Rubens's nine paintings in the ceiling of the Banqueting Hall in Whitehall, London, provided the main decoration of this magnificent room, which was the focal point of Stuart Court ceremonial. Commissioned by King James I and his son, the future Charles I, following the destruction of the early Jacobean Banqueting Hall, their role in enhancing court spectacle came to an end with the fire that destroyed the rest of Whitehall Palace in 1698. The delay in executing the commission was due to matters of state, in which Rubens was involved as a diplomat. His stay in London in this capacity in 1629/30 made possible the realization of this commission.

Rubens would have been aware that the Stuarts owed their position to the regal union of the crowns of England and Scotland, that his royal patron had now embraced his father's pacific policy and that he was the more determined to impose an absolute rule, which his father had eloquently expounded in speeches and treatises. These three themes form the central core of the cycle which glorified the reign of the late king, James I. The cycle presented Rubens with a great challenge, not only because of the novelty of the subject matter, but also because of the formal problems presented by the huge scale of the work.

This volume of the Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard provides the fullest review to date of the history of the commission, it also unravels the complex preparatory work and places the subject matter in the context of early Stuart political and ethical aspirations.
CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART XV
THE CEILING DECORATION
OF THE
BANQUETING HALL

IN TWO VOLUMES
CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

AN ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ
OF THE WORK OF PETER PAUL RUBENS
BASED ON THE MATERIAL ASSEMBLED
BY THE LATE DR LUDWIG BURCHARD
IN TWENTY-NINE PARTS

SPONSORED BY THE CITY OF ANTWERP
AND EDITED BY THE CENTRUM VOOR DE VLAAMSE KUNST
VAN DE 16e EN DE 17e EEUW
H. VLIEGHE, President - N. DE POORER, Secretary - C. VAN DE VELDE, Treasurer
A. BALIS - F. BAUDOUIN (†) - L. DE PAUW-DEVEN - A. DE SCHRYVER (†)
H. DEVISSCHER - P. HUVENNE - H. NIEUWDORP - M. VANDENVEN
UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES (UAI)
RUBENS
THE CEILING DECORATION
OF THE
BANQUETING HALL

BY GREGORY MARTIN

EDITED BY
ARNOUT BALIS

VOLUME TWO

HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS
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APPENDIX I  APPENDICES
THE TRANSCRIPTS IN APPENDICES II, III, AND IV are taken from the original letters or copies made by or for the writers. Some differ in minor ways from those printed by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859 and Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909. The transcripts in Appendix V have also been taken, where possible, from the original documents. Inverted commas have been omitted, as have points of ellipses except where intermediate words have been omitted. Also omitted are salutations, leave-takings, and superscript bars. While new style dating has been employed in the text unless otherwise stated, see p. 18, to avoid any confusion arising from consultation of previous publications, both styles have been given in transcripts of letters. The dates of English administrative documents are generally given in the old style, as is made clear in the headings.
APPENDIX I

The Projects

The two Projects were discovered among the papers of Sir John Coke (1563-1644) by Hilton Kelliher of the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library, whose transcripts are reprinted below. The papers had been preserved at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, and were acquired by the British Library in 1987.

The Projects were first published as an appendix to an article by the present author (see Martin, Banqueting House, 1994); the transcripts have been subsequently reprinted by Roy Strong, The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy, Pageantry, Painting, Iconography, III, Jacobean and Caroline, Woodbridge, 1998, pp. 156-158.

In his introduction (to the appendix) of 1994, Kelliher made the following observations:

Still visible in pencil is the call number X94/C143/20 allocated to them [the MSS.] by the Derbyshire Record Office.

The two documents are copied in a single formal Secretary hand, unattributed but probably scribal, with no marked idiosyncracies. An enlarged script—here represented by italics—has been used for headings and, though rather variably, for proper nouns and names. The conclusion of each paragraph by an oblique stroke, which grew from the mediaeval virgule (/), was common practice at the time.

Though not precisely identical, the watermarks of these two large bifolia are so close as almost certainly to be 'twins' deriving from a matching pair of moulds. The device is a bunch of grapes surmounting initials that may be deciphered as IB or IR. In general type, this is similar to the examples recorded in Edward Heawood, Watermarks, Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Hilversum, 1950, nos. 2129-2177. (Though lettered IR, no. 2178, dated by Heawood to 1627, is rather different in form.)
APPENDIX I

I.1 Project A

London, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add. MS. 69883B, fol.81. Bifolium docketed (fol. 82b) ‘Proiect for ye painting of the Banqueting house’.

The great Oual in the midst

The King on a Throne ravsed wth degrees, the two Kingdomes of England & Scotland in figures of women kneeling, holding two Crownes bound together wth a wreath of olive & myrtle; the King in action of ioyning them together; on both sides are some of the nobility of England & Scotland & belowe some halfe figures of Sergeants at Armes for State. /

In the two Squares on the sydes of the great Ouall, are chyldren wth Cornucopiaes & fes­tones wth beasts of severall natures yoked together, shewing the effects of publique vnion. /

In the great Square at the upper end.

The King wth a Laurell wreath on his head, holding in one hand a booke open & in the other a penn, about him are the muses wth theyr severall Ensignes, & some Angells flying wth garlands & strewing of flowers. This expresseth his learning, in wch he exceeded all the Kings of his tyme. /

The two little oualls on the sydes of this Square, in the first is figured knowledge, vnder whose feete lyeth ignorance. In the other is modesty, & at her feete impudence. /

In the great Square at the Lower end.

In this is Peace wth a Caduceus in one hand, & a little Statua in the other, attended on by those particular Arts wch began to take roote in this Kings tyme, expressing his providence therein. /

The two little Oualls on the syde of this square

In the one is liberality, & vnder her feete Avarice: in ye other envy stryving wth vertue.
The whole roofe of the Banqueting House being designed to the memory of King James, who was founder thereof, & the inventions representing the Union of his Kingdoms & peaceableness of his Government, they are thus distributed.

In the Square of the first entrance of the Banqueting House this inscription, 
Sol occultus, nox nulla sequutur est.

The figure to be a sun setting in the sea at one corner of the Square somewhat shadowed; The rest of the Square all open to a clear light: Therin King James sett out in Royall robes to be conducted by two figures representing, the one Religion, the other Concorde, & to be in the act of repelling Mars & Bellona with the one hand, & receav­ing Minerua & Astrea with the other.

In the great Oval.

King James on a Throne raysed with degrees, the two Kingdomes of England & Scotland in figures of women kneeling, holding two Crownes bound together with a Wreath of olie & mirtle; the King in action of ioyning them together: on both sydes are some of the nobility of England & Scotland, & belowe some halfe figures of Sergeants at Armes for State.

In the Square at the upper end.

An open heaven, where King James shalbe caryed vp by divers Angells sitting vpon a Clowde; where these Kings, whose names are here sett downe, shall also sitt round about vpon Clowdes.

King Salomon.
Constantinus, the Emperor.
Edward the Confessor.
St. Louys.
James, the first of Scotland.

Then shalbe made above these Kings in a round a quire of Angells playing & singing; & above them a shyning glory of the Deity, from whom the beames shall come shyning downe.
In the two long Squares on the syde of the great Oval the 6. 7. 8. & 9. verses of the 11th. Chapter of Isaiah.

The wolfe also shall dwell with the Lambe, & the Leopard shall lye downe with the Kidde; & the Calfe & the yong Lyon, & the fatling together, & a little chyld shall leade them. /

And the Cowe & the Beare shall feed, theyr yong ones shall lye downe together, & the Lyon shall eate strawe like the oxe.

And the sucking chylde shall play on the hole of the Aspe, & the weaned chylde shall putt his hand on the Cockatrice den. /

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountayne; for the earth shalbe full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. /

In the foure small Ouals.

The fower Evangelists.
APPENDIX II
The First Approach to Rubens

II.1 Carleton to Trumbull, The Hague, 16/26 July 1621

London, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add. MSS. 72272, fol. 46 r.

