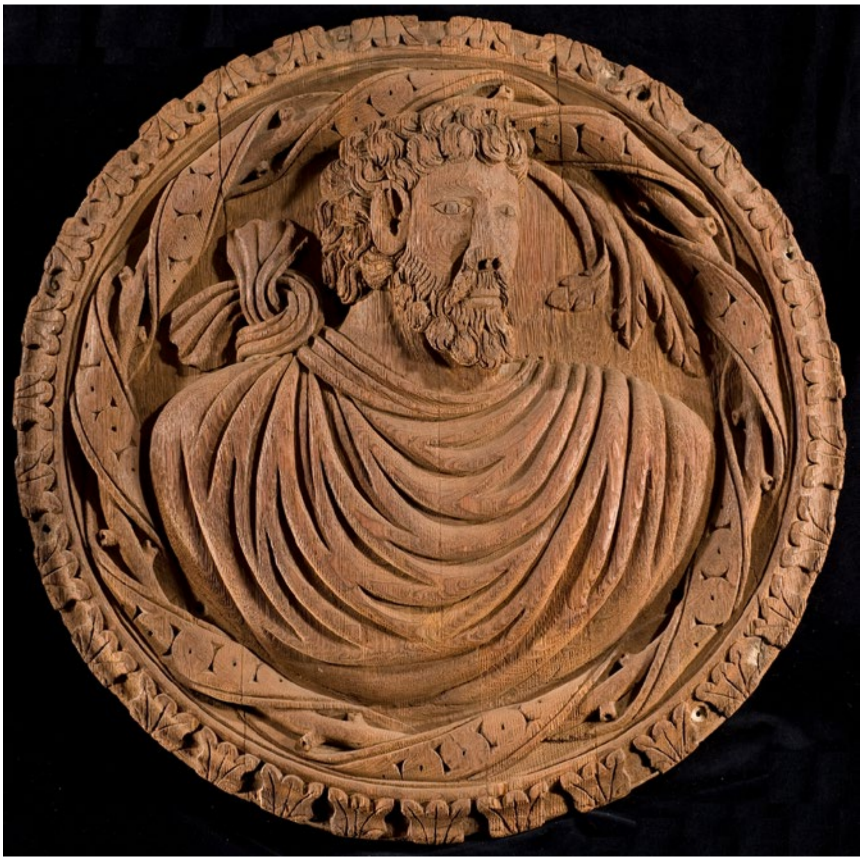


Fig 73 (*below left*) *Stirling Head No. 32: Emperor Marcus Aurelius?*

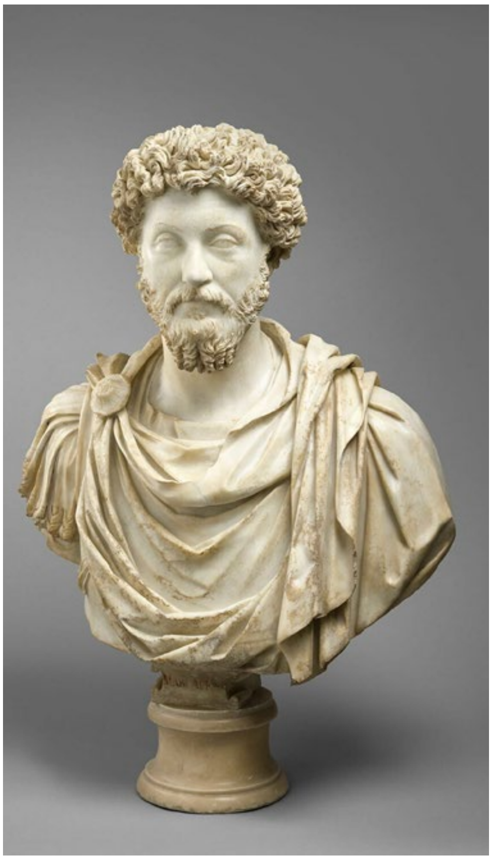


Fig 74 (*below right*) Marcus Aurelius (Roman emperor – AD 161-180), marble, H 97 cm, (before AD 165, Rome; found c 1674). © 2017 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) Stéphane Maréchalle.

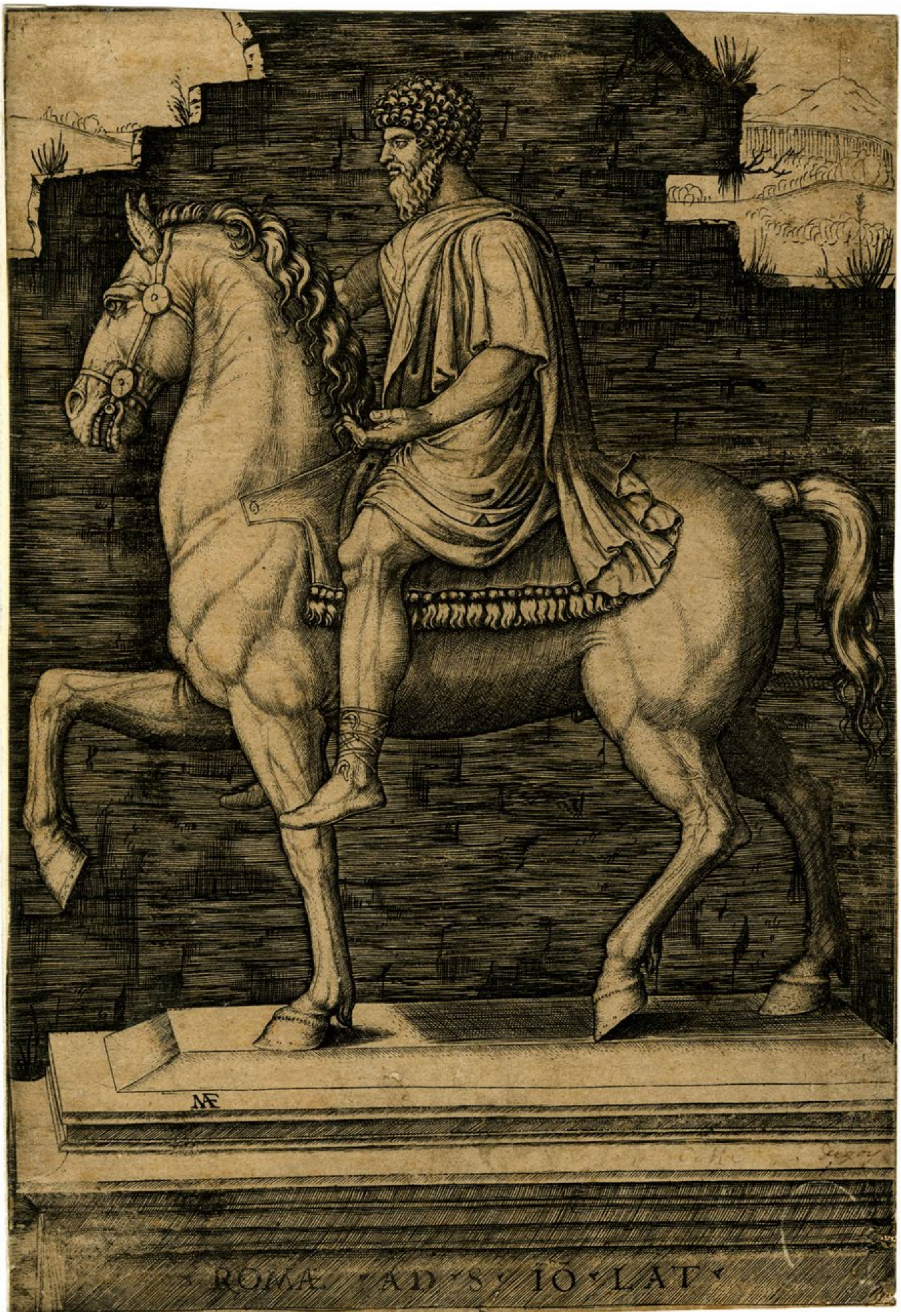

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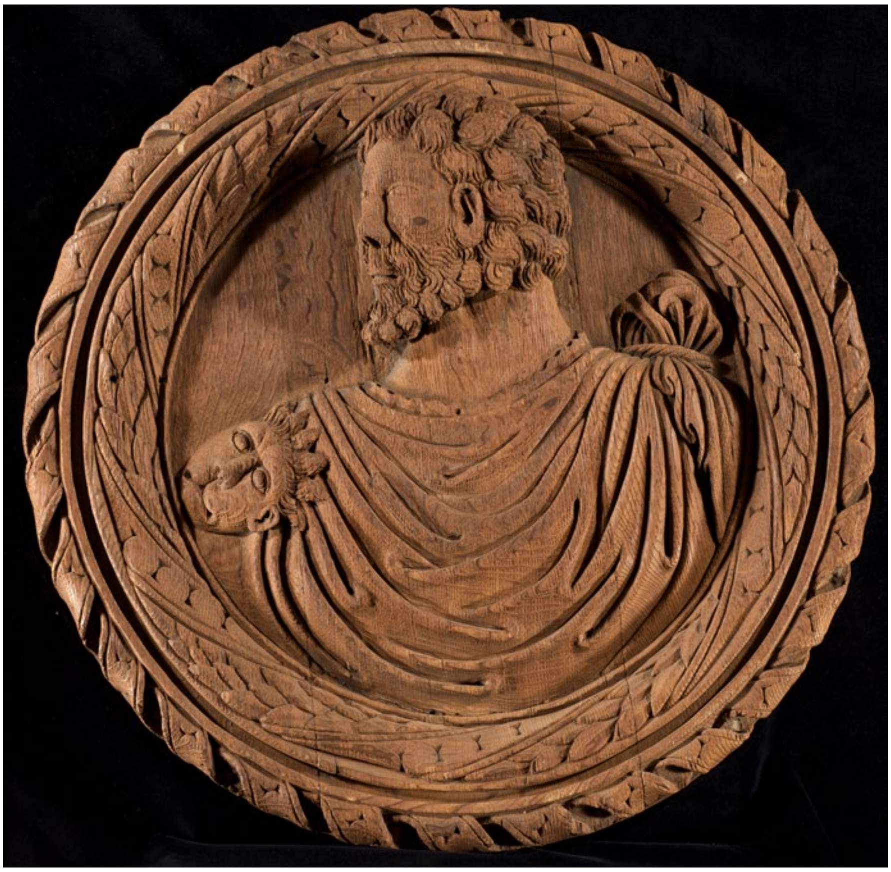
Fig 75 Marcantonio (1470/82 1527/34), Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, (1510–15, Italy), engraving, 21 x 14.5 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

