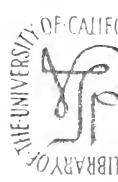


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A N E C D O T E S
O F
P A I N T I N G I N E N G L A N D ;

With some Account of the principal Artists ;
And incidental N O T E S on other A R T S ;

Collected by the late

Mr. GEORGE VERTUE ;

And now digested and published from his original MSS.

By Mr. HORACE WALPOLE.

The FOURTH EDITION, with ADDITIONS

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, PALL-MALL.

M. DCC. LXXXVI.

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To the Right Honourable

M A R Y L E P E L,

Baroness Dowager HERVEY
of Ickworth.

MADAM,

I Shall only say in excuse for offering this work to your Ladyship, that if I could write any thing really deserving your acceptance, I should not prefix your name to such trifles as the following sheets. But my gratitude for the goodness and unmerited distinction which your Ladyship has so long shown me, is impatient to express itself; and though in the present case I am rather an editor than an author, yet having little purpose of appearing again in the latter character, I am forced to pay my debts to your Ladyship with

38375

DEDICATION.

with Mr. Vertue's coin. If his industry has amassed any thing that can amuse one or two of your idle hours, when neither affection, friendship, nor the several duties which you fill with so much ease and dignity, have any demands upon you, I shall think his life was well employed; I am sure my time will have been so, if I have made him tolerable company to my Lady Hervey, who has conversed familiarly with the most agreeable persons dead and living of the most polished ages, and most polished nations.

I am, MADAM,

your Ladyship's

most obedient Servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN one offers to the public the labours of another person, it is allowable and preceded to expatiate in praise of the work. Of this indulgence however I shall not make advantage. The industry of Mr. Vertue was sufficiently known; the antiquarian world had singular obligations to him. The many valuable monuments relating to our history, and to the persons of our monarchs and great men, which he saved from oblivion, are lasting evidences of his merit. What thanks are due to him for the materials of the following sheets, the public must determine. So far from endeavouring to prepossess them in favour of the work, it shall be my part fairly to tell them what they must expect.

In Italy, where the art of painting has been carried to an amazing degree of perfection, the lives of the painters have been written in numberless volumes, alone sufficient to compose a little library. Every picture of every considerable master is minutely described. Those biographers treat of the works of Raphael and Correggio with

as much importance as commentators speak of Horace or Virgil; and indulging themselves in the inflated style of their language, they talk of pictures as works almost of a divinity, while at the same time they lament them as perishing before their eyes. France, neither possessed of such masters, nor so hyperbolic in their diction, contrives however to supply by vanity what is wanting in either. Poussin is their miracle of genius; Le Brun would dispute precedence with half the Roman school. A whole volume is written even on the life and works of Mignard. Voltaire, who understands almost every thing, and who does not suspect that judgment in painting is one of his deficiencies, speaks ridiculously in commendation of some of their performers.

This country, which does not always err in vaunting its own productions, has not a single volume to shew on the works of its painters. In truth, it has very rarely given birth to a genius in that profession. Flanders and Holland have sent us the greatest men that we can boast. This very circumstance may with reason prejudice the reader against a work, the chief business of which must be to celebrate the arts of a country

country which has produced so few good artists. This objection is so striking, that instead of calling it *The Lives of English Painters*, I have simply given it the title of *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. As far as it answers that term, perhaps it will be found curious. The indefatigable pains of Mr. Vertue left nothing unexplored that could illuminate his subject, and collaterally led him to many particularities that are at least amusing: I call them no more, nor would I advise any man, who is not fond of curious trifles, to take the pains of turning over these leaves. From the antiquary I expect greater thanks; he is more cheaply pleased than a common reader: the one demands to be diverted, at least instructed—the other requires only to be informed.

Mr Vertue had for several years been collecting materials for this work: He conversed and corresponded with most of the virtuosi in England; he was personally acquainted with the oldest performers in the science; he minuted down every thing he heard from them. He visited every collection, made catalogues of them, attended sales, copied every paper he could find relative to the art, searched offices, registers

of parishes and registers of wills for births and deaths, turned over all our own authors, and translated those of other countries which related to his subject. He wrote down every thing he heard, saw, or read. His collections amounted to near forty volumes large and small: In one of his pocket-books I found a note of his first intention of compiling such a work; it was in 1713; he continued it assiduously to his death in 1757. These MSS. I bought of his widow after his decease; and it will perhaps surprize the reader to find how near a compleat work is offered to him, though the research was commenced at so late a period: I call it commenced; what little had been done before on this subject, was so far from assistance, it was scarce of use. The sketch, called, *An Essay towards an English School*, at the end of the translation of Depiles, is as superficial as possible; nor could a fact scarce be borrowed from it 'till we come to very modern times. In general I have been scrupulous in acknowledging both Mr. Vertue's debts and my own. The catalogues of the works of Hollar and Simon, and those of the collection of King Charles I. King James II. and the Duke of Buckingham,

ham, were part of Mr. Vertue's original plan, which is now compleated by these volumes.

The compiler had made several draughts of a beginning, and several lives he had written out, but with no order, no connection, no accuracy; nor was his style clear or correct enough to be offered to the reader in that unpolished form. I have been obliged to compose a-new every article, and have recurred to the original fountains from whence he drew his information; I mean, where it was taken from books. The indigested method of his collections, registered occasionally as he learned every circumstance, was an additional trouble, as I was forced to turn over every volume many and many times, as they laid in confusion, to collect the articles I wanted; and for the second and third parts, containing between three and four hundred names, I was reduced to compose an index myself to the forty volumes. One satisfaction the reader will have, in the integrity of Mr. Vertue, it exceeded his industry, which is saying much. No man living, so bigotted to a vocation, was ever so incapable of falshood. He did not deal even in hypothesis, scarce

in conjecture. He visited, and revisited every picture, every monument, that was an object of his researches; and being so little a slave to his own imagination, he was cautious of trusting to that of others. In his memorandums he always put a quære against whatever was told him of suspicious aspect; and never gave credit to it 'till he received the fullest satisfaction. Thus whatever trifles the reader finds, he will have the comfort of knowing that the greatest part at least are of most genuine authority. Whenever I have added to the compiler's stores, I have generally taken care to quote as religiously the source of my intelligence. Here and there I have tried to enliven the dryness of the subject by inserting facts not totally foreign to it. Yet upon the whole I despair of its affording much entertainment. The public have a title to whatever was designed for them: I offer this to them as a debt—nobody will suspect that I should have chosen such a subject for fame.

If the observation of a dearth of great names in this list should excite emulation, and tend to produce abler masters, Mr. Virtue, I believe, and I should be glad to have the continuation of the work do greater ho-

hour to our country. It would be difficult perhaps to assign a physical reason, why a nation that produced Shakespear, should owe its glory in another walk of genius to Holbein and Vandyck. It cannot be imputed to want of protection: Who countenanced the arts more than Charles the First? That Prince, who is censured for his want of taste in pensioning Quarles, is celebrated by the same pen for employing Bernini—but want of protection is the apology for want of genius: Milton and Fontaine did not write in the bask of court-favour. A poet or a painter may want an equipage or a villa, by wanting protection: They can always afford to buy ink and paper, colours and pencils. Mr. Hogarth has received no honours, but universal admiration.

But whatever has been the complaint formerly, we have ground to hope that a new aera is receiving its date. Genius is countenanced, and emulation will follow. Nor is it a bad indication of the flourishing state of a country, that it daily makes improvements in arts and sciences. They may be attended by luxury, but they certainly are produced by wealth and happiness. The conveniences, the decorations of life are

not studied in Siberia, or under a Nero. If severe morality would at any time expect to establish a thorough reformation, I fear it must chuse inhospitable climates, and abolish all latitude from the laws. A corporation of merchants would never have kept their oaths to Lycurgus of observing his statutes 'till he returned. A good government, that indulges its subjects in the exercise of their own thoughts, will see a thousand inventions springing up, refinements will follow, and much pleasure and satisfaction will be produced at least before that excess arrives, which is so justly said to be the forerunner of ruin. But all this is in the common course of things, which tend to perfection, and then degenerate. He would be a very absurd legislator, who should pretend to set bounds to his country's welfare, lest it should perish by knowing no bounds. Poverty will stint itself; riches must be left to their own discretion; they depend upon trade, and to circumscribe trade is to annihilate it. It is not rigid nor Roman to say it, but a people had better be unhappy by their own fault, than by that of their government. A *Censor morum* is not a much greater blessing than an *Arbiter elegantiarum*,

The

The world, I believe, is not at all agreed that the austerities of the Presbyterians were preferable to the licentiousness under Charles II. I pretend to defend the one no more than the other ; but I am sure that in the body politic, symptoms that prognosticate ill, may indicate well. All I meant to say was, that the disposition to improvements in this country is the consequence of its vigour. The establishment of a society for the encouragement of arts will produce great benefits before they are perverted to mischiefs. The bounties bestowed by that society, for facilitating the necessaries of life to the poor, for encouraging the use of our own drugs and materials, or for naturalizing those of other countries, are bestowed on noble principles and with patriot views. That society does not neglect even the elegancies of life : Arts that are innocent in themselves, and beneficial to the country, either by adding value to our productions, or by drawing riches as they invite strangers to visit us, are worthy the attention of good citizens ; and in all those lights that society acts upon a national and extensive plan.

The art, that is chiefly the subject of these pages, is one of the least likely to be perverted :

perverted: Painting has seldom been employed to any bad purpose. Pictures are but the scenery of devotion. I question if Raphael himself could ever have made one convert, though he had exhausted all the expression of his eloquent pencil on a series of popish doctrines and miracles. Pictures cannot adapt themselves to the meanest capacities, as unhappily the tongue can. Non-sense may make an apprentice a catholic or a methodist; but the apprentice would see that a very bad picture of St. Francis was not like truth; and a very good picture would be above his feeling. Pictures may serve as helps to religion; but are only an appendix to idolatry; for the people must be taught to believe in false gods and in the power of saints, before they will learn to worship their images. I do not doubt but if some of the first reformers had been at liberty to say exactly what they thought, and no more than they thought, they would have permitted one of the most ingenious arts implanted in the heart of man by the Supreme Being to be employed towards his praise. But Calvin by his tenure, as head of a sect, was obliged to go all lengths. The vulgar will not list but for total contradictions:

tions: They are not struck by seeing religion shaded only a little darker or a little lighter. It was at Constantinople alone where the very shopkeepers had subtlety enough to fight for a letter more or less in a Greek adjective * that expressed an abstract idea. Happily at this time there is so total an extinction of all party-animosity both in religion and politics, that men are at liberty to propose whatever may be usefull to their country, without its being imputed to them as a crime, and to invent what they mean should give pleasure without danger of displeasing by the very attempt.

At this epoch of common sense, one may reasonably expect to see the arts flourish to as proud a height as they attained at Athens, Rome, or Florence. Painting has hitherto made but faint efforts in England. Our eloquence and the glory of our arms have been carried to the highest pitch. The more peacefull arts have in other countries generally attended national glory. If there

* In the decline of the empire there were two sects who proceeded to the greatest violences against each other in the dispute whether the nature of the second person was *ὁμοούσιος*, co-essentialis; or *ὁμοιόσιος*, similis essentialis.

are any talents among us, this seems the crisis for their appearance: The Throne itself is now the altar of the graces, and whoever sacrifices to them becomingly, is sure that his offerings will be smiled upon by a Prince, who is at once the example and patron of accomplishments. The institution of a school of statuary in the house of a young * Nobleman of the first rank rivals the boasted munificence of foreign Princes. When we abound with heroes, orators and patrons, it will be hard if their images are not transmitted to posterity under gracefull representations.

This is by no means said to depreciate the artists we have, but to inspire with emulation those arising. Ryssbrack, Roubiliac, Scheemaker, Wilton, would do honour to any country: but hitherto their skill has been in a manner confined to private monuments. When we have subjects for history, the people should read on public edifices the actions of their ancestors and fellow-citizens in basreliefs: Busts and statues should reward the galant behaviour of the brave, and exhibit them as models. What made Rome more venerable than every

* The Duke of Richmond.

street being an illustration of Livy? Painting has been circumscribed within as selfish bounds as statuary; historic compositions totally neglected. Reynolds and Ramsay have wanted subjects, not genius. There is another artist, who seems born for an age of naval glory, and is equal to it, Mr. Scott. Architecture, the most suitable field in which the genius of a people, arrived at superiority, may range, seems reviving. The taste and skill of Mr. Adam is formed for public works. Mr. Chambers's treatise * is the most sensible book and the most exempt from prejudices that ever was written on that science. But of all the works that distinguish this age, none perhaps excell those beautifull editions of Balbec and Palmyra — not published at the command of a Louis quatorze, or at the expence of a cardinal nephew, but undertaken by private curiosity and good sense, and trusted to the taste of a polished nation. When I endeavour to do justice to the editions of Palmyra and Balbec, I would not confine the encomium to the sculptures; the books have far higher merit. The modest descriptions †

* On civil architecture, folio, 1759.

† By Mr. Wood.

prefixed are standards of writing: The exact measure of what should and should not be said, and of what was necessary to be known, was never comprehended in more clear diction, or more elegant stile. The pomp of the buildings has not a nobler air than the simplicity of the narration—but I must restrain myself; tho' it is pleasing to expatiate on the just praise of one's country; and they who cannot perform great things themselves, may yet have a satisfaction in doing justice to those who can. If Juvenal was honest in his satires, he would have been happy if he could have lived to write the panegyric of Trajan.

1762.

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

C H A P. I.

THE *earliest Accounts of Painting in England.*

C H A P. II.

State of Painting from the Reign of Henry III. to the End of Henry VI.

C H A P. III.

Continuation of the State of Painting to the End of Henry VII.

C H A P. IV.

Painters in the Reign of Henry VIII.

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. V.

*State of Architecture to the End of the Reign of
Henry VIII.*

C H A P. VI.

*State of Painting under Edward VI. and
Mary.*

C H A P. VII.

Painters in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A N E C D O T E S

A N E C D O T E S

O F

P A I N T I N G, &c.

C H A P. I.

The earliest Accounts of Painting in England.

THEY who undertake to write the History of any art, are fond of carrying it's origine as far back as possible. When This tends to show the improvements made in it, by comparing latter works with the first rude inventions, it may be of service; but it often happens that the Historian thinks the antiquity of a discovery reflects honour on his country, though perhaps his country has been so careless or has wanted genius so much, as to have refined very little on the original hints. Some men push this farther, and venerate the first dawn-

ings of an art more than it's productions in a riper age. The inventor may have had more genius, but the performances of the improver must be more perfect. Mr. Vertue had taken great pains to prove that painting existed in England before the restoration of it in Italy by Cimabue. If what we possessed of it in those ignorant times could be called painting, I suppose Italy and every nation in Europe retained enough of the deformity of the art to contest with us in point of antiquity. That We had gone backwards in the science farther almost than any other country, is evident from our coins, on which there is no more of human similitude, than an infant's first scrawl of the profile of a face; and so far therefore as badness of drawing approaches to antiquity of ignorance, we may lay in our claim to very ancient possession. As Italy has so long excelled us in the refinement of the art, she may leave us the enjoyment of original imperfection.

However, as Mr. Vertue's partiality flowed from love of his country, and as this is designed for a work of curiosity, not of speculation and reasoning, I shall faithfully lay
before

before the reader such materials as that laborious antiquary had amassed for deducing the History of English Painting from a very early period.

The * first evidences in favour of the art are drawn from our records †, which Mr.

* Dr. Thorpe M. D. when writing his history of the town and diocese of Rochester, discovered at the west end of that cathedral two busts of Henry I. and his queen in stone, which had never been observed before.

† Since the first edition of this work, I have been informed by a curious gentleman, that the earliest place in a catalogue of English painters is due to St. Wolstan bishop of Worcester in 1062, or at least to Ervenius or Erwen, his master. William of Malmesbury, who wrote the life of Wolstan in three books, gives the following account; “ Habebat tunc [Wolstanus] magistrum Ervenium nomine, inscribendo et quilibet coloribus effingendo peritum. Is libros scriptos, sacramentarium & psalterium, quorum principales litteras auro effigiarit, puero Wolstano delegandos curavit. Ille preciosorum apicum captus miraculo, dum pulchritudinem intentis oculis rimatur, scientiam litterarum internis hausit medullis. Verum doctor ad sæculi spectans commodum, spe majoris premii, sacramentarium regi, tunc temporis Cnutoni, psalterium Emmæ reginæ contribuit. Perculit puerilem animum facti dispendium, & ex imo pectore alta traxit suspiria.” If this passage is not sufficient authority, as I think it is not, o prove St. Wolstan a painter, at least it is decisive for Ervenius, who was certainly an illuminator of MSS.

Vertue had carefully consulted. There he found the following entries * ;

“ MCCXXVIII, Ao. 12. Hen. III. m. f.
 “ Rex thes. et camer. suis salutem. Libe-
 “ rate cuidam pictori 20s. ad cameram mag-
 “ ni scaccarii depingendam.”

This does not express the kind ; whether the chamber was to be painted with figures, ornaments, &c. or whether the *Quidam Pictor* was not a meer house-painter ; probably an artist of higher rank, as twenty shillings would have been a great price in that age for painting wainscot. However the next record is more explicit, and ascertains the point in question.

* There are two records more ancient than any that follow ; but they relate to architecture, not painting ; however, as not foreign to this work, I shall insert them here : They are both of the reign of King JOHN :

“ Anno, 1209, Vicecomites Lond. et Midl. alloca-
 “ verunt Elyae ingeniatori x marcas, ad reparationem
 “ domorum regis apud Westmonast. per breve H. Ar-
 “ chiep. Cantuar.”

Anno, 1210, Willelmus Puintellus redd. comp. de 1216l. 13s. 6d. quos “ recepit de thesauro ad opera-
 “ tiones turris Londoniae.”

William Puintell might be only a surveyor, but Elyas was certainly an architect.

“ MCCXXXIII.

“ MCCXXXIII. Liberate A°. 17. HEN.
“ III. m. 6. Mandatum est Vicecomiti
“ Southton. quod cameram regis * lambruf-
“ catam de Castro Winton. depingi faciat
“ eisdem historiis et picturis quibus fuerat
“ prius depicta. Et costum, &c. computabi-
“ tur. Teste rege apud Kideministr. iii die
“ Junii.”

There are more remarkable circumstances than one in this venerable scrap: as, the simplicity of the times; the king sending a precept to the sheriff of Hampshire to have a chamber in the royal castle painted; and his majesty, like the Roman general, who threatened his soldiers if they broke any of the antique Corinthian statues that they should pay for having others made, giving orders to the same sheriff to have the chamber repainted with the same pictures and histories with which it had been adorned before; and which, by the way, implies, that history-painting had been in use still longer than this date, which was the earliest Mr. Vertue could discover †.

* *Lambruscatam*, wainscotted, from the French, *Lambris*.

† Some have ascribed the introduction of painting into this island to venerable Bede.

“ Liberate A°. 17. HEN. III. m. 10. Man-
 “ datum est custodi domorum regis de
 “ Wudestok quod in rotundâ capellâ regis de
 “ Wudestok bonis coloribus depingi faciat
 “ majestatem domini et iiii Evangelistas, et
 “ imaginem sancti Edmundi ex unâ parte, et
 “ imaginem sancti Edwardi ex aliâ parte, et
 “ ib fieri faciat duas * verimas novas.”

“ Rot. Claus. 20. HEN. III. m. 12. Man-
 “ datum est thesaurario regis, quod magnam
 “ cameram regis apud Westm. bono viridi
 “ colore depingi faciat ad modum curtanae et
 “ in magno gabulo ejusdem camerae juxta
 “ hostium (ostium) depingi ludum illum

“ † Ke ne dune ke ne tine, ne pret ke desire ;

“ et etiam parvam garderobam regis viridi
 “ colore ad modum curtanae depingi fa-
 “ ciat : ita quod rex in primo adventu suo
 “ illuc inveniat predictas cameram et gar-

* *Verimas*, a barbarous word, not to be found even in Dufresne's glossary. One cannot help observing the absurdity of those times, in couching orders in a language which they could not write, and addressed to persons by whom it was not understood.

† Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il desire ; or, as it is expressed in another record, Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat.

“ derobam .

“ derobam ita depictas et ornatas, sicut
 “ predictum est.”

“ Rot. Claus. A°. 20. HEN. III. m. 12.
 “ Mandatum est H. de Pateshull thesaurario
 “ domini regis, quod borduram a tergo
 “ sedis regis in capellâ sancti Stephani apud
 “ Westm. et borduram a tergo sedis re-
 “ ginae ex aliâ parte ejusdem capellae in-
 “ terius et exterius depingi faciat de viridi
 “ colore: juxta sedem ipsius reginae de-
 “ pingi faciat quandam crucem cum Mariâ
 “ et Johanne ex opposito crucis regis, quae
 “ juxta sedem regis depicta est. T. vii.
 “ die Febr.”

The next record, which has been mentioned by Stowe, gives directions for repairing the granary under the Tower, and all the leaden gutters, and for leading the whole thoroughly on that side, *per quas gentes videre possint*, and for white-washing the chapel of St. John, and for making three glass windows in the same chapel, in which were to be represented, a little Virgin Mary holding the child, and the Trinity and St. John the Apostle. It gives orders too that (Patibulum) a cross should be painted behind the altar, *bene et bonis colo-*

ribus; and where ever it could be done most conveniently, there were to be drawn in the same chapel two images of St. Edward holding out a ring and delivering it to St. John the Evangelist. “*Et dealbari*
 “*faciatis, adds the record, totum veterem*
 “*murum circa sepedictam turrim nostram.*
 “*Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis, per*
 “*visum et testimonium legalium hominum,*
 “*computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste*
 “*rege apud Windesfor. x. die Decembr.*”

It is evident from this and some following passages that as * painting on glass was then known, the art of painting in general could not be at a very low ebb.

Then follows another, regarding the same place; “*Rex eisdem salutem. Praecipimus*
 “*vobis quod cancellum beatae Mariae in*
 “*ecclesiâ sancti Petri infra ballium turris*
 “*nostrae London. et cancellum beati Petri*
 “*in eadem ecclesia, et ab introitu cancelli*
 “*beati Petri usque ad spatium quatuor pe-*
 “*dum ultra stillos ad opus nostrum et regi-*

* In Aubrey's MS. survey of Wiltshire, in the library of the Royal Society, he says, on the authority of Sir W. Dugdale, that the first painted glass in England was done in king John's time. Vol. ii. p. 85.

“nae nostrae in eadem ecclesia factos bene
“et decēter labruscari faciatis, et eosdem
“stillos depingi, et Mariolam cum suo ta-
“bernaculo et ymagines beatorum Petri,
“Nicolai et Katerinae, et trabem ultra
“altare beati Petri, et parvum patibulum
“cum suis ymaginibus de novo colorari, et
“bonis coloribus refrescari, et fieri faciatis
“quandam ymaginem de beato Petro in
“solempni apparatu archiepiscopali in parte
“boreali ultra dictum altare, et de opti-
“mis coloribus depingi; et quandam yma-
“ginem de sancto Christofero tenentem et
“portantem Jesum, ubi melius et decen-
“tius fieri potest, et depingi in praedicta
“ecclesia. Et fieri faciatis duas tabulas
“pulcras et de optimis coloribus et de
“historiis beatorum Nicolai et Katerinae
“depingi ante altaria dictorum sanctorum
“in eadem ecclesia; et duos cherumbinos
“stantes a dextris et a sinistris magni pa-
“tibuli pulcros fieri faciatis in praedicta
“ecclesia cum hilari vultu et jocosō; et
“praeterea unum fontem marmoreum cum
“colompnis marmoreis bene et decēter
“incisis. Et custum, &c. Teste ut su-
“pra.”

The

The next again specifies the sum to be expended on paintings at Westminster :
 “ Rot. Liberat. A°. 21. HEN. III. m. 5. Rex
 “ thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem.
 “ Liberat de thesauro nostra Odoni auri-
 “ fabro custodi operationis nostre Westm.
 “ quatuor libras et undecim solidos ad
 “ picturas faciendas in camera nostra ibi-
 “ dem. Teste rege apud Westm. ii die
 “ Augusti.”

The next contains the first mention we have of a star-chamber.