I send you my Ire to Mr Matthew with a flying Seale to the end you may see what I write touching the picture; wth yf he should be absent or will not undertake, I pray you effect for me yf it well be possible: for my Ld Daners is a noble man to whom I owe much serv - ice and he is anxious in such a matter as a greater.

II.2 Trumbull to Carleton, Brussels, 21/31 July 1621


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 58, no. LI; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, II, p. 279, no. CCXX.)

Mr Toby Mathew wente yesterday towarde Callais, to attend my L: of Doncaster, who did intend to be theare this night, or to morrow in the morninge. At his returne (wth wilbe shortly) wee will Joyne o' forces, to reduce Rubens to a reasonable agreemt wth my L. Dauers; and (wth yor L: fauor) it were better to have a little patience then to marre a good bargain by ill management, or for wante of counsell.

II.3 Trumbull to Carleton, Brussels, 27 July/6 August 1621


[Postscript:] Mr T. Mathewe is not yet returned from Callais. I fear he may loose his labor: and my L: of Doncaster, may passe from Dover to Deep [sic =Dieppe]

II.4 Trumbull to Carleton, Brussels, 1/11 September 1621

APPENDIX II

(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 58-59, no. III; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, II, p. 284, no. CCXXIII, with a few differences in the transcription.)

Mr T. Mathew doth carry this letter to Antwerp, from whence, he will wryte to yor L: and give yow an answer about yor desyred picture and Sr Thomas Meautys.1 I have broken that business to Rubens by a [inserted: few wordes], and will have yor L: an accompt that he shall retourne me upon the same subject.

1. For this Thomas Meautys (a.k.a. Meautis), military officer in the Low Countries and knighted by King James I in 1610, see A.C. Buiten, Sir Thomas Meautys, Secretary to Lord Bacon, and his Friends, London, 1918, pp. 42 and 105-107. See also Aylmer, Servants, 1974, p. 291. It seems unlikely that what concerned Meautys was relevant to the negotiation with Rubens.

II.5 Rubens to Trumbull, Antwerp, 3/13 September 1621

Rubens’s original letter is lost and this is the only extant copy.

(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 61, under no. LIV for a translation, and no. IV, p. 319; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, II, pp. 286-287, no. CCXXV, with a few differences in the transcription; Magurn, Letters, 1955, p. 77, no. 46, gives an English translation). Only the last paragraph is relevant to the commission.


[On the verso is inscribed:] 13. of Sep tem b c 1621. Copie of M. Rubens his letter to Willm. Trumbull.

II.6 Trumbull to Carleton, Brussels, 7/17 September 1621


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 59, no. LIII; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, II, p. 285, no. CCXXIV.)
I have none of yor L: to answere (si non male memini); and that will ease me, for breuity, in wryting; and yor L: in readinge these few lynes; that carry this enclosed to yor presence, and my faithfull service annexed. Monsr Rubens, by his lre testifeyth, a desyer to please
his ma, and to giue yor L: all contentment. Towards him, I haue donne my beste ende-
vors, and beseech yor L: they may not be fruitles; but that I may haue a seasonable [insert: & satisfactory] answere.

II.7 Carleton to Trumbull, The Hague, 3/13 October 1621

London, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add. MSS. 72272, fol. 63vo.¹

I thanck you very much for yr care about my Ld Dauers picture, to whom I haue sent Rubens letter: and desired him to returne you the answere. Mr Toby Matthew hath bin content to take paynes in the same matter, for wch I pray you acknowledge an obligation in my behalf; wch I will doe my self when I haue answere from the camp of his labours to Sr Th: Mewtis [?sic]²; and that I expect dayly.

1. The author thanks Hilton Kellihier, for drawing his attention to this letter and for his help in transcribing letters written by William Trumbull.

2. For Sir Thomas Meautis, see under Appendix II.4, n. 1.

II.8 Danvers to Trumbull, London, St James [sic] house [sic], 18/28 December 1622

London, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add. MSS. 72364, fol. 176r.

(Published by David Howarth, ‘Rubens’s “owne pourtrait”’, Apollo, CXXXII, 1990, p. 239.)

I understand by Sr Anthonie Maney [sic = Mayney]¹ that Ruben hath taken some paynes to repaire that blemishe wch the Sea had made in my other [sic = olde] picture of the creation. In recompence whereof I have sent him back the hunting peece wch he made for mee by the mediation of Sr Dudley Carleton without any redemanding of the 25 l [= pounds] wch I payed unto him for that picture, Neyther will I sollicit any longer those laborious greate – tables wch cost him soe-much tyme; but yet being very desirous that the Prince his gallerie should containe some excellent peece of his to paragon those workes that are there of many famous men I must with all manner of earnestnesse crave your uttermoste endeavor and his favor for his owne picture made originall and every part of it – wrought with this owne hand; Ffor for [sic] the price I will not lymittte wch shalbe readily payed to any merchant heere by his owne assignment Lastly lett mee intreate you to take care for the sending over of this much requested picture wch I heare hee hath made alreadie together with myne of the creation. And although I hope this letter wilbe the last of yr troubles in this kynde from mee

1. For the spelling of Mayney or Mayne, see J. Burke, Genealogical and Heraldic History of Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland, London, 1844, p. 349. Details concerning Mayney’s life are as yet lacking, as is information concerning his role in this matter.
my L: Danvers, desyring nowe to have his Creation of Bassano\textsuperscript{o} againe; because Rubens hath mended it very well; doth by a Ire commande me to treate with him for his owne Pourtrait, to be placed in ye Princes Gallerye.
APPENDIX III

Gerbier’s Reports of Rumours

III.1 Gerbier to Charles I, Brussels, 1/11 August 1634


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 185, no. CLXXIII; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 74, no. DCCLXXX.)

Being an infallible truth I may not, will, nor dare not willingly displease yr Majt, without scruple may I then relate what malicious tongues or ignorant spirits utter seeing the great work Sr. Peter Rubens hath made for yr Majt Banqueting house, lye here, as if for want of money; Spaniards, French & other Nations talke of it, the more, its said the matter to reach but to 3 or -4 thousand pounds: Having no other interest in this than yr. Majt hono, I remaine confident what notied wilbe taken

III.2 Gerbier to Matthew, Brussels, 11/1 [sic = 1/11] August 1634


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 185-186, no. CLXXIV; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 75, no. DCCLXXXI.)

Its known you love my Lord Treasur, I must not doubt of it without to wrong his Lop & you, my choise being soe good, Take then (I conjure you) a fitt [insert: hower] to represent unto his L. Spaniards, french & other nations here who frequent Sr. Peter Rubens house talke much ye greate workes he hath made for the banqueting house lïye in his as arrest-ed for want of money to call him & the said worke into England, the matter is concieved to reach 3 or 4 thousand pounds, In God’s name must he be expedited, that ye world may have noe subject talke & my Lo. Treas an eminent one to show his care, I should be guilty, if so much tendernes did keepe and silence me on Matter wch. to my hearing here toucheth- the kings hono.
III.3 Gerbier to Matthew, Brussels, 15/25 August 1634


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 186, no. CLXXV; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 77, no. DCCLXXXIII.)

If, for want of true Engl phrases my last of the 1/11 presst ti you hath not exprest my meaning as seemes by yours of 8/18 to me, the trouble of this carrieth excuse along wth it, of wch confident if you are still my friend:

What I have touched (conceiving fitt my Lord Treasur by your polished tongue to be acquainted of people's-talkes, pictures for his Majt banqueting house lye uncalled att Sr Peter Reubens) was my duty, proper to a Royall Sentinel to relate what come to his hearing, there leave it, though whensoever called form his watch may be (as most men) led to several and particular affections:

J'ay mon espingle au jeu aussy bien qu'un autre, and therefore if by theise few lines I can expresse my selfe I may be sure you will approve (charity beginning att home) I should doe good offices for my self ere to strangers, by whom my Chimney doth not smoake, what offices y.u doe for S.r Peter Reubens as you say to have made your taske of it, pray lett that goe on his score, cause I meane not to render thankes-for it
APPENDIX IV

Transport of the Canvases

IV.1 Gerbier to Windebank, undated; inscribed on the dorsal 10/20 July:1635 ‘Mr Gerbier ... for yr hand’


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 191, no. CLXXVIII; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 113, no. DCCXCVII.)