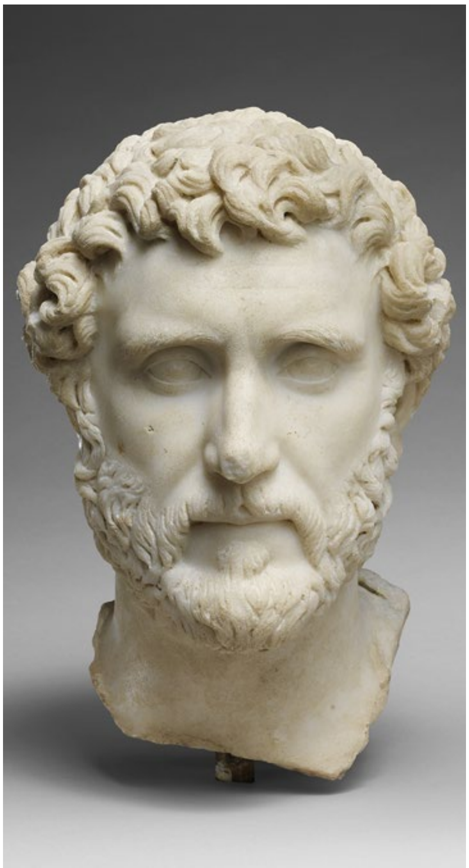
Stirling Head No. 31: Emperor Marcus Aurelius as a military hero?

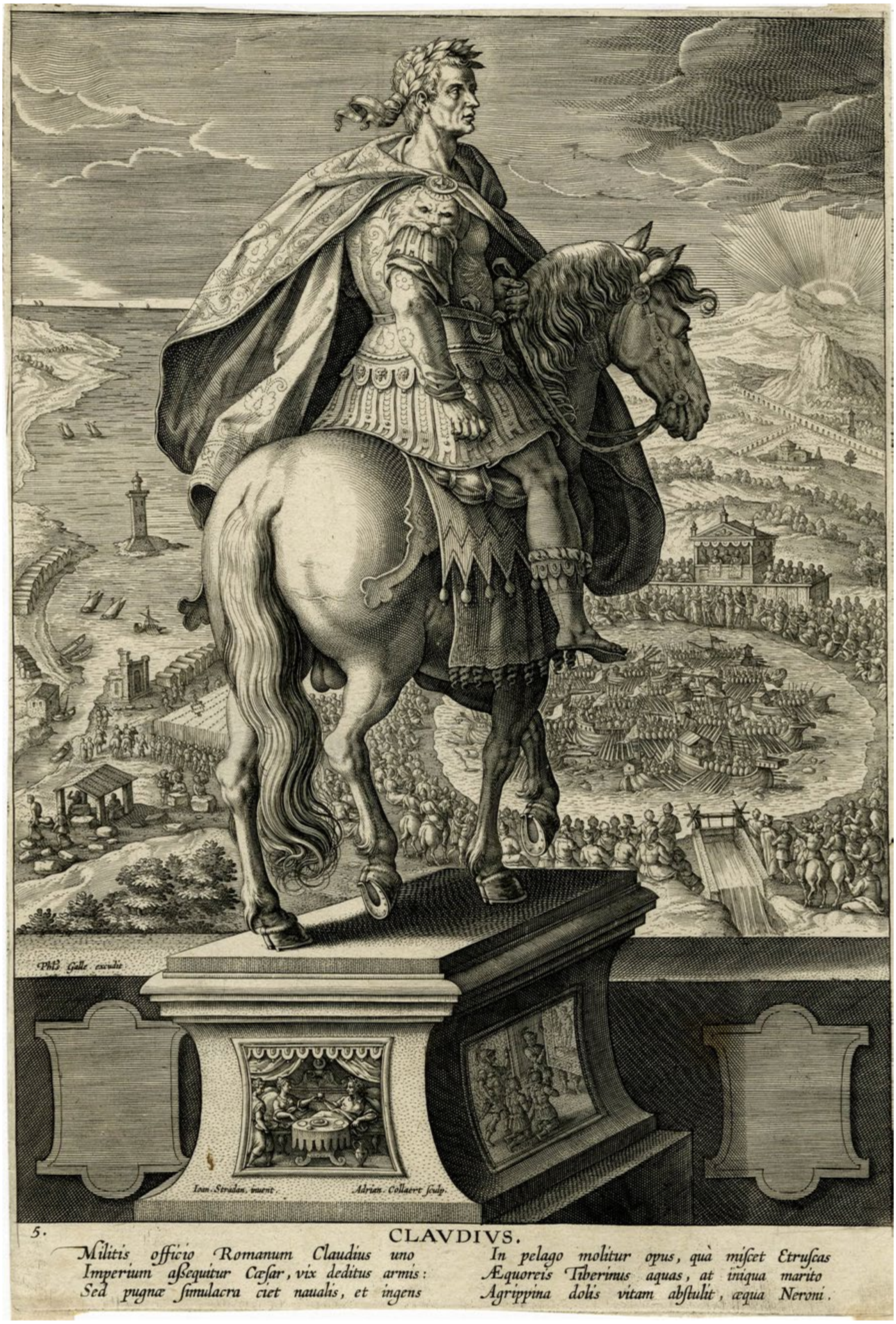
The Emperor Hadrian (r AD 117–38) adopted a thick beard and hair curling around his face, and this fashion was adopted by the succeeding Antonine dynasty as a statement of familial connection.[168] While Stirling Head No. 31 (Fig 76) could again represent Marcus Aurelius, this time as a military hero, the likeness is not as convincing as with Stirling Head No. 32, and other candidates should also be considered, particularly the adopted heir of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius (r AD 138–61). Portraits of Antoninus characterise him as having overshadowing, heavy-lidded eyes and a prominent brow (Fig 77). The lion-mask epaulet (Fig 78) seen in Stirling Head No. 31 suggests armour beneath a *paludamentum* but, unlike Marcus Aurelius who spent many years during the latter part of his reign on campaign in central Europe defending the Danube frontier against several different barbarian tribes, Antoninus Pius is remembered more for his revision of the Roman legal system than military campaigns.

Fig 76 (*below left*) *Stirling Head No. 31: Marcus Aurelius as a Military Hero?*

Fig 77 (*below right*) *Antoninus Pius* (*Roman emperor 138–161 AD*), (138–61 AD, Roman), marble, H 40.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.



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5.
CLAVDIVS.
Militis officio Romanum Claudius uno
Imperium aſsequitur Cæſar, vix deditus armis:
Sed pugnæ ſimulacra ciet naualis, et ingens
In pelago molitur opus, quà miſcet Etruſcas
Æquoreis Tiberinus aquas, at iniqua marito
Agrippina dolis vitam abſtulit, æqua Neroni.

Fig 78 After Jan van der Straet (1523–1605, Flemish), 'Emperor Claudius', *Twelve Roman Emperors*, (1587–89, Antwerp: print by Adriaen Collaert, published by Philip Galle), engraving, 32.1 x 21.7 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Stirling Heads Nos 6 and 11: Roman emperors in armour?

Stirling Heads Nos 6 and 11 are difficult to explain (Figs 79 and 80). The hairstyle is Roman but they seem to be wearing modern rather than Roman armour. Stirling Head No. 11 is wearing a banded metal collar with rows of rivets, but also an exotic circular hat with a chin strap similar to that worn by Judas Maccabeus in Burgkmair's *Three Jewish Heroes* (see Fig 61). Stirling Head No. 6 may reflect the fluting characteristic of 16th-century German armour (Fig 81).