“ Liberat. A°. 22. HEN. III. m. 3. Man-
 “ datum est viç. Southampt. quod came-
 “ ram apud Winton colorari faciat viridi
 “ colore, et *stellari* auro, in quibus de-
 “ pingantur historiae veteris et novi testa-
 “ menti.”

The next precept is very remarkable, as implying the use of oil-colours *, long be-

* John ab Eyck the supposed inventor of painting in oil, which He was said to discover in a search for varnish, died in 1441. In the record before us, both oil and varnish are mentioned, and the former might indeed be only used in the composition of the latter. Mr. Raspe, in his curious treatise published in 1781, has proved that oil-painting was known long before its pretended discovery by Van Eyck.

fore that method is supposed to have been discovered. It is dated in his 23d year, 1239, and runs in these words ;

“ Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Odoni aurifabro et Edwardo filio suo centum et septemdecem solidos et decem denarios pro oleo, vernici, & coloribus emptis, et picturis factis in camerâ reginae nostrae apud Westm. ab octavis sanctae trinitatis anno regni nostri xxiii usque ad festum sancti Barnabae apostoli eodem anno, scilicet per xv dies.”

There is another mandate of his 25th year, for two windows with pictures in the hall, and with the motto above mentioned, of which I do not know that any of our antiquaries have taken notice.

The two following precepts are so connected with the foregoing, that though relating only to building not to painting, I shall insert them here, as their most proper place.

“ A°. 28. HEN. III. Mandatum est vicecomiti Kanciae quod sub omni qua poterit festinatione emi faciat et cariari usque
“ Westmon.

“ Westmon. 100 navatas grisiae petrae ad
 “ operationes quas ibi sine dilatione fieri rex
 “ praecepit : et talem et tam festinantem
 “ diligentiam ad hoc mandatum regis exe-
 “ quendum ponat, quod se inde rex com-
 “ mendare debeat : et ne W. de Haverhull
 “ thesaurarius et Edwardus, quibus opera-
 “ tiones praedictas rex injunxit faciendas,
 “ culpam dilationis in se refundere possint, si
 “ praedictae operationes contra voluntatem
 “ regis differantur.”

“ Rex dedit et concessit Deo et beato
 “ Edwardo et ecclesiae Westmonasterii ad
 “ fabricam ipsius ecclesiae 2591 libras, in
 “ quibus regi tenetur Licoricia, quae fuit
 “ uxor David de Oxonio Judaei. Et rex
 “ vult quod pecunia illa reddatur ad novum
 “ scaccarium, quod rex ad hoc consti-
 “ tuit apud Westmonasterium, archidiacono
 “ Westmonasterii, et Edwardo de Westmin-
 “ stre, quos ejusdem scaccarii thesaurarios
 “ assignavit. Teste rege apud Windfore.”

The miserable Latin of these orders is not the most curious part of them. The hundred barge loads of grey stone to be purchased by the sheriff of Kent might be

be

be either from a Kentish quarry, or to be imported from the coast of France. The king's great impatience about his new works, and the large fine from a Jew's widow which he bestows on his new edifice, are very observable. But the most memorable is the origine of the Exchequer, which seems by this precept to have been instituted solely for the carrying on the new building at Westminster.

The next is in the year 1248. " Rex
" vicecomiti Southamtoniae salutem. Prae-
" cipimus tibi quod de exitibus comitatus
" tui depingi facias in capella reginae
" nostrae apud Wintoniam super gabu-
" lum versus occidentem ymaginem sancti
" Christoferi, sicut alibi depingitur; in ul-
" nis suis deferat Christum; et ymaginem
" beati Edwardi regis, qualiter tradidit
" annulum suum cuidam peregrino, cujus
" ymago similiter depingatur. Teste rege
" apud Windefore vii die Maii."

Another. " Rex custodi manerii de
" Wudestoke praecepit, ut inter alia fieri
" faciat duas fenestras de albo vitro, et fe-
" nestram aulae versus orientem, similiter
" cum picturâ ejus aulae emendari faciat.
" Quoddam etiam scaccarium fieri faciat in
" eadem

“ eadem aulâ, quod contineat hunc versum,
 “ qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille
 “ quod optat.”

“ Claus. 33. HEN. III. m. 3. Rex in-
 “ junxit magistro Johanni de sancto Omero
 “ quod garderobam camerae regis apud
 “ Westm. perpingi faceret sicut pictura
 “ illius garderobae inchoatur, et quod fa-
 “ ceret unum lectrinum ponendum in novo
 “ capitulo Westm. ad similitudinem illius
 “ quod est in capitulo sancti Albani, vel
 “ decentius et pulcrius, si fieri poterit; et
 “ ad haec facienda colores et maeremium
 “ et necessarias liberationes usque ad ad-
 “ ventum regis London. ei inveniri faceret.
 “ Et custum ad haec appositum, cum rex
 “ illud sciverit, reddi faciet. Et mandatum
 “ est abbati Westm. Edwardo filio Odonis,
 “ et Philippo Luvel, quod liberationes et
 “ alia necessaria supra inveniri faç. Teste
 “ rege apud Windesore xxiii die Septembr.”

In Henry's 34th year Edward of West-
 minster is ordered to have painted in the
 chapel of St. Stephen the images of the
 apostles round about the said chapel, by
 the following precept;

“ Claus.

“ Claus. 54. HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum
“ est Edwardo * de Westm. quod in ca-
“ pella beati Stephani depingi faciat ima-

* This Edward of Westminster is the same person with Edward Fitz-Odo mentioned in the preceding order, and I suppose son of Odo Aurifaber, recorded above. It appears by Dart's History of the Abbey that he was master of the works; and Dart quotes the records in the tower on the authority of Strype. The whole passage is worth transcribing, as it shows the passion of Henry for adorning his new foundation there, called then, The new work at Westminster †.

“ In the 28th of his reign he commanded Edward Fitz-Odo to make a dragon, in manner of a standard or ensign, of red samit, to be embroidered with gold, and his tongue to appear, as though continually moving, and his eyes of sapphire, or other stones agreeable to him, to be placed in this church against the king's coming thither.

“ And the queen set up in the feretry of St. Edward the image of the blessed Virgin Mary; and the king caused the aforesaid Edward Fitz-Odo, keeper of his works at Westminster, to place upon her forehead for ornament, an emerald and a ruby, taken out of two rings which the bishop of Chichester had left the king for a legacy.” Dart. vol. i. p. 26. edit. 1742 †.

† Duchesne, antiq. France, vol. i. p. 145, says the Louvre was so called from l'oeuvre, the new work.

‡ The Fitz-Othos were Germans, brought over by Henry Ist; and the family rose to such eminence, that Thomas, son of William, married a daughter of W. Beauchamp, baron of Bedford, &c. Of William is a curious seal, as Mint-master, in Nichols's Biblioth. Topograph. N^o XX. p. 63.

“ gines

“ gines Apostolorum in circuitu ejusdem
 “ capellae ; et judicium in occidentali parte
 “ ejusdem ; et iconem beatae Mariae vir-
 “ ginis in quadam tabula similiter pingi
 “ faciat ; ita quod haec parata sint in ad-
 “ ventu regis. Teste rege apud Brug-
 “ wauter xiii die Augusti.”

The next, dated in the same year, exhibits a donation of three oaks for making images.

“ Claus. 34. HEN. III. m. 7. Mandatum
 “ est custodi parci regis de Periton quod
 “ in eodem parco faciat habere sacristae
 “ Glaston. tres quercus ad imagines inde
 “ faciendas et ponendas in ecclesia sua Gla-
 “ ston. de dono regis. Teste rege apud
 “ Glaston xv die Augusti.”

The following is not less curious ;

“ Claus. 34. HEN. III. m. 12. Manda-
 “ tum est R. de Sandesford magistro mili-
 “ tiae templi in Anglia quod faciat habere
 “ Henrico de warderoba, latori presentium,
 “ ad opus reginae * quendam librum mag-
 “ num,

* The beauty of Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III, is thus celebrated by Langtoff in his *Chronicle*, published by Hearne, vol. i. p. 213.

“ num, qui est in domo sua London. Gal-
“ lico ydiomate scriptum, in quo conti-
“ nentur gesta Antiochiae et regum alio-
“ rum, &. Teste rege apud Westm. xvii
“ die Maii.”

The two next specify the use that was to be made of the above-mentioned book, which I conclude contained an * account of the Crusade, the history of which the king orders to be painted in the tower and at Westminster in a low chamber in the garden near what in the writ is named the king's Jewry, † and which room his majesty orders to be thenceforward called the Antioch-chamber; the origine probably of

Henry king, our prince, at Westmynster kirke
The erlys douhter of Province, the fairest may o lif,
Her name is Helianore, of gentille norture,
Bizond the fe that wore was non fuilk creature.

* The emperor Frederic II. had sent to king Henry a large account of his war in the Holy Land, in a letter under his own seal. See note to Tindal's Rapin under the year 1228.

† This Judaism or Jewry, was probably an exchequer or treasury erected by Henry for receiving the sums levied on the Jews, from whom he extorted a third part of their substance to carry on the war with France. Rapin ubi supra.

what is now styled the Jerusalem-chamber.

“ Claus. A°. 35. HEN. III. m. 11. Man-
 “ datum est Edwardo de Westm. quod de-
 “ pingi faciat historiam Antioch. in camera
 “ regis turris London. sicut ei dicet Tho-
 “ mas Espernir, et custum, quod ad hoc
 “ posuerit, rex ei faciet allocari. Teste rege
 “ apud Winton. v die Junii.”

“ Ibidem. m. 10. Mandatum est Ed-
 “ wardo de Westm. quod Judaismum regis
 “ apud Westm. et magnum * cellarium vi-
 “ norum

* There are two records among the foregoing, which, though not relating to my subject, but to the wine-cellar, and even to the composing of wines for his majesty, are so curious that I am persuaded the reader will be glad to see them.

“ Claus. A°. 34. HEN. III. m. 19. De potibus deli-
 “ catis ad opus regis faciendis. Mandatum est custo-
 “ dibus vinorum regis Winton. quod de vinis regis
 “ quae habent in custodia sua, liberent † Roberto de
 “ Monte Pessulano tanta et talia, qualia et quanta ca-
 “ pere voluerit, ad potus regis pretiosos delicatos inde
 “ faciendos. Teste rege apud Lutegareshall xxvi die
 “ Novembr.”

“ Claus. 36. HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum est
 “ custodibus vinorum regis de Ebor. quod de me-

† See more of him in Pegge's *Life of Roger Weseham*.

“ licibus

“ norum regis lambruscari, et bassam came-
“ ram in giardino regis, et parvam turellam
“ ultra capellam ibidem depingi, et in ea-
“ dem camera unum caminum fieri faciat,
“ quam quidem cameram Antioch volumus
“ appellari.”

These that follow all relate to various paintings ;

“ Ibidem. m. 5. Mandatum est Simoni
“ Capellano et aliis custodibus operationum
“ Windesfor. quod claustrum regis in castro
“ Windesfor. paviri et lambruscari, et Apof-
“ tolos depingi faciant, sicut rex ei et ma-
“ gistro Willielmo pictori suo ibidem in-
“ junxit. Teste rege apud Havering. xx die
“ Augusti.”

“ Liberat. 36. HEN. III. m. 15. Rex
“ Vicecomiti Nottinghamiae salutem. Prae-
“ lioribus vinis regis quae sunt in custodia sua faciant
“ habere Roberto de Monte Pessulano duo dolia albi
“ vini et Garhiofilacum, et unum dolium rubri vini ad †
“ claretum inde faciend. ad opus regis contra instans
“ festum Nativitatis Dominicae. Et mandatum est Rob.
“ de Monte Pessulano quod festinanter accedat ad Ebor.
“ et garhiofilac. et claret. predict. faciat sicut annis
“ preteritis facere consuevit.”

† A composition of wine and honey. V. Hist. de l'ancienne Chevalerie, vol. i. p. 49.

“cipimus tibi quod in camera reginae nos-
 “trae apud Nottingham depingi facias
 “historiam Alexandri circumquaque; et
 “custum quod ad hoc posueritis computa-
 “bitur. Teste rege apud Nottingham xv
 “die Januarii.”

“Liberat. 36. HEN. III. m. 15. Man-
 “datum vic. Northampton. quod fieri fa-
 “ciat in castro North. fenestras de albo
 “vitro, et in eisdem historiam Lazari et
 “Divitis depingi.”

“Clauf. 36. HEN. III. m. 22. Manda-
 “tum est Radulpho de Dungun, custodi
 “librorum * regis, quod magistro Williel-
 “mo pictori regis habere faciat colores ad
 “depingendum parvam garderobam regi-
 “nae, et emendandum picturam magnae
 “camerae regis et camerae reginae. Teste
 “rege apud Westm. xxv die Febr. Per re-
 “gem.”

The six next precepts appertain to va-
 rious arts, not to painting in particular.

* It would be a great curiosity if we could recover a list of his majesty's library. It probably contained some illuminated MSS. as the librarian had the keeping of the colours too. The original copy of Matthew Paris with miniatures, in the British Museum, was certainly a present to this king from the author.

“Clauf.

“ Claus. 36. HEN. III. m. 31. Mandatum
“ est Edwardo de Westm. quod cum festina-
“ tione perquirat quendam pulcrum gla-
“ dium, et scauberg. ejusdem de serico, et
“ pomellum de argento bene et ornate co-
“ operiri, et quandam pulcram zonam ei-
“ dem pendi faciat, ita quod gladium illum
“ sic factum habeat apud Ebor. de quo * rex
“ Alexandrum regem Scotiae illustrem cin-
“ gulo militari decorare possit in instanti
“ festo Nativitatis Dominicae. Teste rege
“ apud Lychfeld xxi die Novembr. Per ip-
“ sum regem.”

“ Claus. 36. HEN. III. m. 30. Manda-
“ tum est J. de Somercote † et Rogero
“ Sciffori, quod sine dilatione fieri faciant
“ unum lectum pretiosum, ita quod illud
“ decenter et ornate factum habeat apud
“ Ebor. ad dandum illud Alex. regi Scotiae
“ illustri in instanti festo Nativitatis Do-
“ minicae.”

“ Ibidem. Mandatum est I. de Somer-
“ cote et Rogero Sciffori, quod de me-

* Alexander III. king of Scotland married Margaret, daughter of Henry, at York.

† In the same year J. de Somercote had a patent to be Warden of the mint, Custos Cambii per totum regnum.

" lioribus samittis quos invenire poterunt
 " sine dilatione faciant quatuor robas, duas
 " videlicet ad opus regis, et duas ad opus
 " reginae, cum aurifraxis femilatis, et varii
 " coloris, et quod tunicae sint de molliori-
 " bus samittis quam pallia et supertunicae;
 " et quod pallia furrentur cum ermino, et
 " supertunicae de minuto vario; ita quod
 " rex habeat praedictas robas ornate factas
 " apud Ebor. ad hoc instans festum Nativita-
 " tis Dominicae. Teste rege apud Lychfeld
 " xxi die Novembr."

" Ibidem. Mandatum est I. de Somer-
 " cote et Rogero Sciffori, quod preter illas
 " duas robas quas rex fieri precepit ad opus
 " suum, fieri faciant ad opus regis tres ro-
 " bas de queintisis, videlicet unam robam
 " de meliori samitto violaceo, quam inve-
 " nire poterunt, cum tribus parvis * leo-
 " pardis in parte anteriori, et aliis tribus
 " parte posteriori; et duas de aliis meli-
 " oribus pannis qui inveniri poterunt; ita
 " quod robas illas decenter et ornate factas
 " rex promptas habeat apud Ebor. in festo
 " Nativitatis Domini."

" Claus. 39. HEN. III. Rex concessit ma-

* The lions in the arms of England were originally leopards,

“gistro Johanni de Gloucestre cementario
“ suo, quod toto tempore vitae suae quietus
“ fit de omnimodo Tallagio et Thelonio
“ ubique per totam potestatem regis.”

“ Claus. 43. HEN. III. m. 10. Man-
“ datum est magistro Johanni de Glouc.
“ cementario suo, et custodibus operationum
“ Westm. quod quinque imagines regum
“ incisas in franca petra, et quandam petram
“ ad supponendum pedibus unius imaginis
“ beatae Mariæ, faciatis habere custodibus
“ operationum ecclesiae sancti Martini Lon-
“ don. ad easdem operationes, de dono
“ regis. Teste rege apud Westm. xi die
“ Maii.”

“ Then comes a record intituled “ Pro
“ rege de coloribus ad picturam Windesfor.
“ Claus. A°. 44. HEN. III. m. 6. Manda-
“ tum est Edwardo de Westm. quod co-
“ lores et alia ad picturam necessaria sine
“ dilatione faciat habere fratri Willielmo
“ monacho Westm. pictori regis, ad pic-
“ turas regis apud Windfor inde * reno-
“ vandas, prout idem frater Willielmus

* Hence it appears that Windfor had been a place of note even before the reign of HEN. III. consequently long before it was beautified by Edward III.

“ predicto Edwardo dicet ex parte regis.
 “ Et hoc sicut regem diligit, non omittat;
 “ et cum rex sciverit custum quod ad hoc
 “ posuerit, rex breve suum de liberate sibi
 “ habere faciet. Teste rege apud Windsor
 “ xiii die Augusti.”

The next is inscribed *De pictura Rap. Guldef.* and contains the following orders :

“ Liberate A°. 44. HEN. III. m. 11.
 “ Rex vicecom. Surr. salutem. Precipi-
 “ mus tibi quod exitibus comitatus tui
 “ picturas magnae aulae nostrae de Gulde-
 “ ford, prout neesse fuerit, sine dilatione
 “ emendari, et in magna camera nostra ibi-
 “ dem ad caput lecti nostri super album
 “ murum quoddam pallium depingi, et ta-
 “ bulas et fruntellum altaris magnae ca-
 “ pellae nostrae ibidem sine dilatione fieri
 “ facias, prout injunximus Willielmo Flo-
 “ rentino pictori; et custum quod ad hoc
 “ posueris per visum et testimonium pro-
 “ borum et legalium hominum conf. &c.
 “ Teste meipso apud Westm. xxx die Oc-
 “ tobr.”

I conclude that master William, Wil-
 liam the monk of Westminster, and Wil-
 liam

liam of Florence were the same person. What arts we had, as well as learning, lay chiefly among the religious in those ages. One remark I am surprized Mr. Vertue did not make, when he was assigning greater antiquity to painting in England than in Italy, that this William of Florence was an Italian.

The two following are little remarkable, except that in the last we find the name of another painter.

“ Liberate A°. 49. HEN. III. m. 7. Rex.
“ Thef. et camerariis suis salutem. Libe-
“ rate de thesauro nostro pictoribus camerae
“ nostrae apud Westm. septem libras et
“ decem solidos ad picturas ejusdem camerae
“ capellae nostrae retro lectum nostrum
“ ibidem faciend.”

“ Liberate A°. 51. HEN. III. m. 10.
“ et 8. Rex Ballivis civitatis London. fa-
“ lutem. Mandamus vobis quod de firma
“ civitatis praedictae habere faciatis ma-
“ gistro Waltero pictori nostro viginti mar-
“ cas ad picturas camerae nostrae apud
“ Westm. inde faciend. et hoc nullo modo
“ omittatis. Et computabitur vobis ad
“ scacca-

“ scaccarium. Teste rege apud Westm. vii
 “ die Januar.”

Among these records I find the following curious memorandum of the sums expended on the king's building at Westminster to the forty-fifth year of his reign.

“ Summa cust. operationum West. ab
 “ inceptione usque in die dominica proxima
 “ post festum divi Michaelis anno regni
 “ regis Henrici xlv^{to}. Et cclx librae ref-
 “ tant solvendae pro stipendiis alborum cif-
 “ forum et minorum operariorum, et pro
 “ franca petra et aliis emptionibus quae non
 “ computantur in hac summa; xxix millia,
 “ cccxlvj. xixs. viii d.”

The last piece I have to produce relates to works to be done for the Prince and his consort Eleanor; with the addition of the salary of master William, who was allowed six-pence a day, as surveyor of the works at Guilford:

“ Liberate 52. HEN. III. m. II. Rex
 “ vicecom. Surr. et Suff. salutem. Precipi-
 “ mus tibi quod de exitibus com. praedic-
 “ torum infra curiam nostram manerii nostri
 “ de Guldeford quandam cameram cum
 “ stadio

“ stadio et camino, garderoba, et camera
“ forinfeca, et quandam capellam ad caput
“ ejusdem camerae, cum stadio et fenestris
“ vitreis, easdem cameram et capellam de-
“ centibus, ad opus karissimae filiae nostrae
“ Alianorae confortis Edwardi primogeniti
“ nostri, et unam cameram cum stadio et
“ camino camera forinfeca, et fenestris vi-
“ treis eandem cameram decentibus, ad
“ opus militum karissimae confortis nostrae
“ Alianorae reginae Angliae, et quoddam *
“ appenticm. ibidem de novo sine dilatione
“ fieri, et herbarium ejusdem reginae nos-
“ trae reparari et emendari facias, secun-
“ dum quod Willielmo Florentino pictori
“ nostro injunximus, et idem Willielmus
“ plenius tibi scire faciet ex parte nostra; et
“ custum, &c. per visum, &c. computabi-
“ tur.

“ Rex eidem vicecom. salutem. Precipi-
“ mus tibi quod de exitibus com. praedic-
“ torum facias habere Willielmo Florentino
“ custodi operationum nostrarum manerii
“ nostri de Guldeford singulis diebus sex
“ denarios pro stipendiis suis, quam diu
“ fueris vicecomes noster eorundem comi-

* Sic originale.

“tat. et praedictus Willielmus custos fue-
 “rit operationum praedictarum, sicut eos
 “temporibus retroactis ante turbationem
 “habitam in regno ibidem percipere con-
 “suevit: et costum, &c. Teste rege apud
 “Westm. xxix die Jan.”

Besides the palaces above-mentioned, this prince laid out too large sums in repairing and beautifying Kenelworth castle, cieling the chapel with wainscot, painting that and the queen's chamber, and rebuilding the wall on the outside, as it remained to the time of Sir William Dugdale*.

I cannot pass over the princess Eleanor, so much celebrated by our legendary historians for sucking the poison out of her husband's wound, without mentioning the crosses erected to her memory, which Virtue with great probability supposed were

* See his Warwicksh. p. 244. In the same reign John of Hertford, Abbot of St. Albans, made great additions to his convent, and in one of the chambers placed A NOBLE PICTURE. See Willis's mitred abbies, vol. i. p. 21. One Lambbirt, builder or repairer of the same church, heaped his own rebus, a lamb and a bird, among the ornaments. Alen Strayler was illuminator to that abbey.

built on the designs of Peter Cavalini, a Roman sculptor, and whom from various circumstances he discovered to be the architect of the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

The reader, I am persuaded, will be pleased to see how ingeniously my author traced out this hitherto unknown fact.

The original inscription on the tomb ran thus :

Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum
Romanus civis : Homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus, sancti praesentis amicus.

The words *Petrus duxit in actum Romanus civis* were discernible 'till very lately. Some old authors ascribe the erection of the shrine to Henry himself, others, to Richard de Ware the Abbat, elected in 1260. It is probable that both were concerned. The new Abbat repaired to Rome immediately on his election to receive consecration from Urban IV. At that time, says Vasari, flourished there Peter Cavalini, a painter and the inventor of Mosaic, who had performed several

ral

ral costly works in that city. About four years before the arrival of Abbat Ware, that is in 1256, had been erected a splendid shrine* for the martyrs Simplicius and Faustina, at the expence of John James Capoccio and his wife, adorned with twisted columns and inlaid with precious marbles exactly in the taste, though not in the precise form of that of St Edward. Nothing is more probable than that a rich abbat, either at his own expence, or to gratify the taste of his magnificent master should engage a capital artist to return with him and undertake the shrine of his master's patron-saint, and the great patron of his own church. Weaver says expressly that the abbat brought back with him from Rome

* A draught of it by Mr. Talman in the proper colours is preserved in the first volume of the drawings belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. A sketch of it I have among Vertue's MSS. Great part of that identic shrine, which stood originally in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, and was removed of late years, on making a new pavement to the church, is now at Strawberry-hill, in a chapel erected on purpose to receive it; being sent to Mr. Walpole by Sir William Hamilton Envoy to Naples, who purchased it on its removal.