I have yr letter dated 3d present, there wth his Majies commands, I should take order the peeces of paynting made by Sr Peter Rubens, for the seeing in the Bancquetting=house may passe without paying custom, and to assist him in sending the casses of pictures into Zeland, were they are to be putt in some English bottome for their more safe transporta­tion.

I have written unto Sr Pieter Rubens to know of him, of what custom desires to be free, for if itt be of the Holland side, it’s nesessary Sr William Boswell1 informed of his Majies pleasure concerning the same. Iff of this side costum, weather the matter deservies sueing for itt, wch I thought fitt to aske him cause those of these Finances soo precise, as refused me flatt the passage of stone from Namur into Holland, att the request of one Mr Stone, who would have imploied the said stone on her Majies worckes, in Denmarc House2 guarding, wch first refusall would make me shunne (iff had my choise) to begg any like courtesy att theire hands, howsoever, I shall follow my prescribed ruile, Sr Peter Rubens standing in need of what required concerning the said custome, and assist him in the transportation of his pictures for Zeland with my best adresse

1. Sir William Boswell was King Charles I's ambassador to the States General in The Hague.
2. For the sculptor Nicholas Stone’s work at Denmark (a.k.a. Somserseet) House, between 1630-35, see Colin, King’s Works, 1963-82, IV, part II, pp. 266 and 269.

IV.2 Gerbier to Windebank, Brussels, 17/27 July 1635


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 192-193, no. CLXXIX; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, pp. 115-116, no. DCCXCVIII.)

I accused in my last letter dated 10/20 prest, the receate of yrs of the 3rd, and said to have written unto Sr Pieter Rubens to knowe weather desired his pictures for his Majies Bancketting-house free of this countrie Licent or Holland, case of Holland, requisite Sr
William Boswell receives his Majties orders to procure the said freedom theire, and case meant free Licent for this side only, could wish noe necessity to moue the sute these Financiers greedy and theire former refuse considered, as I mentioned in my last:

Sr Pieter Rubens hath since written two letters unto me exprest in his first to desire I would reparation to Antwerpe and receave (as his Majties Minister heire) the afore said pictures, take order for their transportation by Zeeland, and cleere the Licent, wch he saith will amount aboue five or six in the hundred, that is to say of the value of the pictures, except the Infant Cardinale pleased to quitt his right, as the late Infanta was pleased, for the transportation of such pictures Sr Pieter Rubens made for Q. Mothers gallery att Paris:

I answered unto Sr Pieter Rubens first letter would repair to Antwerpe, iff my presence and that formality to receave those pictures in his Majts name, nesessary.

That he should doe well to make use of his friends w'th the Infant Cardinal, that I might be assured (before hand) to receave noe deniall when should speake or write for the freeing of the Licents for the said pictures:

Sr Peter Rubens saith on my second letter would willing make a step heither iff not stayed by the goute and the Court absent, would use meane w'th the Marquis d'Aytoma (his ould friend) touching the aforesaid Licents, but apprehends it would not be well taken he should sue for the Licent when his Majtie hath a resident in this Court; saith to conceive (by the sence of my letter unto him) I should be of opinion Sr Peter Rubens obliged to deliver his worke in Engeland, wch consequently should imply he must cleere the Licents wch he saith practised noe were, and neuer was subject unto. Finally, saith conceaves I should doe well to procure an order from his Majtie to pay the Licents, case not remitted, and all such other charges more as may arise concerning the said picture's transportation, Leaving to my choise to make for Antwerpe for as much imports consyning the picture's unto me,

All wch considered, yr honr wilbe pleased to prescrible me his Majties further orders, Weather I shall in his Majties name sue for the freeing of Licent, and iff I shall charge my selfe wth the pictures case Sr Peter Rubens should att last shunne the care for their safe transportation into Engeland. Also yr honr pleased to direct what more requisite for all such charges of Licent, or expences for theire transportation wch iff done out of hand the better, cause such conbersome bulks as the picture casses wilbe, require the best season of the sommer for transporation, ltt being what I have to say touching the matter

IV.3 Gerbier to Windebank, Brussels, 10 August (n.s.) 1635


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 193-194, no. CLXXX; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, pp. 119-120, no. DCCC.)

By my last of 17/27 July humbly craved to know whether I should engage his Majts name to demand free passage for Sr Peter Rubens pictures, made to fitt his Majts banqueting house, cause ye said Sr Peter Rubens like noe charges, & yo Honrs letter to me 3d that month, leaves the words following : viz.
There is a busines, wch His Maj hath commanded me to recommend to yo' care, wch is, that you take order yt the pieces of painting made by Sr Peter Rubens for ye seeing in the banqueting house here may passe wth out paying customes, & yt you assist Sr Peter in sending the Cases of pictures into Zealand where they are to be put into some English bottome for their more safe transportation hether:

I touched in my said letter of 17/27 Sr Peter Rubens said the Customs would amount aboue five or six in the hundred, wch according Sr Peter Rubens seemes to esteeme his said worke for the banqueting house may amount to three hundred sixty pounds and aboue, wch considered mowed me in the second to crave yr honr to direct what more requisite for all such charges of Lycent, or expences for the transportation.

your Honrs last to me of 24 July saith to haue had noe commission concerning ye Customs, his Maj neuer intending to be sueter to ye Infant Card, nor to hinder his Officers the Customers in soe small & inconsiderable a trifle, ye diligence expected from me only to cause them to be carefully made up in strong Cases, & soe imbarked & putt into sure hands, & consigned to some person responsible according directions in your former; that for Holland yr Honr understands not ye said pictures have any relation to those parts but if they have, that I shall doe well to write unto Sr William Boswell to use the like care, & not to sticke for any Customs or dutyes payable for them.

All wch compared obliged me to write once more requisite I be furnished wth money to cleer all such charges since Sr. Peter Rubens saith not obliged thereunto; having don the first of his part, the second to passe into England will alsoe doe if his health permitt, & assist to ye well placing of his said pictures & to retouch them, if soe then found necessary: The pictures must be sent into Zealand cause by Land impossible by reason of their bulke, if any dutyes to be paid there it must be Sr William Boswells care to follow yr honrs directions

IV.4 Gerbier to Rubens, Brussels, 3/13 September 1635


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 194-195, no. CLXXXI (translated from the French); Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, pp. 133-134, no. DCCCI.)

J’a y receu lettre du Chevalr Windebanck Secrétaire d’estat de Sa Maj par laquelle me commande derechef [?] de deligenter l’envoy des peintures que vous avez faites pour le grand salon; Vous ne m’avez pas encore adverty q les dites peintures son t en estat pour les envoyer, Vos dernièr es faisant mention d’avoir encore beaucoup d’ouvrage a retoucher & raccomoder les crevasses qu’elles ont receues pour avoir esté enroulez presque un Année entiere, disant de plus les vouloir paracheuer en telle sorte qu’il ne sera necessaire de les retoucher en Angeleterre; ou vous dissiez pretendre passer (vostre santé le permettant) pour les y faire poser [illegible word] convient a la satisfaction de Sa Maj, que vous aviez escrit a Mons. Le Marquis d’Aytona pour obtenir congé pour vostre dit voyage, mais n’aviez lors responce sur ce point, que vous m’aduertirez lors que les peintures seroyent prestes, afin q me transportant a Anuers je fisse les deuoirs necessaires pour les
voir seurment [?] embarquées à la conduitte la plus conuenable pour les faire arriver a
bon port, en Angleterre: J’ay de plus a vous dire maintenant q Mons. led. Secret me mar­
que en sa lettre que Sa Maj’ remboursera les frais des Licentes cas q les d’les peintures en
soyent chargées, et vous fera bon vos comte avec contentement.

