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Portraits of James I and James II, kings of Scots: some comparisons and a conjecture

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an inquiry into the origins of some painted portrait images of James I and James II of Scotland which are first attested in the late 16th century. That the likenesses are not authentic is shown by comparisons with images of these kings which have a demonstrable claim to authenticity, and by a consideration of the costumes depicted: the latter were evidently derived from sources which, although of 15th-century date, were too late in the century to have been authentic for these particular rulers. On the evidence of the sets of portraits to which these paintings belong, one in Edinburgh and another in Munich, it is suggested that the faces of James I and II were based on those of the (authentic) images of James III and IV respectively.

There is, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, an intriguing set of paintings of the first five Jameses, kings of Scots. The set has belonged to the Gallery since 1909, when it was purchased from the estate of a private owner in St Andrews; nothing is known of its earlier provenance.[1] Shortly after the set was acquired, the then director of the Gallery, James L Caw, published an article in which he suggested that the five pictures were painted in the 16th century, possibly as early as the reign of the latest king represented, James V (1513–42), and in any case no later than the latter part of the century. Caw also remarked that the likenesses of the first four Jameses, although painted posthumously 'were almost certainly founded upon earlier portraits, then existing but now lost'.[2] These views are still generally accepted (though the set is now not thought to date from as early as James V's reign: more will be said presently on the question of dating), and the paintings of all five monarchs continue to be reproduced as likenesses of them. The authenticity of the images of James III, IV and V has been firmly enough established and is not in question.[3] In contrast, the origins of the images of James I (reigned 1406–37) and James II (reigned 1437–60) have so far eluded identification, and it is the purpose of this paper to give closer consideration to the portraits of these two kings (Illus 1 and 2) in the light of comparisons with other relevant material.

The first useful comparison to be made is between the *James I* and a drawing in the *Recueil d'Arras*. The *Recueil* is a large volume of portrait drawings which were evidently made during the 1550s and 1560s by Jacques Le Boucq, a herald of Valenciennes. The drawings are copies of earlier portraits, both painted and sculpted, many of which are now lost. Although most of the sitters represented were members of the ruling class in the Netherlands, about a dozen of the drawings show sitters who were either Scottish themselves or in some way linked with Scotland. Among these is a drawing inscribed *Jacques Roy descoce* (Illus 5). In the absence of any independent source to confirm that the inscription identifies the sitter correctly, one must be cautious; at the same time, however, it is worth noting that, where corroborative evidence is available, the inscriptions in the *Recueil* seem to be reliable with remarkably few exceptions.[4] As Lorne Campbell has pointed out, this drawing appears to be an accurate reflection of a portrait painted in the 1430s in the most up-to-date

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ILLUS 1 James I, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 41.2 × 33cm, (?)1579. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (PG 682). Photograph: National Galleries of Scotland

ILLUS 2 James II, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 41.3 × 32.9cm, (?)1579. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (PG 683). Photograph: National Galleries of Scotland

ILLUS 3 James III, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 40.8 × 32.7cm, (?)1579. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (PG 684). Photograph: National Galleries of Scotland

ILLUS 4 James IV, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 41.2 × 33cm, (?)1579. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (PG 685). Photograph: National Galleries of Scotland

Illus 5 James I. Drawing in red and black chalks on paper cut out and pasted onto a separate sheet, 42 × 28cm, from the *Recueil d'Arras*: copy by Jacques Le Boucq, *c* 1560, after a lost painting by an unknown artist, 1430s. Bibliothèque-Médiathèque, Arras (MS 266, f21r) (Châtelet 2007)

Netherlandish style. Here, then, in all probability, is James I as he looked at the age of about 40.[5] The drawing, done in red and black chalks, preserves the appearance of a detailed depiction of the sitter. The short 'pudding-bowl' haircut, the clean-shaven jaw and the round-necked gown with a fur collar, all of which are authentic for a date during the 1430s, are clearly different from what we see in the *James I* from the Edinburgh set; likewise, the very particularised face, with its retroussé nose, prominent mouth and sharply receding forehead, is far from being consistent with that in the Edinburgh painting.

