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Charles I and Anthony van Dyck portraiture : images of authority and masculinity

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**CHARLES I AND ANTHONY VAN DYCK PORTRAITURE:
IMAGES OF AUTHORITY AND MASCULINITY**

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my parents,
Joseph and Helen.
To my patient partner these last fifteen years, Brent.
And of course to
King Charles,
Without whom these pages would be blank.

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of Charles I of England's projection of kingship through Sir Anthony van Dyck portraits during his personal rule. These portraits provide important insight into Charles' vision of kingship because they were commissioned by the king and displayed at court, revealing that his kingship rested on complementary ideals of traditional kingship in addition to divine right. In this thesis, Charles' van Dyck portraits are studied in the context of seventeenth-century ideals of *paterfamilias*, knight, and gentleman. These ideals provide important cultural narratives which were seen to be reflective of legitimacy, power, and masculinity, which in turn gave legitimacy to Charles' kingship. The system of values and ideals represented in Charles' portraits reveal that his vision of kingship was complex and nuanced, demonstrating that divine right was just one aspect of many, upon which his kingship was premised.

Acknowledgements

As with all major undertakings, this thesis would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of a number of people. First, I would thank my supervisors Drs. Janay Nugent and Malcolm Greenshields for their patient mentorship. Their steadfast dedication to my success and the completion of this thesis is genuinely appreciated. In addition, thank you to the other members of my supervisory committee, Drs. David Hay and Ian McAdam, for their thoughtful suggestions and encouragement. I am privileged to have studied under the guidance of these scholars.

I thank my partner, Brent Carless, for being my champion throughout my undergraduate and graduate degrees. His assistance in clarifying muddied lines of argument and strained prose has been of a titanic help and worth more than the few words of thanks mentioned here. I am certain he learned more about Charles I, Anthony van Dyck, and Caroline England than he ever imagined he would or ever even cared to. Brent, for all of your encouragement and assistance, you have my sincere thanks!

I have also been fortunate to have had the overwhelming support of friends and family and so to all of them, named and unnamed, thank you. I would especially like to thank Bryan and Mary Ann Lawrence for their friendship, delicious dinners, and providing me with a comfortable place to live during my studies. Thanks to Sandra Klevgaard for her assistance in completing necessary research. Sandra, your help was invaluable. To my aunt, Jane Sheils, thank you for your confidence and trust in helping me to achieve my goals. Dr. Terry Chapman, thanks for your enthusiastic history classes that sparked my passion for history. For kindly opening their doors and providing much-needed fun, drink, and conversation over the years, thanks to Nancy Carless and Myron

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INTRODUCTION

> Let your own life be a Law-book and a mirror to your people; that
> therein they may read the practise of their own Laws; and therein
> they may see, by your shadow, what life they should lead.[1]

James I, <u>Basilikon Doron</u>, (1599).

Charles I of England (r. 1625-1649) has been considered a haughty king, focused on establishing absolutism in his kingdoms. Historians have traditionally put a great deal of emphasis on Charles' contentious relationship with Parliament as he asserted his right to rule.[2] Whereas Charles' father James considered divine right kingship to be a political tool, for Charles, it was an intensely emotional and spiritual belief.[3] Moreover, Charles did not write a justification for kingship like his father. Instead he presented it in magnificent displays.[4] This distinction is reflected in Charles' complex and nuanced representation in portraiture. Undoubtedly, divine right was an important ideology for Charles, but his representation in portraiture demonstrates the importance he placed on portraying other attributes of legitimate kingship. Sir Anthony van Dyck's court portraits provide important nuanced insight into Charles' vision of kingship. These portraits express the king's political theory and justify his right to rule, demonstrating that his foundations for kingship went beyond divine right theory.

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[1] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron or His Majesty's Instructions to His Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince,* ed. Charles Edmonds (1599; repr., London: Wertheiner, Lea & Co., 1887), 84.

[2] Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (London: Longman, 2007); L. J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to the Personal Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Michael S. Kimmel, *Absolutism and Discontents: State and Society in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988); Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1974).

[3] David Starkey, *Crown and Country: The Kings and Queens of England: A History* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 330; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 17, 142.

[4] Kevin Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," in *Van Dyck and Britain,* ed. Karen Hearn (London: Tate Publishing, 2009), 15.

Representations of Charles provide a significant historical context for understanding the personal rule. As James opined, it was a king's duty to set an example so that his subjects "*may see, by your shadow* [or image], what life they should lead" (emphasis mine). James' statement emphasizes the importance of all aspects of the king's life and rule that were materialized in various media, such as portraiture. These were seen by his subjects to be extensions of the royal body and the king's authority.[5]

There is little doubt that Charles believed in divine right, but in his personal representations he chose to emphasize many other attributes of good kingship.[6] Van Dyck's portraits demonstrate that Charles' image incorporated other virtues that were neither exclusively royal nor necessarily connected to absolutism, to give greater legitimacy to his reign.

Charles' representational media employed three ideals that were part of English political and social discourse and were seen to be reflective of legitimacy, authority, and quality: *paterfamilias*, knighthood, and gentlemanliness. These aspects of Charles' image have often been largely considered piecemeal in other studies. This study seeks to consolidate these three aspects into a holistic assessment of the king's image as a reflection of *his own* vision of kingship. This thesis also differs from previous works on Charles and the Caroline court because it considers the rich discourse of gender that underwrote these three ideals. These ideals were also vital to perceptions of efficacious social and political leadership during his personal rule.[7]

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[5] This is the crux of Sharpe, *Image Wars* and Roy Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback* (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1972).

[6] Charles Carlton, *Charles I, the Personal Monarch,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1995), 158.

[7] For a recent discussion of the impact of gender on English politics from the 1640s to the 1650s see Ann Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

There are many overlapping themes within this study, but for ease of presentation it has been divided into three chapters. The first chapter of this study considers the king as head of his personal family as an analogy of his national family, of which he was also the head.[8] Men of Charles' time drew their legitimacy to lead their families from their success in producing children and maintaining an ordered household. The patriarch's role and the maintenance of order were expressions of successful masculinity in the household. This was an important ideal that was used widely in seventeenth-century political and social discourse.

The ideals and trappings of knighthood which traditionally denoted virtue and martial prowess are studied in the second chapter.[9] Knightly ideals influenced the representations and perceptions of authority and masculinity of all noble men in England at this time. Given the bellicose nature of seventeenth-century European politics, authority was connected to men who were perceived as accomplished warriors. Although Charles reformed knighthood, downplaying the importance of military success, his portraits nonetheless retained allusions to martial ability as a visual means of associating his kingship with authority.

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[8] For a sampling of studies about Charles' family image in art and masques, see Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*, 13, 19-21, 65, 68, 172; Erin Griffey, ed., *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics, and Patronage* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 152-157; John Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England,* eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 218-219; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale: University Press, 1992), 183-189; Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Susan Barnes, Julius S. Held, eds., *Anthony Van Dyck* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1990), 39, 284-285; Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: the Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)*,* 75-76, 133-135, 183, 188, 287-290; Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 22-25, 68-73.

[9] For a sampling of studies about Charles' knightly image, see Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 198-202; Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain,* 18-19; 31-32; 74-75; Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture, 199-229; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 219-222*;* Wheelock, et al., *Anthony Van Dyck,* 294-295; 364-366; J. S. A. Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England" in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England,* eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 161-197; Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 14-26; 44-97.

The final chapter examines the material and physical representations that were typically assigned to gentlemen, providing a particularly powerful historical context in which to consider portraiture and masculinity.[10] Men were concerned with inculcating an image appropriate for political and social leadership. Clothes, gestures, and beards were tangible outward signs that indicated inward personal characteristics. A man's good character, reflected in fashion and gestures, was important evidence of his worthiness to lead.

Events leading to the personal rule in the years between 1625 and 1628 illustrate why relations between Charles and Parliament became so adversarial. From the outset, Charles failed to recognize the pre-eminence of Parliament in English politics.[11] Parliament had been growing in power throughout the Tudors' rule, as successive monarchs used it to legitimize their claims to the throne, to strengthen their religious agenda, and to raise money to pay for wars. This relationship between Parliament and the royal family began to fall apart with the Stuart succession.

Charles' personal rule began immediately following his dismissal of Parliament in 1629. This period has been held as the ultimate expression of Charles' belief in divine right, as he circumvented Parliament and popular opinion to revive archaic taxes and implement unpopular religious reforms. However, van Dyck's portraits again reveal a

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[10] For a sampling of studies about Charles' gentlemanly image in art and masques, see the following works: on clothes, see Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*, 25-32; Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 13-23; David Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 51-76; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 223-225. On beards see Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain,* 22-23; 34-35; Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 94-96; on gesture see Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain,* 34; Thomas Alan King, *The Gendering of Men 1600-1750: Volume II-Queer Articulations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 54-64.

[11] For discussions on the relationship between Charles and Parliament prior to the personal rule see Conrad Russell, "Parliamentary History in Perspective 1604-1629," *History* 61 (1976): 1-17 and *Parliament and English Politics 1621-1629* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); and Kevin Sharpe, ed., *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History* (Oxford University Press, 1978).

more complex image of kingship. This period was termed the "eleven years of tyranny" by Charles' political opponents and later historians who viewed his actions as an affront to Parliament's authority.[12] Historians now use the less polarizing term, the "personal rule," to refer to this period.

Charles' reformation of state, religion, and court demonstrates that he encountered significant obstacles to his rule. Domestic and international conflicts were not unique to Charles' kingdoms, as his continental contemporaries also encountered similar challenges to their reigns. Eric Hobsbawm identified this period as one marked by revolts, religious unrest, and financial instability, referring to it as "the general crisis of the seventeenth century."[13] The following sections discuss Charles and his personal rule in the broader European context, with an emphasis on Spain, France, and the Dutch Republic. This context demonstrates the importance of the portraits of their rulers to studies of Charles.

The Spanish empire was an important power in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century. Under the title of the king of Spain, Philip IV (r. 1621-1665) sought to unify his kingdoms, each with its own councils, customs, and traditions.[14] Castile, Catalonia, Aragon, and Portugal had their own national and regional councils.[15] However, Philip was able to undermine the autonomy of the Cortes of Castile when he discovered that he could circumvent it altogether by appealing directly to city councils.

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[12] Hugh F. Kearney, *The Eleven Years' Tyranny of Charles I* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962); William L. McElwee, "The Eleven Years of Tyranny," in *England's Precedence* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1956); and John R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1882).

[13] Eric Hobsbawm, "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the Seventeenth-Century," *Past and Present,* vol. 5 issue 1 (1954): 33-53; Hugh Trevor Roper, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth-century, *Past and Present,* vol. 16 (1959): 31-64. More recently, Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth-Century,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1997).

[14] David J. Sturdy, *Fractured Europe, 1600-1721* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 100-101.

[15] Sturdy, *Fractured Europe,* 100-101.

He did this through his appointment of ad hoc committees.[16] This circumvention of a legislative body in order to procure funds is remarkably similar to Charles' innovative taxation schemes.

From the 1620s until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, Spain was involved in a series of costly wars. Spain's war budget was largely funded by gold and silver from the Americas. However, by mid-century, Spain saw a drastic decrease in its wealth as bullion imports sharply declined, exacerbating demands on finances at a time of protracted military conflicts.[17] Philip IV's power fragmented as simultaneous revolts in Catalonia and Portugal broke out in 1640, resulting in the loss of Portuguese territory. Also, conflicts with the Netherlands, known as the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), were a significant drain on Spanish funds. As a result, Spain was forced to formally recognize the independence of the northern provinces of the Netherlands in 1648. By 1659, Spain's international influence was in decline as the empire was embroiled in confrontation both within and without its borders, further strained by an untenable financial situation.

England's Duke of Buckingham championed war with Spain because Ferdinand VII, Holy Roman Emperor, ousted the Protestant Elector Frederik V, from the Rhine Palatinate in 1622. Charles was interested in the Palatinate because his sister Elizabeth had married Frederick V in 1613. To gain favour with the Hapsburgs, and perhaps to secure the release of the Palatinate, Charles sought a marriage with Maria Anna, the Spanish Infanta. When marriage negotiations stalled, his foremost advisor, the Duke of Buckingham, persuaded Charles to attend the Hapsburg court to personally woo the

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[16] John Huxtable Elliot, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 87.

[17] Mark Konnert, *Early Modern Europe: The Age of Religious War, 1559-1715* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006), 201-209.

Infanta. However, the Hapsburgs made it clear that the Palatinate would never be a part of the marriage contract, and Charles and Buckingham returned home in great embarrassment. Most English Protestants were deeply suspicious of the marriage and the failure of the match was feted in the streets with bonfires, fireworks, and street parties.[18] The failure of the Spanish match remained a sore point for Buckingham and Charles, exacerbated by the Spanish invasion of the Rhine Palatinate.

Charles and Buckingham supported the restoration of Frederick V to power, and Buckingham was appointed to lead English forces against Spain. Once again, the losses were staggering for England, and Parliament laid the blame on Buckingham, with calls for his impeachment quickly following.

Tensions arose between Charles and Parliament, as he circumvented their traditional role as the taxation authority to secure funds for costly military campaigns. Charles also exacerbated tensions with his subjects in southern England by billeting troops in their homes prior to their deployment to continental engagements. These contentious acts led many of his subjects to question Charles' ability to lead. His abilities were further questioned following his marriage to Henrietta Maria. The connection between England and France is an especially important context, since Charles was Louis XIII's brother-in-law. Charles engaged in direct conflict with Louis anyway.

Louis XIII (r. 1610-1643) was born within ten months of Charles, and their reigns were interconnected and similar in several ways. Both embarked on personal rules without legislative bodies: Louis in 1617 and Charles in 1629. Both kings experienced religious tensions during their reigns. In the 1620s, Protestant Huguenots rebelled against Louis. Charles, along with Buckingham, militarily supported the French Protestants in

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[18] Pauline Croft, *King James* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 120.

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their revolt against Louis' religious suppression. Despite English support, Louis regained control of the port-city La Rochelle and the English were driven from France. Late in the 1630s, Charles' Scottish subjects, incensed by his disregard for the Calvinist sensibilities of the Scottish Kirk, began a rebellion that would undermine the financial solvency of his kingdoms, thereby contributing to the Civil Wars. During the 1630s, both Louis XIII and Charles adopted more rigorous taxation collection measures and were innovative in the imposition of new ones.[19] Finally, their two dynasties became ever closer with the marriage of Charles to Princess Henrietta Maria, Louis XIII's sister, in 1625.

A few years after Charles' marriage to the French princess, he became convinced that the French Huguenots needed assistance against the Catholic Louis XIII. Charles broke his marriage treaty and embarked on a seriously under-funded campaign to assist French Protestants. By 1625, Charles' military needs required at least £1,000,000 but Parliament had granted only one-fifth of this amount.[20] To make matters worse, the English forces were grossly inexperienced. Despite these setbacks, the English sailed to La Rochelle in 1627 but were unable to provide any real resistance to Louis' forces. Louis recaptured the Protestant stronghold, soundly quashed the rebellion, and drove the English out of France. Of Charles' force of 7000, only 3000 returned.[21] Despite these major failures, Charles continued to support Buckingham's desire for war, once again provoking questions about his own competency.

Charles and his kingdoms were connected to the continental powers of Spain and France through a complex web of familial and religious obligations. The Dutch Republic

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[19] The amount collected for the *taille* was double in 1640 what it had been in 1610. The *gabelle* or salt tax was imposed on localities where it had not been before.

[20] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, eds. *Early Modern England 1485-1714,* 2nd ed. (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), 232.

[21] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, 233.

also represents an important comparison for Charles' kingdoms, as a continental

Protestant country that was eventually connected by marriage to the Stuart dynasty.

The Dutch Republic was "an anomaly among the states of early-modern Europe"

because of its highly decentralized form of government.[22] This marks an important point

of distinction from the Spanish, French, and English kingdoms. The Princes of Orange

governed the Republic and ruled as quasi-monarchs. Following the twelve years' truce

between Spain and the United Provinces, merchants in the latter allied with Prince

Maurice (r. 1618-1625), hoping to protect their economic interests. Religious tensions

were connected to political conflict. Although the citizens of the Republic enjoyed

marginal freedom of religion, officially Catholicism was illegal.[23] Maurice supported the

Calvinists and advocated war with Spain, which he resumed in 1621 and carried on until

his death in 1625.

Following Maurice's death, his half-brother Frederik Hendrik (r. 1625-1647)

assumed the title of Prince of Orange, and was a contemporary of Charles. To project an

image of majesty, Frederik commissioned the construction of new palaces and works of

art.[24] He linked his own dynasty with England's through the marriage of his son William

to Charles I's daughter Princess Mary. Analysis of Frederik's portraits provides an

important comparison to Charles because of the similarity between Anglicanism and

Calvinism and the intermarriage of their families.

Wars with France and Spain depleted Charles' resources and he was forced to ask

Parliament for funds. Parliament cautiously granted Charles income from the tonnage

and poundage tax on a year-by-year basis. This replaced the typical funding that lasted

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[22] Konnert, *Early Modern Europe,* 211.
[23] Konnert, *Early Modern Europe*, 216.
[24] Konnert, *Early Modern Europe*, 218.

for the duration of the sovereign's lifetime, as was tradition, because they wanted to limit his ability to get involved in the Thirty Years' War. Charles circumvented Parliament and continued to collect the tax anyway. Without a cooperative Parliament willing to grant him necessary funds, Charles turned to controversial taxation measures that had scant support either in law or in practice. Charles' arbitrary taxation measures were considered to be evidence that he ruled his kingdom based on his accountability to God alone.

Tensions between Charles and Parliament came to a head in 1628. Newly-elected members of the Commons wanted to pressure Charles into recognizing parliament's authority.[25] Charles requested funds from this new contentious Parliament for an army to fight in support of the Huguenots. However, many members feared that he would use the army to suppress his parliamentary critics instead. In the first four years Charles was king, he dismissed Parliament twice and ignored the traditional role of Parliament on matters of taxation and laws related to arrest and imprisonment.

Trust between Charles and Parliament deteriorated to a level where parliamentary leaders presented Charles with a list of demands in the Petition of Right, 1628.[26] The petitioners demanded that Charles acquiesce to Parliament's demands in order to be granted funds. This petition was a significant attempt by Parliament to limit royal prerogative. The petitioners asserted three main points: first, that it was illegal for taxes to be assessed without the consent of Parliament; second, freemen could no longer be jailed without due process or by law; and third, martial law could not be imposed in peace

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[25] Konnert, *Early Modern Europe*, 189.
[26] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, xvii.

time, and civilians could not be subject to martial law.[27] Charles, desperate for income,

agreed to these terms. Almost immediately, debate on Buckingham's impeachment in the

Commons resumed, which angered Charles and led to tension with parliament.

The threat of impeachment was particularly distasteful to Charles. The

relationship between Charles and Buckingham was one of "true friendship" and Charles

was quick to reiterate that the Duke did not rule him.[28] Charles' interpretation of the

"Parliament[ary] [and court factions] that attacked Buckingham . . . not only struck in

wartime at the Lord Admiral of England and the commander-in-chief of the campaign,

they challenged the king himself."[29] In response to the Commons' defiance, Charles

dissolved Parliament. Thus began the personal rule.

During his eleven years without Parliament, Charles' religious reforms stirred

popular opposition to his rule across his kingdoms. Charles' mishandling of religious

conflicts brought his personal rule to a close in 1640. At the forefront of these religious

reforms was Archbishop Laud.

In 1633, Charles elevated William Laud to the highest ecclesiastical position in

England, Archbishop of Canterbury, while Laud personally championed the king's

religious reforms. Religion was a way for Charles to demonstrate his kingly power as he

wrote, the "people are governed by the pulpit more than the sword in times of peace."[30]

In light of Charles' statement, his religious reforms, including his choice of Laud as chief

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[27] The Petition of Right, 1628, *Statutes of the Realm,* 3 Car. 1, c.1.

[28] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 48.

[29] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 48.

[30] Charles I to the Lords Jermyn and Culpepper and Mr. John Ashburnham, 22 July 1646, in *The Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I,* ed. Sir Charles Petrie (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1968), 199-200.

cleric, should be considered an important expression of his kingly authority.[31] Charles

and Laud wanted religious uniformity, and they punished non-conformists.[32] Charles'

reforms were expected to bring about a uniformity of religious belief and practice in

England, Ireland, and Scotland, which they did not; in fact, they did the opposite.

Reformation of the churches in England and Ireland drew fierce criticism, but the

response to Charles' reforms of the Scottish Kirk (church) was immediate and violent. In

1636, many in the Church of Scotland were outraged when the communion table was

moved from among the congregation and re-established in the eastern niche of the

church.[33] In addition, the wooden communion table was replaced with a stone table,

referred to as an altar and railed off in the Catholic style. In Ireland, Charles sought to

unify the Irish Church with England's through the imposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

This exacerbated an already tense political situation, but it was Charles' meddling in the

Scottish Kirk that hastened an end to his personal rule.[34]

In 1637, Charles imposed on the Kirk the latest Laudian version of the prescribed

prayers and sacraments from the Church of England in the English *Book of Common

Prayer*. Charles' imposition of the English prayer book ignored the fundamental

differences between the two confessions. The Church of England had a prescribed

liturgy, whereas services in the Calvinist Scottish Kirk centred on readings from the

bible, sermons, and ex tempore prayer.[35] Upon the first reading from the new prayer

book, legend has it that a woman, erroneously identified as Jenny Geddes, stood up and

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[31] Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1958; repr., New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), 23.

[32] Puritans William Prynne, Robert Bastwick, and Henry Burton were tried and found guilty of being seditious libellers.

[33] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, 233.

[34] Sean J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland, 1630-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18.

[35] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England,* 243.

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yelled "the mass is come amongst us" as she hurled her stool at the bishop.[36] Other

parishioners in St. Giles joined the revolt and the riot spilled into the streets of

Edinburgh. The declaration, "the mass is amongst us," demonstrated that Scots opposed

Charles' reforms, seeing them as attempts to subvert the Scottish Kirk and return

Scotland to Roman Catholicism. Scottish opposition to Charles' reforms however, went

far beyond mere riots.[37]

By 1638, Scottish leaders gathered and signed the National Covenant, which

formally rejected Charles' innovations to the Scottish Kirk and asserted that changes

should first be approved by an act of the Scottish Parliament. The Covenant document

was widely circulated throughout Scotland, eventually gathering 300,000 signatures. [38]

Covenanters abolished the position of bishop in the Kirk because they viewed these men

as the king's puppets. Ultimately, Covenanters argued that Charles' power did not

supersede the Scottish Parliament, the Kirk, or the Scottish nobility.

Faced with the bold defiance of subjects in his Scottish kingdom, Charles raised

forces to subdue them. Charles and the Covenanters engaged in two main wars known as

the First and Second Bishops' Wars, in 1639 and 1640. The First Bishops' War lasted

from January to June, 1639, and ended with the inconclusive Treaty of Berwick. This

brief conflict nearly bankrupted Charles. Financial instability and Scottish opposition to

his religious reforms further challenged the king's legitimacy. Defeated and bankrupt,

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[36] *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women: From the Earliest Times to 2004,* s.v. "Geddes, Jenny."

[37] Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess, eds., *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011) argue that the conflicts in Charles' kingdoms ought to be viewed as manifestations of the larger crises known as the Wars of Religion.

[38] John Leonard Roberts, *Clan, King and Covenant: History of the Highland Clans from the Civil War to the Glencoe Massacre* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 21.

Charles was forced to call Parliament once again for funds, thus bringing an end to his personal rule in 1640.

Charles' reformation of state and church marked the early years of his reign. The reputation of his court was especially important to Charles, as he cultivated an image of moderation and order. These were important aspects of kingship, as James opined in the *Basilikon Doron*: "Hee can not bee thought worthie to rule and command others, that cannot rule and dantone [control] his owne proper affections and unreasonable appetites, so can he not be thought worthy to governe a Christian people."[39] Puritan preacher William Struther, in *A Looking Glass for Princes and People* (1634), also stressed the importance for kings to set an example, as he stated:

> [p]eople cannot alwayes see the person of their Kings, but they may guesse at their disposition by the manners of their Court. As is the Prince so is his Court, . . . as the Court is, so will the Countrie bee.[40]

It was a necessity that Charles' court reflected his worthiness to rule, as Struther stated: "the court of Kings is an abridgment of their kingdomes and the circle of the subjects nearest to them: It is a proofe of the Governement of their persons and an Image of the ruling of their Estates."[41] Hence, it was a broadly-discussed political conception of monarchy that the king's court was indicative of his virtue and, therefore, an *apologia* for his rule.

Charles recognized that his court was a reflection of his rule, and he consciously fostered an image that projected the ideals of kingship and manhood. The Caroline court became the centre of government and high society, marked by order, decorum, and

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[39] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 3.

[40] William Struther, *A Looking Glass for Princes and People, Delivered in a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Birth of the Hopefull Prince Charles and since Augmented with Allegations and Historicall Remarkes Together with a Vindication of Princes* (Edinburgh: Heires of Andro Hart, 1632), 70.

[41] Struther, *A Looking Glass for Princes,* 70; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule,* 210.

ceremony.[42] This is illustrated by the Venetian ambassador's depiction of the Caroline

court in a letter dated 25 April 1625:

> The king observes a rule of great decorum. The nobles do not enter his
> apartments in confusion heretofore, but each rank has its appointed place
> . . . The king has also drawn up rules for himself, dividing the day from
> his very early rising . . . It is said that he will set apart a day for public
> audience, and does not wish anyone to be introduced to him unless sent
> for.[43]

Charles' court stood in stark contrast to that of his father, which was known for its coarse

manners and sexual scandals. Clearly, Charles wanted to distance himself and his image

from his father's notoriety. He employed artists to project images of an idealized king

and a disciplined court. As a result, the historiography of the personal rule has been

expanded by scholars from a broad range of disciplines.

Beginning in the 1970s, historians began to emphasize different types of sources

in their studies of Charles, such as literature, portraiture, drama, masques, and sculpture.

These works complemented research that examined parliamentary papers, letters, diaries,

and proclamations. An emphasis on arts and literature produced a more sympathetic

portrayal of Charles.[44] This interpretation expands upon their works to suggest that while

Charles' approach to kingship was influenced by divine right, he also placed great

emphasis on other important kingly ideals.

Historians such as Roy Strong and Kevin Sharpe claim that Charles' construction

of his court was reflective of his vision of kingship and political ideals. In his 1978 work,

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[42] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 183, 775; Elliot, *Spain and its World, 1500-1800*, 142 argued that Charles' preoccupation with ceremony and ritual was influenced by his attendance at the Hapsburg Court in the early 1620s.

[43] "Calendar of State Papers, Venetian," (1625-1616): 21 quoted in Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 210-211.

[44] For example Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*; Sharpe, *Image Wars*; Michael B. Young, *Charles I* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Mark A. Kishlansky, "Charles I: A Case Of Mistaken Identity," *Past and Present.* no. 189 (November 2005), 41-80.

Kevin Sharpe emphasizes the significance of the ideals of the aristocracy and values of

aesthetics and style in moulding political realities. The arts, Sharpe claims, were

important to Charles' kingship. Sharpe articulates that studies of Charles should focus

on:

> personalities and personal connections--not connections based on
> constitutional principles or ideological commitments . . . but connections
> strengthened by traditional beliefs about correct behaviour and modes of
> action, about methods not policies.[45]

Subsequently, historians continued to consider the broad range of methods Charles

employed and how they reflected the political ideals of the Caroline court.

Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake edited a collection of essays in response to what

they claimed was the oversight of literature and the arts as historical evidence.[46] This

collection emphasizes the value of an interdisciplinary approach to studies of the

seventeenth century.[47] The arts, according to Sharpe and Lake, are important to studies

of Renaissance England because "cultural practices and texts--verbal and visual--not only

reflected but constructed political attitudes and arrangements."[48] The broad range of

essays in this collection highlights the importance of reputation to an image of good

kingship. A king's image was central to the establishment and maintenance of his power.

Depictions of the king's body in official portraiture provide important evidence for

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[45] Sharpe, "The Earl of Arundel," 244.

[46] See especially Conrad Russell, "The Man Charles Stuart," in *Causes of the English Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics 1623/24* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); R. M. Smuts, *Court Culture and Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart* England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker eds., *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

[47] Sharpe and Lake, "Introduction," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England,* eds., Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 4-5.

[48] Sharpe and Lake "Preface and Acknowledgements," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England,* eds. Sharpe and Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), ix.

understanding how Charles viewed himself and sought to foster legitimacy for his rule

through a variety of ideals.

John Peacock has deconstructed the layers of meaning in Charles' portraits,

emphasizing their reflection of power and authority. Peacock convincingly argues that

portraiture was "a privileged space where the sitter's political power and the artist's

social status reinforce[d] each other."[49] Peacock demonstrates that portraiture was an

important genre for Renaissance art theorists as portraits represented action, power, and

social status. According to Peacock, portraits have the capacity to "reproduce

professional roles and gender stereotypes . . . [and] reinforce social distinctions" because

"idealisation becomes a means to represent power and subordination."[50] Charles'

idealization of kingship, expressed in van Dyck portraits, reveals the emphasis he placed

on alternative representational themes that contributed to his legitimacy. Events that

followed Charles' execution lend credence to Peacock's claims and are noted in his

study.