C’est sera donque pour vous prier me dire quand vos d’les peintures seront en estat
d’estre emballer, afin q je puisse satisfaire aux ordres qu’on me prescript et a moy mesme,
cela fait dormir, en repos sans me tourmenter trop si les mauvais vents soufflent, n’en
pouvant jamais bruire [?] à mon desaduantage mesme de ceux quy discouurent le
prouverbe disant que ce sont les pires que je diray pourtant les meilleures pour moy,
souhaitant, ( [illegible abbreviation] cest Empereur q sa maison fust tout de verre) que
tout le monde vit mon Coeur tout discouvert: je vous divertis trop de vos belles occupa­
tions

IV.5 Gerbier to Wake1, Brussels, 3/13 September 1635

Copy: Kew, Public Record Office, State Papers, Archives des Legations,
Gerbier’s Entry Book, S.P., 105/12 (unpaginated).

(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 195-196, no. CLXXXII; Rooses–Ruelens,
Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, pp. 134-135, no. DDDCIV.)

I send here inclosed a letter of Sr. Francis Windebank one of his Majts Secret of state it’s
about pictures of Sr. Peter Reubens wch must be sent into England:

Sr Peter Rubens wrote to me in his last letter the pictures not yet finisht, & to require
some time, cause intends to put the said pictures in termes (?) as shall not neede to be
retouched when sett in their place in the Banqueting house, that he would advertise me
when time to take order for the said pictures safe convayance into Zealand, and, for their
better seurity procure all what can be expected from my contrater Sr. William Boswell:

Thus I have expected when Sr Peter Rubens should advertise me to repaire to
Antwerp to speake wth him, wth you cause you are best acquainted wth transportation of
goods & doe all what necessary, according my orders recieued concerning that particular
I pray repaire to Sr Peter Reubens, cast an eye on the pictures, & after well informed in
what state they are, & when ready to be put up in cases, make thereof an exact relation
unto Sr. Francis Windebank by this Ordinary, for I shall not time enough recieue Sr Peter
Reubens answeare to notice the same in my letter of this weeke since they goe tomorrow
night:

Pray chide Sr Peter Rubens for leasines to write, for I concieue, if gout lettes him paint
he may doe more & lett me know in good time what quantity the pictures casses wthl. that
I may write unto Sr Will Boswell for a safe passe if soe necessary wth I concieue may be to
hinder the breaking up of the Casies in the vlute [=fleet] att Lillo or elsewhere: ...

Accuse (I pray) the reciept of the inclosed speake wth Sr Peter Rubens as said here
above: & notice alsoe the same into England:

1. For Wake, see n. 140, p. 82.
IV.6 Gerbier to Charles I, Brussels, 4/14 September 1635

Copy: *Kew Public Record Office, State Papers, Archives des Legations, Gerbier’s Entry Book, S.P., 105/12 (unpaginated).*

This letter was enclosed in a letter from Gerbier to Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, dated Brussels, 4/14 September 1635: see *Public Record Office, State Papers, Archives des Legations, Gerbier’s Entry Book, S.P., 105/12 (unpaginated).*

(Published by *Sainsbury, Papers, 1859*, pp. 196-197, no. CLXXXIII; *Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI*, pp. 136-137, no. DCCCV.)

It's now two monethes past I received order to take care for ye sending of Sr Peter Reubens pictures for yr Maj Banqueting house & to [insert: procure] and the [insert: free] Licents; I did att ye time notice my said orders unto Sr Peter Rubens expecting of him answere when fitt for me to reipare to Antwerp; he replied resolved to overpaint most of the said peecees att his owne house, cause necessary att hand, and fearing when past the seas to be taken by the goutt on wch often visited. wrote to me since to have bin most a whole month a bed of the said desease, & itt ye cause his pictures not fully finisht [replacing: more advanced], written also since to have sent to the late Marquis d’Aytona for Leave to passe into England, but to have receaved noe answere. I had in the interim time to consult Mr Secret Windebank whether free licents for the said pictures should be demanded in yr maj's name or not, cause I conceaved tied to the same duty of all servants not to ingage their Master’s name nor purse without expresse order, if that care subject to other intepretation, I beseech yr maty accord in his accoustemd royall bounty to reflect on the meaning for nothing in this world shalbe able to make me slow in my duty be the charge neuer soe great, lesse in soe small a matter of sending pictures to a barke, wch I did intend to accompagnie wth a seruant of mine till the pictures delivered att Whitehall, therefore needed noe second for the said comission, lesse the matter wholly remitted to an other, but yr Maj's pleasure shall ever be my wil. I have written againe unto Sr Peter Rubens to hasten away the said pictures, [?] ere hard weather makes foule seas & shall as soone Sr Peter Rubens saith to be ready see the pictures in their cases & if need as said send a man expresse wth them over Zeeland, recommend them to a person who shall putt them in an English barke for London, & take care the Customers of Zeland brake [?] not bulke

IV.7 Gerbier to Windebank, Brussels, 4/14 September 1635


*A copy of this letter is in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Archives des Legations, Gerbier’s Entry Book, S.P., 105/12 (unpaginated).*

(Published by *Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI*, pp. 139-140, no. DCCCVI.)
I have received yours of 28 Aug. last, therein an inclosed for Mr. Lyonel Wake, which I sent unto him, also desired he should repair to Sr Peter Rubens and know when the pictures for his Maj's banqueting house ready to be put up in Cases for their transportation. To mention in his letter, by this Ordinary unto your Honr what Sr Peter Reubens saith concerning the same, whereby it shall appeare I knowe not yet what it is to be wanting in my duty:

Your Honr commanded me to take order for the safe & speedy transportation of the said pictures, which I needed noe second but Sr Peter Reubens, on whom lyeth the fault they are not before this time sett up in their design'd place, where (as he said) was att first resolved to retouch & ouerpaint them, but hath since changed mind to finish them here att his owne ease fearing not to be soe well fitted of all necessaires in England, or his wonted infirmity the Gout; Writt also to me he could gett noe answere of his dispatch to yr late Marquis d'Aytona, concerning leave to passe into England: Desired I should expect to heare of him when thime for me to repair to Antwerp to send the pictures floating towards Zealand, and settle a good course for the other halfe of their journey; soe as I have not omitted a minute of time, Lesse any thing of what commanded:

If I had time enough to consult yr Honr whether the free Licent should be demand-ed in his Maj's name, (yr honr's, first orders to procure the said free Licent my ground worke) I humbly beseech my zeale may not turne to my disaduantage, since its a common rule to servants sent abroad by great Princes not to ingage their Maisters Name nor purse without expresse order:

Considered how little great Princes may esteeme a round somme I did not trouble my selfe about the variety of the order or circumstances, neither was nor it is possible for me to be putt att a stand in my duty which I beseech yr honr's, soe to conceive of me.

IV.8 Wake to Windebank or Coke, Antwerp, 5/15 September 1635

Kew, Public Record Office, State Papers, Holland, S.P., 84/150, fol. 72 (the addressee identified by the P.R.O. index as Sir John Coke, but it was Windebank who wrote to Wake on 28 August; see Appendix IV.7).

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 170; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 198-199, no. CLXXXV; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 142, no. DCCCVII.)

according to the commandment which yr honnor was pleased to give me by your Lere of the 28 August, I went presently to speake with Sr Peter Rubens about the pictures which he is to make for his Maj: the which tells me that they are all finished only one pееce which will not be through(ly) dry in 8 or 10 dayes, so scene as they are ready I will desyre him to be present himselfe to looke to the packing of them that they may receave no hurt, and then, when they [four words difficult to decipher] are delivered to me, I will not be wanting to do my dewty to send them safely to Duynkerk, which I conceive is the surest and speediest waye whereof I will render unto yr honnor a particular Accompt what mony shalbe disbursed for the charges thereof:
IV.9 Gerbier to Windebank, Brussels, 18/28 September 1635


A copy of this letter is in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Archives des Legations, Gerbier’s Entry Book, S.P., 105/12 (unpaginated).