In a similar way, the *James II* can be compared with a miniature painting, inscribed *Jacob von gots genaden küng von Schottland*, which occurs in *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen* (Illus 6). The author of *The Diary*, which is not in fact a journal but a retrospective account of the extensive travels he had undertaken in his youth, was a German knight whose home was the castle of Kilchberg, near Tübingen. He evidently visited the court of James II in 1458, but it was only after a number of years – perhaps 20 or more – that von Ehingen wrote his memoir and had it illustrated with miniature paintings of the nine rulers he had met personally on his travels.[6] The painter of the figures was presumably a local German artist and, as I have suggested elsewhere, the individuality of almost all of the 'portraits' may in fact be due to verbal descriptions supplied by von Ehingen.[7] The figure of James II does not provide as detailed a record of his face as does the *Recueil d'Arras* drawing of his father. Nevertheless, here again is a man with authentically short hair, and the red birthmark which caused James II to be described as the king with 'the fyre mark in his face' is unmistakably shown, covering the whole of the left side of his face. For this latter feature not to appear at all in the *James II* painting is an extraordinary omission.[8]

If, then, the images of James I and James II presented in these paintings are not authentic, how is their appearance to be explained? A third comparison makes it possible to suggest a time of origin for their costumes and hairstyles. The small round hats seen in both images, the shoulder-length hair and the broad ermine collar of the gown in the *James II* are all paralleled in a portrait of the Netherlandish nobleman Adolph of Cleves, lord of Ravenstein (Illus 7). This portrait, attributed to the anonymous 'Master of the Portraits of Princes', can be dated to the late 1480s or early 1490s: the sitter, born in 1425, died in 1492. Adolph of Cleves, a grandson of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, served the Burgundian dukes as one of their ablest councillors and military commanders, and another portrait attributed to the same artist shows Philip the Fair (born in 1478) as a boy of perhaps ten years of age with the same length of hair and in a very similar costume.[9] In a further work by this artist, a portrait identified as depicting a member of the Bossaert family of Brussels, the sitter wears a doublet where the front opening is laced together similarly to that seen in the *James I*; the doublet is also worn beneath a gown or jacket in both paintings.[10]

On this evidence, therefore, the images of the first two Jameses cannot have originated before about the late 1480s – almost 30 years after the death of James II, and 50 years after the death of James I. The style of the costumes would not have seemed unduly inappropriate in geographical terms as the fashions shown here were not specifically Netherlandish but were worn at royal and princely courts throughout western Europe. It does need to be added that, in the two late 16th-century paintings under discussion here, the costumes have almost certainly been somewhat elaborated. Most noticeably, there are too many hat-jewels. It will be seen that in the hat worn by Adolph of Cleves there is a single jewelled brooch. This feature is paralleled in a number of other portraits of the period: it occurs, for example, in the arch-topped portraits of Edward IV and Richard III belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of London, early copies of lost originals painted probably in 1483.[11] Contemporary instances of such hats with a series of jewels all the way round the brim, as in the paintings of the Jameses, do not appear to be found. Along with this, the central opening in the brim of James I's hat, secured by a gold medallion-brooch, seems to be fanciful, and the authenticity of the gold piping on the edges of the hat brims must be regarded as doubtful. Then too there are the friezes of arabesques embroidered in

ILLUS 6 James II, by an unknown artist. Watercolour drawing on parchment, 21 × 16cm, from *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, late 15th century (Letts 1929). Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (Cod hist qt 141, p 97)

gold on the borders of the scarlet body-garments. These again are most probably an inauthentic form of embellishment. It is evident that the portrait image of James IV (Illus 4), which is essentially authentic for a date during his reign, has been embellished in a similar way, with added jewels and gold piping. (The embroidery depicted on the front of James IV's doublet, in a zig-zag pattern rather than arabesques, has a better claim to have originated in an authentic feature.)[12]

Following on from Caw's remarks about the date of this set of paintings, it was suggested by Duncan Thomson in 1974–5 that they could perhaps have formed part of the decoration of a triumphal arch which was made for the entry of James VI into Edinburgh in 1579. The evidence for this is circumstantial and derives from a combination of three factors. First, the triumphal arch in question is recorded as having had upon it 'the genealogie of the Kings of Scotland'. Then, the possibility that such a genealogy would have been pictorial, rather than simply consisting of inscribed names, is raised by the existence of paintings from a similar scheme dating from 1633. In that year Charles I made his triumphal entry into the Scottish capital and passed beneath an arch decorated with no fewer than 109 'portraits' representing the line of monarchs from the mythical Fergus I (reigned, supposedly, *c* 330 BC) onwards. The production of this latter series was entrusted to the artist George Jamesone, and 26 of the paintings (including images of James I, II, III and V) still survive. Lastly, the bold and rather sketchy style of the set of paintings of the first five Jameses would be in accord with their having formed part of a decorative scheme of this kind.[13] Alternatively, the paintings' primitive style does not necessarily exclude the possibility that they may have been intended to serve the same kind of purpose as the sets of such portraits that were known in England towards the end of the 16th century, as interior decoration in the Long Gallery of a palace or some other great house.