Several works from Charles' art collection were either destroyed or removed from

view by Oliver Cromwell following the regicide.[51] According to the anonymous writer

of *Mercurius Aulicus,* the Puritan Sir Robert Harlow sat in the

> Chaire of Reformation, [where he] . . . betooke himself to the Reforming
> of His Majesties [sic] palace of White-Hall, and made it as unfit for the
> use of the king. Thence he proceeded in his Visitation to his Majesties
> [sic] Gallery, which he reformed of all such pictures as displeased his
> eye, under the pretence that he did favour too much of superstitious

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[49] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," 210. For a survey on a variety of artistic works of
Charles, see John Peacock, "The Visual Image of Charles I," in *The Royal Image: Representations of
Charles I,* ed. Tom Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 176-240.
[50] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture*,"* 211.
[51] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," 226.

vanities (for Kings and Queenes . . . are counted monuments of vanity and superstition).[52]

The removal of the king's body from the palace was insufficient for Harlow; he also demanded the removal of the *representations* of the king too. Thus, portraiture was an important and powerful iconographical representation of authority and power, inextricably connected to the king's person and the office of the king.

In 1992, Sharpe published his massive work, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*. This was the first full-length study of Charles since Samuel Rawson Gardiner's *History of England* was published in the late nineteenth century. Sharpe's work incorporates a broad range of historical sources, from manuscripts and printed texts to fine arts, literature, and architecture. Sharpe shows that a preference for traditional sources imposed a false dichotomy between "factual" and "fictive" sources.[53] Focusing on the personal rule is important, Sharpe argues, because "the 1630s offer us the rich opportunity to study Charles I as a king at peace, [and] to understand his values and ideology of kingship."[54] This can be achieved by examining portraits, masques, plays and rhetoric as the tools of politics.

Charles' reputation, reflected in portraiture, was increasingly important because his father's reign had upset the delicate and mystical aura of the Tudor court.[55] Images of Elizabeth I and the decorum of her court stood in contrast to the rough manners and informal nature of the court under James I. Sharpe's work emphasizes the importance of language, literature, portraiture, and performances as integral aspects of the Caroline

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[52] Peter Heylyn, ed., *Mercurius Aulicus, a diurnall Communicating the Intelligence and Affaires of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome* (Oxford: Printed by Henry Hall for William Webb, 1644), 1040. Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," 226 also points to Heylyn's work as evidence of the importance of Charles' image.

[53] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 14-15.

[54] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, xvii.

[55] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 21.

monarchy. Indeed, Sharpe criticized Conrad Russell for writing hundreds of pages about Charles I without ever mentioning a single portrait.[56] Sharpe's approach is decidedly multi-disciplinary and he opines that "historians will need not only . . . transcend the barriers of their own subgenres . . . but open their gates to a variety of critical practices and disciplines."[57] This, he claims, will provide a richer historical context for understanding Charles I. Sharpe further emphasizes the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to studies of the personal rule:

> The political culture of Caroline England could not be understood from just the state paper or the lieutenancy book, sermon or deposition. Charles and his court represented themselves through a variety of media as well as pronouncements and the painting and architectural plan were as important to his vision of kingship as the proclamation.[58]

Interdisciplinary studies, such as Sharpe's, contribute to a more complete and nuanced understanding of the political implications of literary and visual media.

    The connection between portraiture and authority was heightened as van Dyck's work not only "underlined the poise and self control of the sitter, he [also] connected personal virtue and self-restraint with wider public values and social order."[59] Representations of kings were "seen to be so powerfully evocative of authority" that Cromwell not only ordered the sale of Charles' art collection and he also appropriated gestures and poses directly from van Dyck's paintings for his own images.[60]

    In Kevin Sharpe's work on the image of monarchy from the Tudors to the Stuarts, he analyzes cultural productions from 1603 to 1660. Sharpe divides this period into five chronological sections: the reigns of James I and Charles I to 1640, the Civil Wars, the

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[56] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 15.
[57] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 20.
[58] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, 14-15.
[59] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 17.
[60] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 23.

Republic, and the Protectorate. Royal iconography, Sharpe explains, is a study in the "image of rule in words, visuals, and performances . . . as a means of evaluating the measure of success rulers had in projecting their authority."[61] Themes of legitimacy are considered in this thesis. These include: family and marriage, fecundity, gender roles, peacemaking, chivalry, and justice.

This thesis builds on Sharpe's 2010 work in three key ways: focus, theme, and approach. This thesis examines Charles' van Dyck portraits as the primary evidence because they provide insight into his conception of kingship. By focusing on works commissioned by Charles, we can get nearer to understanding his views of kingship. *Paterfamilias*, knighthood, and gentlemanliness are three potent themes drawn from contemporary political and social discourse related to authority. Underlying these themes are rich discussions of gender- a concept important to male authority. Sharpe was primarily concerned with assessing the "success" and continuity of Charles' images. This thesis approaches van Dyck portraits as reflections of Charles' personal disposition as king, revealing that he was not limited to absolutism, but rather his vision was complex and influenced by a broad range of ideals.

Artistic productions are important to understanding political history and other forms of history. Cultural historians have undertaken studies from a broad range of disciplines such as art history, cultural anthropology, literary theory, and philosophy. [62] This thesis is focused primarily on high culture and refers to artistic works created for a

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[61] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, xv.
[62] For example, Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Theater of the Stuart Court: A Quarter centenary Exhibition Held at the Banqueting House, Whitehall from 12 July to 2 September, 1973* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973); Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Sharpe, "The Earl of Arundel"; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*; Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture"; Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*; Sharpe, *Image Wars*.

society's elite, focusing on Anthony van Dyck's royal portraiture. Charles' close

involvement in the production of these works suggests that their message is highly

reflective of his vision of kingship.

Roy Strong's three-volume study on portraiture from the period of the Tudors to

the Stuarts emphasizes the significance of contemporary artistic tastes and patron-artist

relationships. Strong explains that the connection between portraiture and kingship was

significant:

> [t]o view Holbein without relating him to royal propaganda of the
> English Reformation is now recognized as absurd. It would be no less so
> to consider van Dyck without placing him firmly within the framework
> of the poets, painters, sculptors and stage designers who worked to create
> a *mise-en-scene* for a Monarch by Divine Right.[63]

The patron-artist relationship is of particular importance to this study because images

produced by van Dyck were congruous with Charles' own self-conception and his self-

representation. At the very least, Charles did not reject van Dyck's interpretations of his

kingship, which he certainly had the power to do. Therefore, van Dyck was as important

as Buckingham, Laud, Parliament, and the Petition of Right; official portraits played a

central role in the creation and perceptions of Charles' kingship.

Roy Strong asserts that van Dyck's portraits are evidence of Charles' inclinations

toward divine-right rule. They are ultimately connected to his dismissal of parliament,

because they "immortalized a decade of Charles' reign, the so-called years of Personal

Rule when the king governed without Parliament as an absolutist Monarch by Divine

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[63] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 19. See also Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998). For other art history analyses see Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987).

Right."[64] Despite his claims of seeing divine right in Charles' portraiture, Strong

contends that there is "no fully-fledged Caroline exposition of the Monarch by Divine

Right" and that divine right is represented through various ideals and virtuous

behaviour.[65] As this thesis will demonstrate, divine right was important to Charles, but

the representation of other virtues and behaviours in his portraiture were also very

important. Van Dyck's images employ an iconographical message, highly influenced by

perceptions of masculinity, but not exclusively connected to an image of divine right.

Charles was a great patron of the arts. During the reform of his court's image, he

collected and displayed many works of art in the public rooms of his palaces. The king's

court reformation was remarked upon by seventeenth-century biographer Lucy

Hutchinson:

> The face of the court is much changed on the change of the king, for king
> Charles was temperate and chaste and serious; so that the fools and
> bawds, mimics and catamites, of the former court, grew out of fashion;
> and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their
> debaucheries, yet reverenced the king as to retire into the corners to
> practise them. Men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteem,
> and received encouragement from the king who was a most excellent
> judge and a great lover of painting, carvings and [en]gravings.[66]

Besides van Dyck, Charles' collection included works by Holbein, Raphael, Mantegna,

Rubens, and Titian.[67] Charles commissioned Peter Paul Rubens to glorify James I in nine

massive canvases that were installed on the ceiling of the Banqueting House of Whitehall

Palace in 1636 for the price of £3000. At Charles' request, architect and designer Inigo

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[64] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback,* 15.

[65] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback,* 90.

[66] Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town, Representative of the County of Nottingham in the Long Parliament and of the Town of Nottingham in the First Parliament of Charles the Second, with Original Anecdotes of Many of the Most Distinguished of his Contemporaries and a Summary Review of Public Affairs: Written by his Widow Lucy,* 10th ed. (c. 1670; repr. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1863), 84.

[67] For a recent survey of Charles' art collection from acquisition to sale under Cromwell, see Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection* (London: Macmillan, 2006).

Jones renovated St. Paul's Cathedral and designed the Queen's Chapel at St. James' Palace for Henrietta Maria. Charles employed artists to produce works to enhance and illustrate his character as a means to add legitimacy to his kingship. This was particularly true of his relationship with van Dyck.

Van Dyck was a prolific artist during his eight years of residency at the English court. Of van Dyck's known works there are at least thirty-two of Charles and his family, and of these, twenty were of Henrietta Maria alone.[68] Despite Charles' apparent preference for van Dyck's work, historians have yet to produce a full-length study focused on this important body of courtly works. In 1998, Roy Strong decried the fact that "there is still no comprehensive book on the portraits of Charles I, nor even a catalogue of the portraits of him."[69] In 2009, a general catalogue raisonné of all of van Dyck's work in England was published for an exhibition at the Tate Gallery. It is titled *Van Dyck and Britain*, and contains a few excellent essays on van Dyck and Charles.[70] However, the historiographical field remains open for a deeper study of Charles' preference for van Dyck and his works.

In 1599, Anthony van Dyck's talent was realized as he was invited to apprentice under Peter Paul Rubens. In 1620 van Dyck travelled to London and met the first Duke of Buckingham and other aristocrats, who would prove to be the most significant English art patrons in the early seventeenth century.[71] Van Dyck was already a well-established painter by the 1630s, as his works were sought after by various courts of Europe,

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[68] Christopher Brown, *Van Dyck* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1983), 180.

[69] Roy Strong, "Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback," in *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 159.

[70] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court" and Christopher Breward, "Fashioning the Modern Self: Clothing, Cavaliers and Identity in van Dyck's London," in Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*.

[71] Endymion Porter, the king's gentleman of the bedchamber as well as the Duke of Arundel were patrons of van Dyck.

including the Hapsburgs and Medicis.[72] Charles was pleased with van Dyck's painting *Rinaldo and Armida,* which was procured by Buckingham in 1630.[73] In 1632, Charles invited van Dyck to paint for the English court exclusively. Van Dyck had many prestigious patrons but was enthralled with aristocracy and court life and accepted Charles' invitation.[74]

Van Dyck's talent was quickly rewarded. In July 1632, he was knighted by Charles and granted an annual pension of £200 as "principalle Paynter in ordinary to their Majesties."[75] Van Dyck was enthralled with his knighthood and he commemorated it in the well-known work *Self Portrait with a Sunflower* (1633). In it, van Dyck proudly displays his gold chain, the symbol of his knighthood, as a large sunflower faces him. The sunflower has been interpreted as a metaphor for Charles and his court turning to face van Dyck's luminous talent.[76] Van Dyck's invitation to the Caroline court marked the beginning of a unique relationship between a great artist and the most astute art collector to occupy the throne of Britain.[77] In 1638, Charles ensured van Dyck's pensions and arrears were paid in full despite facing financial difficulties caused by the Scottish Rebellions. This was an obvious demonstration of the king's esteem for the artist's work.[78] Many artists produced portraits of Charles and his court, yet it is van Dyck's that are regarded as the embodiment of Caroline values.[79]

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[72] Brown, *Van Dyck,* 140.
[73] Brown, *Van Dyck*, 137.
[74] Brown, *Van Dyck,* 137.
[75] Brown, *Van Dyck,* 140.
[76] Robin Blake, *Anthony van Dyck: a Life, 1599-1641* (New York: Ivan R. Dee, 2000), 285. See also Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 17.
[77] Brown, *Van Dyck,* 140.
[78] Sharpe, "Van Dyck: the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 17.
[79] Brown, *Van Dyck,* 162.

There were eleven portraits of Charles and his family produced during the personal rule that can confidently be attributed to van Dyck.[80] Reproductions of these portraits are available in texts and online.[81] Of these, eight are discussed in the context of the following three categories: *paterfamilias*, knight, and gentleman.[82] Of the four not analyzed in this work, three depict Charles in his knightly role. Since there were so many potential works relevant to knighthood, this present work focuses on the two portraits that were produced for public display, and therefore, the most relevant in considering Charles' vision of kingship. However, the three knightly-themed portraits are worth mentioning: *Charles I Wearing the Garter Star* (c. 1632-1640) was sent to the continent during his reign and depicts Charles in the blue robe of the Order of the Garter with the star prominently displayed on his left side. *Charles I* (c. 1632-1633) is a three-quarter length portrait of Charles in armour, produced for the Earl of Arundel's private collection. And *Charles I, King of England* (c. 1635-1640) is an equestrian portrait that echoes *Charles on Horseback with Seigneur de St Antoine* (1633). The fourth portrait by van Dyck not considered in this present work is *Charles I in Three Positions* (c. 1636). It was produced as a model for the renowned Bernini to sculpt a bust of Charles and was not intended for display.

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[80] Oliver Millar, "Van Dyck in London," in *Anthony van Dyck,* eds., Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., Susan Barnes, and Julius S. Held (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1990), 55.

[81] Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*; Wheelock Jr., et al, *Anthony van Dyck*. See also e-galleries on the websites for The Royal Collection: Royal Palaces, Residences and Art Collections as well as the National Portrait Gallery, the Rijksmuseum, the Museo Nacional del Prado, and the Musée du Louvre.

[82] 1) *King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria* (1632); 2) *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* (1637); 3) *Charles I, Henrietta Maria and their Two Eldest Children Prince Charles and Princess Mary* (The Greate Peece, of O^r royal self, consort and children), (1632); 4) *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* (1633); 5) *Charles II as Prince of Wales in Armour,* (c. 1637-1638); 6) *Charles I on Horseback* (1637-1638); 7) *Charles I in the Hunting Field (Le Roi a la Chasse),*(c. 1635); 8) *Charles I in Garter Robes* (1636).

Three family portraits, *The Greate Peece of Or Royal Self and Consort* (1632), *King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria* (1632), and *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* (1637), will be discussed in terms of contemporary familial values and the family analogy of government. The importance of family and children cannot be overstated since Charles and Henrietta Maria produced the first male heir to the throne of England since Edward VI's birth in 1537.

This work will discuss the ideals of knighthood and chivalry in the following three portraits: *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* (1633), *Charles II as Prince of Wales in Armour* (c.1637-1638), and *Charles I on Horseback* (c. 1637-1638). Charles' knightly portraits are unique in English royal portraiture as they emphasize his interpretation of chivalry in the 1630s.

The last two portraits, *Charles I in the Hunting Field* (c. 1635) and *Charles I in his Garter Robes* (1636), reflect the importance of the material and physical ways in which men represented their character through gentlemanly ideals. Gentlemen outwardly represented their inward character and virtue as a way to assert their worthiness to lead. As a result, gentlemanly ideals were especially important to Charles.

This study analyzes portraits to identify themes that Charles employed to reflect his claims to legitimacy. Ideals of *paterfamilias*, knight, and gentleman provide a rich context in which to assess Charles' kingship reflected in portraits. Van Dyck's portraits are juxtaposed against works portraying his contemporaries in France, Spain, and the Dutch Republic.

Portraiture is a powerful medium traditionally limited to kings and princes, or to great men who had accomplished exceptional deeds with virtue.[83] Chiyo Ishikawa explained "[t]he very notion of the portrait, then, is bonded with the ideas and [the] virtues of kingship."[84] Richard Brilliant also states, "[p]ortraits make value judgments not just about specific individuals portrayed but about the general worth of individuals . . . only the physical appearance is naturally visible, the rest is conceptual and must be expressed symbolically."[85] Charles' official portraits were planned, deliberate representations. They express a language of ritual, decorum, and deportment through symbolic representations, designed to legitimize his kingship.[86]

Portraits make a visual statement about the sitter's character and beliefs. Portraits are planned and composed constructions, which are intended to represent the values desired by the sitter.[87] According to Leonardo da Vinci, "the intention of the [sitter's] mind" is difficult to capture on canvas because "it has to be represented through gestures and movements of the limbs," and the sitter's character must be symbolically represented.[88] Since portraiture must convey its message visually, the whole composition -- clothes, children, setting, pose, crowns, armour, other accoutrements, and so forth -- are vital to the meaning and interpretation of the sitter's character and beliefs.

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[83] Chiyo Ishikawa, *Spain in the Age of Exploration, 1492-1819* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 112.

[84] Ishikawa, *Spain in the Age of Exploration*, 112.

[85] Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books Limited, 1991), 9.

[86] Joneath Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," in *A Cultural History of Gesture From Antiquity to the Present Day,* eds. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 85.

[87] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 85.

[88] Leonardo Da Vinci, *Trattato della Pittura,* Trattato I, ed. Francesco Melzi (1651):60v, quoted in *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo Da Vinci, with a selection of Documents Relating to His Career as an Artist*, eds. Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker, trans. (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), 144.

The symbols of kingship in portraits were, in Brilliant's words, the "privileged properties of representation."[89] Seventeenth-century contemporaries were also concerned with the symbolism of authority and rank. These symbols were identified by seventeenth-century art theorist Vicente Carducho in *Dialogos de la Pintura* (1633), as "a table or chair below a curtain, the dignified bearing and posture of kings, [and] armor with the general's baton," and should be reserved for images of kings and great men.[90] A man's face was also seen to symbolize his disposition and virtue, as Henry Peacham articulated in *The Art of Drawing* (1606): "there is a certaine iudicium [judgement], or notice of the mindes disposition . . . inly imprinted by nature in the countenance, and many times in the eie or mouth . . . you [the artist] must be carefull . . . to observe."[91] The depiction of symbols of kingly power and the king's character are central to this thesis' analysis of portraiture.

Not all scholars are convinced that portraits truly represent the sitter's character and disposition. E. H. Gombrich identified a potential drawback in studying portraits, arguing that as much as the portrait is a representation of the sitter, it is also a value-laden medium, reflective, to a large extent, of what the image-maker creates and not what he or she actually sees.[92] In other words, Gombrich contends the image creator will "see what he paints, rather than paint what he sees."[93] These shortcomings of portraits Gombrich identifies are reduced by focusing on the works of one artist, van Dyck, who was

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[89] Brilliant, *Portraiture,* 112.

[90] Vicente Carducho, *Dialogos de la Pintura* (1633) quoted in Ishikawa, *Spain in the Age of Exploration,* 112.

[91] Henry Peacham, *The art of drawing with the pen, and limming in water colours more exactlie then heretofore taught* (London: Printed by Richard Braddock, for William Jones, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Gun neere Holburn Conduit, 1606), 19.

[92] E. H. Gombrich, "Truth and Stereotype: An Illusion Theory of Representation," in *The Philosophy of the Visual Arts,* ed. Phillip Alperson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 81.

[93] Gombrich, "Truth and Stereotype: An Illusion Theory of Representation," 81.

preferred by Charles. His obvious preference for van Dyck's style reinforces the

assertion that van Dyck's portraits reflected Charles' own mind.

Although Charles is often considered to be the most monarchical and absolutist-

minded king of England, this thesis puts forth an alternative reading of his van Dyck

portraits. When Charles' image is read in the context of *paterfamilias*, knight and

gentleman, it reveals that, in fact, Charles connected himself to a range of ideals that were

not exclusively royal in nature. That is to say, many of the ideals Charles represented

were also important to many other men in his kingdoms. Charles' image in van Dyck

portraits reveals a complex and dynamic system of representation that mirrors many

contemporary and traditional views about the importance of ideals for worthy leadership.

CHAPTER 1

PATERFAMILIAS

> Make your Court and company to be a pattern of godliness and all
> honest virtues, to all the rest of the people. Bee a daily watch-man
> over your servants, that they obey your laws precisely: For how can
> your laws be kept in the country, if they be broken at your ear?[94]

> James I, Basilikon Doron, (1599).

Analysis of Anthony van Dyck portraits reveals the significance of *paterfamilias* to Charles' conception of his kingship. The family analogy of government provided a popular rhetorical device for discussing politics. Portraits of Charles' family and their complex interrelationships reflect the contemporary concern with expressions of patriarchal power and authority that were important to all men in England, including kings. Underwriting the ideals of strong *paterfamilias* was a socially and politically powerful discourse of masculinity. This chapter will demonstrate how Charles' unique expression of kingship deployed the ideals of masculinity and *paterfamilias* in van Dyck portraits to support his kingship.

Paterfamilias was an important concept in early modern Europe, and its influence on ideas of kingship is reflected in Charles' and his father's ideology. James I had written strongly in support of the king's double role as head of his personal and national families. *Paterfamilias* is a Latin term that literally means "father of the family". This concept has its roots in ancient Greek and Roman law. It refers to the power that fathers exercised over every person living in their homes, including wives, children, other blood relatives, and slaves. This control was connected to perceptions of masculinity and preferred behaviours for men. In *Nichomachean Ethics,* the first book of his fourth-

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[94] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 84.

century BCE work, Aristotle argued that the model for good government was the patriarchal family. Under Roman law, a father's authority and power in his home were absolute.[95] The concept of *paterfamilias* survived into the seventeenth century, and is often referred to as the "head of household."

Family organization emphasized gender hierarchy and the patriarch's role as the foundation of a well-ordered home in seventeenth-century England. This analogy influenced politics as political treatises expounded on the fatherly duty of kings to instruct and punish wayward children and subjects. The head of household's duty was to father children, discipline his family, instill order in the home, set a virtuous example, and financially support his family. All of these duties were framed in a discourse of masculinity.[96] This chapter focuses on portraits of Charles and his family because the portraits were important in projecting an image of a strong patriarchal king. James emphasized the connection between the roles of fathers and kings in the epigraph above, when he questioned, "how can your laws be kept in the country, if they be broken at your ear?"[97] These ideals were central to successful *paterfamilias,* and in turn, to the image of a successful king.

This chapter examines three van Dyck portraits of Charles and his family in the context of family ideals. Charles' van Dyck portraits reveal that he sought to garner legitimacy for kingship through depictions of his success in the role of *paterfamilias.* This chapter juxtaposes contemporary portraits from the Dutch Republic and Spain

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[95] Bruce W. Frier and Thomas A. J. McGinn, *A Casebook on Roman Family Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 18.

[96] On sexual honour see Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999). On economic duties see Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[97] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron*, 84.

against van Dyck's works to situate Charles' choices in the context of continental royal portraiture.

The relevance of family and gender to Charles' kingship was heightened by the birth of his first son, Prince Charles, in 1630. It was a significant achievement for Charles as *paterfamilias* because Prince Charles was the first male heir born to the throne of England since Edward VI in 1537. Charles' success is drawn into sharp focus when one considers the nearly one hundred-year period in which the English monarchy negotiated a series of shaky successions of royal women, a minor, and a foreign king prior to Caroline rule. It is important to focus on Charles' personal rule because the "study of the connections between family life and high politics in the Stuart period remains relatively unexplored."[98] Until 2011, most scholars had tended to focus on families in the late-Stuart and Georgian periods in England.[99]

Themes of domesticity influenced images of the royal family in the 1630s. These themes were carefully constructed mythologies and part of the political discourse for legitimizing Stuart rule. In 2011, Laura Knoppers argued that "politics and domesticity came together in a powerful and contested mode of monarchical representation in the years of the English Revolution and beyond."[100] Images of the Caroline family were "highly crafted and fictional," states Knoppers, since Charles and Henrietta Maria had

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[98] Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, "Childless Men in Early Modern England" in *The Family in Early Modern England,* eds. Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 167.

[99] Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c. 1754-1790* (Gloucestershire, Clarendon Press, 2005); Judith Lewis, *Sacred Female Patriotism: Gender, Class, and Politics in Late Georgian Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Kathleen Wilson, "'The good, the bad, the impotent': Imperialism and the Politics of Identity in Georgian England," in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text,* eds. A. Birmingham and J. Brewer (New York: Routledge, 1997): 237-262.

[100] Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4.

separate households and their children were raised at St. James Palace instead of Whitehall.[101] "Observers," Knoppers points out, "would almost never have seen a family group such as Van Dyck depicts in the "greate peece" (fig. 2.4).[102] Yet the portraits allowed the viewer to 'see' the royal family as a family."[103] Van Dyck's portraits used the domestic as a political tool.[104] The integration of the public and the private spheres in van Dyck's court portraits provide important insight into Charles' kingship. The "king's role as father and the queen's role as mother were by no means private, but, rather part of statecraft and thus simultaneously an image of dynasty and monarchical power."[105] The connection between family and state demonstrates the significance of *paterfamilias* to kingship during the personal rule.

The study of the family unit in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England is crucial because "[t]he family was central to social order; disciplined families were therefore a prerequisite of that order."[106] Since the family/state analogy was so prevalent in early modern England, distinctions between these two concepts were absent from early modern thought.[107] The family analogy, therefore, is a particularly rich context in which to consider male power precisely because it was such a potent ideal.[108] This was especially true for Charles.

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[101] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity,* 24.
[102] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity*, 26.
[103] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity,* 26.
[104] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity,* 3-4.
[105] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity,* 24.
[106] Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988)*,* 38.
[107] Susan Dwyer Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order, 1560-1725," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England,* eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 196.
[108] Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, 96.

The parental analogy was part of the social fabric too, permeating all aspects of society. "The bonds of deference and respect which were supposed to hold the family together" states Susan Amussen, "also operated throughout society. In the village, Hundred, and county (as well as the nation) those of higher status were to govern and care for their inferiors, in return to receive obedience and respect from the governed."[109] The ability to enforce obedience was also connected to gender ideals, heightening the importance of masculinity to familial order.

Fathers, as *patres familias*, were considered foundational to the social order. As the anonymous writer of *The Good Hows Holder* (1607) stated, "the good Hows-holder, that his howse may hold, First builds it on the Rock, not on the Sand."[110] The anonymous writer portrayed the family as the metaphorical foundation of an ordered society, and the father's role within the family was key. Charles was the *paterfamilias* of his family and kingdom, and his political success rested on the establishment of a solid social foundation. This foundation was his family. Masculinity was central to the successful expression of authority for the *paterfamilias,* and it provides an important avenue for analysis of Charles' cultural productions.

The concept of gender in the context of the family unit is "both relational and organizational."[111] Gender inhabits "social structure, practices, and the imagination," and men's roles in the home were dictated by gender.[112] The complexity of gender is demonstrated by the many interpretations of patriarchies that existed during the early modern period, which are especially relevant to Charles. Giving credence to Fletcher's

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[109] Amussen, *An Ordered Society,* 134.

[110] Anonymous, *The Good Hows Holder* (London: P. Boulenger in the Black Friers, 1607), np.

[111] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, xv.

[112] Michael. Roper and John Tosh, "Introduction," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain in 1800,* eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991), 11.

arguments are the similar emphases on gender and masculinity within contemporary instructional works written for both *patres familias* and kings.

The common ideal between works for *paterfamilias* and king was the head of household's exercise of authority in the home. Contemporary manuals highlighted this connection through the state/family analogy. Didactic works analogized the power of the *paterfamilias* to kingship as the "ideological basis which sustained the church, law, and government between the 1560s and 1660s."[113]

In 1630, Robert Filmer presented Charles with a copy of his manuscript *Patriarchia; or the Natural Power of Kings*, in which he analogized the role of the king to that of fathers. Filmer's *Patriarchia* emphasized the potency of the ideal of patriarchal kingship: the "political order of Stuart England evolved from the family; magistrates were therefore entitled to the same filial obedience that children owed their fathers."[114] Filmer opined, "it is true, that all kings be not the natural parents of their subjects, yet they all either are, or are to be reputed the next heirs to those progenitors."[115] Domestic hierarchy paralleled constructions of kingship, especially on matters of obedience. Filmer declared that he

> sees not how the children of Adam, or of any man else, can be free from the subjection to their parents. And this subjection of children being the fountain of all regal authority, by the ordination of God himself. It follows that civil power not only in general is by divine institution, but even the assignment of it specifically to the eldest parent, which quite takes away that new and common distinction which refers only power universal as absolute God, but power respective in regard of the special form of government to the choice of the people.[116]

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[113] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 205.

[114] Gordon J. Schochet, *The Authoritarian Family and Political Attitude in 17th Century England: Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (1975; repr., New Brunswick: Transaction Inc., 1988), 1.

[115] Robert Filmer, *Patriarchia; Or the Natural Power of Kings By the Learned Sir Robert Filmer Baronet* (ca. 1630 published 1680), in *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485-1714,* eds. Newton Key and Robert Bucholz (West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), 142.

[116] Filmer, *Patriarchia*, 142.

Kingship, Filmer contends, is a natural extension of *patriae potestas* (the power of the head of household), and he concluded that the king's sole duty was the "universal fatherly care of his people."[117] This demonstrates the importance of the ideals of masculinity to Charles' image. It was an aspect of Charles' paternalistic care of his subjects that his court set the standard for virtue and decorum.