(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 199, no. CLXXXVI; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, pp. 143-144, no. DCCCVIII).

My Secretary retourned last night from Antwerp where I had sent him to look out a house for a retreat case this infection increase here, hath spoken with Sr Pieter Reubens, who saith five of his pictures, for his Maj. Banqueting house, wilbe ready to be sent from Antwerp towards Duncquerq tomorrow sennight, May they passe free from French and Holland:

IV.10 Gerbier to Windebank, Brussels, 2/12 October 1635


(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 199, no. CLXXXVI; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 145, no. DCCCIX.)

Part of Sr Peter Rubens pictures for the Banq house have these five dayes bin on their way f Dunq May the man soone recover, w* Sr Peter Ruben saith should for whom I send a passe make w* them (?) over the Seas

IV.11 Wake to Windebank or Coke, Antwerp, 3/13 October 1635

Kew, Public Record Office, State Papers, Holland, S.P., 84/150, fol. 103 (the addressee identified by the P.R.O. index as the Secretary of State).

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, pp. 170-171; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 200, no. CLXXXVIII; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 146, no. DCCCX)

Uppon Saterday last; in the afternoon Sr Peter Rubens delivered unto me the Case of Picturs for his Magty; the w* I have sent to Duynkerk by wagon and I doubt not but by this tyme, it is there arived and will be sent from thence by the first shipp that goeth to London : and I gave order that it should be sent unto Mr. willim Cokayn merchant to the end that he maye give yr honnor notice of the arrivall of it that then you may sent for it, and present it to his Magty: I caused it to be packt in the presence of Monsieur Rubbens, in the best manner we could so I doubt not but it will com well conditioned Monsieur Rubbens intended to have sent one of purpos alongeth the Case and I gave him a lere to our factor at Duynkerk, to assist him in taking his passage to goe allong w* the Case
but he sent me worde that the pty was fallen syck and so made some doubt whether he
could goe or not: when I have the note of the charges, wch is payde out at Duynkerk I
will send yr honnor the particulars if of what I have layde out in all:

1. Calculated by Rooses-Ruelens, loc. cit., as 8 October (n.s.)

IV.12 Gerbier to Windebank, Brussels, 9/19 October 1635

Copy: Kew, Public Record Office, State Papers, Archives des Legations,
Gerbier’s Entry Book, S.P., 105/12 (unpaginated).

(Published by Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 200, no. CLXXXIX; Rooses-Ruelens,
Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 147, no. DCCCXI.)

Sr Peter Rubens man (who should have past the Seas to sett up the pictures) is become soe
desperate sicke, as unable to performe the journey; another is made choise of, for whom
I have also sent a Passe

1. For the possible identity of this assistant, see n. 179, p. 88

IV.13 Wake to Windebank or Coke, Antwerp, 16/26 December 1635

Kew, Public Record Office, State Papers, Holland, S.P., 84/150, fol. 174
(addresssee identified by the P.R.O. index as Sir John Coke, but see under
IV.8).

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 171; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 201-202,
no. CXCI; Rooses-Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 152, no. DCCCXV.)

having understoode that the 2 Cases of pictures, wch I receaved by your honors appoynt-
ment of Sr Peter Paulo Rubbens are well arived at London and delivered according to yr
honors direction, the sayd Cases beeing for his magestys use I am bould hereby to lett
you know that I have disbursed in charges thereof the some of thirteene pounds sterling
the wch it maye please yr honor to cause to be payd to mr willim Cokayn

1. For William Cockayne, see n. 151, p. 83.
APPENDIX V

The Payment to Rubens

Many of these documents were first published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844. Recently further administrative paper work, preserved in the Public Record Office, has been discovered and transcribed by Jeremy Wood, who has kindly made his transcripts and the call numbers available for publication here. The documents are set out in their approximate chronological sequence.

V.1 Warrant, signed by Robert Kyrkham¹, to the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal², 27 May (o.s.) 1636

Kew, Public Record Office.

(Transcript printed by Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 160, no. DCC-CXVIII. This privy seal warrant was communicated to Rooses–Ruelens by W. Noël Sainsbury, who stated that the document was in the Public Record Office. It has not as yet been traced).

Our will and pleasure is and wee doe hereby will and commaund you that out of or treasure remayning in the receipt of or Excheq’ you forthwith pay or cause to bee paid unto Sr Peter Rubens knr or his assignes the some of three thousand pounds in full satisfacion for certaine pictures by him sold unto us. The same to bee taken, unto him without any accompt imprest or other charge to be sett upon him or them for the same or any part thereof. And their or Ires &a Given etc. And their or Ires shalbe yor sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe. Given undr or signett at or Pallace of Westminster the seaven and twenteth day of May in the twelfth yere of or Raigne³.

¹. Robert Kirkham was Signet Clerk (1625-1638): see Aylmer, Servants, 1974, pp. 163 and 204.
². Henry Montagu (c. 1563-1642), created Earl of Manchester in 1625/26, was appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1628.
³. 27 May 1636 was calculated as being in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles I, because he succeeded on the death of his father which took place on 17 March 1624/25 (o.s.) (= 27 March 1625 (n.s.), the new year dating from 25 March (o.s.)).
V.2 Docket, prepared in May 1636

Kew, Public Record Office, S.O. (Signet Office), 3/11, fol. 120v.
The docket is a summary of the warrant to the Earl of Manchester of 27 May 1636, and was recorded in the Signet Office monthly register, kept to calculate fees.

Sr Peter Rubens [in margin]
A warrant to the Excheq' to pay unto Sr Peter Rubens Knight or his assignes the some pf 3000" without accompt in full satisfacton for certaine pictures by him sold to his Matie Subscr[ibed] His Matie pleasure signified by Mr Secr[etary] Windebanke and by him procured.


V.3 Privy Seal warrant of 28 May (o.s.) 1636, signed by John Packer, for issuing of money out of the Lower Exchequer or Exchequer of Receipt

Kew, Public Record Office, Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issues, E 404/155, numbered 40 in pencil (and 115 in ink in an earlier hand). Two other copies were required by the system: for the Clerk of the Pells, Public Record Office, Pells' Privy Seal Books, E403/2607, fol. 43r., numbered 79, and for the Auditors, Public Record Office, Auditors' Privy Seal Books, E403/2568, fol. 12v.

Our will and pleasure is and wee doe hereby will and command you that out of our treasure remayning in the Receipt of our Excheq you forthwith pay or cause to be paid unto Sir Peter Paul Rubens Knight or his Assignes the some of Three thousand pounds in full satisfacton for certaine pictures by him sold unto vs. The same to be taken to him without any Accompnt Imprest or other charge to be sett vpon him or them for the same or any part thereof. And thee our Ires shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given vnder our Privy Seale at our Pallace of Westm the Eight and Twentith day of May in the Twelveth yeare of our raigne.

Sr Peter Rubens warrant

1. John Packer (1570-1649) was Clerk of the Privy Seal, for an account of his life, see the DNB, XV, pp. 31-32.
2. Kindly communicated by Jeremy Wood (reference to the warrant itself was also kindly communicated by David Howarth).
V.4 Order to the Tellers of the Exchequer, dated 14 April (o.s.) 1637, signed by the Lord High Treasurer, William Juxon, Bishop of London, and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Baron Cottington

The same order, but dated 20 May (o.s.) 1637, is also found in the Auditors' Order Books, E403/2811, fol. 73v., numbered 142.

Sr Peter Paul Reubens Knight for certen pictures by him sold to his Matie. [in margin]
By order dated xiiiij April 1637 To Sr Peter Reubens Knight the some of m m m [=£3000] in full satisfacton for certen pictures by him sold vn to his Matie without Accompt imprest

[In margin:]

m m mli [= £3000]3

2. William Juxon (1582-1663), Bishop of London, was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1635/36; Baron Cottington had been Chancellor of the Exchequer since 1629.
3. The acknowledgement of the order to pay £3000 was noted in the margin by Arthur Squibb, a Teller of the Exchequer (c. 1625-1649): see Aylmer, Servants, 1974, p. 90.