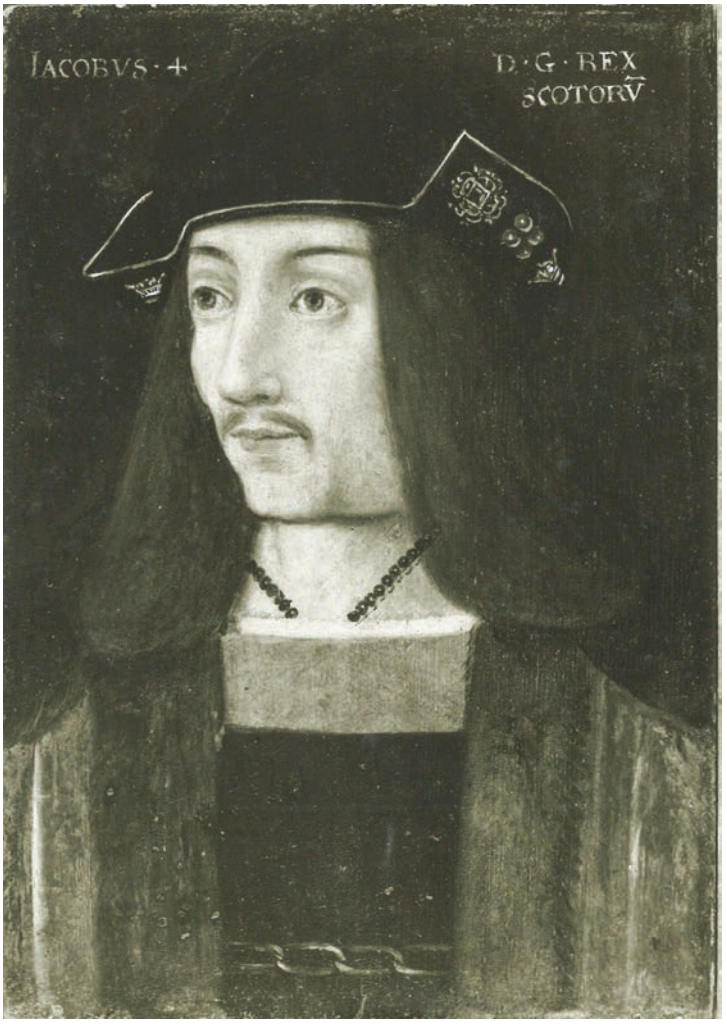
ILLUS 7 Adolph of Cleves, lord of Ravenstein. Oil painting on panel, 27 × 18cm, attributed to the 'Master of the Portraits of Princes', late 1480s or early 1490s. Private collection. Photograph: © KIK-IRPA, Brussels

ILLUS 8 James II, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 37 × 25cm, *c* 1592. Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, Munich (WAF B I a 421). Photograph: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

In this context it is useful to consider a very similar set of portraits of Scottish monarchs which is much less well known. This set is currently divided between two locations in Munich: the portraits of the kings from James II to James V, and of Mary, Queen of Scots, are owned by the Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, while that of James VI is in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Details of these paintings were only published in 2008, when it emerged that the set had once also included portraits of James I and of Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI (both last recorded in 1789). The set is first recorded in an inventory of the *Kunstkammer* of the dukes of Bavaria in their residence at Munich which was made in 1598.[14] The Munich *Kunstkammer* had been built up from the mid-1560s onwards by Duke Albrecht V and his son Wilhelm V. It comprised an encyclopaedic collection of both natural and man-made objects, the latter including a very large number of portraits of both historical and living 'famous men', many of them conceived as sets. Unfortunately, there appears to be no evidence as to the circumstances in which the paintings of Scottish monarchs entered the collection, but it is interesting to note that the portrait of James VI bears the date 1592. The image of James in this painting, in which he is shown wearing a tall hat, is of a type that became current from 1590 onwards and seems to have originated in connection with his marriage to Anne of Denmark.[15] The Munich portrait therefore provided an up-to-date likeness of the king; and since the paintings of his ancestral namesakes are all of the same matching size, they were presumably produced together with the *James VI* in the early 1590s.