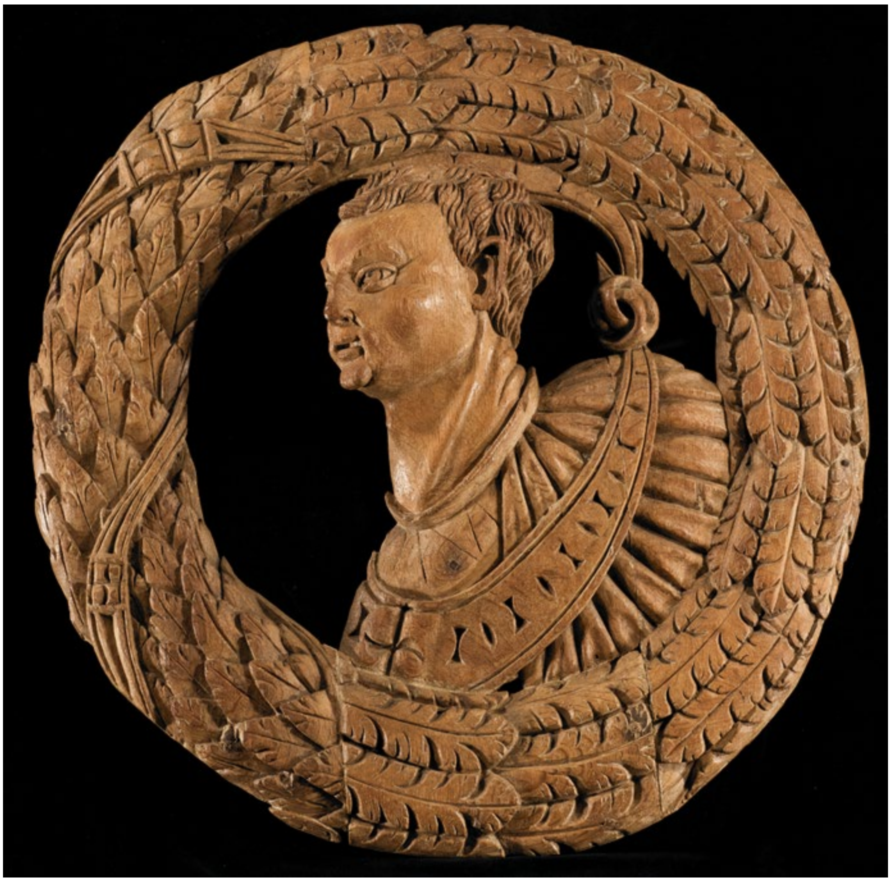


Fig 79 (*above*) *Stirling Head No. 6: Roman Emperor in Armour.*

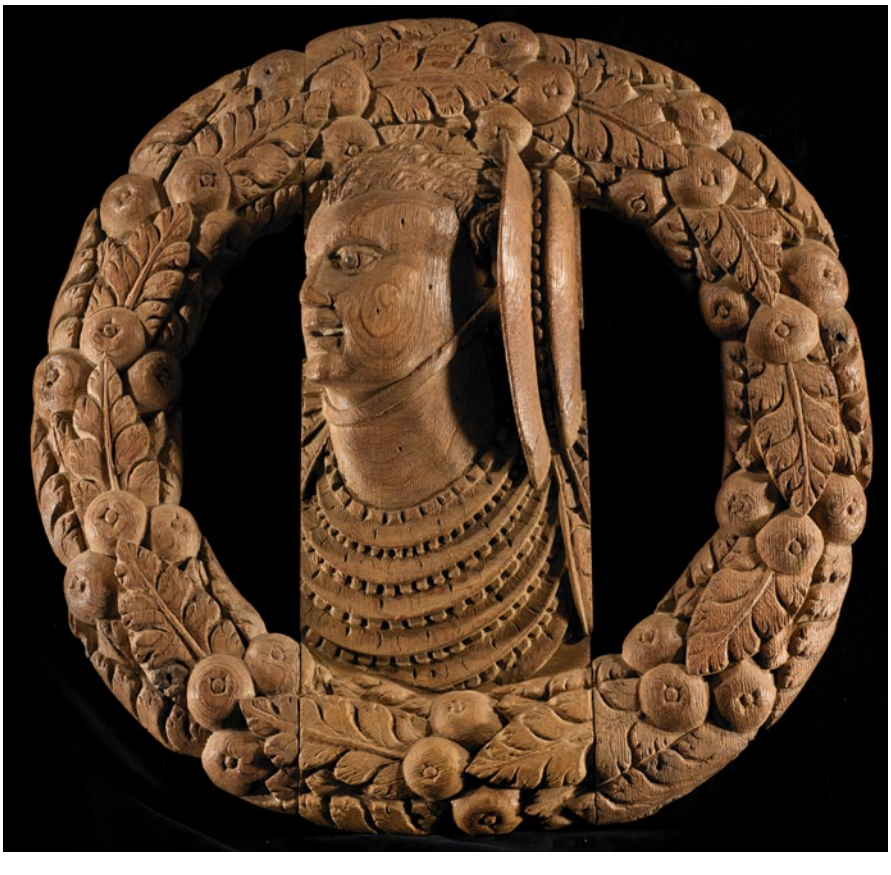
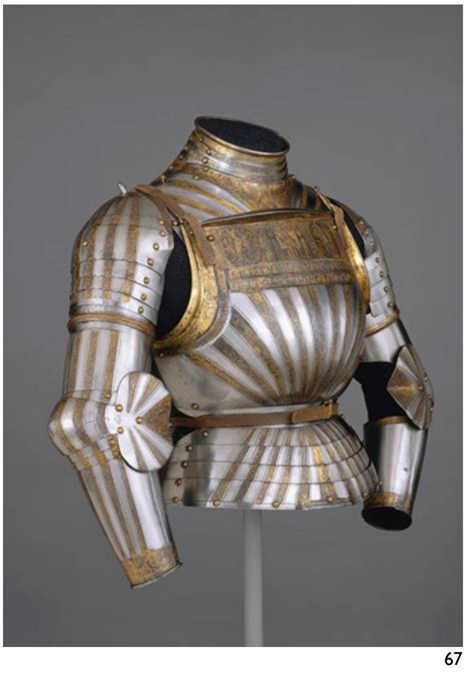
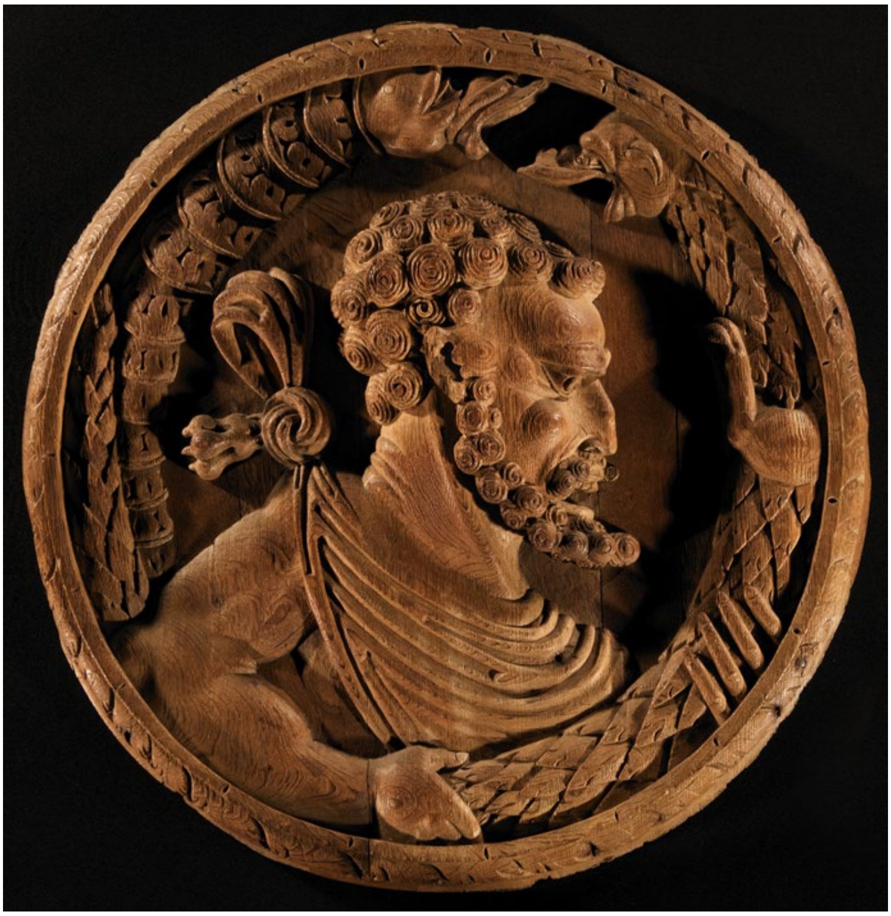


Fig 80 (left) *Stirling Head No. 11: Roman Emperor in Armour.*

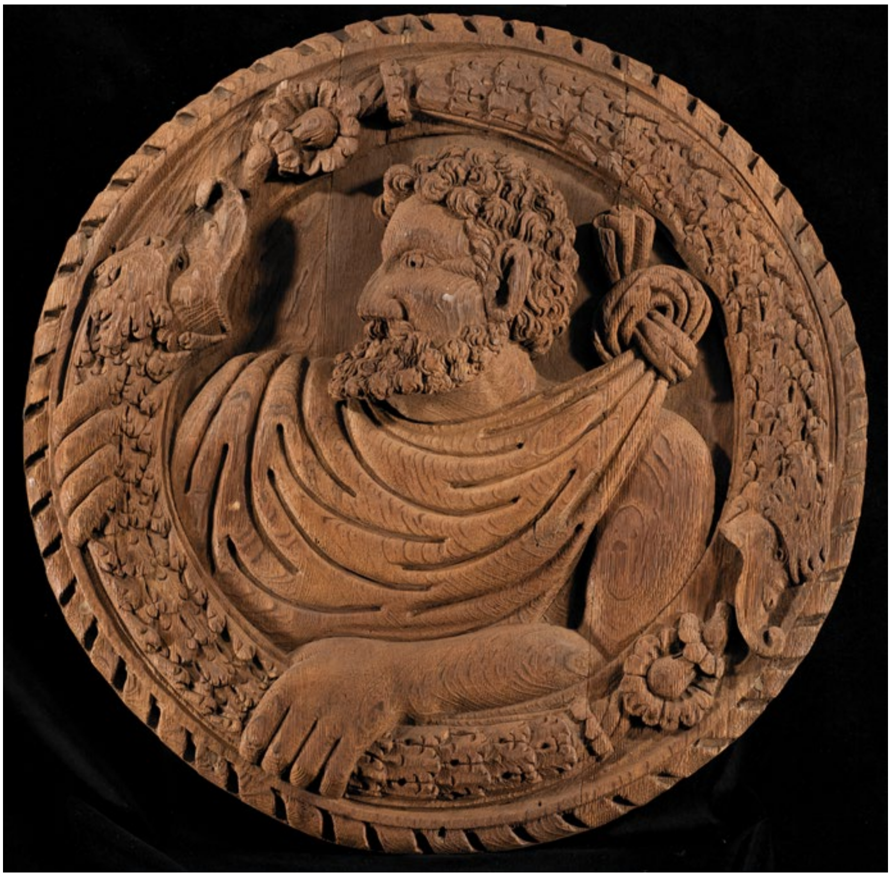
Fig 81 (*below*) *Elements of an Italian Light-Cavalry Armour 'alla Tedesca' (fluted in the German Fashion)*, (c 1510, Italian, Milan), steel, gold, copper alloy and leather. The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.





Stirling Heads Nos 5 and 30: Hercules

The subjects in Stirling Heads Nos 5 and 30 (Figs 82 and 83) display none of Hercules's traditional attributes (lion skin and knotted club), but the strong naked arm suggests a hero ready for action. He is usually represented naked except for a lion's skin or cloak. Hercules without his attributes may represent, in an abstract sense, Virtue as a conquering force over Vice or Fortune. The allegorical story of Hercules choosing the path of Virtue over Vice, from Xenophon's (b c 430 BC) *Memorabilia*, was much represented in Renaissance art.[169] Stirling Heads Nos 5 and 30 have the large head, muscular neck, thick beard and curly hair typical of Hercules as conceived in the 16th century (Fig 84). While, in the absence of the necessary attributes, a categorical identification is problematic, it is reasonable to understand them as representing 'Herculean Virtue'. The encircling snake is a symbol of the god



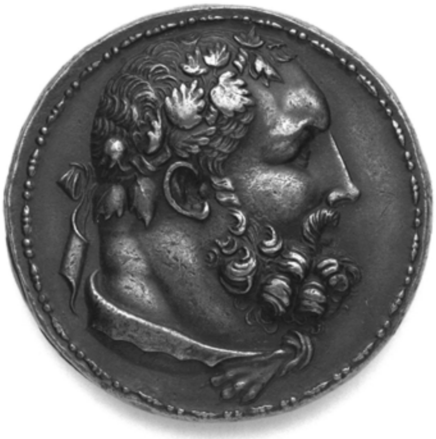


Fig 82 *Stirling Head No. 5: Hercules.*

Fig 83 *Stirling Head No. 30: Hercules.*

Fig 84 Hercules Bassanius, *Obverse of a medal displaying Hercules as if he were a Roman emperor with wreath of vine leaves on his head and a lion's skin tied around his neck*, (16th century, Padua), bronze, diameter 4.2 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Salting Bequest.