Charles was concerned that his court should embody the virtues he expected his subjects to emulate. In a sensational case involving serious charges against the Earl of Castlehaven, Charles refused to pardon the Earl because charges of rape, sodomy, and adultery were viewed as evidence of a dissolute and disordered home highly indicative of a weak and corrupt *paterfamilias*.[118] Since connections were made between an ordered home and his kingdom, it was important that Charles' court be exemplary; morality and masculinity were central to kingly authority and *patria potestas*. Charles was keen to distance himself and his court from Castlehaven as a means to demonstrate his own court and household's moral rectitude. *Paterfamilias* was an important ideal for Charles because his power derived both "literally and figuratively from the position of paternity: [kings'] historical precursors were fathers [and] their analogical role models were fathers."[119]

James, Charles, and clerics analogized the king's role to that of *paterfamilias*, and writers of instructional manuals flipped the metaphor, as they compared the authority of heads of households to that of the kings. As contemporary Richard Brathwait articulated in *The English Gentleman*, "as every man's home is his castle; so is his family a private

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[117] Filmer, *Patriarchia*, 142.
[118] Cynthia Herrup, "The Patriarch at Home: the Trial of the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven for Rape and Sodomy," *History Workshop Journal* no. 41 (Spring, 1996): 3.
[119] Herrup, "The Patriarch at Home" 8-9.

commonwealth, wherein if due government be not observed, nothing but confusion is to be expected."[120] Likewise, William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* 1634, states that "a family is . . . a little commonwealth . . . a school wherein the principles and grounds of government and subjection are learned."[121] Disordered homes and kingdoms occurred when the subjects of fathers and kings, such as Earl Castlehaven, transgressed established social hierarchies and rules related to gender expectations, ideals of masculinity, or transgressed boundaries of moral behaviour. The solution to these familial and national disorders was to be found in the proper instruction of the father's "subjects" in the home and by an exemplary court.

There was a strong connection between masculinity and the ability to exact obedience that strengthened claims of legitimacy. John Dod and Robert Clever emphasize the correlation between order and legitimacy in *A Godly Forme of Household Government* (1612). Dod and Clever poignantly state "it is impossible for a man to understand how to govern the commonwealth that doth not know how to rule his own house, or order his own person so that he knoweth not to govern, deserveth not to reign."[122] Men who were unable to instill order in their homes opened themselves to criticism of their masculinity.

Ideals of the *paterfamilias*' authority were also expressed in religious analogies. Both crown and clerics acknowledged that patriarchal and kingly authorities were essentially two sides of the same coin. Further demonstrating the proliferation of these

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[120] Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentleman: Containing Sundry Excellent Rules or Exquisite Observations* (London: John Haviland, 1630), 155.

[121] William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties,* (London: John Haviland for William Bladen, 1622), 17.

[122] John Dod and Robert Clever, *A Godly Forme of Household Government for the ordering of private families, according to the direction of god's word* (London: by R. Field for Thomas Man, 1630), fol. A7.

familial ideals in Protestant England were the numerous instruction manuals and sermons that instructed men that masculinity and *patria potestas* were foundational to an ordered society and government.

According to Anthony Fletcher, from the 1590s to the 1640s, Puritans wrote about the importance of the patriarchal family as the model for authority and obedience.[123] In their view, a godly and ordered household was the foundation for sound government.[124] Christian instruction and a strong, authoritative head of household were considered necessary for the establishment and maintenance of an orderly kingdom. James I also expressed the connection between *patriae potestas* and kingship.

The family represented for Puritans "the lowest unit of hierarchy of discipline," which was "a highly authoritarian institution" that contemporary writers compared to the government of the state.[125] Hill demonstrates that religion shaped the interpretation of the duties of a head of household in England since "Protestantism was patriarchal, reducing the role of the Virgin and of the saints, many of whom were women."[126] Hill continues, "[t]he Calvinist God is a God of absolute will and power."[127] Fathers were expected to control their households, including their wives, children, and apprentices, through an imposition of order and religious propriety. The religious instruction and discipline of the family were identified as the central masculine duties of the head of the household, especially for Protestants.[128]

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[123] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, Subordination*, 204-205.

[124] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, Subordination,* 204-205.

[125] Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1958; repr., New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), 382, 397-398.

[126] Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England,* 389.

[127] Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England*, 389.

[128] John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). For a continental European perspective see

Religion was inextricably connected to perceptions of legitimacy since "equality as to religion and morality was necessary, for marriages between partners with different religions were a source of confusion for the children."[129] In the *Basilikon Doron,* James warned his sons to maintain a solitary religion in the home for the sake of order, as he questioned

> how ye and your wife can bee of one flesh, and keepe vnitie betwixt you, being members of two opposite Churches: disagreement in Religion bringeth euer with it, disagreement in maners; and the dissention betwixt your Preachers and hers, wil breed and foster a dissention among your subiects, taking their example from your family; besides the perill of the euill education of your children.[130]

Despite James' warning, Charles married a Catholic. Charles' marriage raised his subjects' suspicions that he was a crypto-Catholic seeking to return England to Roman Catholicism. Perceptions that his wife exerted control over him and counseled him on official matters of state negatively influenced his masculine image. Ultimately, Charles' and his wife's actions contributed to perceptions that his household was disordered and that he fell short of the patriarchal ideal of kingship. Again, men were expected to be the ultimate authority in the home.

It was not only James who connected the king's role to the father's; it was also the subject of sermons. Church of England and Puritan clerics both compared the king's role to that of the father. Their sermons employed a language that reflected the importance of the state/family analogy. In a sermon preached before James in 1610, Bishop Lancelot Andrews declared "*jus regium* comes out of *jus patrium* [sic], the king's right from the

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Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1983).

[129] Jeroen J. H. Dekker, "Beauty and Simplicity: the Power of Fine Art in Moral Teaching on Education in Education in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *Journal of Family History,* vol. 34 (2009): 172.

[130] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron*, 94.

father's, and both hold by one commandment."[131] Likewise, Puritan preacher William

Struther, in *A Looking Glass for Princes and People* (1632), preached on the connection

between the king's family and the state as he opined that the king's "other task of his

government is his family."[132] Struthers foregrounds the importance of Charles' family to

the success of his kingly image. It is interesting to note that the family analogy was a

point of agreement between the Church of England and Puritans. The maintenance of

order and discipline in matters of religion was as important to kings as it was to all men

in seventeenth-century England.[133]

      The king's family was also a political institution related to order, social hierarchy,

and masculinity.[134] The first Stuart king's emphasis on *paterfamilias* demonstrated the

importance of family and order to kingship.[135] In James' political treatise, the *True Law*

of Free Monarchies (1598), the duties of the king were expressed in distinctly familial

terms. James compared the roles of fathers and kings, emphasizing the importance of a

paterfamilias' masculine responsibility to provide for his family:

> By the law of nature the king becomes a naturall father to all his lieges at
> his coronation: and as the father of his fatherly dutie is bound to care for
> the nourishing education and vertuous government of his children: even

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[131] Lancelot Andrewes, "A Sermon Preached Before the King's Majesty, at Holdenby on the Fifth of August A.D. MDCX-Touch Not Mine Anointed," in *Ninety-Six Sermons By the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester. Published by His Majesty's Special Command* vol. IV, ed. John Henry Parker (1610; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1841), 48.

[132] William Struther, *A Looking Glass for Princes and People, Delivered in a Sermon of Thankesgiving for the Birth of the Hopefull Prince Charles and since Augmented with Allegations and Historicall Remarkes Together with a Vindication of Princes* (Edinburgh: Heires of Andro Hart, 1632), 70.

[133] Susan Dwyer Amussen, "Political Households and Domestic Politics: Family and Society in Early Modern Thought," in *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988). See also Frances E. Dolan, "Revolutions, Petty Tyranny, and the Murderous Husband," in *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994): 89-120.

[134] Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order," 196.

[135] Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order," 198.

so is the king bound to care for all his subjects. As all the toyle, and paine that the father can take for his children.[136]

Thomas Wentworth, Charles' advisor, echoed James' views in a letter to Archbishop Laud, stating, "Princes are to be indulgent nourishing fathers to their people; their modest liberties, their sober rights ought to be precious in the [king's] eyes."[137] Order and patriarchal kingship were the cornerstones of government, as James opined: a "king toward his people is rightly compared to a father of children, for as fathers the good princes and magistrates of the people of God acknowledged themselves to their subjects. And for all other well-ruled commonwealths, the style of *pater patriae* was ever, and is, commonly used to kings."[138] "Kings are," James continues, "also compared to fathers of families; for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people."[139]

Obedience to a father's authority was also supported in the *Basilikon Doron*, in which James identified the "unreverent [sic] writing or speaking of your parents and predecessors: ye know the Commande in God's law, Honour your father and mother and consequently . . . suffer not both your princes and your parents be dishonoured."[140] It is interesting to note from a gender perspective that James instructs his subjects to honour their parents, but to honour and *obey* the prince alone. James' instructions emphasize the centrality of the *paterfamilias'* role: if he fulfils his masculine responsibilities he is able to exact obedience and impose his rule upon all within the home, including his wife. On

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[136] James VI/I, *True Lawe of Free Monarchies or the Reciprock and Mutuall Dutie betwixt a Free King and his Naturall Subjects* (1598; repr., London: Robert Walde Printer to the kings most excellent Majesty, 1603), fol. A8.

[137] Sir Thomas Wentworth to Archbishop Laud (1628) in *The Stuart Constitution: Documents and Commentary* 2nd ed., ed. John Phillips Kenyon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 16.

[138] JamesVI/I, *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.* (London: 1616), 204-209, 201.

[139] James VI/I, "Speech to Parliament," *Readings in European History,* vol. II, ed. James Harvey Robinson (1609; repr. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906), 219-220.

[140] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron*, 38-39.

the other hand, James' command to honour the prince emphasizes the important point that the king not be ruled by anyone else, especially the mother of his heirs, his wife and queen. "A good king," James continues his parental analogy, "thinking his highest honour consist in the due discharge of his calling [is] the well fare of his people . . . as their naturall father and kindly maister."[141]

Although Charles was not as prolific a writer as his father, he also articulated the importance for men to order their homes, seeing his court as a model. In a proclamation, Charles himself echoed the instructions his father, clerics, and other contemporaries had made on the importance of a strong *paterfamilias* for all households. Charles decreed that "every man should be a rule of order and abstinence in his own house," demonstrating that the family analogy was important to his own conception of a well-governed realm.[142] Charles articulated the importance for the king's court to be the model of discipline. The court should be an example for his subjects as he declared that his own reformation of "government and order in court" would "spread . . . through all parts of our kingdom."[143] Charles and his father both drew comparisons between the perceived order of the court, as a result of a strong *paterfamilias,* and the king's authority to rule.

Gender ideals underwrote perceptions of power, authority, and legitimacy in the seventeenth century. A main point of contention that flowed from James' to Charles' rule surrounded the Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham had been a despised advisor of James I due to his commoner status and his presumed sexual relationship with the king.

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[141] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 29.
[142] Charles I, *Stuart Royal Proclamations, vol. II: Proclamations of King Charles I, 1625-1646*, ed. J. F. Larkin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 80.
[143] Charles I, *Stuart Royal Proclamations, vol. II*, 80.

Charles was also perceived to be ruled by his wife in matters of state, inverting the prescribed roles for husbands and wives. Henrietta Maria was a French Catholic Princess, a traditional enemy to English Protestantism on two counts. The king's masculinity was questioned because of his relationships with Buckingham and the queen, demonstrating the importance of gender to his kingship.[144] Ideals of manhood, including acceptable sexual expression, were important markers of authority and legitimacy for all men, including kings. Historians have increasingly examined gender in a historical context.

In the 1970s, gender moved to the fore as historians began to reconsider women and women's social roles in a historical perspective.[145] Historians recognized that men, as a gender category, should be studied in order to appreciate the importance of this social construct in the lived experiences of men and women. An early advocate for the study of gender was Natalie Zemon Davis, who states:

> [w]e should now be interested in the history of both women and men. We should not be working on the subjected sex any more than a historian of class can focus exclusively on peasants. Our goal is to understand the significance of the *sexes* of gender groups in the historical past.[146]

Especially important to assessments of gender and kingship is Joan Scott's work that emphasizes gender as the "primary way of signifying power relationships."[147] Since

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[144] Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 98, 233; for a focus on Henrietta Maria see Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 95-156.

[145] Ann Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle, and Nancy Schrom Dye, "The Problem of Women's History," in *Liberating Women's History,* ed. Berenice Carroll (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1976); Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European Case," *Feminist Studies,* vol. 3 (1976): 83-103.

[146] Natalie Zemon Davis, Berkshire Conference on Women's History, (1975) quoted in Harry Brod, "The New Men's Studies: From Feminist Theory to Gender Scholarship," *Hypatia,* vol. 2, no.1 Philosophy and Women Symposium (Winter 1987): 188.

[147] Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category for Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* vol. 91, no. 5 (December 1986), 1067.

then, numerous studies of gender have been undertaken that have focused on the early

modern period generally and England in particular.

Early on, it was literary historians who considered how constructs of gender and

masculinity were expressed and affected ideals of manhood in England at this time.[148]

For all of Kevin Sharpe's works, gender was not a major consideration in his assessments

of Charles and his court.[149] Until recently, Diane Purkiss was alone in her consideration

of the events and social context of Charles' reign in explicitly gendered terms.[150]

Perceptions of Buckingham's negative influence on Charles' image persisted as he had

been James' lover. Charles' "gender and sexuality were open to question precisely

because his father's had been."[151] Charles' wife Henrietta Maria was criticized for her

manipulation of Charles and perceptions that she directed foreign policy after

Buckingham's death.[152] Purkiss called for historians to

> ask about Charles's selection of cultural icons as emblems of his own
> masculinity, and how far his choices reflect an anxiety to distance himself
> from other models, models which may have been easier to assimilate to
> lower-class and even gentry ideas of the masculine.[153]

This thesis contends that Charles' image incorporated many ideals that were not the

exclusive domain of kings. Charles' van Dyck portraits demonstrate that the king was

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[148] See Ann Hughes, "Women, Men and Politics in the English Civil War" Keele University Inaugural Lecture (1997); and Ann Hughes, "Gender and Politics in Leveller Literature," in *Political Culture and Culture Politics,* eds. Susan D. Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)*;* Rachel Trubowitz, "Female Preachers and Male Wives: Gender and Authority in Civil War England," in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution,* ed. James Holstun (London: F. Cass, 1991).

[149] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity,* 6.

[150] For other works incorporating gender into assessments of the period see Michelle Ann White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006); Shannon Miller, *Engendering the Fall: John Milton and Seventeenth-Century Women Writers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Griffey, *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics, and Patronage*.

[151] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, 98.

[152] Purkiss, "Opening the King's Cabinet," and "Charles I," *Literature, Gender and Politics*, 71-130.

[153] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 233.

indeed aware of "gentry ideas of the masculine."[154] Historians have engaged in

discussions of masculine ideals related to *paterfamilias*, knight, and gentleman, and their

works are foundationally important for considering how Charles sought to represent

himself as a worthy king.

Threats to Charles' masculinity and by extension, his authority, were manifested

in two of his closest relationships. His main advisor, the Duke of Buckingham, and his

wife, Queen Henrietta Maria, undermined Charles' authority as *paterfamilias* because

both were seen to exert too much influence over the King.[155] Contemporary works, such

as *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645), argued that an England governed without

parliament allowed for kings to be influenced by women such as Henrietta Maria.[156]

Purkiss suggests that these two persons figuratively emasculated the "father of the family,

depriving him of his legitimate power by appropriating [his] power illegitimately." These

two figures enhanced negative perceptions of Charles' home, masculinity, and his image

as *paterfamilias*.[157]

Buckingham had been James' main counselor and lover, and their relationship

blurred the lines between private and public affairs. This later exerted a negative

influence on Charles' image, leading to charges of sodomy against him and

Buckingham.[158] Sodomy, despite its varied definitions during the early modern period,

was a serious libel, threatening perceptions of masculinity.[159] Charges of sodomy were

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[154] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 233.
[155] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 73.
[156] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 71-97.
[157] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 58.
[158] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 98.
[159] James Knowles, "To 'scourge the arse/Jove's marrow had so wasted:' Scurrility and the Subversion of Sodomy," in *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500-Present,* eds. Dermot Cavanagh and Tim Kirk (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1988), 77.

especially potent against Charles because this criticism conflated issues of political and sexual deviance, both of which stood in opposition to the state/family.[160]

It is revealing that Charles sought to present himself and his court as exemplars of order and morality connected with masculine *paterfamilias* in the 1634 masque *Coelum Brittanicum* (British Heaven) years after Buckingham had been assassinated. Thomas Carew, author of *Coelum Britannicum,* emphasized the renewed order Charles instilled in his English court as a way to distance the king's masculinity from criticism. In the masque, the protagonist Momus articulates the renewed sexual decorum of the Caroline court as he states, "[w]e have had new orders" and "[e]dicts are made for the restoring of decayed housekeeping."[161] Propriety and virtue were the major aspects of Charles' court reformation, including the sexual morality of the court. Momus articulates how Charles distanced his court from the effeminacy and immorality of his father's court:

> Cupid must go no more so
> scandalously naked, but is enjoined to make him breeches, though
> his mother's petticoats. Ganymede is forbidden the bedcham-
> ber, and must only minister in public. The gods must keep no
> pages nor grooms of their chamber under the age of twenty-five.[162]

Carew's reference to Ganymede was an allusion to the ancient Greek myth in which Zeus was captivated by the beauty of a young boy named Ganymede. According to the myth, Zeus transformed into an eagle and flew down and captured the young Trojan boy and brought him back to Mount Olympus. There Ganymede became Zeus' lover and the envy of the other gods. In the masque, Ganymede was a metaphor for Buckingham, who was considered to exert too great an influence on Charles' public policy because of their

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[160] Knowles, "To 'scourge the arse," 78.

[161] Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britannicum, Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605-1640* (1634; repr., Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), lines 210 and 217-218.

[162] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 223-227.

supposed private sexual relationship. Buckingham was considered to be a tangible threat to Charles' masculinity and his image as *paterfamilias*.

In *Coelum Brittanicum*, Charles was clearly responding to criticism of his masculinity, as shown in the following excerpt of a poem written by Alexander Gill in 1628:

> God to Save
> My sovereign from a Ganymede
> Whose whorish breath had power to lead
> His Majesty which way it list:
> O! Let such lips never be kist.[163]

Buckingham had been the royal favourite and advisor of James I. After Charles' accession, he retained his position as the main royal counselor. Despite Charles' court reformation, perceptions that Buckingham usurped Charles' authority persisted as Buckingham's "whorish breath had the power to lead," or perhaps, to mislead Charles.[164] It is significant that Charles, through Carew's masque, directly addressed Buckingham's negative influence on his court and kingly image five years into the personal rule and nearly six years after Buckingham's death. This suggests that memories of the old advisor continued to challenge Charles' masculinity.

Since Charles' family was both domestic and dynastic, perceptions of his wife Henrietta Maria's excessive and inappropriate control in the home, contrary to contemporary gender ideals, tainted perceptions of his masculinity and ultimately his ability to be king. Charles' critics expressed concern over the queen's involvement in

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[163] Alexander Gill, *Original Papers Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton, Including Sixteen Letters of State Written by Him, Now First Published for MSS in the State Paper Office with an Appendix of Documents,* ed. W. Douglas Hamilton (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, Printer, 1859), 67 also quoted in Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, 98.

[164] Gill, *Original Papers Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton,* 67.

matters of state. Contemporary Lucy Hutchinson remarked on the effect of the queen's negative influence on Charles:

> Wherever male princes are so effeminate as to suffer women of foreign birth and different religions to intermeddle with the affairs of state, it is always to produce sad desolations; and it hath been observed that a French queen never brought any happiness to England.[165]

Fears of the queen's influence were validated as she sought foreign assistance and intervention in the early years of the civil wars. Henrietta Maria wrote Charles that she "resolved to send a person into France, to pay a compliment to the king, my brother . . . [because] if we are unfortunate enough to need foreign help, it is very proper to try to assure ourselves of France."[166]

In the pamphlet, *The Great Eclipse of the Sun,* Charles was metaphorically overshadowed by Henrietta Maria's manipulation of his fatherly authority, as the anonymous writer states:

> For the King was eclipsed by the Queen, and she perswaded him that darkness was light, and that it was better to be a papist then [sic] a Protestant . . . he was totally eclipsed by her in Councell, who under the colour of maintaining the Protestant religion. Ordinary women can in the night time perswade their husbands to give them new Gowns or petticoats, and make them grant their desire . . . and could not Queene Mary (think ye) by her night discourses, encline the King to popery?[167]

Criticism of Charles' home as disordered and perceptions that his wife undermined his authority caused many to question how a king whose home was disordered could properly govern his country.[168] Charles' marriage to Henrietta Maria ought to have been considered successful since it resulted in an incontestable line of heirs. However, the

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[165] Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson,* 89.

[166] Henrietta Maria to Charles I, 2 June 1642, in *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria,* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Richard Bentley, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 1857), 79-80.

[167] Anonymous, *The Great Eclipse of the Sun, or Charles his Waine Overclouded*, 1-3 quoted in Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, 106.

[168] Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion, and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997), 5.

queen was criticized because she was perceived to exert too great an influence on governmental policy.

Charles' religious reforms of the churches in England and Scotland caused him to be associated with Roman Catholicism. On these points, Charles' marriage to Henrietta Maria, a French Catholic princess, only exacerbated these fears. Among English Protestants, Catholicism was synonymous with gender inversion because its male adherents were viewed as weak and its women were viewed as monstrous manipulators of their husbands.[169]

In anonymous marginalia, published alongside Henrietta Maria's intercepted letters, Charles was criticized in his role as *paterfamilias*, in the following excerpt:

> it is plain . . . that the Kings counsels are wholly managed by the queen: though she be of the weaker Sex, born an Alien, bred up in a contrary Religion, yet nothing great or final is transacted without her privity and consent.[170]

John Milton in *Eikonoklastes* (1649) also criticized Charles' duplicity with Parliament and his perceived submission to his wife's demands. Milton states that Charles' letters revealed the king's

> good affection to Papists and Irish Rebels, the straight intelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable peace he made with them, not solicited, but soliciting, which by all invocations that were holy he had in public abjured. They revealed his endeavours to bring in foreign Forces, Irish, French, Dutch, Lorrainers and our old Invaders, the Danes upon us, besides his subtleties and mysterious arts in treating: to sum up all, they showed him governed by a Woman.[171]

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[169] Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, 9.

[170] Anonymous, *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645), 43, quoted in Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 73.

[171] John Milton, *Eikonoklastes: In Answer to A Book Intitled, Eikon Basilike, The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings By John Milton, Printed in 1650. To Which Is Added, An Original Letter to Milton* (1650; repr., London: A. Millar, in the Strand, 1756), 74.

As Milton's assessment of Charles suggests, inverted gender roles in his home were perceived to be the crux of his problems in government. To counteract this perception, Charles sought to represent himself as a strong *paterfamilias* to strengthen his image. Questions were raised whether a king who was an ineffective head of household, ruled by his wife, could also be a good king.

Patriarchal authority was an important concern for Puritans. Conversely, Catholicism was seen by Puritans to undercut traditional familial order. Anti-Catholic rhetoric framed Catholic women, including Henrietta Maria, as "homebred enemies" who posed tangible threats to the father's role by dominating their husbands.[172] Contemporary critics associated Henrietta Maria with the "'Whore of Babylon,' [who is] larger than life, monstrous, foreign, grotesquely feminine yet not human, she is also a wife and mother in England, sheltering inside English homes, lying even inside the king's own bed."[173] Claims that Charles capitulated to the queen's demands were not completely unwarranted: as the terms of his marriage treaty stipulated, she was allowed to transport a number of Catholic clergy with her to England.[174]

As if to arouse further suspicion, Charles commissioned the architect Inigo Jones to design a chapel for the queen to attend Catholic mass, despite the fact that Catholic services remained illegal.[175] The Queen's Chapel was attached to St. James' Palace in the heart of London and surely would have fed fears of a Catholic influence at court.[176] These fears were fulfilled when the queen's letters were intercepted and it was discovered that she was in communication with her brother Louis XIII and the pope. In a letter from

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[172] Dolan, *Whores of Babylon,* 8-9.
[173] Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, 9.
[174] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 66, 304.
[175] See especially Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, 302, 304-305, 695, 843.
[176] The Queen's Chapel was built between 1623 and 1625.

Henrietta Maria to her eldest son she states, "the Pope was ready to help me, even to proclaiming a crusade, if the king my lord would have openly declared himself a Catholic."[177] Henrietta Maria's clandestine letters intercepted in the 1640s confirmed what many believed in the 1630s: that there was a conspiracy to return England to Roman Catholicism.[178] Associations with Catholicism were seen as evidence of a grossly disordered home in which Charles and Henrietta Maria failed to fulfill their appropriate gender roles.

Caroline representations of royal families in portraiture were not unique in England. Artists produced other group portraits of the royal family such as *The Family of Henry VIII* c. 1545. This anonymous work of Henry VIII's family primarily presents a dynastic image of kingship, which was also an important aspect of *The Greate Peece*.[179] In addition, Tudor family portraits tended to be rather stiff and formal in comparison to van Dyck's works.[180] Charles and van Dyck built upon these earlier representations of royal families to develop a more emotive familial image that illustrated more clearly that the king was masculine and that he embraced a strong gender role as a good *paterfamilias*. Charles and van Dyck departed from earlier royal works by focusing on the royal marriage and emphasizing the importance of the queen and his royal heirs.

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[177] Henrietta Maria to Charles, the Prince of Wales, 6 February 1649, in *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria,* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Richard Bentley, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 1857), 353.

[178] In early 2012 a portrait depicting Henrietta Maria was sold at auction and following one-thousand hours of cleaning and restoration, is now positively attributed to van Dyck by Dr. Christopher Brown, an expert on van Dyck. The uncovered, original work from the 1630s depicts Henrietta Maria as the martyr St. Catherine of Alexandria. The significance of this theme is that St. Catherine was strongly associated with the conversion of Pagans to Christianity. Until now, this lost portrait was only known through copies. Future research will contribute to our understanding of the importance of Henrietta Maria to Charles' kingship, seventeenth century English and international politics, and studies of gender.

[179] Hearn, "Van Dyck in Britain," in *Van Dyck and Britain*, 13.

[180] Hearn, "Van Dyck in Britain," 13. For examples of Tudor family portraits see Anonymous, *The Family of Henry VIII,* c. 1545 (London: The Royal Collection). See also a copy of Hans Holbein's *The Dynasty Portrait* by Remigius van Leemput which remains in the Royal Collection on display at Hampton Court Palace.

The marital relationship was considered a powerful indicator of appropriate

gender behaviours for the masculine *paterfamilias* that needed to be represented to

strengthen Charles' claims to legitimacy. Charles' interest in being represented with his

wife suggests the importance of their marital relationship to the authority of the

paterfamilias and ultimately, kingship.

A loving marriage, such as that of Charles and Henrietta Maria, was not "in

contrast with the marriage policy of the elite of looking at the perpetuation of family

estate and fulfilling of the important public functions within the family."[181] Charles'

family portraits were as much a reflection of kingship as they were of the ideals of

gender, masculinity, and *paterfamilias*. Images of Henrietta Maria were highly

influential on perceptions of kingship, as Erin Griffey articulates

> Charles' visual persona was closely linked with that of his queen as a
> way to differentiate himself from the Catholic courts of France and Spain
> and to align himself with the Protestant courts, especially the Hague.
> Dutch marriage portraits were instrumental in shaping Caroline family
> court portraits and offered a visual and ideological parallel. If Catholic
> absolutist kings were painted on big canvases separate from queens, then
> Protestant rulers stressed their differences in part through being
> represented on double canvases with their wives alongside.[182]

Representations of Charles' marriage and family were unique amalgamations of the

ideals of family and kingship. Dutch family portraits were "explicit and didactic" of

familial ideals, as were Charles' family portraits of kingship.

Charles' and Henrietta Maria's marital relationship was held as an exemplar and

model for the nation. Marriage became a metaphor for kingship and Charles' marital

success and fecundity linked personal virtue and his manly achievement as father to his

public reputation. Charles and Henrietta Maria were portrayed together in two known

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[181] Dekker, "Beauty and Simplicity," 171.
[182] Griffey, "Devotional Jewellery in Portraits of Henrietta Maria," 173-174.

van Dyck portraits: *King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria* (fig. 2.2) and *Charles I,*
Henrietta Maria and their Two Eldest Children Prince Charles and Princess Mary (The
Greate Peece, of O[r] royal self, consort and children) (fig. 2.4) discussed later in this
chapter.

By producing six heirs from 1629 onward, Henrietta Maria solidified herself as
the ideal image of mother and queen. Van Dyck also strengthened her importance by
producing at least fifteen known portraits of Henrietta Maria in addition to figures 2.1
and 2.4.[183] Of these fifteen, twelve original works are still in existence today.[184] In many
of her portraits the queen's fecundity is emphasized by being modeled with her arms in
front of her stomach in such a manner that evokes the image of a mother cradling a baby
in her arms. She was also often portrayed with a rose in her hands and a crown on the
same visual plane.[185] Representations of the royal children in portraiture were also
important subjects of court works, with five portraits produced by van Dyck.[186]
Although van Dyck only produced two portraits of Charles and Henrietta Maria together,
allusions to familial virtues was a common and potent theme of official portraiture during
the personal rule.