The Munich image of James II (Illus 8) differs somewhat from its counterpart in Edinburgh (Illus 2). Here the king is given a small beard and his costume would seem to have been derived from a slightly later source: both the round hat

worn tilted at an angle and the distinctive square-cut fur collar of the gown are attested in visual sources dating from the mid-1490s onwards into the early 16th century.[16] Interestingly, it is this latter image type of James II, rather than the Edinburgh image, that is reflected in the full-length miniature of him in the *Seton Armorial*, a manuscript inscribed with the date 1591.[17] The figures of the Jameses in the *Seton Armorial* (though sadly that of James I is missing) provide our earliest securely dated visual evidence for the existence of these portrait images. Possibly the different image of James II that is seen in the Munich set and the *Seton Armorial* belonged to a tradition that was already established: it is worth bearing in mind that this image of James II also appears as the standard portrait type of him in later sets, both painted and engraved. Thus it is seen in the set of engraved plates in John Jonston's *Inscriptiones historicae regum Scotorum*, a book printed in Amsterdam for Andrew Hart of Edinburgh in 1602.[18] Similarly, it appears in Renold Elstrack's single-sheet genealogical print illustrating *The most happy vnions contracted betwixt the princes of the blood royall of theis towe famovs kingdomes of England & Scotland* (1603).[19] And in painting, when George Jamesone came to decorate the triumphal arch, mentioned earlier, with portraits of the Scottish monarchs, his image of James II was again based on the same type.[20]



ILLUS 9 James IV, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 37 × 25cm, *c* 1592. Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, Munich (WAF B I a 423). Photograph: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

Finally, a conjecture: comparing the Munich *James II* with the *James IV* from the same set (Illus 9), one is struck by the close similarity between the two faces. This is evident both in the overall shape of the faces and in the disposition of the features, and particularly also in the mouths, which are virtually identical. In view of this, it seems possible to suggest that the face of the fictive *James II* was made up on the basis of the *James IV*. Such a borrowing of the grandson's features for those of his grandfather would have made plausible sense, not only in terms of family likeness but also in the historical fact that both of these kings were doughty warriors who had

notably strengthened the power of the monarchy within Scotland (and both had met an untimely death in war against the English). Turning to the Edinburgh set, the same kind of similarity can be seen to exist between the faces of the same two kings there (Illus 2 and 4). Moreover, in the latter set it seems equally possible that the face of the fictive *James I* was made up on the basis of the *James III* (Illus 1 and 3). The possible borrowing in this instance is more heavily disguised: James I has been given a full beard, which probably also accounts for his slightly different jaw line, and his nose has a bulbous tip. Nevertheless, the similarity between the two long, narrow faces with their large and widely spaced eyes remains very evident, and the way in which the hair at the nearer side of the face hangs like a curtain over the corner of the eye in both paintings is surely not coincidental. And again, these two kings, grandfather and grandson, were linked by historical similarities: both were unusual for the interest they had shown in the arts, and especially for their patronage of architecture; both had dealt high-handedly with the Scottish aristocracy, giving rise to accusations of tyranny; and both had ultimately fallen victim to plotting by disaffected nobles.

By the time the Edinburgh *Jameses* were painted (whether this was in 1579 or a few years later), a widespread popular interest in sets of portraits of rulers was reaching its peak. In northern Europe, at any rate, the painted portrait sets that appeared in royal and noble houses can be seen as a natural development from the medieval tradition of decorating palaces, cathedrals and other important buildings with series of images of rulers in the monumental media of sculpture, stained glass and wall painting. However, a crucial additional impetus had been provided by the enormous collection of portraits of famous men which was assembled by Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), bishop of Nocera de' Pagani, and displayed in a specially built museum-villa on the shores of Lake Como. Knowledge of Giovio's collection was disseminated throughout Europe by his description of it, with eulogies reflecting the biographical notices that were placed beneath the portraits, published in numerous editions from 1546 onwards. Probably taking his cue from the Ancient Roman author Pliny the Elder, Giovio emphasised that the paintings he commissioned were true likenesses, copied from authentic sources which he had sought out for the purpose.[21]

The published editions of Giovio's work evidently also influenced the production of books containing series of portraits in engraved form. One such is the *Recueil des Effigies des Roys de France*, published in Paris and Lyon in 1567. In his preface to the Paris edition, the publisher François Desprez claims that he too has been at pains to find true likenesses:

> I have wished very much to search for the best known figures that portray them, from Pharamond, the first king, down to Charles IX who reigns at present, and to represent them as close to the life as possible, according to what I have been able to discover, as much by means of the tomb effigies of those kings as in many other places, where I had ascertained the genuineness of the portrait.[22]