Aion and Time, and the message might be Virtue triumphing over Time or Fortune.[170] In which case the snake should bite its own tail, but the snakes in Stirling Heads Nos 5 and 30 have more than one head and are more likely to represent the Lernaean Hydra, overcome in one of the Twelve Labours of Hercules (Fig 85).[171]

During the Renaissance, Hercules was resurrected as a demigod who, by both physical and mental fortitude, transcended humanity and secured not only worldly fame but also immortality. The mythology of Hercules fitted the agenda of princely image-making perfectly where military success was translated into valour powered by virtue and tempered by self-sacrifice. Hercules as the ‘ideal hero and personification of *virtu*’ was particularly associated with the heroic leadership of monarchs in France.[172] A marble statue of Hercules by Michelangelo may have been in the possession of Francis I at Fontainebleau.[173]

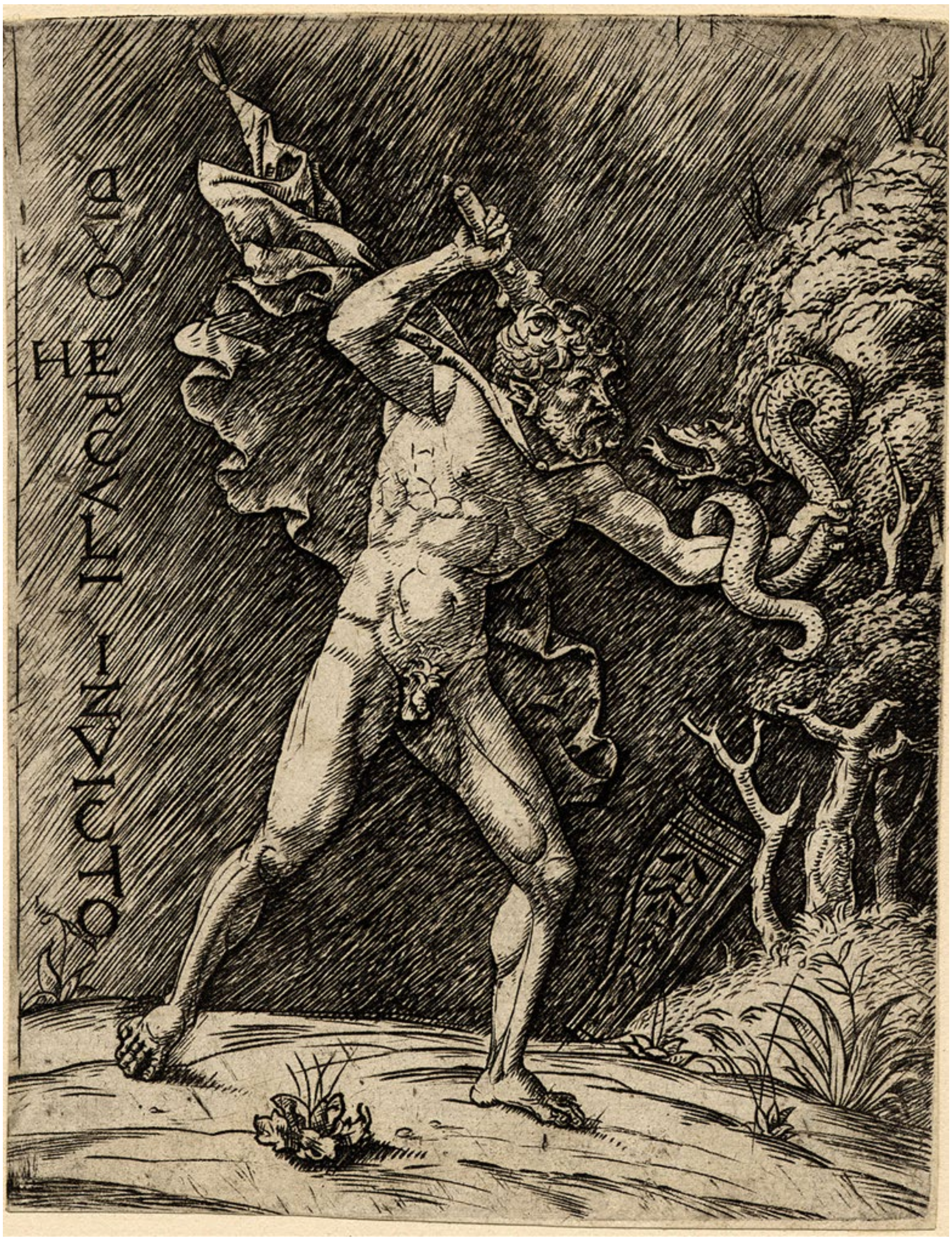
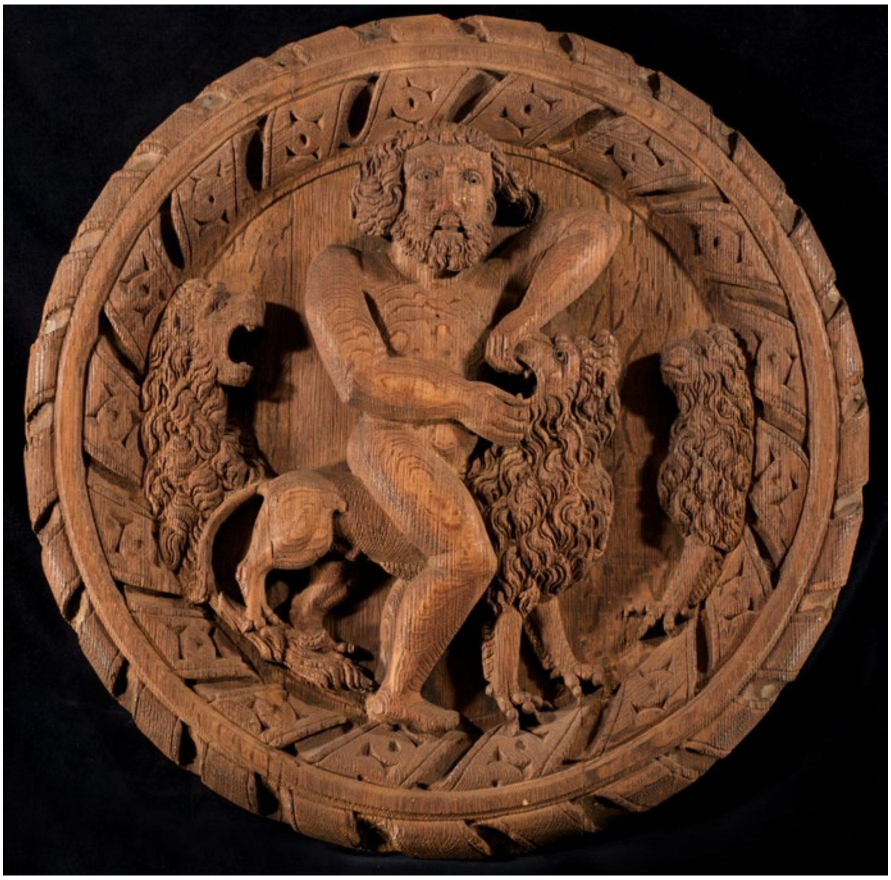


Fig 85 After Andrea Mantegna (c 1431–1506, Italian), *Hercules Attacking the Hydra*, (1470–1500, Italy), engraving, 14.5 x 11.2 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Stirling Head Nos 33 and 34: Hercules slaying the Nemean Lion

Stirling Head No. 33 (Fig 86) compares to contemporary images of *Hercules slaying the Nemean Lion* although, as three lions are present, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* must also be considered as a possible subject. The first of Hercules's 12 labours was to slay the lion which was terrorising the town of Nemea. As the lion could not be slain with conventional weapons, Hercules is often shown sitting astride the lion and forcing its jaw apart with his hands (Fig 87). Hercules then skinned the lion using its claws as tools and wore its pelt. Stirling Head No. 34 (Fig 88) is unusual in that Hercules is shown wearing classical armour and holding a dagger as well as a knotted club (symbolic of the difficulty of living a virtuous life).[174] Bronze medallions featuring the *Labours of Hercules* (again Mantua was a centre of production) may explain the full-body format of these 'heads' (Fig 89). The acanthus detail framing Hercules in Stirling Head No. 34 balances the figure and fills the frame in the same way as the tree in Fig 89. Compositional balance may also explain the three lions instead of one in Stirling Head No. 33.