Portraits of Henrietta Maria and Charles together were important visual depictions
of their familial gender roles. Strong *patriae potestas* was demonstrated by the correct
hierarchical interaction between husband and wife. Men were expected to lead, instruct,
reward, punish, and provide for their families, including their wives. Wives were

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[183] Gudrun Raatschen, "Merely Ornamental? Van Dyck's Portraits of Henrietta Maria," in
Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics, and Patronage, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.,
2008), 141.
  [184] Raatschen, "Merely Ornamental? Van Dyck's Portraits of Henrietta Maria," 141.
  [185] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 19.
  [186] See note 207 for the list of portraits of the royal children.

expected to obey their husbands' authority. Their demonstration of appropriate gender

roles gives credence to the *paterfamilias'* ability to order his home in accordance with

gendered expectations.

The importance to Charles of representing these ideals is demonstrated by his

willingness to commission two very similar portraits of him and Henrietta Maria together

in 1632 (figs. 2.1 and 2.2).[187] In the early 1630s, Daniel Mytens was commissioned to

paint a portrait of Charles and Henrietta Maria (fig. 2.1) to commemorate the masque

Albion's Triumph (1632). Almost immediately after Mytens finished the double portrait,

Charles engaged van Dyck to repaint it in the hope that it could be improved.[188] Despite

van Dyck's attempts at improvement, Charles decided that Mytens' portrait could not be

salvaged and it was removed from his private apartments at Somerset House.[189] In the

same year Charles engaged van Dyck to produce a new portrait (fig. 2.2) more acceptable

to Charles.

Van Dyck's portrait is a departure from Mytens', demonstrating that Charles'

home was ordered, with king and queen fulfilling their gender roles. This was central to

the ideal of a *paterfamilias*. Van Dyck's representation of the *paterfamilias* is clearer

than Mytens' for a few reasons. Prominently featured in Van Dyck's reworking of the

commemorative double portrait (fig. 2.2) are symbols of kingly authority on the table

behind him on the left side of the canvas. Mytens' portrait does not depict the crown,

orb, or sceptre, metaphorical symbols of Charles' patriarchal authority within the home

and as king. In order to render this portrait acceptable to Charles, van Dyck included

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[187] See also Hendrick Pot, *Charles I, Henrietta Maria and the Prince of Wales,* c. 1632 and Daniel Mytens, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase,* c. 1630-2.
[188] Peacock, "The Visual Image of Charles I," 226.
[189] Peacock, "The Visual Image of Charles I," 226.

these potent symbols to declare that Charles embodied manly familial ideals that strengthened *paterfamilias,* and ultimately, kingship. Inclusion of these kingly symbols mirrors the instructional works that stated that all men, as heads of households, were like little kings within the home.

Van Dyck's use of backgrounds suggests that there were separate spheres for men and women insofar as the background mirrors gender expectations. Charles is framed by the black curtain, but his head is set against the background of the countryside, whereas Henrietta Maria is, for the most part, represented against the black backdrop. Charles' depiction in front of the open curtain and the pastoral landscape representing the public sphere demonstrates that heads of household were the intermediaries between the public and private worlds. Therefore, Charles' character and authority were considered to be connected to the public representation of his home's order, virtue, and propriety. In Mytens' portrait, the background is somewhat nebulous and indistinct, failing to connect Charles to his public role as *paterfamilias.*

Like Myten's portrait, Van Dyck's portrays the exchange of a laurel wreath. However, Van Dyck's differs in that it shows Henrietta Maria placing the wreath in Charles' hand, while also holding myrtle in front of her womb and gazing toward the observer. Charles gestures with the index finger of his right hand to the myrtle and her womb, thus drawing our attention to it. Myrtle, as symbol of love, is significant because Henrietta Maria holds it in front of her womb. This suggests that her private role as a mother is connected to Charles' success as a father.

Masques performed during Charles' personal rule presented themes of marriage and love as elements vital to the success of his reign. Kevin Sharpe identifies marriage

and familial harmony as distinctive aspects of Caroline masques: "They articulated a dialogue between [the king and queen and] they celebrated a union of virtues greater than either possessed in themselves."[190] Even the titles of the masques, such as *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis,* and *The Temple of Love,* reflect the relevance of marital concord between king and queen. Other oblique titles, such as *Coelum Britanicum* (*British Heaven*) and *Britannia Triumphans* (*Britain Triumphant*), are celebrations of the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria as a moralizing force on the English court and country. As Sharpe has shown, "the function of government was to endow virtue with authority, to appoint the best man to govern so that by example and persuasion he might lead others to goodness."[191] Masques were expressions of Charles' exemplary and virtuous kingship in which gender was highly influential

The masque *Albion's Triumph,* written by Aurelian Townshend and "personated by the King's Majesty and his Lords" in 1632, correlated the ideals of family to the state. Mytens' portrait (fig. 2.1) and van Dyck's portrait of Charles and Henrietta Maria (fig. 2.2) memorialize the story of love and marriage featured in *Albion's Triumph.* Charles was cast as the principal masquer and played Albanactus, emperor of Albion; Henrietta Maria danced the part of "Alba." The names Albanactus and Alba both derived from the ancient name for Scotland, meaning born in Scotland.[192] The premise of the masque revolves around Albanactus' search for his true love, the queen.[193] As the masque dramatizes, Albanactus was "subdu'd by Alba's eyes."[194] In this allegory, Albanactus'

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[190] Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment,* 183.
[191] Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, 75-76.
[192] Aurelian Townshend, *Albion's Triumph* in *Aurelian Townshend's Poems and Masques,* ed. E. K. Chambers (1632; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 57.
[193] Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment,* 133-135.
[194] Townshend, *Albion's Triumph,* line 345.

"triumph" is that his wildness was "subdued to love and chastity," moderated by his

virtuous love for Alba.[195] Thus, Townshend emphasizes the significance of Charles'

marriage to masculinity and ultimately, kingship in bringing order to his kingdoms.

In the masque *Coelum Brittanicum* (British Heaven) by Thomas Carew, the

messenger Mercury praises the domestic order Charles established at court. Mercury

states the jealous gods were displaced to the underworld by the magnificent "British

Heaven," established by Charles and his court, and expressed in the following excerpt:

> Your exemplar life
> Hath not alone transfused a zealous heat
> Of imitation through your virtuous court,
> By whose bright blaze your palace is become
> The envied pattern of this underworld.[196]

Van Dyck's portraits and masques present Charles' virtuous court as important factors in

his success as king. *Coelum Britannicum* attempts to refute criticism of Charles'

government through its representation of his household as ordered, virtuous, fruitful, and

the glorious envy of the gods. Themes of domestic order in royal masques were

essentially works of political theory that correlated *paterfamilias* to kingship.

Domestic order was central to perceptions of the king's ability to properly govern

his kingdoms. Charles and the Queen were the nucleus of the family and their marriage

was crucial to the fulfillment of Charles' fatherly role. The production of children

signified a major achievement for the king's masculinity as *paterfamilias*. Marital

fecundity was an important consideration for married men and women who were

concerned with the propagation of their lineage and proved to be the source of much

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[195] Townshend, *Albion's Triumph,* line 25.
[196] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 52-56.

anxiety for both parties.[197] Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster articulate the importance

of dynastic succession for the English crown:

> Problems with marital fertility could . . . have implications for the entire
> nation, and were enshrined in a rhetoric of potency and impotency that
> recognized the political character of sexual performance and its
> reproductive consequences among the ruling elite.[198]

Van Dyck's portraits of the royal children became important visual evidence of the royal

couple's fecundity. Representation of the royal children demonstrates the connection

between the "public and private, family and state, dynastic and domestic relations."[199]

Sexual honour was crucial to the head of household's authority and perceptions of

masculinity. Dynastic succession was the fulfillment of Charles' masculinity, which was

important to perceptions of his success as king. The birth of royal children was cause for

celebration and thanksgiving. Thus, the representation of heirs is a crucial element of

Charles' family portraits.

Following the death of Buckingham, Henrietta Maria and Charles grew much

closer.[200] Henrietta Maria gave birth to their first child in 1630, and the birth of children

continued thereafter with regularity: six royal progeny survived infancy. [201] In Carew's

masque *Coelum Brittanicum,* Momus emphasizes the fecundity of the Caroline marriage

as he states, "the whole state of hierarchy suffers a total reformation, especially in the

reciprocation of conjugal affection."[202] Carew correlates an ordered household to a

virtuous and fruitful marriage. As Momus continues, the

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[197] See also Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999).

[198] Berry and Foyster, "Childless Men in Early Modern England," 167.

[199] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity*, 25.

[200] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 65.

[201] Henrietta Maria gave birth to Charles 1630; Mary 1631; James 1633; Elizabeth 1635; Henry 1640; Henrietta 1644.

[202] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 234-236.

Lawgiver [Charles] himself in his own person observes his decrees so
punctually; who besides, to eternise the memory of that great
example of matrimonial union which he derives from hence, hath
on his bedchamber door and ceiling, fretted with stars, in capital
letters engraven the inscription of CARLOMARIA.[203]

The success of the king's union memorialized in the preceding excerpt suggests that

personal virtue and morality were certainly connected to kingship insofar as it

strengthened the *paterfamilias* and his kingly authority. Charles' achievement of

hereditary succession was important to his role as *paterfamilias* and is illustrated in

various van Dyck portraits.

Prayers published by the king's printer demonstrate that Charles was keen to

emphasize the fulfillment of his masculine duty by producing heirs, which secured a

smooth dynastic succession. Following the birth of Prince Charles, *A Thanksgiving*

Prayer for the Safe Child-bearing of the Queene's Majesty was published and it states

"since lineall Succession is under thee the greate Security of Kingdomes, and the very life

of Peace: Wee therefore give thee most humble and hearty thanks."[204] Following the

birth of Princess Mary another prayer was printed. It states: "O most gracious God, and

Loving father, wee give thee, as we are bound, most humble and hearty thankes, for the

greate mercy extended to us, and this whole State in blessing the Queenes Majesty with a

happy deliverance" and "that both [the king and queen] may have comfort in the Royal

Prince Charles, the new-borne Princesse the Lady Mary, and with them in a hopefull,

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[203] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 244-238.

[204] Anonymous, *A Thankesgiving Prayer for the Safe Child-bearing of the Queenes Majesty*
(London: Robert Barker and John Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1629), np.

healthfull, and a successfull posterity."[205] The publication of these prayers demonstrates the importance of Charles' masculinity and success as *paterfamilias* as vital to kingship.

The importance of Charles' role as a father is borne out by the fact that van Dyck was commissioned to paint his children so frequently during the personal rule.[206] Van Dyck produced two group portraits of Charles' children in 1635, Princess Mary in c. 1636, all five children painted together in 1637 (fig. 2.3), and Prince Charles alone c. 1637-1638 (fig. 3.3).[207] The portraits of Charles' children, examined in the context of his role as *paterfamilias,* draw attention to Charles' success in producing heirs. Charles' heirs reflected the order and virtue of his household, illustrating his success as a father, which was crucial to his overall vision of kingship.

Portraits of royal children mirrored the values of a well-ordered domestic life and *paterfamilias*. This is especially true of *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* (fig. 2.3). This portrait hung above Charles' head at his breakfast table as a public demonstration of his household's order.[208] Prince Charles stands in a carnation-coloured suit at centre, and although he is a mere child, he gazes directly at the viewer, his left arm atop the mastiff's head. This prominent position reinforces his role as heir, echoing his father's kingly role. Prince Charles' control over the large mastiff suggests that his natural authority was an extension of his hereditary right and anticipated his future roles as king and father. Van

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[205] Anonymous, *A Thanksgiving for the Safe delivery of the Queenes happy birth of the Yong Princesse* (London: Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and by the Assignes of John Bill, 1631)*,* np.

[206] See also Sharpe, *Images Wars,* 205-207.

[207] In order the portraits are 1. *Three Children of Charles I* (Turin: Sabauda Gallery, 1635); 2. *Three Children of Charles I* (Royal Collection, 1636); 3. *Princess Mary* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, c. 1636); 4. *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* (fig. 3.2) (Royal Collection, c. 1637-1638); and 5. *Charles II as Prince of Wales in Armour* (fig. 3.3) (Royal Collection, c. 1637). Van Dyck also painted a portrait to celebrate the betrothal of Charles' eldest daughter Mary to Prince William of Orange titled *Princess Mary Stuart and Prince William of Orange, future William III* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1641).

[208] Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity,* 26.

Dyck's domestic, royal portraiture was unique because he emphasized the importance of family, children, and masculinity to *paterfamilias* and kingship.[209]

The final family portrait considered is *Charles and His Family* (fig. 2.4), or as it was known in the 1630s, *The Greate Peece, of O^r royal self, consort and children*. This portrait was the first commission van Dyck received upon his arrival in England in 1632. The portrait was hung in a prominent position in Charles I's Long Gallery in Whitehall Palace.[210] This massive painting (302.9 x 256.9 cm) was the largest van Dyck had painted anywhere to date. Van Dyck's "Greate Peece" is unique in English royal portraiture in its presentation of familial harmony and the king's depiction as a "loving *paterfamilias.*"[211] Most importantly, this portrait presents a harmonious and unified depiction of the many ideals of *paterfamilias* in a single cohesive work.

This is the only known work of Charles I and his family all together by van Dyck. The importance of this portrait to Charles' kingship was its depiction of the ideals of *paterfamilias* as shown by an ordered household, which formed the template for kingly rule. [212] The original title of the Caroline family portrait "The Greate Peece," reinforces the importance of the ideals it signifies because it is a

> highly political statement of the legitimacy of Charles' right to rule. It provides a painted theory of Charles' reign: it shows him as king *dei gratia* who takes care of the common good like a father, guaranteeing a stable government through his lawful reign and a legitimate heir.[213]

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[209] Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain*, 65. For example see Sir Edwin Henry Landseer, *Windsor Castle in Modern Times,* (1841-1845); Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and Children* (1846); and Winterhalter, *1 May 1851* (1851).

[210] Karen Hearn, "Van Dyck's Return to England: Royal Portraits," in *Van Dyck and Britain*, 68.

[211] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 206-207.

[212] Hearn, "Van Dyck's Return to England" 68.

[213] Raatschen, "Merely Ornamental? Van Dyck's Portraits of Henrietta Maria," 155.

The uniqueness of this portrait is attributable to the fact that van Dyck represented the king not as "dynastic patriarch but as loving paterfamilias."[214] Analysis of this portrait considers the representational choices that both patron and artist used to convey Charles as *paterfamilias*, ideals that were important to all heads of households, including the king.

Status and virtue were indicated by the "privileged properties of representation," such as the pillars and curtains.[215] The pillar and curtain are backgrounds which feature in at least nine known portraits painted during van Dyck's patronage at the Caroline court.[216] In the centre foreground we see Charles seated on his x-frame throne in front of a massive pillar with London, the River Thames, and Parliament visible over his right shoulder. Charles' position in the portrait emphasizes his roles as head of both his personal and national families. Van Dyck's placement of Charles in front of the pillar boldly states that he embodies the same function and strength as the pillar. Just as the pillar literally holds the roof of the palace up in this portrait, Charles as *paterfamilias* metaphorically supports the social order of his kingdoms.

In the misty background over the River Thames stands Parliament. Van Dyck chose to portray Parliament, separated from Charles by the Thames and as little more than a silhouette, to acknowledge the legislative body's existence. This depiction ultimately emphasizes Charles' ideological approach to government asserted through his personal rule. Charles' depiction in front of a distant Parliament demonstrates his masculine authority because he stands resolute in the face of his critics by refusing to

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[214] Sharpe, *Image Wars,* 206-207.

[215] Brilliant, *Portraiture*, 112.

[216] See these works by van Dyck: *Charles in Garter Robes,* 1636; *The Abbe Scaglia,* 1634-5; *Henrietta Maria with Her Dwarf Sir Jeffrey Hudson,* 1633; *Three Children of Charles I*, 1635; *Henrietta Maria,* 1632; *Three Children of Charles I,* 1635; *Five Children of Charles I,* 1637; *George Digby, 2nd Earl of Bristol, and William Russell, 1st Duke of Bedford,* c. 1637; *Princess Mary Stuart and Prince William of Orange,* 1641.

recall Parliament. Van Dyck's representation of Parliament boldly illustrates what

Charles' actions had already stated, namely that Charles was a formidable *paterfamilias*

and by extension, a strong king. However, the representation of Parliament on the same

side as Charles, his heir, and symbols of kingship, recognizes its traditional place within

English government but emphasizes the importance of Charles' role and success as

paterfamilias. The depiction of the nebulous Parliament in the distance juxtaposed

against the richness of colour and detail in the foreground emphasizes the relevance of an

image of an ordered household to kingship.

Charles is seated in the centre of the Great Peece, emphasizing that it is his

success as a father that holds the whole family unit together. He gazes toward the

observer, expressing an attitude of self-assurance. Reinforcing the significance of

children to dynastic succession, Prince Charles and Princess Mary form an oblique

triangle as they gaze out at the viewer. Henrietta Maria is also crucial to the efficacy of

van Dyck's image of fatherly *patria potestas* because she

> is the very image of marital devotion. This is supported by the two little
> dogs at her feet. Greyhounds . . . function as symbols of fidelity.
> Fidelity not only describes the relationship between husband and wife,
> but also between monarch and subject. In this way, marital fidelity
> becomes the symbol of the king's duty towards his subjects and their
> loyalty toward their monarch.[217]

The greyhounds, symbols of fidelity, direct our attention to Henrietta Maria and Prince

Charles forming an inverted triangle.[218] Completing the visual line, Prince Charles points

his index finger back to Henrietta Maria, whose gaze focused on the king compels the

viewer to once again refer back to Charles, thus emphasizing his importance within his

family, the portrait, and kingdoms. Van Dyck reinforced the primacy of Charles as

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[217] Raatschen, "Merely Ornamental? Van Dyck's Portraits of Henrietta Maria," 155.
[218] Raatschen, "Merely Ornamental? Van Dyck's Portraits of Henrietta Maria," 155.

paterfamilias by confining Henrietta Maria and both dogs' gazes within the portrait itself,

while Charles and his heirs engage the observer.

Charles' direct gaze emphasizes that he fulfilled his masculine role by the

production of children and that his dynastic succession was a major achievement. The

final song of *Coelum Brittanicum* celebrates Charles' fulfillment of this duty (albeit

prematurely as we now know) as king to secure succession, stability, order and peace:

> When you from Earth remove
> On the ripe fruits of your chaste bed,
> Those sacred seeds of Love.
> Which no power can but yours dispense,
> Since you the pattern bear from hence.
>
> Then from your fruitful race shall flow
> Endless succession,
> Sceptres shall bud, and laurels blow
> 'Bout their immortal throne.
> Propitious stars shall crown each birth,
> Whilst you rule them, and they the earth.[219]

Regardless of the durability of Charles' success, the excerpt above explains the

importance of dynastic succession as a model for the government of the state based on

order, obedience, and authority. While Charles rules his children, they will in future rule

the earth in accordance with the family analogy of government and the role of the

paterfamilias.

Charles draws attention to his roles as father and king by directing the viewer to

follow his arm down to his hand resting on the table. The table bears symbols of his

kingly authority: the crown, sceptre, and orb. With the same arm, Charles shelters Prince

Charles, thus linking himself to his heir and to symbols of kingship. This particular

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[219] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 1055-1065.

composition confirmed the importance of the patrilineal descent of wealth and titles, and linked Charles and his heir to their roles as king.

Henrietta Maria's significance in this portrait is established by her relation to the king and his heir, Prince Charles. In an attempt to represent the gender order of the household as well as the order of the kingdom, the queen is depicted separated from the outside world, seated in front of golden brocade curtain. Henrietta Maria embodies the rich and regal curtain, which is constrained and given shape by the gold cord connecting it to the pillar, somewhere off canvas. The similarities between the Queen's costume and the curtain are striking. The antique gold curtain behind the queen is from the same colour palette and mimics the draping of her bright golden dress. The association of the queen with the pliable and restrained curtain illustrates an image of how she does not, or at least *should not*, exert influence in either the home or the kingdom, in accordance with gender ideals. Thus the backgrounds against which Henrietta Maria and Charles are seated affirm that his household was ordered.

It is interesting to compare representations of Charles with those of other contemporary European rulers to see whether Charles was unique in his portraits or following the European conventions of the day. Portraits of the Prince of Orange from the Dutch Republic provide an important juxtaposition for Charles because these were two Protestant countries and both leaders were painted by Dutch artists. By presenting Charles' family as an affectionate domestic relationship, Van Dyck echoes a common Dutch influence.[220]

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[220] See van Dyck, *Family Portrait,* c. 1621 (St Petersburg: The Hermitage Museum). For other Dutch family portraits see Cornelius de Vos, *Family Portrait,* c. 1631 (Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts) and Frans Hals, *Family Portrait in Landscape,* c. 1620 (Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art).

Dutch family portraits were representative of "[f]amily virtues and virtues of the individual parent, child and youngster. It was not the good prince but the good mother and father, not the good citizen but the good child" that were the themes of Dutch family portraiture. [221] In this regard, Charles' family portraits reflect this Dutch sensibility. However, they demonstrate more explicitly the importance of *paterfamilias* to kingship. Successful masculinity was necessary for *paterfamilias* and an ordered household, and heirs were the manifestations of this accomplishment. Given the importance of *paterfamilias* and leadership in seventeenth-century England and Holland, the melding of these two ideological viewpoints is reified magnificently in family portraits of the Caroline court.

The similarities between English and Dutch family portraiture are apparent in Gerrit von Honthorst's, *Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange with His Wife Amalia van Solms and Their Three Youngest Daughters* 1647 (fig. 2.5). They both present an image of princely power and familial order. The difference between the representations of Frederik Hendrik and Charles is that Frederik is depicted in armour as a cherub holds a laurel wreath over his head, as emblem of victory in battle. At the time this portrait was painted, Frederik was leading the Dutch Republic in a revolt against Spanish occupation during the final throes of the Eighty Years' War. Conversely, Charles had yet to achieve any military victories at this time. Von Honthorst's portrait powerfully combines values of familial order and martial prowess. Representations of both the Dutch and English royal families demonstrate the importance of domesticity and *paterfamilias* to their right to rule.

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[221] Dekker, "Beauty and Simplicity," 183.

Comparison of Charles' family portraits to contemporary depictions of major political players in Europe demonstrates that van Dyck's portraiture places great emphasis on the familial theme. This is especially the case in comparisons of van Dyck's portraiture to works from Spain and France.

Charles' family portraits, and those of his children, were part of the public display of masculinity and *paterfamilias*, which were so important to his vision of kingship. The Hapsburgs did not approach kingly representations with the same view. The Spanish portrait of the Hapsburg family by Diego Velázquez, titled *Las Meninas* (*The Maids of Honour*) (1656) (fig. 2.6), was originally referred to as *The Family Portrait.* It is considered his greatest masterpiece. *Las Meninas* differs from Charles' family portrait in that it was not hung in the public gallery of the palace in Madrid, but in Philip IV's private offices.[222] Velázquez' highly unusual portrait depicts the Infanta Margarita with her maids of honour, her favourite dwarfs, and dog in the foreground. In the background, Philip IV and Queen Mariana are merely reflected in a mirror on the wall furthest from the viewer.

This "family portrait" has puzzled scholars, as its purpose as a family portrait is really a nominal distinction rather than a true description of the work. If this work is not a family portrait, what exactly is it? There has been discussion of the subject that Velázquez is painting on the massive canvas in front of him. It has been suggested that it is a record of him painting the portrait of the Infanta with her maids of honour. Other scholars have speculated that this "family portrait" is primarily a record of him painting, emphasizing his own status as the court painter. It has also been asserted that he was

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[222] Michael Levey, *Painting at Court* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1971), 147. The phrase *speculum principis* is Latin for "mirror for the prince."

painting a portrait of Philip IV and Mariana, who are outside the canvas but reflected in a mirror on the back wall. Instructional literature about kingly ideals in the *speculum principis* tradition was very popular during the reign of Philip IV, and it has been argued that that this explains why Velázquez chose to represent the king and queen in a mirror.[223] Joel Snyder emphasizes the correlation between their majesties' reflection and divine right of kings. He argues a mirror reflects an ideal

> that can be reached only through art and . . . whose source cannot be corporeal in origin. The mirrored prince is an ideal . . . whose virtue is fashioned by arts, in accordance with divine doctrine.[224]

Las Meninas is the only known portrait featuring Philip IV and his queen, and it is the only portrait of Philip IV's family ever painted.[225] This portrait suggests that in Spain, kingship did not rest on an association with the image or perceptions of family for legitimacy. Instead, the king's image relied on the assumption that the very depiction of Hapsburgs implied and rested upon divine right to rule. Jonathan Brown argues that Hapsburgs' power need not be represented because Philip IV judged it to be universally acknowledged fact and reflection of the political situation.[226]

We now turn our discussion to France. There are no known portraits by official court portraitists depicting Louis XIII and his family. Instead Phillipe de Champaigne's *Louis XIV Consecrating Sceptre and Crown to the Mother of God,* 1643 (fig. 2.7) is considered because it is close in timeframe to Louis XIII. Portraits by Phillipe de Champaigne, the *premier peintre du roi*, are important subjects because his royal portraits

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[223] Joel Snyder, "'Las Meninas and the Mirror of the Prince," *Critical Inquiry,* vol. 11, no. 4 (June 1985), 559.

[224] Snyder, "'Las Meninas and the Mirror of the Prince," 558.

[225] Silvio Gaggi, *Modern/Postmodern: a Study in the Twentieth-Century Arts and Ideas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 3.

[226] Jonathan Brown, "The Enemies of Flattery: Velázquez's Portraits of Philip IV," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol. 17, no. 1 (Summer, 1986): 137.

"captured the religious and royal ethos of the reign."[227] Figure 2.7 is the closest

representation to a family portrait available.

Portraits by de Champaigne tended to be more devotional than familial, depicting

Louis XIII praying to the dead Christ or the Virgin Mary.[228] Other works present Louis

XIII alone as a divinely appointed king, or in armour as a successful military leader.

Louis XIII's heir, a young Louis XIV, is depicted with his mother, consecrating

his sceptre and crown to the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus (figure 2.7). This early

representation of Louis XIV emphasizes divine right theory explicitly, as it depicts him

"receiving" his crown not from his father, but from the mother of God, with Jesus'

benediction.

Family portraits from Catholic Spain and France demonstrate a markedly different

approach to family values than those reflected in Charles' family portraits. As Erin

Griffey articulated earlier, Protestant leaders were represented with their wives and

families as a point of distinction from their Catholic counterparts. Therefore, it is

possible that, at least in the cases of royal portraiture from England and the Dutch

republic, emphases on family order and discipline found in these portraits may be

attributable to common Protestant familial values.[229] Charles made the emphasis on

masculinity and *paterfamilias* in various media even more pronounced as he

commemorated his relationship with his wife and children in works hung in the public

galleries as evidence of his good kingship.

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[227] Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 266.

[228] See Phillipe de Champaigne, *Vow of Louis XIII, King of France and Navarre,* 1637 (Caen: Musée de beaux-Arts).

[229] Griffey, "Devotional Jewellery in Portraits of Henrietta Maria," 173-174.

In the beginning of his reign, Charles relied heavily on the depiction of the ideals of Protestant family order and succession. For Protestant princes such as Frederik Hendrik and Charles, familial order was central to a reputation of strong authority. During the personal rule, expressions of masculinity were central to Charles' attempt to appear as a good *paterfamilias*. On the other hand, the continental portraits of the kings of Spain and France suggest that family relationships and domestic order were not as important to perceptions of their legitimacy to rule.

The family was held by kings, clerics, and others as the foundation for all relationships within the social hierarchy. Fathers, as heads of household, were seen as the keystones of the entire social order. For Charles, divine right theory was an important foundation to his governing style. However, Charles' representation of his gender roles as father and husband in van Dyck's works demonstrate an awareness of the ideals of masculinity and *paterfamilias* that were important to many men in his kingdoms. Indeed, the family analogy was an important aspect of Charles' representation of kingship, especially since he sought to present himself as a king who was truly the *paterfamilias* and "*parens patriae*-the politic father of his people."[230]

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[230] James VI/I, "Speech to Parliament," 219-220.

CHAPTER 2

VIRTUE AND THE KNIGHTLY IDEAL: EQUESTRIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF
CHARLES I

> We bring Prince Arthur, or the brave
> St. George himself (great Queen) to you,
> You'll soon discern him; and we have
> A Guy, a Bevis, or some true
> Round-Table knight as ever fought
> For lady, to each beauty brought.[231]
>
> Thomas Carew, Coelum Britannicum, (1634).

Themes of knighthood reflected in Anthony van Dyck portraits demonstrate the importance of knightly ideals to Charles' kingship. Knighthood was an important marker of nobility, authority, and male identity in seventeenth-century England. Portraits of Charles as a knight reinforce the importance of knightly virtue and honour to the reputation of noblemen. These portraits visually depict values about lineage, horsemanship, and martial ability, which were crucial traits for men in leadership positions. In the Tudor and Stuart periods, an honourable reputation was supposedly the basis for the aristocracy's, and even the king's, right to lead.[232] Honour was a vital element of masculinity and was connected to every aspect of knighthood.

