ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: PETER PAUL RUBENS' *DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN*: ITS SOURCES AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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This dissertation evaluates Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (ca. 1614-1618) through an examination of the visual and emblematic sources that likely inspired the artist, as well as the political meaning that it held to Rubens and to its early owners. In my analysis, I reevaluate the *all'antica* and antique sources that Rubens likely studied to explain how the artist imbued his lions with impressive qualities that exceed naturalism. Through the lens of Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews* and Marco Polo's description of the Dry Tree—the legendary site where Alexander the Great defeated Darius III—I reexamine the spiritual and humanist implications of Rubens' adaptation of the antique bust *The Dying Alexander* for his depiction of Daniel. I also argue that Rubens' visual vocabulary included political imagery related to the *Leo Belgicus*, the personification of the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War, and that Rubens' painting reflects the political agenda of the Spanish Habsburgs to maintain control over the Netherlands.

It is unclear whether Rubens created *Daniel in the Lions' Den* first as a studio showpiece or for an unknown patron. Nevertheless, the painting's later life in the collections of Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador to The Hague, Charles I, King of England, and

James Hamilton-Douglas, 1st Duke of Hamilton, a courtier to Charles I, reveals that these later owners appropriated Rubens' leonine imagery for their own political ends. Carleton likely gave it to Charles I in 1628 to secure career preferment in the Stuart court. Charles I hung *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall Palace, from 1628 to 1641, to enhance His Majesty's regal authority. In my appraisal of *Daniel in the Lions' Den's* function in this gallery, I reconstruct the installation of the paintings according to Abraham van der Doort's ca. 1639 inventory, and show how this painting functioned as a pendant to Rubens' *Peace and War* at the time of Rubens' diplomatic visit to London from May 1629 to March 1630. Finally, I explore the heraldic function of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in Hamilton's collection during the Bishops' War.

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Introduction

Peter Paul Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, painted ca. 1614-1616, is a hauntingly powerful masterpiece. In this painting, now in the National Gallery of Art, the artist first catches our attention by its massive scale, measuring approximately 224 x 330 cm. It was likely designed as a centerpiece on a large gallery wall; like the similarly sized animal hunts he made for the Duke of Bavaria, Maxillian I (1573-1651). These grand, large-scale compositions were all newly invented by Rubens to appeal to his princely patrons. In the case of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, Rubens takes an Old Testament figure and transforms him into a heroic martyr of truly biblical proportions. Because of the scale we have a front row seat, amongst the bones of recent victims, and the viewer is thrown down into the depths of the den and forced to experience the ultimate test of faith.

This painting is in essence a form of living theater. One does not merely observe the prophet surviving this test of faith—rather, one becomes an active participant in this awe-inspiring and awesome biblical epic. There in the den, the Prophet Daniel, protected by God through his faith alone, is surrounded by a pride of ten majestic lions. One can almost feel the testing breath and hear the growling of each nearly life-size beast within this confined environment. Rubens painted these creatures with a confrontational and lifelike intensity; each whisker and hair is carefully delineated in order to accentuate each lion's inherently imposing qualities. These felines are potently menacing predators prepared to take action at any moment. Even those that are apparently asleep tighten their eyelids so that they still appear alert in their slumber. Three of them directly engage the

viewer with their large and intensely dark, wide eyes. The one nearest Daniel's feet snarls with an open mouth, revealing his sharp set of fangs. The human skull below further reinforces the real and present danger. A trail of bones, including the skull's displaced jaw, lead the viewer to the second lion, whose furrowed brow and clenched snout are no less terrifying to behold. The third stands on a rock beside Daniel and looks down upon the viewer with a regal glare of authority. The lion and lioness directly behind this lion seem to be locked in conversation, while by his tail another yawns to reveal his flame-like tongue and enormous canines. There is nothing ordinary about these beasts. Rubens not only captures the lifelike qualities of the king of the jungle, but he also endows each lion with a sense of grandeur and might that approach the realm of mythology.

This dissertation will show how Rubens marshaled a wide visual and iconographical vocabulary from antiquity, the Renaissance, as well as political imagery related to the Eighty Years' War, and transformed a familiar Old Testament episode into an image that expressed the artist's political worldview and artistic aspirations during the early stage of his career. This study will also show how such a masterpiece could be easily reinterpreted and appropriated for political use by its early seventeenth century owners: Dudley Carleton (1573-1632), English Ambassador to The Hague, Charles I (1600-1649), King of England, and James Hamilton-Douglas (1606-1649), 1st Duke of Hamilton, a favorite courtier and close cousin to Charles I.

In general, previous scholarship has focused on the issue of attribution,[1] the date of execution, and the painting's iconographic connections to the philosophical and

[1] Anna Tummers, " 'By His Hand': The Paradox of Seventeenth-Century Connoisseurship," in Anna Tummers and K. Jonckheere. *Art, Market and*

religious ideas important to Rubens, particularly Neo-Stoicism and Catholic Counter-Reformation theology.[2] As a devote Catholic, Rubens would have viewed Daniel as ideal model of faith and a prefiguration of Christ. Furthermore, Rubens was similarly sympathetic to the ideas of Neo-Stoicism, discussed in the writing of the philosopher Justus Lipsius, with whom Rubens' brother Philip Rubens had studied. Another key topic in earlier scholarship has been whether Rubens painted the lions from life or adapted earlier leonine visual sources, such as sixteenth century *all'antica* Paduan bronzes.

In my assessment of these issues, I explore other *all'antica* and antique sources, such as bronzes after Giambologna's *Pacing Lion* (Figure 19) and the famous antique *Medici Lion* (Figure 22). These sculptures, hitherto unnoticed, likely informed Rubens interpretation and in part explain how Rubens' imbued his lions with larger-than-life qualities. I also argue that Rubens' visual sources include political imagery related to the *Leo Belgicus*, the personification of the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War. In particular, Jacques de Gheyn II's ca. 1590 engraving of the *Leo Magnanimus* ("The Great Lion") (Figure 72) resonates as a visual source for the artist, as well as the iconographical meaning of Michael von Aitzing's 1579 Leo Belgicus map. I also explore the possible reasons why Rubens' modeled Daniel after the famous ancient bust of the *Dying Alexander*, a source previously identified in earlier scholarship, and connect the prophet's life to later heroic exploits of Alexander the Great discussed in Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews*, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, and art from the Italian Renaissance.

Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their contemporaries. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 40-43.

[2] Arthur Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century: Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 166-174.

It is my belief that Rubens' painting contains a clear political statement about the politics of the Twelve Years' Truce and the political agenda of the Spanish Habsburgs to maintain control over the Netherlands. Unfortunately, it is unknown whether Rubens intended *Daniel in the Lions' Den* for a particular patron or created it on spec as a studio showpiece that encompassed his worldview. However, I conclude in this study that the painting contains a clear political message that would have been understood by a subject of the Spanish Netherlands.

The Prophet Daniel in the Old Testament

It is important to understand the significance of the Prophet Daniel in the biblical tradition and the story surrounding his miraculous survival in the lions' den in order to fully grasp why Rubens selected him for the subject of such a large composition. According to the Old Testament book of Daniel, the Prophet Daniel, whose Hebrew name means "God is my Judge," was among the Jewish nobility taken into captivity by the Babylonians during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. In the king's court, Daniel was trained in the Chaldean tradition, where in order to serve the king, he learned the art of divination. Not only did Daniel have a natural aptitude for the Chaldean letters and language, but he also had the ability to interpret all visions and dreams. Thus, Hebrew prophet rose in power within the king's court and was named by Nebuchadnezzar's successor, King Belshazzar, the third ruler in his kingdom, a title of honor that garnered tremendous jealousy amongst the other satraps and presidents in the realm.

The satraps and presidents then devised a plot to make Daniel fall from grace. Since they could find no fault in him, they agreed, "We shall not find any ground for complaint against this Daniel unless we find it in connection with the law of his God."[3] So, they convinced King Darius to sign a petition which declared that any man in the next thirty days who worshiped any man or god other than the king would be thrown into the den of lions. Even though King Darius greatly admired Daniel, the king was compelled to follow his new edict and cast the Hebrew prophet into the lions' den. The king then had the den sealed with a stone, and at daybreak the following morning, he rushed to the den and much to his surprise he found Daniel unharmed. The prophet explained to him, "O king, live for ever! My God sent his angel and shut the lions' mouths, and they have not hurt me, because I was found blameless before him; and also before you, O king, I have done no wrong."[4] The king then freed Daniel, and as punishment to those who tricked him into signing the edict, Darius had these men, their children, and their wives thrown into the den.

The Prophet Daniel, especially his survival in the lions' den, features prominently in the writings of the Early Church Fathers and Counter Reformation theology. The story of Daniel in the Lions' Den, was considered to be a prefiguration of the Christ's Resurrection, since Daniel was delivered from death in the lions' den much as Christ was raised from the tomb.[5] In his *Epistles to the Hebrews*, the Apostle Paul describes the

[3] Dan. 6: 5 (Revised Standard Version)
[4] Dan. 6: 21-22 (RSV)
[5] Wheelock, 168. (For a further illustration of this theological connection between Daniel and Christ, refer to the *Biblia Pauperum*.)

story of Daniel in the Lions' Den as confirmation of the victory of faith.[6] Hilary of Poiters (d. 367) similarly describes the biblical episode as a prefiguration of the apostles' unflinching love of God.[7] The Benedictine abbot, Godfrey of Admont (12th century), equated the story of Daniel as a prefiguration of the Last Judgment, in part because Daniel's Hebrew name translates to "God is my Judge."[8] Saint Jerome (c. 347-420), one of the Doctors of the Church, in his *Commentary on Daniel*, explains Daniel's deliverance from the den as further proof of the prophet's righteousness before God.[9] Jerome also explains Daniel's various interpretations of dreams and visions, finding confirmation of his visions in later ancient sources, such as Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews* in Greek and Roman writers, such as Polybius and Livy. He foresees in Daniel's prophecies the future exploits of Alexander the Great, which is perhaps a partial explanation for Rubens' model of the *Dying Alexander* for the prophet. But most importantly, Jerome asserts in the prologue to his *Commentary on Daniel*, "...that none of the prophets has so clearly spoken concerning Christ as has this prophet Daniel. For not only did he assert that He would come, a prediction that is common to the other prophets as well, but also he set forth the very time at which He would come."[10] As a devote Catholic during the Counter Reformation, Rubens would have understood that Daniel, the most visionary of all the biblical visionaries, warranted a dramatic painting that encapsulated Daniel's undying faith in God at a moment of extreme adversity.

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[6] William J. Travis, "Daniel in the Lions' Den: Problems in the Iconography of a Cistercian Manuscript. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS132," *Arte Medievale* II, Anno XIV, (2000): 53.
[7] *ibid*
[8] *ibid*
[9] St. Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, trans. Gleason L. Archer, 1958. Accessed April 12, 2015. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_daniel_02_text.htm.
[10] i*bid*

Earlier Depictions of Daniel in the Lions' Den

In art, both before Rubens and even during his own lifetime, Daniel in the Lions' Den was a rather unusual subject for a stand-alone painting. The subject occurs in engraved series such as the late sixteenth-century prints by Tobias Stimmer, Maarten van Heemskerk, and Johannes Sadler (Figure 27-30), are not only inconsequential in terms of their physical dimensions, but also lack the life-like vitality and monumental sense of grandeur when compared with Rubens'. Likewise, the Italian versions of the subject which occur in larger decorative schemes, such as Tintoretto's grisaille in the Scuola di San Rocco (Figure 77), Giovanni dei Vecchi's fresco for the Sala degli Angeli, Rome (Figure 82), and Cristoforo Roncalli's (ca. 1602) fresco for the Clementine Chapel in St. Peter's (Figure 81), lack the same sense of vitality and monumentality.[11] For these artists, the story of Daniel in the Lions' Den is depicted only as a part of a larger series within a particular church fresco program. None of these artists isolate this biblical moment or devote the same degree of drama and majesty to this subject.

A Masterpiece without a Known Patron

Surprisingly, Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, dated ca. 1614-1616, apparently did not find a Flemish patron. Instead, Rubens sold the painting in 1618 to Sir Dudley

[11] For a complete list see: A. Pigler, *Barockthemen: Eine Auswahl von Verzuichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 216-217.

Carleton (1573-1632), English Ambassador to The Hague. With such a wide disparity in date between the time when Rubens' painted *Daniel in the Lions' Den* and when he actually sold it, it becomes increasingly difficult to pin down the artist's motivations for painting such a large canvas. For example, Jeremy Wood recently explained in his discussion on Rubens' adaptation of Paduan bronzes for the Corpus Rubenianum, that "...this arguably unattractive and slightly odd painting took some time to sell."[12] I believe though that such a negative assessment of the painting distracts from the significance of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in Rubens' oeuvre. One must not assume that the painting was a failed sale remaining in Rubens' studio for upwards of four years, but rather, one should consider Rubens' own explanation to Carleton regarding the list of works he offered to him:

> "*Io mi ritrove al presente fior di riobba in casa, particulate alcuni quandri che ho tenuti per gusto mio ansi ricompratone alcuni più di quello li aveva venduti ad altri, ma il tutto sarà al servitor di V.E.*"
>
> ["I have at present in my house the very flower of my pictorial stock, particularly some pictures I have retained for my own enjoyment, nay, I have repurchased for more than I had sold them to others, but the whole shall be at the service of Y.E. (Your Excellency)"][13]

Rubens assured Carleton that *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was among "the very flower of my pictorial stock." Though Rubens' explanation in part may be flowery prose by the artist to promote whatever paintings he had available in his studio, there must be some truth to this statement, for reasons I will discuss subsequently.

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[12] Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations From Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Artists Working in Central Italy and France) (Vol. 1) (New York: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2011), 422.
[13] William Hoockham Carpenter, ed., *Pictorial Notices: Consisting of the Memoirs of Sir Anthony van Dyck*... (London: James Carpenter, Old Bond Street, 1844), 140-141.

Rubens' lions struck like a meteor on artists who worked in his studio, which made the master's model the authoritative solution for all forms of leonine imagery. For example, several earlier works by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625), an artist who collaborated with Rubens in the 1610s, feature lions derived from Rubens' prototype. Brueghel's *The Garden of Eden* (Figure 57), 1612, and his *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (Figure 84), 1613, both have pairs of circling lions derived from the ones Rubens rendered on the right side of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. It has been proven that these Brueghel lions likely would have been studied from Rubens' earlier drawings of lions (Figure 4 & 5) and not the later painting.[14] Nevertheless, it is evident from these works by Brueghel that Rubens created the definitive lion prototype for artists working in the master's studio. Even in 1651, Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669), another artist who collaborated with Rubens, also adapted the master's lions for his painting of *The Presentation of the Stadhoudership of the Seven Provinces* (Figure 98), for the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch.

Likewise, a smaller version of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* also appears in the upper left hand corner of *Allegory of Sight* (Figure 89 and 90), a collaborative work by Rubens and Brueghel, signed and dated 1617. This painting is part of a series of the Five Senses, which scholars generally believe were commissioned by Archdukes Albert and Isabella. The archducal palaces are depicted in three of the five paintings. In addition, in the *Allegory of Sight* there is a double-portrait of Albert and Isabella and another portrait of Albert on horseback. Unfortunately, this in no way proves whether the Archdukes

[14] For a further discussion of the relationship between Rubens' drawings and Brueghel's paintings, especially in terms of their chronology, see: Chapter 3 (Section: Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder: Potential Collaborations in Rubens' Studio).

specifically owned an earlier version of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. However, this does suggest that such a painting by Rubens would have fit well within the Archdukes' idealized vision of the courtly culture of collecting at this time.[15] Furthermore, other later versions and variants of Rubens' painting survive in copies, such as the 1617 Malzi *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (Figure 87) by Brueghel and Rubens, mentioned in the 1632 inventory of Milanese senator Luigi Malzi, as well as a *Daniel in the Lions' Den* mentioned in the 1655 inventory of Don Diego Mexia (1580-1655), the Marquis of Leganés. In 1628, Rubens referred to Marquis of Leganés as the "greatest connoisseur of painting in the world."[16] Thus, such a subject, which was associated with some of the most illustrious collections in Europe, should be recognized as an essential composition in Rubens' early oeuvre even though no record of a commission survives.

When Rubens sold *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to Carleton in 1618, the English Ambassador intuitively understood that this painting filled with majestic lions represented an opportunity for career preferment in the leonine obsessed Stuart Court. Carleton likely gave the painting to Charles I (1600-1649) in 1628 in order to secure the position of secretary of state. Charles I placed the painting in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall Palace, ca. 1628-ca.1641, the formal reception hall before the king's privy rooms, in order to represent his own majestic authority. In my discussion of the Bear Gallery, I reconstruct the installation of the paintings in the gallery according to Abraham van der Doort's ca. 1639 inventory and establish *Daniel in the Lions' Den*'s preeminent

[15] Anne T. Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel: A Working Friendship* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 96.
[16] Rubens' letter to Pierre Dupuy, January 27, 1628. [See: Ruth Saunders Magurn trans. and ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 234]

position in Whitehall Palace and its importance to the Stuart court. In ca. 1641-1643, Charles I then gifted *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to James Hamilton-Douglas (1606-1649), 1st Duke of Hamilton, a first cousin and controversial courtier to Charles I. This painting likely served as a regal banner to highlight Hamilton's authority as the king's representative in Scotland during the Bishops' Wars. Through an exploration of this painting's political significance in the Stuart court, I examine how Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* became the iconic image of regal leonine might.

Thus, this painting lends itself to many interpretations, not exclusive to the concepts of Neo-Stoicism and Counter Reformation theology discussed in earlier scholarship. Furthermore, I believe that by exploring more carefully the nuances of its iconography and its early provenance, this study will reveal its potency as a political image and hence its eminent position in Rubens' oeuvre.

Overview of Dissertation Chapters:

This dissertation is divided into two parts:

Part One explores the visual sources that likely inspired Rubens to create this painting and explains the possible reasons why Rubens consciously adapted them for this masterpiece. In particular, *Chapter One* examines both the antique and *all'antica* Renaissance sources that informed Rubens' interpretation of lions. *Chapter Two* examines the humanist and spiritual implications of Rubens' depiction of the Prophet Daniel in terms of the artist's adaptation of the antique bust *The Dying Alexander* and

other iconographical sources. *Chapter Three* explores the political significance of lions in the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War and offers a political interpretation of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* during the turbulent era of the Twelve Years' Truce, ca. 1609-1621. Various earlier depictions of the biblical subject are compared to Rubens' painting in order to show what sets his composition apart from these prototypes. Similarly, other leonine imagery from Rubens' studio, including the works of his pupil Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669), are discussed in terms of the inherent political meaning of lions in Netherlandish art.

Part Two examines the political afterlife of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the Stuart court. *Chapter Four* discusses the significance of the painting in the collection of Sir Dudley Carleton, The English Ambassador to The Hague, who acquired the painting in 1618 along with several other works from Rubens' studio in exchange for his antique sculpture collection. In this chapter, I discuss how Carleton used art to gain career preferment, and how *Daniel in the Lions' Den* became an ideal gift for King Charles I. *Chapter Five* examines the regal implications of the painting in the Royal Collection. According to Abraham van der Doort's ca. 1639 inventory of Whitehall Palace, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was in the Bear Gallery directly beside Rubens' *Peace and War*, a later painting by the artist, which Rubens personally presented to Charles I during the artist's 1629-1630 diplomatic visit to England. In this chapter, I reconstruct the installation of the paintings listed in Van der Doort's inventory and discuss the function that Rubens' paintings served in the Bear Gallery. *Chapter Six* explores why Charles I gave *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to James Hamilton-Douglas, 1st Duke of Hamilton. Charles and Hamilton's mutual interest in art connoisseurship and the Royalist cause are examined in relation to the

political events surrounding the Thirty Years' War and the English Civil War. Finally, I discuss how Rubens' painting could have served a heraldic function in Hamilton Palace.

Part 1:
The Visual and Iconographical Sources of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*

Introduction: *Daniel in the Lions' Den & Rubens' Early Career*

In order to fully appreciate the complexities of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, it is important to view this large and dramatic biblical subject through the lens of Rubens' early career. Rubens was not just a painter, but he was also a courtier and a humanist. He received his early education in the Latin school of Rombout Verdonck, served as a courtier for the Countess Marguerite de Ligne-Arenberg (1527-1599), and trained in the art studios of Adam van Noort (1561-ca. 1641) and the noted humanist, Otto van Veen (1556-1629)—all before he set out to Italy in the summer of 1600 to work for Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga (1562-1612), Duke of Mantua. While in Italy, Rubens traveled to Venice, Florence, Rome and Genoa where he thoroughly absorbed Renaissance art and the sculptures of Greco-Roman antiquity. In 1603, he even had the opportunity to deliver paintings to the court of Spain on behalf of Duke Vincenzo I, where he earned the patronage of Philip III's prime minister, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval (ca. 1552-1625), the Duke of Lerma. Therefore, Rubens was a cosmopolitan artist prepared to meet the challenges and desires of his courtly patrons.

When Rubens painted *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, ca. 1614-1616, he was at the height of his game. He returned home from Italy in 1609, and quickly established himself as the leading artist in Flanders. Not only did he become the official court painter to Albert VII (1559-1621), Archduke of Austria and Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633), joint sovereigns of the Spanish Netherlands in Brussels in that same year, but he also received major commissions from prominent citizens and connoisseurs in Antwerp,

including most famously Nicolaas Rockox (1560-1640) and Cornelius van der Geest (1570-1638). In 1610, he purchased a house on the Wapper, the most affluent and centrally located district in the city. There, he built his studio and magnificent Italianate house, which far exceeded in size and splendor the home of an average artist. Furthermore, it was also at this time that he completed *The Raising of the Cross*, ca. 1610, and *The Descent from the Cross,* ca. 1611-1614, his first major commissions for altarpieces in the Church of St. Walburga and the Antwerp Cathedral. As a firmly believing Catholic, Rubens was very well-suited for expressing the ideals of the Counter Reformation. In every aspect of his career, he was in the midst of establishing both an indelible impression upon his existing elite patrons, and at the same time creating interest for his future clientele.

The year that Rubens returned to Antwerp also marked the beginning of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621), a temporary break in the ongoing hostilities between Habsburg Spain, defender of the Catholic Faith, and the rebellious Protestant forces of the United Provinces. Rubens' art during these years clearly reflects his commitment to his Habsburg patrons, the Spanish Archdukes. For example, his *Adoration of the Magi*, painted for the city hall in Antwerp in 1609 to commemorate the signing of the Truce, expressed the hope for a peaceful resolution to the war. Just as the birth of the Messiah would bring peace on earth, the Twelve Years' Truce would hopefully achieve a lasting peace.[17] As the Truce years wore on, however, the prospect of a peaceful reconciliation became increasingly dim, and Rubens' paintings began to reflect the inherent hostility of the time. According to Arthur Wheelock, Rubens' *The Rape of the Daughters of*

[17] For more on the political implications of this painting, see: Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 80-93.

Leucippus, painted ca. 1617-1618, should be interpreted with respect to the political situation of the Twelve Years' Truce. This turbulent composition is likely an allegorical representation of the division of the Netherlands and the Spanish Habsburgs' peace efforts within this region; the abduction of the two daughters of Leucippus by two Dioscuri allude to Philip II and Archduke Albert's attempt to seize control of a hostile and divided Netherlands.[18] In a similar manner, Chapter 2 of this dissertation will show that Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* functioned as a political allegory at this time.

In **Part One**, the various visual and iconographical sources which inspired Rubens to create *Daniel in the Lions' Den* are examined in terms of the artist's interest in ancient and Renaissance art, the political imagery pertaining to the Eighty Years' War, and the artist's interest in classical literature and the humanist tradition.

[18] Arthur Wheelock in Beverly Louise Brown and Arthur Wheelock, *Masterworks from Munich: Sixteenth to Eighteenth-Century Paintings from the Alte Pinakothek.* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1988), 108.

Chapter 1: Rubens' Lion Sources

Introduction

An artist rarely reveals the secrets behind a masterpiece. Peter Paul Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*[19] (Figure 1 & 2) is no exception. In fact, when Rubens described the canvas in April 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, the first recorded owner of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, he briefly stated, "Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from life…" [*Daniel fra molti Leoni cavati dal naturale…*"].[20] If we accept Rubens' explanation at face value, then we would assume that to make this composition he solely observed lions from life. Even though there are natural [*naturale*] aspects to his lions, Rubens' statement is only a partial explanation of the artist's working process, a fact that scholars have long noted**.** Michael Jaffé revealed Rubens' use of *all'antica* Paduan bronzes to capture the pose of **lion 5**.[21] Julius Held, modified Jaffé's observation by noting that Rubens "successfully camouflaged" his use of Paduan bronzes by combining it with his observations of lions from life.[22] Arthur Wheelock further showed that Rubens subtly altered the facial features of the lions to give them more human-like

[19] For the sake of clarity, I numbered all ten lions in the diagram marked "Diagram 1" (Figure 2).
[20] William Hookham Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices: Consisting of a Memoir of Sir Antony van Dyck* (London: James Carpenter, Old Bond Street, 1844), 142-143.
[21] Michael Jaffé, "Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings," in *Report and Studies in the History of Art 1969*. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1970), 7-31.
[22] Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations From Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists. III. Artists Working in Central Italy and France (Vol. 1)* (New York: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2011), 420-422.

demeanors.[23] This last change makes them appear more expressive and fierce to the viewer. Therefore, while Rubens' lions are definitely *lively*, they are not entirely *true to life*. With a closer inspection of the graphic and sculptural material available to the artist, it is apparent that Rubens combined and adapted various visual sources to give his lions the appearance of "*cavati dal naturale*."

Rubens' Lion Drawings

That Rubens drew lions from life is entirely plausible. Too many of his drawings, such as *A Seated Lion* (Figure 3), and *A Lioness Seen from the Rear, Turning to the Left* (Figure 4), both in the British Museum, his *Lion Standing Facing Left* (Figure 5), in the National Gallery of Art, as well as his sketch of sleeping lion (Figure 6), in the Morgan Library, are far too expressive and spontaneous to be copied directly from another artist, sculpture, or graphic source.[24] Also, it is documented that the royal menagerie in Brussels

[23] Arthur Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (Systematic Catalogue) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171.

[24] The Morgan Library Drawing (Figure 6) is among those drawings whose attribution to the master is not fully accepted by all scholars. In fact, according to Anne-Marie Logan, fewer than half of the eleven lion drawings (Figure 3-13) mentioned by Michael Jaffé in his 1970 article are now attributed to Rubens. [See: Anne-Marie Logan, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings (Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from January 15 to April 3, 2005)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 169.] The uncontested drawings include: *A Seated Lion* (Figure 3), *A Lioness Seen from the Rear, Turning to the Left* (Figure 4), *Lion Standing Facing Left* (Figure 5), *Two Studies of a Crouching Panther* (Figure 8), and *Studies of a Bronze Lion* (Figure 9). The remaining six drawings (Figure 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13) may or may not be by the master. It should be noted though that in 1989 the Corpus Rubenianum, R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven still attributed five of these six dubious drawings to Rubens (Figure 6, 7, 10, 11, 12). [See: R.-A. D' Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 194-200.] Furthermore, in the Victoria and Albert Museum's recent catalogue on Dutch and Flemish Drawings, there is another possible Rubens study

and Ghent had lions,[25] and Rubens could have easily gained access to them, especially those in a sleepy or docile state. Other possibilities for seeing lions also existed, for example, Jacob Weyerman (1729-1769) wrote that Rubens asked a kermis traveler with a lion to visit his studio. He then requested that the lion tamer tickle the animal's chin to make it yawn.[26] Nevertheless, even though this account offers a plausible explanation for the wide-open yawn of **lion 10**, Weyerman's story sounds more like myth than fact. Significantly, it does not appear in any seventeenth century account of Rubens' life, including Baglione (1642), Bellori (1672), Joachim von Sandrart (1675-1679), Philip Rubens (1676), or Roger de Piles (1677). [27]

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of a reclining lion that warrants mention here. Unfortunately, this drawing is a black chalk offset and is in poor condition, which makes the attribution to the master dubious. [See: Jane Shoaf Turner and Christopher White, *Dutch & Flemish Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Vol. II) (London: V&A Publishing, 2014), 464.]

[25] Since 1461, during the reign of Philip the Good (1396-1467), the royal menagerie in Brussels had a lion. Philip brought the lion from Venice and hired a lion tamer named Lemoine to tend to the animal. Archduke Philip the Handsome of Austria (1478-1506) built a menagerie in Ghent and his son, Charles V (1500-1558), added lions to the royal zoo for "animal combats." [See: Arianne Faber Kolb, *Jan Brueghel the Elder: The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005), 14]

The royal inventories include accounts regarding the lion tamers, their salaries and the cost for feeding the lions. [See: Paul Saintenoy, *Les Arts et Les Artistes a la cour de Bruxelles* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertine, 1941), 72-74]:

"Lemoine, son garde et gardien 'du lion de Monseigneur', recoit 59 livres, 6 solz, 3 deniers plus, pour la nourriture du roi des animaux, un demi-mouton chaque jour, et celle du rat d'Inde, 18 livres, 5 solz a l'annee."

"En 1488, Herman Mosselman, boucher, fournit chaque jour de la viande fraiche, un demi-mouton pour les lionnes de la Nederhof."

[26] The lion later killed the tamer. For the entire account see: Jacob Weyerman's *De levens-beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-Schilders en Konst-Schilderessen, met een uybreyding over de Schilder-Konst der Onden*, (I, The Hague, 1729), 287-289.

[27] See National Gallery of Art Curatorial Records Synopsis by Anna Tummers, September 2000. pp. 5-6.

None of Rubens' drawings served as compositional studies for *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, which brings into question the relationship between these supposed life studies and the final composition. In general, scholars date these drawings to ca. 1613, i.e. one to three years before Rubens painted *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, which suggests a reason why there is not a direct one-to-one correspondence between the studies and the painting.[28] Furthermore, Rubens would likely make subtle adjustments to each lion figure when he adapted these drawings for the final composition. The two British Museum drawings (Figure 3 & 4) and the National Gallery drawing bear the closest resemblance to **lions 1, 2, and 5**, with a few subtle differences. The lioness (**lion 5**) in the painting pivots its left hind leg more to the left than the lioness in the British Museum drawing (Figure 4). Rubens placed the head of **lion 2** in a more upright position than he did in the drawing (Figure 3), and he bent the lion's left foreleg in the National Gallery drawing, but then straightened it in the painting.[29]

Comparisons to Albrecht Dürer's life study drawings of lions (Figure 15 and 16) reveal Rubens' expressive rendering of these beasts. Dürer studied the lions in the royal

[28] A date of ca. 1613 for the drawings seems likely due to the appearance of **lions 4 & 5** in a painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark*, dated 1613. Brueghel collaborated with Rubens during this time period, so he likely had access to these drawings in Rubens' studio. For a further discussion of Rubens and Brueghel's collaborative works, see Chapter 3.

[29] Anne-Marie Logan also has pointed out that Rubens likely reworked these drawings to give each one "the appearance of an independent work of art." For example, in his drawing *Lioness Seen from the Rear, Turning to Left* (Figure 4), Rubens seems to have accentuated the contour lines with black chalk and enhanced the figure with white highlights. [Logan, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings*, 168.]. Nevertheless, it is difficult to assess when Rubens would have added these additional flourishes, or for that matter whether another artist or later restorer made these embellishments. For example, in *Lion Resting* (Figure 3), a gray wash is used to obscure the lion's testicles. This modest addition is missing both in the Albertina drawing by Jordaens, which was copied after Rubens (Figure 14), and in the painting.

menagerie, and mentioned in his diary on April 9, 1521 that during his trip to Ghent, "I saw the lions and sketched them in silverpoint."[30] On a silverpoint drawing of a single lion (Figure 15),[31] Dürer wrote "*zw gent*" [at Ghent].[32] Compared to Rubens' drawing of a seated lion (Figure 3) and his drawing from the National Gallery of Art (Figure 5), Dürer's lion is almost a different species. The lion's face is far more angular and sharply articulated than Rubens' curvaceously formed beast. Its mane is comprised entirely of straight hair. In contrast, Rubens' lion's mane has a body wave. Such curved locks add to the vitality of the overall drawing; the waves of the lion's mane echo the curves of its rump, hind legs and paws. However, Rubens' artistic expression does not echo nature. Real lions bear more of a resemblance to Dürer's drawing than that of Rubens, as can shown by Figure 17. The sharp definition of a real lion's face, and the straightness of its mane were more accurately depicted by the Renaissance master. Dürer's lion is more *cavati dal naturale* than either Rubens' life drawings or the lions he painted.

A major philosophical difference exists between Dürer's and Rubens' approaches to art. Dürer explained in his *Vier Bücher von Menschlicher Proportion* (Nuremberg, 1528):

> But life in nature manifests the truth of things. Therefore observe it diligently, go by it and do not depart from nature arbitrarily, imagining to find the better by thyself, for thou wouldst be misled. For, verily, "art" [that is, knowledge] is embedded in nature; he who can extract it has it.[33]

The last line in German captures the core of the artist's philosophy: "*Denn wahrhaftig*

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[30] Walter L. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer (Vol. 4: 1520-1528)* (New York: Abaris Books, 1974), 2020.
[31] Vienna, Albertina (22385 D 145v)
[32] Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer (Vol. 4: 1520-1528)* (New York: Abaris Books, 1974), 2022.
[33] Arthur Wheelock, *From Botany to Bouquets: flowers in Northern art* (National Gallery of Art: Washington, 1999), 18.

steckt die Kunst in der Natur, wer sie heraus kann reißen, der hat sie." Like a true scientist or surgeon, an artist must carefully study nature [*Natur*] in order "to extract" [*heraus kann reißen*] "art" [*Kunst*] "truly" [*wahrhaftig*]. Rubens, however, was not such a strict naturalist. He believed, according to Roger de Piles's *Cours de peinture par principes*, that "All arts begin by imitating nature and they are only perfected by the good choices that are found in antiquity…" [*" Tous les arts ont commence par imiter la nature, & ils ne se sont perfectionnes que par le bon choix qui se trouve dans l'antique…"*][34] In other words, it is through the lens of antiquity that an artist can perfectly understand nature. Unlike Dürer, Rubens did not begin with an intense study of nature to understand his subject. Instead, when antiquity offered him a prototype, Rubens would start with its example. Thus, antiquity enriched his views on lions.

Rubens' Lion Sculptural Models

Rubens' fascination with ancient sculptural models is evident throughout his career. In his unfinished essay, *De Imitatione Statuarum*,[35] which the artist wrote after his eight years in Italy (1600-1608), he explained how artists should adapt such sculptures:

> To some painters the imitation of the antique statues has been extremely useful, and to others pernicious, even to the ruin of their art. I conclude, however, that in order to attain the highest perfection in painting, it is necessary to understand the antiques, nay, to be so thoroughly possessed of this knowledge, that it may diffuse itself everywhere. Yet it must be judiciously applied, and so that it may not in the least smell of stone.[36]

[34] My translation: Roger de Piles's *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris 1708), 135.
[35] Rubens' *De imitation Statuarum*, a fragment of his notebook on art theory, was first published in Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture part principes* (London: 1743), 86-87.
[36] Rubens' *De imitation Statuarum* in Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture part principes* (London: 1743), 86-87.

Rubens adapted ancient sculpture in his art in such a judicious manner that it permeates throughout his oeuvre and does not in any way "smell of stone," i.e. leave an obvious trace of the ancient sculpture upon which he based a particular figure.[37] For his lions, however, Rubens likely turned first to small-scale *all'antica* Renaissance bronzes of panthers or leopards, produced in Padua and Ravenna during the early decades of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, he would have interpreted these bronzes as originating from an ancient source even though technically they are not antique.[38] Such bronzes after ancient prototypes were produced in large quantities in northern Italy and were widely accessible to artists. Michael Jaffé even suggested that Rubens may have been inspired by Agostino Carracci (1557-1602), who made a drawing of a bronze panther.[39] Though an exact model for Rubens' lions has not been tracked down, there are enough similarities between these Paduan bronzes in the Gallery Estense, Modena (Figure 18) and Rubens' drawing of a

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Rubens' Latin text is reproduced in Jeffrey M. Muller's "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (June, 1982): 229-230. The Latin passage is as follows:

"Aliis utilissima aliis damnosa usque ad exterminium Artis. Concludo tamen ad summam ejus perfectionem esse necessariam earum intelligentiam, imo imbibitionem: sed judiciose applicandum earum usum & omnino citra saxum."

It is interesting that Rubens used the phrase "*imo imbibitionem*" ("imbibed") to mean "possessed." An artist must imbibe (i.e. "drink in") these ancient sources so that he absorbs them.

[37] Rubens' adaptation of ancient sculptural models is further discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the artist's adaptation of the *Dying Alexander* for the Prophet Daniel.

[38] Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists: III. Artists Working in Central Italy and France.* (Vol. 1) (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010), 420-425.

[39] Michael Jaffé, "Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings," in *Report and Studies in the History of Art 1969*. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1970), 9.

bronze lion in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Figure 9) to suggest that Rubens studied them.[40]

In a similar manner, small Renaissance bronzes after the antique by Giambologna (1529-1608), cast by his pupil Antonio Susini (1585-1653) (Figure 19 & 20),[41] could have provided Rubens with more pseudo-ancient source material. Born in Flanders, Giambologna (1529-1608) worked under the patronage of the Medici in Florence and dominated the sculptural tradition in Italy and the Low Countries. Many of Giambologna's bronzes were given by the Medici as diplomatic gifts or bought by wealthy collectors.[42] During Rubens' sojourn in Italy, the artist could have studied a copy of *Pacing Lion*,[43] ca. 1590, derived from an antique source,[44] or a cast of *Lion Attacking a Horse*, ca. 1580-1589, which was similarly inspired by a known ancient sculpture by the same name.[45] Scholars already have proposed that Susini's *Lion Attacking a Horse* was a

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[40] *ibid*

[41] Figure 18: Giambologna's *Pacing Lion*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Figure 19: Susini's *Lion Attacking a Horse*, Art Institute, Chicago.

[42] For example, in 1611, Cosimo II, Grand-Duke of Tuscany gave Prince Henry, son of James I, a series of Giambologna studio bronzes as part of a diplomatic gift to negotiate a marriage between the Prince of Wales and Caterina de Medici. For more on this gift, see: Katharine Watson and Charles Avery, "Medici and Stuart: A Grand Ducal Gift of 'Giovanni Bologna' Bronzes for Henry Price of Wales (1612)" *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 115, No. 845 (Aug,. 1973): 493-507, accessed January 13, 2015, http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/877404.

[43] There are two known copies of Giambologna's *Pacing Lion*. One is listed in the 1587 inventory of the Medici Collection at the Villa Maggia, and is likely the version now in the Bargello. Rubens could have seen this bronze during his visit to Florence in 1600. The other copy, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, was originally in the collection of the Emperor Rudolph II. For more on this bronze, see: Wilfried Seipel, *Giambologna: Triumph des Körpers*. (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2006). 284-287.

[44] Likely the *Medici Lion* (discussed in the following pages of this chapter).

[45] Rubens likely saw Giambologna bronzes in the collection of the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo I Gonzaga (1562-1612), Rubens' patron in Italy. In 1593, Giambologna may have visited Mantua on his return to Flanders. Duke Ferdinando de Medici (1549-1609),

likely visual source for Rubens' lion hunts.[46] Unlike the 2.4 meter long ancient sculpture of a *Lion Attacking a Horse* (figure 21), [47] this *all'antica* Renaissance bronze would have been much easier for Rubens to study in his studio. Unfortunately, there are no surviving drawings to verify either supposition, but the visual comparisons between Rubens' lions and these two Renaissance bronzes suggest a connection between them.

Giambologna's *Pacing Lion* (Figure 19) offers a remarkably close comparison to Rubens' lions. In fact, **lion 6** is the nearest to Giambologna's bronze in both facial proportions and the forward position of its right forepaw. Furthermore, **lion 1** also bears a close similarity to Giambologna's *Pacing Lion*; Rubens merely shifted the position of the front legs and adjusted its snarling jaw into a quiet grimace. Otherwise, the face has the same proportions, the body is just as stocky and short, and the mane has a similar wave as in the final painting and in his lion drawings. Thus, Rubens' beasts are a "closer cousin" to Giambologna's lion than Albrecht Dürer's study of a lion in the Ghent zoo (Figure 16).

Giambologna's patron, requested that Vincenzo I give an audience to the sculptor. Other correspondences, dating between 1588 and 1595, further discuss the commission of various works by Vincenzo I. Giambologna's *Crucifix*, a later gift from the Medici to the Duke of Mantua in 1609, is the only sculpture that has been identified from these documents. For more on these records, see: Clifford M. Brown, "Giambologna Documents in the Correspondence Files of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in the Mantua State Archives," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 124, No. 946 (Jan., 1982): 29-31, accessed January 14, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/880604.

[46] Alethea Henry Barnes. *An examination of hunting scenes by Peter Paul Rubens*. (Master's Thesis: University of Missouri, 2009). 15. [See also: David Rosand, "Rubens's Lion Hunt: Its Sources and Significance," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Mar., 1969): 29-40, accessed January 12, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3048584.]

[47] This sculpture was first documented in 1347 and 1363 at the foot of a staircase leading up to the Loggia Senatoria, Rome. According to Aldrovandi's *Antichità della Città di Roma*, published in 1556, it was later moved to the Piazza del Campidoglio, where it was greatly admired by artists, especially Michelangelo who called it "*meravigliosissimo*" ("most marvelous"). [See: Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture* (1500-1900) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 250-251.]

Simply turning this *all'antica* sculpture in various directions, or subtly shifting the position of each lion's limbs, offered Rubens numerous configurations.

In Rubens' time, the most famous, larger-than-life ancient lion sculpture was the *Medici Lion* (Figure 22). This sculpture, which was first recorded in the collection of Grand Duke Ferdinando in 1594, guarded the entrance to the garden of the Villa Medici in Rome.[48] Any visitor would have had to immediately confront this imposing marble when entering the palace's garden. To make the impact even greater, by 1594 the sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605) carved a companion (Figure 23), a mirror image of the antique, to flank the garden entrance.[49] These sculptures not only could have inspired Giambologna's *Pacing Lion*, but they also could have had an impact on Rubens' lions.