Workmen

Workmen and rich porphyry stones for Edward the Confessor's feretory; and for the pavement of the chapel †: This abbat was lord treasurer to his death in 1283, and was buried on the north side of the great altar: Over him was anciently this epitaph confirming the circumstances above mentioned.

Abbas Richardus de Warâ, qui requiescit
Hic, portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab Urbe.

Vafari's silence on Cavalini's journey to England ought to be no objection; he not only wrote some hundred years after

† Before Henry III. began the present church, there had been a rich shrine for the confessor erected by William I. as the latter says expressly in his charter. Edward had bestowed Windsor on the Abbey of Westminster; the conqueror, on his accession, prevailed on the abbat and convent to restore Windsor, in exchange for other lands, being delighted with the scite; "Maximè utilis & commodus est visus propter contiguam aquam et silvam venationibus aptam," says he; and after naming the lordships he gave them, he mentions the gift of an hundred pounds of silver to compleat and finish the building of the Abbey, and then adds, "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipsum inclitum regem Edwardum habueram, Tumbum ejus & reginae juxta eum positae, ex auro et argento fabrili opere artificiosi decoris mirificè operiri feci."

the

the time, but confounds his own account so strangely as to make Peter Cavalini scholar of Giotto, who was twenty years younger. If it may be imagined that Richard Ware could not have interest enough to seduce so capital a workman from the service of the pope, it might still be accounted for, by higher authority. Edward I. returning from the Holy Land was conducted by the king of Sicily to Rome to visit Gregory X. who had been Edward's companion and friend in the Holy War. An artful Pope would certainly be glad to furnish a young king with artists who would encourage him in raising shrines and temples. The monument of Henry III. erected by his son, is beautified in the same taste with porphyry and mosaic; and the first brazen statue known to have been cast here, lies upon it. The old paintings round the chapel of St. Edward, and those, in a very beautiful and superior style, though much decayed, over the ragged regiment, Vertue ascribes to the same Cavalini. This painter and sculptor probably, as I have said, gave the designs for the crosses erected by Edward to his
beloved

beloved Eleanor †. Vertue had drawn them, with a design of engraving; I have his original drawings. I must not omit that it was no small part of Peter Cavalini's fame, that he made the crucifix that spoke to St. Bridget §.

From all the testimonies above recited, Henry III. appears in a new light from what has hitherto been known of him. That he was a weak prince in point of government is indisputable. That he was a great encourager of the arts, these records demonstrate. When historians talk of his profusion, they evidence only in what he dissipated on his favorites. But it is plain that the number and magnificence of his buildings and palaces must have swallowed great part of the sums, maliciously charged to the single article of unworthy favorites.

† I have some suspicion that a son of Peter Cavalini, is the person called Peter le Orfever, mentioned in a precept of Edward II. He is there intituled of Stanford, and brought an action against certain persons for assault and battery. As one of Queen Eleanor's crosses was erected there, it is not improbable that a son of Cavalini might marry and settle in that town. See Peck's Stanford, lib. x. sect. 13.

§ Felibien. vol. i. p. 172.

It matters not how a prince squanders what he has tyrannically squeezed from the subject: If he exceeds his revenue, it is almost as ill spent on edifices as on ministers. But it is perhaps no more than justice to make some allowance for partial or exaggerated relations. Henry was not a wise prince—may I venture to say more—He was not a martial prince. Even in these more sensible ages one illustrious defect in a king converts all his other foibles into excellencies. It must have done so much more in a season of such heroic barbarism as that of Henry III. and the want of an enterprising spirit in that prince made even his patronage of the arts be imputed to effeminacy, or be overlooked. The extravagance of Louis XIV. in his buildings, gardens, water-works, passed for an object of glory under the canon (if I may say so) of his ambition. Henry III. had no conquests to illuminate his ceilings, his halls, his bas-reliefs. Yet perhaps the generous sentiment implied in his motto, *Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*, contained more true glory than all the Fast couched under Louis's emblem

emblem of the sun, and his other ostentatious devices. But let us compare Henry with one nearer to him. Henry's reign is one of the most ignominious in our annals; That of Edward the 1st. of the most triumphant. Yet I would ask by which of the Two did the nation suffer most? By sums lavished on favorites and buildings; or by sums and blood wasted in unjust wars? If we look narrowly into Edward's reign, we shall scarce * find fewer representations against the tyranny of the son than against the encroachments of the father. Who will own that he had not rather employ master William and Edward of Westminster to paint the gestes of the kings of Antioch, than imitate the son in his barbarities in Wales and usurpations in Scotland?

* See the Parliamentary History.

ANECDOTES of PAINTING, &c.

C H A P. II.

*State of Painting from the Reign of HENRY III.
to the End of HENRY VI.*

FROM the reign of Henry III. Mr. Vertue could discover no records relating to the arts for several reigns. I shall endeavour to fill this hiatus by producing an almost entire chronologic series of paintings from that time to Henry VII. when Mr. Vertue's notes recommence.

During the reigns of the two first Edwards, I find no vestiges * of the art, though it was certainly preserved here, at least by painting on glass. No wonder that a proud, a warlike, and ignorant nobility, encouraged only that branch which attested their dignity. Their dungeons were

* Except that in the reign of Edward I. Bishop Langton built a palace and hall at Litchfield, in which was painted the ceremony of the coronation, &c. Brown Willis's Cath. vol. i. p. 17.

rendered still darker by their pride. It was the case of all the arts; none flourished, but what served to display their wealth, or contributed to their security. They were magnificent without luxury, and pompous without elegance. Rich plate, even to * the enamelling on gold, rich stuffs, and curious armour were carried to excess, while their chairs were mere pedestals, their cloaths

* Bishop Wickham's crozier at Oxford is an instance how well the pomp of prelacy was served by ingenious artists. It is certain that in the reigns of the two first Edwards there were Greek enamellers in England, who both practiced and taught the art. In Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 397, 403. are mentioned enamelled cups very near that period; and some ancient pieces are still extant. The beautiful cup of gold, enamelled with figures in the habits of the time, given by king John to the corporation of Lynn in Norfolk, and still preserved there, gives a very favorable idea of the taste and artificers of an age, a little antecedent to that I am speaking of. King Alfred's jewel, found at Athelney in Somersetshire, and of which there is a print in Camden's Britannia, is of much more ancient date, but of workmanship far more rude. I call it a jewel, because it seems to have been used as jewels were afterwards, appendent to ribbands. By the cut, I should take it for engraven gold; Camden, which is extraordinary, does not describe the materials, but calls it a picture, which would make one think it was enamelled.

were incumbrances, and they knew no use of steel but as it served for safety or destruction. Their houses, for there was no medium between castles and hovels, implied the dangers of society, not the sweets of it; and whenever peace left them leisure to think of modes, they seemed to imagine that fashion consisted in transfiguring the human body, instead of adding grace to it. While the men wore shoes so long and picked, that they were forced to support the points by chains from their middle; the ladies erected such pyramids on their heads, that the face became the center of the body; and they were hardened to these preposterous inconveniencies by their priests, who instead of leaving them to be cured by the fickleness of fashions, or by the trouble of them, denounced God's judgments on follies against which a little laughter and a little common sense had been more effectual sermons. It was not far distant I think from the period of which I am speaking that the ladies wore looking-glasses about the same height of their bodies, with that, on which the men displayed such indecent symbols.

bols *. The representations of these extravagances (as we see them collected by Montfaucon in his antiquities of France) demanded Japonese and Indian painters; were not likely to produce Vandycks and Titians. While we are curious in tracing the progress of barbarism, we wonder more that any arts existed, than that they attained no degree of perfection.

Of the third Edward, says Mr. Vertue †, many portraits are preserved, at Windsor, in illuminated MSS. and elsewhere. As he has not marked where these limnings exist, I can give no account of them myself, nor refer the reader to the inspection of them. But there is a portrait taken from a bust of the same age, the face of which is far from being executed in a contemptible manner. It represents that artist and patron of arts William of Wickham bishop of Winchester, and prime minister to Edward III. a prelate whose magnificent charities yet

* La Bruyere has expressed this with the happiest decency; “ Ils avoient trouvé le secret de paroître nuds tout habillez.” Vol. ii. p. 234.

† See an account, in folio, prefixed to his prints of the kings of England.

exist, both in the benefits he calculated for posterity and in the edifices erected on his own designs for perpetuating those pious bounties. The portrait has been engraven by Houbraken among the heads of illustrious men; a noble memorial, which I am sorry to say was forced to be dropped (though exhibited at the trifling expence of five shillings for four beautiful prints) the moment the novelty of it was exhausted.

The Black Prince † was represented on glass in a window at the west end of Westminster abbey, but the image is now almost defaced. Mr. Maurice Johnson, the antiquary of Spalding, had a MS. of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon, written in 1340, wherein was an illumination of the author. It was shown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1735.

† Mr. Onslow, the late speaker, had a head of the Black Prince, which there is great reason to believe was painted at the time. It is not very ill done: It represents him in black armour, embossed with gold, and with a golden lion on his breast. He has a hat with a white feather, and a large ruby, exactly in the shape of the rough ruby still in the crown. He appears lean and pale, as he was towards the end of his life. This very curious picture came out of Betchworth-castle in Surrey.

The

The person of Richard II. is still preserved in the most lively manner, in two different pictures. The first a whole length in the abbey of Westminster; the other † at the earl of Pembroke's at Wilton, a small piece consisting of two tablets, on which are represented the king kneeling, accompanied by his patron saints, John the Baptist, St. Edmund the king and Edward the Confessor, before the Virgin and Child, attended by angels. Hollar engraved it. To the bottom of this picture are affixed these words, "Invention of painting in oil 1410. This was painted before in the beginning of Richard II. 1377, &c." These words, which are very equivocal, started a question with me, which I found nobody that could resolve. Do they imply that this piece was painted in oil before John ab Eyck discovered that secret in 1410? so one should think, for what news did the inscriber tell, if he only meant that painting in water-colours or miniature was practised before painting in oil? Every illuminated

† See a full description of it in the accounts of the curiosities at Wilton by Gambarini, Cowdry, or Kennedy.

MS. antecedent to that date was a proof of that. The short quaere would be, With what is the picture in question painted? To that I can only reply, that it is covered with glafs, and is too great a curiosity to have experiments made upon it. It is painted on a bright golden ground, the colours of the utmost freshnefs, and not grown black as oil-colours would be, and is, as I have said, guarded by a glafs, all which indicate that it is miniature. Yet I do not pretend to decide: The inscription I have mentioned and some other circumstances seem to leave a doubt whether John ab Eyck was really the first person who mixed his colours with oil. We have seen by a record reported above, that long before this period oil was at least used as a varnish, and it is difficult to conceive how it was possible to varnish with oil either water-colours or colours mixed with size. It occurred to me to enquire with what the painters antecedent to John ab Eyck mixed their colours: Even in this country there are a few pictures extant, and painted on board, before oil-painting can be supposed to have been introduced here. Not to
mention

mention the picture at Wilton, the other of Richard II. at Westminster, and an undoubted original of Henry IV. at Hampton-court in Herefordshire, who died within two years after John ab Eyck's discovery, must be allowed to have been drawn before the new art arrived here. The picture at Westminster has indeed been repainted *, therefore no conclusion can be drawn from it. This question, easy as I thought it, I found had been passed over without consideration, and though proposed to a very learned † body of men, arrived at no solution. After turning over several books of painting, all treating of John ab Eyck's invention, but without one word of the method which his secret dispossessed, I at last found what I sought. Sandrart put an end to the difficulty by these words :

Quia autem metuebant ne muri scissuris diffinderentur, hinc eisdem linteo, prius

* By one Capt. Brome, a print-seller near the parliament house; but this was after Mr. Talman had taken his drawing from whence the print was engraved.

† The society of Antiquaries,

glutine

glutine mediante, induxerunt, de superque applicito gypso, postmodo demum picturas suas effigurarunt, qui modus dici solet *alla tempera*, id est, temperaturae aquariae. Hanc autem temperaturam ita praeparabant: effracto prius ovo gallinaceo, in ejusdem liquore frondem teneram ficulneam de ficu juniore discutiebant: ubi è lacte istius frondis, eque vitello illa nascebatur temperatura: qua mediante, postmodum loco aquae vel gummi, vel tragacanthae, colores suos subigebant, quibus dehinc opera sua perficerent*.

When they painted on walls, lest their work should crack, they proceeded in this manner: They glued a linnen cloth upon the wall, and covered that with plaister, on which they painted in distemper: This was thus prepared: They dropped into the yolk of an egg the milk that flows from the leaf of a young fig-tree, with which instead of water, gum, or gumdragant, they mixed their last layer of colours. It is probable from the last words of this passage that they laid their first colour with water or gum only.

* Academ. pictur. p. 15.

I shall be told perhaps, that this method was only used for painting on walls; but, leaving out the plaister, I see nothing to hinder the same preparation from being used on board. Of what mixture Ciambue, the restorer of the art, made use, we are told by the same author. *Multaeque illius manu confectae non historiae minus, quam imagines, in tabulis ligneis, colore ovis vel glutine temperato †.*

Ciambue used yolk of egg or glue, which I suppose means size.

Still the much more ancient use of oil, were it but as a varnish, leaves a doubt whether John ab Eyck's discovery was entirely his own. The remarkable record which I have so often mentioned, dates above an hundred years before the common aera of painting in oil. John ab Eyck is allowed to have found it in searching for a varnish. Might he not have heard that such a varnish or composition was in use in England? ‡ The very pic-
tures

† *Academ. pictur.* p. 94.

‡ I cannot help hazarding a conjecture (though unsupported by any of the writers on painting). There
is

tures I have mentioned as still extant and under all the appearances of being painted in oil, seem to say even more. The Painters employed by Henry III. appear to have been Italians, and yet it is easy to vindicate the secret from them, at least I can prove that they must have found the practice here, not have brought it

is an old altar-table at Chiswick, representing the lord Clifford and his lady kneeling.—Van Eyck's name is burnt in on the back of the board. If Van Eyck was ever in England, would it not be probable that he learned the secret of using oil here, and took the honour of the invention to himself, as we were then a country little known to the world of arts, nor at leisure enough, from the confusions of the times, to claim the discovery of a secret which soon made such fortune abroad? An additional presumption, though certainly not a proof of Van Eyck's being in England, is a picture in the duke of Devonshire's collection painted by John ab Eyck in 1422, and representing the consecration of St. Thomas Becket. The tradition is, that it was a present to Henry V. from his uncle the duke of Bedford, regent of France; but tradition is no proof; and two pictures of this author in England, one of them of an English family, and the other of an English story, are at least as good evidence for his having been here, as tradition for one of them being painted abroad. However I pretend to nothing more in all this than mere conjecture.

over with them, for we are told expressly that in Italy they knew of no such method. When some of John ab Eyck's pictures were carried to Alphonso king of Naples, the Italian painters were surprized, says Sandrart *, *Quod aquâ purgari possent, coloribus non deletis.*

I must beg not to have it supposed that I am setting up any novel pretensions for the honour of my own country. Where the discovery was made I do not pretend to guess: the fact seems to be that we had such a practice. Curious facts are all I aim at relating, never attempting to establish an hypothesis, which of all kind of visions can nourish itself the most easily without any. The passion for systems did not introduce more errors into the old philosophy, than hypothesis has crouded into history and antiquities. It wrests all arguments to the favorite point. A man who sees with Saxon eyes sees a Saxon building in every molehill: a Mercian virtuoso can

* P. 105. Maffei indeed in his *Verona Illustrata* is of a different opinion, and thinks oil-painting was known in Italy before John ab Eyck.

discover

discover king lords and commons in the tumultuary conventions of the Wittenagemot; and an enthusiast to the bards find primaeval charms in the rudest ballad that was bawled by the mob three or four hundred years ago. But the truths we antiquaries search for, do not seem of importance enough to be supported by fictions: the world in general thinks our studies of little consequence; they do not grow more valuable by being stuffed with guesses and invention.

The painters of these portraits † of king
Richard

† Another representation of this king is exhibited by Montfaucon from a MS. Froissard in the library of the king of France. There is another illuminated edition of that author in the British Museum, in which is a miniature of the young monarch sitting on his throne and attended by his uncles. In the same place is an historic poem in old French, written by a person of condition in the service of Richard II. and an eyewitness of all that he relates. It has sixteen curious illuminations, in which that king is eight times represented in different situations †. There are also the portraits of Henry of Lancaster (four times) of Archbishop Arundel, the dukes of Surry and of Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, &c. Part

‡ Strutt has engraved them for his *regal and ecclesiastic Antiquities*

Richard are still more uncertain than the method in which they painted. I can find no names of artists * at that period. Nor is this extraordinary. In countries where the science flourished more, our knowledge of the professors is very imperfect. Though Ciambue restored the art as early as 1250, yet the number of his successors on record is extremely small, 'till Antonello of Messina carried the secret of painting in oil into Italy: and for Flanders, where it was invented, the biographers of the masters of that country, as Carl Vermander, Sandrart, &c. professedly begin their lists with John of this curious piece was translated by George Carew earl of Totness; the translation was published with ten other tracts in a thin folio called *Hibernica*, by Walter Harris; Dublin 1747.

* Except of John Sutton a carver, who was employed by Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick to alter a statue of the famous Guy earl of Warwick, standing in the choir of the church there, and to cut the arms of the ancient earls on it. It was from the spoils of this family that Richard II. granted to his half brother Thomas duke of Surrey a suit of arras wrought with the story of the same Guy. See Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 402, 431. The city of London made presents to Richard and his queen, among other curiosities, of pictures of the Trinity valued at 800*l*. An enormous sum for that time! See *descrip. of Lond. and the environs*, vol. iv. p. 30.

50 *State of Painting from the Reign of*
ab Eyck. We must leave therefore in the
dark what we find irrecoverably so.

Two of the artists employed on the tomb
of Richard are recorded by Stowe. That
prince had prepared it for himself and his
queen. B. and Godfrey of Woodstreet, gold-
smiths, made the moulds and cast the images
of the king and queen [still extant in the
abbey] "the charges of gilding of them cost
"400 marks*."

The next picture of the same age is a
portrait of John of Gaunt painted on glass,
with other portraits of that time, in the
college of All Souls at Oxford

His son Henry IV. is extant, as I have
said, at Hampton-court in Herefordshire,
formerly his † palace: a copy or duplicate
of this piece is at Kensington. In a book
called *Studio di Pittura, Scoltura, &c. di*
Filippo Tito, is a coin of Charles VI. of
France with exactly the same extraordinary
head dress, as was worn by this king.

Vertue met with a fine illuminated MS.

* Annals p. 342.

† This is the common report. Others say that
Hampton-court was built by Sir John Lenthall, from
the profit of spoils taken in the French war under Hen-
ry V. consequently Henry IV. could not have lived
there.

of this age, a missal for the use of Salisbury ; in the beginning was the figure of John lord Lovel receiving the book from Frater Johannes Sifernas, who was probably the illuminator. It is now in the British Museum.

The fine east window in the cathedral of York was painted in this reign, at the expence of the Dean and Chapter, who contracted with John Thornton, glazier, of Coventry, to execute it. He was to receive for his own work four shillings a week, and to finish the whole in less than three years. The indenture, still preserved, adds, that he was to receive an hundred shillings sterling, each of the three years ; and if he executed his work truly and perfectly, he was to have ten pounds more. Another indenture of 1338, for glazing some of the west windows, articles, that the workman should have six-pence a foot for white glass, and twelve-pence for coloured. The great window evidences how able an artist John Thornton was*.

The painted effigies of Chaucer remained 'till within these few years on his tomb at Westminster ; and another, says Vertue

* Drake's York, p. 527.

on his print of that poet, is preserved in an illuminated MS. of Thomas Occleve, painted by Occleve himself. D'Urry and Tanner both mention such a portrait, which places Occleve in the rank of one of our first painters as well as poets †.

Henry V. is likewise on board at Kennington, and on vellum in some MSS. as Vertue says in his account prefixed to the heads of our kings, but he does not mention where those MSS. are preserved. But a most curious picture of this king and his family is still extant in the collection of James West, esq; secretary of the treasury ‡. This piece is evidently painted in oil-colours, and though the new art might have reached England before the death of that prince, which happened in 1422, yet there are many circumstances that lead me to think it of a later date. It was an altar-piece at Shene, and in all probability was painted by order of Henry VII. for

† I find by Montfaucon that the use of crayons was known in this age in France; but nothing of that kind appears to have been practised in this country. See his account of the portraits of John duke of Berry and Louis duke of Orleans, the uncle and the brother of Charles VI.

‡ It is now at Strawberry-hill.

the chapel in his palace there. His fondness for the house of Lancaster is too well known to be dwelt on: the small resemblance of the portrait of Henry V. to genuine pictures of him, and the great resemblance of all the other personages to one another, make it evident that it was rather a work of command and imagination than of authenticity. Add to this that on the tents (which I shall mention presently) portcullises are mixed with red roses; the portcullis* was the cognizance of the illegitimate branch of Beaufort, and was never that I can find born by the house of Lancaster †; but when Henry VII. gave himself for the heir of that royal line, no wonder he crowded the badges of his own bastard blood among the emblems of the crown. However the whole piece is so ancient and so singular, that I shall be excused inserting the description of it in this place.

It is painted on several boards joined,

* See Sandford

† The red rose is another proof that this picture was not painted in the reign of Henry V. as the red and white roses were not adopted as distinctions of the two houses, till the reign of Henry VI.

and is four feet three inches high, by four feet six wide.

On the left hand is the king in dark purple robes lined with ermine, the crown on his head. He is kneeling before a desk on which is a missal, and the sceptre and globe. Behind him on their knees are his three brothers, Thomas duke of Clarence; * John duke of Bedford; Humphrey duke of Gloucester. They are dressed in robes like the king's and wear golden coronets: over them is a tent, striped with white and gold, on which are red roses crowned; and the valance, of the same colours with red roses and portcullises. A small angel flying holds the top of the tent. The queen is opposite, under another tent exactly in the same manner, except that there is no sceptre on her desk. Behind her are four ladies dressed like her and with coronets. The two first are probably Blanche duchess of Bavaria, and Philippa queen of Denmark, the king's sisters; who the other two are is more difficult to decide, as they are represented with dishevelled hair, which in pictures of that

* This is extremely unlike the miniature of him which I shall mention presently; and which is too remarkable a face not to have had much resemblance.

time,

time, is a mark of virginity. It has been supposed that the two elder were the wives of the dukes of Clarence and Bedford, and the two younger their sisters; but this clashes with all history and chronology. Blanche and Philippa were both married early in their father's reign: and to suppose the two younger ladies the brides of Clarence and Bedford would be groundless, for Margaret Holland the wife of the former was a widow when he married her. As all the portraits are imaginary, it does not much signify for whom the painter intended them. A larger angel standing, holds the cloth of the two tents together. On a rising ground above the tents is St. George on a brown steed striking with his sword at the dragon, which is flying in the air, and already pierced through the forehead with a spear, on which is a flag with the cross of St. George. Cleodelinde, with a lamb, is praying beneath the dragon. On the hills are gothic buildings and castles in a pretty taste.

This curious picture, after it was taken from Shene, was in the Arundelian collection, and was sold at Tart-hall in 1719. In the long gallery at Lambeth is an ancient

portrait of queen Catherine of Valois, and another of archbishop Chicheley.

Richard Frampton had a gift of five marks from Henry V. for illuminating a book of grants in the office of the dutchy of Lancaſter.

An original portrait of John duke of Bedford, above-mentioned, is extant † in a fine illuminated Prayer Book preſented by him to Henry VI. The duke and his firſt wife Anne of Burgundy are repreſented with their arms and devices.

Of that indiſcreet but amiable and unfortunate prince Humphrey duke of Gloceſter, I know || no memorial; nor will I mention him but to make one remark, ſufficient alone to detect the malice of his enemies, if it had not been detected. What probability was there that the wife of a man illuſtrious for expoſing impoſtors, who encouraged learning †, and founded the Di-

† It is now in the collection of her grace the duchess of Portland: the duke of Bedford's head was engraved by Vertue with those of the kings.

|| I have ſince the firſt edition of this work, authenticated two portraits of that prince. v. hereafter, p. 59.