In view of this statement, it is surprising to find that the first image in Desprez's series that can be related to an authentic source is that of Charles VII (reigned 1422–61): all of the preceding 53 kings are represented by fictive images. For the most part these are adapted from those in earlier printed sets, though in borrowing the images Desprez by no means always used the same figure for the same king. Presumably he regarded such sources as in some way giving a truer, as well as a more distinctive and memorable, impression of these kings than the tomb effigies which were available in churches in and around Paris, to which he appears to have had little if any recourse at all.[23] Be this as it may, it is interesting to note at least one instance here of the kind of historical parallelism that I am suggesting may have been at work in the portraits of the Jameses. The made-up image of Pharamond, the supposed founder of the French monarchy, is virtually repeated for the figure of Hugh Capet, the first of the Capetian line of kings. In Capet's case the head is turned from three-quarter view into profile and given a crown decorated no longer with pointed rays (as an 'antique' crown) but with fleurs-de-lis; the body, with heavily embossed armour and a sword held

Illus 10 Edward V, by an unknown artist. Oil painting on panel, 57.8 × 44.4cm, *c* 1597–1618. © National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 4980 (11))

ILLUS 11 Edward VI, by an unknown artist, after Guillim Scrots. Oil painting on panel, 57.2 × 44.5cm, *c* 1585–1600. © Reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, Great Britain

upright in its right hand, is the same – literally so because it is printed from the same block as the body of the Pharamond image, in which the head and body were separate blocks.[24]

Thirty years later, in England, an author identifying himself only as 'T. T.' (most probably the antiquary Thomas Talbot) produced *A booke, containing the true portraiture of the countenances and attires of the kings of England* … (Talbot 1597). The engravings printed in this work represent all the English monarchs from William I (reigned 1066–87) to Elizabeth I (reigned 1558–1603), and it is evident that T. T. engaged in some antiquarian research in order to make the images as authentic as possible. As Catherine Daunt has suggested, the image of King Stephen (reigned 1135–54) may have been derived from the figure of that king drawn by Matthew Paris in his manuscript *Historia Anglorum* (*c* 1250), and those of at least Henry III and Edward III seem to have been based on their tomb effigies.[25] For the monarchs from Richard II onwards, T. T. used the standard images that were already available in painted sets, most of which reflected (at however many removes) contemporary painted portraits. Exceptional in this respect were Henry IV and Edward V, for neither of whom there existed an authentic painted portrait source. For the former, T. T. resorted to an accepted stand-in, adapted from the image of Charles VI which appears in Desprez's series of French kings, and for Edward V his illustrator devised a plausible figure of a curly-haired child. An alternative solution to the problem of supplying an image of Edward V, and one which is again relevant to the question of the *Jameses*, is seen in a painted set which belongs to the National Portrait Gallery in London and was formerly at Hornby Castle, the seat of the dukes of Leeds.[26] This set is interesting partly because its first six portraits (*William I*, *Henry I*, *Stephen*, *Henry II*, *John* and *Henry III*) seem to be based on the engraved images in the T. T. series. This is not the case, however, with the *Edward V* (Illus 10). For his image of the boy-king who reigned briefly and in name only at the age of 12 in 1483, the artist evidently turned to an existing portrait of Edward VI, who reigned from 1547 to 1553, between the ages of nine and 15. This appropriation of the later boy-king's likeness is clear enough if one compares the *Edward V* with a typical example of the standard portrait image of Edward VI which was used in painted sets (Illus 11): a significant degree of similarity is evident both in the shape of the face and in the disposition of its features, and especially in the distinctive slanting form of the ear. Here, therefore, is a parallel for the kind of retrospective reuse of a likeness that I am suggesting may have taken place with the portraits of the Jameses – and here too the borrowing is disguised by the invention of a different costume.[27]

To return, then, to the conjecture proposed here: if it is right, it means that the images of the first two Jameses cannot go back any further than the creation of the portrait image of James IV. This latter is datable, with a fair degree of probability, to the period 1503–8. Prior to his marriage to Margaret Tudor on 8 August 1503, James IV is known to have worn a full beard: it was removed, famously, by two of his wife's English ladies on the day after the wedding. Then, his portrait is likely to have been the work of one or other of two visiting Netherlandish painters, either 'Mynour' (Meynnart Wewyck), who left Scotland before 10 November 1503, or 'Piers the painter', who worked at the Scottish court from 1505 until 1508.[28] Might a set of pictures of the early Jameses – the prototype for the later series – also have been painted by one or other of these two artists? This is a possibility, though it seems more probable that such a set would have originated at a later date, retrospectively and with a greater historical sense of the similarities between James IV and his grandfather. Thus the images of the first four Jameses may not have been created as a set until a portrait of the fifth James could take its place alongside them. Presumably the set was created in honour of a monarch whose name was James, with the aim of celebrating him as the direct descendant of all his predecessors of the same name, and the king in question may indeed even have been James VI, who came to the throne at the age of 13 months in 1567.