The *Medici Lion* is far from a true-to-life representation; its mane is overly permed, its paws are too large and bulbous, and its eyes are too big. Though less pronounced in the hands of Rubens, these curvaceous and expressive artistic flourishes are visible in his felines. Furthermore, the pose of **lion 1** is strikingly similar to Vacca companion; both lions have their left foreleg and right hind leg extended forward. Although Rubens is not known to have rendered either of these beasts, during his stay in Rome he went to the Medici Palace,[50] where he made a drawing of the ancient relief of *Hercules Overcoming*

[48] Francis Haskell & Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 247-250.
[49] In 1787, both *Medici Lions* were moved to the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence. [See: Haskell & Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 247.]
[50] By the turn of the seventeenth century, the Villa Medici became a tourist attraction, so much that the Medici family began to deny the general public access because the tourists were damaging garden sculptures during "live ball games." Fortunately for Rubens, he had the necessary connections to gain access. His patron, Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua, wrote the artist a letter of introduction, and Rubens was acquainted with Alessandro Perretti, Cardinal Montalto (1572-1623) who had rights to visit the palace. [See: Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations From Renaissance and Later*

the Nemean Lion (Figure 24 & 25) ca. 1606.[51] One can see in this drawing Rubens' predilection for the ancient approach to leonine form; just as in the *Daniel*, he focused on the beast's exaggeratedly large eyes and muscular physique. These characteristics are also present in a painting he made from the same drawing.[52] The lion from this painting has the same short proportions and large, piercing eyes as in the ancient prototype and is reminiscent of the ones found in the *Daniel*.

Rubens and Roman Cameos

These physical characteristics of the *Medici Lion* and the ancient relief of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* are also seen in ancient Roman cameos, an art form much beloved by Rubens. The one shown here (Figure 26) is from the Medici Collection in Florence,[53] which Rubens could have seen during his visit to the city in October 1600 or March 1603. It is possible that he had the opportunity to visit the Medici Collection in Florence through his courtly connection with the Duke of Mantua, as he later did in the Medici Palace in Rome, ca. 1606-1608. Furthermore, Rubens' fascination with ancient Roman cameos is well documented early in his career. While he was in the service of the Duke of Mantua, he admired the famous *Gonzaga Cameo* and in 1627 he recalled the experience years later

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Artists: Italian Artists. III. Artists Working in Central Italy and France (Vol. 1) (New York: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2011), 41-42.]

[51] Rubens, after an antique marble: *Hercules overcoming the Nemean Lion*, ca. 1606, ink on paper. Dorset, private collection. [See: Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977) 83.]

[52] Rubens, *Hercules overcoming the Nemean Lion*, ca. 1615, oil on canvas, Brussels, R. van de Broek. [See: Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 83.]

[53] Riccardo Gennaioli. *Pregio e bellezza: Camei e intagli dei Medici*. (Florence: Sillabe, 2010), 31.

to the French Royal Librarian and humanist, Pierre Dupuy (1582-1651):

> 'I received with pleasure the drawing (although badly done) of the cameo of Mantua. I have seen it several times, and have even held it in my hands, when I was in the service of Duke Vincenzo, father of the present Duke. I believe that among cameos with two heads it is the most beautiful piece in Europe. If you could obtain from M. Guiscard a cast of sulfur, plaster, or wax, I should be extremely grateful.
>
> [In margin: I have seen plaster casts of it at Mantua.]'[54]

This letter relates to a project Rubens began in the 1620s with the French antiquarian, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637). Together, they collaborated on 'the Book of Cameos,' a massive scholarly undertaking in which Rubens agreed to supply the illustrations while Peiresc would provide the accompanying text. The book was never completed, but several engravings after Rubens' designs were made, such as the *Gemma Tiberiana,* the Gemma Augustea and the *Triumph of Licinius.*[55] Rubens himself had a tremendous collection of antique cameos. He left this to his son Albert, also an antiquarian. The inventory of Albert's estate lists over two-hundred carved gems, including casts of the cameos that Rubens sold to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626.[56] Twelve of these gems have been identified based on Rubens' project with Peiresc[57]—sadly none of which depict lions. However, it should be noted that Peiresc's interest in the project stemmed from his desire to compare ancient glyphic sources with surviving inscriptions. In fact, he preferred studying ancient coins even more than cameos because

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[54] Ruth Saunders Magurn. *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 200.
[55] Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 83-84. [See also: David Jaffé, *Rubens' Self-portrait In Focus (13 August-30 October 1988, Australia National Gallery, Canberra)* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications, 1988).]
[56] Kristen Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector (Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 6 March-13 June 2004)* (Schoten: BAI, 2004), 274.
[57] Kristen Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art*, 270-295.

he had a greater interest in the public image of rulers rather than in the private art of gems.[58] Therefore, cameos concerning Roman imperial triumphs and historical figures were far more interesting to the antiquarian than decorative cameos. Rubens on the other hand could have absorbed such ancient leonine imagery either in his own collection or in those he encountered in Italy, which contributed another aspect to his lion vocabulary in *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

Daniel in the Lions' Den **Earlier Print Sources**

Antiquity and *all'antica* sources were a major source of inspiration for Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. These sources become evident when Rubens' lions are compared to those of sixteenth century northern printmakers who depicted the biblical subject. The lions in the prints by Tobias Stimmer (1539-1584), Maarten van Heemskerk (1498-1574), and Johannes Sadler (1550-1600) (Figure 27-30) are not as robust as the lions in Rubens' *Daniel*. The prints by the German printmaker Tobias Stimmer (Figure 27 &28) are only minimally noteworthy. Julius Held noted Rubens during his childhood copied Stimmer's biblical woodcuts, so he could have used his predecessor's composition (Figure 27) as a point of departure. However, the comparison is marginal at best.[59] Stimmer's cats are wooden and doll-like, and could neither be mistaken for an antique

[58] David Jaffé, "Reproducing and Reading Gems in Rubens' Circle," in *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, ed. Clifford Malcolm Brown. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 181-193.

[59] Julius S. Held, "Rubens's Leopards—a milestone in the portrayal of wild animals. La première oeuvre d'envergure de Rubens au Canada," *M: A Quarterly Review of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* VII/3 (1975): 5-14. [See also: R.-A. D' Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 187-192.]

lion nor one rendered from life.[60] Another Stimmer woodcut (Figure 28),[61] ca. 1574-1578, previously unnoted by Rubens scholars, shows Daniel with hands clenched in prayer and encircled by slightly more robust felines, but the similarities between the two portrayals fall apart under careful scrutiny. The seated lion in the foreground of Stimmer's print reclines in a similar manner as to Rubens' **lion 2**. In contrast, the eyes of Stimmer's lion lack any sense of animation when compared to that of Rubens. In Stimmer's woodcut, one lion is even about to lick Daniel's forearm. He has little in common with the ferocious **lion 10** next to Daniel in the Rubens' composition. Even if Stimmer had used a domesticated cat for his model, his rendering falls short of any sense of naturalism. In conclusion, Stimmer's beasts, though robust in size, appear as little more than friendly companions to Daniel.

Rubens was not inspired by his predecessor's prints of Daniel in the Lions' Den. His lions have a liveliness and a vitality that surpasses everything that came before. Nevertheless, the artist was only telling Dudley Carleton *the truth as he saw it* when he described his lions as "*cavati dal naturale*." Yes, he did study real lions, but unlike Albrecht Dürer, his study of them did not start and end in the zoo. The proportions and muscular physique of antique sources contributed an equally important component to his majestic beasts. As he explained in *De Imitatione Statuarum,* "it is necessary to understand the antiques, nay, to be so thoroughly possessed of this knowledge, that it

[60] Other aspects of Stimmer's print call into question whether Rubens would have recalled it for his painting. Stimmer's woodcut shows a Daniel at ease with the felines surrounding him; he is no longer in any danger, as Darius and his attendants have arrived to rescue him. Furthermore, the prophet looks up with his arms and legs outstretched, fully relaxed within his imprisonment. Even the den is depicted completely differently from Rubens'. Stimmer's is an elegant colonnaded Roman portico, while Rubens' is a rugged natural cave.

[61] The British Museum (1927, 0430.33)

may diffuse itself everywhere." Rubens lions are filled with the spirit of their antique prototypes, such as the relief of *Hercules Overcoming the Nemean Lion* and the *Medici Lion*. Furthermore, in every respect, Rubens' antique inspiration is "...judiciously applied...so that it may not in the least smell of stone."

Chapter 2: Rubens' Sources for the *Prophet Daniel*

Introduction

Peter Paul Rubens' rendition of the prophet Daniel in *Daniel in the Lion's Den* reveals the artist's unique interpretation of this biblical figure's spiritual strength to maintain his faith in God against seemingly impossible odds. Every muscle and sinew of Daniel's heroic nude form is focused in the act of prayer. Even the veins in his forearms bulge out, further drawing attention to his firmly clasped hands. Similarly, Daniel crosses his legs in a concentrated manner, perhaps as a way to keep his body apart from the lions, which mill, growl, and sleep around him. Yet for some seemingly inexplicable reason Daniel's left foot grazes the mane of the sleeping lion at his feet. This subtle gesture adds both to the tension of the scene and reminds the viewer that Daniel's faith in God is his only safeguard in this den. Reinforcing the drama of the moment, his eyes gaze upward towards the den's opening, stoically anticipating his imminent salvation by King Darius whose decree condemned him to this place. But in this moment, Daniel maintains his constant prayer and waits with parted lips, exhibiting the strength to face the menagerie of lions that surround him amidst the darkness of their rocky den.

It is easy to be swept up by the shear physical and emotional intensity of Rubens' Daniel. Daniel is the visual fulcrum of the composition, which embodies the power of faith. When compared to the earlier depictions of this biblical scene mentioned in the previous two chapters, Rubens' dramatic interpretation stands apart from the other artists' portrayals. Rubens' artistic genius is expressed in every aspect of the prophet's carefully

modeled expression and physique, from Daniel's intense countenance to his firmly clasped hands, tightly crossed legs, and muscular, nearly nude form.

Rubens' Drawing of *A Seated Male Youth*

Rubens' drawing of a *Seated Male Youth* (Figure 73), ca. 1613, in the Morgan Library, considered a final preparatory study for the figure of Daniel, seemingly reaffirms to the viewer the apparent originality of Rubens' conception. This chalk study has all the elements of a life drawing by the master.[62] Rubens confidently captured each curve of this youth's physique and subtly suggests slight movement in the model's body with the wavy lines of the youth's hair and flutteringly folded loincloth. In anticipation of the sunlight peering through the opening of the den in the final composition, Rubens placed a strong light source directly above the figure and renders in black chalk, the soft shadows cast across the edge of the young man's upturned chin and neck, as well as the shadows created by his upraised hands across his upper shoulder and thigh. As a finishing touch, Rubens then carefully marked the highlights in white chalk upon the corner of the young man's mouth, chin, Adam's apple, shoulder blade, and forearm.

Clearly a direct link exists between this lively and carefully rendered drawing and the final composition. This correlation, however, does not mean that the figure's pose and expression is purely a Rubens' invention. As discussed in Chapter 1, when Rubens claimed in his letter to Dudley Carleton that the lions in the painting were "taken from

[62] Anne-Marie Logan, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings (Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from January 15 to April 3, 2005)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 164-169.

life," he was only telling a partial truth. Of course, the artist could have studied real lions in the royal menagerie in Brussels or the zoo in Ghent. But when it came to his final modeling of these figures, he also turned for inspiration to various ancient sculptural sources, as well as Renaissance prints. In a similar manner, scholars have shown that Rubens modeled the prophet Daniel from ancient sculpture, such as the famous portrait bust of the so-called *Dying Alexander* (Figure 32),[63] and from Renaissance sources, such as Girolamo Muziano's drawing of *The Penitent St. Jerome* (Figure 33).[64]

Rubens and Neo-Stoicism

But *why* did he select these specific sources to model Daniel, when no other artist depicted the prophet in quite this way? Arthur Wheelock points out that Rubens in part modeled Daniel in this way to express how the prophet represented an *exemplum virtutis* in Christian thought. According to Counter Reformation theology, early Christian martyrs and even Old Testament figures were ideal exemplars of true faith, as well as embodiment of complete constancy and resilience in the face of utter danger and despair. The Catholic Church saw the suffering of these biblical heroes as a way to ignite religious belief in the eyes of the faithful against the growing threat of Protestantism. He concludes that Daniel's intense pose, which is derived from Muziano's figure, was a

[63] Erkinger Schwarzenberg, "From the *Alessandro Morente* to the Alexandre Richelieu. The Portraiture of Alexander the Great in Seventeenth-Century Italy and France," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969); 398-405.
[64] Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 40-41.

means to emphasize the spiritual vigor of Daniel's prayer to God.[65] In a similar manner, he finds that Daniel's partial nudity reinforces to the viewer the purity of his spirit, which needs no defense against evil.[66]

In a similar manner, Wheelock points out that Rubens was drawn to the story of Daniel in the Lions' Den due to its connection to the writings of the Neo-Stoic philosopher Justus Lipsius, a close friend and mentor of Peter Paul Rubens' brother Philip Rubens. It is well known that the artist himself had a deep personal connection to stoic philosophy. For, Rubens displayed in his garden both a bust of Seneca, the founder of stoic thought, and an antique inspired sculpture of Hercules, the ancient exemplar of stoic belief.[67] Unfortunately, Lipsius does not explicitly mention the story of Daniel in his most famous treatise *De Constantia* ("On Constancy") where he outlines the fundamentals of neo-stoicism with various comparisons to well-known historical figures from ancient Greece and Rome. Nevertheless, Rubens could have easily made such a comparison himself, since the biblical story embodies the basic tenants of courage and constancy discussed in his philosophy. Furthermore, Wheelock concludes that Rubens likely then modeled Daniel's face after the *Dying Alexander* "to enhance the image's

[65] Arthur Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century: Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 168.
[66] See footnote 26 in Wheelock's entry. Partial nudity clearly illustrates spiritual purity in the illustration for the emblem "Innocentia ubique tuta," from Otto van Veen's book *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata* (Antwerp 1612). Here an innocent man, as the accompanying inscription confirms, walks unharmed through dangerous landscape filled with beasts.
[67] Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings,* 168.

sense of nobility, timelessness, and universality" and to associate the "spiritual valor" of this well-known ancient hero with the biblical prophet.[68]

Interestingly, Lipsius does mention Alexander the Great in his 1605 treatise *Monita et exempla politica* ("Political Advice and Examples"), which may strengthen this comparison between Alexander the Great and Lipsius' philosophy. Nevertheless, Lipsius does not describe Alexander as an exemplar of valor, but rather as a learned ruler who possessed the moral principles of a wise man. Lipsius cites the fact that Alexander the Great was famously tutored by Aristotle who schooled him in the fundamentals of ethics and politics.[69] This interesting anecdote though, does not provide an explanation as to why Rubens selected Alexander for his model of Daniel. Lipsius' philosophical treatises sadly can only guide us so far in our understanding of Rubens' motives.

Earlier Depictions of the Prophet Daniel in Daniel in the Lions' Den

I propose another approach to explain Rubens' motives for depicting the prophet Daniel in this manner. Instead of dwelling further upon Rubens' philosophical and theological motives, let us return again to earlier depictions of Daniel in the Lions' Den that would have served as a point of departure for the artist's interpretation of the biblical figure. First of all, we must recognize how revolutionary it was for Rubens to depict Daniel virtually nude. In fact, the preponderance of examples discussed in the previous

[68] Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings,* 170.
[69] Erik de Bom, Marijke Janssens, Toon van Houdt & Jan Papy, eds., *(Un)masking the Realities of Power: Justus Lipsius and the Dynamics of Political Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 235, 242.

chapter reveals that Daniel generally is depicted fully clothed in the same manner as an Apostle. The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Figure 34), dated to 359 AD, is the earliest known precedent of the togated prophet. Heavy undulating folds of drapery modestly cover, or rather mask, his muscular physique in the same way as Christ, Peter, Paul, and Abraham depicted in other scenes throughout this sarcophagus. Artists including Cima da Conegliano (Figure 35), Johan Sadeler (Figure 30), and even Rubens' contemporary, Jan Brueghel the Elder (Figure 36), similarly follow this early Christian prototype in their renditions of Daniel. Even Martin van Heemskerk (Figure 29), the Dutch Mannerist who typically rendered nude muscular bodies in his history subjects, keeps the prophet fully clothed and only slightly "pushes the envelop" of the early Christian prototype by tightening Daniel's garments to suggest his strong muscular form beneath. Rubens—with the exception of the loincloth draped across his waist—boldly reveals the prophet's perfectly muscular and unblemished physique to the viewer.

Rubens' bare costume choice likely derives from even earlier known Christian prototypes. Examples of sarcophagi in the Vatican, such as the *Sarcophagus of the Two Brothers* (Figure 37), dated to 330-340 AD, and the sarcophagus illustrating Daniel with the Prophet Habakkuk bring him food in the den (Figure 38), as well the paintings found in the Catacomb of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus (Figure 39), all show the prophet undressed. All these works could have been known to Rubens during his eight years (1600-1608) in Italy. The *Sarcophagus of the Two Brothers* (Figure 37), the more widely known of the two sarcophagi, was brought by Pope Sixtus (r. 1585-1590) to Santa Maria

Maggiore, one of the major basilicas in Rome.[70] Daniel's muscular physique and clean-shaven face is much closer to Rubens' Daniel than any of the togated figures mentioned above. The artist also may have noted the naively rendered nude of Daniel in the Catacomb of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus (Figure 39), which was discovered by the Italian antiquarian Antonio Bosio (c. 1575-1629) in 1594.[71] Bosio's book on the catacombs *Roma Sotteranea* was not published until 1632, but it most likely circulated earlier among scholarly circles in Rome. Certainly Rubens could have had first hand knowledge of this archeological discovery through the scholarly connections of his brother Philip Rubens, a noted antiquarian in his own right.

Rubens later owned an Early Christian sarcophagus depicting the Miracles of Christ (Figure 40), which further suggests that the he took an interest in art from this era. He acquired this sarcophagus, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudeheiden, Leiden, through the exchange with Dudley Carleton in 1618, the very same transaction that included *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Later in 1624, Rubens sent a detail study of a child in swaddling clothes from this sarcophagus to the French antiquarian Jean Chifflet. The drawing, now lost, was used for an engraving (Figure 41) in Chifflet's book *De Linteis Sepulchralibus*, concerning the history of the holy shroud of Turin.[72] In his letter to the

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[70] Giuseppe Bovini and Hugo Brandenburg, *Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage (Volume 1: Rome and Ostia)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1967), 43-45.

[71] Blanchard, Philippe, and Dominique Castex. 2007. "A Mass Grave from the Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus in Rome, Second-Third Century AD." *Antiquity* 81, (314) (12): 989-998, accessed September 23, 2014, http://search.proquest.com/docview/217580737?accountid=11243.

[72] Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume II)*, ed. Arnout Balis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 162-163. See also: Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis & Rubenianum, 2004), 43-44, 260-263.

French antiquarian, Rubens derisively remarks, "Here is the drawing—very crude, but in conformity to its original, whose artifice bespeaks it century."[73] Rubens' negative remarks concerning his own Early Christian sarcophagus should not make us question the appeal of less "crudely" sculpted sarcophagi the artist could have studied in Rome. It seems far more likely that Rubens would have been more impressed by the nude, athletically modeled Daniels in the Vatican sarcophagi than the togated, short figures depicted in the sarcophagus in his own collection. Furthermore, as an educated artist fully versed in the art of the Italian Renaissance, Rubens would have understood that these nude figural types originated from even earlier Greco-Roman models, such as the famously copied Praxitelean male nudes whose contrapposto, athletic forms served as the inspiration for Donatello's David.[74]

Rubens' Ancient Sculptural Sources for The Prophet Daniel

Rubens love of ancient sculptural models is evident throughout his oeuvre. Following his eight-year sojourn in Italy (1600-1608), the artist discussed his adaptation

[73] Ruth Saunders Magurn, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 97.

[74] Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in the exterior painted decoration of Rubens' Antwerp house, designed between 1618 and 1621, the artist used heroic nudity to illustrate famous Greek paintings by Apelles and Timanthes. These subjects only survive to us through descriptions in later Greek and Roman literature. Rubens, however, understood that nudity was an essential component to these now lost subjects and in the manner of an archaeologist, he used both male and female nudes to add authenticity to his compositions. For a further discussion of Rubens' "archaeological method," see: Elizabeth McGrath, "The Painted Decoration of Rubens's House," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. 41 (1978): 245-277, accessed October 30, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/750869

of antiquity in his unfinished essay, *De Imitatione Statuarum*. He explains in his opening remarks:

> To some painters the imitation of the antique statues has been extremely useful, and to others pernicious, even to the ruin of their art. I conclude, however, that in order to attain the highest perfection in painting, it is necessary to understand the antiques, nay, to be so thoroughly possessed of this knowledge, that it may diffuse itself everywhere. Yet it must be judiciously applied, and so that it may not in the least smell of stone.[75]

Rubens appropriated ancient sculptural models in such a way that it "diffused itself everywhere" in his art. For example, his love of the Laocoön is "judiciously applied" in the pained expression of *Christ in the Raising of the Cross* for the church of St. Walburga, ca. 1610-1611, as well as the positioning of Hercules' legs in *Hercules and Omphale*, ca. 1602-1605, in the Louvre.[76] One finds also as early as 1602, Rubens adapting the dynamically seated pose of the Belvedere Torso in his depiction of Christ in *The Crowning with Thorns* for the Roman church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[77] In the *Descent from the Cross* altarpiece for the Antwerp Cathedral completed in 1614, Rubens adapted the Farnese Hercules for the robust figure of St. Christopher carrying the Christ child.[78] In all these examples, Rubens virtually transformed his stone sculptural models into living flesh, "so that it may not in the least smell of stone." One then expects to find a similar application by the artist of ancient statuary in his depiction of Daniel in *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, painted ca. 1614-1616.

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[75] Rubens' *De imitation Statuarum* in Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture part principes* (London 1743), 86-87.
[76] Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume II),* ed. Arnout Balis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 100.
[77] Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée *et al*., *Rubens, Lille (Palais des Beaux-Arts, 6 March-14 June 2004)* (Ghent: Snoeck Publishers, 2004), 35.
[78] Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume II),* 41.

In the most obvious sense, Daniel's shear muscular form alone equates him with the ancient statuary referenced throughout Rubens' oeuvre. In fact, the artist thought that antique sculpture was an accurate representation of mankind from this ancient bygone era. He firmly believed:

> "...the human body, in those early ages, when it was nearer its origin and perfection, with every thing that could make it a perfect model; but now being decay'd and corrupted by a succession of so many ages, vices, and accidents, has lost its efficacy, and only scatters those perfections among many, which it used formerly to bestow upon one. In this manner, the human stature may be proved from many authors to have gradually decreased: For both sacred and profane writers have related many things concerning the age of heroes, giants, and *Cyclopes*, in which accounts, if there are many things that are fabulous, there is certainly some truth."[79]

In the eyes of Rubens, the age of biblical heroes also was an era when mankind's physique was "nearer its origin and perfection." Displaying Daniel's perfectly modeled athletic form explicitly reminds the viewer of this age of physical human perfection. In fact, in the first chapter of the Book of Daniel, the reader is similarly informed of the elite status and physique of the prophet. In these opening verses, we are told that after Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon besieged Judah, the he commanded that a select group of Israelites were brought to the palace to serve him. These men, Daniel of course included among them, were from "the royal family and of the nobility, youths without blemish, handsome and skillful in all wisdom, endowed with knowledge, understanding learning, and competent to serve in the king's palace."[80] Outwardly the Daniel depicted

[79] Rubens' *De imitation Statuarum* in Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture part principes* (London 1743), 90.
[80] Daniel I: 3-4.

in Rubens' painting fits the criteria of a strong, noble and unblemished youth demanded by the King of Babylon.

The Dying Alexander: Daniel & Alexander the Great

As mentioned in the introduction, Daniel's nobly inspired portrait is derived from an ancient bust famously known in Rubens' day as *The Dying Alexander* (Figure 32). First recorded in the collection of Rodolfo Cardinal da Carpi in the 1550s, and likely known earlier in the sixteenth century, this sculpture was later documented in 1574 by Andrea Pezzano in the Medici Collection in Florence.[81] Sixteenth-century Renaissance antiquarians and theorists such as Aldrovandi and Gio Paolo Lomazzo[82] largely based their identification of this bust on Plutarch's description of the sculptor Lysippus' bronze portrait of Alexander the Great:

> "Lysippus it seemed, the only one that revealed in the bronze Alexander's character and in moulding his form portrayed all his virtues. The others wished to imitate the flexing of his neck and liquid softness of his eyes, but were unable to preserve his virile and leonine expression."[83]

The intensity of his expression, the slight turn of his neck, and his liquid gaze—all apply to this marble. Aldrovandi considered the portrait to be more of an *exemplum doloris* by claiming that the intensity of his furrowed brow and parted lips captures the expression of Alexander on his deathbed—hence the name *The Dying Alexander*.[84] So moved by the

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[81] Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture (1500-1900)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 134-136.
[82] *ibid*
[83] Plutarch, *De Fortuna Alexandri* (Loeb Classical Library Edition, Vol. IV) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), II: 97.
[84] Haskell and Penny, 135.

beauty and drama exhibited in this ancient sculpture, Lomazzo further concluded that this marble was not merely a copy of an original sculpture by Lysippus, but an actual surviving fragment of a Lysippian original. These antiquarians similarly turned to the ancient writer Pliny for further verification of the bust's authenticity. According to this ancient source, Lysippus' brother invented the technique of making wax molds from life, the very same technique used in the Renaissance to make death masks.[85] So then what else could explain the life-like intensity of this portrait bust than that it was based on an actual death mask of Alexander the Great made by the great sculptor Lysippus?[86]

Rubens would have sought out this revered marble during either his October 1600 or March 1603 visit to Florence. A drawing in the Hermitage attributed to Rubens (Figure 42) depicts the bust in mirror image.[87] He may have even owned a cast of the sculpture, which he later included in his 1626 sale to the Duke of Buckingham, since both "a great head of Alexander Magnus" and an "Alexander head" are listed in the Duke's 1635 posthumous inventory.[88] Rubens referenced the *Dying Alexander* multiple times throughout his oeuvre. The enraptured expression of this ancient portrait was not only an

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[85] *ibid*

[86] Surprisingly it was not until the discovery of the Azara Herm in 1779, the first known portrait bust of Alexander with a surviving inscription, "Alexander, Son of Philip," that the identity of this bust was ever questioned. By the late nineteenth-century, the *Dying Alexander* then was relabeled a 'dying giant' based on its similarity to gigantomachy sculptures excavated from the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. (Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 135)

[87] There are also two other known drawings by Rubens of the *Dying Alexander*, which are now lost. One is known through a copy in the Hessisches Landsmuseum, Darmstadt. The other is known through an engraving by P. Pontius in his 'Livre à dessiner.' [See: Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume II)*, ed. Arnout Balis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 144-146.]

[88] Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume II)*, ed. Arnout Balis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 144-145.

excellent prototype for the spiritually entranced Daniel in Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, but it also served as an ideal model for Rubens' depictions of various saints, martyrs and heroes, such as St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, St. John the Evangelist, St. George, St. Sebastian, and the head of an injured Consul in the Decius Mus tapestry series.[89]

It was not unusual for an artist to adapt the pose and expression of the *Dying Alexander* for the depiction of a martyr or hero in spiritual ecstasy. Sodoma may have done so as early as 1525 for his depiction of St. Sebastian (Figure 43), and as late as 1650, Bernini adapted the ancient bust for the Prophet Daniel in prayer within the lion's den, for his sculpture in Santa Maria del Popolo (Figure 44).[90] Interestingly, Bernini's interpretation of Daniel perhaps comes the closest to Rubens' painting. As Erkinger Schwarzenberg explains in his article on the Dying Alexander:

> Bernini delighted in immortalizing the fleeting second during which the soul and the body part. Whereas the ancients could teach an artist how to render a martyr's soul violently torn from the body, Bernini proved himself to be a master at depicting ecstasy, the mystic trance, the point of death, that is brought about by an act of will or is freely submitted to. To sculpt this Christian experience, Bernini availed himself of, but did not stop short at, what the Alessandro morente expressed.[91]

Bernini cleverly captures the spiritual ecstasy of Daniel's anguishing prayer to God by transforming an ancient portrait, which captures the pained moment of the human soul parting from the body, into the moment when the human spirit reaches out to the divine. Considering all the martyrs and heroes for which Rubens adapted the *Dying Alexander*'s

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[89] *ibid*
[90] Erkinger Schwarzenberg, "From the Alessandro Morente to the Alexandre Richelieu. The Portraiture of Alexander the Great in Seventeenth-Century Italy and France," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 32 (1969), 398-405.
[91] Schwarzenberg, "From the Alessandro Morente," 400.

pose throughout his oeuvre, he, too, understood how this *exemplum doloris* could be interpreted and reinterpreted to express this same spiritual ecstasy.

Rubens' antiquarian interests also may have motivated him to select the *Dying Alexander* for his model of Daniel. Rubens not only copied ancient art during his visit to Italy, but he also took an active interest in reading classical in the original Latin and Greek. In fact, during his stay in Rome near the end of 1605 or early 1606, the artist collaborated with his brother Philip on a philological text on ancient Roman culture called the *Electorum Libri II* (Two Books of Selections). Rubens was not only the illustrator of the text, but in the words of his brother Philip, Rubens advised him with his "keen and unerring judgement" throughout the project.[92] This antiquarian book focuses on the minutest detail of ancient Roman customs, such as the size of a *mappa*, the Latin word for a cloth or handkerchief, used by a magistrate to signal the start of a chariot race, or the exact shape and size of a Roman priest's *flamen*, the head covering worn during religious ceremonies.[93] The microscopic approach of this collaborative book is reflective of Rubens' keen and careful study of antiquity. For in Rubens' eyes, each and every minute antiquarian observation was worthy of analysis and thorough documentation. His fastidious approach to the ancient world similarly applies to his oeuvre, whether it be in the ancient literary sources he studied or the antique sculptures he consciously used in his art.

Beginning in the early 1620s, Rubens' antiquarian interests similarly carried over in his correspondence with the French antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc.

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[92] Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume I),* ed. Arnout Balis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 113.
[93] Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique (Volume I),* 99, 107.

These two collaborated on an unfinished book on ancient gems, and Peiresc, just as Philip Rubens before him, relied on Rubens' iconographic expertise for his interpretation of ancient art. Furthermore, at one point during this correspondence, Rubens sent to Peiresc 56 casts of gems and intaglios from his own collection, which included at least three gems depicting Alexander the Great (Figure 45, 46, 47). These cameos likewise confirm the artist's fascination with Alexander.[94] In fact, the artist even believed a fourth cameo (Figure 49) in his collection depicted Alexander the Great after the victory over India. Interestingly, this cameo became a subject of iconographical debate between Rubens and Peiresc, who suggested to the artist that the cameo depicted the later Hellenistic ruler Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (318-272 BC). Ironically both antiquarians stand corrected, since modern scholars now recognize it to be a sixteenth century copy after an antique depicting the personification of Africa.[95] Nonetheless, such an esoteric exchange on ancient history reveals that Rubens' interest in antiquity went beyond merely illustrating or copying ancient art. He was intellectually engaged in the subject on a scholarly level.

As an antiquarian, Rubens would have known that Alexander profoundly revered the prophet Daniel. According to Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews*, written in the first century AD, when Alexander arrived in Israel on his way to Persia, he was greeted by the

[94] Rubens also depicted a *Triumph of Alexander the Great* (Figure 48) after a famous painting by Apelles, as part of the painted decoration for the exterior of his Antwerp house. For a discussion of the ancient sources that confirm Jacob Harrewijn's late 17th century engraving of the house's exterior, see: Elizabeth McGrath, "The Painted Decoration of Rubens's House," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. 41 (1978): 245-277, accessed October 30, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/750869

[95] Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis & Rubenianum, 2004), 284-286.

Jewish High Priest Jaddus to whom Alexander showed the greatest respect. Alexander believed he had previously seen Jaddus in a dream and had been told by him how to defeat the Persian Empire. Much to the surprise of his generals, Alexander descended from his horse and bowed down to the High Priest. He then followed Jaddus to the Temple of Jerusalem to make an offering. Josephus writes that when Alexander was subsequently shown the Book of Daniel "...wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he [Alexander] supposed that himself was the person intended."[96] Alexander was likely shown Daniel's interpretation of King Darius' dream of a ram fighting a he-goat, wherein the prophet explains:

> As for the ram which you saw with the two horns, these are the kings of Media and Persia. And the he-goat is the king of Greece...And at the latter end of their (i.e. Media and Persia) rule, when the transgressors have reached their full measure, a king of bold countenance, one who understands riddles shall arise. His power shall be great, and he shall succeed in what he does, and destroy mighty men... [97]

Satisfied by Daniel's prophecy, Alexander then decided to leave Jerusalem unharmed and granted to the Jewish people the right to continue living according to their own laws and traditions.

The moment described in Josephus when Alexander the Great meets the High Priest Jaddus was frequently depicted during the Italian Renaissance. Perino del Vaga featured the story in the Sala Paolina frescoes for the Castel Sant'Angelo (Figure 50).[98]

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[96] William Whiston, trans., Flavius Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), 244 (Book XI: Chapter VIII).
[97] *ibid*
[98] Richard Harprath, *Paps Paul III als Alexander der Grosse: d. Freskenprogramm d. Sala Paolina in d. Engelsburg* (New York: De Gruyter, 1978). For fresco, see: Del Vaga, Perino, *Alexander the Great before the High Priest*, ca. 1542-7. Rome, Castel Sant-Angelo: Sala Paolina. http://artstor.org/ (accessed: August 13, 2014)

The subject similarly appears in a fresco series attributed to the School of Zuccaro, in the Palazzo Caetani in Rome (Figure 51).[99] It is depicted also on the reverse of Alessandro Cesati's famous bronze metal of Pope Paul III (Figure 52), dated 1547.[100] According to Vasari, Michelangelo famously praised this bronze for hailing the death of medal making, since no artist could ever surpass its craftsmanship.[101] Michelangelo as well included a depiction of *Alexander and the High Priest* (Figure 53) in one of the roundels on the Sistine Chapel ceiling.[102] Of course, it is unlikely that Rubens would have studied this small roundel among the various large and eye-catching *ignudi* and sibyls he drew from the Sistine Ceiling. Nonetheless, this roundel, as well as all the examples listed above, further proves that the story of *Alexander and the High Priest* was not obscure to an educated artist such as Rubens. In fact, one should not exclude the possibility that Rubens may have read Josephus in the libraries of either Nicholaas Rockox or Jan Gaspar Gevartius, both of whom close friends and patrons to the artist in Antwerp. Furthermore, in 1620, Rubens' childhood friend Balthasar Moretus, owner of the Plantin Press, sold a copy of Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews* to Rubens, which further substantiates the artist's interest in this biblical source.[103]

In addition, Rubens may have seen other connections between Daniel and

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[99] Image from: The Warburg Institute Photographic Collection.
[100] "Bronze Medal of Paul III by Alessandro Cesati. " http://britishmuseum.org/ (accessed: August 13, 2014)
[101] Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects (Vol. III*, trans. Mrs. Jonathan Foster (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 480-481, accessed October 28, 2014, http://books.google.com
[102] Michelangelo, *Sistine Chapel, Ceiling. Ignudo*, ca. 1508-12. Sistine Chapel, Vatican. http://artstor.org/ (accessed: August 13, 2014)
[103] Elizabeth McGrath, *Rubens Subjects from History*, ed. Arnout Balis (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1997), 64-65, 78.

Alexander the Great that motivated him to select the *Dying Alexander* for his model of the prophet in *Daniel in the Lions Den*. Purely from the perspective of an artist, Rubens would have found Plutarch's description of Alexander's "leonine expression" an appropriate model for a man surrounded by lions. In fact, the *Dying Alexander's* wavy mane of lion-like hair was a perfect counterpoint to the lions depicted in the painting. Rubens even accentuates Daniel's curvaceous locks in much the same manner as he renders the wavy manes of each lion.

He, too, would have known that Alexander the Great took great pride in engaging in lion hunts. In fact, Rubens painted a *Lion Hunt of Alexander the Great*, ca. 1639, for Philip IV of Spain. Even though this painting was done much later in his career and is sadly only known though copy made by the Spanish artist J.B. Martinez del Mazo (c. 1612-1667), this painting reveals Rubens' interest in the ancient sources that describe Alexander's various lion hunts.[104] For example, Plutarch mentions the famous Krateros Monument by Lysippos and Leochares in Delphi, which commemorated Alexander's bravery in fighting a lion after his victory in Persia.[105] Such a courageous act revealed the strength of his character. As Plutarch explains, "Alexander exposed his person to danger in this manner, with the object both of inuring himself and inciting others to the

[104] Arnout Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes (Vol. II)*, trans. P.S. Falla (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 198-205. For more on the Alexander's Lion Hunt attributed to J.B. Martinez de Mazo, see: Jean-Pierre De Bruyn and Christopher Wright, *Alexander's Lion Hunt: The Original Painting from the Alcázar: It's Rightful Place among the Works of Sir Peter Paul Rubens* (Hollywood: Betrock Information Systems, Inc., 2007).
[105] J.J. Pollitt, *Art and the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 38.

performance of brave and virtuous actions."[106] Pliny similarly describes a later Alexander lion hunt monument at Thespiai by Euthykrates, Lysippos' son.[107] Though none of these ancient monuments survive, ancient coinage and cameos such as Rubens' cameo of *Alexander the Great Wearing a Lion's Skin* (Figure 45) continue to serve as a visual reminder of Alexander the Great's heroic association with lions. Furthermore, these coins and cameos not only echo these long lost monuments, but they also reveal how Alexander the Great wished to be associated with Hercules, the ancestral father of the Macedonian royal house and the mythical slayer of the Nemean Lion.[108] As an antiquarian, Rubens would have understood this iconographical connection when he studied Alexander the Great's history and the antiquities in his collection.

The Dry Tree and Alexander the Great

Another subtle allusion to Alexander the Great is found far back along the horizon line outside of the lions' den. There stands a barren tree (Figure 54)—likely an iconographical reference to the location where Alexander defeated the Persian Emperor Darius III. Although easily overlooked due to its small size, this white barren tree reaches towards the cloudy blue sky above Daniel. In fact, this tree may provide a partial explanation why Rubens model Daniel's head after Alexander the Great. The association of a tree with Alexander the Great's victory occurs in the famous thirteenth century text, *The Travels of Marco Polo*:

[106] "The Life of Alexander," in *Plutarch's Lives: The Dryden Translation (Vol. II)*, ed., Arthur Hugh Clough (New York: Modern Library, 1992), 172
[107] Pollitt, *Art and the Hellenistic Age*, 38.
[108] Pollitt, *Art and the Hellenistic Age*, 25.

> "One day Marco observed a very tall, wide-spreading tree, the bark of which was a bright green on one side, and white on the other. This tree stood entirely alone, on a vast plain, where there was not the least sign of any trees, as far as eye could reach in any direction. Marco thought this very strange, and called his party to look at it. Then one of the Persian guides, whom they had brought with them, told him that it was very near this curious tree, which was called the "Dry Tree," that a famous battle was once fought between Alexander the Great and King Darius."[109]

Marco Polo refers here to the Battle of Gaugamela that took place within the barren and wide-open desert landscape of Persia in 331 BC. Sadly none of the surviving ancient sources, such as Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheke*, or Quintus Curtius Rufus' *The History of Alexander*, mention this tree in their accounts of this battle.[110] However, the lack of ancient literary evidence should not discredit the validity of Marco Polo's description. In fact, *The Alexander Mosaic* (Figure 55), a Hellenistic masterpiece, which was found in 1830 in the House of the Faun at Pompeii, shows a dry tree in the background of the battle between Alexander and Darius. Even though Rubens could not have known of this mosaic, he may have seen an undocumented Roman copy of it during his time in Italy.

The dry tree also has immense iconographical significance within the Judeo-Christian tradition as a metaphor of the God's power to renew life. According to Ezekiel, the Lord God proclaimed the following:

> "And all the trees of the country shall know that I the Lord have brought down the high tree, and exalted the low tree; and have dried up the green tree, and have caused the dry tree to flourish."[111]

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[109] *The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by Marden and edited by Thomas Wright (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 72, accessed October 30, 2014, http://archive.org

[110] Paolo Moreno, *Apelles: The Alexander Mosaic*. (Milan: Skira Editore, 2001), 15-18.

[111] Ezek. 17: 24

Similar tree imagery appears as well in the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar recounts to Daniel:

> "I saw in the visions of my head as I lay in bed, and behold, a watcher, a holy one, came down from heaven. He cried aloud and said thus 'Hew down the tree and cut off its branches, strip off its leaves and scatter its fruit; let the beasts flee from under and the birds from its branches. But leave the stump of its roots in the earth, bound with a band of iron and bronze, amid the tender grass of the field. Let him be wet with the dew of heaven; let his lot be with the beasts in the grass of the earth; let his mind be changed from a man's, and let a beast's mind be given to him...to the end that the living may know that the Most High rules the kingdom of men, and gives it to whom he will, and sets over it the lowliest of men.' "[112]

Daniel explained to Nebuchadnezzar that the dream was a metaphor for what would soon happen to the king himself: Nebuchadnezzar would be stripped of his kingdom until he recognized the power of the Lord. Once his vision came to fruition, the king explained what came to pass then in his own words, "At the end of days I, Nebuchadnezzar, *lifted my eyes to heaven*, and my reason returned to me, and I blessed the Most High, and praised and honored him who lives for ever...At the same time my reason returned to me; and for the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and splendor returned to me." So too in Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, the prophet lifts his eyes to heaven in total faith that God will save him from the dangers within the den. Rubens then placed a dry tree above the opening of the den as a subtle reminder of God's omnipotent ability to cause even the dry tree to flourish, or in this case, His ability to protect Daniel in the lions' den.

The iconographic meaning of the dry tree similarly carries over into the medieval Christian tradition, where it became emblematic of Christ's death on the cross and the miracle of His Resurrection to eternal life. Early Christians believed that the wood from

[112] Dan. 4: 13-17

the crucifix originated from the Tree of Knowledge (or from the tree that grew from the seeds of the forbidden fruit) in the Garden of Eden, which later transformed into a dead tree after the Fall of Man. It was only then through Christ's physical death on the cross, which was made from this very same tree, that the Savior could give eternal life to mankind. Rubens, in fact, included a dead tree in his oil sketch for the *Raising of the Cross* (Figure 56), in the Louvre. Positioned directly behind the mournful figures of Mary and John the Evangelist, these barren branches not only reference this known legend, but also reflect the utter despair of all those present at the Crucifixion.[113]

From this legend likely stems the reason why a dead tree is frequently featured in Christian art, particularly in prints of *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* by Dürer, Rembrandt, and Goltzius, not to mention Gerrit Dou's numerous paintings of *The Hermit*.[114] In these depictions, however, new branches grow forth from the dead tree stump, further serving as a reminder that life can be rejuvenated through death. In *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, Rubens places these living branches not on the dry tree, but instead upon the barren surface of the den itself, reminding the viewer too that life can grow even within the darkest depths of such a desolate place.[115]

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[113] It should be noted that for the final altarpiece Rubens removed the dead tree and depicted instead a living one, which stretches across the left and central panel of the triptych. In the end, a living tree served as a more effective symbol of life and renewal above the body of Christ than another reference to His death.