V.5 Record of the Order in the Pells' Order Book, 22 (o.s.) May 1637

Kew, Public Record Office, Order Book of the Clerk of the Pells.
No payment could be made until the Order, no. V.4, was recorded in the Pells' Order Book.

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 175. The Order Book of the Clerk of the Pells has not been traced.)

Luned. xxij Maij 1637

By Order dated xiiiij April. 1637. To Sir Peter Paul Reubens Knight the some of iij iij iijli in full satisfacion for certen pictures by him sold unto his Matie without accompt imprest as p. Ire. De priv: Sigillo date xxiiij May 1636
[In left margin:] Sir Peter Paul Reubens Knight for certen pictures by him sold to his Matie;
[In right margin:] MMMli [= £3000]
APPENDIX V

V.6. Notarial Instrument, drawn up by Toussein Guyot, 13 November (n.s.) 1637, by which Rubens granted Lionel Wake Jn. power to receive the sum of £3000 from the King of England

Kew, Public Record Office, S.P., 84/153, fol. 86.

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, pp. 171-172, translation on pp. 172-173; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, pp. 202-203, no. CXCIII, for a reprint of the translation; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, pp. 184-185, no. DCCCXXXIV, from which the transcript is taken).

Scaichent tous ceulx qui ce présent Instrument verront ou lire oyront que le treisiesm e jour du mois de Novembre, l’an de Grâce mil six cent et trente sept, par devant moy Toussein Guijot Notaire et Tabellion publiq par les Consaulx de Sa Maîte Catholicque Privé et de Brabant admis et approuvé résident en Anvers, et les tesmoings soubz escripts comparsut en personne le Sr Pietro Paulo Rubens Chevalier, Seig’ de Steene et Secrétaire du Conseil Privé de Sa dte Maî résident en ceste dte Ville d’Anvers à moy Notaire cognu et a de sa franche et libre volu nte faict, créé, constitué et commis par ceste son procureur général et spécial asscavoir Leonel Wacke le Jeusne demt à Londres en Angleterre, luy donnant plain pouvoir, autorité et mandement absolut, pour au nom et de la part du dte Sr Constituant demander recouvrir et recepvoir les trois mille livres esterlins que Sa Maî Royale d’Angleterre at esté servie d’ordonner par son seel Privé à son Eschequer ou Trésorierie de payer ou satisfaire au dict Constituant en récompence des peintures faictes de sa main pour le souffict ou plaffon de sa Sale Royale à Withal, De son receu bailler passer et reconnoistre telles quictances ou actes que besoin gera, Et généralement et spécialement des choses dessus dtes dépendences d’celles aultant faire dire procurer et besoignr que le dte Sr Constituant mesmes ferait faire et dire pourroit si présent en personne ijestoit. Promectant en bonne foy d’avoir et tenir pour bon ferme et agréable à tou­sjours tout ce que par son dict procurer constituer en tout ce que dessus sera faict, dict, procuré et besoigné, sans jamais aller faire ny venir allencontre en aucune manière soubz l’obligation de sa personne et biens, Ce que fust aussi faict et passé en Anvers au comptoir de mon Notaire joindant la bourse des Marchants en présence de Melchoir van Schoonhove et Jehan van Gheele comme tesmoings à ce requis. Et a le dte Sr constituant signé de son nom la note de ceste au registre de mon Notaire.

[Witnessed by Pros De Breuseghem and A. Van Couwenberghhe]

V.7 First receipt, for £800, from Lionel Wake Jn., dated 18 November (o.s.) 1637


(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 174; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 203, no. CXCIV; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1887-1897, [vol. 11], 1868, p. 548, (vol. CCCLXXI), no. 1119; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 186, no. DCCCXXXV.)
Receiv'd ye 18th November A.D. 1637 of Endymion Porter esqr ye some of eight hundred pounds starling for soe much rec'd by him of his Matie: this present daie for ye accompt of Sr Paulo Rubens knight in pte of paime t of 3000l due to him by his Matie for pictures ye wch money ye said Sr Paule Rubens hath authorized me to receave by a letter of Attorney under his hand & seal dated in Antwerp ye 13/23 November Anno 1637 as by ye said letter appeareth. I say receiv'd.

[Witnessed by Pr Steven Le Youche (?) and Richard Harvey]


V.8 Instruction from Lionel Wake Jn. to Richard Harvey to pay out £700, dated 21 December (o.s.) 1637

Kew, Public Record Office, S.P., 16/374, no. 73.

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 174; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 204, no. CXCV; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1858-1897, [vol. 12], 1869, p. 34, [vol. CCCLXXIV], no. 37; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 188, no. DCCCXXXII.)

Mr harvy you maye be pleased to paye unto the Bearer heere of 700l for Sr piter paulo Rubens, and I doe send you heere wth the Carta da poder of wch you maye be pleased to take a Copy and when you please So appouynyt me a tyme I shall give a receiyt for 1500l.

V.9 Second receipt, for £700, from Lionel Wake Jn., dated 22 December (o.s.) 1637

Kew, Public Record Office, S.P., 16/374, no. 75.

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 174; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 204, no. CXCVI; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1858-97, op. cit., p. 36, [vol. CCCLXXIV], no. 39; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 189, no. DCCCXXXVII.)

Receaved of mr Endimion porter the some of seaven hundred pounds ster. by the hand of his servant Richard harvey for the Accm of Sr piter and paulo Rubens by virtu of a lere of Attourney from him dated the 13/23 of november 1637 in Antwerp. I say receaved - £700:

[Witnessed by Richard Harvey]
APPENDIX V

V.10 Third Receipt, for £1170, from Lionel Wake Jn., dated 14 May (o.s.) 1638


(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 174; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 204, no. CXCVII; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1858-1897, op. cit., p. 434, (vol. CCCXL), no. 69; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 217, no. DCCCLV.)

Receaved of mr Endimion porter and agent [?] for Sr pietro paulo Rubbens knight the some of Aleaven hundred and three skore and ten pounds by vertu of a lere of attorney sent me by ditto Rubbens concerning a privy seale of 1500.¹

¹. The Privy Seal Warrant for £1500 has not been traced.

V.11 Instruction from Endymion Porter to Richard Harvey to collect the outstanding sum, dated Greenwich, 29 May (o.s.) 1638


(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 174; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 204, no. CXCVIII; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1858-1897, op. cit., pp. 467-468, (vol. CCCXCI), no. 62; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 218, no. DCCCLVI.)

Richard Harvie: I would have you presently goe to Mr Raylton¹ and receave the reaminder of Sr Peeter Rubens his monies. they are nowe reddie, and lett m't wake have them to make over to Antwerpe for him

¹. The only Raylton in the King's service recorded by Aylmer, is William Raylton, who was the Keeper of the Council Chamber and later Clerk of the Privy Seal: see Aylmer, Servants, 1974, p. 514.

V.12 Fourth receipt, for £330, from Lionel Wake Jn., dated 4 June (o.s.) 1638

Kew, Public Record Office, S.P., 16/392, no. 18.

(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 175; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 205, no. CXCIX; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1858-1897, op. cit., p. 488, (vol. CCCXCII), no. 10; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 219, no. DCCCLVII.)
Recd ye 4th June Ao 1638 of ye hoible Endymion Porter esqr: ye some of three hundred & thirty pounds sterling in full paint & discharge of three thousand pounds due by his Matie unto Sr Peter Paule Rubens knight for pictures wch his said Matie bought of him long since of ye wch some of m m mli [= £3000] & of every part & parsell thereof I doe hereby acknowledge satisfaton.

[Witnessed by Stephen le Youche (?) and Richard Harvey]

V.13 Warrant to the Jewel House, 27 September (o.s.) 1638


(Transcript printed by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, p. 176; the warrant has not yet been traced.)