Representations of virtuous knighthood in Charles' portraits associated him with the ideals of noble lineage, martial power, and spiritual leadership as reflections of his good character and ultimately his ability to be a good king. This chapter explores how Charles demonstrated his worthiness to rule by representing himself as a knight to foster an image of legitimacy, courage, martial ability, strength, masculinity, and spiritual leadership.

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[231] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum*, lines 967-972.
[232] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 126.

A reputation of knightly virtue was important to Charles as the excerpt from Thomas Carew's masque, commissioned by Charles in 1634 and noted in the opening epigraph, demonstrates. Charles was cast as an Arthurian knight of the Round Table and the patron saint of England. Amongst other symbolism, this close connection emphasized Charles' desire to be associated with knighthood.

English knighthood rested on a broadly interpreted set of moral and martial values that were expressed through traditional visual and literary media. Writers of didactic works instructed noblemen on the prescribed practices and behaviours that signified the achievement of knightly virtue.[233] It was important for men to foster a virtuous image because a man's honourable reputation could not be forced upon others, but was earned and conferred on him by his acquaintances.[234] A man's reputation was a fragile social construction and so virtue and honour required constant display and representation.

Gender was an important aspect of the representation of knights. As Fletcher states, the "gender system in Tudor and early Stuart England was essentially a matter of establishing social roles which were grounded in the physical body and proclaimed by dress and bearing."[235] Contemporary writers prescribed appropriate behaviours as standards against which the success of men was gauged. The aristocracy were "leaders of society" because their personal virtue was a successful demonstration of masculinity, adding legitimacy to their leadership. In Charles' equestrian portraits, he was cast as the chief role model of his kingdoms and the very embodiment of virtue.

Virtue was closely connected with men and gender ideals. Etymologically, the word "virtue" derives from the Latin word for man, "vir." Likewise, "virtus" is the root

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[233] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 204.
[234] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 126.
[235] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 101.

of the word virtue, which formed the "essence of nobility."[236] Thus virtue and

representations of virtue were seen to be highly reflective of the ideals of manhood, such

as moral strength, excellence, self-regulation, and control; virtue was the basis "from

which nobility derived its authority to govern."[237] Men who wanted to be seen as leaders

had to reflect the qualities of a virtuous man. It was important to Charles' kingship that

he be the embodiment of a virtuous knight.

The word chivalry or the French *chevalerie,* has been applied to denote the

virtues, characteristics, behaviours, literature, songs, and art that were considered to

reflect appropriate knightly honour. At times, chivalry refers to a knight on horseback,

which was an important visual depiction of masculinity. The root of the word chivalry is

derived from the French *cheval* meaning "horse," and the mounted warriors who were

privileged to own and ride horses came to be known as *chevaliers*, which also means

knight.[238] In addition, chivalry also refers to the formal recognition of a man's virtue and

worthy reputation through such means as the Order of the Garter. Chivalry also refers to

an estate or warrior class, marked by a masculine martial identity, whose primary

function was to defend country and church.[239] For men who were knights, chivalric

virtue was important to perceptions of masculinity because it drew connections between

the ability to fight and conquer other men, which underscored manly authority. For

Charles, demonstrating the connection between knighthood and nobility was a potent

iconographical choice for legitimacy, which rested on his image of masculinity. There

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[236] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 225.
[237] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 225.
[238] Keen, *Chivalry,* 1.
[239] Keen, *Chivalry,* 2.

were three key aspects to the knightly ethos: the noble, the martial, and the religious.[240] Chivalry became the primary descriptor of honourable behaviour associated with knights.

Connections between the wealthy aristocratic class and knighthood are particularly potent in Charles' portraiture. As Keen argues, "chivalry cannot be divorced from aristocracy, because knights were commonly men of high lineage."[241] Chivalric ideals are integral to assessments of Charles' depictions as a knight and ultimately, in assessments of his kingship, as "[t]he most important legacy of chivalry to later times was its conception of honour and the constituents thereof, specifically and especially in their relation to nobility."[242] Especially important to notions of chivalry was its ability to reflect a man's strength, authority, martial ability, skilled horsemanship, and overall high quality of character.

Equestrian portraits of kings were nearly without precedent in England and tended to be more common on the continent.[243] During Charles' visit to Spain in the 1620s, he was impressed by the "elaborate ceremonies of the Spanish Court," and admired the portraits he saw displayed there.[244] For Charles, viewing Titian's *Charles V at Muhlberg* (1548) and Rubens' *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* (1603) influenced him to commission his own equestrian portraits.[245] Charles, influenced by the regal gravitas of the Spanish court, refashioned the aesthetic ethos of his own court, resulting in the

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[240] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 17.
[241] Keen, *Chivalry,* 2.
[242] Keen, *Chivalry,* 249.
[243] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 198. For an example, see Robert Peake, *Henry Prince of Wales on Horseback,* c. 1610-1612 and *Prince Henry on Horseback with the Figure of Time* (c. 1612). Other continental examples include Diego Velázquez, The *Equestrian Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares* (1634); Velázquez, *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV* (1635-1636).
[244] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 6, 183.
[245] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 18.

development of a stronger English court painting style. [246] Charles' adoption of an elegant portrait style is illustrated by the shift from the former court-artist Daniel "Mytens' faltering prince to van Dyck's controlled Sovereign."[247] Portraiture and the king's reputation became so closely connected that Kevin Sharpe concludes that van Dyck's portraiture reflects the "development of the king's personality, his gradual discovery of a personal order that became the mould of social order."[248] Charles' imitation of continental equestrian portraits emphasized the importance of traditional masculine kingship.

By the time van Dyck arrived in England, he was well-versed in equestrian portraiture.[249] Van Dyck painted a reinterpretation of Titian's *Charles V*, titled *Equestrian Portrait of Charles V* (c. 1623). By depicting him as a knight, Charles' equestrian portraits were connected to older iconographical values and represent his attempts to maintain the aristocratic social hierarchy in his kingdoms.

The depiction of important men on horseback was an important representational device in ancient Greece and Rome. In the western tradition, the free-standing bronze statue of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, dating to 175 CE, is the only known bronze statue of a pre-Christian emperor to have survived ancient times.[250] The statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome was an important model for the representation of rulers, and this style was revived during the Renaissance to denote legitimate authority. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was mistaken for Constantine the Great until the Renaissance, an error

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[246] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 183.
[247] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 183.
[248] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 183.
[249] It is likely that van Dyck would have been familiar with his mentor Peter Paul Rubens', *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* (1603).
[250] Fred S. Kleiner and Christin J. Mamiya, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: The Western Perspective, vol. II,* 12th ed. (Toronto: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006), 515.

that probably contributed to its survival.[251] Constantine the Great was the Roman

emperor who made Christianity licit in the fourth century. In 1537, Pope Paul III

commissioned Michelangelo to redesign the Capitoline Hill in Rome with the ancient

statue of Marcus Aurelius as its centrepiece.[252] In later centuries, this statue served as

inspiration for new equestrian representations in both sculpture and portraiture.[253]

To demonstrate the potency of this iconography, during the Middle Ages the

statue of Marcus Aurelius was literally part of the state's imposition of order, as it was a

site for the execution of criminals. On occasion, criminals were even hanged from the

horse's foreleg.[254] In the Middle Ages, the statue of Marcus Aurelius was seen as a

"symbol of Roman government, and law, of Justice itself."[255] A full-size, free-standing

bronze equestrian statue was not produced in Europe until over one thousand years later

during the Italian Renaissance. This was created by Donatello and was titled *Equestrian

Statue of Gattamelata,* (c.1445-1450); it still stands in the Piazza del Santo in Padua,

Italy.[256] This imperial equestrian style persisted into the early modern period and was

adopted by emperors, kings, and generals to project an image of power, legitimacy, and

authority.

In portraits of kings on horseback, their image was associated with the traditional

equestrian and martial aspects of knighthood. It is important to note that the ideals

represented in Charles' van Dyck equestrian portraits are not exclusively royal in nature.

Several men in England were represented as knights in portraiture, although not mounted

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[251] Michael P. Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the Ideal of the Perfect Prince in the Sixteenth-Century," *The Art Bulletin* vol. 66, no. 4 (December 1984): 621.
[252] Kleiner and Mamiya, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages,* 515.
[253] Kleiner and Mamiya, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages,* 515.
[254] Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius," 621.
[255] Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius," 621.
[256] Kleiner and Mamiya, *Gardner's Art Through the Ages,* 476-477.

on horseback.[257] The fact that other noblemen were depicted as knights signifies that Charles' equestrian portraits portray him as a masculine man and king, not necessarily so by divine right.

Knighthood had its origins in the Middle Ages and continued to be an important ideal into the early modern era. It is necessary to consider the history of knighthood to fully understand its influence in Caroline England. In the eleventh century Turkish armies seized control of Jerusalem, which led to calls throughout Europe for Christian nobles to recapture the holy city by force. These quasi-religious military campaigns were called Crusades and were manifested in several waves as religious fervour waxed and waned over the subsequent centuries. During this time, military efficacy came to be the predominant marker of the new warrior class that was couched somewhat uncomfortably in a discourse of religious ideology.

Virtue, honour, and a nobility of character were intangible traits, yet they were important to the construction and maintenance of social hierarchy. Since inward dispositions cannot be known, it was necessary to represent these values externally. Maurice Keen articulates the importance of representing knightly virtue: "[t]ransactions of honour . . . provide a nexus between the ideas of society and reproduction in the actions of individuals--honour commits men to act as they should (even if opinions differ [from society to society] as to how they should act)."[258] The outward manifestations of inward character, reflected in Charles' equestrian portraiture, as well as the ideals related

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[257] See these portraits by van Dyck, *Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, with his Grandson, Thomas, later 5th Duke of Norfolk* (c. 1635-6); *Thomas Viscount Wentworth, later 1st Earl Strafford, with a Dog* (c. 1635-6); *Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke* (c. 1637); *James Stuart, 4th Duke of Lennox, later Duke of Richmond* (c. 1633).
[258] Keen, *Chivalry*, 249.

to hereditary nobility, martial prowess, and a religious ethos, were all intended to strengthen his image as king.

Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* (fig.3.1) painted in 1633, was one of the first equestrian portraits of Charles and is a rarity in English royal portraiture.[259] The importance of this portrait is its depiction of Charles as the embodiment of his "new and purified chivalric ethic."[260] This portrait is a massive oil-on-canvas painting measuring 368 x 269.9 cm and was hung in the portrait gallery of St. James Palace (the official space for which the portrait was designed).

Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* was hung alongside Titian's portraits of the *Twelve Caesars*.[261] Continuing the Roman theme, figure 3.1 hung alongside Giulio Romano's portraits of Roman emperors on horseback and Andrea Mantegna's massive series of nine canvases titled *The Triumphs of Caesar.* This further strengthened the correlation between Charles and the Roman *Imperator* as a visual depiction of his masculinity and, by extension, his authority.

Building upon the rich iconography of equestrian representations from ancient Greece and Rome and that of the medieval knight on horseback, Charles and van Dyck powerfully employed this style to strengthen Charles' image. This style allowed Charles to demonstrate his nobility and lineage, as a masculine knight, which was intended to support his fitness to rule.

Maurice Keen identifies the interconnectedness of nobility and chivalry that developed by the thirteenth century. He argues there was a shift from the entry into

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[259] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 21.
[260] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 174.
[261] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," 210,226.

knighthood by dubbing and towards qualification by right of nobility.[262] Keen identifies

the important material representation of knightly virtue found in coats of arms, the

"family insignia to which men were entitled because of their heredity, not because they

had been dubbed knights"[263]

Nobility and the patrilineal descent of wealth and titles that underscored the ideals

of *paterfamilias* and family were also important to knighthood. These values were

emphasized as a source of honour in contemporary works for men in power because the

achievement of noble lineage was the fulfilment of knightly and manly virtues. Charles'

contemporary, Henry Peacham, states in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634), "nobility is

the Honour of blood in Race or lin[e]age."[264] Virtuous knighthood was the purview of

both royal and noble persons, and allusion to noble lineage was an important aspect of

representations of knights. "It is affirmed that there are certain sparkes and secret seeds

of virtue," states Peacham, "innate in Princes, and the children of noble personages;

which . . . will yield the fruit of industry and glorious action."[265] Because he was

successful in perpetuating his dynastic succession, noble lineage is an important aspect of

Charles' portraits.

It was crucial at this time to outwardly represent noble virtue as Henry Peacham

questions:

> How should we give Nobility her true value, respect and title, without
> notice of her merit? And how may we guess her merit, without these
> outward ensignes and badges of vertue?[266]

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[262] Keen, *Chivalry*, 143.

[263] Keen, *Chivalry*, 143. For a full discussion, see Keen, "The Idea of Nobility," in *Chivalry* (2005).

[264] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman Fashioning him Absolute, in the Most necessary and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Body that may be required in a Noble Gentleman* (London: Francis Constable, 1634), 2.

[265] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman,* 38.

[266] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman,* 160.

For Charles, it was important to visually depict nobility through "outward ensignes and badges of virtue." The depiction of nobility was achieved in coats of arms, which represented a significant visual link between knighthood and ancestry.

The importance to kingship of honour, nobility, and knighthood is reinforced by the prominence of Charles' personal coat of arms in *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* (fig. 3.1). On the left side of the portrait, leaning against the arch, is a massive shield from Charles' coat of arms surmounted by the imperial crown. This armorial representation alludes to Charles' adoption of traditional visual representations of knighthood dating back to the Tudors and earlier.[267] According to the modern herald Henry Bedingfeld, "[r]oyal arms" such as those depicted in figure 3.1, "are arms of sovereignty, and are borne to show the territorial possessions of the king."[268] Coats of arms were an important way to symbolically foster an image of knighthood. Bedingfeld states coats of arms were seen as the "essential part of the chivalric ideal, the symbolic element of it in fact."[269] Charles' shield in figure 3.1 is important in considerations of the king's attempts to foster an image of a masculine knight and king.

Charles' shield in figure 3.1 also signified the union of his kingdoms that was ritually and liturgically celebrated at his Scottish Coronation in 1633, the same year that this portrait was painted. Hereditary kingship, as it was established by historical precedent, passed from father to eldest son, cementing the importance of inheritance that was a common feature to both kingship and knighthood. For Charles, his coat of arms depicted his royal lineage and possession of territories. Coats of arms were important to

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[267] See David Loades, *The Fighting Tudors* (Kew: The National Archives, 2009), 16-18.
[268] Henry Bedingfeld, *Heraldry,* eds. Henry Bedingfeld and Peter Gwynn-Jones (London: Bison Books Ltd, 1993), 117.
[269] Bedingfeld, *Heraldry,* 20.

knighthood, and their inclusion in this portrait was an attempt to demonstrate that Charles

was a successful knight and king, able of continuing his dynastic succession.

Like coats of arms, Charles' depiction in armour, dating to circa 1610-1620 (in

figures 3.1 and 3.4) was an important accoutrement of knighthood that alluded to martial

prowess.[270] According to James I, kings should gird themselves and all their court in "no

ordinarie armour with your clothes, but such as is knightly and honourable."[271] Armour

for kings had two functions: "to hold out violence, and by their outward glauncing in

their enemies eies, to strike terrour in their hearts."[272] Charles' representations in armour

connected him to ideals of a militarily successful knight, contributing to his legitimacy to

lead.

Emphasizing the importance of the connections between coats of arms, lineage,

and knighthood, the visual depiction of militaristic trappings, such as armour and a pistol,

were important to Charles. This explains why he also commissioned van Dyck to

represent his seven or eight year old son as a knight in *Charles II as Prince of Wales in

Armour*, c. 1637-1638 (fig. 3.3). Prince Charles faces the viewer frontally, dressed in full

armour and holding a pistol securely in his right hand, while his left forearm rests on his

plumed helmet. In the interests of establishing his son's legitimacy as heir and future

King of England, Charles was keen that his son should embody the virtues of a good

king. In a letter from Charles to his son, written shortly before the regicide on 29 January

1649, the king states "I had rather you should be Charles *le bon*, than *le grand,* good than

great; I hope god hath designed you to be both; having so early put you into that exercise

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[270] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 175.
[271] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 134.
[272] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 134.

of His grace and gifts bestowed upon you."[273] The prince in armour holding a pistol was

certainly an attempt to reflect the continuity between king and heir as the warrior head of

state.

Historically, martial prowess, like noble lineage, was an important element of

knighthood. Charles' reform of English chivalry downplayed the martial ability of

knights and yet, as Charles' coat of arms and his depiction in armour shows, he continued

to represent himself with the traditional symbols of knighthood. These ideals were

crucial to perceptions of Charles' worthiness to lead without reference to divine kingship.

Martial ability was established as the principal virtue of knighthood in the Middle

Ages. As Maurice Keen states, chivalry "laid special emphasis on martial prowess, not

an inner religion of the heart."[274] Likewise, equestrian portraiture especially represented

"martial prowess, which signified mastery of death by virtue of one's ability to inflict

death upon others, [which] was the measure of virility."[275] Knighthood was supposed to

be an important sign of martial accomplishments connected to titled aristocracy, as

Puritan William Gouge in *The Dignity of Chivalry* (1626) explains:

> [m]ost of our dignities and titles of honour have risen from artillery
> exercise and military employments. *Imperatores,* emperors were at first
> generalls of armies: *Duces,* Dukes, were captains of bands . . . *Milites,*
> knights were choice souldiers . . . These and other like honourable titles
> were at first given to men because they were men of warre. The honour
> of knighthood is known properly to belong to such as have well-deserved
> in warre.[276]

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[273] Charles I to Charles, the Prince of Wales, 29 January 1649, in *The Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I*, ed. Sir Charles Petrie (London: Cassell and Company Ltd.), 262.

[274] Keen, *Chivalry,* 199.

[275] Schwartz, "Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought," 657.

[276] William Gouge, *The Dignity of Chivalry Set Forth in a Sermon Preached Before the Artillery Company of London, June xiij 1626* (London: George Miller for Ralph Mab, 1626), 13-14.

In the early seventeenth century, negative attitudes arose over knights that were no longer fierce warriors. This change was demonstrated in satirical works, such as Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (c. 1612) and Francis Beaumont's play *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613).[277] Puritan Samuel Ward opined in *Woe to Drunkards* (1622) that the militant knights of Elizabethan Protestantism stood in contrast to the poor examples of English knights in the 1620s. "A knight notoriously given to Drunkenesse," Ward sermonizes, "carrying sometime payles of drinke into the open feild to make people drunke withal."[278] Similarly, William Gouge, in his sermon preached before the artillery company of London in 1626, titled *The Dignity of Chivalry,* emphasizes Elizabethan knights' military support of European Protestantism. "Martiall discipline, Artillery tacticks, and Military trainings," states Gouge, "are matters of moment, commendable and honourable, not to be rejected or neglected, but duly to be respected, and daily practised, at all times, in all places whether of perill or peace."[279] Thus, the divergence between Charles', and traditional, notions of knighthood was clearest in terms of military proficiency.

Charles' approach to knighthood is complex. In the early seventeenth century, it was crucial for men in power positions to demonstrate their martial ability. Images of men on horseback were a way to visually link themselves to the martial ideals associated with knighthood. For Charles, the association between men in power and legitimacy to rule should not be overlooked. It was especially important for Charles to visually assert his power through van Dyck's portraits precisely because he was not militarily

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[277] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 165-170.
[278] Samuel Ward, *Woe to Drunkards: A Sermon by Samuel Ward a preacher of Ipswich* (London: Printed by A. Math for John Marriott and John Grismand, 1622), 25-26.
[279] Gouge, *The Dignity of Chivalry,* 9.

successful. Equestrian portraiture provided an important visual link between Charles and ancient Roman ideals of strong authority.

As Charles sought to distance himself and English knighthood from traditional ideals and Elizabethan military successes, he downplayed the importance of physical demonstrations of martial prowess. John Adamson remarks upon this disparity, stating that Caroline "[k]nighthood was almost wholly emancipated from associations with the Elizabethan and Jacobean culture of the tournament."[280] Despite his choices, Charles continued to project an image in portraiture of a king who was potentially successful in battle.

As discussed earlier, equestrian portraits also connected manly leadership to ancient Roman ideas of power and authority, due to the association with military victories. The connections to the ancient ideals of imperial Roman authority were reflected in both van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* (fig. 3.1) and Aurelian Townshend's masque *Albion's Triumph* (1632). Interestingly, both the portrait and masque were produced around the same time, demonstrating the continuity of Charles' vision of kingship.

Townshend's set description prescribed an arch on stage through which the masquers processed. Townshend states the arch represents a "Roman Atrium, with high columns of white marble."[281] The arch through which Charles rides (fig. 3.1) alludes to Roman triumphal arches that were erected by the state to commemorate military victories. The arch connected Charles' kingship to imperial strength. Lending credence to this interpretation, Charles' deputy in Ireland, Thomas Wentworth, poignantly states

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[280] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 177.
[281] Townshend, *Albion's Triumph*, lines 61-62.

> the authority of a king is the keystone which closeth up the arch of order
> and government, which contains each part in due relation to the whole,
> and which once shaken, and infirmed, all the frame falls together into a
> confused heap of foundation and battlement of strength and beauty.[282]

The architectural analogy represented in figure 3.1, *Albion's Triumph*, and Wentworth's letter heightens the "foundational" role of Charles as a knight and king to the social and political order. Visually, Charles and van Dyck sought to connect the Stuart dynasty with the ideals of Roman military might and traditional knighthood, in spite of significant English military losses.

Horsemanship was an important aspect of knighthood, and Charles' depiction as a skilled horseman allowed for comparisons between his control over horses and his style of government to be made. Skilled horsemanship reflected a man's ability to lead and control, which was an important trait for kings.

Because of its demonstration of a man's rational mastery over wild animals, horsemanship was identified as an important skill for knights by several contemporary writers. It symbolized the rational mind over the passionate heart. A rational mind and calm control were important traits for all men because it was important for men to demonstrate that they were not prone to wild fluctuations of emotions, as women were perceived to be.[283] The values of horsemanship were a reflection of power and self-mastery for kings because "the association of royal or aristocratic power with horses. . . enabled the monarch or the lord to appear 'more erect,' more potent, more the rational

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[282] Sir Thomas Wentworth to Archbishop Laud, 1628, in *The Stuart Constitution: Documents and Commentary,* 2nd ed., ed. John Phillips Kenyon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 16.

[283] Elizabeth Foyster, "Boys will Be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660-1800," in *English Masculinities,* eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michele Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 151-166.

and the spiritual master."[284] Fostering an image of mastery and control were virtues integral to the reputation of princes such as Charles.[285]

In figure 3.1, Charles is portrayed directing his ivory horse through a *passage*, which is a difficult, yet elegant *dressage* movement.[286] In figures 3.1 and 3.4, Charles is portrayed with a light grip on the reins of his horse, demonstrating an easy mastery, which was painted to suggest the effortless control of his kingdoms.

In *Cauelarice, or the English Horseman* (1607), Gervase Markham argues that horsemanship was a significant way of achieving and displaying honour in English society; horsemanship was "[t]he noblest acte of vertue."[287] While Charles was in Spain in the 1620s, it was remarked that his virtue was so great that the horses he rode obeyed him although their bridles contained no bits.[288]

In 1633, Sir Henry Wotton also echoed this sentiment in "A Panegyrick to King Charles," that Charles "delight[ed] in the use of the great horse, whom already dressed, no man doth more skilfully manage or better break, if rough and furious."[289] Heightening the significance of Wotton's praise for Charles' skill is that his work was published the same year as figure 3.1 was painted.

Standing on Charles' right side in *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* is the great instructor of horsemanship, Seigneur de St. Antoine. St. Antoine was

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[284] Schwartz, "Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought," 657.

[285] Sharpe, "Van Dyck , the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 18.

[286] Hearn, *Van Dyck in Britain,* 74.

[287] Gervase Markham, *Cauelarice,or the English horseman: containing all the arte of horse-manship, as much as is necessary for any man to understand.* Dedication to Book II (London: Edward Allde and W. Jaggard for Edward White, 1607), np.

[288] Sharpe, *Image Wars,* 198.

[289] Sir Henry Wotton, "A Panegyrick to King Charles; Being Observations Upon the Inclination, Life and Government of Our Late Sovereign," in *Reliquae Wottoniae: Or, A Collection of Lives, Letters, poems; With Characters of Sundry Personages: And Other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art. Also Additional Letters to Several Persons not Before Printed,* 3rd ed. (London: T. Roycroft, for R. Marriott, F. Tyton, T. Collins, and J. Ford, 1672), 155.

sent from France to England to teach Charles and his brother horsemanship in the early

seventeenth century. Subsequently, de St. Antoine taught Charles and other English

nobles the *haute* ecole, or "riding the great horse."[290] To emphasize Charles' mastery of

horsemanship, van Dyck situates the equerry in a subordinate position in the portrait,

reinforcing the message that Charles was an accomplished knight.

Seventeenth-century horseman and manual writer Michael Baret dedicated his

work, *An Hipponomie or The Vineyard of Horsemanship* (1618), to Charles.[291] Baret

emphasized the importance of horsemanship as a representation of masculine self-control

and mastery over a horse. "Let them not thinke ever to learne to governe a horse well and

truely," Baret opines, "that cannot tell how to governe themselves."[292] A horseman's

chief duty was "to learn how to governe himself; and his office is to learn to governe his

horse."[293] Charles' equestrian portraits depict his mastery of horsemanship as it allows

for positive perceptions of his lineage, mastery of horsemanship, and spiritual leadership.

The significance of Charles' representations as a knight on horseback is

heightened when one considers that the King of France was also depicted on horseback in

the mid-seventeenth century. France was successful in significant military endeavours,

marking an important point of distinction from Charles I. *Louis XIII on Horseback* (fig.

3.2) by Justus van Egmont celebrates, with allegorical flair, the French victory over

Charles I at the Siege of La Rochelle in 1628. Van Egmont was a Flemish artist, trained

under Peter Paul Rubens, who was also the mentor of van Dyck.[294] In 1628, Egmont

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[290] Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain,* 74.
[291] Michael Baret, *An Hipponomie or The Vineyard of Horsemanship Divided into Three Bookes* (London: George Eld, 1618), fol. A3.
[292] Baret, *An Hipponomie or The Vineyard of Horsemanship*, 28-29.
[293] Baret, *An Hipponomie or The Vineyard of Horsemanship*, 26.
[294] Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture, 1585-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 95.

became the foremost painter in French court circles, eventually painting the King and

Queen of France, the Prince de Condé, and others.[295] Early modern kings used this style

of portrait to uphold policies of order. The correlation with Louis' victories over the

English is brought to the fore in this dramatic portrait.[296]

Accompanied by a triumphant angel, Louis' horse rears up, but his gaze remains

set upon the viewer, directing us to his success with his commander's baton to La

Rochelle, the site of his victory on the shore below. Louis' mastery of his horse reflects

his control over his kingdoms because of his ability to subdue rebellious subjects. Other

works celebrated Louis' victory, such as the anonymous *Louis XIII, et le cardinal de*

*Richelieu, victorieux devant La Rochell*e. The equestrian portraits of Charles (figs. 3.1

and 3.4) and *Louis XIII on Horseback* (fig. 3.2) present the kings as men on horseback

and in armour, but the striking difference is Louis' references to military victories.

In France, Antoine de Pluvinel emphasized the connection between horsemanship

and virtuous kingship in his instruction manual, *L'Instruction du Roy,* as he states the

nobility "have no aim other than the desire to learn virtue."[297] In the late sixteenth

century, de Pluvinel established himself as the preeminent riding instructor in France for

nobility, and later for Louis XIII as well.[298] De Pluvinel informed Louis XIII that his

royal support of academies will "instruct his nobility in virtue." [299] These schools of

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[295] Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture*, 139.

[296] Schwartz, "Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought," 654.

[297] Antoine de Pluvinel, *L'Instruction du Roy en l'exercice du monter a cheval, par messire Antoine de Pluvinel* (Paris: Michel Nivell, 1625) quoted in Treva Tucker, trans., "From *Destrier to Danseur:* The Role of the Horse in Early Modern French Noble Identity," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2007), 127-128.

[298] Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just*, 35-36.

[299] Pluvinel, *L'Instruction du Roy,* quoted in Treva Tucker, trans., "From *Destrier to Danseur*," 128.

horsemanship were even referred to as "escoles de vertu" and "escoles vertueuses."[300]
De Pluvinel connects the ideals of horsemanship to virtue, which is reflected in Louis'
portrait. De Pluvinel's manual demonstrates that Charles used iconographical ideals
similar to Louis' to project an image of virtuous knighthood in support of his kingship.

Because he did not want unfavourable comparisons to be drawn to his own
military record, Charles distanced himself from his Tudor predecessors' military
accomplishments. It was important for Charles to connect himself to knightly ideals
precisely because he was not militarily successful. Charles' portraits continued to depict
him as a knight to connect him to ideals of knighthood because it gave legitimacy to his
kingship. He distanced himself from martial ability in the following two ways: the
discontinuation of the accession-day tournaments and the removal of military
commemorations from his palaces.