[114] Susan Donahue Kuretsky, "Rembrandt's Tree Stump: An Iconic Attribute of St. Jerome," Art Bulletin 56 (December 1974): 571-580, accessed October 30, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/3049303

[115] The religious meaning of the dry tree also had significance in Flanders. Most famously, Petrus Christus featured a dry tree in his altarpiece *Our Lady of the Dry Tree*, made for the religious lay confraternity *Onze Lieve Vrouw van de Droge Boom* (Our Lady of the Dry Tree). This altarpiece is first documented in 1396 in the Braamberg friary in Bruges. There has been some scholarly debate over the origin of this Marian

Daniel's Gestural Sources

Just as the dry tree connotes the power of the Lord to bring about renewal and regeneration, so too does the Prophet Daniel's robust, muscular form fully engrossed in fervent prayer convey the intensity of Daniel's faith in God. Michael Jaffé argued that Daniel's muscular physique and posture are derived from a drawing of the *Penitent St. Jerome* by Girolamo Muziano (Figure 33) that Rubens may have been owned.[116] From this Muziano source, Rubens adapted both the crossed legs and upraised, fully clasped hands of St. Jerome. It is, perhaps more likely that he may have seen Cornelius' Cort's engraving of *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (Figure 57), after a Muziano painting now in the Pinacotheca Nazionale, Bologna, since that composition contains two lions that resemble Rubens' lions in *Daniel in the Lions' Den.* [117]

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image, but Erwin suggests the iconography of the altarpiece relates to Ezekiel's prophecy, and a thirteenth century poem *Pèlerinage de L'Ame*, which likens the Virgin Mary's barren mother St. Anne to a barren trunk from whom the Virgin Mary was grafted. [See Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 311.] Recently, Hugo van der Velden suggested that the imagery of *Our Lady of the Dry Tree* is related more to medieval Netherlandish Marian cult images, which were literally found in trees throughout the Low Countries. For a further discussion of this debate, see: Hugo van der Velden, Petrus Christus's "Our Lady of the Dry Tree," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 60 (1997): 89-110, accessed July, 16, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/751225

[116] This drawing, now in the Louvre, was likely among the Rubens drawings purchased by Louis XIV in 1671 from Everhard Jabach, the French art collector, banker, and financier whose enormous collection of 5542 drawings later became the foundation of the Louvre's Cabinet de Dessins.

[117] Logan, 169. [See also: Michael Jaffé and E.R. Meijer, "Rubens en de leeuwenkuil," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 3de Jaarg., Nr. 3 (1955): 59-67, accessed October 30, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/40381119]

Jaffé has shown that the pose of Jerome's clasped hands originated by Michelangelo and that Sebastiano del Piombo later adapted it for the Viterbo *Pietà*.[118] Rubens may have owned a Michelangelo drawing of *Prayer Hands* (Figure 58) that could have served as a preliminary study for this very altarpiece. This sketch, perhaps even reworked by Rubens' own hand, bears a later inscription: 'C. P. P. Rubens' on the obverse; and 'coll. P. P. Rubens' on the reverse, which further suggests the later ownership by the artist.[119] Certainly the physical intensity of hands folded together in prayer is well suited for a tragic subject such as a Pietà, or for that matter the intensity of Daniel's prayer to God to protect him in the lions' den.[120]

Rubens likely gravitated more towards Muziano's and Michelangelo's prayer gesture because it was innovative, i.e. it was a relatively "new" gestural form used to denote prayer. In fact, virtually all artists before Rubens depict prayer either with hands pressed together or with arms fully extended upward. The first of these established forms of prayer gestures, called the "younger prayer gesture" by Gerhart B. Ladner, typically appears in Christian art beginning in the thirteenth century.[121] Martin van Heemskerk and Jan Brueghel (Figure 29 & 36) both follow this medieval form. Prior to the thirteenth century, prayer was typically depicted in the form of raised and extended arms, a gesture derived from ancient *orans*-figures. This pose is used in early Christian catacomb of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus (Figure 39), and *The Sarcophagus of the Two Brothers* (Figure

[118] Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 41.
[119] *ibid.* [The reverse side has a drawing of an *Ignudo* from the Sistine Ceiling.]
[120] It should be noted that pupil Anthony van Dyck used this hand gesture for the anguished prayer of a weeping angel in *The Lamentation*, ca. 1634.
[121] Gerhart B Ladner, "The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*. (Rome: Edizione de Storia E Letteratura, 1983), 209-237.

37). Later artists such as Johannes Sadler (Figure 30), as well the fresco from the *Sala de Daniele* in the Lateran Palace (Figure 59), even adapt the *orans*-gesture to connote Daniel's surprise as he is saved from the lions' den. Very few artists though depart from the "young prayer gesture" or the "*orans*-figure" when depicting the prophet Daniel praying in the lions' den.

One of the few exceptions is Tobias Stimmer's woodcut for the 1574 and 1578 editions of Josephus (Figure 28), which shows the prophet with his hands clasped together in prayer in the same manner as Rubens' Daniel. Rubens could have been drawn to Stimmer's prayer gesture since he began his artistic training by copying Stimmer's biblical woodcuts. Also, Johan Sadeler similarly folds the prophet's hands together in his engraving from his prophet series in *Sacrarum Antiquitatem* (Figure 60). In both the Stimmer and Sadeler examples, however, Daniel fans his forearms outward instead of pushing them together with same baroque intensity expressed in both Muziano's drawing and Cort's print of St. Jerome, which makes these later examples the most likely source for the gestural form of Rubens' Daniel.

Theological Implications of Daniel's Pose

While the pictorial sources that inspired Rubens to fold Daniel's hands together in prayer is evident, however, *why* he chose such an intense gesture has not been fully explained. Rubens used this prayer gesture sparingly in his oeuvre. One of the few early examples is found in his 1601-1602 painting of *The Entombment* (Figure 61), in the Galleria Borghese in Rome. Mary Magdalene, the figure nestled between fellow mourners John the Evangelist and Mary Cleophas, kneels down before Christ's corpse

and clasps her hands together in prayer. The Virgin Mary, perhaps echoing as well the pained expression of the *Dying Alexander*, looks up towards the light in the heavens in faithful anticipation of the Resurrection. Similar to Rubens' later prayer gesture for Daniel, Mary Magdalene's gesture is a fervent expression of the power of faith. For, just as God protected the faithful prophet Daniel from certain death in the lions' den, God resurrected Christ from His death on the cross.

Christian theologians saw parallels between the Old Testament Prophet and Christ, which would have made the above theological comparison deeply ingrained in the mindset of a Christian audience by Rubens' own time. In his *Epistles to the Hebrews*, the Apostle Paul compares Daniel's survival in the lions' den to the ultimate salvation of all Christian martyrs. According to Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367), a prominent theologian for the early Christian Church, Daniel's belief in God was a prefiguration of the apostles and their undying faith. The Benedictine theologian Rupert of Deutz (ca. 1075-1129) proclaimed the story of Daniel in the Lions' Den also as a prefiguration of Christ's Passion and His Resurrection. Theologians who followed the account the *Apocrypha* to Daniel (Dan 14:23) saw emblematic associations between the seven lions and the seven deadly sins, as well as Eucharistic meaning regarding the bread the prophet Habakkuk brought to Daniel.[122]

For example, in a Cistercian manuscript of *Saint Jerome's Commentaries on Daniel, the Minor Prophets, and the Ecclesiastes* (Figure 62), dated to the early twelfth-

[122] For a thorough analysis of all the early Christian theologians mentioned here, see: William J. Travis, "Daniel in the Lions' Den: Problems in the Iconography of a Cistercian Manuscript. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS132," *Arte Medievale* II, Anno XIV, (2000): 49-71.

century, there is a full-page, two-sided illumination depicting on one side, Christ in a mandorla surrounded by prophets, and on the other side, Daniel, with distinctly Christ-like features, is depicted seated in a Lions' Den with the Habakkuk bringing him bread and wine. In this manuscript various parallels are drawn between Daniel and Christ, especially with respect to the Eucharist, i.e. the bread and wine Habakkuk brings to Daniel. Similarly, the *Biblia Pauperum*, a more widely accessible picture bible available in the Netherlands by the late fifteenth century, compares Mary Magdalene's visit to Christ's empty tomb with Darius discovery of Daniel unharmed in the lions' den.

In terms of iconography, the Cistercian manuscript illumination does share one essential feature with Rubens' dynamic composition: Both the Christ-like Daniel in the thirteenth century illustration and the robust, antique-inspired Daniel in Rubens' painting, actually touch one of the lions in the den. In medieval iconography, this gesture boldly signals to the viewer that Daniel has successfully triumphed over evil, i.e. his vicious predator.[123] The Cistercian illuminator cleverly suggests Daniel's triumphant Christ-like character by seating the prophet upon a throne, a feature typically used to portray Christ as King of Heaven, and places at the prophet's feet, a sleeping lion, which literally functions as an ottoman. Rubens' Daniel grazes with the tip of his toes the sleep lion at his feet, a subtler gesture than its medieval predecessor, but just as powerful. It, too, signals to the viewer that Daniel is impervious to danger. Rubens is not signaling to the viewer Daniel's trust in the lion at his feet, rather, he is communicating to the Daniel's complete trust in God.

[123] Herbert L. Kessler and David Niremberg, eds. *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 83.

Chapter 3: The Political Implications of the *Leo Belgicus* in Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*

Introduction

The lion—long hailed the noble and fierce king of the animal kingdom—was the ideal emblem of a powerful and unified Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War. The entire region latched onto this majestic creature for political and emblematic reasons. By the Twelve Years' Truce, the lion was featured in the heraldry of thirteen of the seventeen Netherlandish Provinces, was found in political prints representing the might of the Netherlands during the revolt, and as early as 1583 in Michael von Aitzing's *Leo Belgicus* map (Figure 63) came to personify the entire Netherlands.[124] Peter Paul Rubens, an artist well-versed in the politics of his age, could not have overlooked the political implications of selecting a biblical subject teeming with lions. This chapter will explore the leonine implications in *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

The History of the Leo Belgicus Map

Michael von Aitzing's map is an excellent starting point for understanding lion imagery in the Netherlands. Designed by Von Aitzing in 1579 and engraved by Frans

[124] All the lions maps in this chapter are beautifully illustrated in color in: Daniel Crouch Rare Books LLP, London, *Catalogue V on the Leo Belgicus* (2013). A PDF file of this book is available at: http://www.crouchrarebooks.com/downloads/files/DCRB_CatalogueV.pdf

Hogenberg, the *Leo Belgicus* was both sold separately as a single sheet and placed as an insert in Van Aitzing's 1583 book *De Leone Belgico,* which described the start of the Dutch Revolt. Published in Cologne, Von Aitzing assures his reader, in the text inscribed on the right, that both himself and the lion will remain neutral in this account war. In his preface, Von Aitzing explained his choice for such a potent emblematic form:

> "Considering wise Solomon's saying that the lion shuns confrontation with none but the strongest animals, and reading in Julius Caesar's "Commentaries" that the "Belgae" were the strongest of all tribes, I decided-and not without reason-to introduce the Netherlands in the shape of a lion. Moreover, Emperor Charles V-blessed be his memory-thought of calling it the lion country, either because he wanted the Netherlands in future to be considered the prime of his realm, or perhaps because virtually all provinces carry a lion in their coat of arms."[125]

Von Aitzing imaginatively combined biblical allusions with ancient and contemporary history to make his fantastical lion map commonplace to his reader. He was not the first cartographer to shape the world into such imaginative forms. In 1537, John Putsch (Bucius) designed a map of Europe in the shape of a maiden.[126] In 1549, Giovanni Battista Guicciardini included a world map in the shape of the Hapsburg eagle in his book on Netherlandish history.[127] In 1581, Heinrich Bunting depicted Asia in the form of Pegasus and the Old World as a cloverleaf in his book, *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae.*[128] These maps were reproduced periodically throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with little or no significant changes. *Leo Belgicus,* however, took on a life of its own and was reproduced in four versions: Von Aitzing's map of all seventeen provinces in 1579, Johan van Doetecum's 1598 version, which also depicted the various governors

[125] H.A.M van der Heijen, *Leo Belgicus: An Illustrated and annotated carto-bibliography* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1990), 16-17.
[126] Heijen, *Leo Belgicus,* 11-12.
[127] Heijen, *Leo Belgicus,* 12.
[128] Heijen, *Leo Belgicus,* 13.

of the Netherlands (Figure 64), Claes Jansz Visscher's 1611 '*Bestandskaart*' ('Truce Map') (Figure 65) showing the northern and southern provinces at the time of the Twelve Years' Truce; and finally Visscher's *Leo Hollandicus* map (Figure 66) published at the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, which shows only Holland, the strongest of all the northern provinces, in the fight for independence from Spain. The later map was reproduced most extensively at the end of the Eighty Years' War in 1648. At this time, this lion map was given over exclusively to Holland because by 1648 the Treaty of Münster made it certain that a unified Netherlands was no longer possible.[129]

Aside from Von Aitzing's *Leo Belgicus,* Hessel Gerritsz published in Amsterdam a version (Figure 67) around 1609-1611, at the time of the Twelve Years' Truce, with the lion turned to the left. This version was reprinted in Amsterdam by Cornelis Jaszoon and Jodocus Hondius until 1622, just one year after the termination of the Truce. The accompanying inscriptions to several of these maps convey comparable unifying sentiments. For example, Cornelis Janszoon's 1611 version (Figure 68) has the following inscription:

> "The Leo Belgicus as a personification of the Netherlands. My fame of Trojan courage and strength, my glory as another Mars are known worldwide. But far more happy would I be than a king, if the gods would grant me everlasting peace."[130]

In 1622, Hessel Gerritsz (Figure 67) appended the following inscription:

> "The lion speaks. Just as my huge body has muscular limbs, you can see in my body powerful countries. How good would it be if, united in everlasting peace, each province assisted the others."[131]

[129] Heijen, *Leo Belgicus,* 93.
[130] Heijen, *Leo Belgicus,* 65.
[131] Heijen, *Leo Belgicus,* 72.

Peace through unification of the Netherlandish Lion was the underlying message of the *Leo Belgicus* Map during the Truce years, during the very years that Rubens produced *Daniel in the Lions' Den.*

The Leo Belgicus in Political Prints

Leo Belgicus was used extensively in political prints of the age. *Den Slapende Leeu* ("The Sleeping Lion") (Figure 69) is among the earliest of these political allegories. Likely engraved shortly after the signing of the Union of Utrecht in 1579, the time when the seven northern provinces effectively split from the ten southern provinces of the Spanish Netherlands,[132] this print depicts the consequences of the mighty *Leo Belgicus* sleeping through the early stages of the Eighty Years' War. According to the accompanying inscription: the sleeping lion, personifying "Netherlandish Might" (*De Nederlantsche macht*), rests its head on "False Council" (*Gheverjsden raet*). Nearby, the "Commonwealth" (*T'ghemeijn Welvaert*), portrayed as geese and pigs in a cage, is under attack by a wily Fox representing "Spanish Officers" (*Spaensche officiers)* and a wolf called "Foreign Thieves" (*Vremde roovers*). A dog named "Loyalty to the Nation" (*Dslants getrouve*) warns of the imminent danger by barking loudly toward the sleeping lion. The mule, signifying the "Former Arms Trade" (*Voorlenden Crijchshandel*), collapses under the weight of weaponry, while a lamb named "Innocence Deprived"

[132] It should be noted that the southern cities of Antwerp and Breda in Brabant and Ghent, Bruges and Ypres in Flanders briefly joined the Union of Utrecht. After Philip II's governor, Alexander Duke of Parma, took back the Walloon Provinces, these cities were gradually taken back by Spain. With the final capture of Antwerp in 1585, the final divide between the North and South, which started with the Union of Utrecht, was fully in effect.

(*Donnosele beroofde*), bleats for mercy in the distance. Shepherds likewise sleep, wine and dine as soldiers attack their herd. The shepherds likely are the States General and the marauding soldiers are Spain. An inscription about this image, written in both in Dutch and French, reads: "*Doemen 1567 screef, wast schade dat den leeu soo lang slapende bleef*" ("When one wrote 1567, 'twas a shame that the lion remained asleep so long").

The year 1567 marked the arrival of Spanish troops in the Netherlands under the command of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-1582), The 3rd Duke of Alba, to suppress the Protestant rebellion. Alba established a special tribunal to handle the rebels, called the *Raad van Beroeten* ("The Council of Troubles"), from which he sentenced to death approximately 1100 people, and repossessed the personal property of 9000 citizens. Members of the Council of Troubles consisted of both Flemings and Spaniards, referred to as "*Ja-knikkers*" ("Yes-nodders"), who literally obeyed Alba's command. According to contemporary accounts, Jacob Hessels, one of the Flemish members of this council, would have to be awakened at the end of each trial to proclaim the all-to-familiar sentence "*Ad patibulum*" ("To the gallows").[133] Thus, just as Jacob Hessels slept through the Council of Troubles, so too did the entire Netherlands, i.e. *Den Slapende Leeu* (the Netherlandish lion) sleep through Alba's reign of terror. The inscription below the *Den Slapende Leeu* print, written in Dutch, French and German, further identifies the components of this political allegory:

1.) *Den Leeu slaept* (The Lion sleeps)
2.) *Den Wolf die ghaept* (The Wolf gapes)
3.) *Den Vosch die steelt* (The Fox steals)
4.) *Den Hondt die bast* (The Dog barks)

[133] James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: A graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Grand Rapids: Bryn Mawr College Library, 1993), 27.

5.) *Den Esel lijdt last* (The Mule suffers)
6.) *Het Scaepken queelt* (The Lamb bleats)[134]

The message is that while the mighty Netherlandish lion sleeps, Spain steals and ravages the land.

As the divisions widened between the northern Dutch provinces and the Habsburg Netherlands in the south during the Eighty Years' War, *Leo Belgicus* began to evoke the righteous might of one region or the other. Even though the lion still embodied a unified Netherlands, this unification was contingent upon which governing body ruled the Seventeen Provinces. For those in the North, reunification meant complete independence from Habsburg Spain, while for the Spanish Habsburgs, reunification meant a return of the Seventeen Provinces to the Spanish crown.

A print (ca. 1572) entitled *Cessez Pourceaux de romper ma Haye* ("Stop Rooting in my Garden, Spanish Pigs") (Figure 70) depicts a ferocious lion wielding a long spike within an enclosed fence[135] bearing the shields and flags of all the major cities liberated in the province of Holland. Another lion swimming along the shoreline raises a sword as he smites one of the many pigs invading the Dutch shoreline. Geese also take part in the battle by manning the ships. Some of them peck at a few desperate swimmers and a few have flown in the sky carrying a pig as their prey. The Dutch word for geese "*geuzen*"

[134] James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: A graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Grand Rapids: Bryn Mawr College Library, 1993), 44-45.
[135] This enclosed fence can also be interpreted as a *hortus conclusus*, a biblical iconographic motif traditionally connected to the purity of the Virgin Mary and associated with divine protection. During the Eighty Years' War, the Dutch appropriated this imagery as a symbol of the *Hollandse Tuin* (Dutch Garden). For more on this subject, see: Daniel R. Horst, "The Duke of Alba: The Ideal Enemy," *Arte Nuevo: Revista de estudios áureos* 1 (2014): 130-154.

was also a pseudonym for the rebels during the Eighty Years' War.[136] The pigs' behavior is grotesque throughout; rubbing their noses into the dirt, pushing violently into the enclosed fence of Holland, and fornicating in every corner. The coat of arms of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, displayed beneath the lion's feet at the center of the composition, and the dedication, written both in French and Dutch, makes it clear that the Prince of Orange, "*Mon Excellent Protecteur Orangeat*" ("My Excellent Protector from the House of Orange"), is the strong and vengeful lion defending the Dutch Provinces.[137] As the main leader of the Dutch revolt against Habsburg Spain during the early stages of the Eighty Years' War, the largest and fiercest lion in this print surely is a fitting representation of the mighty hero William the Silent.

On the Habsburg side, the roles are reversed: here *Leo Belgicus* derives his might from the Spanish Habsburgs and the Catholic Faith. A print (ca. 1599-1600) based on a design by J. Sadeler *De Nederlandse leeuw* (Figure 71) shows the *Leo Belgicus*[138] in a roundel entitled "Vindex Belgii" (Protector of the Belgii). As rebel frogs and flies peck and swarm around him, the lion is under the aegis of the Habsburg Eagle. In this roundel, the frogs and flies are a reference to the biblical plagues which, according the Book of Exodus, God delivered as punishment to Egypt until Pharaoh released the Hebrew people from slavery.[139] Under the protection of God, the Jewish people were unharmed by these plagues. Similarly in this print, the *Leo Belgicus*, under the protection of the Habsburg Imperium, remains unharmed by the pestilence. In the opposite roundel, titled "*Justitiae*

[136] Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 34.
[137] Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 35.
[138] Labelled "Belgica" (Latin: nominative, feminine singular form)
[139] According the Book of Exodus (7:14-12:36), these 10 Plagues were: Water into Blood, Frogs, Flies, Wild Animals, Pestilence, Boils, Hail, Locusts, Darkness, Death of the First Born.

et Libertatis Assertor" (The Defender of Justice and Liberty), the lion bravely waves his sword with the support of God, who is represented in the form of light-pierced clouds inscribed with the name "*Jehova*."[140] This time, all the rebel pests flee from the mighty lion, including pestilent pigs—not the "Spanish Pigs" described in the previous print—but the Protestant enemy encroaching upon the shoreline of the Spanish Netherlands. Excerpts from the accompanying inscription gives further credence to this interpretation by praising the Spanish Archdukes for protecting the *Leo Belgicus* and for fighting all those who threaten the Catholic Faith:

> Celso Leonem confidentum corpore
> Et region superbientum vertice
> Eugenia Belgis Regii lassis Iugi
> Oftentat Isabella; Claram Hispanicis...
> Alberta Virtus Caesarum Frater Nepos..."[141]

As the Eighty Years' War raged, the northern and southern provinces each appropriated *Leo Belgicus* to represent the might and righteousness of their cause. Ironically this emblem, which initially personified the unity of the Netherlands, eventually came to symbolize the separate entities north and south. The lion became an emblem for the North, the South, or the entire depending on the context, time and motives of the printmaker and the intended audience. This ambiguous symbolism is symptomatic of the conflicted and constantly changing Netherlandish identity during the Eighty Years' War. Nevertheless, the general concept of a 'Netherlandish identity' only appears to have disappeared at the time of the Treaty of Münster in 1648.

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[140] Brams Kempers, "*Assemblage van de Nederlandse leeuw* Politieke symboliek in heraldiek en verhalende prenten uit de zestiende eeuw," in *Openbaring en bedrog: de afbeelding als historische bron in de lage landed*, ed. B. Kempers et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 90.

[141] "This lion, confident in body, and country, proudly ruled by Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain...(and) Albert, nephew to Caesar (i.e. Philip II of Spain)."

The political circumstances of the late sixteenth century created a peculiar and often, paradoxical concept of a shared national identity in the Netherlands. A political pamphlet published in Antwerp in 1600, titled *Beclach ende doleancie vanden Pays, yegens die XVII. Prouincien van het Nederlandt* (Lamentations of Peace towards the Seventeen Provinces of the one Netherlands),[142] brings into focus this inherent paradox. The unknown author calls out to his fellow countrymen:

> …are you not altogether born [native] and allied compatriots of the one Netherlands, like a common body, and as such for two hundred years or so ruled by a common ruler and overlord, in all friendship, alliance, and conversation, because of which your lands have come to such prosperity, richness and power, as anyone has [ever] seen?[143]

According to the pamphleteer, it was contrary to nature for the Netherlands to gain independence from Spain; the Seventeen Provinces had been ruled by the Spanish Habsburgs for over two hundred years. In his opinion, from the perspective of someone living in Antwerp, a city under Spanish Habsburg rule, Netherlandish identity and unity was inextricably bound to Spanish rule.

The historian Vincent van Zuilen has explained that the sense of a common identity that brought the Netherlandish people together simultaneously tore them apart. For example, political placards issued by Archdukes Albert and Isabella in the early seventeenth century painted the rebels as "enemies of God and their lawful prince."[144] This same paradox is evident in the print *De Nederlandse leeuw* (Figure 71). There,

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[142] *Beclach ende doleancie vanden Pays, yegens die XVII. Prouincien van het Nederlandt* (Knuttel, Catalogus, no. 1153). [Cited in: Vincent van Zuilen, "The Politics of Dividing the Nation?: News Pamphlets as a Vehicle of Ideology and National Consciousness in the Habsburg Netherlands (1585-1609)," in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans. (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 61.]
[143] Vincent van Zuilen, "The Politics of Dividing the Nation," 61.
[144] Van Zuilen, "Politics of Dividing the Nation," 67.

"compatriots" to the north were depicted as "rebels," i.e. a contrary force within the *Leo Belgicus*. Likewise, from the perspective of the Northern Provinces as seen in the print *Cessez Pourceaux de romper ma Haye* ("Stop Rooting in my Garden, Spanish Pigs") (Figure 70), the *Leo Belgicus* must fight against the Spanish pigs who assault their native land.

For Rubens, a loyal defender of his patrons the Spanish Archdukes, reunification of the Seventeen Provinces was only possible under the auspices of the Spanish Crown. This political belief was in essence the *modus operandi* of the Spanish Archdukes during the Eighty Years' War. Therefore, the inherent paradox of these political prints would not have been an issue for him because he saw the situation from the Southern perspective. As with the sentiments expressed in the political pamphlet of 1600, Rubens interpreted the *Leo Belgicus* as the personification of the Netherlands under the dominion of Spanish Habsburgs. These prints and maps were part of the political landscape, which informed Rubens and likely motivated him when he designed *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

One political print that resonates in *Daniel in the Lions' Den* is Jacques de Gheyn II's ca. 1590 engraving of the *Leo Magnanimus* ("The Great Lion") (Figure 72). This engraving has no dedication, hence it is difficult to connect it to a specific commission.[145] Nevertheless, the association of the *Leo Magnanimus* with the *Leo Belgicus* could not have been lost to a Netherlandish audience at this early stage of the Eighty Years' War. The Latin inscription reads:

En Leo Magnanimus, Vigilanti Mente Recumbens:

[145] Hans Mielke, ed., *Manierismus in Holland um 1600: Kupferstiche, Holzschnitte und Zeichnungen aus dem Berliner Kupferstichkabinett* (Berlin: Reiter-Druck, 1979) 39-41.

Verberet ut Caudam, Tollat ut ipse Iubas.
Nec Fugiens, Nec Quen Metuens: Sed Promptus et Acer
Ad Prosternendum, Se Docet Esse Feram.

Behold the Magnificent Lion, quiet with guarding sense:
How he hits his tail, same as he carries his mane.
Neither fleeing, nor fearing anyone: But full of energy
And eager to wrestle down.[146]

This lion is ready for action and the trials and tribulations of war.[147] At first, De Gheyn's image appears as an unlikely visual source for Rubens. As discussed in the previous chapter, Rubens studied lions "from life" and adapted antique sculptural models for the ideal leonine form. De Gheyn, on the other hand, turned to the woodcuts of the Swiss naturalist Konrad Gesner (1516-1565) for his prototype.[148] Gesner's popular four-volume encyclopedia *Historia Animalium* (History of the Animals), published 1551-1558, contains a woodcut of a lion (Figure 74) with the same shape and posture as De Gheyn's feline.[149] The images are reversed, as one would expect from the printmaking process. De Gheyn gave his lion a fiercer and more menacingly wrinkled brow to match the mood expressed in the Latin inscription. The emblematic meaning of the lion—a fierce creature that embodies the might of the Netherlands during the Eighty Years' War—definitely appealed to Rubens. Most telling of all, the similarly modeled upturned skull in Rubens'

[146] My translation.
[147] For more on the might of the Leo Belgicus see ca. 1607 print "The Allegory on the war between Spain and the Netherlands" (Figure 73). In the top right corner of this political allegory, a fire-breathing lion spits out enemy soldiers while grasping two rifles in his right hand. Beneath him stand several of the major political figures of day, such as Ambroglio Spinola and Prince Maurice of Orange.
[148] *Curious Woodcuts of Fanciful and Real Beasts: Konrad Gesner: A selection of 190 sixteenth-century woodcuts from Gesner's and Topsell's natural histories* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971), 1.
[149] Gesner, *Curious Woodcuts,* 10.

Daniel in the Lions' Den reinforces the hypothesis that Rubens was inspired by De Gheyn's print.

The story of Daniel in the lions' den was rarely depicted in political prints of the time. The only known example is a small piece of marginalia within Theodoor de Bray's engraving *Willem of Orange Kneels Before Christ*, ca. 1580 (Figure 75).[150] In this print, the subject of Daniel is used as a metaphor for Prince Philips Willem of Orange, Willem's son, who was captured in 1568 by Spanish forces and raised as a Catholic in the court of Philip II. In effect, he was a Protestant "Daniel" forced to live in a den of Catholic "lions." The print shows Daniel's release from the den, perhaps reflecting the hope that Philips Willem would one day be released from Spain. It was not until 1596, sixteen years after the publication of this print, that he was able to return to the Netherlands. The engraving also reflects the solemn hope that God will bring peace to the world. As the inscription on the bottom right states:

> *Den Paus, den Coninck, heur ondersaten mede*
> *Bidden Godt almachtich om peijs en vrede.*
> *Mijn heer de Princhе al een geode voorspraeck*
> *Bidt God tom verlost te sijn van ergernis en wraeck*
> *Want d'misbruijck soo groot is deur onse sonden,*
> *Dat wij gheplaecht worden tot alle stonden.*
>
> [The Pope [Gregory XIII], the King [Philip II], together with their subordinates,
> Pray to God Almighty for peace.
> My lord the Prince [Willem of Orange], as a good intercessor,
> Prays to God for deliverance from offence and revenge
> For the abuse is so great because of our sins,
> That we are tormented at all times.][151]

Just as Daniel's faith in God ensured his survival in the lions' den, Willem of Orange's prayer to Christ would help rid the world of sin.

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[150] Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 90.
[151] Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 90.

Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*: A Political Allegory

The political character of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, in fact, is not to be found in the explicit connections to prints and woodcuts containing the biblical narrative, but in the very essence of Rubens' compositional arrangement and structure. To begin with, the very fact that Rubens used ten lions could be indicative of the political underpinnings for the painting. Ten is the number of provinces within the Southern Netherlands at the time of the Twelve Years' Truce. These ten provinces are inscribed within the roundel next to the *Leo Belgicus* in Claes Jansz Visscher's 1611 "*Bestandskaart*" (Truce Map) (Figure 65). The heraldic shields of each province are also depicted and labeled in Latin in abbreviated form on the top of the map.[152]

[152] The seven northern provinces are:

> *Du. Geldria* (Gelderland), *Co. Hollandia* (Holland), C*om. Zelandia* (Zeeland), *Domini Frisia* (Friesland), *Dom. Ultraiecti* (Utrecht), *Transisalania* (Overijssel), *Domi Groninga* (Groningen).

The ten southern provinces are:

> *D. Brabantia* (Brabant), *D. Limburg* (Limburg), *D. Lutsenburg* (Luxemburg), *Com Flandria* (Flanders), *Com Artesia* (Artois), *Co Hannonia* (Hainaut), *C. Namurcum* (Namur), *Com. Zutsania* (Zutphen County), *Marchiona Sa Im*., (South Brabant), and *Dom Mechlinia* (Mechelen).

It should be noted here too that the names and boundaries of all seventeen provinces slightly shifted throughout various stages of the Eighty Years' War. For example, Michael Aitzinger's 1579 *Leo Belgicus* map (*figure 1*) shows the seventeen provinces as follows:

> *Hollandiam* (Holland), *Zelandiam* (Zeeland), *Flandriam* (Flanders), *Artesiam* (Artois), *Hannoniam* (Hainaut), *Namurcum* (Namur), *Zutphaniam* (Zutphen County), *Brabantiam* (Brabant), *Luxemburgu* (Luxemburg), *Limburgum* (Limburg), *Geldriam* (Gelderland), *Trasjiulana* (Overijssel), *Groningam*

It would have been entirely appropriate for Rubens to have considered each of his ten lions as an allegorical representation of one of the southern provinces. In fact, two lions in the Ghent zoo were given the names of southern provinces, *Flandria* and *Brabantia*.[153] Based on Rubens' preliminary drawings for the composition, it is generally accepted that Rubens studied lions in the zoo and those kept in the royal menagerie.

If these ten lions symbolized for Rubens the ten southern provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, then Rubens could have created *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in part as a political allegory of the Spanish Netherlands during the time of the Twelve Years' Truce. While the lions could have symbolized the southern provinces, the Prophet Daniel likewise could have symbolized the righteous might of the Spanish crown under the aegis of God. According to the biblical accounts of the story[154], Daniel survived the lions' den purely through his faith. As Daniel explained to King Darius, "My God sent his angel and shut the lions' mouths, and they have not hurt me, because I was found blameless

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(Groningen), *Frisiam* (Friesland), *Traiectum*, *Mechlinam* (Mechelen), *Antwerpiam*.

The region of *Traiectum* was later absorbed by Utrecht, while the "province" or city of *Antwerpiam* (Antwerp) at this stage joined the Union of Utrecht and was not part of Habsburg Brabant until 1585. In the later Truce Map, the addition of the province *Marchiona Sa Im*. (South Brabant), the stronghold of the Spanish monarchy that had its citadel in Brussels, shows how this particular region had taken additional prominence and standing as the seat of Habsburg power in the Netherlands. Still, no matter what shift in boundaries or names occurred throughout the Eighty Years' War, the total number of provinces remained the same.

[153] Anne-Marie Logan in collaboration with Michiel C. Plomp, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 168.
[154] The story of Daniel is recounted in three biblical sources: The Old Testament Book of Daniel (Ch. 6), Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (Book 10), and the *Apocrypha* to Daniel (Dan 14: 23-42).

before him."[155] The lions do not harm Daniel, i.e. they restrain their natural ferocity because Daniel is righteously under God's protection. Similarly, the ten southern provinces of the Spanish Netherlands will not harm the Spanish crown because they have the divine right to rule the Netherlands. Thus, the lions are tamed under the aegis of God just as the ten provinces of the Spanish Netherlands are righteously ruled by Spain.

Earlier Depictions of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*

Significantly, Rubens did not have a biblical precedent for putting ten lions in his lions' den. Ten lions do not appear in any of the biblical sources for the story. Neither the Bible nor Josephus specifies the number of lions, although they dwell on how much King Darius suffered the night Daniel was thrown into the den for worshipping God instead of the king. The *Apocrypha* to Daniel has a far more detailed account of the episode, however, according to this narrative there were seven lions in the den. The *Apocrypha* also asserts that King Cyrus, not Darius, punished Daniel for poisoning the sacred serpent Bel. According to this account, Daniel then spent six days imprisoned in the lions' den, and only survived with the aid of the prophet Habakkuk, who brought him food every night with the help of an angel. The differences in this account and Rubens' interpretation of the story indicate that the artist was not influenced by this version of the story.

Just as there was no biblical precedent for ten lions, there was no artistic precedent for ten lions either. The only instance I have found of ten lions in a depiction

[155] Dan 6: 22

of Daniel and the lions' den is on a piece of jewelry, specifically a late sixteenth century enameled pendant (Figure 76) attributed possibly to Erasmus Hornick, now in the Louvre.[156] In this case, the number was probably determined for the purposes of symmetry, with five lions on either side of Daniel.

Symmetry is often found in the depictions of lions in the story of Daniel.[157] A equal number of lions on either side of Daniel bestows balance to the composition, as is seen in Cima da Conegliano's painting in the Ambrosiana (Figure 35),[158] ca. 1500, with one lion on each side, Johan Sadeler's engraving from his prophet series in *Sacrarum Antiquitatem* (Figure 60),[159] dated 1577, with two lions, Jacopo Tintoretto's fresco from the Sala Grandein Scuola di S. Rocco, Venice (Figure 77),[160] ca. 1577-78, with three lions. Such compositional symmetry dates as far back as early Christian catacomb paintings from the Via Latina and the Catacomb of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus (Figure 39), which represents Daniel with flanking lions. The same arrangement is also found in early Christian sarcophagi (Figure 38). Two rampant lions frame Daniel on the capital of

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[156] Erasmus Hornick (early 16th century-1583) was a Flemish goldsmith, first active in Augsburg and Nuremberg. In 1582, he was named imperial goldsmith to Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor. There is no surviving print or drawing of this enameled pendant, however, it is in the same manner as those attributed to him. For more on this artist and a color illustration of this particular pendant, see: Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Renaissance Jewelry* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd, 1979), 156-157 (Plate XIII).

[157] Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien* (Vol.II: *Iconographie de la Bible,* Part I: *Ancien Testament*) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 403.

[158] Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and their Work with the Index of Places* (Venetian School: Vol.1) (New York: Phaidon Press, 1957), illus., .104S1.

[159] Isabelle de Raimaix, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (70: Part 1(Supplement)) (New York: Abaris Books, 2003), illus., 068.

[160] André Chastel, *The Crisis of the Renaissance (1520-1600*), trans. Peter Price (Geneva: Skira, 1968), 121.

a column from Moissac Cloister (Figure 78) and four lions surround Daniel within a capital from La Madeleine, Vezelay (Figure 79).

As previously mentioned, the *Apocrypha* explicitly states there were seven lions in the den, a number some artists followed, as in a sixteenth century German drawing in the National Gallery of Art (Figure 80).[161] Many artists opted for some degree of textual accuracy when depicting this dramatic episode, even if the text came from a non-canonical source. Martin van Heemskerk also included seven lions in his 1565 engraving (Figure 29),[162] as did Johannes Sadeler (Figure 30). [163] In both of these examples, moreover, the artists depicted the prophet Habakkuk bringing food to Daniel. Although Rubens likely knew these prints, he did not adapt any compositional elements from them. Another image of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* that had no discernable impact on Rubens' design was a fresco painted in 1600 in the *Sala di Daniele* in the Lateran Palace (figure 59).[164]

Another approach to depicting the scene that Rubens clearly rejected was to fill the composition with a plethora of lions, often as many as space permitted. In Tobias

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[161] 1943.3.1619.a (Rosenwald Collection)

[162] The drawing for this engraving is illustrated in: Wolfgang Stechow, "Heemskerk, The Old Testament, and Goethe," *Master Drawings,* Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 1964): 91.
For the Heemskerk engraving see: Ger Luijten, ed., *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Maarten van Heemskerk* (Part I) (Roosendaal: Koninklijke, 1993), illust., 233/1.
This print is later copied by Philips Galle, see: Manfred Sellink, ed., *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Philips Galle* (Part I) (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2001), illust., 100/1.

[163] Isabelle de Raimaix, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (70: Part 4 (Supplement)) (New York: Abaris Books, 2003), illus., 068.

[164] Carlo Pietrangeli, ed. *Il Palazzo Apostolico Lateranense* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1991), 264.

Stimmer's woodcut for the 1574 and 1578 editions of Josephus (figure 28)[165] four lions completely fill the space around Daniel, while a similar woodcut by the artist also has four (figure 27).[166] Three lions are squeezed within a lunette in Cristoforo Roncalli's (ca. 1602) fresco for the Clementine Chapel in St. Peter's (Figure 81), the mother church of the Catholic faith.[167] Rubens could have studied this newly decorated chapel in Rome, but much like the frescoes for the Lateran Palace, there is no resonance of this work in Rubens' canvas. Giovanni dei Vecchi's 1562 fresco (Figure 82) for the Sala Degli Angeli in the Palazzo Farnese contains four felines despite the inclusion of the prophet Habakkuk.[168]

Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder: Potential Collaborations in Rubens' Studio

One extreme example of an artist filling his *Daniel in the Lions' Den* with lions is Jan Brueghel the Elder, who painted the scene in 1610 painting for Cardinal Federico Borromeo (Figure 36).[169] He included sixteen lions in his cavernous den, but, in the

[165] British Museum: 1927, 0430.33
[166] Rubens copied Stimmer's biblical woodcuts during his childhood, so he took note of his predecessor's composition. Julius Held noted this similarity, but the comparison is marginal at best. See: R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part III) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 190 (fig 137).
[167] Chandler W. Kirwin, "A Petrine triumph: the decorations of the navi piccolo in San Pietro under Clement VIII," *Storia dell' Arte* 21 (May-Aug 1974): 119-170.
[168] André Chastel, *The Crisis of the Renaissance (1520-1600*), trans. Peter Price (Geneva: Skira, 1968).
[169] This painting is in the collection of the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. For color illustration see: Arianne Faber Kolb, *Jan Brueghel the Elder: The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 70 (figure 68).

process, he ran out of medieval bestiary pattern book prototypes of ferocious lions.[170] He then added two tigers, two leopards, and three domestic cats—two climbing the walls and one licking his paw. This commission of Brueghel's painting is documented by surviving letters between Brueghel and Borromeo dating as early as May 14, 1609.[171] In 1964, a year before the National Gallery of Art acquired the Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, Julius Held compared Brueghel's and Rubens' paintings in a letter to Bill Davidson (from Knoedler Art Galleries):

> "Brueghel's painting…is the typical work of a man fascinated with details, but lacking imagination and force. His awkward little Daniel, his funny toy-animals, his rather dull assembly of a curious crowd, and the highly improbable staging of the whole event strike the modern beholder as something irresistibly ludicrous. Though produced with great industry it fails to do justice to the drama inherent in the story.
>
> Examined in the light of such a "fore-runner" the very grandeur of Rubens' work comes through with terrific impact. Instead of looking down from a birds-eye perspective, the beholder is taken right into the den of the wild animals. Studied, as they were, from life, they convince us of their latent ferocity and potential dangerousness. There are fewer of them but they are indeed powerful creatures."[172]

Brueghel, Rubens' "fore-runner," also had little impact on Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

It appears that Rubens later had a greater influence on Brueghel when Brueghel painted *The Garden of Eden* (Figure 57), 1612, in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome. This painting predates Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, but it postdates Rubens' lion

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[170] Brueghel's lions bear a similarity to lions depicted in Jacopo Bellini's drawing book (Figure 83), from a lost late fourteenth century model book. See: Albert J. Elen, *Italian Late Medieval and Renaissance Drawing-Books from Giovannino de Grassi to Palma Giovane: A codicological approach* (Utrecht: Drukkerij Elinkwijk, 1995), 168-172, 516.
[171] Letter from National Gallery of Art, Curatorial Records (May 29, 1964 Julius Held to Bill Davidson, Knoedler Art Galleries)
[172] *ibid*

drawings (Chapter 1: Figures 3-5), which Rubens used to model his painting. Scholars generally date these Rubens drawings to shortly after his return from Italy in 1609, thus making it more plausible that Rubens allowed Brueghel to adapt his drawings of the lions for *The Garden of Eden*. That Brueghel often collaborated with Rubens during this time period gives further credence to this theory. Furthermore, Arnout Balis observed that Brueghel's depiction of the lioness in *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (Figure 84), 1613—which has the same lioness as in *The Garden of Eden* (Figure 85), 1612—is closer to Rubens' drawing of a lioness in the British Museum than to Rubens' painting.[173] In both Rubens' drawing and Brueghel's lioness, the lioness's left hind paw pivots more to the right than the lioness's paw in Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Therefore, Rubens' drawings of lions inspired Brueghel and not visa versa. Even as late as 1617, in the painting *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (Figure 86),[174] which was a collaborative work between both masters, Brueghel modeled the one lonely lion in the background after Rubens' drawing of a *Lion Standing Facing Left* (Figure 5), ca. 1613, in the National Gallery of Art. As Arthur Wheelock aptly concluded about Brueghel's use of Rubens' lion drawings, "Brueghel clearly needed help with depicting lions."[175]

According to a 1632 inventory of the art collection of the Milanese senator, Luigi Malzi, Rubens and Brueghel also collaborated on an alternate version of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in 1617 (Figure 87). The small panel, measuring 39 x 60 cm, stayed in the

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[173] Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171 (See: footnote 38).
[174] Anne T. Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, *Rubens & Brueghel: A Working Friendship* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006), 65.
[175] Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171 (See: footnote 38).