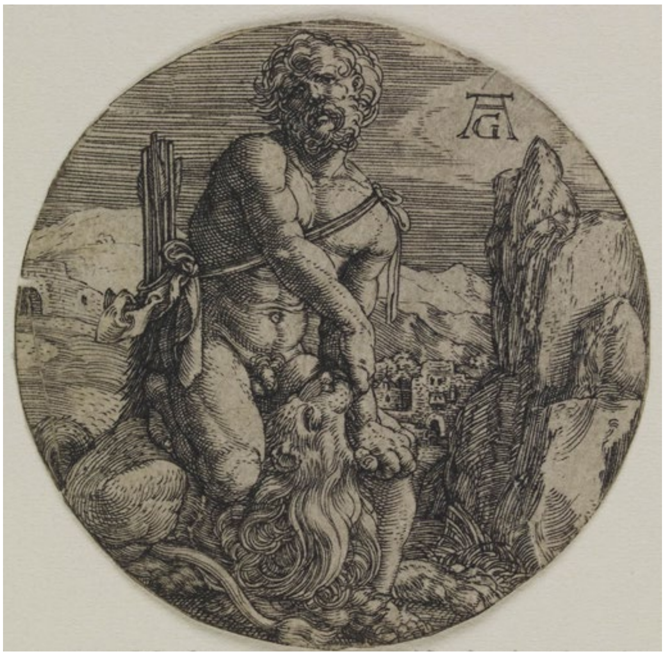
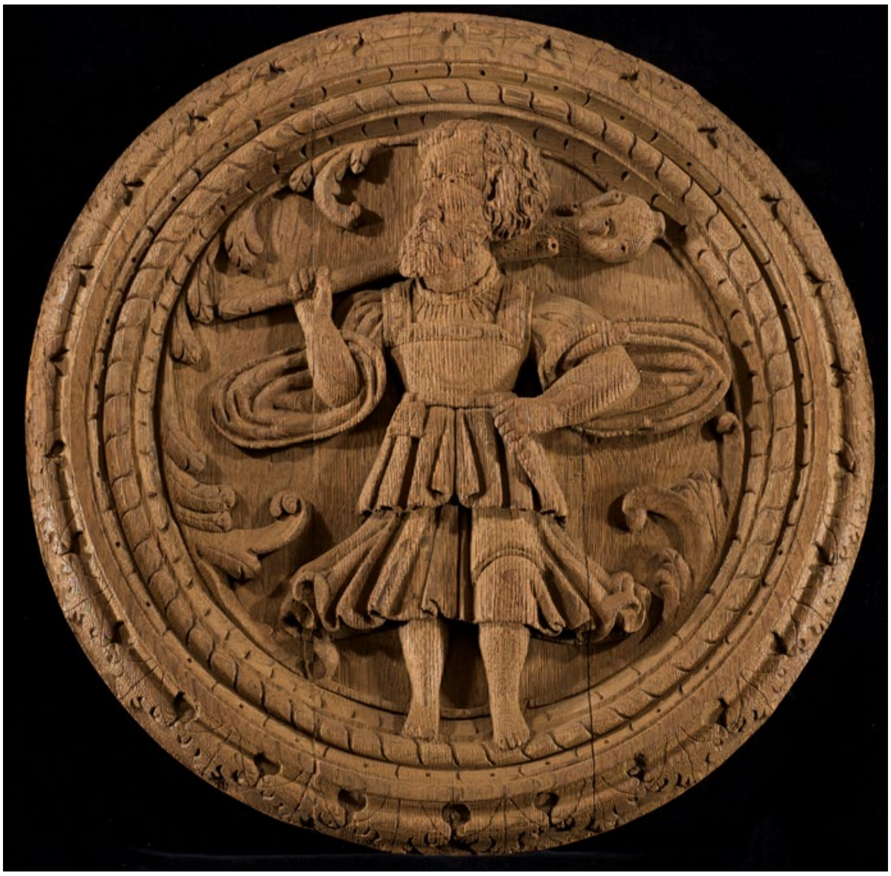


Fig 86 (*above*) *Stirling Head No. 33: Hercules and the Nemean Lion.*

Fig 87 (*left*) Heinrich Aldegrever (1501/1–1555/61, German), *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*, (1525–61, Germany), engraving, diameter 5 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.



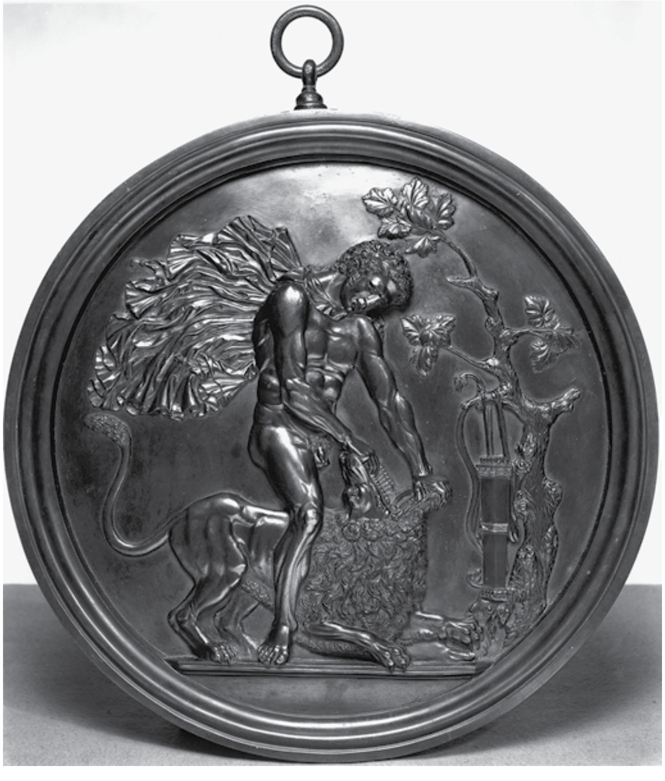


Fig 88 (*above*) *Stirling Head No. 34: Hercules Carrying a Club.*

Fig 89 (*right*) Antico or Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi (c 1460–1528, Italian), *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*, (late 15th century, Mantua) bronze relief medallion, 32.1 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Stirling Heads Nos 37 and 38: Putti with ribbons

The *uomini famosi* at the Villa Carducci, Legnaia (c 1450) are accompanied by a frieze of putti holding garlands of evergreen foliage tied with ribbons.[175] Putti also act as supporters to coats of arms. Like the laurel crown, such garlands were symbolic of victory and would have decked the route of ancient Roman triumphal processions. The presence of the putti reinforces the theme of the triumph of fame and immortal memory. Such friezes decorated the sides of ancient Roman sarcophagi and Renaissance tombs (Fig 90).

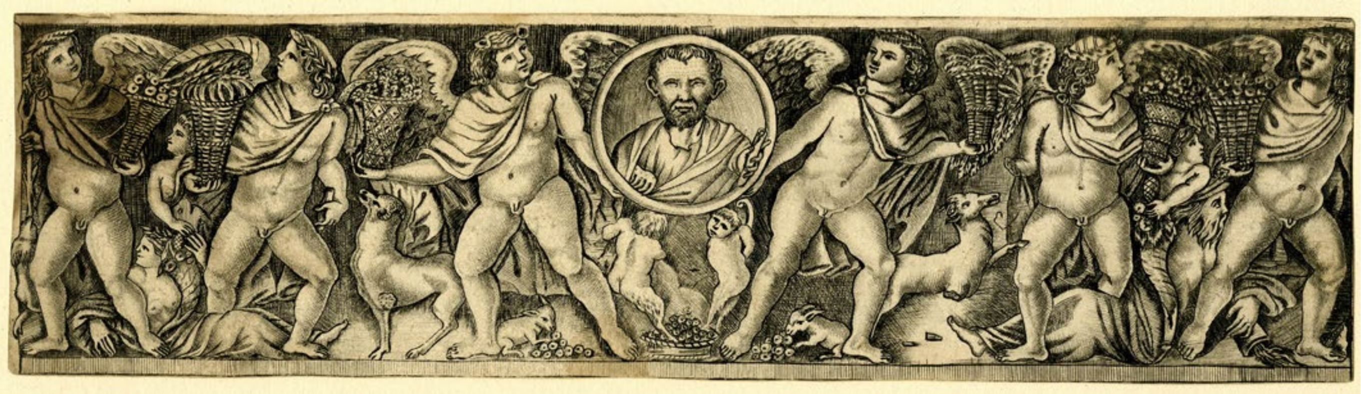


Fig 90 Unknown, *The side of a Roman sarcophagus, with putti holding vases of flowers surrounding a bust of the deceased*, (1500–90, Italian), engraving, 7.3 x 27 cm. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The frontispiece to an illuminated poem dedicated to Henry VII of England (James V's grandfather) helps to place the putti seen in Stirling Heads Nos 37 and 38 (Figs 91 and 92) in the context of classical and Renaissance iconography of fame. Henry VII, 'shown en face, riding in a trionfo decorated with the spoils of war and drawn by two white horses', is celebrated in the text as an epic hero who, following a great military conquest, restores peace and prosperity to a troubled land (Figs 93.A and 93.B). One of the four classical busts (lower right) set amongst military trophies may be Henry VII keeping company with Roman emperors. In the presentation of the two heraldic shields, the medieval emphasis on noble lineage joins forces with the classical iconography of fame: one shield is surrounded by an evergreen wreath and the other is set within a Tudor rose supported by two putti and suspended by hooks and ribbons. The author, the itinerant Italian poet Johannes Michael Nagonius (c 1450–c 1510), travelled from Rome in 1496 and it is thought that the artist responsible for the frontispiece must have been working in Rome.[176] Putti also support the coat of arms on the base of Pietro Torrigiano's (1472–1528, Florence) Italianate tomb for Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey (commissioned by Henry VIII, 1512–18).

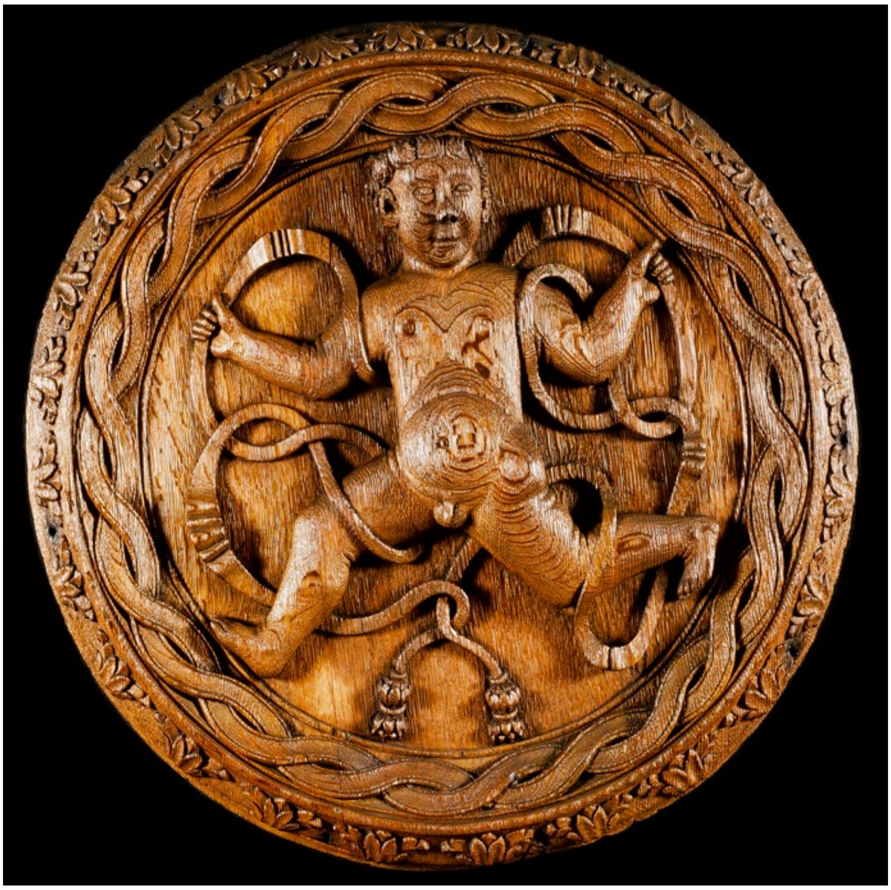


Fig 91 *Stirling Head No. 37: Putto.*
© National Museums Scotland.