† He had a valuable library for that time, and gave [129 volumes to the univerſity. Hearne.

vinity-

vinity-school at Oxford, should have dared under his roof to dabble with witches and necromancers? His first wife Jaqueline, the amorous Countess of Holland, is known by more than one monument. Two fine prints of her, and her last husband, were published in 1753 by Folkema, from pictures painted by Mostert at Harlem. William Bridges, the first Garter king at Arms, instituted by Henry V. set up in the windows of the church of St. George at Stanford the portraits of the first Knights of the Garter: It was from these paintings that Hollar etched the plate of them published in Ashmole's history of the order †,

In the reign of Henry VI. our field begins to grow less barren. Many portraits of the king himself are preserved, as on board at Kensington and on glass in the chapel of King's college. In my possession is a remarkable piece, which so many circumstances affix to the history of this prince that I cannot hesitate to believe it designed for him, though I imagine it was painted after his death. It is the representation of

† Peck's Annals of Stanford, book ii. chap. 18.

his marriage. There are eleven figures, of which all the heads are well painted: the draperies are hard and stiff. The king in rich robes, but with rude dishevelled hair, as are all the men, stands before the portal of a magnificent church, giving his hand to the queen, who is far from being a lovely bride, and whom the painter seems satirically to have insinuated by the prominence of her waist not to have been so perfect a virgin as her flowing hair denotes. Kemp archbishop of York and afterwards of Canterbury, and one of her chief counsellors, is performing the marriage rites by holding the pallium over their conjoined hands. It is remarkable that the prelate wears thin yellow gloves which are well represented. Behind the king in a robe of state stands the duke of Gloucester, and seems reproving a nobleman †, whom I take for the marquis of Suffolk. Behind the queen is a lady in a kind of turban or diadem, probably designed for her mother the titular queen of Naples and Jerusalem. Beyond her, another in a widow's dress, oppo-

† He has a hawk on his fist, a mark of nobility in old paintings.

sister to whom is a comely gentleman. This pair I conclude is Jaqueline, duchess of Bedford, widow of duke John, and her second husband. Our historian says that pretty suddenly after the duke's death, she married Sir Richard Widville, a goodly young knight. They were the parents of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV †.

On the fore ground opposite to the marquis of Suffolk stands a noble virgin, whom I take for Margaret of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. One of the charges against the marquis of Suffolk was, that he endeavoured to marry his son to this lady Margaret, a princess of the blood. Near the archbishop is a cardinal, who is certainly Winchester, the king's great uncle. The face is very like the image on his tomb at Winchester; nor can one account for his not performing the ceremony, but by his dignity of prince of the blood, which did not suffer by the ministrations of an inferior prelate. Behind the queen of

† The portraits of duke Humphrey and archbishop Kemp have been authenticated by two others of the same persons, which formed part of an altar-piece at St. Edmundsbury, and are now at Strawberry-hill.

Naples is an abbess, and at a distance a view of a town, that must be Tichfield, from whence the queen was led to be married at Southwick. Besides the seeming pregnancy of the queen, there is another circumstance, conclusive for this picture being painted after the death of Henry. Round his head is the nimbus or glory: an addition that was as posterior to his marriage, as the painter seems to intimate the queen's fruitfulness was anterior to it. Round the hem of the queen's robe are some letters †, which are far from being so intelligible as the other incidents. The words are involved in the folds; what appear, are *Vol salu Regin m*—one knows that *Salve Regina mater coelorum* is the beginning of a hymn—but I know not what to make of *Vol*.—the painter probably was no Latinist—and indeed the first

† This was a fashion as early as the reign of Richard II. when Edward Earl of Rutland, the Lord Spencer and others accused the Earl of Arundel of treason, they appeared before the king at Nottingham in red gowns of silk, garded and bordered *with white silk and embroidered with letters of gold*. Peck's Annals of Stanford, 12, 39. The lady Margaret in this picture is in a green gown bordered with white silk.

letter of Regina, he has drawn more like to a *B* than an *R*. On the abbess's girdle is *Vel ave*—as little to be decyphered as her majesty's *Vol*.

But it is to Sir William Dugdale that I am indebted for the greatest discoveries I have made towards the history of our ancient artists. In that collection of various treasures which he has saved from oblivion [saved the more luckily, as he wrote but the instant before it became piety to commit devastation] He has incidentally preserved some memorials of the state of painting in the reigns of our earliest princes. I have found some names of the professors, and even the rates of their work. I call them professors, agreeably to modern estimation, but our ancestors seem to have treated them without any distinction from other mechanics. If Henry III. bespoke pictures by the intervention of the sheriff, under Henry VI. we were still so unpolished, that a peer of the first nobility going into France on an embassy, contracted with his taylor for the painter's work that was to be displayed in the pageantry of his journey.

journey. The bill itself is so curious that I shall transcribe part of it.

Thes be the parcels that Will. Seburgh citizen and peyntour of London hath delivered in the month of Juyll the xv year of the reign of king Harry the sixt, to John Ray, taillour of the same citee, for the use and stuff of my lord of Warwyk.

Ferst, cccc pencels bete with the raggidde staffe of silver, pris the pece *vd.* 08*l.* —6*s.* —00*d.*

Item, for the peynting of two paveys for my lord, the one with a gryfon stondyng in my lordis colours rede, white and ruffet, pris of the pavys 00—06—08.

Item, for the other pavys peyntid with black and a raggid staffe bete with silver occupying all the felde, pris 00—03—04.

Item, one coat for my lordis body, bete with fine gold, pris 01—10—00.

Item, for a grete stremour for the ship of xl yerdis length, and viii yerdis in brede, with a grete bere and gryfon holding a ragidd staffe, poudrid full of raggid staves; and for a grete crosse of St. George, for the lymmyng and portraying—01—06—08.

There

There are several other articles which the reader may find at length in the original from whence I have copied these †.

If it is objected to me, that This was meer herald's painting, I answer, That was almost the only painting we had. The art was engrossed by and confined to the vanity or devotion of the nobility. The arms they bore and quartered, their missals, their church-windows and the images of their idols were the only circumstances in which they had any employment for a painter. Even portraits, the object of modern vanity, seem not to have been in fashion. I know not one except of the blood royal or of a bishop or two, painted during the period of which I am writing. Devout subjects were held in sufficient estimation. Isabel countess of Warwick in 1439, bequeathed her tablet with the image of our lady to the church of Walsingham, and it is even mentioned that this tablet had a glass over it. I cannot pass over this magnificent lady without taking a little notice of some other particulars of her will.

† Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 408.

She

64. *State of Painting from the Reign of*

She was daughter and at length sole heiress of Thomas le Despenser earl of Gloucester, widow of Richard Beauchamp earl of Worcester, and afterwards by dispensation married to his cousin that potent and warlike peer, Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick. Their portraits on glass with others of their lineage were long extant in the church at Warwick. Her great templeys † with the baleys sold to the utmost, she gave to the monks of Tewksbury, so that they grucht not with her burial there, and what else she had appointed to be done about the same. To our lady of Walsingham, her gown of green alyz cloth of gold with wide sleeves, and a tabernacle of silver like in the timbre to that over our lady of Caversham, and ordered that her great image of wax, then at London, should be offered to our lady of Worcester. To the abbey of Tewksbury she gave her wedding gown, and all her cloaths of gold and cloaths of silk without furs, saving one of ruffet velvet which she bestowed on St. Winifrede.

† Jewels hanging on the foreheads of ladies by bodkins thrust into their hair. See Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 413.

But

But having thus disposed of her wardrobe for the use of the saints, she seems to have had very different thoughts about her self, ordering that "a statue of her should be made all nakyd with her hair cast backward, according to the design and model that one Thomas Porchalion had for that purpose." This extreme prohibition of all covering, I suppose, flowed from some principle of humility in this good lady, who having divested herself of all vain ornaments in favour of our lady and St. Winifrede, would not indulge her own person even in the covering of the hair of her head. And it looks, by the legacy to the monks above, as if she had some apprehensions that they would not relish or comprehend the delicacy of such total rejection of all superfluities. I was willing to mention this testament too, because it seems to record even the name of an ancient statuary. Other statuaries and founders are mentioned in the cost bestowed on the tomb of the earl her husband. Dugdale has preserved the covenant between the executors and the artists. There I find John Essex, marbler, William Austin, founder, Thomas Stevens, copper-

smyth, John Bourde of Corffe castle, marbler, Bartholomew Lambspring a Dutch gold-smith; they agree on all the particulars for the image on the tomb, and the little images and escutcheons round it. The tomb with the image still extant in polished brass of the highest preservation witnesses that the artists were excellent enough to deserve this memorial. John Prudde of Westminster, called simply, glazier, appears to have painted the windows of the chapel; and it was particularly stipulated that "he should employ no glass of England, but with glass beyond the seas, and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest glasse of beyond sea that may be had in England, and of the finest colours of blew, yellow, red, purpure, sanguine and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary and best to make rich and embellish the matters, images and stories that shall be delivered and appointed by the said executors by patterns in paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another painter in rich colour at the charges of the said glazier." By all these circumstances it is plain that the executors
thought

thought that the magnificence of the intended monument must consist in the value and show of the materials, rather than in any excellence of the workmanship. This covenant carries us still farther, and has even brought to light a history-painter of that time. *John Brentwood* citizen and stevener of London engages "to paint on the west wall of the chapel the dome of our Lord Jesus and all manner of devises and imagery thereunto belonging, of fair and sightly proportion, as the place shall serve for, with the finest colours and fine gold;" and *Kristian Coleburne*, another painter dwelling in London, undertakes to paint "in most fine, fairest and curious wise four images of stone, of our lady, St. Gabraell the angel, St. Anne and St. George; these four to be painted with the finest oil colours, in the richest, finest and freshest clothings that may be made of fine gold, azure, of fine purple, of fine white, and other finest colours necessary, garnished, bordered and poudered in the finest and curiousest wise."

This singular record contains too the prices stipulated for the several performances. The tomb was to cost 125 *l.* sterl-

ing ; the image 40*l.* the gilding of the image and its appurtenances, 13*l.* The glafs-painter was to have 2*s.* for every foot of glafs, and fo for the whole 91*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* The fcripture-piece on the wall was to coft 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the painting of the four images 12*l.* The whole expence of the chapel and monument, which were not compleated under one and twenty years, amounted to 2481*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*

The wealth and fplendor of that family was fo great, that Henry Beauchamp, fon of Richard and Ifabel, was at the age of nineteen created premier Earl of England, and three days after he was made duke of Warwick, with precedence next to the duke of Norfolk and before the duke of Buckingham—an act of power fo destructive of all the vanity of nobility and blood, that the duke of Buckingham could not digeft it : It occafioned fuch animofity, that the king was obliged to qualify his grant, by eftablifhing between the contending parties a rotation of feniority, each to take place alternately for a year, the furvivor to precede for his life the heir of the other, and fo in perpetuum. A fenfelefs jumble, foon liquidated
by

by a more egregious act of folly, the king with his own hand crowning the young duke of Warwick king of the isle of Wight—nor can one easily conceive a more ridiculous circumstance, than a man who had lost the kingdom of France amusing himself with bestowing the diadem of the little isle of Wight—but to return to our artists—I find the name of another sculptor at the same aera; not employed indeed in any considerable work, and called only Richard the carver; he and one brother Rowsby a monk were engaged on some repairs in the church of St. Mary at Stanford †.

But the most valuable artists of that age were the illuminators of manuscripts. Their drawing was undoubtedly stiff, but many of the ornaments, as animals, flowers and foliage they often painted in a good taste, and finished highly. To several missals were added portraits of the princes and princesses to whom they belonged, or for whom they were designed as presents. The dresses and buildings of the times are preserved, though by frequent anachronisms applied to the

† See Peck's Antiquities of Stanford, lib. 14. cap. 5.

ages of scripture ; and the gold and colours are of the greatest brightness and beauty. Several receipts for laying these on are extant, particularly in the British Museum †. Dugdale from some of these illuminations has given cuts of two remarkable combats or tournaments performed in the 15th year of king Henry VI. ‡ in which the designs are far from unworthy of a better age ; and the customs and habits delineated with great accuracy.

Henry himself, I suppose, had no taste for the arts—the turbulent ambition of his queen left her as little—yet she was the daughter of a prince, who was not only reckoned the best painter of his age, but who would really appear no mean performer in the present : This was Renè of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies, duke of Lorrain

† See Catal. Harl. MSS. No. 273. art. 34, where is also a receipt for painting on glass. In that collection is a MS. in which Henry VI. is represented looking out of a window in the tower. In Dufresne's Greek Glossary are three receipts for illuminating under the article *χρυσογραφία*. There are two others in Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*.

‡ See Warwickshire, p. 110.

and count of Provence, much known from having lost almost all his dominions; yet it has been little remarked that he was one of the very few princes who did not deserve to lose them, having merited from his subjects the title of THE GOOD. His own picture painted by himself is still extant in the chapel of the Carmelites at Aix, and the print from it in Montfaucon's *Antiquities of France* will justify what I have said of this prince's talent.

In this age was finished the cloyster adjoining to the old church of St. Paul: It was built round a chapel in Pardon-church Hawgh, a place situated on the north side of the church, where Thomas More dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Henry V. restored an ancient chapel, but dying before he had accomplished it, it was finished by his executors, by license from Henry VI. On the walls of this cloyster was painted, at the charge of Jenkyn Carpenter, a citizen of London, the Dance of Death, in imitation of that in the cloyster adjoining to St. Innocent's church-yard at Paris. Underneath were English verses (to explain the paintings) translated from the French,

by John Lidgate the famous poetic monk of Bury. Dugdale has preserved the lines, and Holbein by borrowing the thought, ennobled the pictures †.

In this reign John de Whethamsted abbot of St. Albans, a man of great learning and merit, adorned the chapel of our lady there with various paintings, as he did the sides of the church and his own lodgings, under all which paintings he caused mottos and inscriptions to be placed. At his manor of Tittenhanger he had pictures in the church of all the saints of his own name ‡.

I shall close my notes on the state of painting under Henry VI. with observing that the portraits on glass in the windows of the college of All Souls at Oxford were painted in his reign.

† See Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, p. 134, and *Stowe*, 354.

‡ *Chauncy*, 445.

ANECDOTES of PAINTING, &c.

C H A P. III.

*Continuation of the State of Painting to the
End of HENRY VII.*

WHETHER it was owing to the confusions of his reign, or to his being born with little propensity to the arts, we find but small traces of their having flourished under Edward IV. Brave, aspiring and beautiful, his early age was wasted on every kind of conquest; as he grew older, he became arbitrary and cruel, not less voluptuous nor even † more refined in his pleasures. His picture on board, stiff and poorly painted, is preserved at Kensington—the whole length of him at St. James's in a night-gown and black cap was drawn many years after his death by Belcomp, of whom an account will be given hereafter.

† His device, a falcon and fetter-lock, with a quibbling motto in French, had not even delicacy to excuse the witticism.

A por-

A portrait †, said to be of his queen, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, conveys no idea of her loveliness nor of any skill in the painter. Almost as few charms can be discovered in his favourite Jane Shore, preserved at Eton, and probably an original, as her confessor was provost of that college, and by her intercession recovered their lands, of which they had been despoiled, as having owed their foundation to Edward's competitor. In this picture her forehead is remarkably large, her mouth and the rest of her features small; her hair of the admired golden colour ‡: A lock of it (if we may believe

† There is another at Queen's college Cambridge, of which she was second foundress; it seems to be of the time, but is not handsome.

‡ This picture answers to a much larger mentioned by Sir Thomas More; who, speaking of her, says, "her stature was mean; her hair of a dark yellow, her face round and full, her eyes grey; delicate harmony being betwixt each part's proportions, and each proportion's colour; her body fat, white and smooth; her countenance chearfull, and like to her condition; the picture which I have seen of her was such as she rose out of her bed in the morning, having nothing on but a rich mantle, cast under one arm and over her shoulder, and sitting in a chair, on which one

arra

believe tradition) is still extant in the collection of the countess of Cardigan, and is marvelously beautiful, seeming to be powdered with golden dust without prejudice to its silken delicacy. The king himself, with his queen, eldest son and others of his court, are represented in a MS. in the library at Lambeth, from which an engraving was made, with an account of it, and prefixed to the Catalogue of Royal and noble Authors. It was purchased of Peacham by Sir Robert Cotton. Richard III. the successor of these princes, appears in another old picture at Kensington. In the princess dowager's house at Kew in a chamber of very ancient portraits, of which most are imaginary, is one very curious, as it is probably an original, of the duke of Norfolk killed at the battle of Bosworth.

arm did lie." The picture at Eton is not so large, and seems to have been drawn earlier than that Sir Thomas saw; it has not so much as the rich mantle over one shoulder. There is another portrait of Jane Shore to be seen below the breasts, in the provost's lodge at King's college, Cambridge; the body quite naked, the hair dressed with jewels, and a necklace of massive gold. It is painted on board, and from the meanness of the execution seems to be original.

Names

Names of artists in these reigns, of which even so few authentic records exist, are not to be expected—one I have found, the particulars of whose work are expressed with such rude simplicity, that it may not be unentertaining to the reader to peruse them. They are extracted from a book belonging to the church of St. Mary Ratcliffe at Bristol.

Memorandum,

That master Cumings hath delivered the 4th day of July in the year of our Lord 1470 to Mr. Nicholas Bettes vicar of Ratcliffe, Moses Couteryn, Philip Bartholemew, and John Brown, procurators of Ratcliffe before said, a new sepulchre well-gilt, and cover thereto, an image of God Almighty ryng out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance that longeth thereto; that is to say,

A lath made of timber and iron work thereto;

Item, Thereto longeth *Heven*, made of timber, and stained cloth;

Item, *Hell*, made of timber and iron work, with devils, the number, thirteen;

Item, Four knights armed, keeping the sepulchre, with their weapons in their hands,

that

that is to say, two spears, two axes, two paves;

Item, Four pair of angel's wings, for four angels, made of timber and well-painted.

Item, The fadre, the crown and visage, the bell with a cross upon it well-gilt with fine gold;

Item, The Holy Ghost coming out of heaven into the sepulchre;

Item, Longeth to the angels four chevelers †.

HENRY VII. seems never to have laid out any money so willingly, as on what he could never enjoy, his tomb †—on that he was profuse; but the very service for

† This memorandum is copied from the minutes of the Antiquarian Society under the year 1736. *Two paves*: A pave (in French, pavois or talevas) is a large buckler, forming an angle in front, like the ridge of a house, and big enough to cover the tallest man from head to foot. *The bell with the cross*: probably the belfry or mound. *Four chevelers*: chevelares or perukes.

† The whole chapel, called by his name, is properly but his mausoleum, he building it solely for the burial place of himself and the royal family, and accordingly ordering by his will that no other persons should be interred there. See Dart's *Antiquities of Westminster abbey*, vol. i. p. 32. The tomb was the work of one Peter a Florentine, as one Peter a Roman made the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

which

which it was intended, probably comforted him with the thought that it would not be paid for 'till after his death. Being neither ostentatious nor liberal; genius had no favour from him: He reigned as an attorney would have reigned, and would have preferred a conveyancer to Praxiteles.

Though painting in his age had attained it's brightest epoch †, no taste reached this country. Why should it have sought us? the king penurious, the nobles humbled, what encouragement was there for abilities? what theme for the arts! barbarous executions, chicane, processes, and mercenary treaties, were all a painter, a poet or a statuary had to record — accordingly not one that deserved the title (I mean natives) arose in that reign. The only names of painters that Vertue could recover of that period were both foreigners, and of one of them the account is indeed exceedingly slight; mention being barely made in the register's office of Wells, that one Holbein lived and died here in the reign of Henry VII. Whether the father of the celebrated Holbein I shall inquire hereafter

† Raphael was born in 1483,

in the life of that painter—but of this person whoever he was, are probably some ancient limnings * in a cabinet at Kenfington, drawn before the great master of that name could have arrived here. Among them is the portrait of Henry VII. from whence Vertue engraved his print. The other painter had merit enough to deserve a particular article; He was called

JOHN MABUSE or MABEUGIUS,

and was born at a little town of the same name in Hainault †, but in what year is uncertain, as is the year ‡ of his death. He had the two defects of his cotemporary countrymen, stiffness in his manner, and

* Two miniatures of Henry VII. each in a black cap, and one of them with a rose in his hand are mentioned in a MS. in the Harleian collection.

† Le Compt says it was in Hungary.

‡ Le Compt and Descamps say it was in 1562; a print of him, published by Galle, says “Fuit Hanno patriâ Malbodiensis; obiit Antwerpiae anno 1532, in cathedrali aede sepultus;” but Vertue thought part of this inscription was added to the plate many years after the first publication; and Sandrart whom I follow, says expressly that he could not discover when Mabuse died, Vertue conjectured, that he lived to the age of fifty-two.

drunken-

drunkenness. Yet his industry was sufficient to carry him to great lengths in his profession. His works were clear and highly finished. He was a friend rather than a rival of Lucas * of Leyden. After some practice at home he travelled into Italy, where he acquired more truth in treating naked subjects than freedom of expression. Indeed Raphael himself had not then struck out that majestic freedom, which has since animated painting, and delivered it from the fervility of coldly copying motionless nature. Mabuse so far improved his taste, as to introduce among his countrymen poetic history, for so I should understand † Sandrart's *varia poemata conficiendi*, if it is meant as a mark of real taste, rather than what a later ‡ author ascribes to Mabuse, that he first treated historic subjects allegorically. I never could conceive that riddles and rebus's (and I look upon such emblems as little better) are any improvements upon history. Allegoric personages

* Lucas made an entertainment for Mabuse and other artists that cost him sixty florins of gold.

† P. 234.

Descamps, *Vies des Peintres Flamands*, p. 83.

are a poor decomposition of human nature, whence a single quality is separated and erected into a kind of half deity, and then to be rendered intelligible, is forced to have its name written by the accompaniment of symbols. You must be a natural philosopher before you can decypher the vocation of one of these simplified divinities. Their dog, or their bird, or their goat, or their implement, or the colour of their cloaths, must all be expounded, before you know who the person is to whom they belong, and for what virtue the hero is to be celebrated, who has all this hieroglyphic cattle around him. How much more genius is there in expressing the passions of the soul in the lineaments of the countenance! Would Messalina's character be more ingeniously drawn in the warmth of her glances, or by ransacking a farm-yard for every animal of a congenial constitution?

A much admired work of Mabuse was an altar-piece at Middleburgh, † a descendent from the cross: Albert Durer went on purpose to see and praised it. Indeed

† Painted for the abbot Maximilian of Burgundy, who died 1524.

their style was very like : A picture of Mabuse now at St. James's is generally called Albert's. The piece at Middleburgh was destroyed by lightning. A great number of Mabuse's works were preserved in the same city in the time of Carl Vermander. M. Magnus at Delft had another descent from the cross by this master. The * *Sieur Wyntgis* at Amsterdam had a *Lucretia* by him. But one of his most striking performances was the decollation of St. John, painted in the shades of a single colour.

The Marquis de Veren took him into his own house, where he drew the Virgin and Child, borrowing the ideas of their heads from the Marquis's lady and son. This was reckoned his capital piece. It afterwards passed into the cabinet of M. Frosmont.

While he was in this service, the Emperor Charles V. was to lodge at the house of that lord, who made magnificent preparations for his reception, and among other expences ordered all his household to be dressed in white damask. Mabuse, always wanting money to waste in debauchery,

* Mint-master of Zeland.

when the tailor came to take his measure, desired to have the damask, under pretence of inventing a singular habit. He sold the stuff, drank out the money, and then painted a suit of paper so like damask, that it was not distinguished, as he marched in the procession, between a philosopher and a poet, other pensioners of the Marquis, who being informed of the trick, asked the Emperor which of the three suits he liked best: The Prince pointed to Mabuse's, as excelling in the whiteness and beauty of the flowers; nor did he 'till convinced by the touch, doubt of the genuineness of the silk. The Emperor laughed much—but, though a lover of the art, seems to have taken no other notice of Mabuse; whose excesses some time after occasioned his being flung into prison at Middleburgh, where however he continued to work. Vermander had seen several good drawings by him in black chalk.