Malzi family collection until 1835.[176] The painting is inscribed "*P. Paulus R*" between Daniel's legs and "*Brueghel fecit Antwerpen Anno 1617*" at the far left. The poor quality of the work makes it difficult to believe that either master was involved in its execution. Still, the Malzi panel should not be dismissed too quickly. Other versions have appeared at auction and still others belong to museums, suggesting that these paintings may be based on a now lost original.[177] The poses of a number of lions in the composition are the same as in Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. The only major difference between them is that the two lions in the back guard a prison-like door instead of blissfully sleeping.

Allegory of Sight (Figure 89 and 90), a collaborative work between Rubens and Brueghel, signed and dated 1617, offers an exciting range of possibilities for interpreting the early provenance and dating of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. This painting depicts an elaborate *kunstkammer* with a smaller version of *Daniel* in the upper left hand corner of the composition. Scholars typically refer to the *Allegory of Sight,* dated 1617, when proposing an earlier date for Rubens' *Daniel* than when the artist first offered it in April 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador to The Hague. However, Arthur Wheelock suggests that *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the *Allegory of Sight*'s

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[176] "*Il capolavoro di una collezione milanese del secolo XVII',* Aevum, CLVI, 1972, pp. 123-126, fig.1. [See: R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part III) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 191.]

[177] A version was sold 26/27 April, 1954 to the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussel (Witt Image Collections and Louvre Image Collections). Another copy on panel, measuring 44.8 x 64.1 cm., sold at Christie's (Old Master Pictures: Friday 27 February 2004) (See: Figure 88). Another variant, with Daniel's posture modeled after the National Gallery of Art painting, recently sold at Palais Dorotheum on December 10, 2014, Lot. No. 210. [See: "Circle of Peter Paul Rubens, Daniel in the Lions' Den," Palais Dorotheum, accessed January 6, 2015, http://www.dorotheum.com/en/dorotheum.html.]

painting is a variant of the painting at the National Gallery of Art. According to Wheelock, *Allegory of Sight* should not be used to date the Washington *Daniel* to 1617. He postulates instead that Rubens executed it ca. 1614-1616, when he was focusing on the sculptural effects of his figures. For this earlier date, he compares the painting to Rubens' *Saint Sebastian*, ca. 1614, in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, where both biblical figures are based on the ancient portrait bust of the *Dying Alexander*.[178] Jeremy Wood takes the earlier Brueghel paintings as clues for an even earlier starting date of 1612, closer to the *Garden of Eden* (Figure 85), 1612 and *Noah's Ark* (figure 84), 1613, and boldly concludes, "…it may be that this arguably unattractive and slightly odd painting took some time to sell."[179] Both his and Wheelock's observations suggest that Rubens had the painting in his studio for a considerable amount of time before he entered into negotiations with Dudley Carleton in 1618.

***Daniel in the Lions' Den*: A Commissioned Painting or Studio Showpiece**

Considering the immense size of the canvas, it seems likely that Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was a commissioned work. Certainly it is very unusual for an artist, even one as successful as Rubens, to have done something so large on spec.[180]

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[178] Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171.
[179] Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations From Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Artists Working in Central Italy and France) (Vol. 1) (New York: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2011), 422.
[180] On rare occasion, Rubens could have sold a large canvas on spec. For example, in 1611, he sold to Charles III de Croÿ, the Duke of Aerschot (1560-1612), *Juno and Argos*, a large canvas measuring 249 x 296 cm., dated ca. 1610, now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. Rubens referred to the sale in his letter dated May 11, 1611 to Jacob

Nevertheless, there is no documentation regarding such a commission. The first mention of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* is in Rubens' letter to Dudley Carleton on April 28, 1618, in which the artist lists it among eleven other works in his studio that he had available to exchange for Carleton's collection of antique sculptures. Rubens explained to Carleton:

> "*Io mi ritrove al presente fior di riobba in casa, particulate alcuni quandri che ho tenuti per gusto mio ansi ricompratone alcuni più di quello li aveva venduti ad altri, ma il tutto sarà al servitor di V.E*."
>
> ["I have at present in my house the very flower of my pictorial stock, particularly some pictures I have retained for my own enjoyment, nay, I have repurchased for more than I had sold them to others, but the whole shall be at the service of Y.E."][181]

Perhaps, Rubens kept *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in his studio for a few years for his "own enjoyment," instead of for the reason Jeremy Woods asserts regarding its supposed "unattractive and slightly odd" qualities. It would not have been impractical for Rubens to keep it, since it both would have made an excellent showpiece for prospective clients and could have served as a model for both pupils and artists working in his studio. Considering Brueghel's adaptation of Rubens' lion drawings for his own paintings, and the various Rubens studio works related to the Malzi panel (Figure 87), it is possible that Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* could have had served a similar use.[182]

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de Bie, the agent of the Duke of Aerschot: "I believe that you will not be offended if I take an opportunity that has presented itself to sell at a reasonable profit my picture of Juno and Argos." [See: Ruth Saunders Magurn trans. and ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 55.] Of course, it is also plausible that *Juno and Argos* had been a failed commission for an early patron, thus putting it in the same category as *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

[181] William Hoockham Carpenter, ed., *Pictorial Notices: Consisting of the Memoirs of Sir Anthony van Dyck...* (London: James Carpenter, Old Bond Street, 1844), 140-141.

[182] Other copies of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* circulated after the artist sold the painting to Carleton in 1618, which further attests to the popularity of Rubens' painting. Willem van der Leeuw (ca. 1603-1665), a Flemish printmaker who trained under Pieter

The Appeal of Rubens' Lions' to His Spanish Patrons:

Dudley Carleton was not the only notable patron to acquire a *Daniel in the Lions' Den* by Rubens. Interestingly, a smaller version of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* belonged to the collection of Don Diego Mexia (1580-1655), the Marquis of Leganés. Leganés certainly was a patron worthy of Rubens' full attention, not to mention a major figure in the world of Spanish politics. He received his noble title in 1627 and began his service in the army of Flanders as early as 1600. He travelled back and forth between Spain and the Archducal Court throughout the 1620s. From March 1628 to February 1630, he served as president of the Council of the Netherlands in Madrid.[183] According to Leganés' 1642 inventory, he owned *Daniel*, "*un Daniel en el lago con los leones y el en medio orando de mano de Rubens de dos baras de ancho y poco mas de una de alto*."[184] It is unclear when Leganés acquired it or how close his version compares to the

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Soutman, also a pupil of Rubens, made an engraving after Rubens' painting (Figure 91). This print is undated, but likely modeled after a Rubens' studio *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, such as the panel sold at the Palais Dorotheum. (See Footnote #177) Both this studio painting and the Van der Leeuw print are missing the barren tree on the horizon above the opening to the den. [This barren tree is an important iconographic element to the National Gallery painting and is discussed in Chapter 3 on The Prophet Daniel.] Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), a Bohemian printmaker who worked for Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646) in London from 1636-1642, made a print after six lions in Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, then in the collection of Charles I (Figure 92). There is also a painting of a lions' den (Figure 93) attributed to a studio of Paul de Vos (1595-1678), a follower of Frans Snyders, which suggests that other artists had access to later variants of Rubens' composition. [See: "Follower of Paul de Vos, The Lions Den," Artnet, accessed January 6, 2015, http://www.artnet.com.]

[183] Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 93-97.

[184] M Crawford Volk, "New Light on a 17th Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés," *Art Bulletin* LXII (1980): 267, accessed January 7, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3049993.

Washington canvas, since Leganés' painting is lost.[185] Likely, Rubens would not have provided such an esteemed a patron a second-rate version, especially when the artist referred to him in a letter dating to 1628 as the "greatest connoisseur of painting in the world."[186] Leganés also commissioned his portrait from Rubens, likely completed in 1627 when he was named Marquis of Leganés, as well as Rubens' *The Immaculate Conception*, ca. 1628, now in the Prado, which he later gave to Philip IV.[187] In fact, according to the Marquis' 1655 inventory, he owned at a minimum thirty paintings by Rubens.[188]

Leganés had a predilection for Rubens' lions. According to the Marquis' 1655 inventory, he also owned Rubens' *Samson Breaking the Jaws of the Lion* (Figure 94), ca. 1628.[189] This work was not mentioned in his earlier inventory of his estate, indicating that he acquired it sometime after 1642. It was likely a gift from Philip IV who had previously commissioned the painting, including seven others by Rubens, for the Royal Palace in Madrid. Rubens likely brought these paintings with him when travelled to Spain in 1628.[190] Another copy of Rubens' *Samson and the Lion* also was recorded in

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[185] Leganés painting was recorded to be two *varas* (yards) wide and about one *vara* high. So, it was considerably smaller than the painting at the National Gallery of Art. [See: R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part III) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 191.] Perhaps this painting due to its small size bears a similarity to the *Daniel in the Lions' Den* depicted in *Allegory of Sight* (Figure 89 and 90).

[186] Rubens' letter to Pierre Dupuy, January 27, 1628. [See: Ruth Saunders Magurn trans. and ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 234]

[187] Logan, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings*, 231-233.

[188] *ibid*

[189] R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part III), 96-99.

[190] *ibid*

Coudenberg Palace in 1643, suggesting that the subject appealed to Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, and perhaps even to the Archduchess Isabella, who died in 1633.[191]

Rubens' Spanish patrons would have appreciated this painting for more than its biblical significance. As early as 1631, Adriaen Waterloos adapted Rubens' composition, likely from a now lost oil sketch, for a medal (Figure 95) commemorating the Spanish victory over the Dutch navy off the coast of Brazil that same year. The obverse shows King Philip IV as the Catholic King of Spain. The reverse depicts Samson extracting honey from the jaws of a lion with the Latin inscription adapted from Judges 14:8: "DVLCIA SIC MERVIT" ("He Earned Sweets Thus"). Philip IV is portrayed as a "second Samson" who is taking the sweet sugar honeycomb of Brazil from the mouth of the enemy, i.e. the Dutch lion.[192] Once again, it is interesting to see how the Spanish Hapsburgs appropriated the *Leo Belgicus* to express their righteous domination of the Netherland. While in the earlier print (ca. 1599-1600) based on a design by J. Sadeler *De Nederlandse leeuw* (Figure 71), the Hapsburg Eagle protects the *Leo Belgicus* from harm, later in this ca. 1631 medal (Figure 95), Philip IV expresses the might of Samson who defeats the rebel Dutch lion.

Later Adaptations of Rubens' Lions from Rubens' Studio:

Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669), an artist who likely collaborated with Rubens on the Marie de Medici, ca. 1625, also effectively used Rubens' lions as part of

[191] R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament,* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part III), 96-98.
[192] R.-A. D'Hulst and M. Vandenven, *Rubens: The Old Testament,* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard: Part III), 98.

political allegories.[193] Van Thulden was first introduced in the 1630s and early 1640s to the political implications of lions in Rubens' studio. In April 1635, he collaborated with Rubens in the designs for the Triumphal Entry into Antwerp of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain (1609-1641), the new governor of the Spanish Netherlands. He then helped commemorate the event in a series of engravings after Rubens' designs in J. C. Gevartius' *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, 1642. The title page depicts a lion, personifying the Spanish Netherlands, sitting at the feet of Ferdinand as he receives the baton of authority from Phillip IV (figure 96). The *Welcome Stage* (Figure 97), moreover, shows the lion sitting at the feet of the personification of Antwerp as Ferdinand enters the city.[194]

Furthermore, Theodoor van Thulden's allegorical use of lions appears in his work for the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch, ca. 1648-1652. Commissioned by Amalia von Solms, the wife of the late Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), Prince of Orange, Van Thulden reshuffled Rubens' pride of lions into his painting *The Presentation of the Stadhoudership of the Seven Provinces* (Figure 98), 1651.[195] Van Thulden's composition, however, is the complete reversal of the allegorical associations in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*: his lions represent the provinces of the Dutch Republic instead of the lion of the Spanish Netherlands. The Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), Prince of

[193] Van Thulden's presence in Rubens' studio at this date, ca. 1625, cannot be verified. However, the similarity between Rubens' *Marie de Medici Cycle* and Van Thulden's painting in 1651 for the Huis ten Bosch, discussed above, suggest that Van Thulden likely collaborated with Rubens at this earlier date.
[194] Ulrich Heinen, "Rubens' Pictorial Diplomacy at War (1637/1638)," in *Rubens and the Netherlands* (Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art 2004: Vol. 55) (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2006), 212-213.
[195] Michael Jaffé, "Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Paintings," *Studies in the History of Art* Vol.3 (1970): 19.

Orange appears as a Roman general triumphantly riding in on horseback to greet his fellow citizens. To his right, a young woman personifying the Dutch Republic kneels before him and gracefully hands the Stadhouder the baton of authority. Behind her, nine putti playfully flutter about holding in their hands the heraldic shields of all seven provinces of the Dutch Republic. Completing this political allegory, Van Thulden included seven lions to surround and protect the young woman personifying the Dutch Republic. No doubt these seven lions personify the seven Dutch provinces. What is even more striking about these lions is that they are all derived from Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

Theodore van Thulden could not have seen the original canvas since by this date the painting was in the collection of Charles I.[196] He may have seen a copy of the painting in Rubens' house when he worked on the Triumphal Entry of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand.[197] At the very least, he would have seen the master's drawings of lions, such as the ones in the British Museum and in the National Gallery of Art,[198] or he may have studied the version of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* illustrated in *Allegory of Sight,* (Figure 89). Further suggesting the extent of Van Thulden's access to Rubens' feline studies, a series of lion figure sketches (Figure 99)[199] after Rubens show eight lions derived from *Daniel* and two lions from the *Meeting of Henry IV and Marie de Medici at Lyon* (Figure 100) in the Marie de Medici Cycle. It is somewhat surprising that Van Thulden did not chose one or two of the lions from the Marie de Medici Cycle when he was designing his

[196] The history of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the collection of Sit Dudley Carleton and King Charles I is discussed in Part 2 of this dissertation.
[197] Refer to Footnote #59 for possible print and painting sources Van Thulden could have used to complete this painting.
[198] Discussed in Chapter 1.
[199] Vienna, Albertina, 8312.

painting for the Oranjezaal. Perhaps then he saw these lions as the personification of Lyon, while those from *Daniel in the Lions' Den* as the embodiment of the *Leo Belgicus*. While Rubens chose to depict ten lions in the time of the Twelve Years' Truce when the ten southern provinces were separated from seven rebellious provinces in the north, thirty years later Theodore van Thulden depicted the seven fierce and proud lions of the Dutch Republic.

Part 2:

Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den*: The Exchange of A Royal Gift

Introduction:

During the seventeenth century, Peter Paul Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was a highly valued art commodity in the English court. On April 28, 1618, it was first mentioned among a list of paintings that the artist offered to Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632), English Ambassador to The Hague, in exchange for a collection of antique sculptures in the ambassador's possession. Carleton gladly accepted the canvas, which Rubens described as "*Daniel fra molti Leoni cavati dal natural, Originale tutto di mano*" ["Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from life; Original, the whole by my hand."].[200] Carleton, however, had very little desire to keep the painting in his own collection. On September 1, 1618, just two months after Rubens sent the canvas to him along with seven other works from his studio, Carleton offered these paintings, including Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den,* to the King of Denmark, Christian IV.[201] The Danish King refused the offer, but a few years later, sometime after Carleton returned to London in 1625 and before his death in 1632, Carleton gave *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to Charles I. Abraham van der Doort's inventory of Whitehall, ca. 1639, describes Rubens' painting in the following manner:

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[200] William Hoockham Carpenter, ed., *Pictorial Notices: Consisting of the Memoirs of Sir Anthony van Dyck...* (London: James Carpenter, Old Bond Street, 1844), 142-143.
[201] W. Noël Sainsbury, ed., *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir. Peter Paul Rubens, As An Artist and Diplomatist* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859), 45-47.

> Done by Sir Peeter Paule Rubins.
>
> Item a peece, of danniell In the Lyons den with som lyons aboute him Given by the deceased Lord dorchesterr to ju M Soe bigg as the life. In a black guilded frame.[202]

At this date, the *Daniel* was in the palace's Bear Gallery next to another masterpiece by the artist, *Peace and War*. Rubens had presented this later painting to the king during the artist's diplomatic visit to London from May 1629 to March 1630. These two grand and majestic canvases must have been the major focal point for any visitor to the Bear Gallery, and likely even Charles I wished to view them as pendants.[203] These two paintings by Rubens were the only large narrative subjects in the gallery. [204] The king, however, did not keep the *Daniel* with its new pendant for long. By 1643, he had presented it to James Hamilton-Douglas, 1st Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649), a favorite courtier and officer to the crown during the English Civil War.

Part 2 of this dissertation explores why this lively and majestic composition rapidly changed hands in the English Court during the early seventeenth century. Each owner used this painting for more than its inherent aesthetic and monetary value. This painting gave Dudley Carleton a means to ingratiate himself with his king and to promote his political career. Charles I, on the other hand, interpreted *Daniel in the Lions' Den* as a political allegory that reinforced his right of divine rule and this gave the painting

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[202] Oliver Millar, ed. The Thirty-Seventh Volume of the Walpole Society (1958-1960). *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*. (Glasgow: The University Press, 1960), 4.

[203] The other works catalogued by Van der Doort in the Bear Gallery consist of state portraits and smaller portraits and history subjects above the entrance and exit doors. (See: Appendix of Van der Doort, 2-4)

[204] *Daniel in the Lions' Den* measures 224.2 cm x 330.5 cm, and *Peace and War* measures 203.5 cm x 298 cm.

prominence in the Bear Gallery. For James Hamilton, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was a regal subject fit for one of Charles I's favorite courtiers and close cousins. Thus, both the giving and receiving of this painting reveal the value that each of these men bestowed upon it, and also provide insight into the character of Stuart court politics and art connoisseurship.

Chapter 4*: Dudley Carleton*—The First Owner of Daniel in the Lions' Den

Carleton's Early Career

Dudley Carleton (1574-1632) was a politician who knew how to ingratiate himself carefully and artfully in the Stuart Court. [205] As a child of lesser gentry and of limited financial means, Carleton first worked his way through the ranks of power. From 1598 to 1602, he served as the secretary to the governor of Ostend, Edward Norris (ca. 1550-1603). He then returned to London and served for one year as the secretary to Sir Thomas Parry (1541-1616), the ambassador to France. In 1603, he became the comptroller to the household of Henry Percy (1564-1632), ninth earl of Northumberland. This advancement promoted his standing at court and led to his election to Parliament in 1604. The following year, Carleton was appointed Secretary to Lord Norris and accompanied his lordship's embassy to Spain to ratify the Anglo-Spanish Peace

[205] All major events and dates in Dudley Carleton's life can be verified in: L.J. Reeve, "Carleton, Dudley, Viscount Dorchester (1574-1632)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed December 21, 2014, doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/4670.
Also refer to the biography by Thomas de Longueville, *Policy and Paint or Some Incidents in Lives of Dudley Carleton and Peter Paul Rubens* (London: Londmans, Green and Co., 1913). This source is tremendously useful for piecing together various primary sources relating to both Carleton and Rubens in terms of their mutual interest in diplomacy and art. It is written for a general audience and according to the writer, "This humble work will not aspire to be a biography much less a history; it will be merely an attempt to give a rough idea of lives of the two principal characters and their surroundings" (2).

Treaty.[206] All seemed to be going well for him until his former employer, Henry Percy, was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot to overthrow James I in the fall of 1605.[207]

The background of the plot, and Carleton's connections to it are as follows: In March 1604, Carleton helped Northumberland attain the lease of a house for his cousin Thomas Percy (ca. 1560-1605). Such duties were typical for a comptroller, but in this case this property was adjacent to the vault used to store the gunpowder, and Thomas Percy was one of the Gunpowder Plot co-conspirators. At the time of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in November 1605, Carleton was in Paris because Lord Norris had fallen ill there on his embassy's return journey from Spain. Carleton's extended stay on the Continent and his absence from London at the time of the Gunpowder Plot raised suspicions that he was involved in it. When he returned to London the following month, he was arrested upon his arrival in London on suspicion of treason and brought to the Tower. Fortunately, he had the full support of the Lord Treasurer, Robert Cecil (1563-1612), Earl of Salisbury, who believed in his innocence and made sure the charges were dropped in February 1606. By the end of this same year, Salisbury saw to it that Carleton was given back his seat in Parliament and the young politician bided his time until the king granted him a more prominent public appointment. In 1610, five years after the

[206] The terms of this peace treaty, also called the Treaty of London (1604), are discussed in Chapter 5: *Rubens' Lions in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall*.

[207] The Gunpowder Plot, also call the Gunpowder Treason Plot, was a failed assassination attempt on James I led by Robert Catesby (ca. 1572-1605), an English Catholic. The intended plot was to destroy the House of Lords during the official opening of Parliament on November 5, 1605. The event was foiled when ten days before an anonymous letter sent to William Parker, 4th Baron Monteagle (1575-1622). All of Catesby's co-conspirators, including most famously Guy Fawkes (1570-1606), who was apprehended in the cellars beneath Parliament with 36 barrels of gunpowder, were subsequently arrested and executed.

Gunpowder Plot, Carleton was knighted for his unblemished service to the crown and was appointed ambassador to Venice.

In Venice, Carleton was surrounded by masterpieces of Venetian art, and he quickly grasped that his ambassadorial duties extended beyond the realm of politics. His predecessor, Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), had been an avid art collector and in 1608 bought for the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Salisbury, Palma Giovane's *Prometheus Chained to the Caucasus* (Figure 101).[208] Salisbury gave this painting to Prince Henry, and in so doing helped spark the royal family's interest in Venetian art. As Salisbury was Carleton's chief supporter, it is not surprising that shortly after Carleton arrived in Venice, Salisbury's agent, Sir Walter Cope (ca.1553-1614), wrote to the new ambassador that, " If you meete with any auncient Masterpeeces of paintinge at a reasonable hand, you cannot send a thinge more gracious to the Prince, or to my Lord Treasurer…"[209]

Becoming an art connoisseur on an ambassador's salary was no small task. In fact, English ambassadors during the Jacobean age were notoriously underpaid for their labor. As historian Maurice Lee Jr. aptly explains, "...James's professional diplomatists, (were) a group of overworked and underpaid men who lived comfortless, penurious, tedious, occasionally dangerous lives in their country's service and who often received

[208] Search: "Palma Giovane, Prometheus Chained to the Caucasus, Royal Collection" (RCIN: 406075): http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/406075/prometheus-chained-to-the-caucasus

[209] Letter dated January 26, 1611 (PRO State Papers 14/61/33 Sir Walter Cope to Carleton). [Cited in: Robert Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," in Studies in British Art (12): *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods,* ed. Edward Chaney. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 241.]

meager enough rewards at the end."[210] The financial limitation of Carleton's diplomatic post likely explains why he at first only bought Venetian glassware and small trinkets to send to Cope and other members at court. Small gifts were all he needed to keep his supporters happy and to have an eye for "auncient Masterpeeces of paintinge" does not come naturally to every man. In August 1612, two years after his arrival in Venice, he disdainfully referred to art in a letter to his friend, John Chamberlain,[211] "I shall not often put myself to that labor of courtship, which I find contrary to my genius."[212] Carleton thought of himself first and foremost as a politician rather than an art dealer or connoisseur.

The death of his most trusted friend at court, the Earl of Salisbury, and the subsequent death of Prince Henry, both in 1612, changed Carleton's views on art. With these deaths the balance of power shifted and Carleton needed to make a bigger impression back home. The man Carleton needed to please was the king's favorite, Robert Carr (ca. 1587-1645), Viscount Rochester, later Earl of Somerset. Carr was in desperate need of an art collection to meet the standards at court, and Carleton could no longer afford to be ignorant of "that labor of courtship." With the aid of Daniël Nys (1572-1647), a Flemish art dealer in Venice, and Carleton's personal secretary, Isaac Wake (1580/81-1632), Carleton spent the next two years amassing Venetian paintings

[210] Maurice Lee, Jr., "The Jacobean Diplomatic Service," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (July 1967): 1264, accessed January 13, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1847793

[211] John Chamberlain (1553-1628) was a little known courtier in Stuart England, who maintained a lengthy correspondence with Dudley Carleton during the ambassador's various posts overseas. He also corresponded with Ralph Winwood (1563-1617), who also served as ambassador to the United Provinces and Secretary of State. These letters provide copious insight into the political machinations of the Stuart Court and are invaluable to historians of this time period.

[212] Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent," 241.

and antiquities upon consignment for Carr. In August 1614, Carleton was named Ambassador to the Netherlands and left Nys to finalize this art transaction on his behalf. In April of the following year, this major shipment of fifteen paintings and twenty-nine containers filled with antique sculptures was sent to the king's favorite. Carleton, both ambassador and a newly turned art dealer—or rather, art consigner—then awaited payment from Carr.

However, just as fast as Carr rose, he fell, a scenario all too familiar to Carleton. In September 1613, Carr became an accessory to the murder of Thomas Overbury (1581-1613), his once close friend and former secretary who disapproved of Carr's close relationship with his soon-to-be wife, the divorcée, Francis Howard (1590-1632). It took two years for the details of this scandal to become public knowledge. But as rumors spread, even James I had to distance himself from his favorite. In July 1615, Carr and Howard were arrested and convicted of poisoning Overbury. Even though both were immediately pardoned by the king, they were banished from court and their property was confiscated by the crown. In November 1616, James gave Somerset's entire art collection to Francis Howard's father, Thomas Howard (1561-1626), 2nd Earl of Suffolk, and all of Carleton's efforts to ingratiate himself with Carr were for naught.

Fortunately for Dudley Carleton, the crown did not confiscate his shipment of artworks to Carr. All of the paintings that Carleton sent to Carr were carefully itemized in an inventory made of the "Bowling alley" in the Earl of Somerset's lodgings at Whitehall on January 18, 1615. By this time, Carleton had already moved to The Hague and in addition to diplomatic duties, he now needed to recoup his financial losses from his unsold Somerset shipment, which remained in the Earl of Somerset's lodgings.

Carleton sold twelve of the Venetian paintings to Thomas Howard (1585-1646), Earl of Arundel, and the other three paintings went to Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby (1573-1643), another budding collector at court who had just recently been appointed keeper of St. James's Palace, the official residence of the Prince of Wales.[213] He managed to recoup £232 from the sale, but he still owed Nys £325 for the paintings as well as an additional £500 for the antiquities.[214]

The 1618 Rubens Exchange

Good news came to Carleton in March 1618 when Peter Paul Rubens wrote him a letter inquiring whether he could purchase this collection of antique sculptures. Two years earlier, Carleton had acquired from Rubens a version of his *Wolf and Fox Hunt* (Figure 102)[215] in exchange for a diamond chain worth £50 sterling.[216] So not only was Carleton familiar with the artist's hand, but Rubens also familiar with the ambassador's sense of fair trade.[217] On April 28th, Rubens followed up with a second letter to Carleton

[213] Danvers was appointed to keeper of St. James's Palace on June 15, 1613. For more on Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby, see: J.J.N. McGurk, "Danvers, earl of Danby (1573-1644)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed December 23, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7133
[214] Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent," 248.
[215] Arnout Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes (Vol. II),* trans. P.S. Falla (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986),105-107.
[216] Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes (Vol. II),* 98.
[217] Carleton's interest as an art collector remained limited when he took up residence at The Hague. In general, he was more concerned with acquiring art at a cheap price than the quality of the work. Furthermore, he relied on the judgment of his art agents such has Toby Matthew and George Gage to access the quality of the paintings he acquired for himself or for other art collectors in London. For more on Carleton's limited interests in art collecting, see: Robert Hill and Susan Bracken, "The ambassador and the artist: Sir

after the artist's agent Francis Pieterssen de Grebbel viewed the antique sculptures at the ambassador's residence in The Hague. This time, instead of exchanging art for diamonds, Rubens would give him "the very flower of my pictorial stock"[218] that was available in his studio. He diligently provided the ambassador with a complete list of paintings with their respective sizes and monetary value. This letter was the first time Rubens mentioned his "600 florins Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from life; Original, the whole by my hand".[219]

Daniel in the Lions' Den was a valuable commodity within this art exchange—both men wanted to get their money's worth. Rubens explained to Carleton, "Y.E. may be well assured I shall put prices on my pictures such as I should do were I treating for their sale in ready money, and in this I beg you will be pleased to confide on the word of an honest man."[220] Carleton at first only accepted paintings completed entirely by the artist's hand, not trusting those completed by Rubens' studio or retouched by the artist. He also turned down Rubens' *Crucifixion*, stating, "…I find that the Crucifixion is too large for these low buildings and those also in England…" It was all a matter of practicality and fair trade. Carleton tallied up the paintings and found Rubens' offer wanting. He replied on May 7:

Dudley Carleton's relationship with Peter Paul Rubens: connoisseurship and art collecting at the court of the early Stuarts," *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 26 no. 2 (2014): 171-191, accessed December 26, 2014, doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhto42.

[218] "*fior di robba in cassa*" [William Hoockham Carpenter, ed., *Pictorial Notices: Consisting of the Memoirs of Sir Anthony van Dyck...* (London: James Carpenter, Old Bond Street, 1844), 140-141.]

[219] "*Daniel fra molti Leoni cavati dal natural, Originale tutto di mano*" (Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices,* 142-143.)

[220] "*S' assicuri pur V.E. chio li metterò i prezzi delle mie pitture a punto come se si trattasse da venderle in denari contanti et di questo la supplico sia servita di fidarsi nella parolla di un huomo da bene."* (Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices,* 140-141.)

> "Now to adjust our account and to shorten the business, the number of pictures by your hand not sufficing, the whole of which (i.e. the Prometheus, the Daniel, the Leda, the Crucifixion, St. Peter, and St. Sebastian) do not come to the price…3500 florins…"[221]

Carleton then inquired whether Rubens could provide him with some tapestries to even the accounts. Rubens agreed, but the artist still wanted some of his studio paintings to be part of the bargain, remarking in his letter dated May 12th, "Y.E. must not think that the others are mere copies, but so well retouched by my hand that with difficulty they would be distinguished from originals, notwithstanding which they are put down at a much lower price…"[222]

When the bartering was over, Rubens sent to Carleton, according to a letter dated June 1st 1618, an additional two thousand florins, all the paintings listed above by the artist's hand (excluding the too large *Crucifixion*), *The Leopards*, his retouched studio paintings of a *Lion Hunt*, *Susanna and the Elders*, and a small panel depicting *Sara and Hagar*, as well as a set of his Scipio tapestries.[223]

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[221] *"Or per adguistar nostro conto et abbreviar it negotio, non bastando il numero de quandri di man sua li quali tutti (cioè il Prometheo, Daniel, li Leopardi, la Leda, il Crucifisso, St Pietro et San Sebastian) non avanzano il pretio...3500 fiorini.."* (Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices*, 146-147.)

[222] *"...pur non pensi V.E. che le alter siano copie semplici ma si ben ritocce de mia mano che difficilmente si distinguerebbono dalli originali ciô non ostante sono tassate de prezzo assai minore."* (Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices*, 148-149.)

[223] Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices*, 166-167.

Carleton's Diplomatic "Gift" to the King of Denmark:

Carleton was not in the Netherlands when Rubens' shipment of paintings and tapestries arrived at his residence in The Hague. Just two days earlier, on May 30, 1618, he had arrived in London in order to take his "annual leave," or as he more appropriately phrased it in his letter to Secretary Naunton, "…his repair to England for a short time in regard of his health…"[224] He stayed in England for a little over two months, and was back in the Netherlands to resume his ambassadorial duties in The Hague by August 19. Less than two weeks later, according to a letter dated September 1, 1618, Carleton offered Christian IV (1577-1648), King of Denmark, the opportunity to purchase all eight of the Rubens paintings he had just acquired, including *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.[225] In addition to these paintings, he also offered Christian IV other paintings in his possession, including the *Wolf and Fox Hunt* which he acquired earlier from Rubens, and three paintings by Tintoretto: *The Rape of Proserpine*, *The Contention of Mars and Apollo concerning Music*, and *The History of Jupiter and Semele*. Such a large offer from the English Ambassador to the King of Denmark surely had political motive attached to it. Otherwise, why would Carleton have decided to sell all his recently acquired Rubens

[224] Letter dated April 25, 1618. [See: Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, *The Letter From and To Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. During His Embassy in Holland from January 1615/16, to December 1620. (The Third Edition. With an Historical Preface)* (London: 1780) (Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011, Boston Public Library), 288.]
[225] W. Noël Sainsbury. *The Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, As an Artist and a Diplomatist*. (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859), 45-47.

paintings, the very works that the artist himself referred to as "the very flower of my pictorial stock"?[226]

Carleton's desire to sell all these paintings immediately is very much in keeping with his previous sale of Carr's paintings and antique sculptures. For the English Ambassador, art was primarily a commodity with a resale value attached to it. Nevertheless, the political motives behind Carleton's offer to the King of Denmark should not be underestimated. One could even call such a gesture *a gift* of sorts between England and Denmark. Carleton's offer was a "first option" privilege he was granting the King of Denmark as a courtesy. Much in the same manner as auction houses today give their top clients the right to bid on art before a public sale, Carleton was giving the King of Denmark the privilege of "first option" to buy his valuable art collection. The privilege of first option was a gift in itself.

The giving of gifts between kingdoms had been a long-standing since the Middle Ages. According to M. Mauss' seminal anthropological text, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, diplomatic gifts are a means to maintain peace and promote amicable relations.[227] They are an effective way of "oiling the wheels of the administrative machine" between kingdoms or of symbolically representing each respective monarch's power.[228] In general, some equal form of reciprocity is expected from the receiver once a gift is given, but this was not necessarily always the case. According to Seneca's *De Beneficiis*, a popular ancient stoic text rediscovered in the

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[226] "*fior di robba in cassa*" [Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices*, 140-141.]
[227] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: Norton Library, 1967).
[228] Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch, eds., *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts & The Russian Tsars.* (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), 24-29.

sixteenth century, "The logic of the gift is simple: so much is given out. If something is returned it is called gain; if not, there is no loss. I made the gift for the sake of giving."[229] So then, the gesture of giving a gift in itself has an inherent value even if the gift is not reciprocated. It is hard to imagine though that the Senecean ideal of gift giving was upheld in the realm of politics.

Diplomatic gifts could vary from expensive silver plate vessels to exotic animals, jewels, textiles, carriages, musical instruments, and of course—paintings. Often they would bear particular political messages. For example, in 1604 James I sent an elaborate carriage decorated with various Christian triumphs to Czar Boris Godunov to express the hopes of an alliance between England and Russia to fight the Ottoman Empire.[230] No doubt the larger and more elaborate the gift, the greater the hopes of maintaining a political friendship.

Paintings also served a similar purpose within the diplomatic realm of gift giving. Christian IV, the recipient of Carleton's offer, in 1618, later received Rubens' *The Judgment of Solomon*, ca. 1620, as a diplomatic gift from the Marshall of France, Josias Rantzau (1609-1650).[231] Rantzau, who served as Marshall of France beginning in 1645, in all likelihood gave Christian IV this painting by Rubens to give thanks to this

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[229] "*Beneficiorum simplex ratio est: tantum erogatur, si reddet aliquid, lucrum est, si non reddet, damnum non est. Ego illud dedi, ut darem.*" From: Seneca, *Moral Essays*, III, trans. John W. Basore, London, 1935, bk. 1, chap. 2, sec. 3, 10-11. [Cited in: Alexander Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna" *Art Bulletin*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (Dec., 1997): 651, accessed December 23, 2014, http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/3046280.]

[230] Dmitrieva and Murdoch, *Treasures of the Royal Courts*, 26, 162-165.

[231] The inscription on the lower right-hand corner of the painting reads, "Mons: Josias Comte de Ransav. Mar.al. De France me la donne." [For more on this painting see: Steffen Heiberg, ed., *Christian IV and Europe: The 19th Art Exhibition of the Council of Europe: Denmark 1988*. (Denmark: Foundation for Christian IV Year 1988, 1988), 335.]

"Solomon-like" king for being his ally in the Thirty Years' War. Rantzau's gift, differs from Carleton's offer in that it was free: Carleton expected financial compensation for the paintings he offered to Christian IV. Nevertheless, Carleton's offer was a privilege, and in general a privilege is only given to a friend or ally.

Carleton's first option privilege then needs to be examined with respect to diplomatic relations between England and Denmark in 1618. A gift could only be made between allies, and an English Ambassador would only make such an offer if it were in keeping with the diplomatic policies of the time.

Diplomatic relations between England and Denmark featured prominently in Dudley Carleton's letters to James I and his cabinet that same year.[232] According to a letter Carleton addressed to Secretary Lake[233] on February 21, Christian IV's envoy had relayed to the ambassador the following demands:

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[232] The other subject that dominated Carleton's letters to James I's cabinet was the potential meeting of a National Synod in Dordrecht to settle the religious differences posed by the Arminians (followers of the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius, also named "The Remonstrants") in the Dutch Reformed Church. The opposing side, called the "Counter-Remonstrants" supported the doctrine of John Calvin. This famous conference, named the Synod of Dordrecht, convened later that same year on November 13, and ended on May 9, 1619. Dudley Carleton was one of the chief foreign representatives at the synod to oversee its peaceful resolution. The conflict swiftly transformed into a political issue as well. The stadholder, Prince Maurits (1567-1625) backed the views of the "Counter-Remonstrants" as a means to consolidate religious doctrine under one Reformed Church. The "Remonstrants," backed by Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619), the former Land's Advocate of Holland, believed in the rights of each province to determine its own religious doctrine. Such religious freedom on the part of the "Remonstrants" was deemed treasonous by the Synod and was even suspected as being supported by Philip IV of Spain. England backed the policies of the Counter-Remonstrants and its ally, Prince Maurits.

[233] Sir Thomas Lake (bap. 1561-1630) was actually serving as a "defacto" secretary of state. Following the death of the previous secretary of state, Robert Cecil in May 1612, James I thought he could perform the duties of both sovereign and secretary of state. He quickly found himself unable to adequately correspond with his ambassadors. So in December 1612, James I directed Lake, the Latin Secretary, to take on the duty of

> ..one concerning their differences in the Sound; another touching freedom of the trade in the East-Indies; a third about the bishopric of Bremen, to which that king doth pretend for his younger son; all which the states lay by them till the return of the bearer; and mean time they are in deliberation of preparing a solemn embassage into Denmark, to breed better correspondency with that king than hath been of late years.[234]

The majority of the concerns addressed here concern trade issues between seafaring nations. The "Sound," also called the Øresund, is the narrow waterway in between Sweden and Denmark, which provides easy passage between the North and Baltic Seas. Trade in the East Indies and a formation of a Dutch embassy to Denmark "to breed correspondency" is not a surprising issue considering that the Dutch were by this time major rivals in the growing global market. In 1613, the Dutch Republic entered a defensive alliance with Denmark's rivals on the Baltic, Sweden and the Hanseatic League. Further adding insult to injury, Christian IV refused to recognize the independence of the Dutch Republic from the Spain.[235] The third issue concerned the control of the Prince-Archbishopric of Bremen, which Christian IV wished to acquire for his son, Frederick III. Control of this Roman Catholic diocese within the Holy Roman Empire, among others such as Verden, Minden, and Halberstadt, became a hotbed of contention between Protestant and Catholic forces during the Thirty Years' War. Bremen

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corresponding with his agents overseas. For more on James I's treatment of his ambassadors, especially concerning their meager salaries, see: Maurice Lee Jr., "The Jacobean Diplomatic Service," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 72, No. 4 (July 1967): 1264-1282, accessed January 13, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1847793

[234] *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt. During his Embassy in Holland, From January 1615/16 to December 1620*. (Third Edition with an Historical Preface). London, 1780. (Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011, Boston Public Library), 244.

[235] Paul Douglas Lockhart, "Religion and Princely Liberties: Denmark's Intervention in the Thirty Years War, 1618-1625," *The International Historical Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Feb., 1995): 6, accessed January 25, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40106911.

also provided easy access to the North Sea via the Weser River, and so was a strategic trade post for Denmark as well.