A warrant to the Jewel House for a Chaine and Medall of 300li presented by his Matie unto Sir Peter Paul Rubens Sept 27 1638 [in the left hand margin: Jewell House A Present]

V.14 Receipt 24 March 1638/39 (o.s.) = 3 April 1639 (n.s.) from Lionel Wake Jn. for a gold chain


(Published by Carpenter, Pictorial Notices, 1844, pp. 175-176; Sainsbury, Papers, 1859, p. 205, no. CC; Calendar State Papers, Charles I, 1858-1897, [vol 13.], 1871, p. 603, (vol. CCCXV), no. 34; Rooses–Ruelens, Correspondance, 1887-1909, VI, p. 229, no. DCCCLVII.)

Receavd the 24 March 1638 of his Magtie By the hand of Endimion porter Esquier one Cheane of gould waying fower skore and tow & 2oz wayt for the use of sr peeter paulo Rubens the wch his magtie doth bestow uppon him and I ame to Convay itt unto him wth all convenient speede in witnes hiere at I have heere unto set my hand

This chaine was delivered at ye office of y Juellhouse to weigh 82 1/2 ounces1

1. This note, in a different hand, indicates that the chain had had 4 ounces of gold clipped or scraped from it while in the Jewel House.
V.15 Breakdown of the cargo in the Mayflower of London, in the port of London, 20 March 1639/40 (o.s.) [= 30 March 1640 (n.s.)]

Kew, Public Record Office, E190/44/1, fol. 39r.

(Published by G. Huxley, Endymion Porter, The Life of a Courtier, 1587-1649, London, 1959, p. 184, and n. 61 on p. 326, where incorrectly dated to March 1641, and with incomplete reference.)

Sr Peter Paul Rubens kn: small box with a chayne with his Ma{Tie} picture in a medal of gold hereunto [?] given iiii ox [?] oz'

1. The item appears on a list of cargo made by a 'searcher' in an entry book dating from 25 December 1639 - 25 December 1640. The 'searchers' were concerned with shipping movements and the inspection of cargoes. The entry book forms part of the Records of the Exchequer: Records of the King's Remembrancer, Port Books, London, pertaining to overseas denizens. The name of the port for which the Mayflower was bound has been rubbed away; Huxley gives it as Dunkirk.
APPENDIX VI

Engraving by Simon Gribelin II
(Fig. 160; with details: Figs. 66, 85, 93; 109, 110, 122, 129; 142 and 159)

Engraving on three sheets. The 'top' two sheets, 317 x 464 mm.; the 'bottom' sheet, 327 x 464 mm.

The 'top' two sheets, inscribed: P.P. Rubens Pinx.S. Gribelin Sculp.. The 'bottom' sheet displays an embellished depiction of a Great George set in a surround of the garter of the Order of the Garter inscribed: HONI.SOIT.QUI.MALY.PENSE.; and is set above two scrolls inscribed: SEMPER and EADEM. On the left is the rubric: Grav'd by Sim: Gribelin from the Painting of S'. P.P. RUBENS on the Ceiling / in the Banqueting-house at WHITE=HALL, in the Year 1720. CUM PRIVIL: DEFUNC: ANNAE REGIN: / This Cieling represents in proper and curious Emblems, the prosperous state of Great Britain in the Reign / of King James the 1.\textsuperscript{st} His Concern for Religion, his Love of Arts and Sciences, the Birth of a Prince, the / Union of the two Kingdoms, and his Majesty's most Eminent Virtues Crown'd with Glory and Immortality. On the right is the rubric: \textae incidunt Sim: Gribelin ad Tabulas P.P. RUBENS Eq: Aur. in Laqueari Aulae / Regiae epulis Sacrae de WHITE=HALL, Londini Anno D.\textsuperscript{mi} MDCCXX. et Excudit. / In hisce Tabulis Pax et Copia se mutuo amplexæ Res Britannicas, regnante Jacopo 1.\textsuperscript{o}, Filio Regi recens nato, / conjunctisque sub unius Imperio Anglice Scotiæ Regnis, maxime floruisse testantur. His, plurimusque / aliis beneficiis, Rex de Religione, de bonis Artibus, et de Patriâ bene meritus Coelo, et Immortalitate donatur.\textsuperscript{1} The left-hand page of the open book in the Apotheosis is inscribed: INPR/V (?). The right-hand side of the garter in the Union inscribed (from the top): Y.PENS.


The Canvases and the ceiling were engraved by Simon Gribelin II (1661-1737). As the rubric on the print states, he was granted the privilege to make the engraving in the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714); but the three sheets that make up the print were published only in 1720.

The three sheets were designed to be displayed vertically and read from the top. The top sheet shows the Wise Rule (No. 3) and its flanking ovals; the centre sheet shows the Apotheosis (No. 4) and the two flanking Processions. The bottom sheet shows the Union (No. 5) with its flanking ovals, with an extensive rubric in Latin and English, and in the centre a depiction of a Great George—the badge of the Order of the Garter—set within the garter of the Order and beneath the Imperial Crown. A Union Jack, accoutrements of war, the Tudor rose and the thistle of Scotland form the surround, beneath is the motto Semper Eadem. The same motto, beneath a portrait of Queen Anne, was included on the frontispiece of Gribelin's engraving after the Raphael Cartoons first published in 1707 and reissued in 1720.\textsuperscript{2} The motto was that of Queen Elizabeth 1.\textsuperscript{3}
The engraving is in the same direction as the prototype, and the level of detail is high:

The prints provide the only evidence for the appearance of the Canvases in the ceiling before photographs were made; they are shown following Parry Walton's restoration work carried out in 1687, see pp. 110-112. It is not consistent in showing the areas of the painted fields. A greater length of composition is given for the Apotheosis, Wise Rule and the corner ovals; the areas reproduced for the Union (No. 5) and Processions (Nos. 10-11) are about right. Among the many differences in details between the print and the Canvases, the chief are: 1) on the whole the drapery folds are more intricate; 2) the protagonists in the corner ovals look in different directions; 3) the clouds in the corner ovals do not have the same shapes; 4) the bear in Procession I looks more like a lion; 5) the up-ended basket in Procession II is much larger; 6) the inscriptions do not correspond. Perhaps all these differences, except no. 1, result from either Walton's restorations or Gribelin's misreading.

The latter may partly account for the most notable omissions in the print, which are: the innermost monster in the Wise Rule (No. 3), the sphinx in the Union (No. 5), and the rein attached to the wolf's neck in Procession II (No. 11; Fig. 148). On the other hand, the decorative detail of the architecture in the Wise Rule probably records more accurately Rubens's intentions than does the Canvas today. While present there, too, on the lap of King James I, is the circular object, which is faintly detectable notably in photographs of the painting made during the post-World War II cleaning campaign, and which was probably intended by Rubens to be the orb (see p. 163).

The print was described in 1930 as the 'General Plan' for the arrangement of the Canvases within the ceiling;\(^5\) Held argued that a reversal of the bottom sheet, showing the Union and its attendant ovals, and of the Processions, had been made in order to obtain legibility of the three sheets when displayed vertically.\(^6\) Thus the print was flawed as a general plan. The conclusion was correct; but it was not the bottom sketch that had been reversed, rather the top two sheets individually. Whether the sheets were reversed as a whole, or whether the location of each canvas stayed the same and just their orientation altered, remains an open question, see p. 132.

1. The main text of the rubric was first transcribed by Bodart and then by Held (see under Literature, above); the excerpts published in Held, Sketches, 1980, pp. 202, are less reliable. The inscription was first published with a few errors (and omitting four subsidiary inscriptions) by Bodart, Incisione, 1977, under no. 376.
2. See S. O'Connell, 'Simon Gribelin Printmaker and Metal-Engraver', Print Quarterly, II, 1985, p. 31, p. 34, no. 7; see also J. Shearmar, The Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, Raphael's Cartoons and the Tapestries of the Sixtine Chapel, London, 1972, fig. 85, who did not refer to the 1707 edn.
4. Vertue criticised Gribelin for not conveying the style of the masters he copied, but he acknowledged Gribelin's accuracy: 'His works have no more merit than finicalness (sic) ... [they] are at best neat memorandums ...', see 'A Catalogue of Engravers who have been born or resided in England ... by ... Horace Walpole from MSS of George Vertue ... with additions by the Rev. James Dallaway', in Anecdotes of the Arts in General in Great Britain.
etc., London, V, 1828, p. 238; S. Orgel in Gordon, Renaissance Imagination, 1975, figs. 20-29, used Gribelin’s engraving as illustrations of the Canvases ‘for clarity’, see the caption to fig. 20 on p. 37.