Early in his reign, Charles' downplayed the importance of jousting tournaments as
the traditional entertainment on his accession day. From the 1580s until 1612, and rather
sporadically afterwards, monarchs traditionally connected themselves with the values of
chivalry through elaborate annual ceremonies that included a procession of knights and
jousting.[301] Tournaments were elaborate and costly presentations of the ideals of martial
vigour by association with the medieval knight.[302] When Charles became king in 1625,
he cancelled tournaments to downplay the importance of martial abilities to kingship.[303]
Charles' cancellation of the public tournament and his lack of military accomplishments

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[300] Pluvinel, *L'Instruction du Roy,* quoted in Treva Tucker, trans., "From *Destrier to Danseur*," 128.

[301] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 165.

[302] Keen, *Chivalry,* 83-101.

[303] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 165.

essentially made it impossible for him to associate himself with knightly ideals, other than through portraiture.

In the early modern period, the relationship between chivalry and martial ability was, according to Richard Kaeuper, in flux: "the durable synthesis of power, status, piety and cultural ideas came apart."[304] Differences between Elizabeth I's and Charles I's approaches to martial prowess illustrate the change in the relationship between knighthood, chivalry, and martial prowess.

In 1588, as England prepared to face the naval assault of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth I, in a speech reputedly given to her troops at Tilbury, demonstrated her connection to traditional martial virtues. Elizabeth, as commander-in-chief states: "I myself will venture my royal blood; I myself will be your General, Judge and rewarder of your virtue in the field."[305] The soldiers Elizabeth emboldened with her speech were defenders of England. These defenders were subsequently portrayed as the exemplars of virtue, restraint, and piety because they were anti-Catholic and representative of martial strength.[306]

Charles' and Buckingham's failures against Spain and France in the seventeenth century stood in stark contrast to Elizabethan military successes against the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the Raid of Cadiz in 1596.[307] Charles sought to shift the primary focus of knighthood away from war and violence. As Kaeuper explains, "prowess was no longer so regularly fused to this concept of honour, no longer the universally praised

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[304] Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 302.

[305] Elizabeth I, "Speech to the Troops at Tilbury," in *Cabala sive scrinia sacra Mysteries of State and Government in Letters of Illustrious Persons and Great Ministers of State As well as Forreign and Domestick. In the Reigns of King Henry the Eighth, Q: Elizabeth, K: James and K: Charles,* eds. G. Bedell and T. Collins (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1663), 373.

[306] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 165-167.

[307] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 169.

personal means of attaining honour, edged weapons in hand."[308] Charles attempted to

create a "new chivalric ideology, one deliberately distanced from the constricting (and, to

Charles, politically awkward) mythology of a 'golden age' of military triumph against

Spain."[309] Despite Charles' glaring military failures and his desire to distance English

knighthood from martial prowess, his depictions as a knight continued to reflect

traditional martial ability.

As Charles distanced himself further and further from the virtue of martial

prowess, he invoked a version of knighthood marked by a strong religious and

contemplative ethos. In the 1630s, Charles redefined the knightly ideal. The knight

functioned "no longer principally as a prosecutor of war, but now as the guardian of the

Caroline peace."[310] Charles' knightly ideals became a kind of "inner religion of the

heart", which was contrary to constructions of medieval martial virtue first associated

with knightly masculinity.[311]

Given the importance of military success as an expression of power and

domination and the bellicose nature of the European context, it became important for

Charles to be represented as a traditional masculine and martial knight by compensating

in his visual imagery. Ultimately, Charles' impeccable embodiment of masculine

knighthood in portraiture supports this thesis' claim that Charles sought to connect

himself and his kingship to a wide array of ideals important to kingship.

To further distance himself from the military accomplishments of his predecessor

Elizabeth I, and to avoid embarrassing connections to his own military failures, Charles

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[308] Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe,* 304.
[309] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 170.
[310] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 171.
[311] Keen, *Chivalry,* 199.

removed a series of tapestries from Whitehall Palace. While he was king James purchased tapestries that commemorated the 1588 English defeat of the Spanish Armada.[312] Charles removed these tapestries from Whitehall Palace to Oatlands Palace near Weybridge and Walton-on-Thames, the remote country estate.

In 1644, in the midst of the Civil Wars, these tapestries were captured by Parliamentary forces and hung, in a highly symbolic act, in the House of Lords. This was meant to reassert the importance of military success to legitimate authority.[313] Parliament's actions in hanging these tapestries, commemorating a military victory, diluted the effectiveness of Charles' portraits as a knight. Charles' portraits represented a fabricated ideal that could not be substantiated by any real military victories. When Parliament hung these tapestries during the Civil Wars in 1644, they conflicted with Charles' image of legitimacy and his capability to lead. In the absence of these tapestries, Charles used van Dyck's portraits to legitimize his kingship through representations of knighthood.

Charles' portraits demonstrate that he did not rely solely on divine right. Instead, he incorporated many other important ideals of good kingship. If Charles had been more invested in this theory to support his kingship, he would not have been so averse to having his portraits displayed alongside these tapestries, as his right to lead came directly from God. As it was, Charles sought to foster a reputation of virtuous knighthood through portraiture precisely because his actual military record was particularly lacklustre. The king's military ability was especially important at this time, given the bellicose nature of European politics.

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[312] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 173.
[313] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 188.

Charles' removal of the tapestry was depicted in Thomas Carew's masque *Coelum Britannicum* in 1634. The masque was highly influenced by Charles, as he recommended changes to scenes, costumes, and texts and participated as the main actor, rehearsing his role with obsessive diligence.[314] Charles' role was that of Jupiter, the king of the gods. In the excerpt noted below, the antagonist Momus reads Jupiter's royal proclamation that decreed the removal of any references to past military victories from the Star Chamber:

> Whereas we, having observed a very commendable practice taken into frequent use by the princes of these latter ages, of perpetuating the memory of their famous enterprises, sieges, battles, victories in picture, sculpture, tapestry, embroideries, and other manufactures, wherewith they have embellished their public palaces. And taken into our more distinct and serious consideration the particular Christmas hangings of the guard chamber of this court, wherein the naval victory of '88 is to the eternal glory of this nation exactly delineated; and whereas we likewise, out of a prophetical imitation of this so laudable custom, did for many thousand years before and adorn and beautify the eighth room of our celestial mansion, commonly called the Star Chamber, with the military adventures, stratagems, achievements, feats, and defeats performed in our own person, . . . after long deliberation and long debate, held first in our own inscrutable bosom and afterwards communicated with our Privy Council, seemed meet to our omnipotency, for causes ourself best known, to unfurnish and disarray our foresaid Star Chamber of all those ancient constellations which have for so many ages been sufficiently notorious, and to admit into their vacant places such persons only as shall be qualified with exemplar virtue, and eminent desert, there to shine in indelible characters of glory to all posterity.[315]

Indeed, Charles did "unfurnish and disarray" his palaces of artistic references to past military victories in order to "admit to their vacant places" van Dyck's portraits of Charles as the embodiment of knightly virtue.

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[314] Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, 187-189; Matthew Wikander, *Princes to Act: Royal Audience and Royal Performance, 1578-1792* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 96.

[315] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 386-409. This line of argumentation is also put forward in Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 172-173.

Although Charles downplayed references to divine right of kings' theory in his portraiture, his image is one closely connected with ideas of spirituality.[316] For Charles, the spiritual ideals of knightly virtue provided a potent set of symbols that allowed him to assert his legitimacy to lead.

The various waves of the crusading movement, which were so connected to knights and knighthood, were first patterned on the religious pilgrimages of the Middle Ages and were marked by a distinctly penitential purpose.[317] Knighthood was even seen as an alternative to a life of religious devotion.[318] The organization of knights resembled the hierarchical structure of monasteries. The crusading army was like a "nomadic abbey, its days and nights punctuated by solemn liturgy, its soldiers dedicated to austerity and brotherhood."[319] Many orders of knights were governed by prior or abbot, through figures known as the "preceptor" or "commander," and they lived in quasi-religious communes.[320] In some cases, such as the Knights Templar, orders of knights were governed directly by the pope, and many orders had a written rule or guidelines similar to those for monastic orders.[321] For these reasons, knighthood was martial and religious, violent and contemplative, a hybrid of the warrior and the monk.

All men in leadership positions, fathers or military commanders, were supposed to be models of spiritual virtue.[322] The ideals of knighthood were closely connected to a

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[316] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 59-60
[317] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History,* 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 13.
[318] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades,* 14.
[319] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades,* 14.
[320] Alan Forey, "The Military Orders 1120-1312," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of The Crusades,* ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 204-211.
[321] Forey, "The Military Orders," 184, 208-209.
[322] Linda Pollock, "Parent–Child Relations," in *Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500-1789: the History of the European Family: Volume 1,* eds. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 191.

spiritual ethos, which served as justification for fighting in battle. This had been the case

for Protestant Elizabethan knights against the Catholic Spanish Armada. The importance

for Charles to be the exemplar of spiritual leadership is demonstrated by his reform of the

coronation ceremony and his association with the Order of St. George.

Charles' desire to associate himself with spiritual ideals is reflected in his

equestrian portraiture. The equestrian themes portrayed the "superior height of the

mounted lord or monarch [which] was an important expression of royal charisma; it

communicated the numinous essence of the power that emanated from the 'sacred center'

of the realm."[323] Knighthood became, for Charles, an "inner religion of the heart."[324]

Emphasis on the spiritual nature of both knighthood and kingship was an important part

of Charles' coronation ceremony, demonstrating the significance of spirituality to his

later reforms of knighthood.

Charles was enthusiastic to incorporate a number of relics associated with

previous coronations to emphasize the spiritual nature of kingship. For example, Charles

insisted that his ceremony include St. Edward's ivory comb, which was first used in 1044

CE for Edward the Confessor's coronation. According to Charles' coronation manual, he

insisted on donning the buskins (shoes) and tinsin (gold) hose, also reputedly from

Edward the Confessor's coronation during his own ceremony.[325] Charles' insistence on

incorporating these ancient relics into his ceremony in 1626 demonstrates the importance

he placed on the connection between spirituality and kingship. The use of regalia held to

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[323] Schwartz, "Equestrian Imagery in European and American Political Thought," 657.
[324] Keen, *Chivalry,* 199.
[325] Christopher Woodsworth, ed. *The Manner of Coronation of King Charles the First of England at Westminster: 2 February, 1626* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1892), 35, 124.

be particularly holy at Charles' coronation ceremony contributed to Charles' image of spiritual knighthood and his kingship.

The importance of the knightly iconography was emphasized during Charles' coronation service, when spurs were fastened onto his boots by the Master of the Horse, the Duke of Buckingham, in emulation of the medieval precedents of knighting ceremonies.[326] Following the presentation of spurs, a sword was presented to Charles in a highly symbolic ritual.

In preparation for the presentation of the sword to Charles, the bishop prayed aloud asking God to "blesse and sanctifie" the sword, so that Charles "may be a defence and protection of churches, widowes, and orphans."[327] Following the prayer, the sword was fastened around Charles' waist, as the presiding Bishop exhorted Charles:

> Receive the Kingly Sword w[hich] is hallowed for the defense for ye holy Church . . . and with thy sword . . . Protect the Holy Church of God, and his faithful people, and pursue hereticks no lesse than infidels, be revenged of injustice, and confirm things yet are in good order; [so] thou maist be glorious in ye triumph of vertue.[328]

Charles' coronation ceremony demonstrated the importance of knightly ideals to his image as defender of the faith. The representation of these material symbols demonstrates the importance of his knightly representation in his van Dyck portraits as visual evidence for his right to lead as a knight and king.

For Charles, spirituality and his role as defender of the faith were important aspects of kingship. In several letters written to his son, Charles emphasized the importance for the king to defend English Protestantism. Charles explains to the prince that the " true glory of princes consists in advancing God's glory, in the maintenance of

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326 Woodsworth, *The Manner of Coronation of King Charles the First of England*, 36.
327 Woodsworth, *The Manner of Coronation of King Charles the First of England*, 36-37.
328 Woodsworth, *The Manner of Coronation of King Charles the First of England*, 37.

true religion and the Church's good; also in the dispensation of civill power, with justice and honour to the public peace."[329] Further connecting the defence of religion to legitimacy, Charles instructs his son, "keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour; you shall never want a kingdom."[330] Charles' letters demonstrate that spirituality was an important aspect of knighthood and kingship.

The installation ceremony of the Order of the Garter is another important example of a ritual that connected spirituality and knighthood to kingship. The Order of the Garter was established in 1348 by Edward III. Orders of chivalry became prestigious badges of honour for men across Europe, signifying a knight's particular bravery, martial ability and personal moral character. Charles' held the Order of the Garter in high esteem: he is depicted wearing it in every portrait by van Dyck. According to Charles' gentleman of the bedchamber, the king put on his "George [Garter insignia]" first thing every morning.[331]

Roy Strong states, "Charles was less interested in the use of the Garter as a public spectacle and more preoccupied with its religious aspect."[332] It is important to examine the Order of the Garter because the knightly insignia became a public and material representation of Charles' approach to knighthood.[333]

Knights traditionally came to the garter ceremony accompanied by their private retinues to participate in the tournament as an expression of their individual military power and to pledge their loyalty to the king. Charles focused on the Order of the Garter

[329] Charles I to Prince Charles, 22 January 1649, in *The Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I,* ed. Sir Charles Petrie (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1968), 262.
[330] Charles I to Prince Charles, 22 January 1649, 271.
[331] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 619.
[332] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 59.
[333] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 220.

and its investiture as the principal ceremony of knighthood. The reformed investiture

ceremony was to "provide the model for a new and purified chivalric ethic."[334]

Following Charles' cancellation of the tournament in 1625, it was crucial for him

to reinterpret the ways in which the values of knighthood could be represented. Charles

shifted the emphasis from the tournament to the Order of the Garter, which focused on

the "sacral figure of the king, attended by knights companion uniformly attired and

unaccompanied by private retinues."[335] Charles' reinterpretation focused primarily on a

parade of knights in Windsor Castle, the knighting ceremony itself, and a religious

service of thanksgiving in St. George's Chapel to emphasize the spiritual connotations of

the garter.

To contribute to his image of spiritual knighthood, Charles reinvigorated the most

prestigious order of chivalry in England, the Most Noble Order of the Garter, also known

as the Order of St. George. Charles' association with the Order of the Garter allowed him

to demonstrate his adherence to and promotion of knightly spiritual ideals. Charles

employed portraiture to make explicit connections between him and St. George, the

namesake of the Order of the Garter.

In the personal rule, Charles commissioned Peter Paul Rubens to paint *Landscape

with St. George and the Dragon,* c. 1634-1635 (fig. 3.4)*.* This portrait is remarkable

because Rubens depicts Charles as St. George himself. According to legend, St. George

was a knight who, amongst his daring deeds, slew a dragon. Contemporary Peter Heylyn

remarked in *The Historie of that Most Famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus; St

George of Cappodoccia* (1631) that he desired to "publish to posterity how bravely

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[334] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 174.
[335] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 174.

[Charles] repelled the Divell, how constantly he persevered in the profession of his faith; the whole Church praying with him . . . that GOD would give him strength to subdue that enemy, the Dragon."[336] Rubens portrayed Charles as St. George in the moments after he killed the dragon, as Charles stands atop the slain dragon's head. Charles' depiction as a saint demonstrates the spiritual emphasis he placed on knighthood.[337]

Charles reformed several aspects of the Order of the Garter investiture ceremony, demonstrating the significance of this chivalric order to his kingship. The garter ceremony was initially held at Windsor Castle, but was later set in London. Charles restored the ceremony to its original home shortly after he became king. He also mandated the return of the knight's cape to its original blue colour and altered the badge of the garter to emphasize the spiritual aspect of the order of the garter.

Charles' removal of the ceremony from London to Windsor was remarked upon by his contemporary Elias Ashmole in *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.* Ashmole emphasizes the significance of Charles' reform of the Garter: Charles "designed and endeavoured the most complete and absolute Reformation of any of his Predecessors" of the Order of the Garter.[338] Charles emphasized the importance of the order of the garter when he returned the investiture ceremony back to "the Castle of Windsor, famous for the Institution of the most Noble Order [where the order] retrieves

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[336] Peter Heylyn, *The Historie of that Most Famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus; St George of Cappadoccia Asserted from the Fictions in the Middle Ages of the Church; and the Opposition of the Present* (London: Printed for Henry Seyle and are to be sold at his shope, the signe of the Tygers-head in Saynt Paules Churchyard, 1631), 87.
[337] Peacock, "The Politics of Portraiture," 207.
[338] Elias Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: A. Bell, W. Taylor, J. Baker, A. Collins, 1715), 148.

its ancient Honour, of having its solemnities celebrated there."[339] This revivified the

importance of this knightly ceremony

Charles' reform of the garter continued beyond the knighting ceremony to the

material trappings of the order, such as the cape and the badge that knights wore. In the

seventeenth century, clothes were considered an outward signifier of internal qualities of

character. The richness of fabric a person wore represented the richness of the person's

character.[340] Charles was keen to publicly represent the spiritual virtue of knighthood.

Following his coronation in 1626, he decreed that all knights of the garter should wear

the order's insignia

> upon the left side of the Cloaks, Coats and riding cassocks . . . at all
> Times, when they were not adorn'd with their Robes, and in all places
> and assemblies (but not embellished with Pearls or Stones) that the
> wearing thereof might be a sufficient indication to the World, of that
> Height of Honour they arriv'd to from the said most Noble Order,
> instituted for Persons of the greatest Merit and Worth.[341]

Charles also restored the colour of the garter knights' cape to its original blue.[342] It was

important not only for the garter to be associated with virtue, but for virtue to be publicly

displayed.

Charles' last reform emphasized the sacred and spiritual nature of the Garter in his

redesign of the order's badge. Originally, the badge centred on a red cross on a white

background surrounded by the blue garter. Charles added a starburst to the badge in

emulation of the French Order of the Holy Ghost.[343] The Garter ceremony and insignia

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[339] Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter,* 415.
[340] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit*, 63. See also David Kuchta, "The Semiotics of Masculinity in Renaissance England," in *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images,* ed. James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[341] Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 169.
[342] Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 165.
[343] Ashmole, *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter,* 169.

was a powerful way for Charles to emphasize the spiritual nature of knighthood and garner legitimacy for his rule without referencing divine right theories alone.

Charles' portraits contain significant and potent representations of power and authority connected to knighthood. These representations include the shield, horses, horsemanship, armour, and orders of chivalry. Charles' facial expressions are another crucial aspect that further reveals Charles' approach to knighthood and kingship. In the final van Dyck portrait covered by this chapter, the depiction of Charles' face reflects the king's emphasis on the spiritual nature of knighthood.

Charles' facial expression illustrates his emphasis on religious ethos, spirituality, contemplation, and meditation as important characteristics of knighthood and kingship. Charles, in Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback* c. 1637-1638 (fig. 3.5), bears a calm and contemplative air, which reflects his approach to government. The king preferred order to chaos, and deliberation to rash and hasty action, and emphasized the spiritual virtues of mercy, clemency, and peace. This approach is represented by the serene look on his face. According to Adamson, as a result of Charles' reinterpretation of knighthood, English knights became "guardians of the Caroline peace."[344] Charles' facial expression illustrates his emphasis on spiritual strength as an expression of knighthood and kingship. This demonstrates that Charles' justification to rule rested on a broad set of ideals, in addition to divine appointment.

All aspects of a portrait are loaded with meaning, including facial expressions. Recall Henry Peacham's statement, recounted in chapter one, that "there is a certaine iudicium [judgement], or notice of the mindes disposition inly imprinted by nature in the

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[344] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 171.

countenance, and many times in the eie or mouth."[345] Charles' facial expressions in van Dyck portraits, especially in *Charles I on Horseback,* depict a rather sad, pensive, and contemplative face.[346] According to Roy Strong, Charles' portraits by other artists do not depict Charles with the same look of "languorous sadness" as van Dyck's, demonstrating that the king's facial expressions were purposefully rendered.[347] Charles' facial expression also projects an air of stateliness, dignity, spiritual strength, and belief in his ability to maintain the Caroline peace.

Charles' facial expression of calm and peaceful contemplation visually depicts his emphasis on spiritual knighthood during the 1630s. The depiction of Charles' face, Strong argues, was significant: "for that most pious of kings, Charles I, the choice of this mood of calm spiritual contemplation was undoubtedly van Dyck's master stroke."[348] In a poem written in the 1630s, John Denham wrote of Charles' face that it reflected saintliness and strength:

> In whose Heroic face I see the Saint
> Better expressed than in the liveliest paint,
> That fortitude which made him famous here,
> That heavenly piety, which Saints him there.[349]

Charles' facial expression supports the statement he made in 1637, the same year this portrait was painted, that he was the "happiest king in Christendom."[350] Van Dyck's painting of Charles' calm facial expression and his statement of contentment reflect Charles' approach to the Scottish rebellions. Charles' calmness suggests that he was confident, self-assured, and was obeyed because of his spiritual strength and leadership.

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[345] Peacham, *The art of drawing with the pen*, 19.
[346] Strong, *Van Dyck Charles I on Horseback*, 59.
[347] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 59.
[348] Strong, "Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback," 199.
[349] John Denham, "Coopers-Hill," in *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham,* ed. T. H. Banks, Jr. (1642; repr., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), 70.
[350] Charles I quoted in Brown, *Van Dyck*, 168.

Charles I on Horseback circa 1637-1638 (fig. 3.5) measures nearly four metres high and three metres wide and was originally hung at the end of the same public gallery at St. James' Palace as *Charles I on Horseback with Seigneur de St. Antoine* (fig. 3.1). This van Dyck portrait also represents Charles as the embodiment of spiritual strength through his gaze and facial expression.

Charles' portraits, especially *Charles I on Horseback*, are highly reflective of ideas of spirituality. They allude "to the sacred and Christic nature of kingship on which James I had tutored his son, showing Charles as one come to lead and redeem his people as the embodiment of faith as well as of virtue."[351] The correlation between king and religious hegemony was important since Henry VIII broke with the Church in Rome and established himself as the Head of the Church in England. Spiritual leadership was an ideal important to Charles and, indeed, for most men at this time.

It was important for men to set the standard for religious observance in the home. A woman was only allowed to disobey her husband if he forbade her to practice her religion, attend church, or read the Bible.[352] It was crucial for men, including Charles, to be exemplars of spiritual leadership. It was important to represent this exemplariness in portraiture to visually depict his worthiness to lead.

The equestrian portraiture of Philip IV of Spain reflects a similar emphasis on the spiritual aspects of knighthood. This theme is reflected by emphasizing patience and conciliation, instead of power and militarily proficiency. Diego Velázquez' equestrian portrait of Philip IV (fig. 3.6) is one of only two known works painted in this style during

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[351] Sharpe, "Van Dyck, the Royal Image and the Caroline Court," 18.
[352] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 34.

his reign.[353] The image of a calm Philip IV gazing into the distance represents a similar approach to kingship as Charles. The Spanish writer, Fray Juan de Salazar, states that "the principal foundation of this high edifice [Spanish Kingship]," hinged upon "religion, and the service and the honor of God."[354] Philip IV is presented as a calm, peaceful, and meditative knight on horseback, heightening allusions to his role also as a spiritual leader, a most Catholic king.[355]

Diego Velázquez' portrait of Philip IV projects an air of contemplative kingship, marked by majestic dignity, rather than vigorous military ability and success. Comparison of van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback* to Velázquez's *Philip IV on Horseback* is even more striking when one considers that England and Spain were essentially forced into armed conflict by their own subjects and both Charles' and Philip's reigns were marked by military losses. Chiyo Ishikawa pointed out that Velázquez' equestrian portraits from the 1630s coincided with the period of Spain's most crushing military and economic failures.[356]

Philip IV was depicted in the traditional accoutrements of knights, such as "armour, general's baton, riding boots . . . and sword of justice."[357] Philip IV's portraiture and that of other Spanish kings illustrates the connection between God and king, as *miles Christianus* (soldier of Christ), "but it did not assume the many forms associated with divine kingship in other parts of Europe."[358]

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[353] Ishikawa, *Spain in the Age of Exploration*, 135.
[354] Fray Juan de Salazar, *Política Española* (1619) quoted in John Huxtable Elliott, "Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV," in *Rites of Power, Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages,* ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 148.
[355] Elliott, "Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV," 151-152.
[356] Ishikawa, *Spain in the Age of Exploration*, 135.
[357] Ishikawa, *Spain in the Age of Exploration,* 135.
[358] Elliott, "Power and Propaganda in the Spain of Philip IV," 148.

It was important for men at this time to develop and maintain a reputation of a virtuous character as a demonstration of their worthiness to lead. The representation of men on horseback allowed them to associate their reigns with the power and authority of ancient Roman emperors and the medieval knight. Because he commanded successful campaigns during his rule, Louis XIII's equestrian portrait marks an important point of distinction from those of Charles and Philip IV.

Knighthood provided an important ideal for Charles to add to his legitimacy as king. Charles' justification to rule was illustrated in his van Dyck equestrian portraits by their reflection of an important marker of nobility, authority, and male identity. Because it contributed to their right to lead, it was essential for noblemen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to foster an honourable reputation.[359] Striking portraits of Charles as a knight demonstrate the importance for men in leadership positions to foster an image of masculinity. Charles' most dramatic influence on the development of English knighthood was his emphasis on its spiritual nature.

For Charles, his roles as king and knight were highly influenced by ideas of spirituality, which was a significant development in English knighthood. Charles' approach to kingship was an intensely emotional and spiritual belief, marked by the importance Charles placed on the spiritual basis for knighthood. [360] Charles emphasized the Order of the Garter and reformed its ceremonies to match his vision of knighthood. Charles was even painted as the incarnation of the patron saint of England to demonstrate his embodiment of virtue and as a man worthy to govern. Van Dyck's equestrian portraits demonstrate that knightly ideals provided an important justification for Charles

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[359] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 126.
[360] Starkey, *Crown and Country,* 330.

to lead, in addition to divine right theories. The king was indeed, "the brave St. George himself."[361]

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[361] Carew, *Coelum Britannicum,* lines 967-968.

CHAPTER 3

CHARLES I AND THE GENTLEMANLY IDEAL: HIS WORTHINESS TO LEAD

> I'll mak' your son a baronet gin ye like, Luckie, but the de'il himself couldna' mak' him a gentleman.[362]
>
> Attributed to James VI/I, statement made in response to his nurse's request to make her son a gentleman.

In the Tudor and Stuart periods, the ideals of a masculine reputation were connected to men's bodies and proclaimed by material symbols.[363] Fashion and gestures were important ways in which Charles sought to project an image of good character, and by extension, legitimacy to lead.[364] Analysis of Anthony van Dyck's portraits illustrates the importance of the king's clothes, gestures, and beards as visual metaphors that allowed his reputation to be judged by his outward appearance. Charles sought to illustrate his worthiness to lead by representing himself as a masculine, gentlemanly king without reference to absolutist theories.

This chapter examines two van Dyck portraits for fashionable virtuousness reflected in clothes, gestures, and beards. The gentlemanly context was important to Charles, because he was "not incited to virtue and imitation. He [was] the personification of all the virtues both as a ruler and as a gentleman."[365] As a result, Charles' van Dyck portraits reveal that he sought to garner legitimacy for kingship through depictions of his role as a gentleman. Outward signs of an inward character expressed "a language and,

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[362] James VI/I quoted in Shirley Robin Letwin, "The Idea of a Gentleman: Englishman in Search of a Character," *Encounter* vol. LVII, no. 5 (November 1981), 10.
[363] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 101.
[364] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit*, 63.
[365] Strong, *Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback*, 90-91.

indeed, a highly practical 'rhetoric' which asserted, defended and legitimized social status."[366]

Charles' emphasis on gentlemanly traits reflected his historical context. Gentlemanly behaviour had come to be associated with men of the highest quality character. The development of conduct books and the regulation of manners were seen by Norbert Elias as part of a larger "civilizing process" that resulted in the marginalization of violence and an increased emphasis on the codification of manners.[367] The role of nobility changed "from the image of a knight who drew his authority and legitimacy from a court but acted as a relatively independent agent . . . to that of a man of court who saw himself and was seen by the whole society as the acme of civilized living."[368] The depiction of a worthy character was important to the projection of kingship, and the aristocracy continued to set the standard for dress and deportment. It was important for Charles to project gentlemanly characteristics as a justification for his worthiness to lead.

A "gentleman," according to Thomas Smith in *Des Republica Anglorum* (1583), was connected to those who "studieth the lawes of the realme . . . who can live idly without manuall labour, and will beare the port, and countenance of a gentleman."[369] Image and clothes were important considerations for gentlemen, but birth, land ownership, and wealth were also important prerequisites for admission to this social

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[366] Anna Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanour and the Image of Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 139. See also Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660-1800* (London: Longman, 2001).

[367] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process vol. 1 the History of Manners vol. 2 State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1969).

[368] Aldo Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 294.

[369] Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England,* ed. L. Alston (1581; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 39-40.

order. Family lineage and birthright were important aspects of the gentry, and the

prerogatives exercised by its members were "preeminently a product of lineage [and] of

an ancient family's long possession of ancestral lands."[370] Pedigree was seen to be

intertwined with land ownership, so much so that "lineage, the conjunction of blood and

tenure, define[d] and legitimize[d] individual status."[371] Worcestershire gentleman

William Higford stated "gentle status will be much impaired, and in effect lost . . .

without the preservation of your estate also."[372] Wealth was also vital for men of gentle

status, as it was broadly "recognized how hollow . . . the lineage-based claims to status of

men who lacked a landed income sufficient to maintain an appropriate lifestyle" truly

were.[373] Birthright, land ownership, and wealth were vital elements of the gentry, and

fashion and gestures visually depicted these values for the world to see.