Christian IV depended on his Protestant allies for support, and his brother-in-law, James I, married to Christian's sister, Anne of Denmark (1574-1619), was obligated to support him. James I wrote the following letter to Dudley Carleton on March 7:

> Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The king of Denmark, our good brother, hath by sir Andrew Sinclair, an express messenger sent unto us, acquainted us with a purpose he hath to procure the archbishopic of Bremen for the duke Frederic, one of his sons, and that he hath made some progress therein with some of the canon and others to have him chosen coadjutor to the new bishop, and so to be assured of the succession. Opposition hath been made from some of the city, and a pretence, that they shall be backed therein by the states of the United Provinces…yet because you know how much our affection is to our said brother of Denmark, and how dear to us all things are, which do content him or his children, which are so near in blood to us, we have thought good to inform you of his purpose, and of our desire to further it. To which end our pleasure is, that you have attentive eye to any passage, that shall happen in that country concerning that intent of the king of Denmark, and to be diligent in dealing with the ministers of that state, whom you shall think good to deal withal, to prevent any design in the state to put impediment to it.[236]

As ambassador, Carleton was duty-bound to make sure that the political will of his king to secure the Archbishopic of Bremen for his ally "so near in blood" would find no impediment in the United Provinces. The following week, in a letter dated March 18, he reported back to Secretary Lake that the States General has "…a good inclination in favour of the son of Denmark…"[237] On March 27, Secretary Lake wrote the following message for Carleton to convey to the States General, "…they will not cross the suit of the king of Denmark, but use their best means to further it; for that if they shall take any

[236] Dudley Carleton, *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton,* 249.
[237] Dudley Carleton, *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton,* 255.

other way, they will lose that king and his majesty…"[238] (What a veiled threat Carleton had to deliver to the United Provinces!) The Dutch were not necessarily amenable to the demands of Denmark because they were in a defensive alliance with Sweden and the Hanseatic League. So now the precarious alliance between England, Denmark, and the United Provinces found itself in the hands of Dudley Carleton.

Letters between Carleton and James' cabinet concerning Denmark, England and the United Provinces continued through the month of April. Due to the urgency of these matters, Secretary Lake informed Carleton on April 15 that:

> Also his majesty's pleasure is, that from time to time you advertise the king of Denmark of all things, which you shall think fit, especially that may concern himself, no less diligently than if you were his servant; and when any thing is of importance, and of haste more than the sending hither will abide, his majesty will not mistake that you send express to him, or consider of ways how it may come speedily to his hands.[239]

At this point, Carleton was also a "servant" to the King of Denmark. He also saw to it that an embassy of Dutch ambassadors was sent to Denmark:

> ...which (as they said) tend chiefly to the framing of good correspondency betwixt the king of Denmark and this state, and withal to endeavor, as much as lay in them, to draw the king unto the union of the protestant princes; offering for inducement hereunto their intercession in the business of Bremen to procure therein the king's contentment for his son, in case he thought fit to use them therein.[240]

In the same letter, he urged James I to send an English embassy to Denmark to further solidify their alliance. Carleton also heard concerns from the States General that the King of Denmark might be simultaneously scheming to join forces with the Catholic League of Germany and Spain in order to "...put some papist by strong hand in to the archbishopric

[238] Dudley Carleton, *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton,* 257.
[239] Dudley Carleton, *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton,* 266.
[240] *ibid*

of Bremen, to join their forces with those of the king of Denmark, and to withstand all such violence."[241] These concerns proved to be unfounded because the Protestant forces of England, Denmark and the United Provinces remained united in the upcoming years of the Thirty Years' War. In May 1618, the Dutch Republic sent an embassy to Copenhagen, and though the States General and Prince Maurice were unable to reach an agreement with Christian IV, the beginnings of an alliance were established between the two nations.

In November 1619, the following year, Christian IV positioned his troops in the Bremen city of Stade. After the defeat of Protestant forces at the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620, Christian IV took advantage of the concern of his Protestant allies and was then able to negotiate for his son the coadjutorship of the See of Bremen. Finally at this stage in the Thirty Years' War, Denmark and the Dutch Republic put their differences aside to form an anti-Hapsburg coalition with England and the Protestant Princes of northern Europe.[242]

In light of the tenuous and delicate political alliance between England, Denmark, and the Dutch Republic, Carleton's first option offer for his recently acquired, extensive art collection, would have been viewed by Christian IV as another a sign of good-faith. Such a gift from a trusted ally could go a long way in smoothing relations between kingdoms. Sadly, there is no evidence to suggest that the King of Denmark offered to purchase these paintings, since Carleton's correspondence with Christian IV regarding

[241] Dudley Carleton, *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton,* 267.
[242] Lockhart, "Religion and Princely Liberties," 12.

them begins and ends with this same letter.[243] There is also no evidence to suggest that James I offered to buy these paintings from Carleton in order to give them to Christian IV. Nevertheless, this privileged gift of first option from the English Ambassador must still be understood as an extension of English diplomatic policy at a critical time of James I's alliance with Christian IV.

Carleton's Gift to Charles I, King of England:

According to the ca. 1639 Van der Doort inventory, Dudley Carleton gave Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions Den* as a gift to Charles I. Why Carleton presented this particular Rubens painting to the King of England is an intriguing and yet unexplained question. While diplomatic gifts were presented between kingdoms to promote peaceful

[243] The provenance of the identifiable Rubens' paintings leave little room to doubt that these paintings remained in Carleton's possession. *Daniel in the Lions' Den* is well accounted for in the 1639 Van der Doort inventory as a gift from Carleton to Charles I. The *Prometheus Bound*, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is recorded in 1763 in the collection of the Earl of Manchester at Kimbolton Castle. Though not documented in the Royal Collection, it is possible that Carleton gave this painting also to Charles I or kept it in his own possession until his death. [Peter Sutton, *Northern European Paintings in the Philadelphia Museum of Art: From the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 256.] The *Wolf and Fox Hunt* may be the Rubens' studio work now in Corsham Court, Wiltshire [Arnout Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes (Vol. II)*, trans. P.S. Falla (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 99]. The *Lion Hunt* is also recorded in the 19th Century in the English collection of Frederic Hamilton [Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes (Vol. II)*, 123]. The other works are now either lost or their attribution remains in question. For example, the Rubens' studio painting of *The Leopards*, now in storage at the Montreal Museum of Art, was previously identified by Julius Held as the lost painting mentioned in Carleton's collection [See: Julius S. Held, "Rubens's Leopards—a milestone in the portrayal of wild animals. La première oeuvre d'envergure de Rubens au Canada," *M: A Quarterly Review of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* VII/3 (1975): 5-14.]

relations, gifts from courtiers within Stuart England were used to curry favor with the king.

One might conclude that Carleton was eager to sell his Rubens paintings because his "first option" offer to the King of Denmark had not succeeded. However, this seems not to have been the case, for Carleton could have sold Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* as early as 1619 to Lord Danvers, who directly inquired about the painting from Carleton in that year. The circumstances concerned Danvers' desire to exchange Jacopo Bassano's *Creation*, one of the three paintings that he acquired earlier from Carleton, for another work. In a letter dated July 12, Danvers wrote: "I see thear hath bine valew inough sett upon the owld peece, and in exchaynge...I leave to your Lo: choyse and remayne."[244] The following month, Danvers specifically asked for *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. In a letter dated August 7, Danvers informed Carleton:

> Now the picture of the Creation is gone to Ruben, geve me leave to accept against soum such of his works, as ar made to sett at great distance for our roumes ar littell in this cold cuntrye of England, and pleasinge peeces to stand ten fowte hye sutes best with our clime; even such on as your Lo: Daniell with those bewtifull lions in the den would well satisfye my desire, and now I have sayed for that matter.[245]

Danvers was not just any art collector; he was also keeper of St. James' Palace, i.e. the head of the Prince of Wales' household. Carleton, keenly aware of this fact, could read between the lines: Danvers wanted a better painting than his *Creation* by Bassano to give to his patron, Prince Charles. In other words, Carleton's "beautiful lions in the den" would satisfy more than Danvers' personal "desire." Carleton could have sold *Daniel in*

[244] W. Noël Sainsbury, ed., *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir. Peter Paul Rubens, As An Artist and Diplomatist* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859), 48.
[245] Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers,* 49.

the Lions' Den to Danvers, if financial gain were his primary motive for acquiring art, then he would have offered to sell the painting then. However, he made no such offer. Instead Carleton engaged Rubens to offer a satisfactory large substitute ("ten fowte high" i.e. "ten feet high") from his studio in exchange for Danvers' Bassano. Carleton did not inform Rubens that this request came from Danvers, the representative of the Prince of Wales. Misled by the poor quality of the Bassano, Rubens insisted upon addition financial compensation to make the exchange, and offered a workshop replica of the *Tiger Hunt*.

"The Danvers Affair," as scholars have coined the events surrounding Danvers' attempt to exchange his Bassano painting for a work by Rubens, did much to sour the relations between the ambassador and the artist. Up until this time, their relationship had been congenial.[246] Not only did the 1618 painting and sculpture exchange between Rubens and Carleton establish a cordial relationship, but in 1619, Carleton personally intervened on Rubens' behalf with the States General so that the artist could attain copyright privileges for his engravings in the United Provinces.[247] Rubens subsequently dedicated his engraving of the *Descent from the Cross* (Figure 103) to Carleton:

> *Illustrissimo Excellentissimo Et Prudentissimo Domino, Domino Dudleio Carelton Equiti Magnae Britanniae Regis Ad Confoederatos in Belgio Ordines*

[246] For more on the Carleton's limitations as an art connoisseur and how his relationship dwindled with Rubens after the "Danvers Affair," see: Robert Hill and Susan Bracken, "The ambassador and the artist: Sir Dudley Carleton's relationship with Peter Paul Rubens: connoisseurship and art collecting at the court of the early Stuarts," *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 26 no. 2 (2014): 171-191, accessed December 26, 2014, doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhto42.
[247] Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices*, 137.

> *Legato, Pictoriae Artis Egregio Admiratori, P.P, Rubens Et Benevolentiae Ergo Nuncupat Dedicat.*[248]

So Carleton, perhaps in an attempt to keep the price down, did not inform Rubens that Danvers, the keeper of St. James Palace, was the illustrious patron behind this Bassano *Creation* exchange. As a consequence, Rubens believed Carleton wanted a painting of equal worth in exchange for the Bassano, not realizing it was actually intended for the future King of England. When Bassano's painting arrived in Rubens' studio, it was so badly damaged that he could not provide Carleton an autograph work of equal value.[249] Three individuals helped facilitate negotiations with Rubens on Carleton's behalf: William Trumbull (ca. 1575-1635), the English agent in Brussels; George Gage (ca. 1582-1638), the English diplomat; and Gage's companion Toby Matthew (1577-1655). Eventually, Rubens accepted a compromise for the meager Bassano painting. As Carleton explained to Toby Matthew in a letter dated October 12, 1620:

> ...I recommend unto you with wonted freedome—a private business which is the refitting a certaine picture Rubens hath made for my Lord Davers at my breakage, by giving him a picture of old Bassans (which he hath in his hande) by way of exchange: but because Bassans piece is too olde, and thereby much decayed, he will expect from me some [sic] advantage in money, which I will fournish him to his contentment but will desire you to bring him as much moderation as you may in his demande, because the money is not to comme out of a Lords purse; but out of my owne, which is commonly the recompense men have who doe great persons affaires...and whatsoever your agree with Rubens for his satisfaction I will send him from hence. It is a Caccia di Leoni [A Tiger Hunt] just of the bignes of Bassans Creation which Rubens hath in his hande."[250]

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[248] "Most Illustrious, Excellent and Prudent Lord Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador to the United Provinces, Great Admirer of the Pictorial Arts, P.P. Rubens dedicates this engraving out of gratitude and benevolence."

[249] In a letter dated January 29/February 8, 1620, Rubens explained to John Wolley, the servant to John Trumbull, that the Bassano painting was not worth more than £10 in its damaged condition. If it were in perfect condition, he would only value it at £50 or £60 sterling. (Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers,* 50)

[250] BL Trumbull Manuscripts Miscellaneous 72359, fol.3: Copy of a letter from Carleton to Matthew, The Hague, October 12, 1620. [This newly discovered manuscript was

A year after the start of the affair, for an additional sum of money from the ambassador's limited purse, Rubens supplied a *Tiger Hunt* (Figure 104),[251] which was the same size as the Bassano. The painting was a studio work, and Rubens explained to Carleton through a letter Trumbull wrote: "...if the picture had been painted entirely by my own hand, it would be worth twice as much. It has not been gone over lightly by me, but touched and retouched everywhere alike by my own hand."[252]

The *Tiger Hunt* was not well received by either Danvers or the Prince of Wales. In a letter dated May 27, 1621, Danvers wrote to Carleton, "…the postures so forced, as the Prince will not admit the picture into his galerye." Charles already owned a *Judith and Holofernes*[253] by the artist, and according to Danvers, the prince thought the *Tiger Hunt* was"…of littell credite to his great skill…"[254] Danvers reminded Carleton that he needed a Rubens painting:

> "…be of the same bigenes to fit this frame (i.e. the same size as the Bassano), and I will be well content to showte an other arrow of allowing what money he

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recently published in full in: Robert Hill and Susan Bracken, "The ambassador and the artist: Sir Dudley Carleton's relationship with Peter Paul Rubens: connoisseurship and art collecting at the court of the early Stuarts," *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 26 no. 2 (2014): 171-191, accessed December 26, 2014, doi: 10.1093/jhc/fhto42.]

[251] Likely a version similar to the *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt* in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini. [See: Balis, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes* (Vol. II), 148-149.]

[252] Rubens letter to William Trumbull, January 16/26, 1621. (Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers*, 56)

[253] This painting is now lost, but is known through three copies and two engravings, one of which was engraved by Cornelius Galle. See: A. Balis, R. Marijnissen and L. Kockaert, "Judith en Holofernes: een Kopie naar een verdwenen Rubensschilderij', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* (Klasse der Schone Kunsten), LVI, 1996. [Cited in: Christopher White, *The Later Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen*. (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2007), 4]

[254] Danvers to Carleton, May 27, 1621. (Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers*, 58.)

> may aske in exchaynge, and theas Lions shall be safely sent him back for tamer beastes better made."[255]

With this comment, Danvers hinted again that he wanted a painting similar to Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* with "tamer beastes better made." Evidently, Charles not only disliked the quality of the *Tiger Hunt*, but he also disliked the violent nature of the subject.

Rubens was embarrassed when he discovered that his studio *Tiger Hunt* had been intended for the future King of England. The artist needed to make a better impression, but Danvers' "tamer beastes" suggestion was apparently not communicated to him. In a letter dated September 13, 1621, Rubens wrote to Trumbull:

> I am sorry that there should have been any dissatisfaction on the part of Mons. Carleton, but he would never let me understand clearly...I wish for an opportunity to put him in good humour with me, although it should cost me some trouble to oblige him. I shall be very glad that this picture be located in a place so eminent as the Gallery of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, and I will do everything in my power to make it superior in design to that of Holofernes, which I executed in my youth. I have almost finished a large picture entirely by my own hand, and in my opinion one of my best, representing a Hunt of Lions: the figures as large as life. It is an order of My Lord Ambassador Digby to be presented, as I am given to understand to the Marquis of Hamilton. But as you truly say such subjects are more agreeable and have more vehemence in a large than in a smaller picture. I should very much like the Picture for H.R.H. The Prince of Wales to be of the largest proportions, because the size of the picture gives us painters more courage to represent our ideas with the utmost freedom and semblance of reality.[256]

In this letter, Rubens did everything in his power to oblige the Prince of Wales with any subject he desired. He assured him that any painting he requested would be "superior in design" to his *Judith and Holofernes*. Because the prince was displeased with the *Tiger Hunt*, Rubens proposed he might prefer something similar to the *Lion Hunt* (Figure 105), Rubens' most recent autograph work for the Marquis of Hamilton. However, neither

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[255] *ibid*
[256] Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers,* 60.

hunt subject painted entirely by the artist's hand would have pleased Prince Charles, because he wanted a Rubens' painting with "tamer beastes" and not a violent "better made" animal hunt.

Two years later, this botched art exchange initiated by Carleton came to an end. Danvers took back the Bassano, by then fully restored by Rubens, and commissioned a self-portrait by Rubens (Figure 106) to give to the Prince of Wales.[257] Danvers then presented the self-portrait to Charles who subsequently placed it in his private quarters at Whitehall.[258] Rubens took pride in the outcome, and later remarked, "Though to me it did not seem fitting to send my portrait to a prince of such rank, he (Trumbull) overcame my modesty."[259] This self-portrait remains in the Royal Collection to this day.[260]

At no point during this entire art exchange debacle did Carleton offer to sell his *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to Danvers. It seems that once Carleton realized that Charles would like the painting, he wanted to give it to him himself. In Stuart England, no

[257] Trumbull to Carleton, February 19/March 1, 1623: "My Lord Davers desyreing nowe to have his Creation of Bassano againe, because Rubens hath mended it very well; doth by a lre commande me to treate with him, for his owne Pourtrait, to be placed in the Princes Gallery." (Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers,* 64)

[258] It is recorded in "In the little roome Betwene Withdrawing roome; als called the Breakfast Chamber and the longe gallerie" in Van der Doort's inventory. [Oliver Millar, ed. The Thirty-Seventh Volume of the Walpole Society (1958-1960). *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*. (Glasgow: The University Press, 1960), 37.]

[259] Rubens letter to Palamède de Fabri, Sieur de Valavez (the brother of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc), January 10, 1625. [Ruth Saunders Magurn, trans. and ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 101-102.]

[260] Portrait of the Artist, RCIN: 400156. [There is some evidence to suggest that the portrait in the Royal Collection is not the same painting Danvers commissioned for Charles, due to a recent discovery of a letter from Danvers written in December 1622 already referring to the existence of a Rubens self-portrait in the Royal Collection. This letter would then predate Trumbull's letter to Carleton from March 1623, which discusses Danvers' commission. For more on its problematic provenance, see: Christopher White, *The Later Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen*. (London: Royal Collection Publications, 2007), 200-206.]

courtier could underestimate the value of a perfect gift. A well-chosen gift given at right time could help a courtier gain career preferment.

Dudley Carleton: The Gift Giver

Dudley Carleton was himself a consummate gift giver, especially when he was vying for a more prestigious and lucrative position. In fact, the entire time he served as English Ambassador to the Netherlands, he kept his eyes open for a better post at home. His reasons were threefold: he wanted a higher salary (since ambassadors earned a relatively low income compared to other politicians); he wanted to have more political power; and perhaps most importantly, he wanted to return home. He kept his eyes on two positions in England: the provostship of Eton and one of the two secretary of state-ships.[261]

Diplomats in the Jacobean era were notoriously overworked and underpaid. In fact, before Carleton took over his ambassadorship in Venice, he wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes, the ambassador in Brussels, "I must tell you that my contentment in reading your dispatches hath been mixed with some grief, when I observe your course of weekly writing, and I think that the same diligence may be expected of a new negotiator. But I hope that the quietness of the times will serve for excuse of some idleness."[262] To add to his financial burden, Carleton was never paid his salary in a timely manner. In fact, in

[261] John H. Barcroft "Carleton and Buckingham: The Quest for Office," in *Early Stuart Studies: Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson*, ed. Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), 123.
[262] Carleton to Edmondes, July 13, 1610, in *Thomas Birch, Court and Times of James I* (2 vols., London, 1849), I, 120-121. (Cited in: Maurice Lee, Jr., "The Jacobean Diplomatic Service," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (July 1967): 267, accessed January 13, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1847793.

1618, he even resorted to offering bribes to the Exchequer official in London to get his monthly allowance. [263] In addition to Carleton's meager salary, the correspondence between Carleton and James I concerning Denmark indicates that James I was a micromanager. An ambassadorship was appealing only insofar as it was a steppingstone for something better when one returned home.

Within the English monarchial system, an ambitious politician could hope to attain the position of secretary of state, where he would have the ear of the king and be able to influence foreign policy. Surprisingly though, the secretaryship was not the appointment Carleton most desired. Instead he wanted to become Provost of Eton, a position that was more desirable to many ambitions men in England than the position of Secretary of State. Numerous politicians lobbied for the post, such as Henry Wotton, Carleton's ambassadorial predecessor in Venice, Sir Robert Naunton (1563-1635) and Sir Albert Morton (ca.1584-1625), both former secretaries of state, and the great philosopher and statesman Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), who had served as the Lord High Chancellor of England.[264] At first, one may assume that all these men sought such a seemingly comfortable academic position as a means to retire from their stressful political careers. Though there is some truth to this assumption, the Provost of Eton had

[263] It should also be noted that while in Venice, Carleton's daily salary was £3 6s.8d, and although the king paid for his travel expenses and other fringe benefits, he was still living on a tight budget. In comparison, the English Ambassador to Spain received £6 a day. This post was worth more because diplomatic relations with the Spanish Empire were so important for England in the early seventeenth century. Nevertheless, even the salary of the English ambassador to Spain was still rather meager, since at this time, the Spanish Ambassador in England received a salary two-thirds more than the English ambassador to Spain. [See: Lee, "The Jacobean Diplomatic Service," 1279.]

[264] Lionel Cust, *A History of Eton College* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 41-42.

held immense privileges and garnered such great respect in England that he had significant influence at court.

The original "ivy league" of its day, Eton still educates the future ruling class of the realm. Founded by Henry VI in 1440, the school formally named "King's College of our Lady of Eton beside Windsor," functioned as a grammar-school and almshouse sponsored by the royal house. The Provost was more than the director of the institution. Ever since 1447, he also assumed the title of the Bishop of Winchester, and was given all the privileges of the priestly order first by the Roman Catholic Church, and subsequently by the Church of England under Henry VIII.[265] In 1449, Henry VI gave the leper hospital of St. James on the outskirts of London as the designated townhouse for the Provost. This property constituted 184 acres, by far the largest endowment the college ever received.[266] Besides the inherent "perks" of the position, responsibilities came with the office. Most importantly, in the eyes of the monarch the Provost was a leading intellectual authority. For example, in 1533, Henry VIII sent the Provost of Eton as one of his commissioners to the Pope to defend his divorce of Katherine of Aragon.[267] The Provost of Eton was not a man who merely retreated from public life, instead he was a respected voice at the English court.

Carleton hoped he would be a shoo-in for the post since his father-in-law, the scholar Sir Henry Saville (1568-1617), served as Provost from 1596 until his death in February 1622. Already in 1614, the year Carleton began his service as ambassador to the Netherlands, he started making inquiries about Eton. On April 22nd that year, Carleton

[265] Cust, *A History of Eton College*, 15.
[266] Tim Card, *Eton Established: A History from 1440 to 1860* (London: John Murray Publishers Limited, 2001), 19.
[267] Cust, *A History of Eton College*, 32.

wrote a courteous reminder to his friend John Chamberlain in London, "Yet by the way of provision, when you have any idle talk with him [The Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood], I pray you remember Eton College, which my predecessor here had my late lord treasurer's word to do his best to procure for him when it fell."[268] Carleton likely lobbied further for the position when he returned to England in the summer of 1618. When he wrote to secretary Naunton on July 28, he added a postscript, "P.S. 'I shall be this night at Eton to meet Dr. Ashworth..."[269] Carleton did return to England for medical issues at this time, so this visit may have been nothing more than a medical doctor's visit. But it is hard to imagine that a man interested in becoming Provost of Eton did not also take this time to meet with his aging father-in-law, Sir Henry Saville, and let him know of his interest to succeed him to the post.

Henry Saville did not appoint his successor; that privilege fell to the king alone. Carleton understood that he needed money and gifts to the court to make his intentions "subtly" known to King James. Edward Sherburn, Carleton's secretary, informed him on May 25, 1617, "…nothing can be don, in these times without consideration, and it is in vaine to hope (be a [man's] merits never so deserving) that without money anything is to be obtained."[270] In July that same year, Carleton gave Queen Anne a clock.[271] This gift may have been a small one, but surely it did not go unappreciated by the crown. Two years later in March 1619, Saville's health was beginning to decline and Carleton decided that the moment was ripe to once again make known his intentions.

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[268] Maurice Lee, Jr., ed. *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain (1603-1624): Jacobean Letters* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 165.
[269] Dudley Carleton, *The Letters from and To Sir Dudley Carleton,* 273.
[270] PRO SP 14/92/43. [Cited in: Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 63.]
[271] Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England,* 66.

In July that same year began the 'Danvers Affair.' So, while Carleton was once again marshaling his gifts to secure his post at Eton, Danvers was trying to trade up his damaged Bassano for a Rubens painting to give to the Prince of Wales. In fact, the different ambitions of Carleton and Danvers are alluded to in a letter to Carleton from Thomas Locke, Keeper of the Council Chest and Records, an aid to the king's Privy Council, dated July 31, 1619:

> "The Chancellor [of the Exchequer] will sign no warrants till money comes in, though he pities Carleton's case. Mr. Murray will take it ill, if suit is made for Eton til he is otherwise provided for. The picture of the Creation will be sent this week."[272]

According to Locke, Thomas Murray (1564-1623), secretary to Prince Charles, had become the frontrunner for Eton. Murray would need to be "provided for" (i.e. with a more suitable position or settlement) if Carleton were to get the post. Also in this same letter, Locke also informed Carleton that the *Creation* by Bassano had just been dispatched from Danvers to Rubens' studio. In fact, during the entire Danvers Affair, from July 1619 to March 1622, Carleton was awaiting to hear who the king would appoint to Eton. It is important to note that during this entire time Carleton never attempted to sell *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to Danvers nor did he give the painting to the Prince of Wales. The likely reason why Carleton held the painting back was that the Prince of Wales was not at this time the most powerful man at court. Instead, it was the

[272] See page 555 in Mary Anne Everett Green, *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series of the Reign of James I, 1623-1625*. (Burlington, Ont: TannerRitchie Pub. in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of S, 2005), *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host*, accessed December 30, 2014.

king's new favorite, George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), who Carleton needed to curry favor with to attain the provostship of Eton.

In January 1619, Carleton gave Buckingham an unidentified portrait as a New Year's present. On the same occasion two years later, he gave him a tilt horse.[273] Despite Carleton's efforts, Thomas Murray was granted the provostship in 1622. He died one year later and Carleton again renewed his suit for Eton. This time he lost to Sir Henry Wotton, Carleton's ambassadorial predecessor in Venice. Carleton's nephew, also named Dudley Carleton, had written to his uncle on March 28, 1624, "…I find that place must rest awhile without a provost, and though the speech goes that sir Henry Wotton has lately presented my lord of Buckingham with a great many curious pictures, which some will have a sign that he is assured to have it…"[274] Wotton, an avid art collector, had purchased in 1608 Palma Giovane's *Prometheus Chained to the Caucasus* (Figure 101), the first Venetian painting documented in the Royal Collection, for the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Salisbury. Carleton had tried to compete with Wotton by giving Buckingham a marble gate and chimney for his new residence at York House.[275] But this gift was too little, too late. After Wotton became provost of Eton in April 1624, Carleton fully

[273] Robert Hill, "The Ambassador as Art Agent: Sir Dudley Carleton and Jacobean Collecting," in Studies in British Art (12): *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 251.
[274] Dudley Carleton to Carleton, March 28, 1624. CSPD, 1623-1624, 201. [Cited in: John H. Barcroft "Carleton and Buckingham: The Quest for Office," in *Early Stuart Studies: Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson*, ed. Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), 128.]
[275] Carleton explained to his nephew that this indeed was a pricey gift and that he should "…use care and discretion, for they are of too great a value to be cast away, especially under my hard estate." [See: Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 67.]

understood that an even grander gift to Buckingham would be needed to secure the position of Secretary of State.

Carleton had also begun his inquiry regarding the secretary-ship in 1619, just in case his quest for Eton was not a success. His nephew Dudley, and a second nephew named John, initiated the negotiations. John Carleton bluntly explained to his uncle that he should offer Buckingham £3000 to secure the office.[276] Although such an outright bribe might have helped, Carleton lost the position to competitor, Sir George Calvert (1579/80-1632), who gained the position without offering any money to Buckingham.

Once Eton was lost in April 1624, Carleton felt he could spare no expense with the Duke of Buckingham and prepared to send him a large collection of marble sculptures to secure the position of secretary of state, once this position became available again. He just needed to find the right moment to give it to him. In November that same year, he asked his nephew Dudley to see whether Buckingham was amenable to Carleton becoming secretary of state. His nephew responded that he should take his time, stating "…as touching the marble, I shall proceed warily, and not engage your lordship (Buckingham) in so rich a present without...receiving your order."[277] Nevertheless, when Sir George Calvert resigned as secretary of state in January 1625 Carleton made his move. His nephew presented the gift to Buckingham and made it clear to the Duke that Carleton, "…never wanted the secretary's place more than any other honest revocation,

[276] John Carleton to Carleton, November 9, 1618, PRO, SP 14/103, fol. 80. [Cited in: Barcroft, "Carleton and Buckingham," 124.]
[277] Dudley Carleton to Carleton, November 23, 1624, PRO, SP 84/121, fol. 116. [Cited in: Barcroft, "Carleton and Buckingham," 131.]

that might free you from debts and discredit after so many years of foreign employment…"[278]

Carleton needed to be sure that his gift would help him receive some "honest revocation" after so many years abroad. The position of secretary of state was his first choice, but he could not presume that the Duke would select him. Unfortunately for him, as Carleton's nephew had warned, the secretary-ship went elsewhere, this time to Sir Albertus Morton (ca. 1584-1625). But rewards for this act of gift giving did eventually come his way. In March that same year, Buckingham saw to it that Carleton was named Vice-Chamberlain of the Household to the new king, Charles I. It is possible that Carleton may have given the painting to the new king then as a sign of gratitude for his new appointment in London. The Vice-Chamberlain of the Household serves at the senior whip in the House of Commons. Nevertheless, it was the position of secretary of state that he coveted most. At this time, Carleton was further granted the noble title "Viscount Dorchester" by the king, the title to which he is referred in the Van der Doort inventory.

It took until December 1628, four months after Buckingham's assassination, for Carleton to finally get his long sought after position of secretary of state. The Duke of Buckingham promised it to him shortly before his death and Charles I stayed true the Duke's word.[279] It seems highly probable that Sir Dudley gave the king his much-coveted Rubens' painting *Daniel in the Lions' Den* during this same four-month interim. What better way to please Charles I than to give him a Rubens painting with "tamer

[278] Dudley Carleton to Carleton, January 16, 1625, PRO, SP 14/182, fol. 4. [Cited in: Barcroft, "Carleton and Buckingham,"132.]
[279] Barcroft, "Carleton and Buckingham," 134-145.

beastes better made?" Thus, Carleton's calculated withholding of *Daniel in the Lions Den* over a period of nine years finally paid off.

Lions in the Royal House: A Gift Fit for The King of England

The question is why did Charles I want to have this Rubens' painting? A partial answer lies in the long-standing history of the lion in the English royal coat of arms. The king of beasts had featured in the heraldry of the English Crown since the twelfth century. Geoffrey Plantagenet (1113-1151), father of the Plantagenet Dynasty, was the first to have a lion on the royal coat of arms. His grandson was the famous Richard the Lionheart, who carried on the family tradition by placing three passant lions on the Plantagenet crest.[280] Some five hundred years later, James I, the first king of the Stuart Dynasty and father to Charles I, added a Scottish rampant lion to the royal arms. This majestic beast, the king of the animal kingdom, was an ideal emblem of royal majesty, and the English royal house took every opportunity to exploit it as a mascot.

The new leonine addition to the Stuart coat of arms did not go unnoticed by writers in the early seventeenth century, and most certainly would have been appreciated by Prince Charles from an early age. Following James' accession to the throne, poems written upon this occasion, such as the *Northerne Poems Congratulating the Kings Majestie Entrance to the Crowne* (1604), stressed the importance of this new addition to

[280] Daniel Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie* (Penguin Publishers: New York, 2004), 9.

the Stuart crest, both as a reference to Biblical Tribe of Judah and an emblem of fortitude:[281]

> Strong Iudaes Lyon, and sweet flower of Iesse,
> Thy Lyons Iames and flowers euer blesse…
> All well accord, there is no change but good,
> Scotland had flowers and Lyon all of bloud,
> That Scottish Lyon and those Scottish flowers
> To Englands ioy are ioyned now with ours.
>
> Three Lions do our English Armes adorne,
> And one hath Scotland euer iustly borne…
>
> These Lions strong are tipes of fortitude…[282]

These notions were repeated by William Hubbocke in *An Oration Gratulatory to the High and Mighty James*…, written upon the occasion of James I coronation on July 25, 1603, "Here the stately and princely beastes the Lyons (couchant) of England do bow down to the Lyon (rampant) of Scotland; even to you a true offspring of the Lyon of Juda…"[283] This new emblem to the royal coat of arms supplied orators with ample ways to compare the new Stuart king to the king of beasts. For example, in 1616, the clergyman William Fennors wrote in his poem, *A True Relation of Certaine and Diuers Speeches Spoken Before the King and Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie*:

> …full of maiesty as is a Lion,
> For with seueritie his grace is kinde,

[281] Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 80.
[282] See page 20 in *Northerne Poems Congratulating the Kings Majestie Entrance to the Crowne.* London, 1604, Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed December 30, 2014, http://gateway.proquest.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:20684:12.
[283] John Nichols, *Progresses of King James I* (Vol.1) (New York: Burt Franklin, 1828), 326.

Iustice and pittie in his heart are ioyn'd.[284]

James I too found numerous ways to adapt leonine imagery beyond his coat of arms. He named his royal warship the *Lion*, a vessel so magnificent that it was still in use when Charles I inspected his fleet at Chatham in 1631.[285] Ten smaller vessels in the royal fleet were named the *Lion's Whelps*, an archaic name for lion cubs.[286]

Comparing the king to a lion was commonplace in England. For example, in Christopher Marlowe's play, *Edward II* (ca. 1592), written during the reign of James's predecessor Elizabeth I, king Edward calls himself a lion who must intimidate those who threaten his crown:

> Yet, shall the crowing of these cockerels,
> Affright a Lion? Edward, unfolde thy pawes,
> And let their lives bloud slake thy furies hunger…[287]

Not only writer and poets, but also politicians played with leonine analogies regarding the royal family. Even when Charles was still Prince of Wales, he was compared to the king of beasts. On May 26, 1624, secretary of state, Sir Edward Conway wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, concerning England's continued support of the Dutch Republic, "…the

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[284] William Fennors, *A True Relation of Certaine and Diuers Speeches Spoken Before the King and Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie*, London, 1616, Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed December 30, 2014, http://gateway.proquest.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:2160:7.

[285] Timothy Wilks, "The Peer, the Plantsman, and the Picture-Maker; The English Embassy to the Court of Christian IV of Denmark, 1603," *The Court Historian* (Vol. 12, Issue 2) (Dec 2007): 161.

[286] These ten ships were used for the Siege of La Rochelle (September 1627-October 1628). Each weighed "…some 120 tons a-piece, with one deck and quarter only, to row as well as sail." [See: W.G. Perrin, ed., *The Autobiography of Phineas Pitt*, (London: Ballantyne Press, Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1918), 138.] Numerous references to these vessels also are found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1628-1629* and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of James I, 1623-25*.

[287] Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II* (II, ii: 202-204).

Prince, like the lion in Aesop's fable, challenges all for himself, and may well do so, 'for there was never a braver Prince, better beloved, or more fit to command.' "[288] Even the most solemn occasion of his execution, Charles took such leonine comparison to heart. In his final address to his people entitled, *The Kings Last farewell to the World, or The Dead Kings Living Meditations, at the approach of Death denounced against Him,* Charles declared:

> Death Lion-like I see,
> Even all the day (till night) to roare
> to make an end of me.[289]

Royal heraldry and literary allusions aside, the English royal house had ample reason to adopt the lion as its royal emblem. These magnificent beasts were royal "pets" of sorts. By the thirteenth century, lions were kept in the royal menagerie within the Tower of London. Archaeological excavations in the appropriately named Lion Tower unearthed a lion skull dating to ca. 1280-1385.[290] It is also recorded that in 1235, Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, gave King Henry III three lions from his own royal zoo.[291]

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[288] See page 257 in Mary Anne Everett Green, *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series of the Reign of James I, 1623-1625*. (Burlington, Ont: TannerRitchie Pub. in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of S, 2005), *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host*, accessed December 30, 2014.

[289] Charles I, *The Kings Last farewell to the World, or The Dead Kings Living Meditations, at the approach of Death denounced against Him*, London, 1649, Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed December 30, 2014, http://gateway.proquest.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:162973.

[290] James Owen, "Medieval Lion Skulls Reveal Secrets of the Tower of London" *National Geographic News*, November 3, 2005, accessed December 30, 2014, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2005/11/1103_051103_tower_lions.html.

[291] This royal gift was given to commemorate the upcoming marriage of King Henry III to Isabella, the sister of Frederick II. Three lions made a poignant reference to the English crown, since three lions were on the royal crest at this date. It should also be noted that in the early thirteenth century sources, these lions were called 'leopards.' At this time, however, the word 'lion' and 'leopard' were used interchangeably with one

From that time forward, the *giving* of lions to the royal house became a long-standing tradition in England.[292] For example, in the late sixteenth century, Jerome Horsey (ca. 1550-1626), special envoy of Tsar Fyodor to Queen Elizabeth brought her royal majesty various wild beasts back from Russia, including " … two faire Lions brought forth of their Cages drawne in Sleds, etc."[293] This spectacular lion menagerie became a major tourist attraction for eminent visitors to the English court. In 1557, Annibale Litolfi, an ambassador from Mantua, recorded in his personal letters that among other notable sights, such as Westminster Abbey and Whitehall Palace, he made sure to visit the lions in the Tower.[294] During the late sixteenth century, the phrase "to have seen the lions" came to mean "to have had the experience of life" or to have seen "a sight worth seeing."[295] Ben Johnson used this phrase in his masque *Cynthias Revels* (1616), "I haue

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another. Adding to this confusion, the French word for a 'passant lion,' such as the three lions depicted on Plantagenet crest, is léopard. Considering the archaeological evidence, as well as the long-standing lion emblematic tradition in the English court, it is more likely that "lions" not "leopards" were given to Henry III. [See: Daniel Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie* (Penguin Publishers: New York, 2004), 7-10.]

[292] Furthermore, the giving of lions is a long-standing tradition in European history. In the opening verses to the medieval *chanson de geste, The Song of Roland*, the "wise pagan" Blancandrin suggests giving Charlemagne the diplomatic gift of lions, bears and hawks amongst other animals (Verse 3: 30). The chivalric nature of this epic poem likely appealed to courtiers in Stuart England as well. In fact, Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), a well-known patron of Van Dyck, owned the Oxford version of the *Song of Roland*. [See: Robert Harrison, trans., *The Song of Roland* (New York: Penguin Books, 1970), 34-35.]

[293] : S Purchas *1626 his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religious Observed in all Ages and placed Discovered, from the Creation unto the Present* (London 1626). [Cited in: Olga Dmitrieva and Tessa Murdoch, eds., *Treasures of the Royal Courts: Tudors, Stuarts & The Russian Tsars.* (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), 25.]

[294] D.S. Chambers, "A Mantuan in London in 1557: Further Research on Annibale Litolfi," in *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, ed. Edward Chaney and Peter Mack. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 91.

[295] "lion, n.". OED Online. December 2014. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/view/Entry/108800?redirectedFrom=lion (accessed December 30, 2014).

seen the lyons."[296] It is thus not surprising that James Hamilton, the third owner of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, saw the lions during his first introduction to court between December 1620 and May 1621.[297]

The proper keeping and care of these beasts was of utmost concern to the royal house, since the crown, in every sense of the word, identified with these animals. It was also customary for a lion in the Tower to be named after the reigning monarch. Superstition dictated that when his or her namesake fell ill, the health of king or queen was in jeopardy and visa versa.[298] This superstition partially explains why James I made sure that these regal beasts could be properly bred and raised in captivity. According to John Stow's *The abridgement of the English Chronicle.*..(1618):

> The twenty-first of February (1604) was a Lyon whelped in the Tower, which whelpe was taken from the Damme, and brought up by hand, as the king had commanded, by reason that the same Lionesse, is August last, had whelped a Lyon, and spoiled it, by carrying it in her mouth up and downe the denne to hide it: this yong Lyon lived but thirteen dayes: after this, the king caused a convenient place to bee made, near to the Lyons Denn for the Lyonesse to breed in: and the same Lyonesse afterward, brought forth two Lyons at one litter, and they lived, and became as lusty as any other in the Tower: there foure were the first that ever were whelped in the Tower.[299]

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[296] Ben Johnson, *Cynthia Revels* (1616): V, vi.
[297] John J. Scally, "James Hamilton, first duke of Hamilton (1606-1649)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 3, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/view/article/12087?docPos=14
[298] Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie*, 106.
[299] See page 452 in John Stow, *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle*, London, 1618, Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed December 31, 2014, http://gateway.proquest.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:18437:234.

That same year, James I ordered the rebuilding of the Lion Tower into a semi-circular structure, which adjoined the outside moat of the entire Tower complex.[300] This addition gave the animals more room to roam about, as well as making them more visible to visitors. Ever since James I gave the "king of beasts" a special home at court. In fact, it is recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers* that King James I gave a special patent in 1613 to Robert Gill, the keeper of his Majesty's lions and leopards in the Tower.[301] According to this new law, only Gill, whose family had cared for these beasts since the reign of Elizabeth I, had the right to keep lions for the royal house. In other words, no one else but the king had the right to own a lion in England.

The royal house greatly admired the fierce and predatory nature of the king of beasts. They enjoyed watching the lions in the Tower attack other vicious creatures in a barbaric blood sport called "lion-baiting."[302] Well-documented in John Stow's *English*

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[300] Hahn, *The Tower Menagerie*, 94.

[301] According to this account, "Petitioner (Gill), his father, and grandfather, have served his Majesty, his father, and Queen Elizabeth, in the ancient office of the custody of the lions and leopards. His late Majesty by his letters patent dated 21st July, in the 10th year of his reign (1613), granted that thenceforth no person should at any time carry any lion or leopard into any part of England to shrew them for gain, upon such forfeiture as by any laws may be inflicted upon them." [See page 574-574 in John Bruce, *Calendar of State Papers : Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I*. Burlington, Ont: TannerRitchie Pub. in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of S, 2007. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed December 31, 2014).]

[302] The Tudors and Stuarts enjoyed various forms of "animal baiting" across London, and lions were just a part of this brutal menagerie. For examples, bear-baiting and cockfighting were among the favorite forms of royal entertainments. King Henry VIII took such a liking to the blood sport that he created the office of Master of the Royal Game of Bears, Bulls, and Mastiff Dogs, and built a cockpit at Whitehall, which later became a favorite retreat for the Stuart Family. [See: June Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum & the London of Shakespeare's Time* (London: The British Library, 2011), 49-52.] Furthermore, the Bear Gallery at Whitehall, the very same gallery where Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* once hung, was so named because it overlooked the Tiltyard where bear-baiting performances took place since the Tudor Age. (See next chapter for discussion of Bear Gallery.)