At what time Mabuse came to England I do not find; Vermander says expressly that he was here, and the portraits drawn by him are a confirmation. The picture of Prince Arthur, Prince Henry and Princess Mar-

garet, when children, now in the china-closet at Windsor, was done by him. A neat little copy of, or rather his original design for it, in black and white oil-colours is at the Duke of Leeds's at Kiveton.* Sandrart speaks of the pictures of two noble youths drawn by him at Whitehall. Over one of the doors in the King's anti-chamber at St. James's is his picture of Adam and Eve, which formerly hung in the gallery at Whitehall, thence called the Adam and Eve gallery. † Martin Papenbroech, for-

* There is another of these in small in queen Caroline's closet at Kensington, another, very good, at Wilton, and another in Mr. Methuen's collection. One of these pictures, I do not know which of them, was sold out of the royal collection, during the civil war, for ten pounds. The picture that was at Kiveton is now in London, and is not entirely black and white, but the carnations are pale, and all the shadows tinged with pure black: but that was the manner of painting at the time; blues, reds greens and yellows not being blended in the gradations.

† Evelyn in the preface to his idea of the perfection of painting, mentions this picture, painted, as he calls him, by Malvagijs, and objects to the absurdity of representing Adam and Eve with navels, and a fountain with carved imagery in Paradise—the latter remark is just; the former is only worthy of a critical man-midwife.

merly

merly a famous collector in Holland, had another of them. It was brought over as a picture of Raphael in his first manner, in the time of Vertue, who by the exact description of it in Vermander discovered it to be of Mabuse. It was sold however for a considerable price.* In a MS. catalogue of the collection of King Charles I. taken in the year 1649, and containing some pictures that are not in the printed list, I find mention made of an old man's head by Mabuse; Sir Peter Lely had the story of Hercules and Deianira by him. † The only ‡ work besides that I know of this master in England, is a celebrated picture in my possession. It was bought for 200 *l.* by Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret, and hung for some years at their seat at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, whence it was sold after the late earl's death. The earl of Oxford once offered 500 *l.* for it. § It is painted

* It is now at the Grange in Hampshire, the seat of the lord chancellor Henley.

† See catalogue of his collection, p. 48. N^o. 99.

‡ I have since bought a small one of Christ crowned with thorns by him, with his name Malbodius, on it; and Mr. Raspe mentions another at Rochester: *Essay on oil painting*, p. 56.

§ I gave eighty-four pounds.

on board and is four feet six inches and three quarters wide by three feet six inches and three quarters high. It represents the inside of a church, an imaginary one, not at all resembling the abbey where those princes were married. The perspective and the landscape of the country on each side are good. On one hand on the fore ground stand the king and the bishop of Imola who pronounced the nuptial benediction. His majesty * is a trift, lean, ungracious figure, with a down-cast look, very expressive of his mean temper, and of the little satisfaction he had in the match. Opposite to the bishop is the queen, † a buxom well-looking damsel, with golden hair. By her is a figure, above all proportion with the rest, unless intended, as I imagine, for an emblematic personage, and designed from its lofty stature to give an idea of something above

* He is extremely like his profile on a shilling.

† Her image preserved in the abbey, among those curious but mangled figures of some of our princes, which were carried at their interments, and now called the ragged regiment, has much the same countenance. A figure in Merlin's cave was taken from it. In a MS. account of her coronation in the Cottonian library mention is made of her fair yellow hair hanging at length upon her shoulders.

human.

human. It is an elderly man, * dressed like a monk, except that his habit is green; his feet bare, and a spear in his hand. As the frock of no religious order ever was green, this cannot be meant for a friar. Probably it is St. Thomas, represented, as in the martyrologies, with the instrument of his death. The queen might have some devotion to that peculiar saint, or might be born or married on his festival. Be that as it may, the picture, though in a hard manner, has it's merit, independent of the curiosity.

John Schorel studied some time under Mabuse, but quitted him on account of his irregularities, by which Schorel was once in danger of his life. Paul Van Aelst excelled in copying Mabuse's works, and John Mof-tart assisted the latter in his works at Middleburgh.

In the library of St. John's college Cam-

* This allegoric figure seems to agree with the account of Descamps mentioned above, and Mabuse might have learned in Italy that the Romans always represented their divine personages larger than the human, as is evident from every model whereon are a Genius and an Emperor.

bridge is an original of their foundress Margaret of Richmond, the king's mother, much damaged, and the painter not known. Mr. West has a curious missal (the painter unknown) which belonged to Margaret queen of Scotland, and was a present from her father Henry VII. His name of his own writing is in the first page. The queen's portrait praying to St. Margaret, appears twice in the illuminations, and beneath several of them are the arms and matches of the house of Somerset, besides representations of the twelve months, well painted.

In this reign died John Rous, the antiquary of Warwickshire, who drew his own portrait and other semblances, but in too rude a manner to be called paintings.

ANECDOTES of PAINTING, &c.

C H A P. IV.

Painters in the Reign of Henry VIII.

1509.

THE accession of this sumptuous prince brought along with it the establishment of the arts. He was opulent, grand and liberal — how many invitations to artists! A man of taste encourages abilities; a man of expence, any performers; but when a king is magnificent, whether he has taste or not, the influence is so extensive, and the example so catching, that even merit has a chance of getting bread. Though Henry had no genius to strike out the improvements of latter ages, he had parts enough to chuse the best of what the then world exhibited to his option. He was galant as far as the rusticity of his country and the boisterous indelicacy of his own complexion would admit. His tournaments contracted, in imitation of the French, a kind

kind of romantic politeness. In one * which he held on the birth of his first child, he styled himself *Coeur Loyal*. In his interview with Francis I. in the vale of Cloth of Gold, he revived the pageantry of the days of Amadis. He and his favorite Charles Brandon, were the prototypes of those illustrious heroes, with which Mademoiselle Scuderi has enriched the world of chivalry. The Favorite's motto on his marriage with the monarch's sister retained that moral simplicity, now totally exploded by the academy of sentiments ;

Cloth of gold do not despise,
Tho' thou be matched with cloth of frize ;
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
Tho' thou be matched with cloth of gold.

Francis the first was the standard which these princely champions copied. While he contended with Charles V. for empire, he rivalled our Henry in pomp and protection of the arts. Francis handled the pencil himself ; I do not find that Henry pushed

* See a description and exhibition of this tournament among the prints published by the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i.

his imitation so far; but though at last He wofully unravelled most of the pursuits of his early age, (for at least it was great violation of galantry to cut off the heads of the fair damsels whose true knight he had been, and there is no forgiving him that destruction of ancient monuments and gothic piles and painted glass by the suppression of monasteries; a reformation, as he called it, which we antiquaries almost devoutly lament) yet he had countenanced the arts so long, and they acquired such solid foundation here, that they were scarce eradicated by that second storm which broke upon them during the civil war,—an aera we antiquaries lament with no less devotion than the former.

Henry had several painters in his service; and, as Francis invited Primaticcio and other masters from Italy, he endeavoured to tempt hither Raphael † and Titian. Some performers he did get from that country, of whom we know little but

† Raphael did paint a St. George for him, which has since been in Monsr. Crozat's collection. See *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux qui sont en France*, p. 13.

their names. Jerome di Trevisi * was both his painter and engineer, and attending him in the latter quality to the siege of Boulogne, was killed at the age of thirty-six. Joannes Corvus was a Fleming. Ver-tue discovered his name on the ancient picture of Fox bishop of Winchester, still preserved at Oxford. It was painted in the beginning of the reign of this king, after the prelate had lost his sight. The painter's name *Johannes Corvus Flandrus faciebat* is on the frame, which is of the same age with the picture, and coloured in imitation of red marble with veins of green †.

Others of Henry's painters are recorded in an office-book ‡ signed monthly by the king himself, and containing payments of wages, presents, &c. probably by the treasurer of the chambers Sir Brian Tuke. It

* He is mentioned by Ridolphi in the lives of the painters. Some sketches of sieges at that time, probably by his hand, are preserved in a book in the Cotton-library.

† There are two or three pictures of the same prelate in the college, but this is probably the original; is flat and a poor performance.

‡ It was in the collection of Mrs. Bridgman of Hannover-square.

begins

begins in his twenty-first year, and contains part of that and the two next years complete. There appear the following names.

An°. reg. xxii. Nov. 8. Paid to Anthony Toto and Barthol. Penne, painters, for their livery coats xlv s.

An°. reg. xxiii. Jan. xv day. Paid to Anthony Toto paynter, by the king's commandment xx l.

In another book of office * Vertue found these memorandums,

March 1538. Item to Anthony Toto and Bartilmew Penn, painters, 12 pounds, 10 shillings, their quarterly payments between them; also presents on new-year's day 1539.

To Anthony Toto's servant that brought the king at Hampton-court a depicted table of Colonia 7 shillings and 8 pence.

Feb. An°. reg. xxix. Gerard Luke Horneband painter 56 shillings and 9 pence per month.

Toto was afterwards serjeant painter, and in Rymer are his letters of naturalization under this title.

† An°. 30 HEN. VIII. 1583. Pro. picture regis de indigenatione.

* In the library of the Royal Society.

† Foedera, vol. xiv. p. 595.

Felibien mentions this painter and his coming to England; * speaking of Ridolphi, fils de Dominique Ghirlandaio, he says, " Chez luy il y avoit Toto del Nuntiato, qui depuis s'en alla en Angleterre, ou il fit plusieurs ouvrages de peinture et d'architecture, avec lequel Perrin fit amitiè, et à l'envie l'un de l'autre s'efforçoit à bien faire."

But Toto's works are all lost or unknown, his fame with that of his associates being obscured by the lustre of Holbein.

Penne or Penn, mentioned above, is called by Vasari, not Bartholemew, but Luca Penni; he was brother of Gio. Francesco Penni, a favorite and imitator of Raphael. Luca, or Bartholomew (for it is undoubtedly the same person) worked some time at Genoa and in other parts of Italy, from whence he came into England, and painted several pieces for the king, and for some merchants here †. In a small room

* Tom. ii. p. 158.

† Vasari adds, that Luca Penni addicted himself latterly to making designs for Flemish engravers. This is the mark on his prints, *R* that is, Luca Penni Romano.

called the confessionary near the chapel at Hampton-court, Vertue found several scripture stories painted on wainscot, particularly the passion. He and Sir James Thornhill agreed that they were much in the style of Raphael, particularly the small figures and landscapes in the perspective, and not at all in the German taste. These Vertue concluded to be of Luca Penni.

To some of these painters Vertue ascribes, with great probability, the battle of the spurs, the triumphs of the valley of cloth of gold, and the expedition * to Boulogne, three curious pictures now at Windsor; † commonly supposed by Holbein, but not only beneath his excellence, but painted (at least two of them) if painted as in all likelihood they were on the several occasions, before the arrival of that great master in England.

* It is not very surprizing, that a prince of seemingly so martial a disposition should make so little figure in the roll of conquerors, when we observe by this picture that the magnificence of his armament engaged so much of his attention. His ships are as sumptuous as Cleopatra's gally on the Cydnus.

† This bad judgment was made even by Mr. Evelyn in his discourse on medals.

Of another painter mentioned in the payments above, we know still less than of Toto. He is there called Gerard Luke Horneband. Vermander and Descamps call him Gerard Horrebout, and both mention him as painter to Henry VIII. He was of Ghent, where were his principal works, but none are known in England as his. † In the same book of payments are mentioned two other painters, Andrew Oret, and one Ambrose, painter to the queen of Navarre. The former indeed was of no great rank, receiving 30*l.* for painting and covering the king's barge; the latter had 20 crowns for bringing a picture to the king's grace at Eltham.

Henry had another serjeant-painter, whose name was Andrew Wright; he lived in Southwark and had a grant ‡ of arms from Sir Thomas Wriothesly, Garter. His motto

† Susanna, the sister of Luke Horneband, painter in miniature, was invited, says Vasari, into the service of Henry VIII. and lived honorably in England to the end of her life.

‡ From a MS. in the possession of the late Peter Leneve Norroy. In the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. is a grant of arms and crest to the Craft of Painters dated in the first year of Henry VIII.

was,

was, *En Vertu Delice*; but he never attained any renown; indeed this was in the beginning of Henry's reign before the art itself was upon any respectable footing: they had not arrived even at the common terms for it's productions. In the inventory in the augmentation-office which I have mentioned, containing an account of goods, pictures and furniture in the palace of Westminster, under the care of Sir Anthony Denny keeper of the wardrobe, it appears that they called a picture, *a table with a picture*; prints, *cloths stained with a picture*; and models and basreliefs, they termed *pictures of earth*; for instance,

Item, One table with the picture of the duchess of Milan, being her whole stature.

Item, One table with the history of Filius Prodigus.

Item, One folding table of the passion, set in gilt leather.

Item, One table like a book with the pictures of the king's majesty and queen Jane.

Item, One other table with the whole stature of my lord prince his grace, stained upon cloth with a curtain.

Item, One table of the history of Christiana Patientia.

Item, One table of the passion, of cloth of gold, adorned with pearls and rubies.

Item, One table of ruffet and black, of the parable of the 18th chapter of Matthew, raised with liquid gold and silver.

Item, One table of the king's highness, standing upon a mitre with three crowns, having a serpent with seven heads going out of it, and having a sword in his hand, whereon is written, Verbum Dei.

Item, One cloth stained with Phebus rideing with his cart in the air, with the history of him.

Item, One picture of Moses made of earth, and set in a box of wood. *

Another

* In an old chapter-house at Christ church Oxford I discovered two portraits, admirably painted and in the most perfect preservation, which certainly belonged to Henry VIII. the one an elderly, the other, a young man, both in black bonnets, and large as life. On the back of the one is this mark, N^o. **HR** 22; on the other, N^o. **HR** 25. In the catalogue of King Henry's pictures in the augmentation office, N^o. 25. is Frederic Duke of Saxony, N^o. 26. is Philip Archduke of Austria; in all probability these very pictures. They have a
great

Another serjeant-painter in this reign was John Brown, * who if he threw no great lustre on his profession, was at least a benefactor to its professors. In the 24th of Henry he built painter's hall for the company, † where his portrait is still preserved among other pictures given by persons of the society. Their first charter in which they are styled Peyntours, was granted in

great deal of the manner of Holbein, certainly not inferior to it, but are rather more free and bold. Frederic, the wise, Duke of Saxony, died in 1525, about a year before Holbein came to England, but the Archduke Philip died when Holbein was not above eight years of age: Holbein might have drawn this Prince from another picture, as a small one of him when a boy, in my possession, has all the appearance of Holbein's hand. Whoever painted the pictures at Oxford, they are two capital portraits.

* His arms were, argent, on a fess counter-embattled, sable, three escallops of the first; on a canton, quarterly gules and azure, a leopard's head caboshed, or.

† Camden, whose father was a painter in the Old-Bailey, gave a silver cup and cover to the company of Painter-Stainers, which they use on St. Luke's day at their election, the old master drinking out of it to his successor elect. Upon this cup is the following inscription; Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux, filius Samsonis, pictoris Londinensis, dedit. Maitland.


the 6th of Edward IV. but they had existed as a fraternity long before. Holme Clarenceux, in the 1st of Henry VII. granted them arms, viz. azure, a chevron, or, between three heads of phoenixes erased. They were again incorporated or confirmed by charter of the 23d of queen Elizabeth, 1581, by the title of Painter-stainers.

In this reign flourished

L U C A S C O R N E L I I . *

Who was both son and scholar of Cornelius Engelbert, but reduced to support himself as a cook, so low at that time were sunk the arts in Leyden, his country. He excelled both in oil and miniature, and hearing the encouragement bestowed on his profession by Henry VIII. came to England with his wife and seven or eight children, and was made his majesty's painter. Some of his works in both kinds are still preserved at Leyden; one particularly, the story of the woman taken in adultery. His chief performances extant in England are at Penshurst, as appears by this mark on

* See Sandrart, p. 232.

one of them , that is, Lucas Cornelii pinxit. They are a series, in * sixteen pieces, of the constables of Queenborough castle from the reign of Edward III. to Sir Thomas Cheyne knight of the garter in the 3d of Henry VIII. Though not all originals, they undoubtedly are very valuable, being in all probability painted from the best memorials then extant; and some of them, representations of remarkable persons, of whom no other image remains. Of these, the greatest curiosities are, Robert de Vere, the great duke of Ireland, and George, the unfortunate Duke of Clarence. Harris, in his history of Kent, † quotes an itinerary by one Johnston, who says, that in 1629, he saw at the house of the minister of Gillingham, the portrait of Sir Edward Hobby, the last governor but one, who had carefully assembled all the portraits of his predecessors, and added his own; but at that time they were all lost or dispersed.

* One of them, I have heard, was given by Mr. Perry, the last master of Penhurst, to Mr. Velters Cornwall. It was the portrait of his ancestor Sir John Cornwall.

† P. 377.

He did not know it seems that they had been removed to Penshurst; nor can we now discover at what time they were transported thither.

Many more of the works of Lucas Cornelii were bought up and brought to England by merchants who followed Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester into the Low-countries, and who had observed how much this master was esteemed here. However, none of these performers were worthy the patronage of so great a Prince; his munificence was but ill bestowed 'till it centered on

H A N S H O L B E I N.

Few excellent artists have had more justice done to their merit than Holbein. His country has paid the highest honours to his memory and to his labours. His life has been frequently written; every circumstance that could be recovered in relation to him has been sedulously preserved; and, as always happens to a real genius, he has been complimented with a thousand wretched performances that were unworthy of him. The year of his birth, the place
of

of his birth have been contested; yet it is certain that the former happened in 1498, and the latter most probably was Basil. His father was a painter of Ausburg, and so much esteemed, that the Lord of Walberg paid an hundred florins to the monastery of St. Catherine for a large picture of the salutation painted by him. He executed too in half figures the life of St. Paul, on which he wrote this inscription, "This work was completed by J. Holbein, a citizen of Ausburg, 1499." John Holbein, the elder, had a brother called Sigismond, a painter too. Hans, so early as 1512, drew the pictures of both, which came into the possession of Sandrart, who has engraved them in his book, and which, if not extremely improved by the engraver, are indeed admirable performances for a boy of fourteen.

I have said that in the register's office of Wells there is mention of a Holbein who died here in the reign of Henry VII. Had it been the father, it would probably have been mentioned by some of the biographers of the son; but I find it no where hinted that the father was ever in Eng-

land. It is more likely to have been the uncle, who we have seen was a painter, and do not find that he was a very good one. He might have come over, and died here in obscurity.

Holbein's inclination to drawing appeared very early, and could not fail of being encouraged in a family * so addicted to the art. His father himself instructed him; and he learned besides, graving, casting, modelling and architecture: in the two latter branches he was excellent. Yet with both talents and taste, he for some time remained in indigence, dissipating with women what he acquired by the former, and drowning in wine the delicacy of the latter. At that time Erasmus was retired to Basil, a man, whose luck of fame was derived from all the circumstances which he himself reckoned unfortunate. He lived when learning was just emerging out of barbarism, and shone by lamenting elegantly the defects of his cotemporaries. His being one of the first to attack superstitions which he had not courage to relinquish, gave him

* Holbein had two brothers, Ambrose and Bruno, who were also painters at Basil.

merit in the eyes of protestants, while his time-serving had an air of moderation; and his very poverty, that threw him into servile adulation, expressed itself in terms that were beautifull enough to be transmitted to posterity. His cupboard of plate, all presented to him by the greatest men of the age, was at once a monument of his flattery and genius. With a mind so polished no wonder he distinguished the talents of young Holbein. He was warmly recommended to employment by Erasmus and Amerbach, * a printer of that city. He painted the picture of the latter in 1519, who showing him the *Moriae Encomium* of the former, Holbein drew on the margin many of the characters described in the book. Erasmus was so pleased with those sketches that he kept the book ten days—the subsequent incidents were trifling indeed, and not much to the honour of the politeness of either. Holbein, rudely enough, wrote under the figure of an old student, the name of Erasmus. The

* See an account of him in Palmer's history of printing, p. 218.

author, with very little spirit of repartee, wrote under a fellow drinking, the name of Holbein. These are anecdotes certainly not worth repeating for their importance, but very descriptive of the esteem in which two men were held of whom such anecdotes could be thought worth preserving.*

Supported by the protection of these friends, Holbein grew into great reputation. The earl of Arundel † returning from Italy through Basil, saw his works, was charmed with them, and advised him to go into England. At first Holbein neglected this advice; but in 1526 his family

7 * In the *Moriae Encomium* published at Basil by M. Patin, 1616, with cuts from Holbein's designs, there is a large account of him collected by Patin, and a catalogue of his works. On those drawings were written the following lines;

Rex Macedon Coo tumidus pictore, cani se

Maeoniae doluit non potuisse sene.

Stultitiae potior fors est; hanc alter Apelles

Pingit, et eloquium laudat, Erasme, tuum.

Seb. Feschius Basil.

† Others say it was the earl of Surrey who was travelling into Italy; and that Holbein not recollecting his name, drew his picture by memory, and Sir Thomas More immediately knew it to be that lord.

and

and the froward temper of his wife increasing, and his business declining, he determined upon that journey.

At first he said he should quit Basil but for a time, and only to raise the value of his works, which were growing too numerous there; yet before he went, he intimated that he should leave a specimen of the power of his abilities. He had still at his house a portrait that he had just finished for one of his patrons—on the forehead he painted a fly, and sent the picture to the person for whom it was designed. The gentleman struck with the beauty of the piece, went eagerly to brush off the fly—and found the deceit. The story soon spread, and as such trifling deceptions often do, made more impression than greater excellencies. Orders were immediately given to prevent the city being deprived of so wonderful an artist—but Holbein had withdrawn himself privately. Erasmus had given him recommendatory letters to Sir Thomas More, with a present of his own picture by Holbein, which he assured the Chancellor was more like than one drawn by Albert Durer.

Durer.* Holbein stopped for a short time at Antwerp, having other letters for P. Aegidius, a common friend of Erasmus and

* At lord Folkston's at Longford in Wiltshire, are the portraits of Erasmus and Aegidius, said to be drawn by Holbein; they belonged to Dr. Meade, and while in his collection had the following lines written on the frames, and still remaining there: On that of Erasmus,

E tenebris clarum doctrinae attollere lumen

Qui felix potuit, primus Erasmus erat.

On Aegidius.

Aegidium musis charum dilexit Erasmus;

Spirat ab Holbenio pictus uterque tuo:

The latter is far the better; that of Erasmus, is stiff and flat. However this is believed to be the very picture which Erasmus sent by Holbein himself to Sir Thomas More, and which was afterwards in the cabinet of Andrew de Loo and from thence passed into the Arundelian collection. But I should rather think it is the picture which was in king Charles's (see his catal. No. 13, p. 154.) where it is said to have been painted by George Spence of Nuremberg. Quintin Matsis too painted Aegidius, with which Sir Thomas More was so pleased, that he wrote a panegyric on the painter, beginning,

Quintine, o veteris novator artis,

Magno non minor artifex Apelle.

Aegidius held a letter in his hand from Sir Thomas, with his hand-writing so well imitated, that More could not distinguish it himself. Quintin too in the year 1521 drew the picture of the celebrated physician Dr. Linacre.

More.

More. In those letters the former tells Aegidius, that Holbein was very desirous of seeing the works of Quintin Matsis, the celebrated black-smith painter, whose tools, it is said, Love converted into a pencil. Of this master Holbein had no reason to be jealous: With great truth and greater labour, Quintin's pictures are inferior to Holbein's. The latter smoothed the stiffness of his manner by a velvet softness and lustre of colouring; the performances of his cotemporary want that perfecting touch; nor are there any evidences that Quintin could ascend above the coarseness or deformities of nature. Holbein was equal to dignified character—He could express the piercing genius of More, or the grace of Ann Boleyn. Employed by More, Holbein was employed as he ought to be: This was the happy moment of his pencil; from painting the author, he rose to the philosopher, and then sunk to work for the king. I do not know a single countenance into which any master has poured greater energy of expression than in the drawing of Sir Thomas More at Kensington: It has a freedom, a boldness of thought and acute-
ness

ness of penetration that attest the sincerity of the resemblance. It is Sir Thomas More in the rigour of his sense, not in the sweetness of his pleasantry—Here he is the unblemished magistrate, not that amiable philosopher, whose humility neither power nor piety could elate, and whose mirth even martyrdom could not spoil. Here he is rather that single cruel judge whom one knows not how to hate, and who in the vigour of abilities, of knowledge and good humour persecuted others in defence of superstitions that he himself had exposed; and who capable of disdaining life at the price of his sincerity, yet thought that God was to be served by promoting an imposture; who triumphed over Henry and Death, and sunk to be an accomplice, at least the dupe, of the holy maid of Kent!