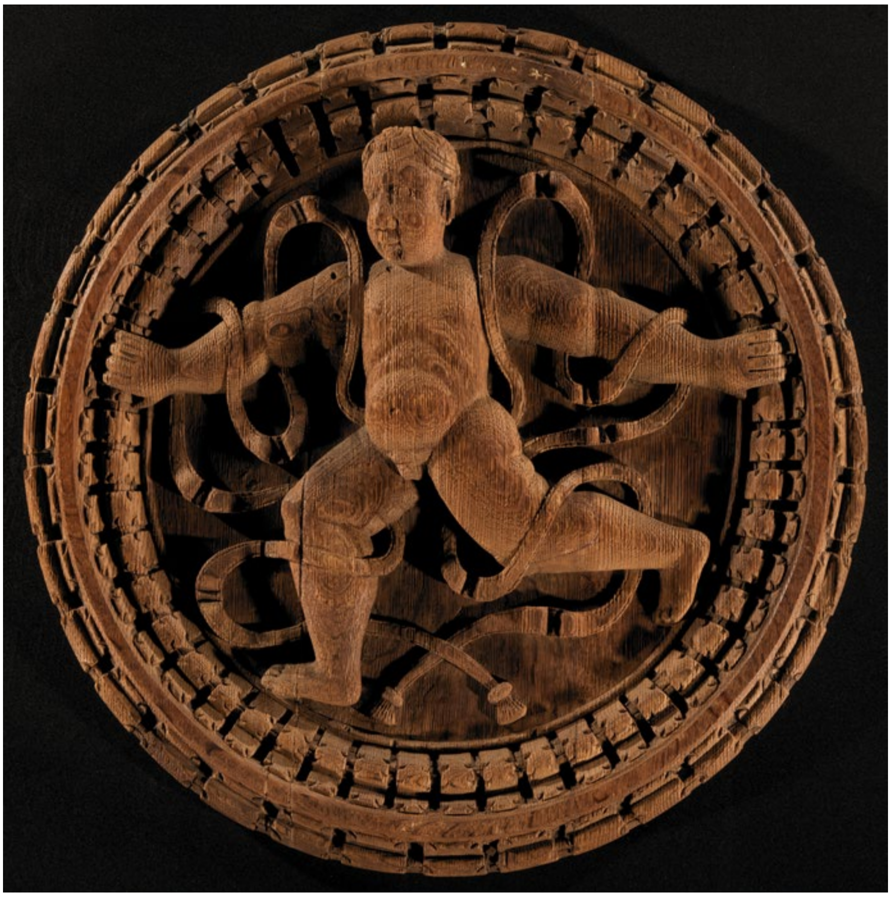
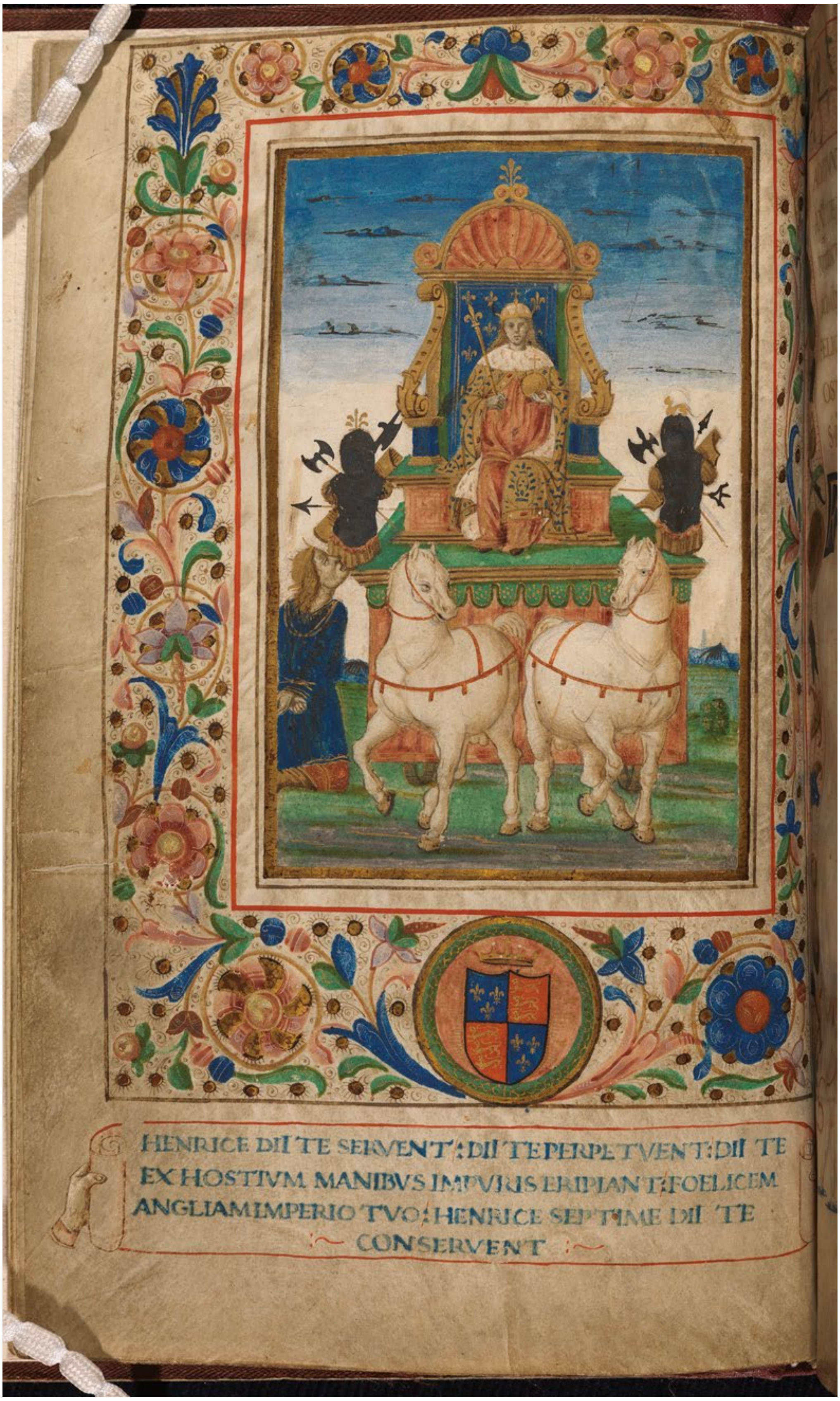


Fig 92 *Stirling Head No. 38: Putto.*



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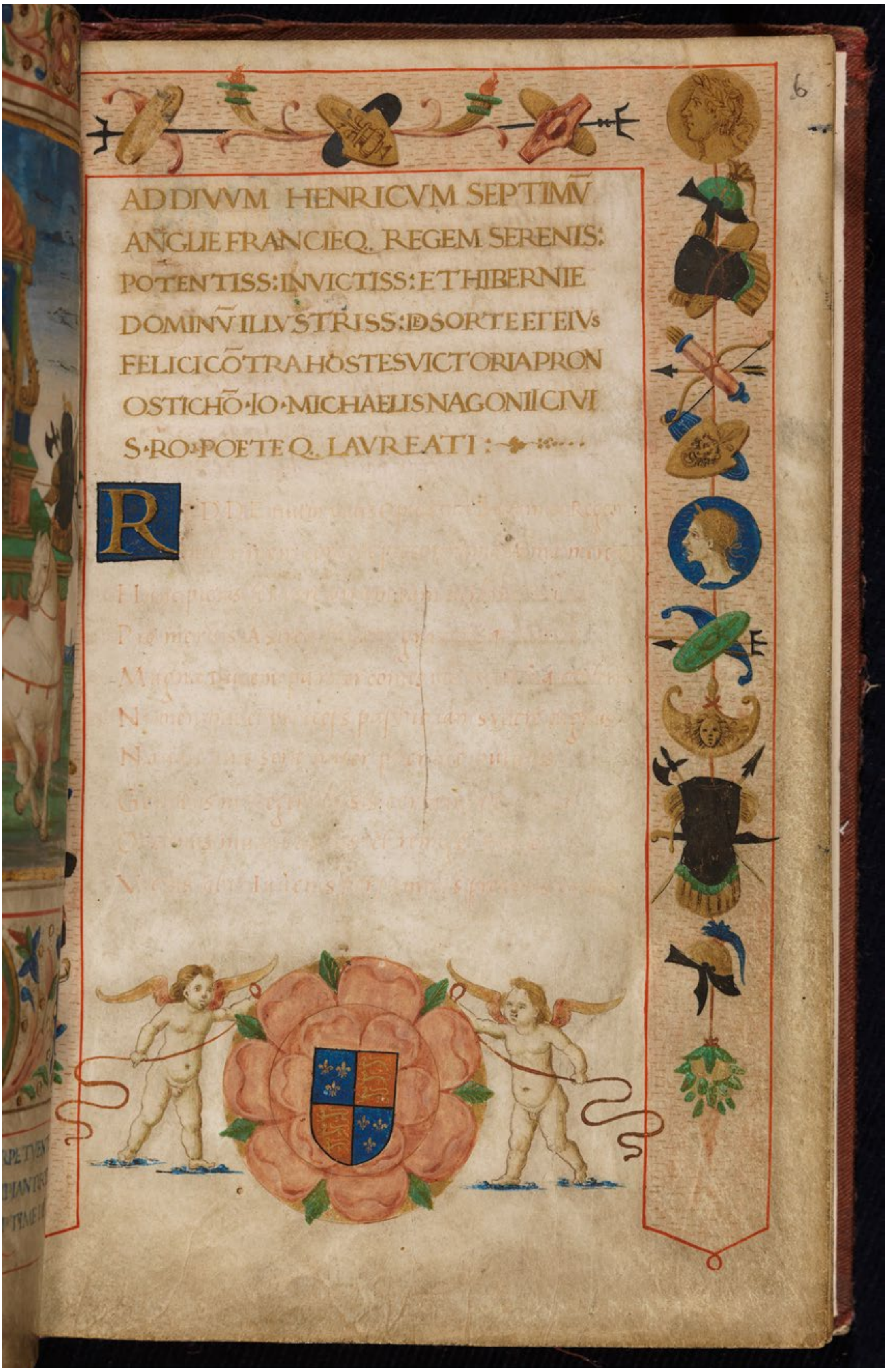
Figs 93A and 93B (*opposite*). Unknown, frontispiece to Johannes Michael Nagonius, *Panegyric of Henry VII*, (c 1496). Minster Library, York: MS XVI.N.2, fols 5v and 6r. © Chapter of York: Reproduced by kind permission.