The exact sources of the costumes in the images of James I and James II can only be a matter of surmise: they could have been

discovered in portraits of individuals, either in the form of paintings or as drawings copied from paintings, or possibly in figures that occurred in manuscript illuminations or in tapestries. Whoever the artist was who found them and recognised their usefulness for his purpose, he deserves to be credited with a degree of ingenuity which over time enabled his fictitious images to gain acceptance as true likenesses. Writing in 1658 of the series of Scottish monarchs painted by Jacob de Witt for the Palace of Holyroodhouse, a series in which a number of the images depend on Jamesone's series of 1633, Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall remarked that 'in our gallery of the Abbey their is set up the pictures of our hundred and eleven Kings since Fergus I … They have guessed at the figure of ther faces before James the I'.[29] It is my hope that the observations offered here may have revealed at least the essence of the truth behind the images of the first two Jameses.

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My thanks are due first of all to Brigitte Schuhbauer, of the Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfonds, Munich, and Martin Schawe, of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen: without their assistance I would not have discovered the whereabouts of the portraits in Munich or the existing literature on them. I am grateful also to Sarah Jeffcott, of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, especially for supplying information about the portraits formerly at Castle Fraser; and to Caroline Wittop Koning, of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

I should like to dedicate this article to the memory of my parents, Frederick and Mary Hepburn, with whom I first saw the portraits of the first five Jameses at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

NOTES

1 Accession nos PG 682, 683, 684, 685, 686; Thomson 1975: 20–1, nos 2–6; Smailes 1990: 156.

2 Caw 1909–10: 114–15 (quotation from 115).

3 The point has been well made that the likeness of James III as depicted here bears a close resemblance to his portrait on the extraordinary silver groats that were issued in *c* 1485: see, for example, Thomson 1974: 100 and pls 65–6. The idea that these two images are related is considerably strengthened by the fact that the clothing at the king's neck is the same, and one is very much inclined to suppose that both ultimately go back to a single lost contemporary drawing. The imperial crown worn by James in the coin image would have been substituted for the more usual type of 'civilian' headgear that was presumably shown in the lost drawing and is reflected in the painting. The tall-crowned hat with an ostrich plume curling over from the back is paralleled in French and Netherlandish miniatures of the 1470s, but seems not to have been fashionable after *c* 1480; taken together with this, the narrow, steep-sided lapels of the king's gown or jacket point to the late 1470s as the image's likely date of origin. For the image of James IV, see the references in note 12 below, and further below in the text of the present paper; and for the image of James V, Millar 1963, text volume: 77, no. 92. The likeness of the latter king, particularly as regards the length and shape of his nose, is paralleled in his (profile) portrait on the gold ducats known as 'bonnet pieces' that were issued during the years 1539–42; here too, as in the painting, he wears a heraldic collar of thistles (see Burnett 1996: 291 and fig 3, opp 302; Thomas 2005: 178, 180 and pl 16). The style of James' costume in the painting is consistent with the same date, *c* 1540, and since an example of the painted image occurs in a double portrait of James V and Mary of Guise (collection of the Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle; reproduced Marshall 1986: 8), it is possible to suggest that it may have originated at about the time of the couple's marriage in 1538.

4 Of the 279 drawings catalogued and reproduced in Albert Châtelet's splendid complete edition of the *Recueil d'Arras*, Châtelet draws attention to about a dozen portraits in which the inscription can be shown to misidentify the sitter. In all but two of these instances the mistake is a 'near-miss', in which (for example) a father is misidentified as his son. It has sometimes been supposed that the drawing inscribed as a portrait of Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV, comes into this category and represents the sitter's mother, Elizabeth of York (a suggestion first made by Charles R Beard and subsequently upheld by Roy Strong (Beard 1925:

8, 10–13; Strong 1969a, vol I: 98)). However, while Margaret's costume is undoubtedly similar to that which appears in the standard portrait image of Elizabeth of York (for an early example of which, in the Royal Collection, see Millar 1963, text volume: 52, no. 17; plate volume: pl 6), her figure is significantly narrower and slighter; and a drawing of Elizabeth, now missing, is recorded as having once been in the *Recueil d'Arras*, occupying the folio immediately after the one with the drawing of Henry VII (Châtelet 2007: 24 (fol 15: *Isabelle d'Angleterre femme de Henri VII*)). With regard to the drawing of *Jacques Roy descoce*, this certainly belongs together with the other 'Scottish' portraits in terms of its technique, being mostly done in red chalk with some initial outlining in black.