In this chapter's opening epigraph, James emphasizes the ideal basis of

gentlemanly character originating from within the person. This is not something that

could be purchased. Virtue and character were internal traits, reflected in one's self-

fashioning. Material expressions such as clothes, gestures, and beards, in addition to

contemporary regulatory literature, reveal Charles' cultivation of style and fashion as

signs of his gentlemanly image.

During Charles' personal rule, a number of conduct manuals were produced in

England and Europe that articulated behaviours and characteristics for fostering the

image of a gentleman.[374] In England, conduct books tended to focus on moral and

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[370] Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 23.

[371] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, 22.

[372] William Higford, *Institutions: Or, Advice to His Grandson in Three Parts* (London: 1658), 4 quoted in Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales,* 98.

[373] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales,* 98.

[374] Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status," 137.

academic qualities. They also addressed the importance of a gentleman's presentation of his body.

In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634), one of the most significant works written for English gentlemen, Henry Peacham states that it was "[b]y gate [sic], laughter, and apparel a man is known what he is."[375] William Cecil, in *Precepts of Man* (1636), instructs his son to "weare thy apparel in a careless, yet a descent [sic] seeming for affectednesse in any thing, is commendable in nothing; and indeavour to be so farre from vaine-glory, that thou strive in anything to be in substance without shew, then [sic] in shew without substance."[376] These manuals illustrate that men's characters could be read from their outward appearance.

From the continent, Desiderus Erasmus' 1526 work *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* was first translated into English in 1532 as *A Lytell Booke of Good Maners for Chyldren*. Subsequent translations (1540 and 1554) continued to be influential into the reign of the Stuarts.[377] These works provide an important gauge against which to judge men's gentlemanly behaviour. Conduct works provide important material that allows us to study the meaning and interpretation of Charles' gentlemanly image.

Material representations of character were closely connected to ideas of gender and masculinity, which were crucial components of a gentleman's character. Categories of gender are dynamic and require constant representation. As Judith Butler argues, "various acts of gender create the idea of gender and without the acts there would be no

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[375] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 221.
[376] William Cecil, *Precepts of Man: Directions for the well ordering and carriage of a man's life, through the whole course thereof: left by William Lord Burghley, to his sonne, at his death, who was sometimes Lord Treasurer of this Kingdom* (London: Thomas Jones, 1636), 25-26.
[377] Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status," 138.

gender at all."[378] Material expressions of gender, such as clothes, gestures, and beards, become metaphors for gender itself. Gendered material expressions are important to understanding the values associated with the ideal gentleman as a reflection of Charles' worthiness to lead.

Cultural interpretations of clothes, gestures, and beards reflect the ideology that society assigned to them, rather than referencing properties that these objects possess in themselves.[379] Indeed, it was Michel Foucault who argued that bodies are not merely a reflection of culture but rather they are active sites of social control.[380] Charles' adoption of specific clothes, gestures, and beards reflects his awareness of the cultural dialogue associated with these gendered material expressions, which were important to fostering an image of good character.

Monarchs were expected to set an example for their subjects. James emphasized the king's outward appearance as a reflection of his character, as he instructed in the *Basilikon Doron*, "[i]t is a true old saying, That a King is as one set on a scaffold, whose smallest actions and gestures all the people gazingly do behold."[381] James was certainly not the first sovereign to make such statements. Elizabeth I stated "for we Princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of the world duly observed. The eyes of many behold our actions, [and] a spot is soon spied on our garments, a blemish quickly

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[378] Judith Butler, *"Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,"* in *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory,* eds. Katie Conboy, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 404-405.

[379] Mark Albert Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England: Sex, Gender, and Registers of Value* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2011), 1.

[380] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* trans. Alan Sheridan (1975; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 135-136.

[381] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron*, 121.

noted in our doings."[382] It was important to a king's legitimacy to present himself as the model of power, authority, and virtue to his subjects. Charles' visual media provide a record of his character.

According to James, it was vital that kings set an example for their subjects, beginning with "the government of your court and followers in all godliness and virtue."[383] James concluded that a king's legitimacy was connected to his character as a sovereign: he ought to have his "own mind decked and enriched so with all virtuous qualities that there-with ye may worthily rule."[384] James articulates important connections between the king's reputation among his subjects and successful kingship. He held that these perceptions were influenced by the "smallest actions and gestures," including those illustrated by clothes, gestures, beards, and the order of his court.[385]

Charles' court mirrored their preferences for order and decorum. He was concerned to inculcate and demonstrate the appropriate lifestyle for his courtiers. The court provided an important social and political arena for Charles' kingship. Clothes, gestures, and beards were outward demonstrations of Charles' approach to kingship. This approach focused on his ability to project a gentlemanly image, which was crucial to his regulation of court.

Upon Charles' accession, he was keen to institute a rule of order and decorum at his court not seen since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Recall Puritan Lucy Hutchinson's

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[382] Elizabeth I, "A report of Her Majesty's most gracious answer, delivered by herself verbally to the first petitions of the Lords and Commons being the Estates of Parliament in her Chamber of Presence at Richmond the 12 day of November, 1586," quoted in Robert Cecil, *The Copy of a Letter to the Earl of Leicester . . . with a Report of certain Petitions and Declarations Made to the Queen's Majesty at two several Times and Her Majesty's Answers Thereunto by Herself Delivered* (London: C. Barker, 1586): speech 17, version 2 in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janell Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 194.

[383] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 72-73.

[384] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 73-74.

[385] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron*, 121.

remarks, first discussed in the introduction, that "[t]he face of the court is much changed on the change of the king, for King Charles was temperate, chaste and serious."[386] Charles instructed the porters at court to admit only "'comely and seemly persons' well apparelled and behaved."[387] Charles' concern with the regulation and decorum of his court demonstrates his interest in his image and reputation as a gentlemanly king. These trappings were seen to be reflective of his character and his legitimacy to lead.

The English court was a vehicle for propagating an appropriate monarchial image. Charles' most important kingly duty was to "present an idea of that which is possible; to pursue his own life decorum, discretion, and self-regulation that he might represent the possibility of human self-perception."[388] Charles's reformation and regulation of his court has been discussed in previous chapters, but it is significant to note that he considered his actions, reputation, image, and cultural iconography as a king to be powerful expressions of his legitimacy. It was crucial for Charles and his court to be seen as virtuous. The court became the political arena in which cultural expressions of fashion reflected contemporary values. As king, Charles was expected to set the standard for behaviour, which all of his subjects could admire and to which they could aspire.

Kings and queens regulated luxurious materials because clothes marked important social distinctions and visually delineated the social hierarchy.[389] Maria Hayward notes "the English social structure was central in determining who should be allowed to wear what and who was denied access to particular materials, colours, furs and garments."[390]

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[386] Lucy Hutchinson's remarks were previously discussed in the introduction, page 22. Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 84.

[387] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 211.

[388] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 209.

[389] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit,* 29.

[390] Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 42, 46-49.

English monarchs promulgated sumptuary laws to limit the sale of rich fabrics such as silks, satins, lace, and velvets to the aristocracy.[391] Sumptuary laws reflected the prescribed political and social ideals that were associated with clothes.[392] These laws were intended to reinforce social hierarchy, for the sovereign's style was not to be copied. The laws were expected to encourage the sovereign's subjects to dress in accordance with their station.[393]

In John Williams' "A Sermon of Apparell" (1619), preached before King James and Prince Charles (later Charles I), rich clothes were reserved for those in service of the king's household. He cited the gospel of Matthew, as evidence: "What went yee out to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that beare soft clothing are in kings houses."[394] Williams sermonized that soft clothes "are not for every sole and private man, to gather about him a gaping multitude, but for Magistrates and other remarkable persons."[395] The Christian duty, according to Williams, was that each person dress appropriate to their social station, and kings were expected to be the exemplars.[396] This was a significant aspect of clothes because rich materials were seen to be directly related to the quality of the wearer's character.

In the seventeenth century, the richness of fabrics, lace, fur, soft leathers, and other decorations that a person wore, related, or at least were expected to be related to,

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[391] In 1336 Edward III passed the first sumptuary law in England and did so again in 1337 and 1363. Henry VIII in 1533, Phillip and Mary in 1555. Elizabeth I in 1562 (several) and again in 1574.

[392] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit,* 37.

[393] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit,* 31.

[394] John Williams, *A Sermon of Apparell, Preached before the Kings Majesty and the Prince his Highnesse at Theobalds, the 22 of February 1619, John Williams, Dr. In Divinitie, Deane of Salisbury, and one of his Majesties Chaplaines then in Attendance. Published by his Majesties especiall Commandement* (London: published by Robert Barker, and John Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majestie, 1620), 1.

[395] Williams, *A Sermon of Apparell, Preached before the Kings Majesty,* 25.

[396] Williams, *A Sermon of Apparell, Preached before the Kings Majesty,* 26-27.

the quality of the wearer's character.[397] Noble virtue and good character were important

traits for all men in seventeenth-century England. Analysis of Charles' use of luxurious

materials provides historical insight into how the importance of clothes as a metaphor for

his own good character strengthened his image as a gentleman, and by extension, as

king.[398]

Men's clothing has been an often overlooked avenue of historical study, and this

is particularly true for Charles. David Kuchta articulates the significance of clothing, not

just for kings, but for all men as a legitimate subject of historical study. Fashion is

historically relevant and may be used as a lens to study political and social factors. It

should not be neglected because

> [c]lothing is nothing if not an obvious, all-too-apparent sign of class and
> gender. It was in part the ideological dismissal of fashion as superficial,
> insignificant, frivolous, as mere fashion--an ideology that triumphed in
> the seventeenth century--that allowed (and allows) men's fashion to
> remain an unmarked category, inconspicuous and unexamined.[399]

Despite the importance of clothes as reflections of a man's and even the king's character,

Roy Strong noted in 1998 that the "dress of Charles I, the Cavalier King, has never been

the subject of serious historical inquiry."[400] For these reasons, it is important to examine

Charles' clothes in van Dyck's portraits because they reveal how he sought to project an

image of a gentleman and by extension a king.

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[397] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit*, 63. See also Kuchta, "The Semiotics of Masculinity in Renaissance England".

[398] Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 10, 94; Emilie Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and the Representation of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2001), 6; Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 80.

[399] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit,* 6.

[400] Roy Strong, "Charles I's Clothes for the years 1633-1635," in *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography, volume 3: Jacobean and Caroline* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1998), 201.

In the seventeenth century, "dress and manners were not mere externals: they were manifestations of internal worth."[401] David Kuchta explains, "material fabric and social fabric resembled one another."[402] Ultimately, all men's clothes and the king's especially, were seen to be explicitly connected to ideas of power:

> The wardrobe of power was itself a form of power, and thus important to political culture precisely because it embodied social, sexual, political, religious and economic relations; it gave them shape, materiality and visibility. By doing so, clothing put power in plain view; it shaped the way in which power was thought, enacted, and reformulated.[403]

Likewise, for Charles, van Dyck's interpretation of clothes poignantly reflects "the most powerful and perhaps last manifestation of the Renaissance belief in the didactic power of images."[404] Clothing in van Dyck's portraits provides a "powerful lens through which to see portraiture" and to "understand the ideals of both the painter and the sitter."[405] Van Dyck's work reflects contemporary English values of clothes as representations of power, which emphasized the king's quality of character.[406]

Power was reflected through masculine clothing.[407] James prescribed that kings should "speciallie eschew to be effeminate in their clothes, in perfuming, preining, or suchlike: and faile never in time of warres to be galliardest and bravest, both in clothes and countenance."[408] Effeminacy was considered to be the enemy of kingly legitimacy, emphasizing the importance for Charles to present himself as a masculine gentleman in order to consolidate his worthiness to lead.

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[401] Kuchta, "The Semiotics of Masculinity in Renaissance England," 235-236.
[402] Kuchta, "The Semiotics of Masculinity in Renaissance England," 235-236.
[403] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit,* 7.
[404] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 223-225.
[405] Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)*, 6.
[406] Kuchta, "The Semiotics of Masculinity in Renaissance England," 235.
[407] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit,* 29.
[408] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 133.

Representations of the royal body as appropriately gendered and masculine were ideals that Charles himself actively enforced. Charles was displeased when van Dyck produced a portrait that depicted his heir, Prince Charles, in a dress. Male children typically wore dresses until they were about seven years old, at which time they were put into breeches. Given the fact that Prince Charles was only five and a half years old, van Dyck's portrait should not have been a problem. The portrait that displeased Charles was commissioned in July 1635 to depict Charles' three children: Charles, the Prince of Wales; Mary, Princess Royal; and James, Duke of York.[409] Henrietta Maria wrote of the king's displeasure in a letter to her sister Christina, the countess of Savoy. She noted that the king was angered because van Dyck painted Prince Charles in "*tablie*" (which is literally French for "aprons") and denoted the dresses worn by children.[410] Van Dyck was commissioned once again to paint a portrait of Charles' three eldest children in 1635. In this new portrait, Charles, the Prince of Wales, was depicted in breeches and a doublet similar to the one in figure 2.3 and his father's in figure 2.2. Charles' displeasure with what he considered to be inappropriate representations of gender for his eldest male child and heir reveals the importance of clothes as signs of gender and masculinity, which were so integral to Charles' image. It was important to Charles that his heir was depicted as a strong successor to the throne, distanced from suggestions of effeminacy.

Van Dyck's *Charles I in the Hunting Field* (fig. 4.1) is a large oil-on-canvas painting that measures nearly three metres high by two metres wide. Hunting was a

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[409] Wheelock, "Three Eldest Children of Charles I," in *Anthony van Dyck*, 284-285.
[410] Wheelock, "Three Eldest Children of Charles I," 285-286. Henrietta Maria wrote her sister "Le Roy estoit faché contre le peintre Vendec, pour ne leur avoir mis leur tablie, comme on accoustume aux petits enfants, et qu'elle enscriproit a Madame sa sœur, pour le leur faire mettre" quoted in Wheelock, 285. The second version of van Dyck's *Three Eldest Children of Charles I* was sent to Duke and Duchess of Savoy and is currently in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin.

common theme in the depiction of English kings and queens.[411] However, van Dyck's

hunting portrait is a dramatic departure from those painted for earlier sovereigns.[412] As

discussed in chapter three, the shift away from violence towards gentlemanly codes of

behaviour is reflected in van Dyck's portraits.

Charles stands confidently as he gazes out over his kingdoms during a break from

hunting. Van Dyck's eye-level is set very low, forcing the viewer to look up to Charles,

emphasizing his importance and his masculine strength. Van Dyck also uses perspective

to compel the viewer to look up to Charles because the king's character sets him above

his subjects. Van Dyck depicts Charles' horse as unnaturally diminutive to emphasize

the importance of the king and his skilled equestrian abilities discussed in chapter three.

It would have been inappropriate to depict the horse full size since it would have

overshadowed Charles. Accentuating this interpretation is that the diminutive horse

bends its head in honour of Charles' natural authority.[413]

Given that the king is represented larger than the horse, the observer cannot help

but notice the quality and style of Charles' clothes. Charles is depicted in figure 4.1 in an

ivory satin doublet, velvet breeches, and soft Cordovan leather gloves and boots.[414] Even

Charles' broad hat and lace collar contribute to an understated and restrained image of

majesty and masculinity, employed to demonstrate his worthiness to rule. Charles and

van Dyck were able to demonstrate Charles' worthiness because he dressed in accordance

with his station, which supported the social hierarchy of which he was the head.

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[411] James Williams, "Hunting, Hawking and the Early Tudor Gentleman," *History Today* vol. 53, issue 8 (August 2003): np.

[412] For example, Charles' brother Henry was depicted in Robert Peake the Elder's portrait *Henry, Prince of Wales and his Friend John, 2nd Lord Harington of Exton* (1603) just as the young heir draws his sword to deliver the fatal blow to the stag.

[413] David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 135.

[414] Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction,* 50.

Charles' ivory satin doublet is remarkable for its simple cut and colour. White was an important colour for representing "purity," humility and hope.[415] It is perhaps this colour choice that is so striking about figure 4.1, because the year this portrait was painted (1634), Charles enacted the wildly unpopular Ship Money tax.[416] Charles' depiction in white, at this significant political moment, reflects his belief in his just authority.

Evidence of this interpretation is found in Charles' letter to his son. Charles did not consider his Ship Money tax and other taxes to be unfair, because they were not, technically speaking, illegal. Shortly before his execution, Charles entrusted a letter intended for his son to the Bishop of London. In this letter, Charles was keen to instruct his son on the nature of his royal prerogative. Charles states: "[y]our prerogative is best showed and exercised in remitting rather than exacting the rigour of the laws; there being nothing worse than legal tyranny."[417] According to Charles' letter, it would seem that he did not consider his taxation schemes to be an abuse of royal prerogative. This argument is reflected in Charles' understated and refined clothing style in *Charles I in the Hunting Field.* Charles' taxation measures and the personal rule provide an important historical context in which to consider how Charles depicted his vision of kingship in the context of the material expressions of masculinity. These expressions underscored his legitimacy to rule without reference to divine right.

It was crucial that the king present an image of balance between magnificence and moderation. Fashion historian Christopher Breward identified a "sober gravitas" of

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[415] Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction,* 29.

[416] Alfred Moir, *Anthony Van Dyck* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., Publishers, 1994), 104.

[417] Charles I to Charles, the Prince of Wales, 29 January 1649, in *The Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I*, ed. Sir Charles Petrie (London: Cassell and Company Ltd.), 265.

clothing for Charles that emphasized regality and restraint.[418] Restraint in dress was

admirable, as Peacham implies in *The Compleat Gentleman*: "see what a pitifull

Ambition it is to be first in a fashion."[419] To demonstrate masculinity, it was important

for a man's clothes to reflect his control over himself and his own desires. In van Dyck's

portraits, the "richness of dress never becomes indulgence; the record of their office

never a blatant boast; their pose is one of 'psychic balance' rather than swagger. The

subjects appear . . . natural, themselves . . . because they have command of their own

unruly appetites and so have fulfilled their highest nature."[420] For Charles, his clothes

demonstrate the king's masculine command of himself and his kingdoms.

Representations of Charles as a gentleman displaying a high level of restraint and

self-mastery allowed for positive perceptions of his worthiness to lead. From the 1620s

to the 1630s, historians have identified a shift from bright colours and complicated cuts to

a streamlined and "more elegant male silhouette," a style that emphasized the

"personalities and aspirations" of the sitter.[421] Prior to the personal rule, Charles' suits

tended to be made of brightly coloured materials and bold colour combinations. Ribeiro

recounts that the king's tailors created a "'skie cullor' satin doublet to be worn with

breeches and a cloak of 'mixt peach cullor cloth laced very thick with a rich open gold

and silver lace' and the cloak lined with a 'skie cullor plush.'"[422]

Colour alluded to appropriate virtues of gender and masculinity. In van Dyck's

King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria (fig. 2.2), Charles is depicted in a striking

carnation-coloured suit. Van Dyck masterfully depicts the play of light on the satin suit

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[418] Breward, "Fashioning the Modern Self," 29.
[419] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman,* 227.
[420] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* 223-225.
[421] Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction,* 94, 17; Breward, "Fashioning the Modern Self," 30.
[422] Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction,* 96.

and the gold embroidery around the pierced panes on the sleeves of Charles' doublet.

Prince Charles' carnation-coloured suit in *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* (fig. 2.3)

mirrors his father's in figure 2.2. Red was an important colour for depicting royalty and

associations with court.[423] According to Henry Peacham, carnation or red was also

associated with "charity and magnanimity" and "virility."[424]

Charles' magnificent suit in the "Greate Peece" (fig. 2.4), painted by van Dyck,

portrays the richness of the dark blue satin of Charles' pierced doublet and breeches,

accentuated by the silver ribbons tipped with silver aglets around his high waist, set off

by the rich mauve lining of his Order of the Garter cape. Blue, according to Peacham,

reflected "justice and loyalty," and the mauve lining "temperance and prudence." [425]

Certainly these virtues were well suited to the representation of Charles as a masculine

paterfamilias.

According to clothing records from 1633-1635, the majority of Charles' suits

were produced in muted colours: ten black, five in white, dove, and marble, six in fawn

(light yellowish tan), and four green suits[426]. The remainder of Charles' suit colours,

beyond this subtle palette, were produced in single numbers. For example, carnation,

lemon, sage, and wormwood (grey green) were also in his wardrobe. Indeed, throughout

the personal rule and after, dark sober colours were prescribed for a strong Protestant

identity.[427] In light of Charles' personal sartorial choices, the colours he chose,

influenced by Puritanism, provides historical insight into understanding the masculine

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[423] Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction,* 29.
[424] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman,* 157.
[425] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman,* 157, 159.
[426] Strong, "Charles I's Clothes for the years 1633-1635," 202.
[427] John Trevor Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry: The Great Puritan Families of Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 43-62; David Brett, *The Plain Style: The Reformation, Culture and Crisis in Protestant Identity* (Belfast: Black Square Books, 1999), 89.

ideals of control and restraint he sought to cultivate and project through his clothes, and by extension, through portraiture.

During the personal rule, the colour palette of Charles' clothes reflects a dignified and masculine image of kingship marked by restraint. According to Roy Strong, during the personal rule, court records of expenditure for the king's wardrobe suggest that he spent relatively little. This indicates that Charles was aware of the importance of restraint in dress as a reflection of his masculinity, and of good characteristics of kingship such as piety, moderation, and frugality.[428] Charles' clothes "show the carefully controlled images of regal gravitas allied to subtle and harmonious colour combinations in costume" that van Dyck captured and that reflect Charles' masculine control of his court and kingdoms.[429]

Charles' clothes provide important insight into his personality and aspirations as a king. It was important for Charles to depict himself as a gentleman through clothes to legitimize his kingship. Analysis of Charles' clothes in comparison to Louis XIV's reveals the importance of clothes as reflections of the two kings' perceptions of their justification to rule.

Van Dyck's unique portrait of *Charles I in the Hunting Field* was likely never displayed in England because it was presented by Charles as a personal gift to the French crown.[430] Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV (fig. 4.2) is an important French work against which to compare van Dyck's *Charles I in the Hunting Field* because of its similarity in pose and stance. Yet the differences in sartorial choices are striking. Although nearly seventy years separated the production of Charles' and Louis' portraits,

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[428] Strong, "Charles I's Clothes for the years 1633-1635," 201.
[429] Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction,* 94.
[430] Howarth, *Images of Rule,* 136.

a comparison between them is worthy of consideration. Rigaud's portrait provides an example of how a great divine-right monarch was represented in portraiture.

Van Dyck's portrait was so influential at the French court that it provided the inspiration for Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV.[431] Beyond the stance, the treatment of the red overhanging curtain mimics the boughs of the oak tree that formed a natural canopy over Charles' head. Both Charles and Louis XIV employ clothes as evidence of their worthiness to lead. Louis XIV, as recorded in Rigaud's portrait, takes the visual illustration of wealth, power, authority, and virtue to its limit. Louis XIV was swathed in blue velvets, ermine fur, satins, ribbons, stockings, and even shoe rosettes twice the size of the king's feet. In France, statues, monuments, and portraits encouraged the king's subjects "to love and obey their prince."[432] The representation of Louis XIV's clothes illustrates the importance of sartorial choices to perceptions of his power and legitimacy, emphasizing his belief in absolutism.

French social theorist Montesquieu emphasizes the importance of the king's clothes to perceptions of their power as he opines, "the majesty and splendour which surround kings form part of their power."[433] Not only did these trappings form part of the king's power, even their depiction in portraiture added to an image of power. Rigaud's portrait, in a sense, became a substitute for the royal body. For example, when Louis was away from court, Rigaud's portrait was displayed on the dais in front of the throne in Versailles' presence room. Courtiers were required to show the same respect to Rigaud's

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[431] Howarth, *Images of Rule,* 136.

[432] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (Bath: The Bath Press, 2003), 6.

[433] Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu*, "*Comment les lois doivent se rapporter au principe du gouvernement dans l'aristocratie," in *De l'esprit de lois,* Livre 5 (1748; repr., London: Garnier, 1777), 103 quoted in Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 5.

portrait as if the king himself were present.[434] This portrait's use as a royal stand-in

demonstrates the importance for the king to be depicted in his most sumptuous and regal

clothes as a way to project his power, wealth, presence, and his belief in the divine right

of kings. The deference that French courtiers showed to the painted image of Louis XIV

demonstrates the potency of royal portraiture as an extension of royal authority, and

clothes provided an important visual cue about the values of power.

Despite the similarity in the poses of Charles I and Louis XIV, the overall

treatment of their bodies, setting, and kingly accoutrements shows that Charles' portrait

does not use the same rhetoric as the king who is held to be the exemplar of absolutism.

Louis XIV's pose is the only similarity between van Dyck's and Rigaud's portraits; the

"change of ethos" between van Dyck's and Rigaud's portraits are striking because "van

Dyck's king relaxes in the open air half-dissembling his royalty and appearing as an

elegant gentleman."[435] Rigaud's depiction of Louis XIV, on the other hand, was

"essentially that of a monarch, shown at his most monarchical, in sumptuous robes and in

a palatial setting amid a proliferation of ermine and fleur-de-lis that reinforce the message

that this is the royal ruler of France."[436] Charles' image is apparently and overtly one that

appears to be less monarchical than Rigaud's. Charles is often held to be the perpetrator

of divine right, but this portrait belies a range of less absolutist or monarchial ideals of

leadership as reflected in clothes.

Charles and Louis both ruled by right of inheritance and divine favour. However,

the difference in sartorial tastes reveals the different emphases in their visual media.

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[434] Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV,* 9.
[435] Michael Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France 1700-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 4.
[436] Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France 1700-1789*, 4.

Charles' portrait demonstrates that one of his main duties as king was to present himself as an exemplary man engaged, in his own kingly way, in the hunt. In England, it was important for men's fashion to be restrained and subtle, yet richly elegant, as a way to outwardly demonstrate inward virtue. National differences in clothing reflect the differences in religion between Catholicism in France and Protestantism, influenced by Calvinism, in England and Scotland.[437] Fashion was to reflect one's station, as Charles' rich satin doublet, Flemish lace collar, velvet breeches, leather boots and gloves, and sword all clearly demonstrate. Charles was owed obedience, not merely because he was king by the grace of God, but also because he inculcated an aura of virtue that was respectable and appropriate.

Louis was similarly concerned with his image and perceptions of his virtue, and throughout his reign he employed various methods of propaganda. Louis XIV's sumptuous and magnificent costume was a visual way for him to emphasize his special status as God's anointed. Whereas Charles emphasized his gentlemanly nature, Louis' sartorial trappings set him apart from his courtiers and subjects as a figure of admiration and an exemplar of virtue and piety.

Clothes were seen to be a powerful set of symbols that "gave shape, materiality, and visibility" to character by putting "power in plain view."[438] Gestures and poses were also strong visual expressions of character channeled through the body.

Gestures, as much as fashion, were the subject of instructional works insofar as they were seen to represent character and authority. Richard Brathwait, in *The English Gentleman* (1630), observes the importance of gestures for gentlemen associated with the

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[437] Brett, *The Plain Style*, 89.
[438] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit,* 7.

"sober carriage or deportment of the Body."[439] Gestures and manners are worthy of close

analysis because "the body was a text from which good and bad character could be

read."[440] As the size of the court grew during the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, it was

increasingly important for men who aspired to be gentleman, visiting from the country, to

project an air of authority.[441] Arms set 'akimbo' was represented by the back of the

sitter's hand resting on his hip, often with the elbow pointing directly at the observer.

This gesture was a way to physically assert kingship, military strength, masculinity and

control by enlarging the sitter's personal space. [442] This popular pose represented

authority, even masculinity, for monarchs, aristocrats, and military leaders, and appeared

in a number of portraits.[443]

Contemporary painters recognized that gesture was highly reflective of manliness.

Seventeenth-century Dutch artist and art theorist Karel van Mander, in *Der grondt der*

edel vry schilder-const (*Foundations of the Noble and Free Art of Painting*) (1604), states

that gesture and attitude were central to appropriate gender representation. As Joneath

Spicer paraphrasing van Mander states, "men should be represented as men and women

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[439] Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentleman: Containing Sundry Excellent Rules or Exquisite Observations* (London: John Havilland and are to be sold by Robert Bostock at his shop at the signe of the kings head in Pauls Church-yard, 1630), 87.

[440] Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status,"145.

[441] Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status," 147.

[442] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 85, 86, 97.