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18 James Caw, 'Portraits of the First Five Jameses', *The Scottish Historical Review*, VII, no. 26 (January 1910), 113–19, esp 117–18.

19 Margaret Toynbee, 'The Portraiture of Isabella Stuart, Duchess of Brittany (c. 1427– after 1494)', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, no. 525 (December 1946), 300–6, esp 300 and 304.

20 See n 13.

21 The Treaty of Perpetual Peace between England and Scotland was signed on 24 January 1502. Although married by proxy in 1502, Margaret did not arrive in Scotland until 1503, meeting James for the first time on 3 August.

22 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, II (Edinburgh: HM General Register House, 1877–1978), xxix, 341 and 405; Michael Apted and Susan Hannabuss, *Painters in Scotland 1301–1700: A Biographical Dictionary*, new series, 7 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1978), 68–9.

23 http://www.oxfordartonline.com under *Vewicke, Maynard.*

24 Macmillan, 30.

25 Miguel Falomir, 'The Court Portrait', *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, ed Lorne Campbell *et al* (London: National Gallery in association with Yale University Press, 2008), 69–70.

26 Charles Beard, 'Early Stewart Portraits: A Discovery', *The Connoisseur*, LXXI (January–April 1925), 5–15, esp 7. Daniel Mytens (1590–1648, Dutch), James IV with a Falcon on his Fist, oil on canvas, 94 x 61 cm. Stirling of Kier Collection, Dunblane, Scotland. Copy of Unknown, James IV with a Falcon on his Fist, (c 1502), tempera on panel, formerly in the collection of Henry VIII. http://arcade.nyarc.org/record=b1048779~S7; https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/king-james-iv

27 Bibliothèque Municipale, Arras, MS 266.

28 Lorne Campbell, ‘The Authorship of the Recueil d’Arras’, *Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XL (1977), 301–13.

29 Apted and Hannabuss, 70–2. Charles Beard discusses the significance of Piers and his connection with Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Netherlands. He also argues that the author of the drawings of the Scottish subjects in the *Recueil d’Arras* spent time in Scotland. It is more likely that they were made using portraits that had found their way into Burgundian Habsburg collections. See Beard, 13–15.

30 RCIN, 402712. The Royal Collection gives a date of c 1540, but suggests that the earliest record of it being in the Royal Collection dates from the reign of Charles I.

31 The portrait was examined by Dr Sally Rush and Dr Erma Hermens of the University of Glasgow in November 2010.

32 Dana Bentley-Cranch and Rosalind Marshall, ‘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’, *Stewart Style 1513–42: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 273–98, esp 276–7.

33 National Trust at Polesden Lacey, Surrey. Andrea Thomas, on the advice of Rosalind Marshall, says that another copy is in the Weiss Gallery, London, but it does not appear in their catalogue. The third version was in the Kimbell Art Museum, Texas, but has been de-accessioned and sold.

34 Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528–42* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 131.

35 Louis Dimier, *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Duckworth & Co; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1904), 129–37 and 206–7 is a valuable source for Corneille de Lyon, but a more recent publication is Anne Dubois de Groër, *Corneille de la Haye dit Corneille de Lyon* (Paris: Arthéna, 1996).

36 Adam Abell (1475/80–1537?), *The Roit and Quheill of Tyme*, NLS, MS 1746, fol 125v; Alasdair M Stewart, ‘The Final Folios of Adam Abell’s *The Roit or Quheill of Tyme’, Stewart Style, 1513–42: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 227–53.

37 Caw, 113.

38 *Balcarres Papers*, I, 70 (*Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, Queen of Scotland, from the originals in the Balcarres Papers*, ed Marguerite Wood (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1923–5)); Rosalind Marshall, *Mary of Guise* (London: Collins, 1977), 78.

39 *Balcarres Papers*, I, 27, 73 and 82.

40 Dimier, 191.

41 Marshall, 203; Thomas, 85; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, VIII, 59, 77, 84 and 92; National Records of Scotland, *Despence de la Maison Royale*, E.33/1, fol 11v.

42 Apted and Hannabuss, 77.

43 Joseph Robertson, *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France; catalogues of the jewels, dresses, furniture, books and paintings of Mary Queen of Scots, 1556–9* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1863), xxviii, n 1.

44 *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots 1547–1603*, IX (Searchable Text Edition, 2005), 304, Item 292, Sir Amias Powlet to Walsingham, 25 February 1587.

45 This may have been the panel portrait, *the brod of the pictour of the Quene Regent*, brought from France by William Maitland of Lethington the younger, Secretary of State, in 1563. Robertson, ‘Memorandum of sum graith within a cais ressauit fra Lethingtoun the tyme that he brocht the pictour of the Quene Regent out of France 1563’, *Inventaires*, 57.

46 Thomas Thomson, ‘Inventair of the jowellis plenissingis artaillierie and munition being within the castell of Edinburgh pertening to our soverane lord and his hienes derrest moder- M.D. LXXVIII’, *A collection of inventories and other records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse; and the artillery and munition in some of the royal castles, 1488–1606* (Edinburgh: 1815), 238.

47 As the term ‘pomme’ is common to other items listed here, it has been translated as generally meaning a round object rather than specifically meaning an apple-shaped object.

48 ‘Inuentaire des Bacgues de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France. Ce qui est au Cabinet de ladicte Dame’, in Robertson, 11 and 16. It seems most likely that the miniature of James V was of French rather than Scottish origin.

49 Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney, 2007), 11–12, and 11 n 40.

50 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, VII, 54; Thomson, *A collection of inventories*, 32.

51 Hayward, 20.

52 Eichberger and Beaven, 227.

53 Katie Stevenson, ‘The Unicorn, Saint Andrew and the Thistle: Was There an Order of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland?’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, LXXXII, no. 215 (April 2004), 3–22, esp 5–6.

54 Hayward, 435.

55 François Boucher, *A History of Costume in the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967), 228.

56 Herbert Norris, *Tudor Costume and Fashion* (New York: Dover Publications, 1997), 189.

57 http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/chafferon; Hayward, 433–4.

58 For the Milan cap, see Norris, 313–14.

59 Château de Blois and the Musée National, Versailles.

60 Janet Arnold, *Elizabeth I's Wardrobe Unlocked* (Leeds: W S Maney & Son, 1988), 114. A 'forepart' was a triangular piece of fabric, usually elaborately embroidered, attached to the undergarment and visible through the inverted triangular opening of the gown.

61 This interpretation of the winged cherub was prompted by Louis P Nelson, 'Sensing the Sacred: Anglican Material Religion in Early South Carolina', *Winterthur Portfolio*, XLI, no. 40 (2007), 203–37.

62 Janet Cox-Rearick and Mary Westerman Bulgarella, 'Public and Private Portraits of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleonora di Toledo: Bronzino's Paintings of his Ducal Patrons in Ottowa and Turin', *Artibus et Historiae*, XXV, no. 49 (2004), 101–59, esp 133, nn 123–5.

63 Jacqueline Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500* (London: Bell & Hyman, 1981), Glossary.

64 Ibid, 202–3.

65 See Anthony Cashman, 'Performance Anxiety: Federico Gonzaga at the Court of Francis I and the Uncertainty of Ritual Action', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXIII, no. 2 (2002), 333–52, esp 336.

66 Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, 'Il Lusso di Isabella d'Este', *Nuova Antologia* (1896). Quoted by Yassana Croizat, 'Living Dolls: François Ier Dresses his Women', *Renaissance Quarterly*, LX, no. 1 (Spring 2007), 94–130, esp 95–7.

67 Croizat, 120, translated from the original Italian quoted by Robert Knecht in *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 117, n 41.

68 Hayward, 171 and 171 n 154. She quotes *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47*, XIV, pt 1, ed James Gairner and R H Brodie (London: HMSO, 1894), item 927.

69 Hayward, 171.

70 Hayward, 18–20; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47*, XII, pt 1, ed James Gairdner (London: HMSO, 1890), item 12

71 James V and Marie de Guise were married by proxy in Paris on 18 May 1538 before she arrived at Saint Andrews on 10 June.

72 Cranch and Marshall, 287–8 and 287 nn 68–70. They give a summary of the known provenance of the three surviving copies.

73 Both the date and the attribution of this portrait to Corneille de Lyon are revisited in Duncan Thomson *et al*, *Dynasty: The Royal House of Stewart* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland and National Museums of Scotland, 1990), 35. This comments on the portrait's exceptional quality and the absence of the 'shadows' typical of Corneille de Lyon's portraits.

74 British Museum Gg,1.420; Musée des Arts et de l'Enfance, Fécamp FEC. 31.

75 Marshall, 184 and 184 n 14. She cites *Analecta Scotia*, ed J Maidment (Edinburgh: Stevenson, 1834–7), 347–9.

76 Norris, 275.

77 Ibid, 452.

78 See n 45.

79 Pierre Quesnel should not be forgotten as the potential author of this portrait.

80 This is the badge of Yorkshire territories known as the Honour of Richmond which were granted to Henry VII. The greyhound was also the badge of John of Gaunt, 1st Duke of Lancaster and so of the House of Lancaster.