5 Campbell 1996: 89–90. Châtelet identifies the Scottish king shown here as James II, portrayed in the lost original work at about the age of 18 by an artist from the circle of Rogier van der Weyden (Châtelet 2007: 108–9). However, it is surely difficult to believe that the sitter was as young as this; and the portrait reflected in the drawing would seem to have had a closer affinity with the work of van Eyck than of van der Weyden. There is also no hint here of James II's famous birthmark, for which see note 8 below.

6 Letts 1929: esp 62–3; Ehrmann 1982.

7 Hepburn 1986: 49–50 (in connection with the figure of Henry VI of England). Of the nine rulers represented, only the figure of Ladislaus 'Postumus', king of Hungary and Bohemia, can be seen to be related to larger-scale painted portraits; also, this figure is depicted in a different style from the others.

8 For James' birthmark see McGladdery 1990: 1–2, quoting from the *Auchinleck Chronicle* and referring also to the von Ehingen miniature. The birthmark would have presented a problem in the creation of any official portrait image of James, as a disfigurement of this kind would have been viewed by contemporaries in a negative way, as an outward sign of some inner flaw of character and a mark of God's disfavour. For this aspect of medieval thought, see Strickland 2003: 49–50 (on Cain's misshapen progeny), 65–7 (on the perceived link between physical deformity and sin, originating from Leviticus 21:16–24). Rather than trying to gloss over so obvious a feature, a portrait painter would most probably have resorted to the expedient of showing the king in profile from the other side. Actual examples of this practice have survived from 15th-century Italy in portraits of the rulers Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini, and Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino: the former had a protruding bone on his upper right cheek, while the latter had lost his right eye in a jousting accident: see Woods-Marsden 2002: 98–9, 111, 235 n 108, and pls 3, 5, 25, 27.

9 For the portrait of Adolph of Cleves, see Pauwels 1962: 109–11, no. 29, and for the 'Master of the Portraits of Princes', most recently, Bücken & Steyaert 2013: 224–45, reproducing both portraits mentioned here on 226. The portrait of Philip the Fair (Musée du Louvre Inv RF 1969–18) is on loan to the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris.

10 For this portrait, formerly in the National Museum at Poznań and now in a private collection, see Périer-D'Ieteren 1986.

11 LDSAL 320 and 321: Franklin, Nurse & Tudor-Craig 2015: 54–66, nos 5 and 6.

12 For the portrait image of James IV, see Beard 1925; Châtelet 2007: 191, and further below in the present paper. It seems less likely that the image of James III has been elaborated: each of the two hat-jewels shown there is worn on a separate item of headgear, and there is no reason to suppose that this is inauthentic.

13 Thomson 1974: 65–7, 95–101; Thomson 1975: 20–1, 63–4. No attempt has yet been made to date this set of paintings using dendrochronology.

14 Diemer et al 2008, vol II: 914–19, nos 3039–42, 3045–8. The portraits of James II, III, IV and V are described there, erroneously, as being lost.

15 See Marshall 1990: 52–3, illustrating a silver medal struck to commemorate the royal marriage (fig 51) and companion portraits of James and Anne dated 1595 (fig 52). For an earlier portrait image of James, in a painting dated 1586, see Thomson 1975: 26, no. 12. James and Anne were married in Norway on 23 November 1589 and they returned via Denmark to Scotland, disembarking at Leith on 1 May 1590.

16 The earliest example of the square-cut collar that I am able to find occurs in the gown worn by the figure of Hercules in a miniature in the presentation manuscript of Olivier de la Marche's *Mémoires* of 1494 or 1495 (Paris, BnF, MS fr 2868, f18r: see Buren 2011: 260–3, B.91). Examples of the round hat tilted at an angle are worn by several of the ultra-fashionable courtiers

depicted in the well-known miniature showing the Dance of Sir Mirth on f14r of a copy of the *Roman de la rose* (BL Harley MS 4425) made in Bruges in *c* 1490–1500: see Kren & McKendrick 2003: 401–3, no. 120. For both of these costume features see also an early 16th-century tapestry from the southern Netherlands showing a court scene with an enthroned prince surrounded by courtiers, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-NM-9192 (Hartkamp-Jonxis & Smit 2004: 51–3, no. 11).

17 For the *Seton Armorial* (Sir Francis Ogilvy of Inverquharity Bt, on loan to the National Library of Scotland, Acc 9309 (SN266)), see Thomson 1975: 33, no. 24; Findlater 2006: 67. The folio with the figures of James II and his queen is reproduced in McGladdery 1990: opp 86.