5. See Cox-Norman, Whitehall, 1930, caption to pl. 38.

APPENDIX VII

Untraced and Unidentified Preparatory Works

The following are records of works described as being preparatory to the Banqueting Hall commission that cannot be otherwise traced:

(1) Anon. (a Prince, according to the preface of the sale catalogue) sale; sale, Paris (Lerouge and Chariot), 19 January 1778, lot 207, as: ‘Rubens Une belle esquisse, composée de six figures, faisant partie du fameux plafond d’Angleterre, Hauteur 2 pieds, largeur un pied 5 pouces [= 64.8 x 33.2 cm.] T[ôle]’, sold to Paillet for 69 li. (according to the marked catalogue in the RKD).

(2) Jonkvrouw Anna Catharina Putman, sale (+), Amsterdam, 17 August 1803, lot 71, as: ‘Twee stuks zinnebeeldige Ordonnantien, zynde Modellen uit het Plafon der Eetzaal van het Paleis te Westminster [sic] ...’, on canvas laid down on panel, 19 x 12 duim (= 48 x 30 cm.), sold to Willem Gruyter Snr. for 43 fl. See Corpus of Paintings Sold in the Netherlands during the Nineteenth Century, I, 1801-1810, ed. B. Fredericksen, Malibu, Cal., 1998, p. 16, no. 64 and p. 571.


(5) Anon. (dealers Wall and Looker) sale, London (Christie’s), 14 April 1821, lot 98, as: ‘Vandyck. A Design for the Ceiling at Whitehall.’, bt. in for £4. Information kindly provided by B. Fredericksen, ibid. This was probably the same work as (4).

(6) Anon. sale, London (Stanley), 29 June 1821, lot 28, as: ‘Rubens, Two Studies for Paintings in Whitehall’, sold (?) for 5 gns. Information kindly provided by B. Fredericksen, ibid.

(7) Anon. sale, London (Stanley), 7 April 1824, lot 99, as: ‘Rubens A Study for Paintings at Whitehall’. Information kindly provided by B. Fredericksen, ibid.

(8) Anon. sale, London, 18 June 1826, lot 97, as: ‘A very masterly and genuine Study for one of the Pictures at Whitehall’, sold for £52 10 sh. to Buchanan. Information kindly provided by B. Fredericksen in a letter of 7 August 1997.

(9) Anon. sale, London, 10 June 1827, lot 82, as: ‘A large and capital finished Study for one of the Pictures at Whitehall, formerly in the Collection of King Charles’, withdrawn. Information kindly provided by B. Fredericksen, ibid.

(10) Coll. Geo. Faulkener, 1857, when lent to the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom exhibition at Manchester, no. 593, of the provisional catalogue, as: ‘Sketch for Whitehall Ceiling’.
APPENDIX VIII

Source of Lighting

There is a row of rectangular windows on the eastern and western sides of the building immediately beneath the ceiling, and a large arched window in the centre of the southern wall. However, Rubens seems not to have taken into consideration these sources of natural light as the lighting in the Canvases comes chiefly from above.

There are several sources of light in the Multiple Bozzetto (No. 1; Fig. 46). The Apotheosis is lit from above. The two ovals executed in position B—Abundance and Temperance (Figs. 123 and 116)—are both lit from top left. Of the two other ovals executed the position C, the Minerva oval is lit from above, and the Hercules from the top right (Figs. 114 and 106).

The small amount of heightening in white in the Processions (Figs. 139 and 155) suggests that they were to be lit from above.

The preparatory work for the Wise Rule (No. 3) shows light falling from the top right. Mercury, by a follower of Rubens in the Boston sketch (No. 3g; Fig. 63), is also lit from the top right. In the Canvas (Fig. 53), light comes from above.

The Canvas depicting the Apotheosis (No. 4; Fig. 69) shows the source of light coming from above.

The preparatory work for the Union (No. 5; Figs. 94, 96, 98, 99 and 101) shows light falling from the top left on the left-hand side of the composition, from the right for the King and guard and from the right for the Sergeant-at-Arms. In the Canvas (Fig. 86), it appears to come from above and from the right (on the right-hand side).

The Canvases depicting the Processions (Nos. 10-11; Figs. 132 and 148) show light coming from above.

So far as the corner ovals are concerned: Hercules (No. 6) was lit from top left in the Canvas (Fig. 103); Minerva (No. 7), was lit from the top right in the modello (Fig. 115) and the Canvas (Fig. 111); Temperance (No. 8), was lit from the top in the Modello (Fig. 120), and the top right in the Canvas (Fig. 117); Abundance / Apollo (No. 9), was always lit from the top left.
APPENDIX IX

The Discrepancy in Size between the Canvases as delivered and the Openings in the Ceiling

It is possible to make some assumptions which are consistent with the evidence.

1. Imponderables

   a) It is not known whether the size of the openings remains the same as those designed by Inigo Jones, as there apparently is no documentation on conservation work carried out on the carved, wooden ceiling. It can now be observed that the openings are edged with three different designs of gilt fillet, the widest of which is round the central oval.

   b) It is not known how much tacking edge Rubens allowed for.

2. Estimated width of the rebates

   The estimate can be made by measuring an apparent extension to the rear of Procession II (No. 11; Fig. 154), which is not authorised by Rubens’s preparatory work, on a scale reproduction. The extension of the amoretto’s wing and the introduction of the drapery beneath would appear to occupy an area some 48 cm. wide from the tip of the wing as first intended. In this very long Canvas (12.04 m.), the shortfall resulting from the discrepancy between the Antwerp and the English foot would have amounted to c. 70 cm. The difference of c. 22 cm. (c. 70 minus c. 48 cm.) would therefore constitute the combined widths of the rebates at either end. Allowing for the fact that the original measurements were expressed in feet and inches, we may perhaps top this up so that each rebate can be estimated as having a width of some 15 cm.

See also above, pp. 86-87.
### 3. Calculations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue number</th>
<th>Measurements in centimetres unless otherwise specified</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3&amp;5 Wise Rule and Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Height</td>
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<tr>
<td>Size of Compartment</td>
<td>cm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(cm.)</td>
<td>762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increase due to inclusion of rebates</td>
<td>cm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reduction due to confusion of units</td>
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<tr>
<td>Excess or shortfall implied in painted area</td>
<td>cm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Actual addition (rough estimate)</td>
<td>cm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Actual cuts (rough estimate)</td>
<td>cm.</td>
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**Notes**

Rebates:

Assumed to be 15 cm. each side, equivalent to c. 12 English inches in total. An assumption of a greater rebate implies more to be cut off the width of the corner ovals and the height of the Processions, and less to be added to the length of the Processions. A lesser assumed rebate implies less to be cut off the width of the corner ovals and the height of the Processions, and more to be added to the length of the Processions.

Conversion of units:

Antwerp foot = 11.25 English inches or 28.68 cm.; Antwerp inch = 2.38 cm.; English inch = 2.54 cm.

The calculations were made by Heather Joshi, whose help is gratefully acknowledged.
Index I: Collections

This index lists (as far as their present whereabouts are known) all works catalogued in the present volume. Copies, apart from prints, have also been included. These works are listed alphabetically according to place. The number of the catalogue entry is given first, followed by copy numbers where relevant, by references to plates (in italics) and pages in Volume I and references to illustrations (in italics) in Volume II. Works the present whereabouts of which are not known can be found in Index II by subject matter or in Index IV under names of earlier owners.

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