Holbein was kindly received by More and was taken into his house at Chelsea. There he worked for near three years, drawing the portraits of Sir Thomas, his relations and friends. The king visiting the chancellor, saw some of those pictures, and expressed his satisfaction. Sir Thomas begged him to accept which ever he
 liked

liked—but he enquired for the painter, who was introduced to him. Henry immediately took him into his own service, and told the chancellor, that now he had got the artist, he did not want the pictures. An apartment in the palace was immediately allotted to Holbein, with a salary of 200 florins, besides his being paid for his pictures: The price of them I no where find.

Patin says that after three years Holbein returned to Basil to display his good fortune, but soon returned to England. It is not probable that he lived so long with Sir Thomas More as is asserted. He drew the king several times, and I suppose all his queens, though no portrait of Catherine Parr is certainly known to be of his hand. He painted too the king's children, and the chief persons of the court, as will be mentioned hereafter. The writers of his life relate a story, which Vermander, his first biographer, affirms came from Dr. Isely of Basil and from Amerbach: yet, in another place, Vermander complaining of the latter, to whom he says he applied for anecdotes relating to Holbein and his works;

after eight or ten years could get no other answer, than that it would cost a great deal of trouble to seek after those things, and that he should expect to be well paid. The story is, that one day as Holbein was privately drawing some lady's picture for the king, a great lord forced himself into the chamber. Holbein threw him down stairs; the peer cried out; Holbein bolted himself in, escaped over the top of the house, and running directly to the king, fell on his knees, and besought his majesty to pardon him, without declaring the offence. The king promised to forgive him if he would tell the truth; but soon began to repent, saying he should not easily overlook such insults, and bad him wait in the apartment 'till he had learned more of the matter. Immediately arrived the lord with his complaint, but sinking the provocation. At first the monarch heard the story with temper, but broke out, reproaching the nobleman with his want of truth, and adding, " You have not to do with Holbein, but with me; I tell you, of seven peasants I can make as many lords, but not one Holbein—begone, and remember, that if
you

you ever pretend to revenge yourself, I shall look on any injury offered to the painter as done to myself." Henry's behaviour is certainly the most probable part of the story. *

After the death of Jane Seymour, Holbein was sent to Flanders to draw the picture of the duchess dowager of Milan †, widow of Francis Sforza, whom Charles V. had recommended to Henry for a fourth wife, but afterwards changing his mind, prevented him from marrying. Among the Harleian MSS. there is a letter from Sir Thomas Wyatt to the king, congratulating his majesty on his escape, as the duchess's chastity was a little equivocal. If it was, considering Henry's temper, I am apt to think that the duchess had the greater escape. It was about the same time that it is said she herself sent the king word, "That she had but one head; if she had

* Lovelace, in his collection of poems called *Lucastra*, has an epigram on this subject, but it is not worth repeating.

† Christiana daughter of Christiern king of Denmark. Lord Herbert says that Holbein drew her picture in three hours, p. 496.

“ two, one of them should be at his ma-
 “ jesty’s service. * ”

Holbein was next dispatched by Cromwell to draw the lady Anne of Cleve, and by practicing the common flattery of his profession, was the immediate cause of the destruction of that great subject, and of the disgrace that fell on the princess herself. He drew so favorable a † likeness, that

* Vertue saw a whole length of this princess at Mr. Howard’s in Soho-square. Such a picture is mentioned to have been in the royal collections.

† This very picture, as is supposed, was in the possession of Mr. Barrett of Kent, whose collection was sold a few years ago, but the family reserved this and some other curiosities. The print among the illustrious heads is taken from it ; and so far justifies the king, that he certainly was not nice, if from that picture he concluded her handsome enough. It has so little beauty, that I should doubt of it’s being the very portrait in question—it rather seems to have been drawn after Holbein saw a little with the king’s eyes.

I have since seen that picture in the cabinet of the present Mr. Barrett of Lee, and think it the most exquisitely perfect of all Holbein’s works, as well as in the highest preservation. The print gives a very inadequate idea of it, and none of her Flemish fairness. It is preserved in the ivory box in which it came over, and which represents a rose so delicately carved as to be worthy of the jewel it contains.

Henry

Henry was content to wed her—but when he found her so inferior to the miniature, the storm which really should have been directed at the painter, burst on the minister; and Cromwell lost his head, because Anne was a *Flanders mare*, not a Venus, as Holbein had represented her.

Little more occurs memorable of this great painter, but that in 1538, the city of Basil, on the increase of his fame, bestowed an annuity of fifty florins on him for two years, hoping, says my author, that it would induce him to return to his country, to his wife and his children. How large soever that salary might seem in the eyes of frugal Swiss citizens, it is plain it did not weigh with Holbein against the opulence of the court of England. He remained here 'till his death, which was occasioned by the plague in the year 1554, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Some accounts make him die in the spot where is now the paper-office; but that is not likely, as that very place had been king Henry's private study, and was then appointed for the reception of the letters and papers left by that prince and of other public papers. Vertue thought, if he died in the

H 2

precincts

precincts of the palace, that it was in some slight lodgings there, then called the paper-buildings, or in Scotland-yard where the king's artificers lived; but he was rather of opinion that Holbein breathed his last in the duke of Norfolk's house in the priory of Christ-church * near Aldgate, then called Duke's-place, having been removed from Whitehall, to make room for the train of Philip, to whom queen Mary was going to be married. † The spot of his interment was as uncertain as that of his death. Thomas earl of Arundel, the celebrated collector in the reign of Charles I. was desirous of erecting a monument for him, but dropped the design from ignorance of the place. Strype in his edition of Stowe's Survey says that he was buried in St. Catherine-Cree church, which stands in the cimitery of that dissolved priory, and consequently close to his patron's house.

* There was a priory given at the dissolution to Sir Thomas Audley, from whose family it came by marriage to the duke of Norfolk, but this was not 'till four years after the death of Holbein, consequently Vertue's conjecture is not well grounded.

† Holbein was not likely to be in favour in that reign, being supposed a protestant.

Who

Who his wife was, or what family he left we are not told; mention of some of his children will be made in the list of his works.

Holbein painted in oil, in distemper and water-colours. He had never practised the last 'till he came to England, where he learned it of Lucas Cornelii, and carried it to the highest perfection. His miniatures have all the strength of oil-colours joined to the most finished delicacy. He generally painted on a green ground; in his small pictures often on a deep blue. There is a tradition that he painted with his left hand, like the Roman knight Turpilius, but this is contradicted by one of his own portraits that was in the Arundelian collection and came to lord Stafford, in which he holds his pencil in the right hand.

It is impossible to give a compleat catalogue of his works; they were extremely numerous; and as I have said, that number is increased by copies, by doubtfull or by pretended pieces. Many have probably not come to my knowledge; those I shall mention were of his hand, as far as I can judge.

From his drawings for the *Moriae Encomium* there have been prints to many editions, and yet they are by no means the most meritorious of his performances.

At Basil in the town-house are eight pieces of the history of Christ's passion and crucifixion. Maximilian duke of Bavaria offered a great sum for them.

Three of the walls in the upper part of the same edifice are adorned with histories by him.

In the library of the university there is a dead Christ, painted on board in the year 1521. In the same place the Lord's supper much damaged.

Another there on the same subject, drawn by Holbein when very young. Christ scourged; in the same place, but not very well painted.

Ibidem, A board painted on both sides; a school-master teaching boys. It is supposed to have been a sign to some private school, 1516.

Ibidem, A profile of Erasmus writing his Commentary on Saint Matthew.

Ibidem, The same in an oval; smaller.

Ibidem, The portrait of Amerbach.

Ibidem,

Ibidem, A woman sitting with a girl in her arms, and stroaking a little boy. These are said to be Holbein's wife and children. This has been engraved by Joseph Wirtz.

Ibidem, A lady of Alsace, with a boy.

Ibidem, A beautifull woman, inscribed, *Lais Corinthiaca* 1526.

Ibidem, Adam and Eve, half figures, 1517.

Ibidem, Two pictures in chiaro scuro, of Christ crowned with thorns, and the Virgin praying.

Ibidem, One hundred and three sketches on paper, collected by Amerbach; who has written on them *Hans Holbein genuina*. They are chiefly designs for the Life of Christ, and some for the family of Sir Thomas More. Many of them are thought to have been patterns for glass-painters. I have heard that at Basil there are paintings on glass both by Holbein himself and his father.

Ibidem, Two death's heads near a grate.

Ibidem, The portrait of John Holbein (I do not know whether father or son) in a red hat, and a white habit trimmed with black.

The portrait of James Mejer, Consul or

Burgo-master of Basil, and his wife, 1516, with the sketches for both pictures. In the museum of Feschius.

Erasmus, in the same place.

In the street called Eissengassen, is a whole house painted by him on the outside, with buildings and history. For this he received sixty florins.

The Emperor Charles V. Le Blond a Dutch painter * gave an hundred crowns for this at Lyons in 1633, for the duke of Buckingham.

* So I find him called in the list of Holbein's works prefixed to the English edition of the *Moriae Encomium*; Sandrart mentions another person of almost the same name, who he says was the Swedish minister in Holland, and that he, Sandrart, gave him an original portrait of Holbein. He adds, that Monf. Le Blon had another picture by Holbein of a learned man and death with an hour-glass, and a building behind; and that Le Blon, being earnestly sollicitated, had sold to J. Lofert, a painter, for three hundred florins, a picture of the Virgin and child by the same master. Le Blon had also some figures by Holbein, particularly a Venus and Cupid, finely modelled. There is a print of the Swedish Le Blon, after Vandyck by Theo. Matham, thus inscribed, Michel Le Blon, Agent de la Reyne et couronne de Suede chez sa Majestie de la Grande Bretagne.

Another

Another portrait of Erasmus, bought at Basil by the same Le Blond for an hundred ducats. This was engraved in Holland by Vischer. It is mentioned in the catalogue of the duke's pictures p. 17, N^o. 6. To this was joined the portrait of Frobenius. Both pictures are now † at Kensington; but the architecture in the latter was added afterwards by Stenwyck.

A large picture, containing the portraits of the Consul Mejer and his sons on one side, and of his wife and daughters on the other, all praying before an altar. This was sold at Basil for an hundred pieces of gold; the same Le Blond in 1633 gave a thousand rix-dollars for it, and sold it for three times that sum to Mary de' Medici, then in Holland.

Another portrait of Erasmus; at Vienna.

Another there, supposed the father of Sir Thomas More. This was reckoned one of his capital works.

† But the Erasmus is thought a copy: the true one King Charles gave to Monf. de Liencourt. see catal. p. 18. The Frobenius was given to the king by the duke of Buckingham just before he went to the isle of Rhee.

Two pieces about five feet high, representing monks digging up the bones of some saint, and carrying them in procession; at Vienna.

A picture about four feet square, of dancing, hunting, tilting and other sports; in the public library at Zurich.

The inside of a church, the virgin, and apostles; angels singing above; in the collection of Mr. Werdmyller at Zurich.

The portrait of an English nobleman; in the same cabinet.

The portrait of Conrad Pellican, professor of Theology and Hebrew at Zurich; in the house of Mr. Martin Werdmyller senator of Basil.

Christ in his cradle, the Virgin and Joseph: Shepherds at a distance; in the church of the Augustines at Lucern.

The Adoration of the wise men. *ibidem.*

Christ taken from the cross. *ibidem.*

The Sancta Veronica. *ibidem.*

Christ teaching in the temple. *ibidem.*

Christ on the cross; the Virgin and St. John; with inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

All the Prophets in nine pieces, each a yard
yard

yard long; painted in distemper. These were carried to Holland by Barthol. Sarbruck a painter, who made copies of them, preserved in the Feschian-museum.

The picture of queen Mary: Dr. Patin had it, and the following;

1. An old man with a red forked beard, supposed to be a grand master of Rhodes.

2. The dance of Death in the church-yard of the Predicants of the suburbs of St. John at Basil is always ascribed to Holbein, and is shown to strangers through a grate. And yet, as Vertue observed, our painter had undoubtedly no hand in it. Pope Eugenius IV. appointed the council of Basil in 1431, and it sat there 15 years, during which time a plague raged that carried off all degrees of people. On the cessation of it, the work in question was immediately painted as a memorial of that calamity. Holbein could not be the original painter, for he was not born 'till 1498; nor had any hand in the part that was added in 1529, at which time he had left Basil. Even if he had been there when it was done (which was about the time of his short return thither) it is not probable that men-
tion

tion of him would have been omitted in the inscription which the magistrates caused to be placed under those paintings, especially when the name of one Hugo Klauber, a painter who repaired them in 1569, is carefully recorded. But there is a stronger proof of their not being the work of Holbein, and at the same time an evidence of his taste. The paintings at Basil are a dull series of figures, of a pope, emperor, king, queen, &c. each seized by a figure of Death; but in the prints which Hollar has given of Holbein's drawings of Death's Dance, a design he borrowed from the work at Basil, there are groupes of figures, and a richness of fancy and invention peculiar to himself. Every subject is varied, and adorned with buildings and habits of the times, which he had the singular art of making picturesque.

At Amsterdam in the Warmoes-street was a fine picture of a queen of England in silver tissue.

Two portraits of himself, one, a small round, † was in the cabinet of James Razer;

† Mr. George Augustus Selwyn has one that answers exactly to this account, and is in perfect preservation. Mr. Walpole has another, and better preserved.

the

the other as big as the palm of a hand; in the collection of Barth. Ferrers.

Sandrart had drawings by Holbein of Christ's passion, in folio; two of them were wanting; in his book he offers 200 florins to whoever will produce and sell them to him. p. 241.

In the king of France's collection are the following;

1. Archbishop Warham. aet. suae 70. 1527. There is another of these at Lambeth. Archbishop Parker entailed this and another of Erasmus on his successors; they were stolen in the civil war, but Juxon repurchased the former.

2. The portrait of Nicholas Cratzer, Astronomer to Henry VIII. This man after long residence in England had scarce learned to speak the language. The king asking him how that happened, he replied, "I beseech your highness to pardon me; what can a man learn in only thirty years?" These two last pictures * were in the collection

* Warham's came afterwards to Sir Walter Cope, who lived without Temple-bar over against the lord treasurer Salisbury, and had several of Holbein, which passed

lection of Andrew de Loo, a great virtuoso, who bought all the works of Holbein he could procure; among others a portrait of Erasmus, which king Charles afterwards exchanged for a picture of Leonardo da Vinci. A drawing of Cratzer is among the heads by Holbein at Kensington. Among others in de Loo's collection was the fine Cromwell earl of Effex, now at Mr. Southwell's, and engraved among the illustrious heads. †

3. Anne of Cleve.

4. Holbein's own portrait.

5. Erasmus writing; a small picture.

passed by marriage to the earl of Holland, and were for some time at Holland-house. See Oxf. MSS. Yelvert. p. 118. Another of Cratzer remained at Holland-house 'till the death of the countess of Warwick, wife of M. Addison; a fine picture, strongly painted, representing him with several instruments before him, and an inscription expressing that he was a Bavarian, of the age of 41 in 1528. In one of the office-books are entries of payment to him.

April, paid to Nicholas the Astronomer — 11*l*.

Anno 23, paid to ditto — — 5—4—0

Cratzer in 1550 erected the dial at Corpus Christi coll. Oxford. Brit. Topogr. vol. ii. p. 159.

† De Loo had also the family-picture of Sir Thomas More, which was bought by his grandson Mr. Roper.

6. An

6. An old man, with a gold chain.
7. Sir Thomas More, less than life.
8. An old man with beads and a death's head.

In the collection of the duke of Orleans are four heads ;

Another Cromwell earl of Essex. *

Sir Thomas More.

A lady.

George Gyfein. †

But the greatest and best of his works were done in England, many of which still remain here. Some were lost or destroyed in the civil war ; some sold abroad at that time ; and some, particularly of his miniatures were, I believe, consumed when Whitehall was burned. There perished the large picture of Henry VII. ‡ and of Eli-

* There is a small head of him at Devonshire-house with this date, aet. 15. 1515.

† This is a Dutch name: Peter Gyzen, born about 1636, was a painter, and scholar of Velvet Breughel. Descamps, vol. iii. p. 41.

‡ The portraits of Henry VII. and Elizabeth must have been taken from older originals: Holbein more than once copied the picture of this queen, and of the kings grandame (as she was called) Margaret countess of Richmond.

zabeth of York, of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour; it was painted on the wall in the privy chamber. The copy which Remèe * made of it for Charles II. in small, and for which he received 150 *l.* hangs in the king's bedchamber below stairs at Kensington; from that Vertue engraved his print. Holbein's original drawing of the two kings is in the collection of the duke of Devonshire. It is in black chalk, heightened, and large as life; now at Chatsworth. The architecture of this picture is very rich, and parts of it in a good style.

In the chapel at Whitehall he painted Joseph of Arimathea, and in that at St. James's, Lazarus rising from the dead—both now destroyed. †

That he often drew the king is indubitable; several pictures extant of Henry are ascribed to him—I would not warrant many of them.—There is one at Trinity college Cambridge, ‡ another at Lord Tor-

* Remèe was a scholar of Vandyke and died in 1678. aged 68.

† See Peacham on limning.

‡ It has *HE* *Fecit* upon it; and was probably a copy by Lucas de Heere, of whom hereafter.

ington's at Whitehall, both whole lengths, and another in the gallery of royal portraits, at Kensington, which whoever painted it, is execrable; one at Petworth, and another in the gallery at Windsor. But there is one head of that king at Kensington, not only genuine, but perhaps the most perfect of his works. It hangs by the chimney in the second room, leading to the great drawing-room; and would alone account for the judgment of Depiles, who in his scale of picturesque merit, allows 16 degrees for colouring to Holbein, when he had allotted but 12 to Raphael. I conclude that it was in the same light that Frederic Zuccherò considered our artist, when he told Goltzius that in some respects he preferred him to Raphael. Both Zuccherò and Depiles understood the science too well to make any comparison except in that one particular of colouring, between the greatest genius, in his way, that has appeared, and a man who excelled but in one, and that an inferior branch of his art. The texture of a rose is more delicate than that of an oak; I do not say that it grows so lofty or casts so extensive a shade.

Opposite to this picture hangs another, but much inferior, called in the catalogue lord Arundel, or Howard; * the latter name is a confusion, occasioned by the title of Arundel passing into the family of Howard. The portrait in question, I suppose, is of H. Fitzalan earl of Arundel, and probably the very person who first persuaded Holbein to come into England.

In the state bed-chamber is a portrait of Edward VI. It was originally a half length; but has been very badly converted into a whole figure since the time of Holbein.

Considering how long he lived in the service of the crown, it is surprizing that so few of his works should have remained in the royal collection; Charles I. appears by his catalogue to have possessed but about a dozen. All the rest were dispersed but those I have mentioned (unless the whole length of the unfortunate earl of Surrey, in a red habit, in the lower apartment at Windsor is so, as I believe it is) and a fine little picture of a man and woman, said to

* The fine original of Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk with the staves of earl-marshal and lord treasurer, from whence the print is taken, is at Leicester-house.

be his own and wife's portraits which hangs in an obscure closet in the gallery at Windsor; and the portrait of a man opening a letter with a knife, in the standard-closet in the same palace. But at present an invaluable treasure of the works of this master is preserved in one of our palaces. Soon after the accession of the late king, queen Caroline found in a bureau at Kensington a noble collection of Holbein's original drawings for the portraits of some of the chief personages of the court of Henry VIII. How they came there is quite unknown. They did belong to * Charles I. who changed them with William earl of Pembroke for a St. George by Raphael, now at Paris. Lord Pembroke gave them to the earl of Arundel, and at the dispersion of that collection, they might be bought by or for the king. There are eighty-nine † of them, a few of

I 2

which

* After Holbein's death they had been sold into France, from whence they were brought and presented to king Charles by Monf. de Liencourt. Vanderdort, who did nothing but blunder, imagined they were portraits of the French court. Saunderson in his *Graphice* p. 79, commends this book highly, but says some of the drawings were spoiled.

† See the list of them, subjoined to the catalogue of the
the

which are duplicates: a great part are exceedingly fine, * and in one respect preferable to his finished pictures, as they are drawn in a bold and free manner: and though they have little more than the outline, being drawn with chalk upon paper stained of a flesh colour, and scarce shaded at all, there is a strength and vivacity in them equal to the most perfect portraits. The heads of Sir Thomas More, † bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas Wyat, and Broke lord

the collection of king James II. published by Bathoe in quarto, 1758. In king Charles's catalogue they are said to be but fifty-four, and that they were bought of, not given by, Monf. de Liencourt.

* Some have been rubbed, and others traced over with a pen on the outlines by some unskillfull hand. In an old inventory belonging to the family of Lumley mention was made of such a book in that family, with a remarkable note, that it had belonged to Edward VI. and that the names of the persons were written on them by Sir John Cheke. Most of the drawings at Kensington have names in an old hand; and the probability of their being written by a minister of the court who so well knew the persons represented, is an addition to their value.

† Richardson the painter had another of these, which was sold at his auction, and from whence Houbraken's print among the illustrious heads was taken.

Cobham

Cobham are master-pieces. * It is great pity that they have not been engraved, not only that such frail performances of so great a genius might be preserved, but that the resemblances of so many illustrious persons, no where else existing, might be saved from destruction. Vertue had undertaken this noble work, and after spending part of three years on it, broke off, I do not know why, after having traced off on oil-paper but about five and thirty. These I bought at his sale; and they are so exactly taken as to be little inferior to the originals.

In the same closet are two fine finished portraits by Holbein, said to be his own and his wife's; they were presented to queen Caroline by Sir Robert Walpole, my father. † And a circular drawing; the story of Solomon and the queen of Sheba.

I 3

In

* They were first placed by the queen at Richmond, but afterwards removed to Kensington where they still remain; but it is a very improper place for them, many hanging against the light or with scarce any, and some so high as not to be discernible, especially a most gracefull head of the duchess of Suffolk.

† The father of lord treasurer Oxford passing over London bridge, was caught in a shower, and stepping into

In one of the king's cabinets is a miniature of two children of Charles Brandon.

Over one of the doors is a picture ascribed to Holbein, and supposed to be queen Elizabeth, when princess, with a book in her hand, but I question both the painter and the person represented.

He drew Will. Somers, † king Henry's jester, from which there is a print. It is perhaps a little draw-back on the fame of heroes and statesmen, that such persons, who shared at least an equal portion of royal favour formerly, continue to occupy a place even in the records of time—at least, we antiquaries, who hold every thing worth preserving, merely because it has been preserved, have with the names of Henry, Charles, Elizabeth, Francis I. Wol-

into a goldsmith's shop for shelter, he found there a picture of Holbein (who had lived in that house) and his family. He offered the goldsmith 100 l. for it, who consented to let him have it, but desired first to show it to some persons. Immediately after happened the fire of London and the picture was destroyed.

† There is a burlesque figure of him in the armory at the Tower.

sey, Sir Thomas More, &c. treasured up those of Will. Somers, Saxton, Tom. Derry, (queen Anne's jester) Tarlton, (queen Elizabeth's) Pace, another fool in that reign, Archee, the disturber of Laud's greatness; Muckle John, who succeeded; Patch, Wolfey's fool; Harry Patenson, Sir Thomas More's; and of Bisquet and Amaril, the jesters of Francis I. not to mention Hitard, * king Edmund's buffoon; Stone, † and Jeffrey Hudson, the dwarf of Henrietta Maria. Of some of these personages I have found the following anecdotes: Saxton is the first person recorded to have worn a wig: In an account of the treasurer of the chambers in the reign of Henry VIII. there is entered, "Paid for Saxton, the king's fool, for a wig, 20 s." in the accounts of the lord Harrington who was in the same office under James I. there is, "Paid to T. Mawe for the diet and lodging of Tom Derry, her majesty's jester, 13 weeks, 10 l.—18 s.—6 d." Patch and Archee were political characters: The former, who had been Wolfey's fool,

* See Dart's *antiq. of Canterbury*, p. 6.