[443] Arms akimbo is depicted in several Tudor paintings such as *Henry VIII* by Hans Eworth (1567), *Edward VI* by Unknown artist (c. 1547). Charles is painted in this pose by other artists in the early seventeenth century for example, *Charles I as Duke of York* (c. 1610-1612) by Robert Peake, *Charles I* (1628) by Daniel Mytens. Several of van Dyck's English works show the use of this gesture, for example *Nicholas Lanier* (c. 1628), *Philip, 4th Lord Wharton* (1632), *James Stuart,4th Duke of Lennox, later Duke of Richmond* (c. 1633), *George Lord Digby, later 2nd Earl of Bristol, with William Lord Russell, later 5th Earl of Bedford* (c. 1635), Lord George and Francis Villiers (1635), *George, Lord Digby, later 2nd Earl of Bristol* (c. 1638), *Lord John Stuart and his brother Lord Bernard Stuart, later Earl of Lichfield* (c. 1638), *Portrait of Arthur Godwin, MP* (1639), *Lord George Stuart Seigneur d' Aubigny* (c. 1638-1640). Portraits of Charles by other artists also used this gesture for example, Daniel Mytens, *Charles I* (1628) and *Portrait of King Charles I* (1633); Hendrick Pot, *Charles I, Henrietta Maria and the Prince of Wales* (1632).

should be represented as women."[444] The male elbow in gestures is "indicative

essentially of boldness or control – and therefore of the self-defined masculine role, at

once protective and controlling."[445]

Arms akimbo was significant during the early modern period because it was the

sign of "aggressive, self-possessive display" that was central in "representing the power

of the state" through a masculine pose.[446] It was considered to be "an assertion of

hierarchy and . . . patriarchy including patrilineal succession" that was so important to

ideas about the king's legitimacy to rule.[447] Portraits of men who were socially powerful

or associated with the military were depicted in this pose.[448] This gesture was typically

used in military figures to project an image of "self-possession and control . . . the

assertion of success or defiance."[449] Charles utilized this authoritarian gesture to reflect

his image as a gentlemanly king.

During the late Elizabethan period and well into the Stuart, manhood was itself

crucial to an image of authority and legitimacy in a patriarchal society. Arms akimbo

represented in portraits were key visual cues for asserting and representing dominance

and control. James instructed his sons on the importance of gestures in the *Basilikon

Doron*, as he emphasized

> [t]he next thing that ye have to take heed to, is your speaking and
> language, whereunto I joyne your gestures, [since] action is one of the
> chiefest qualities that is required in an oratour, for as the tongue
> speaketh to the eares, so doth the gesture speake to the eies.[450]

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[444] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 85.
[445] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 86.
[446] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 88.
[447] King, *The Gendering of Men 1600-1750*, 56; Breward, "Fashioning the Modern Self," 34.
[448] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 97.
[449] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 86.
[450] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron,* 135.

Gestures were particularly potent because they "represent a distillation of generally accepted societal codes which rise out of collective experience . . . [and] convey an impression which the sitter is content to give off." [451] Charles' depiction in this arms akimbo pose is a deliberately chosen gesture and was an important aspect in projecting his worthiness to lead.

Charles used arms akimbo to denote his authority, power, and masculinity in two van Dyck portraits: *Charles I in the Hunting Field* (fig. 4.1) and *Charles I in Garter Robes* (fig. 4.4). Van Dyck's *Charles I in the Hunting Field* (fig. 4.1) does not contain explicit references to Charles' kingly station such as the crown and orb. Arms akimbo provides an important visual cue for the representation of the gentlemanly ideal and his image as king. Charles' elbow points directly away from him at a ninety-degree angle toward the viewer to assert his spatial control, suggesting the viewer keep his or her distance from the royal body. Without the trappings of kingship around him, Charles used arms akimbo to assert his control and dominance, in order to demonstrate his status as a worthy gentleman and leader.

The second portrait, *Charles I in Garter Robes* (fig. 4.4), provides an important comparison to *Charles I in the Hunting Field* (fig. 4.1). Charles is depicted by van Dyck richly attired in blue velvet robes, lined with ermine fur. Van Dyck draws our attention to Charles' arms akimbo pose by skillfully rendering the ermine backing of the cape along the length of Charles' arm, highlighting the sheen of his satin elbow as it juts out from his hip. Figure 4.4 presents Charles in a less aggressive arms akimbo gesture as he faces the viewer in a three quarter pose with his elbow directed slightly away from the viewer. Charles could afford to be less aggressive in this portrait because he connects

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[451] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 85.

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more clearly his image as a gentleman to that of a king. This portrait, above all else, presents a more balanced depiction of Charles as a gentlemanly king as the portrait emphasizes arms akimbo as a symbol of gentlemanly character and kingship by the crown and orb on his left side.

Van Dyck compels the viewer to first "see" Charles as a gentleman in figure 4.4 as the crown and orb are deemphasized and the sheen of his elbow accentuates his gentlemanly pose. The viewer first sees Charles' face, then the eye is drawn down his right arm to his elbow jutting away from him, and then across to the crown and orb. Van Dyck's de-emphasis is clearly purposeful because the crown and the orb are set slightly behind Charles on a table in the open air. The colours are so muted that it is as though they are in the shadows, while the gold catches no glint of sunlight. Charles' elbow is depicted closest to the viewer as it catches the light jutting out from beneath his robe, demonstrating that for Charles, being represented as a worthy gentleman was foremost to perceptions of his kingship.

Despite the apparent similarities between Charles in figure 4.4 and Louis XIII in Philippe de Champaigne's *Louis XIII, King of France* (fig. 4.5), there are palpable differences between the two kings' approaches to kingship. Louis is depicted in the arms akimbo pose, but the gesture is much less assertive than Charles'. Whereas van Dyck drew attention to Charles' elbow, Louis' is less pronounced as it is covered by the thick fur of his robe. Moreover, Louis' elbow, were it uncovered, would point away from the viewer toward the back of the canvas in a much less assertive style than Charles'. Louis' portrait demonstrates that his depiction as a gentlemanly courtier was not a significant way for him to represent his legitimacy.

In de Champaigne's portrait, the allusions to Louis' military successes, and ultimately his worthiness to lead, are attributed to the prominence of his sword hilt beside his crown. As a result, this portrait focuses attention on Louis XIII's military success and his station as an important aspect for his right to lead. It depicts the gold hilt of his sword jutting out from beneath the white ermine of his robes as a potent phallic symbol of masculine identity and military power. It is important to consider military successes as a major point of identity for Louis XIII because the "political changes in the France of Louis XIII during the decade 1624 -39 . . . marked a major stage in the development of what is called absolute monarchy."[452] It was during this time that Louis XIII successfully eliminated the Huguenot threat in 1628, challenged Hapsburg power at Val Tellina, engaged in the Mantuan Succession War (1627 – 1631), and led an open war with Spain in 1635.[453] Louis is depicted in arms akimbo with his elbow covered and his sword hilt exposed. This is in contrast to Charles' portrait, where his elbow is uncovered and exposed and his sword hilt is covered by his arm, downplaying his military ability and accentuating gentlemanly ideals as king.

In the context of arms akimbo, Diego Velázquez' *Philip IV as a Hunter* (fig. 4.3), provides significant insight into the Spanish king's vision of kingship. Velázquez captures Philip IV as he pauses for a moment and faces the viewer in a three quarter pose. Philip IV's left arm is modeled in the arms akimbo pose and is nearly completely hidden from the observer as it points directly into the background of the portrait. In this rather dark portrait, Velázquez emphasizes the importance of Philip's right side. Philip's face is turned toward the observer and it is luminous, drawing our attention to it. Following the

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[452] Moote, *Louis XIII the Just,* 155.
[453] Moote, *Louis XIII the Just,* 155.

visual line from Philip's face, the viewer notices the silver embroidery on black fabric of his sleeve, which stands out against the plain brown leather jacket he wears. Philip's hand is covered in cream-coloured leather gloves, drawing our attention to his right hand and the musket he grasps. Hunting was a "most regal pursuit . . . all about the masculine and martial world."[454] In Velázquez' portrait of Philip, the ability to wield weapons was emphasized over the gentlemanly ideals associated with the arms akimbo pose.

The body was a text from which a man's character could be read. It was therefore vital that, in official images of Charles, he be represented in poses that reflected his good character. The gentlemanly ideal provided a strong basis for a man's right to lead, and arms akimbo was an important way for Charles to visually demonstrate his good character and kingship. Charles' van Dyck portraits reveal that arms akimbo was for Charles the demonstration of his worthiness to lead without needing to evoke divine right theories.

Like clothes and gestures, beards were also potent visual symbols of gender and masculinity, reflective of power and authority. Beards were important at this time since they were considered to be signs or "instruments through which gender and the gendered body were materialized."[455] In essence, "the beard made the man in early modern England," and it was a sign of gender distinction and masculinity, as "bearded men were distinguished from both women and boys."[456] Masculinity and the physiological features correlated directly to social roles, which we have seen Charles attempt to depict. To be a

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[454] Howarth, *Images of Rule,* 132.

[455] Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, 94. See also Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan, eds., *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, eds., *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[456] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 128.

man "meant not only having facial hair, or a particular genital morphology, but also performing actions such as fighting in battle and begetting children."[457] Charles' beard was also an important visual demonstration of his gentlemanly character and projected a king worthy to lead without reference to divine right theories. This section explores Charles' beards in the context of patriarchal authority, religious identity, and martial masculinity in support of his kingship.

In early modern England, portraiture, drama, and literature demonstrate an obsession with the beard, and yet it has been largely overlooked as important evidence of the social values of gender for men in positions of authority.[458] Studies of the materialist trappings of gender run the danger of being labelled the "history of the obvious," and beards are visual depictions of masculinity that have become ubiquitous with manly identity. As a result, they are, as David Kuchta identifies, "unnoticed, unquestioned, second nature, practically synonymous with masculinity itself."[459] Beards are important subjects for the historical study of masculinity because they "provide a useful vantage point from which to observe the cultural production of value since we are both historically and ideologically distanced from the systems that those values once materialized."[460] The seventeenth-century preoccupation with beards as material expressions of gender demonstrates the importance in studying this aspect of Charles' van Dyck portraiture.

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[457] Will Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* vol. 54, no. 1 (Spring, 2001), 173.

[458] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 128.

[459] Kuchta, *The Three Piece Suit,* 6.

[460] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 5-6.

Beards are common attributes for men in portraits from sixteenth and the early seventeenth-century England.[461] Roy Strong's study of three hundred and fifty portraits, from the Tudor to the Stuart periods, includes three hundred and twenty depicted men with beards.[462] It is worth noting that van Dyck painted portraits of males without beards. For example, in 1638, van Dyck produced *Lord John Stuart and his Brother, Lord Bernard Stuart, later Earl of Lichfield* without beards.[463] Van Dyck painted these brothers without beards because they were in fact boys, perhaps as old as sixteen or seventeen.[464] The average age at which young men grew beards at this time was twenty three or twenty four years old.[465] If a young man lacked a beard, he was still considered to be a boy regardless of his age.[466] At the time this portrait was painted, these brothers were unmarried and untested in battle. Marriage and participation in battle added legitimacy to the symbolic meaning of beards, which was that of acceptable gendered values of patriarchal authority.

Charles was influenced by earlier artistic works that illustrated a connection between beards as representations of patriarchal authority and the king's worthiness to lead. Mark Johnston's analysis of the image of a bearded Henry VIII distributing bibles and watched over by a bearded God and Christ, reflects imagery that is reminiscent of the

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[461] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 94.

[462] Fisher, *Materializing Gender*, 94.

[463] See also the following portraits by Anthony van Dyck: *Philip, 4th Lord Wharton* (1632); *James Stuart, 4th Duke of Lennox, later Duke of Richmond* (c. 1633); *George, Lord Digby, later 2nd Earl of Bristol, with William Lord Russell, later 5th Earl of Bedford* (c. 1635); *George, Lord Digby, later 2nd Earl of Bristol* (c. 1638).

[464] Tim Batchelor "Lord John Stuart and his Brother, Lord Bernard Stuart, later Earl of Lichfield," in Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain,* 103.

[465] Benjamin Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before the Rock 'n' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity During Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 48.

[466] Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before the Rock 'n' Roll,* 46.

Great Chain of Being, depicting the king as *paterfamilias*.[467] The "early modern family unit was organized under the bearded authority of the paterfamilias," reflecting the proper authority of the king over his home and kingdoms, as God over the world.[468] The beard was an important visual metaphor that justified a man's worthiness to lead.

Beards were seen as evidence of a man's patriarchal authority, his fulfillment of his gender role within the family.[469] Beards were, according to Johnston, associated with patriarchal authority because they were an "index of relative status within the pederastic economy of servitude and favour."[470] The establishment of dynastic succession was a concern for all kings, and the association between fathering children and the beard was important to perceptions of a man's power and authority.

Beards and patriarchal power were the subjects of contemporary works. Seventeenth-century poet John Taylor's "Ballad of the Beard" is from a collection of poems entitled *Le Prince d' Amour* first published in 1660, but according to the editor "evidently from the time of Charles I if not earlier."[471] Taylor playfully articulates the connection between perceptions of the king's patriarchal power and his possession of a beard and the production of heirs:

> Now a beard is a thing that commands in a king,
> Be his sceptres ne'er so fair:
> Where the beard bears the sway, the people obey,
> And are subject to a hair.[472]

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[467] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 35.
[468] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 36.
[469] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 34.
[470] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 36.
[471] Frederick W. Fairnholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume: From the 13th to the 19th Century* (London: Printed for the Percy Society, 1849), 121.
[472] John Taylor, "The Ballad of the Beard," in *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume: From the 13th to the 19th Century*, ed. Frederick W. Fairnholt (1660; repr., London: Printed for the Percy Society, 1849), 122.

Taylor's reference to the people being "subject to a hair" plays on a "common homonymic trope" whereby the allusion is made to the king's beard as an expression of authority but also to his ability to produce an "*heir.*"[473] The correlation between beards and patriarchal authority contributes to understanding why Charles' representation with a beard is an important consideration of his ideological approach to kingship.

Likewise, in the Dutch Republic, Frederik Hendrik's portraiture reveals a similar association between beards and patriarchal authority. Like Charles, Frederik Hendrik is depicted in all of his portraits with a pointed beard. Beards were an important material expression of masculinity and maturity.[474] Beards were also important cultural markers of a man's procreative potential to fulfil his role as a father.[475] In Gerrit von Honthorst's *Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange with His Wife Amalia van Solms and Their Three Youngest Daughters* (fig. 2.5), the Prince of Orange is depicted with a beard, surrounded by his wife and children as a demonstration of his patriarchal authority.

Given the significant political and religious upheavals that erupted during the seventeenth century, a religious context is crucial to studying how beards were an expression of religious identity, masculinity, and, poignantly for Charles, his worthiness to lead. Beards, like other material expressions of gender, were considered mirrors of a man's character and religious identity. Beards were potent visual symbols because they "were reputed to possess inherent spiritual and religious value and an innate ability to accurately reflect the state of the soul."[476]

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[473] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 51.
[474] Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before the Rock 'n' Roll,* 46.
[475] Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before the Rock 'n' Roll,* 46.
[476] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 51.

Dating back to the Middle Ages, the connection between kingship and godliness was part of a longstanding justification for a king's legitimacy to rule. In England, kingship and godliness became ever closer in the sixteenth century, as Henry VIII broke with the Church of Rome to become head of the Church of England. In the decades of Henry's reign before his break with Rome, he was not consistently represented with a beard.[477] When Henry VIII formally broke with Rome, he permanently grew a beard to reflect his role as head of the English church, as beards "legitimize[d] his claims to religious as well as political supremacy."[478] Henry's decision to display a beard was in the tradition of bearded Old Testament prophets and reformers, and he instructed his court to grow beards as well.[479] Following Henry's proclamation of the *Act of Supremacy* (1534), which formally established the English Crown as the supreme head of the Church in England, Henry commanded his courtiers not to shave their beards and as an example, he decreed that his beard would be "notted and no more shaven."[480] Johnston states, Henry VIII "capitalize[d] on religious values already inhering in facial hair as an emblem of godliness, prophetic quasi-divine status, martial might and the holy offices of priesthood" in his iconography.[481]

For Protestants, outward signs of inward character such as beards and begetting children were potent signs of religious identity and authority. The ability to father children was an important point of distinction between Protestant ministers and Catholic priests. Puritan ministers wore beards to emphasize their manliness, as a visual

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[477] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 34.
[478] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 35.
[479] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 35.
[480] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 34.
[481] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 35.

representation of their rejection of Catholicism, and as an indication of their ability to

produce children.[482] As Will Fisher articulates, Protestant clerics

> adopted the beard as an indication of their masculinity, or more
> specifically, as an indication of their marriageability and reproductive
> capacity. They thereby attempted to distinguish themselves from their
> 'effeminate' Catholic counterparts who did not marry or reproduce, and
> who were sometimes even called 'eunuchs for God.'[483]

Beards were important, material evidence that heralded religious identity. Given the

mounting tensions because of the development of the rich ceremonial of the Church of

England and the austere tendencies of a growing Puritan segment of English society,

outward demonstrations of religious ideological convictions were important. This was

especially so for Charles, as his Church of England reforms and marriage to a French

Catholic princess fueled rumours throughout the 1630s of his wish to return England to

the fold of Roman Catholicism. Charles' depiction with a beard allows the viewer to see

him as an ideal, masculine Protestant with great authority.

Ministers even instructed the men of their parishes not to shave their beards.

Puritan minister Thomas Hall sermonized on the importance for men to wear beards as a

"signe of Manhood . . . given by God to distinguish the Male from the Female sex," and

as a "badge of Virility."[484] Indeed, Hall refuted arguments that equated long hair with

beards and he answered: "[t]here is not *eadem ratio*, the Beard is one thing, and long

haire upon men's heads another."[485] Hall continues "[l]ong haire is *contra decus virile*,

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[482] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 99.

[483] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 100.

[484] Thomas Hall, *Comarum akosmia: the loathsomnesse of long haire, or, A treatise where in you have the question stated, many arguments against it produc'd, and the most materiall arguguments [sic] for it refell'd and answer'd: with the concurrent judgement of divines both old and new and against it. With an appendix against painting, spots, naked breasts, &c/.* (London: Printed by J.G. for Nathanael Webb and William Grantham, 1654), 48.

[485] Hall, *Comarum akosmia,* 48. *Eadem ratio* translates as "by the same reasoning."

its [sic] a shame and dishonour to a man, but so is not a long Beard."[486] At the time

Charles' portraits were produced, for Protestants, beards were seen as important symbols

of gender, masculinity, religious identity, and authority.

Masculinity was an important aspect of gentlemanly identity. Beards were

important martial metaphors for gentlemen because they "announced the wearer's

masculinity in much the same way as an 'ensign' preceded" a battalion into battle.[487]

Beards were commonly discussed in martial metaphors and "consistently associated with

masculine social roles of soldier and father."[488] Anatomist Helkiah Crooke articulates in

Microcosmographia (1615) that beards were an "ensigne of majesty."[489] Likewise, John

Bulwer in *Anthrometamorphosis* (1653), states that facial hair was an "ensigne of

manhood."[490] It is significant that Crooke and Bulwer refer to the beard in martial terms

as an "ensign" that identifies the martial masculinity of the man who wears it. Beards

were even labelled with the names of weapons and other military paraphernalia. The

most popular styles of beards were commonly associated with soldiers and they were

named after weapons such as the stiletto, bodkin, needle, and the spade.[491]

In all of van Dyck's portraits of Charles, the king is depicted with a "stiletto"

beard. Charles' pointed beard was referred to as a stiletto, evoking the rich sexual and

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[486] Hall, *Comarum akosmia,* 48. *Contra decus virile* translates as "an ornament against manliness."

[487] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 106.

[488] Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," 172.

[489] Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia: a description of the body of man. Published by the Kings Maiesties especiall direction and warrant according to the first integrity, as it was originally written by the author* (London: Printed by William Iaggard, 1615), 70.

[490] John Bulwer, *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or, The Artificiall Changling Historically presented, In the mad and cruell Gallantry, foolish Bravery, ridiculous Beauty, filthy Finenesse, and loathsome Loveliness of most NATIONS, fashioning and altering their Bodies from the mould intended by Nature; With Figures of those Transfigurations* (London: Printed by William Hunt, 1653), 212.

[491] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 55.

martial imagery of violence and dominance. [492] "The stiletto beard," states Johnston,

"relies on the reader's [and the viewer's] conflating martial and erotic registers: by

approximating the shape of a sword the stiletto beard signals the virility of its host, not

only on the battlefield, but also in the bedroom."[493] For example, John Taylor's "The

Ballad of the Beard" conflated ideals of sexual and martial dominance, as noted in this

excerpt below:

> The stiletto-beard, oh! It makes me afeard,
> It is so sharp beneath,
> For he that doth place a dagger in's face
> What wears he in his sheath?[494]

It is striking that the stiletto beard, above all others, would become synonymous with

Charles I and Caroline England, and it is a potent symbol of gentlemanly identity, sexual

dominance and, ultimately, masculinity.

The significance of Charles' beard in the context of a military setting, such as

those depicted in figures 3.1 and 3.5, is heightened when one considers its ability to

reflect masculinity, virility, and authority. It does so by engaging in phallocentric

discourses, bringing together sexual and martial dominance as markers of male authority,

and ultimately contributing to perceptions of his ability to lead.[495]

Military metaphors were used to emphasize the importance of the beard as a sign

of distinction between the sexes. As demonstrated in *Haec Vir* (*The Womanish Man*)

(1620), the writer emphasizes the beard as the most important distinction for men because

"were it not for that little fantastical sharp-pointed dagger that hangs at [their] chins, and

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[492] Fisher, *Materializing Gender,* 94-96.
[493] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 55.
[494] Taylor, "The Ballad of the Beard,"122.
[495] Johnston, *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England,* 55.

the cross-hilt which guards [their] upper lip, hardly would there be any difference between the fair mistress and the foolish servant."[496]

Beards were important visual depictions of masculinity for men in positions of power that were also highly reflective of masculine identity. Masculinity was an important characteristic for gentlemen to project, and beards provided visual evidence of men's reputation of strong patriarchal authority, religious identity, and martial power. Charles' representation with a beard contributed to his image as a gentleman. Gentlemanly characteristics, such as those indicated by his beard, provided additional support to his belief in divine right which ultimately strengthened his right to rule.

Clothes, gestures, and beards provide important insight into how Charles approached kingship. They illustrate the importance he placed on gentlemanly character and its representation as an expression of power and, ultimately, his legitimacy to lead. Charles' portraits reflect his adoption of gentlemanly ideals and images of gender, contributing to a uniquely Caroline vision of kingship that did not only reflect divine right theories. The metaphor of material representations as reflections of a man's character was especially important for Charles as the chief gentleman of his kingdoms. It demonstrated that his kingship rested on a broad foundation of gender-appropriate roles and ideals, which were essential to his reputation and his worthiness to lead.

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[496] Anonymous, *Haec Vir Or the Womanish Man: Being and Answere to the late Booke Intituled Hic Mulier* (London: 1620), 13-14.

CONCLUSION

Because he sought to rule without parliament, Charles I is considered an anomaly among early modern English kings. Historians often contend that Charles attempted to legitimize his personal rule through a belief in divine right. This study demonstrates that, while divine right was an important political theory for Charles, the powerful medium of portraiture illustrates a complex and nuanced vision of kingship that stands in stark contrast to one-sided assessments. Anthony van Dyck's portraits presented traditional images of kingship and masculinity that were greatly informed by the ideals of *paterfamilias,* knight, and gentleman.

In the broader historical context, this thesis applies a multi-disciplinary approach to Charles' image in portraiture. It incorporates art history, masquing literature, and studies of early modern kingship, as well as studies of family hierarchy and order, early modern chivalry, and the material history of gentlemen. Underlying the ideals of *paterfamilias,* knight, and gentleman, was a powerful discourse of masculinity. For men in positions of power, perceptions of masculinity were important to legitimize their rule. Diane Purkiss calls for historians

> to ask about Charles's selection of cultural icons as emblems of his own masculinity, and how far his choices reflect an anxiety to distance himself from other models, models which may have been easier to assimilate to lower-class and even gentry ideas of the masculine.[497]

By studying Charles' image in portraits during the politically charged period of the personal rule, the importance of the ideals of *paterfamilias*, knight, and gentleman, is revealed. This study of Charles' portraits contributes to a nuanced understanding of the

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[497] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics,* 233.

king's image, which emphasized the importance of masculinity to the projection of legitimate kingship.

A king's image is a highly complex construction and Charles was represented in various media that closely reflected his own vision of kingship. Because a king was expected to set an example for his subjects, Charles sought to foster an exemplary image as a crucial aspect of his leadership, and influence perceptions of his legitimacy.   As James states, "a King is as one set on a scaffold, whose smallest actions and gestures all the people gazingly do behold."[498] Portraits provide insight, as deep as we can delve, into Charles' mind and his perceptions of the traits necessary to project his worthy character.

Until Laura Knoppers's 2011 work, studies of the family in the early Stuart period was largely overlooked. [499] This monograph examines images of the Stuart royal family in van Dyck's portraits and other media as expressions of Charles' vision of traditional kingship. Future research may consider ideals of family in a royal context by expanding the survey to include portraits from the Jacobean and the late Caroline courts.

This thesis focuses on the period of Charles' personal rule. To build on our understanding of Charles' perceptions of legitimate kingship, an analysis of the pre-1632 and post-1640 periods could be undertaken. Much research remains to be done in assessing how contiguous traits of legitimate English kingship persisted throughout the period. As well, additional analyses of Charles' representational media, and those of contemporary European monarchs, would further broaden our knowledge about the nature of kingship in early modern Europe.

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[498] James VI/I, *Basilikon Doron*, 121.
[499] Berry and Foyster, "Childless Men in Early Modern England," 167. Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity*.

Additional examination of van Dyck's Caroline court portraiture would also expand our understanding of how Charles and van Dyck chose to represent legitimate kingship. Three portraits in particular would add to assessments of Charles' knightly ideals: *Charles I Wearing the Garter Star* (c. 1632-1640), *Charles I* (c. 1632-1633), and *Charles I, King of England* (1635-1640). These portraits were not included in this present study as I preferred instead to focus on works that were commissioned by Charles and produced for public display, thus revealing Charles' aesthetic tastes in the depiction of kingship.

A fourth and final portrait by van Dyck was sent to Rome as a model for a bust. The portrait is titled *Charles I in Three Positions* (1636). Henrietta Maria petitioned the pope to allow Bernini to sculpt a bust of Charles. The context of this art contributes to an interesting analysis of masculine kingship. Henrietta Maria's interference in politics exacerbated fears that she, a French Roman Catholic, unduly influenced Charles on political matters. The failure of Charles, the self-professed happiest man in Christendom in the 1630s, to effectively translate his complex image contributed to his becoming the first European monarch to be officially charged with treason and executed by his own subjects.

Images of Charles as a gentleman reveal the importance of clothes, gestures, and beards to perceptions of his worthiness to rule. Despite the importance of clothes to Charles' gentlemanly image, discussed in chapter three, Roy Strong noted in 1998 that a full study of Charles' clothes has yet to be undertaken.[500] Future research may well benefit from a study of the material expressions of masculinity that have gone unnoticed and that were so ubiquitous with masculinity itself that they have been overlooked. This

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[500] Strong, "Charles I's Clothes for the years 1633-1635," 201.

thesis has brought to the fore the importance of clothes as acts of gender, and future research may carry this momentum forward to contribute to the growing discourse of early modern gender generally and in the context of kingship in particular.

Charles' van Dyck portraits continue to be held as the epitome of divine right kingship. This study provides insight into Charles' vision of kingship, expressed in his court portraits, revealing that he preferred to depict the ideals of traditional kingship in his visual media. This thesis demonstrates that the values and ideals represented in Charles' portraits reveal that his vision of kingship was complex and nuanced, emphasizing that divine right was just one political justification, among many, upon which his kingship and legitimacy rested.

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Daniel Mytens, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria*, c. 1630-1632.
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Fig. 2.2:
Anthony van Dyck, *King Charles I of England and Queen Henrietta Maria,* 1632.
Oil on canvas, 113.5 x 163 cm.
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Fig. 2.3:
Anthony van Dyck, *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I,* 1637.
Oil on canvas, 163.2 x 198.8 cm.
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Fig. 2.4:
Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I, Henrietta Maria and their Two Eldest Children Prince Charles and Princess Mary* (The Greate Peece, of O[r] royal self, consort and children), 1632.
Oil on canvas, 370.8 x 274.3 cm.
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Fig. 2.5:
Gerrit von Honthorst, *Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange with His Wife Amalia van Solms and Their Three Youngest Daughters,* 1647.
Oil on canvas, 263.5 x 347.5 cm.
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Fig. 2.6:
Diego Velázquez, *The Family of Philip IV or Las Meninas* (*The Maids of Honour*), 1656.
Oil on canvas, approx. 318 x 276 cm.
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Fig. 2.7:
Phillipe de Champaigne, Louis XIV Consecrating Sceptre and Crown to the Mother of
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Fig. 3.2:
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Oil on panel, 41.2 x 29.8 cm.
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Anthony van Dyck, *Charles II as Prince of Wales in Armour,* c. 1637-1638.
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Oil on canvas, 152.5 x 226.9 cm.
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Fig. 3.5:
Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I on Horseback,* c. 1635-1636.
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Oil on canvas, 303 x 317 cm.
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Fig.4.4:
Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I in Garter Robes*, 1636.
Oil on canvas, 248.3 x 153.6 cm.
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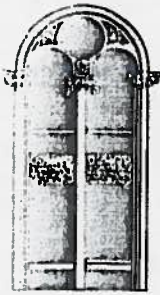
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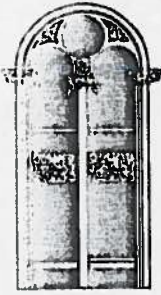
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Total Net	180.00
Tax	0

Total to pay	
USD	180.00