Chronicle, this sport was a favorite entertainment of James I, who particularly enjoyed testing the strength of lions against cocks, bears, and mastiff dogs. These gruesome and gratuitous accounts reveal the royal house's perception of lions at this time. How mighty was the king of beasts? This question fascinated the king of England. On March 13, 1604, James had three mastiff dogs thrown into the lion's den to test which beast was stronger. All but one dog died of the wounds inflicted by the lion. In recognition of the mastiff's valor, Prince Henry ordered the dog to be brought to St. James Palace, where it could live out the remainder of his life in peace, "..saying, he that had fought with the king of beasts, should never after fight with any inferiour creature."[303] There was no greater fight possible for this brave dog.

Lions, however, were not just admired for their brute strength. Stow observed that a lion would only kill an animal that posed a threat to its wellbeing. On another occasion the following year, James ordered the lions to be tested again. First they were fed mutton, so that they would not be motivated by hunger. Various "lusty" cocks were then thrown into the den and killed. But then an amazing thing happened:

> After that the Kinge caused a live lambe to be easily let downe unto them by a rope, and being come to the grounde, the lambe lay upon his knees, and both the Lyons stoode in their former places, and only beheld the lamb, but presently the lambe rose up and went unto the Lyons, who very gently looked upon him and smelled on him without signe of any further hurt; then the lambe was very softly drawne up againe in as good plight as hee was let downe.[304]

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[303] See page 1428 in John Stow, *The Annales of England*, London, 1605, Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed December 31, 2014, http://gateway.proquest.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:18456:707.

[304] John Nichols, *Progresses of King James I* (Vol.1) (New York: Burt Franklin, 1828), 516.

Perhaps the lions were no longer hungry? No, this was not so. Moments later two "lusty mastiffs" were thrown into the den and the lions tore them limb from limb. What a noble creature! A lion will kill its aggressor, but will leave an innocent lamb alone. I for one would not test the validity of this claim.[305]

Stow's account sounds more like the messianic prophecy of Isaiah:

> "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb. And the leopard will lie down with the young goat. And the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; And a little boy will lead them."[306]

The peaceful behavior of lions was a commonly associated with the coming of a golden age. In Virgil's Eclogue IV, the poet describes the dawning of the golden age of Rome:

> Untended, will the she-goats then bring home
> Their udders swollen with milk, while flock afield
> Shall of the monstrous lion have no fear.[307]

Stow's account, thus, is likely based on biblical and ancient lore. According to ancient literature, lions were thought to exhibit noble behavior and not just at prophetic moments. According to Pliny the Elder:

> The lion alone of wild animals shows mercy to suppliants; it spares persons prostrated in front of it, and when raging it turns its fury on men rather than women, and only attacks children when extremely hungry.[308]

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[305] It goes without saying that lions are by nature predatory animals and do not possess the noble qualities described by Stow. Current studies even show that lions attack and frequently kill one another. Zoologist David Quammen recently observed how a lion will even kill both the cubs and the lion who fathered them in order to impregnate the same lioness with his own offspring [See: David Quammen, "The Short Happy Life of the Serengeti Lion," *National Geographic*, August 2013, accessed December 31, 2014, http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2013/08/serengeti-lions/quammen-text.] More recently, at the Dallas Zoo on November 17, 2013, two lions killed a lioness without provocation in front shocked spectators. The cause of the attack is still under investigation.

[306] Isa 11:6

[307] Virgil, *The Eclogues and Georgics* (Digireads.com Publishing, 2012), accessed December 31, 2014, http://books.google.com.

[308] *Natural History*: Book VIII. Xix, 48-50.

This notion was carried down by in medieval bestiaries[309] and recorded as late as the seventeenth century in Edward Topsell's popular text, *Historie of the Foure-Footed Beasts* (1607),[310] an English translation of Conrad Gesner's *Historia animalium* (1551). This folklore tradition was appropriate for an animal associated with kings: A good king will destroy an aggressor and spare the innocent. In fact, in *Henry IV (Part One),* Shakespeare takes this lion myth even further when Falstaff tells Prince Hal, "Why, thou know-est I am as valiant as Hercules, but beware instincts; the lion will not touch the true prince."[311]

Such folklore traditions would have pleased the royal court, and helps explain why *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was such an appealing image for Charles I. The king could both delight in the sight of such regal lions and identify with the Prophet Daniel, i.e. the "true prince," who is left unharmed by them. Without a doubt, Rubens' regal lions were truly worthy of the English royal house.[312]

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[309] T.H. White, ed., *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century) (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), 9. [See also: James J. Scanlan, trans., *Albert the Great: Man and the Beast* (*De animalibus*) (*Books 22-26*) (Binghamton: Medieval Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987), 150.]

[310] See page 456 in Edward Topsell, *Historie of the Foure-Footed Beasts*, London, 1607, Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed December 31, 2014, http://gateway.proquest.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:23166:255.

[311] *Henry IV (Part One):* II. iv.

[312] Dudley Carleton was not the only one to present Charles I with a painting of lions. According to the *Van der Doort* inventory, Charles I's nephew, Charles Louis (1617-1680), Elector Palatine, gave his uncle a "little Landskipp peece wherein a lyons Denn with divers Lyons" by Roelandt Savery (Figure 107) (Millar, *Van der Doort*, 63.) Charles Louis, a direct relative to the Royal House, would have known that a painting of regal lions was an appropriate gift for the King of England. [For more on this painting, see: Christopher White, *The Later Flemish Pictures In the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Royal Publications, 2007). 276-277]

Dudley Carleton did not need to be a sophisticated art connoisseur to understand that Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* would be an appealing image to Charles I. It is a painting filled with lions and according to the artist, it is an "*Originale tutto di mano*" (Original, the whole by my hand). As a consequence of the Danvers Affair, Carleton discerned from Lord Danvers, keeper of the Prince's Household, that "Daniell with those bewtifull lions in the den would well satisfye my (Danvers') desire" as a potential gift for the future monarch. He also learned that Charles wanted a "better made" (i.e. autograph) work by the artist. For Carleton, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was a well-chosen and calculated gift to give to his monarch. He secured his position as secretary of state and finally came home after eighteen years abroad.

Chapter 5: Rubens' Lions in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall

Introduction

Abraham van der Doort's ca. 1639 inventory[313] is the first instance in which Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* is recorded in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall Palace, but it probably hung there since Sir Dudley Carleton gave it to the king in ca. 1625-1628.[314] Why did Charles I select this particular gallery to house this magnificent gift from Dudley Carleton? When examining the thirty-five paintings listed by Van der Doort, the subject matter of this work seems incongruous with other paintings in the Bear Gallery. Twenty-eight of these paintings are portraits of eminent kings, queens, military figures, and prominent courtiers with strong ties to the Stuart court. Two other small biblical subjects decorate the entryway doors at each end of the gallery: one of the *Samaritan*

[313] Abraham van der Doort (1575/85-1640) served as Keeper of the King's Cabinet Room, Provider of Patterns of Coins, as well as Overseer of the Royal Collection during the reign of Charles I. Part of Van der Doort's duties was to keep an inventory of all the art in the royal collection. An artist and engraver in his own right, he previously served in the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague and in the court of Charles' brother, Henry, Prince of Wales. Van der Doort likely played a role in the arrangement of art throughout the Royal Collection, however, Charles' role in curating the art in his palaces should not be underestimated. Charles annotated Van der Doort's finished manuscript with additional attributions and spelling corrections of artist's names, revealing the king's continued interest and care in accurately documenting the art in the royal collection. (Oliver Millar, ed. The Thirty-Seventh Volume of the Walpole Society (1958-1960). *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*. (Glasgow: The University Press, 1960), 82.) Furthermore, the king's love and enthusiasm for art is confirmed by various sources [See Hamilton Chapter]. Thus, in this chapter, I will assume the king's involvement in curating the Bear Gallery to take precedence over Van der Doort.

[314] For this chapter, refer to the Van der Doort reproduced in: Millar, 2-7. All figure numbers correspond to the numbers in Van der Doort. For the entire inventory see *op. cit.*

Woman (Figure 108, Diagram 1),[315] possibly by Leonardo Corona, and the other of the *Virgin Mary and Child with John the Baptist* (Figure 109, Diagram 15) after Guercino. Compared to Rubens' leonine masterpiece these small paintings would have been of little visual significance in that space. Other small and unidentified subjects similarly dot the doorways and corners of the gallery, such as a painting of angels after Salviati (Diagram 20), a cupid playing with pigeons after Titian (Diagram 26), and a small portrait of a woman wearing red drapery by "Permensius" (Diagram 2).[316]

The one other painting that matches *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (Figure 1, Diagram 14) in scale and visual impact is Rubens' *Peace and War* (Figure 110, Diagram 13). These two paintings are so similar in size that they would have been viewed as pendants to those visiting the Bear Gallery.[317] What did Charles intend in his juxtaposition of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* and *Peace and War*? Moreover, what was the relationship between these works and the portraits within the gallery? In the following discussion, I will address the significance and function of the Bear Gallery in Whitehall Palace and how and why Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* found a temporary home in this illustrious location.

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[315] Diagram numbers correspond to the numbers listed in Van der Doort and the numbers in my diagram of the Bear Gallery (See Appendix 1). See Appendix 2 for Bear Gallery paintings placed according to Van der Doort's inventory. In Appendix 2, I included Millar's additional notes regarding lost paintings and copies, as well as my own notations regarding recent identifications of lost works. (See: Millar, 229)

[316] Perhaps by Parmigianino. Van der Doort identifies it as a small portrait of a woman in "reedish draperie" bought by Francesco Verzelini, the Italian secretary to Lord Arundel.

[317] *Daniel in the Lions' Den* measures 224.2 cm x 330.5 cm, and *Peace and War* measures 203.5 cm x 298 cm.

The Bear Gallery or Tiltyard Gallery

The Bear Gallery, also known as the Tiltyard Gallery, had functioned as the royal viewing stand for jousting tournaments at Whitehall Palace since the reign of Henry VIII. Its "bear" nickname dates to from the time of Queen Elizabeth, when Her Majesty ordered bear-baiting performances within this same sports arena.[318] John Stow in his *Annals of London* described it as a "sumptuous Gallery... [where] Princes with their nobility...[would] stand or sit at Windowes to behold all triumphant Justings and other military exercises."[319] An illustration of these viewing windows gives a general sense of the intended function of this stately gallery in the Elizabethan era (Figure 111).[320] Lupold von Wedel, a German nobleman who travelled through England and Scotland between 1584 and 1585, recorded in his journal the first description of the gallery's interior:

> 'On mounting a staircase we got into a passage right across the tiltyard; the ceiling is gilt, and the floor ornamented with mats. There were fine paintings on the walls, among them the portrait of Edward, the present queen's brother, who was cut out of his mother's womb, he remained alive, whilst the mother died. If you stand before the portrait, the head, face, and nose appear so long and misformed that they do not seem to represent a human being, but there is an iron

[318] As early as 1559, Elizabeth held a baiting event at Whitehall in honor of the French ambassador, and also in 1601, the Tiltyard was used "for her Majestie agayste the Bearbayting at Shrovetyde." [London County Council, *Survey of London*, Vol. XVI, p. 6, cited in: George S. Dugdale, *Whitehall Through the Centuries* (London: Phoenix House Limited, 1950), 27] This sport, discussed earlier in the chapter on Dudley Carleton concerning the history of lions in the royal house, was a source of tremendous entertainment in both the Elizabethan and Stuart courts. Just as with the sport of cock or dog fighting today, animal baiting involved the forced combat of various creatures such as bears, bulls, and mastiff dogs.

[319] C. L. Kingsford's edition of Stow's Survey, 1908, II, p. 102, cited in: George S. Dugdale, *Whitehall Through the Centuries*, 29.

[320] Sixteenth century drawing, *Viewing Gallery at the Whitehall Tiltyard,* Private Collection. [Cited in: Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip, 1987), 89.]

> bar with a plate at one end fixed to the painting; if you lengthen this bar for about three spans and look at the portrait through a little hole made in the plate in this manner **O** you find the ugly face changed into a well-formed one. This must indeed be considered a great work of art. There is also the portrait of Moses; they say that it is very like, but it looks as if one were blowing into burning coal in the dark. Also Christ's passion, apparently painted in glass, all set with gilt roses.'[321]

From this account, it is clear that this gallery was meant to impress viewers with its interior decoration, which included a stain-glass painting of the Crucifixion, an unidentified painting of Moses, and most strikingly, an anamorphic portrait of Edward VI, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.[322]. Van der Doort does not mention this portrait of Edward VI, presumably because paintings within this gallery changed according to the wishes of the reigning monarch.

This stately viewing gallery measured eighty feet long, the entire length of the tiltyard, and nineteen feet wide.[323] George Vertue's 1747 engraving of Whitehall Palace (Figure 112) is the only known image of the floor plan of this part of the palace.[324] One would have entered the first floor gallery from the "Old Stair Case" on the west end and then proceeded to its exit at Holbein Gate, which provided access across King's Street into the Privy Gallery, the location of the private royal apartments. Vertue's plan shows partition walls within the original Bear Gallery, likely added in the eighteenth century when these rooms were converted into private lodging spaces. By this later date, only one

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[321] Lupold von Wedel, *Journey through England and Scotland in the Years 1584 and 1585*, trans. Dr. Gottfried von Bülow, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Vol. IX) (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895), 235, accessed November 13, 2014, http://books.google.com

[322] This painting (NPG 1299), now attributed to William Scrots, was sold in the Commonwealth Sale in 1649 for £2. [See: "King Edward VI," National Portrait Gallery London, accessed November 13, 2014, http://npg.org.uk/collections.php

[323] Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 46.

[324] Figure B is a detail of George Vertue's engraving reproduced in: Thurley, 122-23.

window faced the tiltyard, but during both the Tudor and Stuart era, several windows were added along the tiltyard side. These windows not only provided more viewing opportunities for observing for the tournaments outside, but also would have allowed more light to enter the gallery.

Unfortunately, our understanding of the Bear Gallery's exterior structure remains incomplete despite information provided by surviving seventeenth-century drawings. Inigo Jones' drawing of the Banqueting House upon the occasion of his masque *Time Vindicated to Himself and to his Honors*, 1623 (Figure 113),[325] shows the newly constructed Banqueting House, the Holbein Gate, and a tremendously foreshortened drawing of the Tiltyard Gallery with its entry at the 'Old Staircase.' Wenceslaus Hollar's 1647 drawing *View of Whitehall from King Street* (Figure 114),[326] shows the Banqueting House, Privy Gallery, Holbein Gate, and a mere outline of the Bear Gallery on the right-hand side of the composition. Today only the Banqueting House remains standing from this building complex. The rest of the palace burned down in 1698 and the Holbein Gate was later taken down in 1759 to improve the flow of traffic along King Street. The tiltyard became the site of the modern Horse Guard building constructed from 1751-3. Today's tourists who view the Changing of the Guard ceremony gather at the Horse Guard Parade by Whitehall, the original location of the tiltyard.[327]

[325] Thurley, *Whitehall Palace,* 100.
[326] *Ibid* (buildings additionally labeled in bold letters)
[327] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 122.

Tournaments in the Tiltyard

The tiltyard at Whitehall served a vital political function in both the Tudor and early Stuart eras. Most famously, it was the location of the Coronation tournaments of Anne Boleyn, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I: the Accession Day tournaments during the reigns of both Elizabeth I and James I: the festivities held in honor of Princess Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick of Bohemia in 1613; and those for Charles I's proxy marriage to Henrietta Maria in 1625.[328] This arena at Whitehall was the locale for public entertainment that was open to all members of society. It was also one of the few places where the lowliest citizen could catch a glimpse of a reigning monarch, either participating in an event or watching from the Bear Gallery. It is estimated that the tiltyard at Whitehall could hold thousands of spectators at a time.[329]

The tiltyard at Whitehall allowed the viewer to awe at the chivalric power of the monarchy.[330] Prince Charles participated in the "running at ring" event following his sister's wedding in 1613, at which time one contemporary observer stated:

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[328] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments,* 196-208. (These pages refer to the book's appendix: *A Calendar of Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*)

[329] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments,* 42.

[330] Numerous tiltyards in London were in use throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including in the palaces at Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond, and Westminster. Each successive monarch, from Henry VIII to Charles I, found ways to exploit its display of chivalric power. Henry VIII in his youth competed in tournaments in order to showcase his military prowess, and his son, Edward VI followed suit by participating in jousting events. Both of Henry VIII's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, transformed the event to highlight the authority of a female monarch. In particular, Mary held the tournaments only after her controversial marriage to the Catholic King of Spain, Philip II, in 1554. These events were a means to promote and improve amicable relations between the two kingdoms. Philip himself participated, receiving second prize at the Whitehall tiltyard for "the fairest and most gallant entry" and first place for the "combat with foils."[330] During the reign of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, jousting flourished as

> 'the braue yong flower, and hope of England, Prince Charles, mounted as it were vpon a Spanish Jennet, that takes his courageously, and with agillitie of hand, tooke the Ring clearelt foure times in fiue courses, which in the eye of the Kings Maiestie and the Nobilitie, there present, a sight of much admiration, and an exceeding comfort to all the land.'[331]

The Venetian ambassador, Girolamo Lando, who witnessed Charles participate in James I's Accession Day tournament in 1620 and 1621, reported to the Doge:

> 'In all corporal exercises he is admirable, not resting content with mediocrity. He excels at tilting and indulges in every other kind of horsemanship, and even if he were not prince one would have to confess that he surpassed others.'[332]

In the tiltyard, Prince Charles displayed both to his own people and to the visiting foreign dignitaries that he possessed the chivalric skills of a future king.

The overwhelming praise and enthusiasm by spectators at the Whitehall tiltyard makes it difficult to imagine that the tournament tradition would ever have dwindled in popularity. James I and his sons, Prince Henry and Prince Charles, did not share their predecessors' fervor for maintain the chivalric tradition of tournament. The 1625 tournament held in honor of Charles I's marriage to Henrietta Maria was the last tilt held in the Stuart Age.

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much as it did during the reign of her father if not more. The tiltyard became the stage for every ambitious male courtier trying to impress Her Majesty with chivalric sport. Not only did Whitehall host the tournament for each of Her Majesty's Accession Day celebrations every 17th of November, but following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, an additional festival called St. Elizabeth's Day was then added to the calendar. This celebration was held just two days later on November 19th [See: Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 37.]

[331] *The Marriage of Prince Fredericke, and the Kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth* (1613), sig. B3a (Cited in: Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 40.)

[332] *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1619-21*, XVII, 252. [Cited in: Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 40]

A partial explanation for the decline in popularity of tournaments is likely that James I's abilities in the sport were limited. During the festivities surrounding Christian IV's visit to London in 1606, Dudley Carleton made the following observation:

> "There was one solemn tilting day at which the king of Denmark would needs make one, and in an old black armor without plume or bases or any rest for his staff, played prizes so well that Orgerio [i.e. *Ogier le Danois*, name knight from a medieval French romance] himself never did better. At a match betwixt our king and him in running at the ring it was his hap never almost to miss it, and ours had the ill luck scarce ever to come near it, which put him into no small impatiences."[333]

Prince Henry showed more promise in the tiltyard than his father. During the Twelfth Night celebrations in 1610, the fifteen-year-old Prince of Wales fought a combat at barriers against fifty-six men. At this event, he even proclaimed to the court that his nickname would henceforth be Meliadus, i.e. "Soldier of God" (*Miles a Deo*).[334] His sudden death at the age of eighteen, in November of 1612, ended the chivalric cult that had formed around him and his younger brother Charles did not fill the void. Even with successful tournament appearances at his sister Elizabeth's wedding the following year and his father's Accession Day festivities in 1620 and 1621, Charles courtly entertainments gravitated more towards Inigo Jones' newly constructed Banqueting House, completed in 1622, where the theater of court masques expressed the splendor of the monarchy without the potential dangers of chivalric sport or the presence of the general lower-ranking citizenry.[335]

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[333] Maurice Lee, Jr., ed. *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 87. [For more on the decline of tournament tradition in the Stuart Age, see: Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 171-175.]
[334] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* 38.
[335] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 42.

The shift in location of courtly entertainment from the tiltyard to the Banqueting House likely explains the lack of surviving architectural drawings of the Bear Gallery in the early seventeenth century. In Inigo Jones' 1623 drawing of the Banqueting House upon the occasion of his masque *Time Vindicated to Himself and to his Honors* (Figure 113), mentioned earlier, the revered architect focused his attention on his own architectural masterpiece, while merely outlining the Bear Gallery in an extremely foreshortened form at the corner of his composition. Wencelaus Hollar takes this disregard for the tiltyard one step further in his 1647 drawing, *View of Whitehall from King Street* (Figure 114). Every other building—the Banqueting House, Privy Gallery and Holbein Gate—is carefully delineated with each window and doorway, but the Bear Gallery is mere outlined. Seventeenth century architects may not have fully appreciated the exterior of the Bear Gallery, but the interior function of the room made it an appropriate place for a majestic painting such as *Daniel in the Lions' Den*.

The Bear Gallery: A Stately Entrance

This lack of interest in the Bear Gallery by Inigo Jones and Wencelaus Hollar, however, should not call into question its importance as one of the main stately entrances to Whitehall Palace. The Privy and Bear galleries functioned together as the central spine of Whitehall, providing access from St. James Park into the private living quarters of the royal family. John Finet, the Master of Ceremonies to Charles I, mentioned in passing the functional use of this part of the palace in 1638. At this time, Marie de Rohan-Montbazon, duchess of Chevreuse, was personally invited by Henrietta Maria to discuss

how to improve amicable relations between England and Spain. Acting as a pensioner on behalf of Spain, Marie de Rohan-Montbazon came to London with the intention of seeking both military support from England and to discuss a possible marriage between Philip IV's son, Baltazar Carlos, and a Stuart princess. Finet documented her entrance into the palace as follows:

> "...she proceeded with a walking pace through the park into St. Jameses, entering the west gate and allighting at the foot of the Tylt Yard gallery stayres, was conducted thence through the privy Gallery and the kings Privy Chamber to the queens Withdrawing Chamber, where cheerfully received and welcomed with a kisse from both their Majestyes."[336]

Considering the proximity in date to Marie de Rohan-Montbazon's 1638 visit and Van der Doort's 1639 inventory, it is highly probable that she saw the very same paintings recorded in the inventory the following year. Furthermore, within the broader historical framework of this gallery's function during the reign of Charles I, we now know that it was customary for a visiting dignitary to walk through the Bear Gallery and behold the paintings on display there before coming into the presence of Their Majesties. These paintings were meant to be the first impression, as it were to "set the stage" of such a dignitary's visit to Whitehall. In fact, even on the very day of Charles I's execution, the king's secretary, Sir Philip Warwick noted in his *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I* that the king walked along this same path across the Tiltyard Gallery, over the Holbein Gate and to the Privy Gallery.[337] According to Sir Thomas Herbert, who was also attending the king during his last moments, Charles "was led along the galleries and

[336] Albert J. Loomie, ed., *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, 1628-1641* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987), 246.
[337] Dugdale, *Whitehall Through the Centuries*, 53.

Banqueting House, and there was a passage broken through the wall, by which the King passed unto the scaffold."[338]

A Reconstruction of The Bear Gallery

Following Van der Doort's sequence of paintings in his inventory and the measurements provided for each successive painting, the following display in the Bear Gallery seems likely.[339] Van der Doort's orientation is described at the beginning of the inventory. He mentions a double-set of doors and his entrance "at the left hand=coming from the "Cockpitt." This Cock Pit is clearly marked on Vertue's map at the top left-hand corner of the palace. It is probable then that he begins his inventory at the short end of the gallery nearest the "Old Staircase" and proceeds along the north side of the gallery, i.e. his "left-hand" side, overlooking the tiltyard.

The first two rather small paintings listed, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* by a Venetian Painter (Figure 108, Diagram 1), now identified as a painting by Leonardo Corona 'da Murano,' and the still unidentified painting of a woman in "reedish draperie" (Diagram 2), are clearly described as being in between and above these entryway doors respectively. The next mention of a painting above a doorway occurs with the small painting by Bartolommeo Schedoni of *Mary and Christ with St. John* (Figure 109, Diagram 15). Therefore, the paintings numbered 3-14 were probably placed along the wall overlooking the tiltyard. These works include Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions Den* (Figure 1, Diagram 13) and *Peace and War* (Figure 110, Diagram 14). When the width

[338] *Ibid*
[339] See my schematic diagram of the Bear Gallery in the Appendix 2.

measurements of these paintings (Diagram 3-14) are summed, they span a total of fifty-seven feet. Twenty-three feet remain of the eighty-foot stretch along the tiltyard side, providing ample room for frames and space between each of these paintings and for windows, which are not accounted for by Van der Doort.

The portraits along the shorter side in the direction of the Holbein Gate thematically display the ancestral line of the Stuart family. They include Daniel Mytens' *Portrait of James IV* (Figure 115, Diagram 16), *Queen Margaret Tudor* (Figure 116, Diagram 17), and *Mary Queen of Scots* (Figure 117, Diagram 18). Their total measurements, not including the small painting above the doorway (Figure 109, Diagram 15), add up to approximately ten feet, well within the nineteen-foot width of the gallery, with the doorway towards the Holbein Gate accounting some of the remaining footage.

The long wall opposite the side viewing the tiltyard includes the remaining sixteen paintings. The measured widths of these works add up to fifty-six feet, a number similar to the fifty-seven-feet span of the paintings along the tiltyard side. This measurement excludes the small one-to-two feet width of the two small paintings placed above the Carlyle Door, *Cupid with Two Pigeons* after Titian (Diagram 26) and the David Baudringien *Portrait of Prince Frederick Hendrick* (Diagram 27).

One must comprehend the overall gestalt of the paintings in the Bear Gallery before coming to terms with the deeper significance of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* within this stately entrance hall. The placement of this painting at the far end, directly preceding the exit towards the Holbein Gate, no doubt made it one of the viewer's final impressions along the long wall facing the tiltyard. Furthermore, its dramatic subject, as well as its impressive size, also made it one of the most memorable paintings in the

gallery. Nevertheless, many of the other thirty-four works surrounding it helped contribute to its majestic placement in the Bear Gallery, and so deserve further analysis.

A visitor to the Bear Gallery would likely not stop at the entry doors through which he or she had just passed to look at the two small paintings above them. Instead, the viewer would delight in the procession of notable figures and courtiers displayed along each of the long walls as he or she progressed toward the door at the opposite end. The diverse selection of portraits along this processional path to the Privy Gallery would reflect both familial and political ties, as well the current courtly favorites. It is important to keep in mind in the discussion below that these portraits in the Bear Gallery represented more than a grandiose display of the Stuart Family Tree and English allies. Rather this gathering of notable figures encapsulated Charles I's desire for unity and peace during the turbulent era of the Thirty Years' War.

On the tiltyard side, one finds military figures of merit who fought for the Protestant cause during the Thirty Years' War (Diagram 3, 4, 8), familial relations from the House of Orange (Diagram 5, 6, 7), both the Valois and Bourbon Dynasty (Diagram 10, 11), and noted members of the Spanish Hapsburgs (Diagram 9, 12). On the opposite side, before the exit through the Carlyle Door, one is confronted with portraits of noted musicians and entertainers (Diagram 33, 34, 35), as well as recently deceased courtiers (Diagram 28, 29, 30, 31, 32). After the Carlyle Door, one finds notable female courtiers (Diagram 24, 25), followed by a series of portraits of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine (Figure 118, Diagram 23), nephew to Charles I, Marie de Medici (Figure 119, Diagram 22), mother to Henrietta Maria, as well as images of Charles I's mother and father, Anne of Denmark and James I (Figure 120 and 121, Diagram 21 and 19). Finally, at the far end

towards the exit to the Holbein Gate, one finds the remaining direct ancestral line of the Stuart Dynasty: Charles I's grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots (Figure 117, Diagram 18), and two of his great-grandparents, James IV and Margaret Tudor (Figure 115 and 116, Diagram 16 and 17).

In order to understand who is represented in the Bear Gallery, one should consider who is absent. When Von Wedel described the gallery during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he mentions a portrait of Prince Edward, "the present queen's brother."[340] Charles I, however, did not display any other figure related to the Tudor Dynasty, with the exception of Margaret Tudor, wife of King James IV of Scotland (Figure 116, Diagram 17). She was included because she was Charles' great-grandmother, and sister to Henry VIII, and thus the sole reason the Stuart Dynasty laid a claim to the throne of England. Her presence in the gallery was absolutely essential to illustrate the Stuart Dynasty's right of succession. Charles I likely commissioned Daniel Mytens, his court painter, to make a posthumous portraits of her and of Mary Queen of Scots.

The long wall opposite the tiltyard includes portraits by Daniel Mytens of an exclusive array of deceased English noblemen (Diagram 28-32), including Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox and the Duke of Richmond (1574-1624) (Figure 122, Diagram 28); George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628) (Figure 123, Diagram, 29); James Hamilton, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton (1589-1625) (Figure 124, Diagram 30); Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral (1536-1624) (Figure 125, Diagram 31); and William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630) (Figure 126, Diagram 32). Portraits of deceased distinguished men in the English court

[340] London County Council, *Survey of London*, Vol. XIV, p. 14. [Cited in: Dugdale, *Whitehall Through the Centuries*, 29.]

may have been placed in the Bear Gallery following the death of each of these men as a way of avoiding jealousy among living courtiers. Portraits of a few contemporary musicians also hung in the gallery, including Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666) (Figure 127, Diagram 34),[341] the first Master of the King's Musick, Henri Liberti (1600-1669) (Figure 128, Diagram 35),[342] a renowned composer in Antwerp.[343] The portrait of Liberti was likely commissioned by Nicholas Lanier, who was instrumental art agent to Charles I. Also present was the queen's favorite entertainer, the dwarf Jeffery Hudson (1619-1682) (Figure 129, Diagram 33). Perhaps in this case when it came to musicians and entertainers, the king showed preferential treatment to the living to highlight the cultural sophistication of the Stuart court.

Two exceptional living women also made the cut and their portraits are located towards the end of the gallery. The first of these two is a portrait of Princess Henrietta of Lorraine (1605-1660) (Figure 130, Diagram 24) by Anthony van Dyck. A cousin to both Their Majesties, Henrietta lived in exile in 1635 with the queen's mother, Marie de

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[341] Susan Barnes, *et al*, *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 321.

[342] Barnes, *Van Dyck,* 328. (Liberti was among the eminent figures included in the engraved portrait series, popularly called Van Dyck's *Iconography*. Several copies of this painting are known. The portrait from the Bear Gallery was sold in the Commonwealth Sale to the statesman Henry Bennet, 1st Earl of Arlington. This painting was passed down to his descendants, the Dukes of Grafton, until it was auctioned at Christie's in 1923. Most recently, it reemerged to scholars and was sold at Christie's Old Master and British Picture Evening Sale (Sale 1575, Lot 13) for $4,522,643 on December 2, 2014. For more information, see: http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/sir-anthony-van-dyck-portrait-of-hendrick-5857929-details.aspx?pos=12&intObjectID=5857929&sid=)

[343] The portrait of Liberti was likely commissioned by Nicholas Lanier, who was also an instrumental art agent to Charles I. There is no evidence to suggest that Liberti ever visited the English court, but the inclusion of his portrait in the Bear Gallery may have been to suggest the king's further interest in this new celebrity composer.

Medici.[344] Endymion Porter who acquired this painting for His Majesty during his visit to Brussels in the winter of 1634-35, likely considered that the princess' solidarity to queen mother would be well received by Charles I and Henrietta Maria. The other lady selected for the Bear Gallery was the Duchess of Richmond, Mary Villiers (1622-1685) (Figure 131, Diagram 25), the daughter of the king's favorite, the Duke of Buckingham. Her first wedding took place in 1635 to Charles Lord Herbert of Shurland and was conducted in the king's private chapel at Whitehall, revealing that she, just as her father before her, was dear in the eyes of Their Majesties.[345] Perhaps even this portrait was commissioned around her marriage negotiations. It seems likely that these two portraits were the last additions to the Bear Gallery at the time of Van der Doort's ca. 1639 inventory.

The Tiltyard Side of the Bear Gallery

Charles I also carefully selected the portraits that hung with Rubens' *Peace and War* and *Daniel in the Lions' Den* along the tiltyard side. On this particular wall, the king chose an international selection of eminent figures to highlight their overarching diplomatic interests in securing peace during the Thirty Year's War. The first six portraits (Diagram 3-8) all represent figures related to the defense of the Protestant Cause in Europe, an issue that was also personal to Charles I since it involved his sister Elizabeth

[344] Barnes, *Van Dyck,* 329-30. [See also: Arthur Wheelock *et. al*, *Anthony van Dyck* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 278-80.]
[345] Barnes, *Van Dyck,* 587, 589. (See also: "Mary Villiers Van Dyck," Historical Portraits Image Library, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.historicalportraits.com/Gallery.asp?Page=Item&ItemID=95&Desc=Lady-Mary-Villiers-%7C-Sir-Anthony-Van-Dyck

of Bohemia (1596-1662). Elizabeth's husband, Frederick V (1596-1632), was the Elector Palatine and leader of the Protestant Union. Following Frederick V's defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 by the joint Catholic forces of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II, Elizabeth and her husband lived in exile in The Hague and it was Charles' hope to reestablish them in the Palatinate. Furthermore, the English crown supported the House of Orange, their Protestant ally, since the early stages of the Eighty Years' War with a contingent of troops in the Netherlands.

First among these was Anthony van Dyck's ca. 1628 portrait of *Count Henry Vandenberch* (1573-1638) (Figure 132, Diagram 3). Born in Upper Gelderland, Count Henry Vandenberch was both a cousin to Maurice of Nassau and Frederik Hendrik of Orange. Despite his Dutch origins, he joined the Spanish Habsburg cause in 1588, and twelve years later converted to the Catholic faith. He fought alongside Ambrogio Spinola at the Battle of Breda, 1624-5, served as governor of Spanish Gelderland in 1618, and, in 1628, he was subsequently named commander of the Spanish military in the Netherlands. However, in 1632, after a series of failed military campaigns, Vandenberch fled the Spanish Netherlands and joined his cousins in the fight for Dutch independence from Spanish rule.

Van Dyck's military portrait was painted during Vandenberch's tenure as commander of the Spanish military, ca. 1629-1632.[346] Dressed in full-military attire, with a red armband identifying him with the Spanish Habsburg cause, Vandenberch looks to his left and gestures with his left arm towards the hilt of his sword. It is unclear when this painting arrived in the Bear Gallery, but in the eyes of Charles, Vandenberch was a

[346] Barnes, *Van Dyck*, 302-303.

convert to the Protestant Cause. This military commander was given a place of honor here as someone who abandoned the Spanish Habsburgs for the Protestant cause in the Netherlands. So then, it was befitting to have such a noble personage in the Bear Gallery literally directing the viewer's gaze towards the other portraits, as well as to Rubens' two masterpieces, all along the tiltyard side.

The portraits of several prominent figures that stood on the side of the Protestants in the Netherlands come between Vanderberch's portrait and the Holbein Gate exit. These include Daniel Myten portrait of Count Ernst von Mansfield (1580-1626), 1624 (Figure 133, Diagram 4), a German Roman Catholic mercenary who allied himself with the Protestant Princes in 1610, when he accepted the position of military commander to Frederick V of Bohemia, whose wife was sister of Charles I. Mansfield was considered the most dangerous threat to the Catholic League until his defeat by the imperial general Albrecht von Wallenstein in 1626 at the Bridge of Dessau.[347] Then follow portraits of members of the House of Orange, including Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) (Figure 134, Diagram 5), stadholder and military commander of the United Provinces, and his wife, Amalia van Solms (1602-1675) (Diagram 6), both by Gerrit van Honthorst, as well as a portrait of Frederik Hendrik's predecessor, Prince Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625) (Figure 135, Diagram 7) by Michel Jansz van Mierevelt.[348] Honthorst's paintings were gifts from Frederick Hendrick and Amalia van Solms during the marriage

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[347] J. Richard Judson and Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, *Gerrit van Honthorst* (1592-1656) (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1999), 245.
See also: "Daniel Mytens Portrait of Count Ernst von Manfield," Royal Collection Trust, accessed July 14, 2014,
http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404772/ernst-von-mansfeld-1585-1626

[348] According to Millar, this portrait is likely the version recorded in Euston Hall after the primary version in the Rijksmuseum.

negotiations between their son, William II, to Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I and Henrietta Maria.[349] This marriage solidified the alliance between England and the United Provinces, and incidentally paved the way for the right of succession of William and Mary, the future king and queen of England. Finally, Mytens' of another Protestant soldier, Christian, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg (1599-1626) (Figure 136, Diagram 8), thematically rounds out this part of the Bear Gallery processional. A chief defender of Charles I's sister the Winter Queen, Elizabeth of Bohemia, the Duke of Brunswick raised an army during the Thirty Years' War. Painted during his visit to London in 1625, Christian proudly displays his amputated left arm, which he had lost in battle three years earlier.[350]

Portraits from Henrietta Maria's French ancestral line were also displayed along the tiltyard side. Jacques Bunel's *Henry IV as Mars* (Figure 137, Diagram 10),[351] a portrait of Henrietta Maria's father. Henry IV (1553-1610) is commemorated here for more than familial reasons: he, too, defended the Protestant cause. Baptized a Catholic, but raised as a Huguenot, Henry was the commander of the Protestant forces in the later part of the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598). As a practical measure, he renounced his Protestant faith in 1589 when he accepted the French crown. Nine years later, in 1598,

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[349] "Gerrit van Honthorst Portrait of Frederick Hendrick," Royal Collection Trust, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/404407/frederick-henry-prince-of-orange-1584-1647

[350] "Daniel Mytens, Duke of Brunswick (1599-1625)," Royal Collection Trust, accessed July 14, 2014, http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/405885/christian-duke-of-brunswick-and-luneburg-1599-1626

[351] "Henri IV dit 'En Mars' Jacob Bunel," Museé National du Château de Pau, accessed July 14, 2014, http://chateau-pau.fr/collection/dix-chefs-doeuvre

he ended the French Wars of Religion by issuing the Edict of Nantes, which granted religious tolerance to Protestants He died as a martyr, assassinated by a fanatical Catholic on May 14, 1610.

Charles may have seen a parallel between himself and Henry IV since both kings had defended the Huguenots in France. In June 1627, Charles had sent his court favorite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to help defend the Huguenots on the Île de Ré. The following year he sent more fleets to support the Protestant stronghold at La Rochelle. Although both naval ventures were complete failures, in 1629 Charles signed a peace treaty with France, his first diplomatic measure to extricate Britain from the on-going conflict of the Thirty Years' War.

The portrait of Henry II of France (1519-1559) (Diagram 11), Henrietta Maria's grandfather, was probably also included for reasons other than being an ancestral portrait. His rather gruesome and untimely death in a jousting tournament may have induced Charles and Henrietta Maria to include this portrait in a gallery overlooking a royal tiltyard. In the context of jousting, the events surrounding Henry II's death are worth briefly recounting.[352]

On June 30, 1559, Henry II held a tournament at St. Quentin in honor of the proxy marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Philip II of Spain. The king appeared fatigued that day, and his wife, Catherine de Medici, begged him not to compete, fearing that the predictions of her personal occult advisor, the infamous Nostradamus, were about to come true. Nostradamus had written the following prophecy:

[352] Miguel A. Faria, "The death of Henry II of France." *Journal of Neurosurgery* Vol. 77 (1992): 964-969.

> The Lion shall overcome the old
> on the field of war in a single combat (duelle);
> He will pierce his eyes in a cage of gold
> This is the first of two lappings, then he dies a cruel death.[353]

Henry II's opponent at the tournament, the Comte de Montgomery, Captain of the Scottish Guard, "as eerily predicted," injured him in "single combat" with a wooden lance, which pierced through the king's helmet and struck his right eye. Occult visions aside, Philip II's personal physician, the famous Renaissance anatomist Andreas Vesalius documented the injury and Henry's slow and painful death over the next eleven days:

> "Upon receiving the wound, the King appeared about to fall first from one side and then from the other, but eventually, by his own effort, he managed to keep his saddle. After he had dismounted and was surrounded by spectators running forward from the crowd he showed loss of consciousness, although he later ascended the steps to his chamber with hardly a totter."[354]

As Henry lingered on his deathbed, Vesalius carefully documented how the king maintained vision in his left eye despite immense swelling, eventually dying from a subdural hematoma.[355] Tragedy subsequently befell all four of Henry II's sons: Francis II died one year later in 1560; Charles IX died at the age of 24 in 1574; and both Henry III and Henry IV were assassinated. The portraits of Henrietta's father and grandfather stood as a heroic memorial for the untimely deaths of the two kings.

James I and Charles I continually sought to enter into peace alliance with Habsburg Spain throughout their reigns. These ongoing efforts explain the appearance of Phillip II (Figure 138, Diagram 9) and his father, Charles V (Figure 139, Diagram 12), among the portraits in the Bear Gallery. Both portraits were given to Charles when he

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[353] Nostradamus M: *Prophesies* (1558). Basel, and reproduced in New York: Crown, 1980. [Cited in: Faria, 965]
[354] O'Malley CD: *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964, pp. 287-288 and 396-398. [Cited in: Faria, 965.]
[355] Faria, 967.

was Prince of Wales. In 1623, Philip IV gave Charles the exquisite portrait by Titian of *Charles V with a Hound*, when the Prince of Wales was in Spain trying to negotiate a marriage between him and the Infanta Maria.[356] Lord Arundel gave Charles the Antonis Mor portrait of Philip II likely at this same time to show his support of the attempted Spanish Match.