† A fool mentioned in Selden's *table-talk*.

and who like wiser men, had lived in favour through all the changes of religion and folly with which four successive courts had amused themselves or tormented every body else, was employed by Sir Francis Knollys to break down the crucifix, which queen Elizabeth still retained in her chapel; and the latter, I suppose on some such instigation, demolished that which Laud erected at St. James's, and which was probably the true cause of that prelate engaging the king and council in his quarrel, though abusive words were the pretence. Of little Jeffery I shall say more in another place.

King James II. as appears by the catalogue of his pictures published by Bathoe, had several of Holbein; though all in that list were not painted by him.

Of Holbein's public works in England I find an account of only four. The first is that capital picture in surgeon's hall, of Henry VIII. giving the charter to the company of surgeons. The character of his majesty's bluff haughtiness is well represented, and all the heads are finely executed. The picture itself has been re-
touched,

touched, but is well known by Baron's print. The physician in the middle on the king's left hand is Dr. Butts, immortalized by Shakespear. *

The second is the large piece in the hall of Bridewell, representing Edward VI. delivering to the lord mayor of London the royal charter, by which he gave up and erected his palace of Bridewell into an hospital and workhouse. Holbein has placed his own head in one corner of the picture. Vertue has engraved it. This picture, it is believed, was not completed by Holbein, both he and the king dying immediately after the donation.

The third and fourth were two large pictures, painted in distemper, in the hall of the Easterling merchants in the Steelyard. Where Descamps found, I do not know, that they were designed for ceilings. It is probably a mistake. These pictures exhibited the triumphs of riches and poverty. The former was represented by Plutus rid-

* The ring which Henry sent by Dr. Butts to Cardinal Wolsey, was a cameo on a ruby of the king himself, formerly given to him by the Cardinal.

ing in a golden carr ; before him sat Fortune scattering money, the chariot being loaded with coin, and drawn by four white horses, but blind, and led by women, whose names were written beneath. Round the carr were crowds with extended hands catching at the favours of the god. Fame and Fortune attended him, and the procession was closed by Croesus, and Midas, and other avaritious persons of note.

Poverty was an old woman, sitting in a vehicle as shattered as the other was superb ; her garments squalid, and every emblem of wretchedness around her. She was drawn by asses and oxen, which were guided by Hope, and Diligence, and other emblematic figures, and attended by mechanics and labourers. The richness of the colouring, the plumpness of the flesh, the gaudy ornaments in the former ; and the strong touches and expression in the latter were universally admired. It was on the sight of these pictures that Zucchero expressed such esteem of this master : he copied them in Indian ink, and those drawings came afterwards into the possession of Mons. Crozat.

Vosterman

Vofferman jun. engraved prints from them, at least of the triumph of Poverty, but Vertue could never meet with that of Riches: however in Buckingham-house in St. James's park, he found two such drawings, on one of which was an inscription attributing them to Holbein, and adding, that they were the gift of Sir Thomas More, who wrote verses under them. Vertue thought that these drawings were neither of Holbein nor Zuccherro, but the copies which Vofferman had made, in order to engrave. These drawings I suppose were sold in the duchess's auction. * For the large pictures themselves
Felibien

* So I concluded, but have since been so lucky to find that they were preserved at Buckingham house, till it was purchased by his majesty, when the pictures being exposed to auction, these very drawings were exhibited there, as allegoric pieces by Vandyck. They more than come up to any advantageous idea I had formed of Holbein. The composition of each is noble, free, and masterly. The expressions admirable, the attitudes gracefull, and several of them bearing great resemblance to the style of Raphael. The Triumph of Riches is much wider than the other. The figures in black and white chalk, the skies coloured. On each are Latin verses, but no mention of Holbein, as Vertue relates. The figure of Croesus has great resemblance to
the

Felibien and Depiles say that they were carried into France from Flanders, whither they were transported I suppose after the destruction of the company, of which Stowe † gives the following account. The Steelyard was a place for merchants of Almaine who used to bring hither wheat, rye, and other grain; cables, ropes, masts, steel and other profitable merchandize. Henry III. at the request of his brother Richard earl of Cornwall and king of Almaine gave them great privileges, they then having a house called, *Gilda Aula Teutonicorum*. Edward I. confirmed their charter; and in the same reign there was a great quarrel between the mayor of London and those merchants of the Haunce, about the reparation of Bishop-gate, which was imposed on them in consideration of their privileges, and

the younger portraits of Henry VIII. By the masterly execution of these drawings, I should conclude them Zuccherò's copies; but the horses, which are remarkably fine and spirited, and other touches, are so like the manner of Vandyck, that one is apt to attribute them to Vosterman who lived in his time. Probably the *Triumph of Riches* is Vosterman's copy, and that of *Poverty*, Zuccherò's. They are now at Strawberry-hill.

† *Survey of London* p. 249.

which

which they suffered to run to ruin. Being condemned to the repairs, they were in recompence indulged with granaries, and an alderman of their own; but in time were complained of, for importing too great quantities of foreign grain. They were restricted, yet still increased in wealth, and had a noble hall in Thames-street with three arched gates, and in the reign of Edward III. they hired another house of Richard Lions, a famous lapidary, one of the sheriffs, who was beheaded by the Kentish rebels in the reign of Richard II, and another for which they paid 70 *l.* per ann. But still continuing to engross the trade, they were suppressed in the reign of Edward VI. who seized the liberties of the Steelyard into his own hands.

But for nothing has Holbein's name been oftener mentioned than for the picture of Sir Thomas More's family. Yet of six pieces extant on this subject, the two smaller are certainly copies, the three larger probably not painted by Holbein, and the sixth, tho' an original picture, most likely not of Sir Thomas and his family. That Holbein was to draw such a piece is indubitable;

dubitable ; a letter of Erasmus is extant, thanking Sir Thomas for sending him the sketch of it ; but there is great presumption, that though Holbein made the design, it was not he who executed the picture in large, as will appear by the following accounts of the several pieces. The most known is that at Burford, the seat of the famous Speaker Lenthall. To say that a performance is not equal to the reputation of it's supposed author, is not always an argument sufficient to destroy it's authenticity. It is a well-known saying of Sir Godfrey Kneller, when he was reproached with any of his hasty slovenly daubings, " Pho, it will not be thought mine ; nobody will believe that the same man painted this and the Chinese at Windsor."

But there is a speaking evidence on the picture itself against it's own pretensions. Holbein died in 1554. The picture at Burford is dated 1593. It is larger and there are more figures than in it's rival, the piece in Yorkshire, and some of these Ver-tue thought were painted from the life. This was kept at Gubbins in Hertfordshire, the seat of the Mores ; but by what means the

the piece passed into the hands of Lenthall, is uncertain; the remains of the family of More are seated at Barnborough in Yorkshire, where they have a small picture of their ancestor and his relations like that at Burford, but undoubtedly not an original. There too they preserve some relics which belonged to that great man; as a George enamelled, and within it a miniature of Sir Thomas; a gold cross with pearl drops, and the cap he wore at his execution.

The second picture is at Heron in Essex, the seat of Sir John Tyrrel, but having been repainted, it is impossible to judge of its antiquity. The dispute of originality has lain only between the piece at Burford, and the next.

The third large picture, and which Ver-
tue thought the very one painted for Sir Thomas himself, is twelve feet wide, and is the actual piece which was in Deloo's collection, after whose death it was bought by Mr. Roper, Sir Thomas's grandson. As Deloo was a collector of Holbein's works, and his cotemporary, it sounds extraordinary, that a picture, which he thought
genuine,

genuine, should be doubted now; and yet Vertue gives such strong reasons, supported by so plausible an hypothesis, to account for it's not being Holbein's, that I think them worth laying before the reader. He says the picture is but indifferent; on this I lay no more stress than I do in the case of that at Burford; but his observation that the lights and shades in different parts of the picture come from opposite sides, is unanswerable, and demonstrate it no genuine picture of Holbein, unless that master had been a most ignorant dauber, as he might sometimes be a careless painter. This absurdity Vertue accounts for, by supposing, that Holbein quitted the chancellor's service for the king's, before he had drawn out the great picture, which however Sir Thomas always understood was to be executed; that Holbein's business increasing upon him, some other painter was employed to begin the picture, and to which Holbein was to give the last touches; in short that inimitable perfection of flesh which characterises his works. And this is the more probable as Vertue observes that the faces and hands are left flat and unfinished, but the ornaments,
jewels,

jewels, &c. are extremely laboured. As the portraits of the family, in separate pieces, were already drawn by Holbein, the injudicious journeyman stuck them in as he found them, and never varied the lights, which were disposed, as it was indifferent in single heads, some from the right, some from the left, but which make a ridiculous contradiction when transported into one piece. This picture, purchased as I have said by Mr. Roper, the son of that amiable Margaret, whose behaviour when Sir Thomas returned to the tower was a subject not for Holbein, but for Pouffin or Shakespear! This picture remained 'till of late years at Wellhall in Eltham, Kent, the mansion of the Ropers. That house being pulled down, it hung for some time in the king's house at Greenwich, soon after which, by the death of the last Roper, whose sole daughter married Mr. Henshaw, and left three daughters, the family-picture then valued at 300*l.* came between them, and Sir Rowland Wynne, who married one of them, bought the shares of the other two, and carried the picture into Yorkshire where it now remains.

The other small one is in the collection of

colonel Sothby in Bloomsbury-square. It is painted in the neatest manner in miniature. On the right hand are inserted the portraits of Mr. More and his wife, Sir Thomas's grandson, for whom it was drawn, and their two sons, with their garden at Chelsea behind, and a view of London. The painter of this exquisite little piece is unknown, but probably was Peter Oliver.

The fifth was in the palace of the Delfino family at Venice, where it was long on sale, the price first set 1500*l.* When I saw it there in 1741, they had sunk it to 400*l.* soon after which the present king of Poland bought it.

It was evidently designed for a small altar-piece to a chapel; in the middle on a throne sits the Virgin and child; on one side kneels an elderly gentleman with two sons, one of them a naked infant; opposite kneeling are his wife and daughters. The old man is not only unlike all representations of Sir Thomas More, but it is certain that he never had but one son *—For the colouring
it

* There is recorded a bon-mot of Sir Thomas on the birth of his son: He had three daughters: His wife was
impatient

it is beautifull beyond description, and the carnations have that enamelled bloom so peculiar to Holbein, who touched his works 'till not a touch remained discernible! A drawing of this picture by Bischof was brought over in 1723, from whence Vertue doubted both of the subject and the painter; but he never saw the original! By the description of the family-picture of the consul Mejer, mentioned above, I have no doubt but this is the very picture — Mejer and More are names not so unlike, but that in process of time they may have been confounded, and that of More retained, as much better known.

In private houses in England are or were the following works of Holbein, besides what may not have come to Vertue's or my knowledge.

In the Arundelian collection, says Richard Symonds, * was a head of Holbein in oil by himself, most sweet, dated 1543.

impatience for a son; at last they had one, but not much above an idiot — “ You have prayed so long for a boy, said the chancellor, that now we have got one who, I believe, will be a boy as long as he lives.”

* In one of his pocket-books which will be mentioned more particularly in the second volume.

At Northumberland-house an English knight sitting in a chair and a table by him.

Lord Denny, comptroller, and his lady, 1527.

Sir Henry Guldeford and his lady. They were engraved by Höllar. † As also Monf. Moret, jeweller to Henry VIII.

In the earl of Pembroke's collection was a lady in black satin, which Zuccherò admired exceedingly. ‡

The duke of Buckingham had eight of his hand, in particular the story of Jupiter and Io. See his catal. p. 16.

At the earl of Uxbridge's at Drayton, his ancestor lord Paget.

At the earl of Guilford's at Wroxton, Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity-college, Oxford.

At Blenheim, a very lively head of a young man.

At Buckingham house was the portrait of Edmund lord Sheffield §.

Henry

† They were at Tart-hall.

‡ There is a view of the Siege of Pavia at Wilton, said to be by Holbein, but it is by Albert Durer. I even question whether the profile of Edward VI. there be an original.

§ This is a mistake. It was painted by Antonio More,

Henry VIII. and Francis I. exchanged two pictures; the king of France gave to Henry the Virgin and child by Leonardo da Vinci; the English present was painted by Holbein, but the subject is not mentioned. The former came into the possession of Catherine Patin.

In the late duke of Somersets possession was a head of his ancestor the protector, engraved among the illustrious heads,

Vertue mentions having seen a fine miniature of Henry VIII. and his three children, but does not say where. It had a glass over it, and a frame curiously carved,

At lord Orford's at Houghton is a small whole length of Edward VI. on board, which was sold into Portugal from the collection of Charles I. and Erasmus, smaller than life.

I have

Catherine of Arragon, a miniature, exquisitely finished; a round on a blue ground. It was given to the duke of Monmouth by Charles II. I bought it at the sale of the lady Isabella Scott, daughter of the duchess of Monmouth.

More, and is now at Strawberry-hill, and is the portrait of John lord Sheffield.

A head of the same queen on board in oil; hard, and in her latter age. It is engraved among the illustrious heads.

Cath. Howard, a miniature, damaged. It was Richardson's who bought it out of the Arundelian collection. It is engraved among the illustrious heads; and by Hollar, who called it, Mary queen of France, wife of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

Edmund Montacute, a judge. D°. flat.

Philip, the Fair, son of the emperor Maximilian, and father of Charles V. when a boy. It is finely coloured; and is engraved in Mountfaucon's antiquities of France. This must have been copied from some other picture.

A drawing of a man in a blue gown, cap, and buskins. It seems to be a masquerade dress.

Another drawing, the head of a man, with a hat and picked beard.

A design in water colours, which he afterwards executed on a house at Basil.

A large design for a chimney-piece.

A design for a clock, in great taste. It was drawn for Sir Anthony Denny and intended for a new-year's gift to Henry VIII. from the collection of Mons. Mariette at Paris.

A head

A head of Melancthon, in oil on board, a small round, very fine.

Several drawings by Holbein, and some miniatures are preserved in various collections.

There is a very curious picture in the collection of col. Sothby, said to be begun in France by Janet, and which Vertue thinks might be retouched by Holbein, as it was probably painted for his patron the duke of Norfolk, from whom it descended immediately to the earl of Arundel, out of whose collection the father of the present possessor purchased it. It represents three royal pair dancing in a meadow, with a magnificent building at a distance; they are Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn; and his sisters Margaret queen of Scots and Mary queen of France with their second husbands, Archibald Douglas and Charles Brandon. * The circumstances of three

K 4 matches

* This was Vertue's opinion. The account in the family calls the man in the middle the duke of Norfolk, and him on the right hand the duke of Suffolk. If the tradition that this picture represents only English personages were not so well grounded, I should take it

for

matches so unequal assembled together, induced Vertue, with much probability to conclude that it was a tacit satire, and painted for the duke of Norfolk, who, however related to Anne Boleyn, was certainly not partial to her, as protectress of the reformed. If this conjecture could be verified, it would lead one to farther reflections. The jealousy which Henry towards the end of his reign conceived against the Howards, and his sacrificing the galant earl of Surrey for quartering the arms of England, as he undoubtedly had a right to quarter them, have always appeared acts of most tyrannic suspicion. He so little vouchsafed to satisfy the public on the grounds of his proceedings, that it is possible he might sometimes act on better foundation than any body

for a French composition. The person in the middle is a black swarthy man with a sharp beard, like Francis I. and resembling neither of the dukes of Norfolk or Suffolk, the former of whom is never drawn with a beard, the latter always with a short square one: add to this, that the figure called Henry VIII. and which certainly has much of his countenance, is in an obscure corner of the picture, and exhibits little more than the face.

knew.

knew. If he really discovered any ambitious views in the house of Norfolk, this picture would seem a confirmation of them. To expose the blemishes in the blood of the three only branches of the royal family, might be a leading step towards asserting their own claim—at least their own line would not appear less noble, than the descendants of Boleyn, Brandon and Douglas.

Holbein's talents were not confined to his pictures; he was an architect, he modelled, carved, was excellent in designing ornaments, and gave draughts of prints for several books, some of which it is supposed he cut himself. Sir Hans Sloane had a book of jewels designed by him, now in the British museum. He invented patterns * for goldsmith's work, for enamellers and chasers of plate, arts much countenanced by Henry VIII. Inigo Jones showed Sandrart another book of Holbein's

* The noble seal appendent to the surrender of Cardinal Wolsey's college at Oxford, has all the appearance of being designed by Holbein. The deed is preserved in the augmentation-office, and the seal has been engraved among the plates published by the society of Antiquaries.

designs for weapons, hilts, ornaments, scabbards, sheaths, sword-belts, buttons and hooks, girdles, hatbands and clasps for shoes, knives, forks, saltfellers and vases, all for the king. Hollar engraved several of them. The duchess of Portland † and lady Elizabeth Germain † have each a dagger set with jewels, which belonged to that prince and were probably imagined by Holbein. The latter lady has a fine little figure of Henry cut in stone, whole length; Holbein cut his own head in wood, and I have another by his hand of the king, in which about his neck instead of a George he wears a watch. Two other figures carved in stone were in the museum of Tradescant at Lambeth.

His cuts to the bible were engraved and printed at Leyden by Johannes Frellonius, in 1547, under this title, *Icones Histori-*

† The dagger, in her grace's collection, is set with jacinths, and cost lord Oxford 45*l.* at Tart-hall, when the remains of the Arundelian collection were sold there in 1720. The dagger that was Lady E. Germain's is set with an hundred rubies, and a few diamonds, and is now at Strawberry-hill, with other curiosities bought out of that collection, particularly the figure of Henry VIII. in stone, mentioned in the text.

rum veteris Testamenti. The titles to every print are in Latin, and beneath is an explanation in four French verses. Prefixed is a copy of Latin verses, in honour of Holbein, by Nicholas Borbonius, a celebrated French poet of that time, and of whom there is a profile among the drawings at Kensington. *

Lord Arundel showed Sandrart a little book of twenty-two designs of the Passion of Christ, very small; in which, says the same author, Christ was every where represented in the habit of a black monk—but that was a mistake, for Hollar engraved them, and there is only Christ persecuted by monks. Sandrart adds that it is incredible what a quantity of drawings of this master lord Arundel had collected, and surprizing, the fruitfullness of Holbein's invention, his quickness of execution and industry in performing so much.

To the Catechismus or Instruction of Christian Religion, by Thomas Cranmer,

* In St. John's college Camb. is Henry the 8th's bible printed on vellum, with Holbein's cuts finely illuminated, and the figures of Henry, Cromwell and others,

printed

printed by Walter Lynn 1538, quarto, the title is a wooden cut representing Edward VI. sitting on his throne giving the bible to the Archbishop and Nobles kneeling: This and several head-pieces in the same book were designed by Holbein, and probably some of them cut by him; one has his name.

On the death of Sir Thomas Wyat the poet in 1541, a little book of verses, entitled *Naenia*, was published by his great admirer Leland. Prefixed was a wooden cut of Sir Thomas from a picture of Holbein, with these lines;

Holbenus nitidâ pingendi maximus arte
 Effigiem expressit graphicè; sed nullus Apelles
 Exprimet ingenium felix animumque Viati.

Of his architecture nothing now remains standing but the beautiful porch at the earl of Pembroke's at Wilton. From that and his drawings it is evident that he had great natural taste. One cannot but lament that a noble monument of his genius has lately been demolished, the gateway at Whitehall, supposed to have been erected for the entry of Charles V. but that was a mistake; the
 emperor

emperor was here in 1521; Holbein did not arrive at soonest 'till five years after. Peacham mentions a design that he saw for a chimney-piece * for Henry's new palace at Bridewell. There undoubtedly, at Whitehall, and at Nonfuch were many of his productions.

It may be wondered that I have said nothing of a work much renowned and ascribed to this master; I mean the chamber at the lord Montacute's at Coudray; but it is most certainly not executed by him. Though the histories represented there, the habits and customs of the times, make that room a singular curiosity, they are it's only merit. There is nothing good either in the designs, disposition or colouring.

There are three other historic pieces in the same house, of much more merit, ascribed likewise to Holbein, and undoubtedly of his time. The first represents Francis I. on his throne, with his courtiers, and the duke of Suffo (so it is written) and the earl of Southampton standing before him on an embassy. This is by much the worst of the three, and has been repainted. The

* I have a large drawing by him for a magnificent chimney-piece, I do not know if the same.

next is smaller, and exhibits two knights running a tilt on the foreground; one wears the crown of France, another a coronet, like that of an English prince, composed of crosses and fleurs de lys, and not closed at top. An elderly man with a broad face, and an elderly lady in profile, with several other figures, boldly painted, but not highly finished, are sitting to see the tilt. On the back ground is the French king's tent, and several figures dancing, rejoicing, and preparing entertainments. A person seems leading a queen to the tent. Under this is written, "The meeting of the kings between Guines and Arden in the Vale of Gold." This is an upright piece. The third is the largest, broad like the first. Francis on his throne at a distance with guards &c. on each side in a line. Before him sit on stools with their backs towards you four persons in black, and one like a clergyman standing in the middle and haranguing the king. On each side sit noblemen, well drawn, coloured and neatly finished. On this piece is written, "The great ambassade sent to the French king, of the earl of Worcester, lord chamberlain, the bishop of Ely, the lord St. John, the lord Vaux

Vaux and others." These pictures I should not think of Holbein; the figures are more free than his, less finished, and the colouring fainter: and none of the English seem portraits. The spelling too of *Suffo*, is French. Probably these pieces were done by Janet, who was an able master, was contemporary with Holbein, and whose works are often confounded with our painter's. *

Holbein's fame was so thoroughly established, † even in his life, that the Italian masters vouchsafed to borrow from him. In particular Michael Angelo Caravaggio was much indebted to him in two different pictures. Rubens was so great an admirer of his works that he advised young Sandrart to study his Dance of Death, from which Rubens himself had made drawings.

This account of a man, dear to connoisseurs for the singular perfection of his colouring, become dear to antiquaries by the

* In the great drawing-room at Coudray is a chimney-piece painted with grotesque ornaments in the good taste of Holbein, and probably all he executed at that curious old seat, the tradition in the family being, that he staid there but a month,

† Sandrart.

distance of time in which he lived, by the present scarcity of his works, and by his connections with More and Erasmus, I must close with all I can discover more relating to him; that he formed but one scholar, Christopher Amberger of Ausburg; and that in a roll † of new-year's gifts in the 30th year of the reign of Henry VIII. signed by the king's own hand, in which are registered presents to the prince, to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, to the lady Margaret Douglas, to the nobility, bishops, ladies and gentry, most of the gifts being of plate, mention is made of a present to Hans Holbein of a gilt creuse and cover, weighing ten ounces two penny weights, made by (Lucas) Cornelii.

D°. to Lucas (Penne) a gilt creuse and cover, same weight.

On the other side of the roll presents to the king;

Holbein gave a picture of the prince's grace.

Lucas a screen to set before the fire.

† It was in the possession of Mr. Holmes keeper of the records in the tower, and was exhibited to the Antiquarian society in 1736.

Richard Atfyll a broach of gold with an antique head. *

In the library of the Royal society is a book of the chamberlain's office, containing payments made by Sir Bryan Tuke treasurer of the king's chamber beginning in Feb. 1538, in the 29th of Henry VIII. There appear the following accounts.

Payd to Hans Holbein, paynter, a quarter due at Lady-day last 8 *l.*— 10 *s.*— 0 *d.*

Again at Midsummer quarter.

Item, for Hans Holbein, paynter, for one half year's annuitie advanced to him before hand, the same year to be accounted from our Lady-day last past, the sum of 30 *l.*

December 30, An. 30. Item, payd to Hans Holbein, one of the king's paynters, by the kyng's commandment certify'd by my lord privy seal's letter, x *l.* for his cost and charge at this time, sent about certeyn his grace's affairs in the parts of High Burgundy, † by way of his grace's reward.

September An. 31. Item, payd by the king's highness commandment, certified by

* He was an engraver of stones. See the end of this chapter.

† It was to draw the picture of the Duchesse of Milan, mentioned above.

the lord privy seal's letters, to Hans Holbein paynter, in the advancement of his whole year's wages before hand, after the rate of xxx*l.* * by the year, which year's advancement is to be accounted from this present, which shall end ultimo Septembris next ensuing.