81 Beard, 10 and 13; Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, I (London: HMSO, 1969), 98 and 98 n 7. The National Portrait Gallery in London also has a portrait of Elizabeth of York. Strong says that the original is lost and that copies possibly date from the late 16th century.

82 This was in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, but was sold in 2005.

83 Hayward, 189–90; Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, I, 205–6. Strong cites *Walpole Society*, XXXVII (1960), 28 for the inventory listing.

84 Norris, 323.

85 Hayward gives no reference but, on the same subject, Jane Ashelford in *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society 1500–1914* (London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd, 1996), 21, cites *The Lisle Letters*, ed Muriel St Clare Byrne (University of Chicago Press, 1983), IV, no. 895.

86 Hayward, 171.

87 Grahame, 9.

88 David Laing, 'A Few Remarks on the Portraits of Sir William Wallace', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, II (1854–7), 308–13. Blind Harry was Henry the Minstrel whose *Life of Wallace* was first printed in 1790.

89 P Gardner, 'Coinage of the Athenian Empire', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIII (1913), 147–188, esp 147.

90 William Newton, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1846), 112–13.

91 Bente Kiilerich, 'Physiognomics and the Iconography of Alexander', *Symbolae Osloenses*, LXIII (1988), 51–66, esp 61–2.

92 Olga Palagia, 'Hephaestion's Pyre and the Royal Hunt of Alexander', *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, ed A B Bosworth and E J Baynham (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 183–4.

93 Plutarch, ‘Demosthenes and Cicero, Alexander and Caesar’, *Lives*, VII, trans Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library 99 (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1919), 230–1.

94 Kiilerich, 58 and 63.

95 Desiderius Erasmus, *The ‘Adages’ of Erasmus: A Study with Translations*, trans Margaret Mann Phillips (Cambridge: CUP, 1964), 240. Quoted by Janet M Spencer, ‘Princes, Pirates and Pigs: Criminalising Wars of Conquest in *Henry V*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 47, no. 2 (Summer 1996), 160–77, esp 161.

96 Robert P Adams, ‘Bold Bawdry and Open Manslaughter: The English New Humanist Attack on Medieval Romance’, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXIII, no. 1 (November 1959), 33–48, esp 33 and 35.

97 Foister, 121–8. http://images.hrp.org.uk/en/search/do_quick_search.html?q=Maiano

98 Ibid, 191 and 191 n 70.

99 Ibid, 192.

100 Jill Dunkerton, Susan Foister and Nicholas Penny, *Durer to Veronese: Sixteenth-Century Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with National Gallery Publications Ltd, 1999), 114 and Foister, 180, n 26. Foister cites K Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Amsterdam, 1604), trans as *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed H Miedema, 6 vols (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1994–9), f 222r, p 146.

101 Charles Rogers and King James I of Scotland, ‘The Poetical Remains of King James I of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, II (1873), 297–392; William A Shaw, ‘The Early English School of Portraiture’, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXV, no. 37 (October 1934), 171–84.

102 MacDonald, ‘Princely Culture’, 149–50.

103 MacDonald cites Norman MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 196–8.

104 Peter Iver Kaufman, ‘Piety and Proprietary Rights: James IV of Scotland, 1488–1513’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XIII, no. 1 (Spring 1982), 83–99, esp 95.

105 Robert L Kelly, ‘Penitence as a Remedy for War in Malory’s “Tale of the Death of Arthur”’, *Studies in Philology*, XCI, no. 2 (Spring 1994), 111–35, esp 111 and 116.

106 Ibid, 116 and 116, n 11.

107 Cameron, 287.

108 Ibid, 288.

109 *The Letters of James V*, ed Denys Hay (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1954), 221–2; Eichberger and Beaven, 233–4.

110 Yvonne Hackenbroch, ‘Some Portraits of Charles V’, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, new series, XXVII, no. 6 (February 1969), 323–332, esp 323.

111 Hayward, 104.

112 Norris, 417.

113 Thomson, *A collection of inventories*, 39.

114 Isabella Campagnol Fabretti, ‘The Italian Renaissance’, *The Greenwood Encyclopaedia of Clothing Throughout the World*, 2 (Westport, Conn and London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 23–5.

115 Norris, 273. No reference is given for the quote from Rabelais.

116 The evolution of the French hood is tracked by Norris, 110–11, 336–40 and 450–3.

117 Georgine de Courtais, *Women’s Headdresses and Hairstyles in England from AD 600 to the Present Day* (London: Batsford, 1973), 44; Hayward, 171–3.

118 A print in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London, identifies this as being a portrait of Margaret Tudor by Holbein in the collection of the Marquis of Lothian (NPG D24196. Print by Thomas Cheesman, 1819). The original, identified as a portrait of Marie d’Assigny, Madame de Canaples (1502–58), by Jean Clouet is now in the collection of the Scottish National Galleries (NG 1930). https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/4764/madame-de-canaples-marie-dassigny-1502-58?page=1&subjects%5B30574%5D=30574&search_set_offset=63

119 Boucher, 224–7 and 233.

120 Ibid, 227.

121 Ibid, 233, and Marion Sichel, *Costume Reference 2: Tudors and Elizabethans* (London: Batsford, 1977), 27.

122 Arnold, 118.

123 Ibid, 118–19. https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/4764/madame-de-canaples-marie-dassigny-1502-58?page=1&subjects%5B30574%5D=30574&search_set_offset=63

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131 Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland 1425–1513* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006), 189.

132 Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 122.

133 Roger Sherman Loomis, 'The Heraldry of Hector or Confusion Worse Confounded', *Speculum*, XLII, no. 1 (January 1967), 32–5, esp 32.

134 Charity Cannon Willard, 'The Concept of True Nobility at the Burgundian Court', *Studies in the Renaissance*, XIV (1967), 33–48.

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136 Stevenson, 'The Unicorn, St. Andrew and the Thistle …', 3–6.

137 John Lesley, *The History of Scotland*, II (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1888–95), 230.

138 'The Ballet of the Nine Worthies', John Barbour, *The buik of Alexander the most noble and valiant conquerour Alexander the Grit*, ed Graeme Ritchie, I (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1925).

139 John Barbour, *The Bruce*, I, 465. The Bruce was written while Barbour was under the patronage of David II and presents Robert the Bruce as a chivalric hero fighting for the freedom of his people. Barbour was the Scottish equivalent to Chaucer and was Scotland's first vernacular poet of note.

140 One of the most well-known sets of male and female worthies are the frescoes by Giacomo Jacquerio (fl 1403–53, Italy) in the castle at La Manta, Saluzzo, Piedmont (1418–30).

141 Edward Croft-Murray, *Archaeological Journal*, CXIII (1956), 108–125, esp 108; K Coke, 'The Amberley Castle Panels and a Drawing by William Henry Brooke', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXLV (2007), 137–52. The male worthies have presumably been lost and only eight of the female Worthies survive. These have been in the collection of the Pallant House Gallery, Chichester (Chichester District Council) since 1983.

142 L O Fradenburg, *City, Marriage and Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 91–122 and 172–91.

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144 Celeste Turner Wright, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', *Studies in Philology*, XLIII, no. 4 (October 1946), 628–43, esp 629.

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147 See the British Museum's collections database under 'Florentine Picture Chronicle', and S Colvin, *A Florentine Picture Chronicle* (London: 1898).

148 Christiane L Joost-Gaugier, 'Poggio and Visual Tradition: "Uomini Famosi" in Classical Literary Description', *Artibus et Historiae*, VI, no. 12 (1985), 57–75, esp 57.

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152 Ibid, 99.

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155 C. Suetonius Tranquillus, 'The Deified Titus', *Lives of the Caesars*, Book 8:2, in Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, II, trans J C Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 38 (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1914, revised 1997), 306–7.

156 Richard A Gergel, 'An Allegory of Imperial Victory on a Cuirassed Statue of Domitian', *Record of the Art Museum*, 45, no. 1 (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Art Museum, 1986), 3–4. The Augustus Prima Porta is within the collection of the Vatican Museums (Inv 2290).

157 Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli,

Inv 6059. This was excavated in Herculaneum in the 18th century.

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159 Wroth, 127.

160 Nelson, 203, 217 and 220.

161 Michael P Mezzatesta, ‘Marcus Aurelius, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the Ideal of the Perfect Prince in the Sixteenth Century’, *The Art Bulletin*, 66, no. 4 (December 1984), 620–33, esp 626.

162 Ibid, 620–4 and 627–8. See also James Ackerman, ‘Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill’, *Renaissance News*, X, no. 2 (1957), 69–75, and Philipp Fehl, ‘The Placement of the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Middle Ages’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVII (1974), 362–7.

163 Mezzatesta, 628.

164 Ibid, 624–5, and 625 n 33. Marcus Aurelius wrote *Meditations*, a self-reflective diary of 12 volumes written in Greek.

165 Ibid, 626.

166 One is in the Glyptothek, Munich, and the other, of the young Marcus Aurelius and closely modelled on a known antique bust, is in the J Paul Getty Museum, Malibu. See Leonard N Amico, ‘Antico’s “Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius”’, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, VI (1988), 95–104.

167 Thomas Martin, ‘Michelangelo’s “Brutus” and the Classicizing Portrait Bust in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, *Artibus et Historiae*, XIV, no. 27 (1993), 67-83, esp 73.

168 Antoninus Pius was the adopted son of Hadrian and founder of the dynasty which included Marcus Aurelius (ruled AD 161–80), Lucius Verus (ruled AD 161–69) and Commodus (ruled AD 177–92).

169 For example, Albrecht Dürer, *Hercules at the Crossroad* (c 1498, German), print. British Museum: E, 2.110.

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171 The multi-headed hydra guarded the entrance to the underworld beneath the Lake of Lerna. Hercules killed his own children and to redeem himself had to complete 12 tasks set by Eurystheus who had replaced him as king and was acting on behalf of his aggrieved wife, Hera.

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173 Paul Joannides, ‘Michelangelo’s Lost Hercules’, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, no. 893 (August 1977), 550 and 552–5.

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