That these portraits hung in the Bear Gallery is remarkable given the complexities of the political relationship between England and Spain. Great enmity had arisen between these two kingdoms when in 1585 England provided military aid to the Netherlands in its fight for independence from Habsburg rule. Three years later, Philip II suffered the humiliating defeat of the Spanish Armada. Nevertheless, following the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 and after James I had ascended to the throne, England and Spain signed the Treaty of London and the two countries settled with a more peaceful relationship. This treaty was essentially a trade agreement whereby the English Channel was reopened to Spanish shipping and England was allowed to continue trade with the

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[356] Francis Haskell, "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 210. [Philip IV also gave Charles the *Venus del Pardo* by Titian and offered him, surprisingly, Titian's *The Rape of Europa*, *Diana and Callisto* and *Diana and Actaeon*. According to Vincencio Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura* (Madrid 1633), the later three were left behind when the marriage negotiations fell through between England and Spain. Interestingly, Carducho remarks upon this generous gift, "*I don't know which is more ennobling; generosity or the possession and appreciation of a beautiful object. For sometimes such objects bring renown and esteem to an entire nation*." Certainly, Charles understood how art could bring esteem to England. For Carducho text, see: Robert Engass and Jonathan Brown eds., *Italian and Spanish Art 1600-1750: Sources and Documents* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 214, accessed November 26, 2014, http://books.google.com

United Provinces if it agreed to withdraw financial and military support for the Dutch.[357] Between 1614 and 1624, a proposed marriage between Prince Charles and Infanta Maria, known as the Spanish Match, offered further hopes for a peace between Spain and England despite the fact that this proposal was widely unpopular in both kingdoms due to their insurmountable religious differences and political ties with other realms. Most notably, James I would neither agree to have his son Charles convert to Catholicism to appease the wishes of Philip III nor would he withdraw his support of his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, who had accepted the crown of Bohemia in 1619. In 1625, the year Charles ascended to the throne, England renewed its support of the Dutch cause. It was under these prickly political conditions that Rubens, acting as a diplomatic envoy came to London from May 1629 to March 1630 to negotiate the exchange of ambassadors to facilitate a truce between England and Spain. During that stay, he painted *Peace and War* (Figure 110, Diagram 13), which was likely a gift to His Majesty to commemorate this exchange of ambassadors.[358] The painting placed by Charles I adjacent to Titian's portrait of *Charles V with Hound*. These portraits of Charles V and Philip II were likely placed here as a reminder of the Stuart Dynasty's overarching foreign policy to have peace with Habsburg Spain, either through marriage or other diplomatic measures.

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[357] Pauline Croft, "Brussels and London: the Archdukes, Robert Cecil and James I," in *Albert & Isabella (1598-1621)*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo. (Leuven: Brepols, 82-85.

[358] The circumstances around Rubens' gift of *Peace and War* to Charles I are still a matter of speculation. He may have given it to His Majesty as a gift for receiving the Banqueting House ceiling commission or as an exchange for the departing envoy gifts he received from the king. Charles I knighted Rubens at the time of his departure from London, so this event may have been the occasion when Rubens gave the painting to Charles I.

Rubens' *Peace & War*

Rubens' *Peace and War* was an impressive subject to follow the splendid processional of portraits along the tiltyard side. In Rubens' allegorical painting, the splendors of a mythical golden age surround a voluptuous, scantly dressed woman, identified as Peace, nursing her newborn child. This chubby baby, often identified as Plutus, God of Wealth,[359] looks lovingly up at his mother, as if eager to taste the milk expressed from her breast. Directly in front of this loving pair, a robust, sun-tanned satyr holds up a cornucopia bursting forth with fruits and grape vine tendrils. A leopard, behaving in the same manner as a domestic cat, docilely lies on its back and reaches up to grab one of these spiraling vines. At the same time, the leopard sensuously wraps its tail around a nearby bacchanal-esque female attendant's heel. This semi-clad woman in turn carries a golden bowl overflowing with treasures, i.e. the benefits of peace, while another attendant, just behind her, lifts up her arms and shakes a tambourine—ushering in the joys of peace and prosperity.

More often than not, marriage alliances, just as the failed Spanish Match discussed above, are the most peaceful means to resolve the conflict of war between royal houses. Rubens included a mythical marriage celebration on the opposite side of the cornucopia, which is consistent with the abundant complexities of this allegorical composition. Hymen, God of Marriage, wields a torch in one hand, and in the other he crowns with a floral wreath the young, fair bride, who is wearing a golden yellow gown.

[359] Gregory Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Flemish School* (ca. 1600-ca. 1900), (London: National Gallery, 1970), 116-122.

A winged cupid turns toward the bridal party and tugs with his left hand at a few low-hanging grapes. At the center of the group, a little girl in a blue dress stands coyly; she holds a grape in one hand and directs her gaze towards the viewer as if she were asking permission to consume the fruit.

Chaos threatens to destroy this tranquil scene, as Mars, God of War, pulls back his sword in great rage. A Fury accompanies him in the distance, directing the storm clouds above. Fortunately, Minerva stands directly behind Peace to protect them all. With impressive force she pushes Mars away with her right arm. Mercury, the Messenger God, holding a caduceus, swiftly follows behind in her wake, prepared to crown Peace with the laurel wreath of victory.

Several figures in this painting have been identified as the children of another Stuart court favorite, Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663): Plutus is his youngest son at this time, James, Hymen is his eldest, George, the fair bride is his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and little girl holding a grape is Susanne.[360] Balthazar Gerbier himself was an integral figure in the Stuart court who doubled as a diplomatic agent and art connoisseur. He began his career in the service of the Duke of Buckingham, holding the position of his Master of the Horse and curator of his art collection. In 1631, he then served as the king's diplomatic representative in Brussels and when he returned to court in 1641, Charles I named him Master of Ceremonies.

In the case of Rubens' painting, however, the artist included Gerbier's children due to his own intimate connection with the family. During the artist's stay in London from May 1629 to March 1630, he resided in Gerbier's home, so such familiar life

[360] Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues*, 1970, 120-121.

models were a matter of practicality for the artist. Since Gerbier was intimately connected to courtly life and politics, His Majesty would have recognized Rubens' models. In fact in March 1630, shortly after the exchange of ambassadors, Charles I was named godfather to Gerbier's most recently born son, Charles, exemplifying the fact that the king most certainly felt a strong sense of guardianship towards the Gerbiers.[361] Perhaps when he viewed this painting, Charles I felt a pressing need to protect these children from the dangers of Mars, i.e. War, who is poised just behind them. One can also imagine that precocious gaze of little Elizabeth Gerbier was especially intended for His Majesty. Holding the grape in her hand, she asks Charles I, "May I partake in this fruit of peace?"[362]

Charles I likely placed Rubens' *Peace and War* here to celebrate the peaceful diplomatic settlement this painting commemorated, a settlement in which Rubens played a small part. So, perhaps the entourage of portraits along the tiltyard side, especially those related to Habsburg Spain, relate in one way or another to that political event.[363] As

[361] David Jaffé, "A Plea for Peace: Minerva Protects Pax from War ('Peace and War'), Peter Paul Rubens," in *What Makes a Masterpiece: Artists, Writers and Curators on the World's Greatest Works of Art*, Christopher Dell, ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2010), 214-217.

[362] My reading here of *Peace and War* follows Rubens' explanation of his later allegorical subject, *The Horrors of War*, ca. 1638-1639, painted for Ferdinando II de Medici. Rubens created this painting as a political commentary on the effects of the Thirty Years' War. In a letter to Justus Susterman, dated March 12, 1638, Rubens explained the composition's allegorical meaning. For example, he states "There is also a mother with her child in her arms, indicating that fecundity, procreation, and charity are thwarted by War, which corrupts and destroys everything." In short, children are the ones most vulnerable to the consequences of war. [For the entirety of Rubens' letter, see: Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 408-409.]

[363] It must be noted here that Honthorst's portraits of Frederick Hendrick (Figure 134) and Amalia von Solmes were placed in the Bear Gallery after Rubens' 1629-1630 visit. The portrait of Frederick Hendrick is signed and dated 1631, and the portrait of Amalia von Solmes is lost. Both would have entered the Royal Collection closer to Van der

a diplomatic emissary for Habsburg Spain, Rubens came at this time to London in late spring 1629 in order to negotiate the exchange of ambassadors between the English and Spanish Crowns. This measure was a necessary step before ratifying a peace settlement in December 1630, with one addendum insisted upon by Charles I: Spain would reconsider the restitution of the Palatinate to his sister and brother-in-law, Elizabeth and Frederick V of Bohemia. Since Frederick V's defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 by the joint forces of the Holy Roman Empire, the German Catholic League and Spain, Frederick V and his wife Elizabeth had been living in exile in The Hague. Frederick's lands and right to be an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire passed on to the Duke of Bavaria. Charles I suggested the following peaceful resolution to the conflict to Rubens, who recounted it in his diplomatic correspondence with Olivares, the Spanish prime minister:

> "...discussions are still being held here, and the King himself told me in a friendly way that it would be advisable to propose some marriage between the children of the Count Palatine and the brother of the Duke of Bavaria. No one has any idea of the ages and qualities of the young people, but if there is any conformity between them, all would approve the alliance."[364]

Charles also requested the return of the garrison towns in the Lower Palatinate that his father, James I had surrendered to Spain according to the terms of the Treaty of London.

Both of these peaceful options were quickly abandoned soon after the exchange of ambassadors. Ultimately, the 1630 peace settlement renewed the Anglo-Spanish trade

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Doort's ca. 1639 inventory, the time when marriage negotiations began between their son, William II, to Charles I's daughter, Mary. The other portraits along the tiltyard side likely were in the Bear Gallery at the time of Rubens' visit.

[364] Ruelens/Rooses vol. 5, 191; see also 88. [Cited in: Ulrich Heinen, "Rubens's Pictorial Peacekeeping Force: Negotiating through 'Visual Speech-Acts,' " in *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies: Approaches, Perspectives, Case Studies from Europe and America*, edited by Udo J. Hebel and Christoph Wagner, (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 44.]

measures of the 1604 agreement with the additional codicil that England would protect Spain's trade interest in the southern Netherlands. For the sake of peace, Charles found it too costly at this time to support his sister and brother-in-law's interest in the Palatinate.[365] Instead, Charles I made peace with Spain and temporarily freed Great Britain from the ongoing conflict of the Thirty Years' War.

Rubens' *Peace and War* functioned as an allegorical portrait of Charles I's aspirations. Kevin Sharpe suggests this possible interpretation in his book, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660*, because during the years that followed the peace settlements with France and Spain respectively, Charles was continually described as both a king of peace and a king of war.[366] In his sermon *A Looking Glasse for Princes and People*, the Presbyterian minister William Struthers (1578-1633), dedicated to the king upon the birth of Prince Charles, reiterated the king's *modus operandi* that 'a good king ruleth his people in peace...but sometimes security will draw him to war."[367] Observing the king's passion for the chivalric Order of the Garter and his love of hunting, the noted politician and provost of Eton, Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639) proclaimed that in this "image of war you do exercise your vigorous spirits."[368]

Ultimately, Charles sought peace in his realm but was aware of the prospect of war on the horizon and fashioned his image as both peacemaker and warrior. History

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[365] Gregory Martin, "The Diplomat at Work," in *Rubens in London: Art and Diplomacy*, Gregory Martin (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2011), 79-86.
[366] Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 255.
[367] William Struthers, *A Looking Glasse for Princes and People,* 78. [Cited in: Sharpe, *Image Wars,* 255.]
[368] Sir Henry Wotton, *Panegyrick*, 54-55. [Cited in: Sharpe, *Image Wars,* 256.]

proves that Charles did not abandon the Protestant cause after the peace settlement with Spain. In 1631, he sent James Hamilton, the third marquis of Hamilton, to Germany with an army of 6000 men in support of Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden. 1639, the year of Van der Doort's inventory, also marked the beginning of the Bishops' Wars in Scotland, a religious dispute between Charles and the Covenanters over the liturgy of the Church of England.[369] War loomed on the frontier and it was Charles' duty, just as Minerva in Rubens' *Peace and War*, to protect his people and bring peace.

Daniel in the Lions Den in The Bear Gallery

Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (Figure 14), the final painting on the tiltyard side, was an equally engaging subject for His Majesty's Bear Gallery at Whitehall. In the previous chapter, Dudley Carleton's motivations for giving this painting to Charles I, ca. 1628, were discussed in terms of the Royal House's obsession with lions in their heraldry, in relation to the literature and poetry dedicated to their Majesties and the famous royal menagerie in the Tower of London. Lion mythology ran deep in English literature at the time, as Falstaff tells Prince Hal in Shakespeare's *Henry IV (Part One)*, "Why, thou know-est I am as valiant as Hercules, but beware instincts; the lion will not touch the true prince."[370] The king and visitors to the palace most definitely would have appreciated many of these regal leonine associations at any time during his reign.

[369] Refer to my chapter on James Hamilton for a more in depth discussion of Charles I's further involvement in the Thirty Years' War and the Bishops' Wars in Scotland.
[370] William Shakespeare, *Henry IV (Part One)*: II. iv.

It is still unclear though when *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was hung in the Bear Gallery after Sir Dudley Carleton gave it to Charles I. Technical examination of Rubens' *Peace and War*, however, may provide the answer. Rubens completed this painting in two distinct phases (Figure 140). First, he painted the central core of figures, measuring 136 cm by 213 cm, and then he added five additional pieces of canvas to enlarge the composition to its final size of 203.5 cm by 298 cm. Since the canvas at these edges is visibly cusped and distorted, it is evident that the artist mounted this part of the canvas to a stretcher and brought it to some degree of completion before he added the additional sections.[371] It was not unusual for Rubens to enlarge his compositions at various stages, but this particular enlargement seems to be an intentional change made at a much later stage.[372] Perhaps near the conclusion of Rubens' diplomatic visit, Charles I asked Rubens to give him a painting equivalent in size to *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, which would both commemorate the exchange of ambassadors and complement the majestic sentiment of this earlier masterpiece then in the Bear Gallery. So, Rubens took *Peace and War*, a painting he already started during his stay in London, and then expanded it to meet the request of His Majesty. As a result of this enlargement, *Peace and War* and *Daniel in the Lions Den* are nearly equivalent in size.

[371] Ashrok Roy, "Rubens's *Peace and War*," *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* Vol. 20 (1999): 89-95.

[372] *Daniel in the Lions' Den* measures 224.2 cm by 330 cm, only 21 cm by 32 cm larger than *Peace and War*. This is less than a one-foot difference both in width and height. In the expansion, he may have been constrained by an existing frame. This would have restricted him from matching the precise dimensions of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. For more on Rubens' workshop practices and the limited size of canvases available to the artist in London, see Arthur Wheelock's entry on *Deborah Kip, Wife of Sir Balthasar Gerbier and her Children*, ca. 1629-30 [Wheelock, *Flemish Paintings*, 196-205.]

Most recently, it has been suggested that the king may have placed this biblical painting by Rubens next to *Peace and War* due to the felines depicted in both subjects, since the Royal House held a monopoly on both the lions and leopards kept in England.[373] One then should ask why did Charles I not keep these two regal Rubens paintings together *in perpetuum*? By 1643, only four years after Van der Doort recorded these two paintings in the Bear Gallery, Charles I gave *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to James Hamilton.[374] At this later date, Charles I may have felt that these regal pendants had gradually become redundant in Whitehall. As early as 1636, the king could direct his visitors instead to Rubens' paintings in the Banqueting House ceiling. There, one could behold, in a larger and more allegorically integrated manner, Rubens' glorification of the peaceful reign of Charles' father James I.

Nevertheless, during the time that Rubens' *Peace and War* and *Daniel in the Lions' Den* remained together in the Bear Gallery, ca. 1630-1643, the allegorical connection between these two pendants likely ran deeper than regal cats. One must turn to the underlying narrative of both subjects to see the larger picture. The biblical story of Daniel in the Lions' Den implies that only a man of true faith, i.e. a "true prince," can survive impossible odds. Rubens' *Peace and War* similarly suggests to us that only a true king can safeguard his people from the incredible dangers of war and usher in a time of peace. Perhaps a visitor to Whitehall, was meant to ask himself or herself while walking through the Bear Gallery: "Am I as worthy of His Majesty's favor as these men and women commemorated here? Am I coming to His Majesty in the greater interest of peace

[373] Jaffé, "A Plea for Peace," 217.
[374] Charles' possible political and personal motivations for giving this painting to Hamilton are the subject of the following chapter.

over war? Will the true king Charles I protect me against the dangers of the lions' den?" Such questions could only be answered once one exited through the Holbein Gate and entered the Privy Gallery to meet Charles I.

Chapter 6: Rubens' Lions in the Collection of James Hamilton

Introduction

It is difficult to conceive how Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions Den*, a painting so befitting the King of England, did not remain in the Royal Collection. Nonetheless, the provenance of this masterpiece proves that Charles I gave it to his favorite courtier, James Hamilton (1606-1649), 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton. In 1643, just four years after the Van der Doort inventory of Whitehall Palace, it is recorded in Hamilton Palace, Scotland. Precisely *when* and *why* Charles I gave the painting to Hamilton is not known.

It has been suggested by Arthur Wheelock that the king presumably gave it to Hamilton around the time the king conferred upon him the title of Duke on 12 April 1643. [375] This is a likely scenario; however, the king may have given *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to him slightly earlier. Charles called Hamilton his "closest Scottish Kinsman" and often signed his letters to him "Your loving Friend and Cousin" or "Your most assured friend."[376] Charles' father, James I even noted the affection Charles had for the Marquis. According to Gilbert Burnet's *The memoirs of the lives and actions of James and William dukes of Hamilton and Castle-Herald* (1677):

> King *James* was likewise glad to see his Friendship for my Lord Marquis and his Family like to prove Hereditary, by the kindness he saw growing up with the

[375] Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century. The Collection of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue*. (Washington, D.C., Oxford University Press: 2005), 172.
[376] Gilbert Burnet, *The memoirs of the lives and actions of James and William dukes of Hamilton and Castle-Herald.* (London: J. Grover for R. Royston, 1677), 4, 15. Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed June 3, 2014, http://eebo.chadwyck.com

> Prince for his Son; in whose youth there was an agreeable Sweetness, which gained him an early room in the Princes Affections, and took so deep a rooting there, that nothing was ever able to deface it; and as he had the Honour to be the Princes nearest Kinsman by Royal Blood of Scotland, so he spent several of his younger and more innocent years in his company.[377]

James Hamilton was "the Princes nearest Kinsman by Royal Blood" and this fact may have motived both James I and his son Charles to make Hamilton a dear friend to their family. If Henrietta Maria failed to produce an heir to the Stuart Dynasty, the House of Hamilton was the next royal house in line for the Scottish throne.[378] No doubt this fact made for a rather complex and often volatile relationship. For, no matter how close Charles and Hamilton were throughout their lives, their mutual enemies at court knew that this issue could create a wedge between them. Furthermore, no matter how genuine their affections were for each other, Hamilton's claim to the Scottish throne was a threat to Charles' authority not only in Scotland, but in England as well.

One way Charles I and James Hamilton found to express their friendship was through their mutual affection for art. According to the Van der Doort's 1639 inventory alone, Hamilton gave Charles fourteen works, either as gifts or in exchange for paintings from the Royal Collection.[379] So then, these two men had a well-established precedent for giving and receiving art from each other well before 1643, when Hamilton was named Duke. Furthermore, this mutual affection for art was more of a shared obsession that

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[377] Burnet, *The memoirs*, 2.

[378] In 1445, Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow was made the first Lord Hamilton when he married Princess Mary Stewart, James II of Scotland. As a result of this union, the Hamiltons stood in direct succession to the throne of Scotland. [See: Hilary L. Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless: James, First Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649).* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1975), 7.]

[379] See index in Oliver Millar, ed. The Thirty-Seventh Volume of the Walpole Society (1958-1960). *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I.* (Glasgow: The University Press, 1960)

often distracted them from their political and military ambitions both on the continent and at home. Most of the artworks they exchanged and gave to each other were tokens of affection between art lovers beyond the more usual ritualized exchanges of gifts that was established in courts between kings.[380] Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, however, seems to have been a royal gift of an entirely different order of importance. Hamilton may have wanted this particular Rubens' painting in the Royal Collection, and Charles I decided to give it to his friend on another significant, i.e. politically turbulent, occasion. Charles I's motives for giving *Daniel in the Lions' Den* to his "Closest Scottish Kinsman," as well as Hamilton's desire to possess this majestic painting, are reconsidered in the discussion below.

James Hamilton's Introduction at Court

In 1620, at the age of fourteen, James Hamilton, then Earl of Arran, left Scotland for his first introduction to the court of James I. He enjoyed all the spectacles and entertainments London had to offer. He went to see the lions in the Tower and took

[380] The English court custom of New Year's gift exchanges is a more accurate reflection of the kinds of gifts given to and from a monarch. Members of court gave small tokens of gratitude according to their rank. Such gifts included cash, musical instruments, gloves, and marmalade. An amusing example of such gifts is found in the New Year's Gift Roll from Charles I in 1627. An apothecary gave the king a "glass of hot water." Obviously the gesture was worth more than the fleeting nature of the gift itself. [See: *Egerton 2816 New Year's Gift Scroll* in the British Library] The monarch then gave in return gilt plates. For a further discussion of this custom, See: Jane A Lawson, ed. *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges* (1559-1603). (Oxford: The British Academy, 2013), 20-21.

pleasure in the Jousting Event for James I Accession Day on 24 March 1621.[381] In between regal entertainments, he relaxed at his father's residences at Fisher's Folly in Bishopsgate and at the Hamilton quarters within Whitehall Palace. His father, the second Marquis of Hamilton, had a tremendous art collection which included works attributed to Venetian masters such as Palma Giovane, Jacopo Bassano, Tintoretto, and Andrea Schiavone, not to mention other more contemporary masters such as Caravaggio, Guido Reni, and of course, Peter Paul Rubens.[382] The Earl of Arran learned from his father at this early age that an art collection was an essential component to represent his standing at court.

A *Lion Hunt* (Figure 105) by Rubens, likely the version of this subject now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, entered the second Marquis' collection shortly after the young Earl of Arran's arrival in London. Rubens referred to the painting in his letter to Trumbull, dated September 3/13, 1621:

> "I have almost finished a large picture entirely by my own hand, and in my opinion one of my best, representing a Hunt of Lions; the figures as large as life. It is an order of My Lord Ambassador Digby to be presented, as I am given to understand to the Marquis of Hamilton."[383]

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[381] All major events and dates in Hamilton's life can be verified in: John J. Scally, "James Hamilton, first duke of Hamilton (1606-1649)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 3, 2014, http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxygw.wrlc.org/view/article/12087?docPos=14

[382] Paul Shakeshaft. "To Much Bewiched with Thoes Intysing Things': The Letters of James. Third Marquis of Hamilton and Basil, Viscount Feilding, concerning Collecting in Venice 1635-1639." *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 128. No. 995 (Feb., 1986), 115, accessed January 9, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/.

[383] W. Noël Sainsbury. *The Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, As an Artist and a Diplomatist*. (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859), 60-61.

The young Hamilton likely admired his father's recent Rubens acquisition. Perhaps he was reminded of lion-baiting entertainments he saw at the Tower, or in the very least, he took pleasure in the subject itself. Since ancient Egypt, lion hunting has been a sport reserved for royalty. Since both James I and Charles I considered the Hamiltons to be among their closest kinsmen to the royal house, likely the Hamiltons enjoyed the regal associations within Rubens' leonine subject.

When the second Marquis of Hamilton died on March 2, 1625, his son surprisingly did not automatically inherit his father's art collection. Instead, a special inventory of thirty-seven paintings from his estate was drawn up twelve days after his death, labeled 'Coppy of the Note of pictures & payntings Belonging to the Right honorable Marquis Hamleton deceased delivered to my Lord Duke according to my Lord Marquis his warrant of 14th March 1624/5.' This inventory was given to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the most influential man in the Stuart court. Several of these works reappear in Buckingham's 1635 inventory, reconfirming that the Duke was offered them before they were given to the second Marquis' son, James Hamilton.[384] One in particular, listed previously in the second Marquis' Hamilton's inventory as "A chasse of Lions of Rubens," appears in the 1635 Buckingham's inventory as "Ruebens.—The Hunting of Lyons."[385] In effect, the young third Marquis lost his father's *Lion Hunt* in 1625 to the

[384] Philip McEvansoneya, "An Unpublished Inventory of the Hamilton Collection in the 1620s and the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures." *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 134, No. 1073 (Aug., 1992): 524-526, accessed March 22, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/885165.

[385] It is unclear what happened to this *Lion Hunt* after it came into the possession of Buckingham's son George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham in 1635. In 1677, the painting is mentioned again in the collection of Armand-Jean de Vignerot du Plessis, the duc de Richelieu (1629-1715). This *Lion Hunt*, however, may not be the same painting originally owned by the second marquis of Hamilton. Instead it could be another version

king's favorite the Duke of Buckingham. So then, Charles I gift to Hamilton of his own leonine Rubens' painting, *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, may have been partially a way for the king to give his closest Scottish kinsman the closest painting he had in the Royal Collection to Rubens' *Lion Hunt*.

In terms of the political machinations that fueled the Stuart court, it was a wise move on the part of the second marquis to offer his collection to Buckingham before his own son. Much like Carleton, who gave Buckingham a marble gate and chimney for York House in order to advance his own interest in the provostship of Eton, the second marquis of Hamilton showed his continual gratitude to Buckingham on his own deathbed since his own career had been much indebted to the Duke. In 1617, Buckingham had made him a Privy Councillor, and around this time the two men also became close friends. In January 1618, both Buckingham and the second marquis of Hamilton performed with Charles, then Prince of Wales, in Ben Johnson's masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*. Many at court noted that these two men were inseparable. In fact, when Buckingham was granted the title of marquis on January 1, 1618, the two men were nicknamed "the two Marquises."[386]

Offering his paintings to the Duke was also a way for the second marquis to help secure his son's future at court. This was not the first time he made sure his son was in good standing with the Duke. In 1622, just two years after his son's arrival in London,

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of the same subject that the duc de Richelieu inherited from his uncle Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). For more on the uncertain provenance of Rubens' *Lion Hunt*, now identified with the canvas in the collection of the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, see: Arnout Balis. *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard Part XVIII: Landscapes and Hunting Scenes (II: Hunting Scenes)*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 162-173.

[386] McEvansoneya, "An Unpublished Inventory," 524.

the young Hamilton married Mary Fielding, the niece of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. He was now family to the most powerful man after the king. In 1623, Hamilton joined Charles and Buckingham in the gallant, yet ill-conceived, Spanish Match voyage to Madrid to woo the Infanta Maria Anna. When the three young men returned home empty-handed in October that year, Charles soon handed Hamilton numerous honors at court. In January 1624, Charles named him a Gentleman to the Prince's Bedchamber. Following the death of his father in March 1625, James Hamilton's position at court was further enhanced. He inherited his titles, becoming the third Marquis of Hamilton and second Earl of Cambridge.

During the funeral of King James I on May 7, 1625, just two months after the death of his own father, Hamilton and James Stuart, 4th Duke of Lennox, led the Scottish representatives in the funeral procession. That same month he accompanied Buckingham to Paris to bring back Charles' bride, Henrietta Maria. In October, Buckingham took Hamilton with him to the Netherlands to negotiate a potential alliance against Spain. The following February, Hamilton was given the great honor of carrying Charles' sword during his coronation. Not yet twenty years old, the young third Marquis of Hamilton was a central figure in Stuart England, second only to the Duke of Buckingham.

Outwardly Hamilton had everything a young courtier could desire, but inwardly he felt he was short-changed as a high-ranking Scottish nobleman who was in the line of succession to the throne. He increasingly resented his court-arranged marriage with Buckingham's niece whom he found socially inferior to his noble pedigree. In fact, this issue was a sore point for him for much of his life. Even in his last letter to his brother

before his execution, Hamilton alluded to his unhappy match.[387] For similar reasons he also resented Buckingham's higher standing at court. Among the most prominent members of the Scottish nobility, he also took issue with Charles I's Act of Revocation (1625), in which Charles I issued an annual land tax on all church property in Scotland that had been taken by the nobility since 1540.[388] Furthermore, his father left him upon his death a crippling debt of over £31,000, and the only way for him to avoid his creditors was to flee to Scotland.[389] These pressing and volatile issues gave Hamilton ample reason to retreat from court life. Thus, the cost of being a courtier weighed too heavily upon Hamilton, so, on February 11, 1628, he went into self-imposed exiled on Island of Arran, and waited for the tide of politics to turn in his favor.

The assassination of Buckingham six months later, on August 23, 1628, allowed Hamilton to usurp Villier's position as the king's favorite. Hamilton returned to England and on November 12, 1628, he was named Master of the Horse to Charles I, a position of honor previously held by Buckingham. He was then named Gentleman to the King's Bedchamber, as well as other various honors and lucrative posts throughout his tenure in the Stuart Court, including a royal pension of £2,500 yearly, and the positions of Lord High Steward of Hampton Court, High Steward of Portsmouth, and Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood House.[390] Politically he rose up the ranks of power, serving first in the mid-1620s as Earl of Cambridge in the House of Lords and eventually became a member of

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[387] John J. Scally, "James Hamilton, first duke of Hamilton (1606-1649)." in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, accessed June 3, 2014, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12087

[388] *ibid*

[389] *ibid*

[390] Hamilton not only owned land in Scotland, but he also was entitled to the fief of Chatelherault in France. An estimate of his entire estate came to a value of some £300,000. For a complete list of his various titles, see: Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 46.

the Privy Council in 1633. In effect, Hamilton became one of Charles' most trusted advisors, and second in command. All these honors may have been a way for Charles to both appease and award Hamilton who inherently had a claim to the throne.

Early Portraits of Hamilton

A closer examination of portraits made of Hamilton during his early tenure at court reveal how these successive honors elevated him both in power and prestige. With each successive honor bestowed upon him, he both literally and figuratively grew and matured in stature. In 1623, James I's court painter Daniel Mytens painted the seventeen-year-old courtier in the height of Spanish fashion (Figure 141). This painting, now in the collection of Tate Britain, was commissioned shortly after his return from Spain with Charles and Buckingham. Likely his appointment to Gentleman to the Prince's Bedchamber, the shy young portrait of Hamilton is reminiscent of early portraits done by Velasquez.[391] His austere stature and somber dark attire gives the teenaged Hamilton a sense of gravitas generally not associated with youth. The viewer is more easily captivated by his crimson stockings and sparkling white shoes than the young Marquis' reserved expression and sword he grasps in his left hand. After three years in the Stuart court, Hamilton was still very much a boy who wore the trapping of a courtier without being fully at ease with his role.

[391] Jonathan Brown and John Elliot, eds. *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations Between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-1655*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 173.

Mytens painted Hamilton's portrait again five years later, and by this time he exudes the confidence of the "king's favorite." In this portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland (Figure 142), Hamilton stands as tall and upright as the column placed behind him.[392] He holds a large brimmed hat in his left hand and a walking stick in the other. With his right arm, Hamilton possesses more power and self-possession than the shy seventeen-year-old holding his sword in Mytens' earlier portrait. By this date, Hamilton was both Master of the Horse and Gentleman to the King's Bedchamber. Not surprisingly then, the twenty-two year old Hamilton bears in this later portrait virtually the confidence of a king—*that is the confidence of a man who could have become king.* When comparing this portrait to Mytens' portrait of Charles I painted three years later in 1631 (Figure 143), in the National Portrait Gallery, London, the primary difference between these two men are the trapping of kingship.[393] Charles has besides him the royal crown, orb, and scepter, while Hamilton proudly shows the sword he inherited from his father, likely the very same sword he surrendered to Cromwell at the Battle of Preston.[394]

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[392] "Daniel Mytens, James Hamilton, 1st Duke of Hamilton, National Portrait Gallery Scotland," last modified June 3, 2014, http://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/M/3538/artist_name/Daniel%20Mytens/record_id/2794

[393] "Daniel Mytens, King Charles I, National Portrait Gallery, London," last modified June 3, 2014, http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw01219/King-Charles-I

[394] Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 216.

Hamilton and the German Campaign

Charles I never doubted Hamilton's fidelity or thought him capable of treason—even with his closest Scottish kinsman's proximity to the throne. On May 30, 1630, less than two years after Hamilton's return from his exile in Scotland, and one day after the birth of the heir to the English throne Charles II, Charles I appointed Hamilton commander of an army to assist the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, in his campaign against the Habsburg and imperial forces in Germany. Charles hoped that Hamilton, with the help of his Protestant ally, would help win back the Palatinate for his sister and brother-in-law, Elizabeth and Frederick of Bohemia, the Winter King and Queen. Hamilton amassed an army 6,000 men total, 5,000 English and 1,000 Scottish soldiers, with the financial support of the crown. In October, Charles elected Hamilton to the chivalric Order of the Garter, further signifying the king's utmost trust in his closest Scottish kinsman and support of his mission in Germany.[395] Hamilton, as both military commander and newly elected Garter knight, possessed in the eyes of the king the "manly virtues" to succeed in his first campaign.[396]

Before the king's favorite could embark with his army to the continent, Hamilton's enemies found ways to stir suspicion that he would use his army to overthrow the king. James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, was the first to suggest that Hamilton was guilty of high treason. Charles refused to give credence to such an accusation, since it was well known at court that the Ochiltree family had a long-standing feud with the Hamiltons.

[395] Richard Cust, "Charles I and the Order of the Garter," *Journal of British Studies* (April 2013): 343-369, doi: 10.1017/jbr.2013.57.
[396] *Ibid* [Especially note p. 358]

The Ochiltrees had briefly seized the Hamiltons' estates in Scotland in 1581 and bad blood remained between the two families. Now with an issue to the throne, Charles had even less reason to suspect his chosen favorite, and he made a public gesture that he trusted Hamilton. According to Gilbert Burnet's *The memoirs of the lives and actions of James and William dukes of Hamilton and Castle-Herald* (1677):

> "But His Majesty would not hear of that (i.e. Ochiltrees' accusation), on the contrary commanded him (Hamilton) to lie in the Bed-chamber that night; and he expressed his confidence and kindness for him, in such a strain both of behavior and discourse, that the Marquis frequently said, he looked on the kindness of that night, as that which obliged him more than all the other publick testimonies of the King's favour and bounty he ever met with; for His Majesty embraced him with such tender affection, that he had been a monster of ingratitude, if had ever been able of forgetting it."[397]

Whatever transpired that night in the king's bedchamber, Hamilton proved to his king that he was in every sense of the word his closest Scottish kinsman.'

Hamilton's campaign in Germany was a total failure. After Gustavus Adolphus, nicknamed the "Lion of the North," defeated the forces of Tilly at Breitenfeld, Hamilton was ordered to march towards Frankfurt. Plague and famine wiped out one third of Hamilton's army and soon various stories of his inept handling of the army reached London. One soldier named Christopher Crowe, who served under Hamilton in Silesia, reported on December 14, 1630 that each man was only given one pound of bread every four days, and that only 100 men survived from the original 6,000 troops. Crowe exaggerated Hamilton's loses, but Hamilton's ineptitude as a military commander nonetheless was confirmed by others, including the Swedish minister Oxenstierna who

[397] Burnet, *The memoirs*, 13.

remarked that is was Hamilton's mishandling of his troops that led to his catastrophic failure in Germany.[398]

Charles I, however, blinded by his deep affection for Hamilton, refused to hear that his chosen favorite was incompetent on the battlefield. He imprisoned Crowe and put him on a starvation diet, and proceeded to blame everyone else, including Gustavus Adolphus, for Hamilton's mistakes. Eventually Charles asked Hamilton to return to London, stating in a letter he wrote to the marquis on 24 September 1634: " It is not fit to stay any longer where you are, for the impossibility of your employment there, and the necessity of your business here, requires your return...you shall be no sooner come than welcome to [me]."[399] Hamilton returned home, not a victorious hero on the battlefield, but still the most trusted friend and kinsman to the king.[400]

Perhaps as a small consolation for his inability to restore the Palatinate for Charles' sister, Hamilton brought back from Germany a wide variety of paintings and

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[398] Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 32-34.

[399] Charles to Hamilton, September 24th 1632. [See: Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 36-37.]

[400] It should be noted here that Hamilton likely commissioned a portrait by Anthony van Dyck upon his return to England. A portrait of Hamilton by a follower of Anthony van Dyck recently came up for sale at Christie's, South Kensington on 2 December 2014 (Sale 5870 Lot 729). The portrait bears a later inscription, "James Duke of Hamilton;/Knight of the Garter; Beheaded,/by y Rebels in 1648/9; Aged 43." The figure appears close in age and appearance to the 1628 portrait of Hamilton by Mytens (figure 141). Furthermore, the sitter prominently displays his Order of the Garter Breast Star on his cloak, which suggests that this portrait was completed after Hamilton became a Knight of the Garter in October 1630. No known portrait by Van Dyck similar to this one is documented in current scholarship. The artist was in London in the spring of 1632 to early in the year of 1634, the same time that Hamilton was on campaign in Germany. Since Hamilton returned to England in autumn of 1634, it is probable that a Van Dyck portrait derived from this example would have been completed shortly after Van Dyck's return to England in the spring of 1635. For more on this painting, see: http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/follower-of-sir-anthony-van-dyck-portrait-5851093-details.aspx?intobjectid=5851093

sculptures from his one successful military incursion with Gustavus Adolphus: The plundering of Maximillian's Residenz in Munich. Two years into his deployment, Charles wrote to his favorite the following request on 30 April 1632: "I hope shortly you will be in a possibility to perform your promise concerning pictures and statues at Muneken (i.e. Munich), therefore now in earnest do not forget."[401] This blatant request for war booty is further substantiated by the eyewitness account of Frederick V, the Winter King, who witnessed the raid. In a letter to his wife Elizabeth, the Winter Queen, he wrote:

> I came this morning with the King [Gustav Adolphus] to the beautiful house of my good cousin [Maximilian]. The Marquis of Hamilton admires it, saying he never saw anything more beautiful. He has got the best, but there are many more beautiful things, but which cannot be gotten easily...[402]

It should be noted here that the taking of war booty was widely regarded as the right of the victor and his allies and not as an odious act of pillaging by conquering forces. Hugo Grotius explained in *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625), a treatise held in high esteem by Gustavus Adolphus, that "...booty may be granted among allies."[403] Likewise as Charles I's newly appointed knight of Order of the Garter, Charles would have viewed Hamilton's war booty as a rightful chivalric gift for His Majesty.[404] Seven of these raided artworks are confirmed by the Van der Doort inventory, revealing a diverse and eclectic

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[401] Burnet, *The memoirs,* 28-29. [Cited in: Oliver Millar, *The Queen's Pictures* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1977], 36.
[402] Bromley, G. 1787. *A Collection of Original Royal Letters...from the Year 1619 to 1665*. (London, J. Stockdale), 50. [Cited in Timothy Wilks, "Plundered art for the collections of Charles I? The capture of Munich in May, 1632," in *Excalibur: Essays on Antiquity and the History of Collecting in Honour of Arthur MacGregor,* (British Archaeological Reports International Series, 2013), 50]
[403] Wilks, "Plundered art ," 47.
[404] Richard Cust, "Charles I and the Order of the Garter," in *Journal of British Studies* (April 2013): 343-369, doi:10.1017/jbr.2013.57.

range of spoils given to the king. These include a *Suicide of Portia* by Guido Reni,[405] a cabinet painting by Frans Franken II, a painting of *The Three Kings* possibly by Otto van Veen,[406] a *The Last Supper* by Palma Giovane,[407] an *Adam and Eve* by Lucas Cranach,[408] painting by Jan Snellinck I of *The Ascension of the Virgin,* [409] and a small bronze of the Laocoon.[410] This sculpture must have been pleasing to His Majesty, as it served as the

[405] "Done by Guido Bollonez. Item a peece of Porsea upwards to the righte shoulder with her left hand opening a Chafendish of redd hott Coales, shee being in a darke Cullored Drapery and a Jewell at her breast painted upon Copper in a black ebbone, some part gilded frame brought—from Germaine by my Lord Marquesse—Hambleton and given to (1 f 2 1 f 0)." [Cited in: Oliver Millar, ed. The Thirty-Seventh Volume of the Walpole Society (1958-1960). *Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*. (Glasgow: The University Press, 1960), 62]

[406] "Brought by the Lord Marquesse of Hambleton from Germany and—given to the king. Item above the dore a peece of the three kings comeing to offer to Christ conteyning i7 little—figures, whereby an Ox and an Asse in ye Stable (1 f 6—2 f 3)" (Millar, 64) Described further in inventory appendix (V & A. MS., f. 87) as "The Three Kings offering to Christ done by Octavia Venn in a round Ebony fframe, given by ye Lord Marquis Hamilton" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's*, 224)

[407] "Done by the young Palmo. Item a little peece of the young Palmo being the Lords Supper little intire figures, Brought by the Lord Marquesse Hambleton out of Germany and given to your Majesty being in a wooden gilded—frame, done upon the right lighte (1 f 8 –3 f 0)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's*, 81)

[408] "Don by Lucas Cronick, gave to your Majesty by—my Lo: Marquesse of Hambleton: Item the Picture of Adam & Eve whereby in a bush lying at rest a greate stagg with great hornes on his head, Adam is eating—the Apple being. 2. Intire figures, brought from Germanie by my Lo: Marquesse Hambleton painted upon the right lighte (1 f 7 ½ 0 f 1 ½)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's*, 90)

[409] "Done by Snelling Brought from Germanie by my Lord Marquess Hambleton and given to the King. Item the Picture of the Assention of our Lady whereby the Appostles standing by the grave—lookeing upwards with wondering St. Peeter kneeling with a goulden key, and an Iron key painted upon Copper in a black waved ebbone frame (2 f 1 1 f 7)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's*, 65)

[410] "Said to be don by—given to your Majesty by my Lo: Marquess of Hambleton. Item the Statua of Laocoon with his two—Sonns killed by the great Serpents which my Lo: Marquess brought from Germany out of the Duke of ...Chamber, as tis—Called in high Dutch (2 f 2—0 f 0)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's*, 95). The bronze of the Laocoon cannot be traced to a specific copy of this sculptural masterpiece. David Howarth suggests that this Laocoon might be a version of the bronze in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This observation must be taken rather broadly, since the size indicated by Van der Doort, 2 feet 2 inches, vastly exceeds the 30 cm dimensions of the V&A Laocoon.

centerpiece in Royal Collection of bronzes within the Cabinet Room at Whitehall.[411] It was by far the largest bronze within the room, measuring two feet and two inches, and would have been a pleasing reminder of Hamilton's one successful military raid. Hamilton lost the war, but the gift of art was an act of triumph in the eyes of the king.

Only three of the paintings can be identified today with any certainty. Remaining in the Royal Collection are Palma Giovane *Last Supper*, but it is in such poor condition that it is not on view to the general public.[412]

Hamilton's Gifts to the King

Van der Doort lists seven other artworks Hamilton gave to Charles I on other unspecified occasions, which further shows how customary it was for the marquis to shower His Majesty with the gift of art. These works include a small landscape by Tobias

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[See: David Howarth, "Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptors" in *The Late King's Goods*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), 102.]