18 See Hind 1955: 49–51, pl 20; Thomson 1975: 70, no. 73.

19 Hind 1955: 209–10, pl 5.

20 Thomson 1974: 96, no. 43, pl 70. There is some limited evidence to suggest that other late 16th- and early 17th-century painted sets once existed. A group of portraits of James II, III, IV, V and VI is recorded, interestingly, in an inventory of the possessions of Mary, Queen of Scots made at Chartley in 1586: see Labanoff 1844, vol VII: 248. Four portraits which were formerly in the collection at Castle Fraser, Aberdeenshire, showing James III, James V, Mary, Queen of Scots and James VI, were probably remnants of a similar set, or perhaps of more than one set (The New Gallery 1889: nos 7, 13, 14 and 24). The present whereabouts of the portraits are unknown although there are photographs in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery archive. The image of James V in this group is virtually identical to that in the Munich set, and the *James VI* is inscribed as showing him at the age of 24 in 1591. A painting of James I in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (PG 337), traditionally said to have been given by Anne of Denmark to her chamberlain, Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie, may also have come from a set (Caw 1909–10: 116; Smailes 1990: 156); and the same is possibly true of a painting of James III which was exhibited in London in 1931 by permission of the trustees of the then recently deceased Sir Archibald Buchan-Hepburn of Smeaton (Shirley 1931: 147, no. 1138, pl 39). To the best of my knowledge, there is no other surviving example of such a painting of James II.

21 Strong 1969b: 46; Haskell 1993: 43–51; Goldring 2014: 195–9.

22 *Recueil des Effigies des Roys de France* 1567 (no page nos): 'Au lecteur, salut. … i'ay bienvoulu faire vne recherche des plus notables figures protraictz diceux depuis Pharamond premier Roy, iusques à Charles neusiesme [sic] apresent regnant, & iceux representer au plus pres du naturel que m'a este possible: selon ce que i'ai peu recouurer tant par le moien des effigies representées es sepultures desdictz Roys, que en plusieurs autres endroictz, ou iay congneu la nayueté du protraict.'

23 For the sources of Desprez's images, see Baydova 2013: 25–7, 34–7. In fact he seems to have depended mainly on the series of French kings which is included in the *Promptuaire des medalles des plus renommees personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde*, published by Guillaume Roville [Rouillé] at Lyon in 1553; the relevant images there were in turn based for the most part on those in a much earlier work, *Les Anciennes et modernes genealogies des Roys de France*, published by Jacques Bouchet at Poitiers in 1528. For an instructive discussion of the authority accorded to the images in earlier printed sets, made up as they were in conformity with what was known of each king's character and age as well as with some idea of ancient costume, see Perkinson 2002.

24 Baydova 2013: 31, 33, with figs 8–9. As Baydova also points out, the head of the figure of Pharamond (who supposedly reigned in the early 5th century) seems to have been derived from that of Henry of Flanders, emperor of Constantinople (reigned 1206–16), in the *Promptuaire des medalles* (see previous note).

25 Daunt 2015, vol I: 60–1; vol II: 160–6. It could be argued that the *Richard I* might have been derived from his figure in the same group of kings in Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum* (London, British Library, Royal MS 14 C vii, fols 8v–9, for which see McKendrick et al 2011: 338–9, no. 114). On the other hand, it seems doubtful that the bearded *Henry II* was, as suggested by Daunt, based on that king's tomb effigy at Fontevrault, as the effigy there which is normally regarded as his shows a clean-shaven face.

26 NPG 4980 (1–16). See Gibson 1976; Daunt 2015, vol I: 118–23; vol II: 46–54; National Portrait Gallery.

27 Unfortunately, although it is very likely that the National Portrait Gallery set once included a portrait of Edward VI, this has not survived. The painted set at Longleat, to which the portrait of Edward VI illustrated here belongs, also has an *Edward V*, and it was in this context that Pamela Tudor-Craig first proposed the idea of the reused likeness: see Gibson 1976: 85–6 with figs 18–19. As Catherine Daunt has remarked, a figure of Edward V looking like Edward VI was already present in Gyles Godet's *A brief abstract of the genealogie of all the kynges of England*, an engraved series datable to *c* 1560–2 (Daunt 2015, vol I: 103; vol II: 149–53).

28 Beard 1925: 7; Campbell 1996: 90–1.

29 Thomson 1974: 100, quoting from Lauder of Fountainhall 1840: 156.

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