[411] It should be noted that three gifts from Hamilton, the bronze *Laocoon*, the portrait of *Martin Luther* and the *Adam and Eve* by Lucas Cranach were displayed in the Cabinet Room, which was constructed in 1630-31, shortly before Hamilton's return from Germany. This in fact may explain why these artworks were placed here, since newly acquired art was needed to fill this gallery. The Cabinet Room was also near the king's bedchamber, further suggesting the personal interest these works may have held to Charles I within the Privy Gallery at Whitehall. For more on the layout of Whitehall see: Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1648*. (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1999), 93.

[412] The Cranach *Adam and Eve* has been identified as the painting in the collection of Baron Charles Emmanual Janssen, Brussels. [See: Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 233.] *The Ascension of the Virgin* (Figure 144) by Jan Snellinck I is now identified as a work by Denys Calvaert. [See also: John Shearman. *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 176-177.]

Flessier,[413] a still life by El Labradore,[414] a portrait of *Erasmus of Rotterdam* by George Pencz,[415] an unattributed painting of *St. Jerome in a Landscape,*[416] a Bacchus Feast by "Sockacleave" (perhaps Michiel van Coxcie or Cornelius van Cleve) later used as a pattern for a Mortlake tapestry series,[417] a Lucas Cranach portrait of *Martin Luther,*[418] a portrait by François Clouet of *Mary Queen of Scots*.[419] Only the El Labradore still life

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[413] "done by =ffleetsheere. Item betweene the Second windowe. A landkipp peece. Bought by *ju M* of ffleetsheere—By the Marquess of Hambletons means (1 f 9 –2 f i)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 53)

[414] This Picture—the king. Had—in Exchange from my Lo: Marquesse of Hambleton—Item upon a Cloth painted upon a stoane—Table a wicker wine bottle, and a speckled—white earthen wine pott, and a wine Glass and a white earthen dish wherein some Citherns and a white Napkin by, wherein some Sausages De Bellonia, a loafe of bread and some greene herbs with Cracknells which the kinge did Chang. With the Lord Marquess of Hambleton giving. Him a peece of grapes and fruits for the same Done by the Labradore (I f 10 2 f 4)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 64)

[415] "Done by George Spence of Nor=renbourch brought by the Lo:Marquess Hambleton and given to the—king. Item the Picture of Erasmus Rotterdamus with furr'd gowne and a black Capp with both his hands painted upon a greene ground beeing in a black waved ebbone frame. (2 f.0 1 f 6)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 66)

[416] "Item a sitting St. Jerome with a Booke in his—right hand and a dead skull in his left hand a Crucifix and a lyon by in a rocky landskipp upon a board in and all over gilded frame...Brought by the Lord Marquess of Hambleton and given to the kinge (1 f 5 ½ --2 f 2)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 67)

[417] "Given to the king by my Lo:Hambleton supposed to bee don by. Item a Baucus feast Conteyning some 22: Children and a Goate amongst them, one of the Children sitting upon a Tree pissing downe painted upon the light upon a Board in a wooden frame." (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 70) According to MS Ash. 1514, f. 92: "said to be done by Michael Coxsee or the Sotecleaf. Item under these 3 pecees belongeth a little peece of Baccus ffeast a manie young children and Angells which the Kinge delivered with his owne hands to Sir james Pallmer for him to use for a pattorne for the making of hangings the which he hath sent to Moreclack amongst the tapistrees workees (0 f 8 –i f ½)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 70)

[418] "Done by Lucas Cronick. Item hereunder is the Picture of Doctor Martin Lutor in a black eight square ebone frame brought by. Yor Matie at Greewich by my Lo: Marquess Hambletons meanes, painted upon the wrong lighte (0 f 4 –0 f 4.)" (Millar, *Abraham van der Doort's,* 86)

[419] Described by Van der Doort as "Item a little Picture painted upon the right light of Queen Mary of Scotland—which your Maty had of my Lord Marquesse Hamilton when hee had the greate Mantua Picture out of Hampton Court Gallory which is don by the Venecian Capaceene beeing the Parrable where he without a wedding garmt was thrust

(Figure 145) and the George Pencz portrait of *Erasmus* (Figure 146) definitely remain today in the Royal Collection. The Clouet portrait of *Mary Queen of Scots* may be a version listed in Her Majesty's collection, but too many copies of this portrait survive to definitively identify this one. Interestingly, Timothy Wilks recently suggested that Cranach portrait of *Martin Luther* was likely acquired during Hamilton's military campaign in Germany, but not from the raid of Maximilian I's Residenz. Such a controversial Protestant figure would not have been welcomed in the gallery of a Prince-elector of the Holy Roman Empire.[420] This particular portrait of Martin Luther also remains unidentified.

At first, Van der Doort's list of Hamilton gifts seems to be a disparate array of objects, however, upon closer examination it is clear that the marquis carefully hand-selected several of these art works to give to His Majesty. Hamilton did not need to be a sophisticated connoisseur to know that a Clouet portrait of Charles' grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots would please the king. Furthermore, Hamilton may have had an equally obvious motive for selecting the portrait of *Erasmus of Rotterdam* by George Pencz. The Duke of Buckingham presented the king ca. 1625 with a portrait of Erasmus after Hans Holbein the Younger (Figure 147),[421] so Hamilton may have thought that another portrait

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out from the wedding feast." (Millar, 158) Perhaps this "little picture" is the portrait miniature by Clouet in the Royal Collection. Search: "Clouet Mary, Queen of Scots, Royal Collection" (RCIN: 401229): http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/401229/mary-queen-of-scots-1542-87

[420] Wilks, "Plundered art," 46.

[421] "Erasmus after Hans Holbein the Younger, Royal Collection" (RCIN: 403036) http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/403036/desiderius-erasmus-1466-1536

of this famous humanist would be similarly appreciated by the king.[422] In essence he was trying to fill Buckingham's shoes and the subtle message of a well-chosen gift would have pleased His Majesty. In every sense of the word, he was the new Buckingham, or as Francis Haskell aptly concluded about the marquis' early interest in collecting, "...[Hamilton's] eagerness to buy works of art was probably due less to personal feelings than to his desire to succeed the murdered Duke of Buckingham in the King's affections."[423]

In a similar vain, he also may have wanted to compete with another major collector, Lord Arundel, who was known for large acquisitions of northern Renaissance masters, especially the works of Holbein. In fact, when Hamilton was acquiring the Venetian collection of Bartolomeo della Nave in the late 1630s, his brother-in-law, Basil Viscount Feilding, the English ambassador, remarked to him that Hamilton's art collection, "...will cast a shadow upon my lo. of Arundell's collection and sume even say upon himself; for I believe except the Kings that there are not such peeces in England."[424] Both possessing and giving to the king the most desirable art in the eyes of prominent art connoisseurs in Stuart England was an absolute must for Hamilton.

A closer examination of Van der Doort's inventory also reveals that Hamilton gave two of these artworks in exchange for other paintings in the Royal Collection, further suggesting the king considered his favorite to be collector and connoisseur of

[422] Hamilton gave Charles I the Pencz painting in 1632, shortly after his safe return from Germany and could be considered part of the spoils of this military campaign. Van der Doort does not specify the origin of this gift, so this possibility remains mere speculation. (Wilks, "Plundered art," 46.)
[423] Francis Haskell. "Venetian art and English collectors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." *Verona Illustrata* (1999, n. 12), 13.
[424] Feilding to Hamilton, Venice, 1st January (N.S.) 1638. (Shakestaft, "To Much Bewiched,"130.)

considerable merit. The still life in the Royal Collection by Juan Fernandez, El Labrador, was exchanged with Hamilton for a painting by the same artist of "... a peece of grapes and fruits for the same Done by the Labradore." Hamilton's El Labrador still life remains unidentified, but similar works survive. El Labrador's *Still Life with Hanging Bunches of Grapes* (Figure 148), Prado Naseiro Collection, much like the El Labrador still life Hamilton exchanged with Charles, has a rustic charm that appealed to English collectors during the seventeenth century. Perhaps the simple beauty of this artist's chosen subject matter reminded both Charles and Hamilton of their travels together throughout Spain during the Spanish Match. This shared experience may explain why both men collected still lifes by this artist.

Van der Doort also states that Hamilton gave the small Clouet portrait of *Mary Queen of Scots* in exchange for a rather large painting, measuring 235 by 543 cm., by Fra Semplice da Verona (ca. 1589-1654) depicting the parable of the *Guest without a Wedding Garment* (Figure 149 and 150), ca. 1622. This painting was part of the Gonzaga Collection Charles I acquired in the early 1630s and was likely exchanged with Hamilton for the Clouet *Mary Queen of Scots* shortly after the painting's arrival in London.[425] Charles I had distaste for the works of Veronese and likely disliked the Fra Semplice due to its stylistic similarity to works by this Venetian master. In fact, Hamilton explained this fact in 1637 to the English Ambassador in Venice, Basil Viscount Feilding, Hamilton's brother-in-law, who was helping him acquire paintings for the king and himself from the Della Nave Collection, stating "...he [Veronese] beeing a master not

[425] Sotheby's London 8th July 1987 Lot 38.

verie much estimed by the King..."[426] So then, a large and theatrical "Veronese-sque" banquet scene was an easy trade for the king, especially when he got in return a portrait of his grandmother.

Hamilton's Art Collection

During the decade of time that past between his return from Germany in 1632 and the beginning of the English Civil War in 1642, Hamilton amassed an art collection that in many respects rivaled the king's. Many of Hamilton's paintings came from the Venetian collections of Bartolomeo della Nave, the Procurator Priuli and Nicolo Renieri. He acquired then between the years 1635 to 1639 through the assistance of his brother-in-law, mentioned above, Basil, Viscount Feilding, the Ambassador to Venice. The Marquis' impressive holdings partially explain Charles I's desire to exchange paintings with his friend and fellow art connoisseur. According to an inventory of Hamilton's collection made shortly before he became Duke in 1643, he had an astounding 600 paintings listed in his estate. Unfortunately many of the paintings listed in the inventory are unattributed, but scholars speculate that at least half of these paintings are Venetian, exceeding the Venetian holdings of Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham.[427] Over two hundred of these paintings were later sold to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels. Fifty of these eventually became the core collection of Venetian masterpieces of the

[426] Hamilton to Feilding, St. James's, 5th/15th May 1637 (Warwick C.R.O. Feilding MS. CI/80). Cited in Paul Shakeshaft. 'To Much Bewiched with Thoes Intysing Things': The Letters of James, Third Marquis of Hamilton and Basil, Viscount Feilding, concerning Venice 1635-1639,' *Burlington Magazine*, Vol.28, No. 995 (Feb., 1986), 124.
[427] Shakeshaft, "To Much Bewiched," 114.

Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.[428] These works include Bellini's *Young Woman Holding a Mirror* (Figure 151), Palma Vecchio's *Nymphs bathing* (Figure 152) and *Madonna and Child with Saints* (Figure 153). Hamilton's collection also included works attributed to Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese.[429]

Charles I is known to have given paintings as outright gifts to his chosen favorite. His motives for doing so may at first seem obscure since several of these works had illustrious origins. For example, Charles gifted Hamilton two important paintings by Geertgen tot St Jans (1465-1595), *The Lamentation* (Figure 154) and the *Legend of the Relics of St John the Baptist* (Figure 155), which were part of a diplomatic gift from the Dutch States-General in 1636.[430] The two paintings originally came from the right wing of the Knights of St John in Haarlem, and were removed from its original location in 1573 during the siege of the city and eventually sold to the States-General shortly before they were given to Charles I. Karel van Mander mentions this altarpiece in *Het Schilder-Boeck*, further confirming the importance of these paintings in the canon of Netherlandish art.[431] In an inventory of Hamilton's estate, made shortly before he became Duke in 1643, these two paintings are catalogued as: "The two dutch peces presented to ye Kinge

[428] For more on Archduke Leopold William's Collection see: Jonathan Brown. "Amator Artis Pictoriae: Archduke Leopold William and Picture Collecting in Flanders," in *Kings & Commoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, (Washington D.C.: The National Gallery of Art, 1995), 147-183.
[429] For a complete list see: Shakeshaft, "To Much Bewiched," 114, footnote 4.
[430] J. Bruyn and Oliver Millar. "Notes on the Royal Collection-III: The 'Dutch Gift' to Charles I," *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 104, No. 712 (July., 1962), 291-294, accessed March 22, 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/873712.
[431] Bruyn and Millar, "Notes on the Royal Collection-III," 293.

from ye states of Holland."[432] In a later inventory made shortly before his death in 1649, these same paintings are described:

> 315 Two pieces wth came from Hampton Court, the one where they be
> 316 goeing a prossession, and burning the bines of St. John Baptist
> The other where they have taken our Saviour downe from the Crosse.[433]

According to the latter inventory description, however, it is clear that the king first kept the gift in Hampton Court before giving them to Hamilton.

What then motivated the king to part with these two paintings? The States General also gave to the king in 1636 an *Adam and Eve* by Mabuse (Figure 156) and a *St. Jerome* possibly by Lucas van Leyden,[434] however, Charles I kept them. Perhaps he found the Geertgen tot St Jans panels too similar to antiquated style of other fifteenth century Netherlandish artists, which the king did not collect.[435] Possibly Hamilton himself may have had more of an appreciation for early Netherlandish art than did the king since he had travelled to the United Provinces with Buckingham in October 1625 to negotiate a potential alliance against Spain. Should that have been the case, Charles I may have wanted to give his favorite two paintings he particularly desired from the Royal

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[432] Bruyn and Millar, "Notes on the Royal Collection-III," 294.
[433] *ibid*
[434] whereabouts unknown
[435] Lorne Campbell explains in the catalogue of the Royal Collection that Charles I did not have much of an interest in collecting other northern masters such as Dürer or Holbein. For: "...from the pattern of his collecting—and there is no more direct kind of evidence—it would appear that Charles I as a young man took some interest in early Netherlandish painting and particularly in mid-sixteenth-century portraits. As his fondness for classical art increased, however, and his love for Italian, and especially Venetian, painting developed his taste for Netherlandish art seems to have diminished." [See: Lorne Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1985), xxxix-xl. Cited in: Francis Haskell's "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," "in *The Late King's Goods,* ed. Arthur MacGregor (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), 217.]

Collection. The king may as well have had a political motive for sharing the this gift from the States General with Hamilton: the Marquis had played a part in diplomatic measures between England and the United Provinces during the previous decade, and by donating two works from this illustrious Dutch gift he may have signaled his appreciation for his efforts.

Charles I's Gift of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*

Why and when did Charles I give Hamilton Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*? The answer to these questions may be found in *where* the painting is first documented—Hamilton Palace, Scotland. First of all, this was not the only residence Hamilton could have selected to house this painting. Part of his picture collection was documented in his lodgings at Hampton Court, and by June 1638, he owned both the manor at Chelsea and the mansion of Chelsea House. Furthermore, sometime between the 1635 and 1637, Hamilton moved from his residence within Whitehall to Wallingford House, the former residence of the Earl of Portland, which was literally next door to the royal palace. This residence had fifty-four rooms with substantial space to hold Hamilton's growing collection. The entrance to Wallingford House also adjoined the Tiltyard at Whitehall,[436] where Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* hung in the Bear Gallery. So then, why did Hamilton bring *Daniel in the Lions Den* to Hamilton Palace, Scotland?

One possibility is that Hamilton appreciated the leonine political implications of Rubens' painting. As discussed earlier in the chapter on Carleton, the lion was a royal

[436] Shakestaft, "To Much Bewiched," 116

beast in the eyes of the English monarchy. It seems probable that when Hamilton received *Daniel in the Lions' Den* as a gift from Charles I, he understood that in Scotland this majestic canvas could serve as a royal banner of sorts within Hamilton Palace. Charles I gave this regal, heraldic image to him and Hamilton displayed it in the place where he most needed to show the regal authority granted to him by the king.

A precedent for such celebratory regal imagery existed in the Stuart court with Gerrit van Honthorst's elaborate *portrait historie, King Charles I of England and his wife Queen Henrietta as Apollo and Diana* (Figure 157), dated 1628, which served a similar function within the Banqueting House. This painting overtly celebrates the divine right of monarchy and Charles I's great pride in his patronage of the arts. The king and his wife, Henrietta Maria, dressed in the guise of Apollo and Diana respectively, sit high up in the heavens as the Duke of Buckingham, dressed as Mercury, presents them with the Liberal Arts. The dimensions of the canvas, 357 x 640 cm, indicates that it would have fit perfectly between the columns at the south end of the building, making it the focal point for any visitor entering this royal reception room. Joachim von Sandrart, Honthorst's assistant who accompanied the artist for his 1628 visit to London, confirms that this was the intended original location for this painting. However, according to Van der Doort's inventory, by 1639 the painting was in the storage room between the Banqueting House and Privy Lodgings.[437] Indeed, the painting never hung in the Banqueting House because Buckingham was assassinated on August 23, 1628, shortly after Honthorst completed the commission, Charles would have found the explicit associations with Buckingham inappropriate for a place of honor in the Banqueting House.

[437] J.Richard Judson & Rudolf E.O. Ekkart. *Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656).* (Ghent: Davaco Publishers, 1999), 107-108.

The Bishops' War

Hamilton needed regal imagery to assert his power in Scotland. Soon after his return from Germany in 1632, he became one of Charles' leading advisors in Scottish secular affairs. When Charles came to Edinburgh for his coronation in the summer of 1633, Hamilton again stood by the king's side. Instead of holding the king's sword as he did during his previous coronation in London, Hamilton rode directly behind Charles as he made his state entry. In effect, Hamilton was second only to the king. When trouble surfaced in Scotland, the king turned to Hamilton for support.

The close friendship between Hamilton and Charles I is perhaps best revealed in Van Dyck's portrait of Hamilton as an aide to the king in *Charles I in the Hunting-Field* (Figure 158), ca. 1636, in the Musée du Louvre. As identified by Hilary L. Rubenstein in her biography *Captain Luckless: James, First Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649)*, in this painting Hamilton dutifully performs his task as the Master of the Horse to His Majesty.[438] Charles bestowed this much-coveted position in the Royal Household to Hamilton following the death of Buckingham in 1628. The Master of the Horse is the third Great Officer to the King's Household, after the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward. The Master of the Horse tends to the Royal Mews and accompanies His Majesty on ceremonial occasions, such as the royal hunting expedition depicted in this

[438] Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 40. [Surprisingly, this same figure remains unidentified in the catalogue raisonné of the artist, likely due to the fact that there are no identifiable attributes around his person, such as his sword or Order of the Garter medal. The similarity of his face to his other portrait by Van Dyck discussed above makes this identification highly plausible. See: Barnes, *Van Dyck*, 466-468.]

portrait by Van Dyck.[439] This painting tells us how Charles I perceived his favorite within the Royal Household, a close and loyal servant who tended to His Majesty's royal steed and not the persistent threat to the crown that Hamilton's enemies would have the king believe him to be. Charles towers above Hamilton and greets the viewer with a confident expression befitting a king, while Hamilton slightly bows down behind him. Hamilton literally has "the king's back" as he dutifully peers into the distance behind His Majesty. To the bitter end, Charles viewed Hamilton as his most loyal servant, friend and closest advisor. This friendship is not only exhibited in this painting which depicts them both, but it is also shown in the paintings they exchanged with each other.

In April 1638, a year before Van der Doort documented *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the Royal Collection, Hamilton was named the royal commissioner to resolve the Scottish Troubles, a religious dispute between Charles I and the Covenanters, defenders of the Scotland's Presbyterian Church who refused to accept the new liturgy of the Church of England. This conflict, better known today as the Bishops' Wars (1639-1640),

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[439] Charles I spared no expense when it came to maintaining the Royal Mews and his Master of the Horse. In fact, the value of this illustrious position is perhaps best understood by the cost of supplying the post. When Hamilton accepted the position in October 1628, he received according to a royal warrant, " £400, on accompt, for provision of the horses for his Majesty's use," followed six months later by an additional £17 stipend, as well as "£400 towards like provisions thereafter," and £200 to maintain the royal stables. According to royal expenditure two years later, Charles issued that the Master of the Horse would additionally supply 20 of the king's hunting horses with:

> "a watering head-stall and reins of leather, a pair of pastrons, trammels, a double collar, a double reins, a white and green cloth, horse-houses lined with canvas and bordered with white and green cloth, a canvas hood, a leading reins, a surcingle of brown web, a horse-comb, a man-comb, a sponge, a round hair-brush, 48 ells of canvas for a bag, a dusting cloth, a hunting snaffle, a girth and a stirrup leather."

The Master of the Horse was among the most well paid servants in the royal household. For more on the history of the office during Hamilton's tenure, see: M.M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1976), 176-177.

became, in effect, the precursor to the English Civil War. In April 1639, Hamilton was appointed general of the king's forces and Charles I joined him in Scotland to take arms against in the Covenanters. Even though Charles I had complete confidence in the military prowess of his chosen favorite, Hamilton once again proved his failings as a military commander. On May 1, 1639, Hamilton sailed up the Firth of Forth with 5,000 men and found that even his own mother, Anna Cummingham, joined the opposition and vowed to kill her own son if he landed on the shores of Scotland. Two months later, on July 8, Hamilton resigned from his position of Royal Commissioner. Nevertheless, Charles still found Hamilton an invaluable asset to the royalist cause and subsequently named him his confidential secretary to keep him apprised of the Covenanters.

Hamilton would not have had Rubens' painting during the Bishops' Wars; however, these early Scottish Troubles highlight how much he needed regal imagery to assert his power in his native land. An occasion for Charles I to have presented the painting to Hamilton arose in 1641. In August of that year, the Marquis along with Lennox, who had just been named Duke of Richmond, and Prince Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine accompanied Charles I on the king's last visit to Scotland. Charles hoped to regain his authority in Scotland by breaking the alliance that had formed between the Covenanters and the Puritans. Hamilton was by the king's side when he made his formal entry into Edinburgh on August 12th and five days later on August 17th, he carried the king's scepter as Charles I made his official procession from Holyrood House to Parliament.[440]

[440] Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 129.

Charles may have given the painting to Hamilton at this time as a sign of his continued support of his personal favorite in spite of his failings during the Bishops' Wars. In fact, he may have felt that the biblical subject matter of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was pertinent to the turbulent political situation in Scotland. Daniel survives the lions' den because of his continued faith in the one true God, and Charles believed, as did his chief supporter Hamilton, that he would righteously triumph over the Coventanters and Puritans in Scotland. Charles, with his constant and firm belief in the divine right of monarchy, never doubted his dominion in the face of the ever-growing Scottish rebellion. Also pertinent to this situation is the lion mythology that circulated in English literature during the seventeenth century, from John Stow's *Chronicles of England* in which a noble lion never harms an innocent lamb[441] to Falstaff's quote from Shakespeare's *Henry IV (Part One)*, from whom Prince Hal is told, "Why, thou know-est I am as valiant as Hercules, but beware instincts; the lion will not touch the true prince."[442] In the eyes of the king, Hamilton, Charles I's closest Scottish kinsman and his "assured, constant friend," was a true prince to the realm.[443] In 1641, the timing was right for a gift to Hamilton of Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* as a visual expression of their shared faith in the Royalist cause.

[441] John Stow, *Chronicles of England* (1605), 1428. Early English Books Online (EEBO), accessed June 3, 2014, http://eebo.chadwyck.com
[442] Shakespeare's *Henry IV (Part One):* (II. iv)
[443] Sir Charles Petrie, ed. *The Letters Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I.* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd, 1935), 106-112.

Hamilton's Fall from Grace

Despite Charles and Hamilton's outward display of unity during the king's last visit to Edinburgh in 1641, their shared enemies knew precisely how to damage this bond with outrageous lies and courtly intrigue. Hamilton's inherent proximity to the throne was all that was needed to stir suspicion. This time rumors of high treason and even a plot supported by his majesty to have Hamilton assassinated began to circulate in Scotland. This event, called "The Incident," left a permanent mark on the king's friendship with his closest Scottish kinsman.

The rumors began early on during this visit after Hamilton formed an alliance with the leader of the Coventanters, Archibald Campbell, eighth earl of Argyll. This alliance was a preliminary step in breaking the recent union between the Coventanters and the Puritans. Argyll's enemy, James Graham, fifth earl of Montrose, imprisoned since June in Edinburgh Castle by the Coventanters for leaking to the king that the Scots had possible intentions of deposing him, claimed now that Hamilton intended to depose Charles with his alliance with Argyll. Further adding insult to injury, Hamilton heard rumors that the king supported a plot to assassinate him in retaliation.

Reminiscent of the Ochiltree scandal ten years earlier, Hamilton was once again asked by the king to attend to his majesty in his bedchamber. Fearing for his life, Hamilton fled from Hollyrood House and wrote the following apology the next day, October 12, 1641:

> I did the last night show your majesty that the malice
> Of my enemies was great, which might necessitate
> an uncertainty of my happiness in the present attending
> on your majesty...for where should I find protection but from

> your sacred self and in your Court, unto your justice majesty so far to consider my faithful service, and those loyal thoughts that shall remain in me till death...[444]

That same day, Charles had Hamilton's letter read aloud to members of the Scottish Parliament. The king then remarked to his audience, "Neither did he think that he could have found (if any such thing had been) a surer sanctuary than his bedchamber."[445] Hamilton's actions led him to be temporarily banned from Parliament, and worst of all, compromised a lasting and effective peace settlement in Scotland.

Hamilton's End

Not so surprisingly, the king could not stay angry at his favorite. A month later, Hamilton was cleared of all charges and restored again in the king's favor. He remained the king's primary advisors in Royalist policy in Scotland, and received the prestigious title of Duke on April 12, 1643, the highest title a nobleman could obtain in the English court. Nevertheless, Hamilton was not free of court intrigue, especially from Montrose who had implicated him in the Incident. That same summer the Scottish Committee of Estates accused him and four other Scottish noblemen of treason for not signing the committee's Solemn League and Covenant, an agreement between the Covenanters and the English Parlimentarians during the early stages of the English Civil War. Hamilton thought the king would praise him for not signing the committee's Solemn League and

[444] Hamilton to Charles, October 12th 1641, in Helen C. Foxcroft, "An early recension of Burnet's memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton," English Historical Review, 24, July 1909, p. 539. [Cited in: Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless,* 134.]
[445] James Balfour. *The Historical Works.* Vol.3. (Edinburgh, 1824), 95. [Cited in: Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 134.]

Covenant, since it undermined the king's authority in Scotland. Montrose, Hamilton's sworn enemy, convinced Charles that Hamilton's diplomatic policies in Scotland were weak, and that Hamilton's motivations for not signing the committee's Solemn League and Covenant was: "that he [Hamilton] hath endeavoured to set foot a title to the crown of Scotland..."[446] Charles, fearful of losing Montrose's support in Scotland, arrested his favorite again. This time Hamilton temporarily lost all his titles, even Prince Rupert replaced him as Master of the Horse. He remained in prison for over two years, from January 1644 to April 1646, but was eventually released before trial.

Hamilton attempted then to retire from public life, but the king denied his request and proceeded to once again shower his favorite with further honors, including the title of Hereditary Keeper of Hollyrood House and the position of Sheriff of Lanark. Retirement was not an option. In spite of their constantly volatile relationship, these two remained kinsmen to the very end. In March 1648, the Scottish Parliament agreed to levy an army in support of the king against the Parliamentary forces of Oliver Cromwell. Hamilton, the most trusted and beloved man to the king, fatefully led the royalist charge across the Scottish border.

Considering Hamilton's track record as a military commander in Germany, it is easy to predict what happened next. On August 18, one month after his army marched into England, the Parliamentary forces under Cromwell surrounded Hamilton's men. He surrendered four days later and was subsequently taken to Windsor Castle on December 11, where his fellow kinsman and king was also taken prisoner. The following month, on January 30, 1649, Charles I was executed directly outside his beloved Banqueting House

[446] Burnet, 324-6. [Cited in: Rubinstein, *Captain Luckless*, 160]

at Whitehall. Hamilton attempted to escape from Windsor Castle, but was captured that very same day. No longer under the protection of his dear friend and king, Hamilton was charged with high treason and then executed at Whitehall on March 9, just six weeks after Charles met the same grizzly end.

Hamilton and Charles best expressed their character through the medium of art. Whether it was through the art they exchanged as connoisseurs, war booty, or as a royal banner of authority, art was the legacy they left behind. Sadly this "love of pictures" as Hamilton once confessed to his brother-in-law, Basil Feilding, could not save either of them. This obsession that defined them ultimately led to their downfall.

Hamilton's Later Portrait

This undeniable fact is evident in one of Hamilton's later portraits by Anthony van Dyck (Figure 159), in the Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein, Vaduz Castle. Painted in 1640, Hamilton likely commissioned this portrait for his Palace in Scotland near the end of the Bishops' Wars. Dressed in full military attire, the Marquis firmly grips his baton of authority in his right hand while resting his other hand on his helmet. He proudly shows his Order of the Garter medal, prominently displayed on the gold metal around his neck. The hilt of his father's sword is clearly visible on his left side, just as Mytens showed it in his 1628 portrait (Figure 142). As Arthur Wheelock aptly explained in his catalogue entry on this painting for the National Gallery of Art's Anthony van Dyck Exhibition, "...he [Hamilton] wished to be known to posterity as a

forceful and resolute leader, nothing could have been further from the case."[447] Ironically, Cromwell used this very same composition as a prototype for his own portrait.[448] He, unlike Hamilton, was a man who did not need art to assert his power. Hamilton possessed all the splendors of art that could fill the halls of his various estates, but in the end he is remembered as a weak and indecisive leader, both loved by his king and despised by his enemies.

Sadly, not even Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, a powerful and awe-inspiring image of regal strength in the face of adversity, could protect and defend Hamilton and Charles I from their enemies. For, art is an expression of power only for those who already possess it. In the end, *Rubens' Daniel in the Lions' Den* was virtually forgotten in Hamilton Palace for over two hundred years, while the Parliamentary forces under Oliver Cromwell, "the real predatory lions" that threatened Charles and Hamilton, devoured both the king and his closest Scottish kinsman.

[447] Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *et al*. *Anthony van Dyck*. (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 323-324.
[448] Susan J. Barnes, *et al*. *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 517-518.

Conclusion

Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was a painting rich in meaning both to the artist and to its subsequent owners in the seventeenth century. For Rubens, it was a means of reinventing and reinterpreting a biblical subject well known in western art. Unlike his predecessors, such as Tobias Stimmer (1539-1584), Maarten van Heemskerk (1498-1574), and Johannes Sadler (1550-1600) (Figure 27-30), Rubens ennobled his lions by imbuing them with strength and dignity that he derived from his study of antique and *all' antica* sculptures. Unlike his contemporary Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625) (Figure 36), he portrayed these enormous and magnificent beasts in ways that captured their most imposing postures and varied moods. In a similar manner, he depicted Daniel according to ancient sculptural models so that the prophet would evoke the heroic might of Alexander the Great and the profound inner strength of Daniel's faith. The result of Rubens' composition is a painting that resonates with the viewer on multiple levels, not only the power of faith, but also the very human reactions to dire, like-threatening circumstances. A further consideration for seventeenth-century viewers would have been the politically emblematic meaning of lions both in the Netherlands and in Stuart England.

For Rubens, an artist fully informed in the politics of his age, he transformed his regal beasts into potent emblems of the *Leo Belgicus*, the leonine personification of the United Provinces during the Eighty Years' War. The various *Leo Belgicus* maps produced at this time, as well as the political prints which featured the *Leo Belgicus*, suggest that Rubens was aware of this emblematic association when he created *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. In these political prints, the *Leo Belgicus* was featured either as the

personification of Netherlandish might from the perspective of the seven northern United Provinces, who sought full independence from Habsburg Spain, or from the viewpoint of the Spanish Archdukes, who desired complete reunification of all seventeen provinces under the aegis of the Spanish Crown. Since virtually no other artist before Rubens ever placed ten lions in their depiction of *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, it seems probable that Rubens selected this number to refer to the ten provinces of the Spanish Netherlands. Just as in the biblical story, the lions leave Daniel unharmed because the prophet is under the protection of God, so do the lions of the southern provinces restrain their natural ferocity because they are under the divine and righteous rule of Habsburg Spain.

The political implications of Rubens' lions is substantiated by the fact that images of these beasts appear in the works of Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669), particularly in his adaptation of Rubens' lion pride for *The Presentation of the Stadhoudership of the Seven Provinces* (Figure 98), for the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch in 1651.

Rubens' depiction of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* engaged his Stuart court patrons on multiple levels. For Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador to The Hague, the painting was a commodity that he used for political advantage: first in his attempted sale to Christian IV, King of Denmark, as a means to facilitate diplomatic relations between allies, and second as an ideal regal gift to secure career preferment in the court of His Majesty, Charles I. For Charles I, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was well suited for the Bear Gallery at Whitehall Palace. According to Van der Doort's ca. 1639 inventory, Rubens' painting was placed at the end of the tiltyard side of the gallery, following a grand procession of portraits related both to Charles I's diplomatic peace with Spain in 1630 and the broader political struggle facing Europe during the Thirty Years' War. These

portraits included individuals with Stuart familial ties, Protestant allies from the House of Orange, and Catholic allies from the Valois and Bourbon Dynasty, as well as the Spanish Kings.

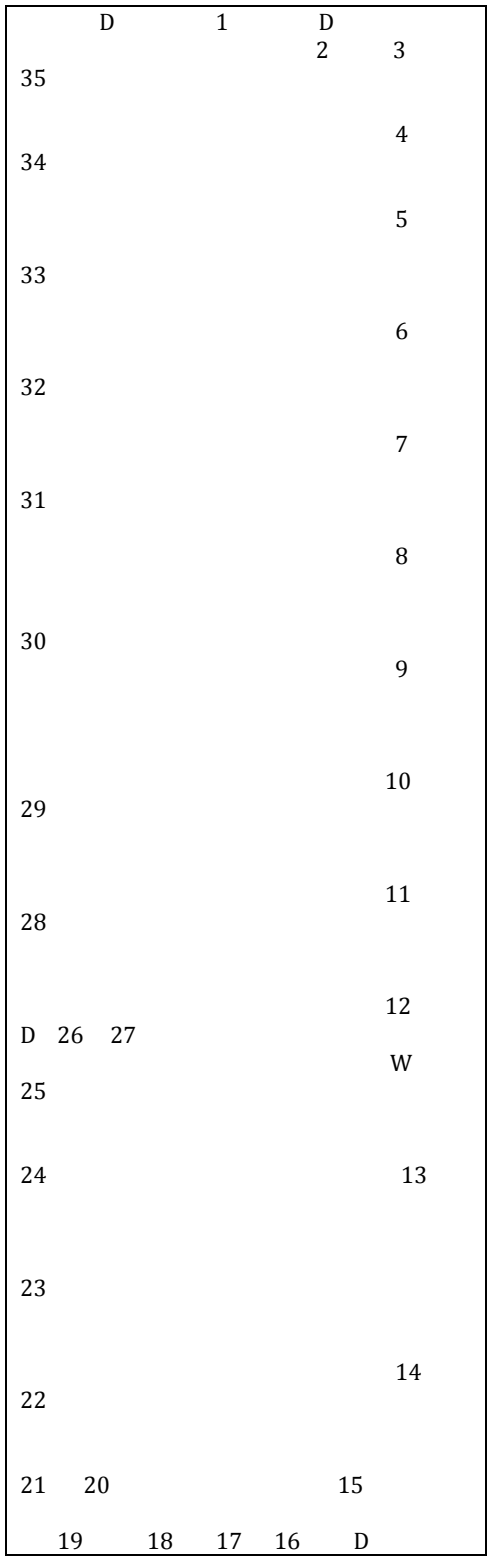
Tellingly, next to Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* Charles I hung Rubens' *Peace and War*, an impressive political allegory that Rubens presented to the king at the conclusion of his diplomatic visit to London from May 1629 to March 1630. Considering the similar size of these two paintings, it is likely that Rubens enlarged *Peace and War* so that it could function as a pendant to *Daniel in the Lions' Den*. Furthermore, in the context of the Bear Gallery, Charles I would have viewed *Daniel in the Lions' Den* as a political surrogate for himself, because the lion was the beast exclusive to the Royal House and was the heraldic emblem of his kingdom.

For James Hamilton-Douglas, first Duke of Hamilton, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* represented the king's endorsement of his political position in Scotland during the Bishops' Wars. The lions carried the might of Charles I's realm in both England and Scotland, but ultimately, Rubens' painting could not protect them from Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentarians. Even though legend proclaimed that lions would never harm a true prince, Cromwell executed both of them under the command of the Commonwealth.

In conclusion, it is fruitful to return to the words that Rubens used to describe this masterpiece to Sir Dudley Carleton: "Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from life; Original, the whole by my hand." With these words Rubens was not only telling Carleton that his painting was derived in part from real lions, but he was also informing his prospective patron that this magnificent subject was entirely of his own design. From each golden-haired regal beast in his majestic pride to the most minutest detail of a barren

tree and the subtest gesture of Daniel grazing a lion with his toes, every brushstroke and every figure was carefully rendered by the artist's own hand. Thus, in *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, Rubens boldly affirms not only the genius of his brush, but also the vast intellectual depth of his biblical, antiquarian, and political insight which appealed to a diplomat, a king, and a duke.

Appendix 1: Diagram of Bear Gallery (According to Van der Doort Inventory)
1/8inch=1ft, Gallery measured approximately 19 x 80 ft



Appendix 2: Bear Gallery Paintings

Diagram 1:
Leonardo Corona 'da Murano' (1487-1553), *Christ and the Samaritan Woman,* ca. 1540
Royal Collection

Diagram 2:
Unidentified painting by 'Permensius,' a small portrait of a woman in "reedish draperie" bought by Francesco Verzelini, (Italian secretary to Arundel).

Diagram 3:
Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Count Henry Vandenberch* (1573-1638), ca. 1628
Madrid, Prado: Inventory: 1486
[Another version of same painting in Chantilly]

Diagram 4:
Daniel Mytens (1590-1647), *Portrait of Count Ernst von Mansfield* (1585-1626)
1624, Royal Collection

Diagram 5:
Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick* (1584-1647), ca. 1631
Royal Collection
Diagram 6: Honthorst, *Portrait of Amalia van Solms* (1602-1675) (According to Millar, in Collection of Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, but not recorded in Judson)

Diagram 7:
Michiel Jansz. Van Mierevelt (1567-1641), *Prince Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange* (1567-1625)
ca. 1613-20, Perhaps Euston Hall version (according to Millar) after Rijksmuseum painting.

Diagram 8:
Daniel Mytens, *Duke of Brunswick (1599-1625),* ca. 1625, Royal Collection

Diagram 9:
Antonius Mor (1517-1576), *Philip II of Spain (1527-1598),* ca. 1560, given to Charles when Prince by Arundel, Perhaps version in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge after painting in Escorial (Millar)

Diagram 10:
Jacques Bunel (1558-1614), *Portrait of Henry IV [as Mars]* (1553-1610) "in his royall roabes and armes with a truchion in his hand done at Length"
73.2 x 53.1 inches, Chateau de Pau, France, painting originally attributed to Ambroise Dubois (1542-1614)

Diagram 11:
"Jennet" (Possibly Clouet?), *Portrait of Henry II of France (1519-1559)* with a perspective background by Hendrick van Steenwyck
Unidentified

Diagram 12:
Titian (1485-1576), *Portrait of Charles V with Hound*, ca. 1533, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Given to Charles I by Philip IV, ca. 1623

Diagram 13:
Rubens, *Peace & War*, ca. 1629-30, National Gallery London

Diagram 14:
Rubens, *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, National Gallery of Art, ca. 1614-1616, Washington, D.C.

Diagram15:
Bartolomeo Schidone (1578-1615), *Mary and Christ with St. John*, early 17th century, Royal Collection (Perhaps a copy after Guercino, according to Millar)

Diagram 16:
Daniel Mytens (1590-1647), *Portrait of King James IV of Scotland with a falcon on his fist*, ca. 1620-1638, Stirling of Keir Collection, Dunblane (According to Millar)

Diagram 17:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of Margaret Tudor*, ca. 1620-1638
Royal Collection

Diagram 18:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots*, ca. 1627
Royal Collection

Diagram 19:
Paul van Somer (c. 1577-1621), *Portrait of James I*, ca. 1618
Royal Collection

Diagram 20:
(above Figure 21): Salviate, *Three Angels Flying in Clouds with Palm Branches and Garlands of Flowers*. (Unidentified)

Diagram 21:
Paul von Somer, *Anne of Denmark with hunting dogs*, 1617
Royal Collection

Diagram 22:
Frans Pourbus the Younger (1569-1622), *Portrait of Marie de Medici,* ca. 1600
Possibly version in Prado or Louvre.

Diagram 23:
Michiel Jansz. Mierevelt, *Portrait of Charles, Prince Elector of the Palatinate,* ca. 1634
(Willem Jacobsz. Delff engraving after lost painting)

Diagram 24:
Anthony van Dyck (1500-1641), *Portrait of Henrietta of Lorraine,* ca. 1635
Kenwood (Given to Charles I by Endymion Porter, ca. 1635)

Diagram 25:
Van Dyck, *Portrait of the Duchess of Richmond,* ca. 1636
Philip Mould, Historical Portraits Ltd, Dover Street London

Diagram 26: (Above Carlyle Door): After Titian, small painting of Cupid with Two Pigeons (According to Millar, perhaps similar to painting of putti in National Gallery, London)

Diagram 27: David Baudringien portrait, *Prince Frederick Henry* (According to Millar, version in Anson Collection, Catton Hall)

Diagram 28:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of Ludovick Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox and the Duke of Richmond* (1574-1624)
ca. 1623-25, Royal Collection

Diagram 29:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of the Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628),* ca. 1619
Euston Hall, Duke of Grafton (or version in National Maritime Museum)

Diagram 30:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of 2nd Marquis of Hamilton,* dated 1622
Royal Collection

Diagram 31:
Daniel Mytens, *Charles Howard (1536-1624), 1st Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral,* ca. 1620
National Maritime Museum

Diagram 32:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of William Herbert (1580-1630), 3rd Earl of Pembroke,* ca. 1625
National Trust Hardwick Hall

Diagram 33:
Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of Jeffery Hudson (1619-1682)*, ca. 1628-30
Royal Collection

Diagram 34:
Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666)*, ca. 1632
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Diagram 35:
Van Dyck, *Portrait of Hendrik Liberti*
Private Collection (Sold at Christie's Old Master and British Picture Evening Sale, 1575, Lot 13)

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