The advancement of his salary is a proof that Holbein was both favoured and poor. As he was certainly very laborious, it is probable that the luxury of Britain did not teach him more oeconomy than he had practised in his own country.

Henry, besides these painters had several artists of note in his service. The superb tomb of his father, says Stowe, † was not finished 'till the eleventh year of this king, 1519. It was made, adds the same author, by one Peter, a painter of Florence, for which he received a thousand pounds, for the whole stuff and workmanship. This Peter, Vertue discovered to be, Pietro Torreggiano, a valuable sculptor. That he was here in the preceding year appears by a book of acts, orders, decrees and records of the Court of Requests printed in 1592

* Sandrart by mistake says only 200 florins.

† Page 499.

in quarto, where it is said, p. 60, that in a cause between two Florentine merchants, Peter de Bardi and Bernard Cavalcanti, heard before the council at Greenwich, master Peter Torifano, a Florentine sculptor, was one of the witnesses. Vasari says, that Torreggiano having made several figures in marble and small brass, which were in the town-hall at Florence, and drawn many things with spirit and a good manner, in competition with Michael Angelo (and consequently could be no despicable performer) was carried into England by some merchants, and entertained in the king's service, for whom he executed variety of works in marble, brass, and wood, in concurrence with other masters of this country, over all whom he was allowed the superiority.—He received, adds Vasari, such noble rewards, that if he had not been a proud, inconsiderate, ungovernable man, he might have lived in great felicity and made a good end; but the contrary happened, for leaving England and settling in Spain, after several performances there, he was accused of being a heretic, *

* In a passion he had broken an image of the Virgin, that he had just carved.

was thrown into the inquisition, tried and condemned—the execution indeed was respited, but he became melancholy mad and starved himself to death at Seville in 1522 in the fiftieth year of his age.

Torreggiano, it seems, with Henry's turbulence of temper, had adopted his religion, and yet, as he quitted England, one should suppose had not suppleness enough to please the monarch, even after that complaisance. In the life of Benvenuto Cellini is farther evidence of Torreggiano's being employed here, and of his disputes with Michael Angelo.

When Cellini was about seventeen he says there arrived at Florence a sculptor called Pietro Torreggiani, who came from England where he had resided many years; this artist much frequenting Cellini's master, told the former, that having a great work of bronze to execute for the king of England, he was come to engage as many youths as he could to assist him; and that Cellini being rather a sculptor than a graver, Torreggiani offered to make his fortune if he would accompany him to London. He was, adds Cellini, of a noble presence, bold, and with the air of a
great

great foldier rather than of a ftatuary, his admirable geftures, fonorous voice, and the action of his brow ftriking with amazement, ed ogni giorno ragionava delle fue bravure con quelle beftie di quelli Inglefi, every day relating his brave treatment of thofe beafts the Englifh. But as much ftuck as Cellini was with this lofty behaviour to us favages, he took an averfion to his new mafter, on the latter boasting of a blow in the face that he had given to the divine Michael Angelo with his fift, the marks of which he would carry to his grave. Others fay that this event happened in the palace of the Cardinal de' Medici, Torreggiano being jealous of the fuperior honours paid to Michael Angelo, whose nofe was flattened by the blow. The aggreffor fled, and entered into the army, where he obtained a captain's commiffion, but being foon difgusted with that life, he retired to Florence, and from thence came to England.

To Torreggiano Vertue afcribes likewise the tomb of Margaret countefs of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. and that of Dr. Young mafter of the rolls, in the chapel at the rolls in Chancery-lane. There is a head of Henry VIII. in plaifter in a round at

Hampton-court, which I should suppose is by the same master.

Among the Harleian MSS. is an estimate of the charge and expence of the * monument to be erected for Henry VII. in which appear the names of other artists who worked under Torreggiano, as Laurence Ymber, kerver, for making the patrons in timber; Humphrey Walker, founder; Nicholas Ewer, copper-smith and gilder; John Bell and John Maynard, painters; Robert Vertue, Robert Jenings, and John Lebons, master masons. There was another called William Vertue, who by indenture dated June 5, in the twenty-first year of Henry VII, engaged with John Hylmer, to vault and roof the choir of the chapel of St. George at

* At Strawberry-hill is a model in stone of the head of Henry 7th in the agony of death. It is in the great style of Raphael and Michael Angelo and worthy of either, though undoubtedly by Torreggiano. I have also a matchless portrait of the king, which seems evidently taken from the life, as strongly representative of his pensive policy; yet it is touched with so masterly a knowledge of chiaro scuro, that I and better judges conjecture that it was recoloured by Rubens himself.

Windsor for 700 l. * Humphrey Cooke † was master carpenter employed in the new buildings at the Savoy. The tomb at Ormskirk of Thomas Stanley earl of Derby, last husband of Margaret of Richmond, was in the same style with that of his wife and son-in-law. On it lay an image of brass five feet six inches long, which when cast and repaired ready for gilding weighed 500 weight and a half. James Hales for making the image of timber had an hundred shillings.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the chapel of King's college Cambridge was ‡ finished, a work, alone sufficient to

L 4

ennoble

* Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 136.

† Robert Cook, clarenceux in that reign, was a painter, and at Cockfield-hall in Yoxford in Suffolk drew the portraits of Henry VII. Henry VIII. queen Catherine, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Robert Wingfield, his lady and seven or eight sons, all remaining there lately. At Boughton, the seat of the late duke of Montagu, is a small piece of the family of Wingfield, containing several figures, which probably is the picture here alluded to.

‡ The name of the original architect is preserved by Hearne, who in his preface to the History of Glastonbury, p. lxxv. says, " All that see King's college chapel

ennoble any age. Several indentures are extant relative to the execution of that fabric. One in the fourth year of this king, between the provost, Robert Hacomblein, and Thomas Larke surveyor of the works on one part, and John Wastell, master mason, on the other part, by which he agrees to build

in Cambridge are struck with admiration, and most are mighty desirous of knowing the architect's name. Yet few can tell it. It appears however from their books at King's college [as I am informed by my friend Mr. Baker, the learned antiquary of Cambridge] that one Mr. Cloos, father of Nicholas Cloos, one of the first fellows of that college, and afterwards bishop of Litchfield, was the architect of that chapel [though Godwin says the bishop himself was master of the king's works here] as far as king Henry 6th's share reacheth, and contriver or designer of the whole, afterwards finished by Henry 7th, and beautified by Henry 8th."

In a MS. account of all the members of King's college, a copy of which is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Cole of Blecheley, to whom the public and I are obliged for this and several other curious particulars, bishop Nicholas Close is mentioned as a person in whose capacity king Henry 6th. (who had appointed him fellow in 1443) had such confidence, that he made him overseer and manager of all his intended buildings and designs for that college: In the same MS. John Canterbury, a native of Tewksbury and fellow of the college in 1451, is said to have been clerk of the works there.

or set up a good sufficient vault for the great church there, according to a plat signed by the lords executors of king Henry VII. they covenanting to pay him 1200 *l.* that is to say, 100 *l.* for every severey (or partition) of the church, there being twelve severeys.

Another, dated August 4, in the fifth of the same king, between the same parties, for the vaulting of two porches of the king's college chapel, and also seven chapels, and nine other chapels behind the choir, according to a plat made and to be finished, the vaults and battlements before the feast of St. John Baptist next ensuing, 25 *l.* to be paid for each of the said porches; 20 *l.* for each of the seven chapels; 12 *l.* for each of the nine chapels; and for stone and workmanship of the battlements of all the said chapels and porches, divided into twenty severeys, each severey c *l.*

Another between the same persons, for making and setting up the finyalls of the buttresses of the church, and one tower at one of the corners of the said church, and for finishing and performing of the said tower with finyalls, ryfaats, gablets, battlement, orbys and cross-quarters and every thing

thing belonging to them. For every buttress to be paid 6*l.*—13*s.*—4*d.* and for all the said buttresses 140*l.* and for the tower 100*l.*

The two next deeds are no less curious, as they have preserved the names of the artists who painted the magnificent windows in the same chapel.

Indenture of May 3, in the 18th of Hen. VIII. between the foresaid provost and Thomas Larke Arch-deacon of Norwich, and Francis Williamson of Southwark, glazier, and Simon Symonds of St. Margaret's Westminster, glazier, the two latter agreeing curiously and sufficiently to glaze four windows of the upper story of the church of King's-college Cambridge, of orient colours and imagery of the story of the Old Law and of the New Law, after the manner and goodness in every point of the king's new chapel at Westminster, also according to the manner done by Bernard Flower glazier deceased; also according to such patrons, otherwise called vidimus, to be set up within two years next ensuing, to be paid after the rate of sixteen pence per foot for the glass.

The

The last is between the same provost and Thomas Larke on one part, and Galyon Hoone of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, glazier, Richard Bownde of St. Clement's-Danes, glazier, Thomas Reve of St. Sepulchre's, glazier, and James Nicholson of Southwark, glazier, on the other part, the latter agreeing to set up eighteen windows of the upper story of King's college chapel, like those of the King's new chapel at Westminster, as Barnard Flower glazier (late deceased) by indenture stood to do, six of the said windows to be set up within twelve months: The bands of lead to be after the rate of two pence per foot. *

In

* An Indenture more ancient than these, and containing names of persons employed in this celebrated building, has been discovered in the archives of Caius-college, by the present master, Sir James Burrough, and is as follows;

“ To alle christen people this p̄sent writyng endeded seeng, redyng, or heryng, John Wulrich, maistr mason of the werkes of the Kyngs college roial of our lady and seynt Nicholas of Cambridge, John Bell, mason wardeyn in the same werkes, Richard Adam, and Robert Vogett, carpenters, arbitrours indifferently chosen by the reverent fader in God, Edward, by the grace of God, byshopp of Karlyle, Mr. or Wardeyn of the house
or

In these instruments there appears little less simplicity than in the old ones I have reported of Henry III. Yet as much as we imagine ourselves arrived at higher perfection in the arts, it would not be easy for a master of a college now to go into St. Margaret's parish or Southwark and bespeak the roof of such a chapel as that of King's college, and a dozen or two of windows, so admirably drawn, and order them to be sent home by such a day, as if he was bespeaking a chequered pavement or a church bible. Even those obscure artists Williamson, Symonds, Flower, Hoone, &c. would figure as considerable painters in any reign; and what a rarity in a collection of drawings would be one of their vidimus's! It is remarkable that one of the finest of these windows is the story of Ananias and Saphira

or college of St. Michael of Cambr: and the scolers of the same on the oon part, and maist: Henry Coffey, warden of the college or hall of the Annuntiation or Gonville hall, and the fellowes and scolers of the same, on the other part, of and upon the Evesdroppe in the garden of Ffysshwyke hostle, belonginge to Gonville hall &c. Written at Cambr: 17. Aug. 1476. 16, Edw. 4."

as told by Raphael in the cartoons—probably the cartoons being consigned to Flanders for tapestry, drawings from them were sent hither; an instance of the diligence of our glass-painters in obtaining the best designs for their work.

John Muftyen born at Enguien, is recorded as Henry's arras-maker; John de Mayne as his seal-graver; and Richard Atfyll * as his graver of stones. † Skelton mentions one master Newton as a painter of that time;

 Casting my sight the chambre about
 To se how duly eche thyng in ordre was,
 Towarde the dore as we were commyng out
 I saw maister Newton fyt with his compas
 His plummet, his pensell, his spectacles of glas,
 Devysing in picture by his industrious wit
 Of my laurel the proces every whitte.

And among the payments of the treasurer of the chambers, reported above, is one of

* Hillyard (the same person probably, of whom more hereafter) cut the images of Henry VIII. and his children on a sardonix, in the collection of the duke of Devonshire. The earl of Exeter has such another. Lady Mary Wortley had a head of the same king on a little stone in a ring; cameo on one side and intaglia on the other.

† With a fee of twenty pounds a year.

40*l.* to Levina Tirlinks paintrixe—a name that occurs but once more, in a roll of new-year's gifts to and from queen Elizabeth. This gentlewoman presents the queen's picture painted finely on a card.

In the cathedral of Chichester are pictures of the kings of England and bishops of that see, painted about the year 1519 by one Bernardi, ancestor of a family still settled in those parts. They were done at the expence of bishop Sherborne, who erected a monument for himself, yet remaining there. Vermander mentions one Theodore Bernardi of Amsterdam, master of Michael Coxie, who Vertue thinks painted those works at Chichester, as they are in a Dutch taste. They were repainted in 1747 by one Tremaine.

The congenial temper of Wolfey displayed itself in as magnificent a manner as the king's. Whitehall, Hampton-court, and his college of Christ-church, were monuments of his grandeur and disgrace, flowing from the bounty of and then reverting to the crown. In 1524 he began a monument for himself at Windsor, erecting a small chapel adjoining to St. George's church which

which was to contain his tomb, the design whereof, says lord Herbert, * was so glorious that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. One Benedetto, a statuary of Florence took it in hand and continued it 'till 1529, receiving for so much as was already done 4250 ducats. The Cardinal, adds the historian, when this was finished, did purpose to make a tomb for Henry, but on his fall, the king made use of so much as he found fit, and called it his. Dr. Fiddes says that the Cardinal made suit to the king to have his own image with such part of his tomb as shall please the king to let him have, to be sent to York, where he intended to be buried. In the same collections mention is made of Antony Cavallari, as guilden of the tomb, whom the Cardinal is besought to permit to return home to Antwerp, if he means to employ him no farther, and also that Benedict the carver may return to Italy. But Benedict Henry took into his own service, and employed on the same tomb which his majesty had now adopted for himself.— This person was Benedetto da Rovizzano, another Florentine sculptor, who, Vasari

* Page 342.

says, executed many works of marble and bronze for Henry, and got an ample fortune, with which he returned to his native country, but his eyes having suffered by working in the foundery, he grew blind in 1550 and died soon after. The celebrated Baccio Bandinelli made an admirable model of wood with figures of wax for the same monument; but Benedetto of Rovezzano, it seems, was preferred.*

The sepulchral † chapel was never completed. Henry and Jane Seymour were buried in St. George's church, with an intention of their being removed into the monument as soon as it should be finished. Charles I. resumed the design, proposing to

* I suppose it was Antony Cavallari or Benedetto da Rovezzano who made the large statue in metal of Henry VIII. in a cloyster at Gorhambury; it is not in a bad taste.

† Leland says that the ancient chapel of St. George built by Edward III. stood on this very spot, and that Henry VII. pulled it down, and erected the present tomb-house in it's place, intending himself to be buried there; but afterwards changed his mind and built his chapel at Westminster. See Leland's comment on the *Cyanea Cantio* published with his *Itinerary* by Hearne, vol. 9.

enlarge the chapel and fit it for his own and the interment of his successors. But the whole was demolished in 1646, by order of parliament and the rich figures of copper gilt melted down. James II. repaired this building, and employed Verrio to paint it, intending it for a popish chapel—but no destination of it has yet succeeded ; it remains a ruin, known by the name of the tomb-house.

ANECDOTES OF PAINTING, &c.

CHAP. V.

State of Architecture to the end of the Reign of HENRY VIII.

IT is unlucky for the world, that our earliest ancestors were not aware of the curiosity which would inspire their descendants of knowing minutely every thing relating to them. When they placed three or four branches of trees across the trunks of others and covered them with boughs or straw to keep out the weather, the good people were not apprized that they were discovering architecture, and that it would be learnedly agitated some thousand of years afterwards who was the inventor of this stupendous science. In complaisance to our inquiries they would undoubtedly have transmitted an account of the first hovel that was ever built, and from that patriarch hut we should possess a faithful genealogy of all its descendants: Yet such a curiosity would destroy much greater treasures; it
would

would annihilate fables, researches, conjectures, hypotheses, disputes, blunders and dissertations, that library of human impertinence. Necessity and a little common sense produced all the common arts, which the plain folks who practiced them were not idle enough to record. Their inventions were obvious, their productions usefull and clumsy. Yet the little merit there was in fabricating them being soon consigned to oblivion, we are bountifull enough to suppose that there was design and system in all they did, and then take infinite pains to digest and methodize those imaginary rudiments. No sooner is any aera of an invention invented, but different countries begin to assert an exclusive title to it, and the only point in which any countries agree is perhaps in ascribing the discovery to some other nation remote enough in time for neither of them to know any thing of it. Let but France and England once dispute which first used a hatchet, and they shall never be accorded 'till the chancery of learning accommodates the matter by pronouncing that each received that invaluable utensil from the Phoenicians. Common sense

that would interpose by observing how probable it is that the necessaries of life were equally discovered in every region, cannot be heard ; a hammer could only be invented by the Phoenicians, the first polished people of whom we are totally ignorant. Whoever has thrown away his time on the first chapters of general histories, or of histories of arts, must be sensible that these reflections are but too well grounded. I design them as an apology for not going very far back into the history of our architecture. Vertue and several other curious persons have taken great pains to enlighten the obscure ages of that science ; they find no names of architects, nay little more, than what they might have known without inquiring ; that our ancestors had buildings. Indeed Tom Hearne, Brown Willis, and such illustrators did sometimes go upon more positive ground : They did now and then stumble upon an arch, a tower, nay a whole church, so dark, so ugly, so uncouth, that they were sure it could not have been built since any idea of grace had been transported into the island. Yet with this incontestable security on their side, they still had

had room for doubting ; Danes, Saxons, Normans, were all ignorant enough to have claims to peculiar ugliness in their fashions. It was difficult to ascertain the period * when one ungracious form jostled out another : and this perplexity at last led them into such refinement, that the term *Gothic Architecture*, inflicted as a reproach on our ancient buildings in general by our ancestors who revived the Grecian taste, is now considered but as a species of modern elegance, by those who wish to distinguish the Saxon style from it. This Saxon style begins to be defined by flat and round arches, by some undulating zigzags on certain old fabrics, and by a very few other characteristics, all evidences of barbarous and ignorant times. I do not mean to say simply that the round arch is a proof of ignorance ;

* When men inquire, “ who invented Gothic buildings ? ” they might as well ask, “ who invented bad Latin ? ” The former was a corruption of the Roman architecture, as the latter was of the Roman language. Both were debased in barbarous ages ; both were refined, as the age polished itself ; but neither were restored to the original standard. Beautiful Gothic architecture was engrafted on Saxon deformity ; and pure Italian succeeded to vitiated Latin.

but being so natural, it is simply, when unaccompanied by any gracefull ornaments, mark of a rude age—if attended by mishappen and heavy decorations, a certain mark of it. The pointed arch, that peculiar of Gothic architecture, was certainly intended as an improvement on the circular, and the men who had not the happiness of lighting on the simplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however so lucky as to strike out a thousand graces and effects, which rendered their buildings magnificent, yet genteel, vast, yet light, † venerable and picturesque. It is difficult for the noblest Grecian temple to convey half so many impressions to the mind, as a cathedral does of the best Gothic taste—a proof of skill in the architects and of address in the priests who erected them. The latter exhausted their knowledge of the passions in composing edifices whose pomp, mechanism, vaults, tombs, painted windows, gloom and perspectives infused such sensations of romantic devotion; and they were happy in finding artists capable of executing such machinery:

† For instance, the facade of the cathedral of Rheims.

One must have taste to be sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants passions to feel Gothic. In St. Peter's one is convinced that it was built by great princes—In Westminster-abbey, one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes the first impression—and though stripped of it's altars and shrines, it is nearer converting one to popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes. Gothic churches infuse superstition; Grecian, admiration. The papal see amassed it's wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it in Grecian temples. *

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* In the six volumes of letters published at Rome and intituled, *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, are several of Monfr. Mariette, a most worthy man, but too naturally infected by the prejudices of his country, his religion, and his profession of connoisseur. All professions are too apt to be led by words, and to talk by rote. Connoisseurs in the arts are not the least bigotted. Taste has it's inquisition as well as popery: and though M. Mariette has been too partial to me, he has put this work in his *Index Expurgatorius*, from tetally misunderstanding my meaning. Here follows his censure of the passage above, in which I have ascribed more address to the architects of Gothic churches, than to those of St. Peter's — not as architects,

I certainly do not mean by this little contrast to make any comparison between the rational beauties of regular architecture, and

texts, but as politicians—a distinction M. Mariette did not give himself time to make, or he could not have understood a book so ill that he gave himself the trouble to translate : after an account of these anecdotes, and too flattering mention of the author, he says, “ Quest’ opera e arricchita di presso di cento ritratti, e la stampa e veramente magnifica. Io vi farò ridere, se vi dirò, che la Chiesa di San Pietro non e di suo gusto, & che egli la trova troppo carica d’ornati, il che non gli pare proprio per un tempio degno dello Maesta dell’ Essere supremo, che lo abita : che gli ornamenti, che vi sono sparsi à profusione, non vi sono posti per altro che per fomentare † la superstitione, di che egli accusa malamente la nostra Chiesa Romana. Ed à quale edificio credete voi, che egli conceda la preferenza sopra à S. Pietro ? A una Chiesa fabricata sul gusto Gotico, & le di cui muraglie sieno tutte nude : cosa, che fa Pieta !”

† Observe that I have said just the contrary ; (in that Gothic churches infuse superstition ; Grecian, admiration.) In my comparison between the effects of a Grecian and a Gothic church, is there any question of preferring the latter to the former in point of architecture ? Have I not said that Gothic architects had not the happiness of discovering the true beauties of the Grecian orders ? Is there a word of St. Peter’s being overloaded with ornaments ? Have I not even said, that a Gothic church, *though* stripped of its shrines and splendor, makes stronger religious impression, than the cathedral of Rome, though advantaged by all those decorations ! and why, but because gloom and well-applied obscurity are better friends to devotion than even wealth ! A dark landscape, savage with rocks and precipices,

and the unrestrained licentiousness of that which is called Gothic. Yet I am clear that the persons who executed the latter, had much more knowledge of their art, more taste, more genius, and more propriety than we chuse to imagine. There is a magic hardiness in the execution of some of their works which would not have sustained themselves if dictated by mere caprice. There is a tradition that Sir Christopher Wren went once a year to survey the roof of the chapel of King's college, and said that if any man would show him where to place the first stone, he would engage to build such another. That there is great grace in several places, even in their clusters of slender pillars, and in the application of their ornaments, though the principles of the lat-

n Gothic

precipices, by Salvator Rosa, may be preferred to a serene sunshine of Claud Lorrain; not because it is a more pleasing, but a more striking picture. Cato is a regular drama, Macbeth an extravagant one; yet who thinks the genius of Addison equal to Shakespear's? The one copies rules, the other the passions. A Gibbs and money, a French critic and an English schoolmaster, can make a building or a tragedy without a fault against proportion or the three unities; and the one or the other might make either. It required a little more genius to write Macbeth, or to establish the Roman Catholic religion; and though Monfr. Mariette does not know it, his creed, which he mistakes for architecture, was more obliged to Gothic architects than to Michael Angelo and the rest, who designed St. Peter's.

ter are so confined that they may almost all be reduced to the trefoil, extended and varied, I shall not appeal to the edifices themselves—It is sufficient to observe, that Inigo Jones, sir Christopher Wren and Kent, who certainly understood beauty, blundered * into the heaviest and clumsiest compositions whenever they aimed at imitations of the Gothic—Is an art despicable in which a great master cannot shine?

Considering how scrupulously our architects confine themselves to antique precedent, perhaps some deviations into Gothic may a little relieve them from that servile imitation. I mean that they should study both tastes, not blend them: that they should dare to invent in the one, since they will hazard nothing in the other. When they have built a pediment and portico, the Sibyll's circular temple, and tacked the wings to a house by a colonade, they seem *au bout de leur Latin*. If half a dozen mansions were all that remained of old Rome, instead of half a dozen temples, I do not

* In Lincoln's-inn chapel, the steeple of the church at Warwick, the king's-bench in Westminster-hall, the screen at Gloucester &c. *with but is any thing*
of the doubt

doubt but our churches would resemble the private houses of Roman citizens. Our buildings must be as Vitruvian, as writings in the days of Erasmus were obliged to be Ciceronian. Yet confined as our architects are to few models, they are far from having made all the use they might of those they possess. There are variations enough to be struck out to furnish new scenes of singular beauty. The application of loggias, arcades, terrasses and flights of steps, at different stages of a building, particularly in such situations as Whitehall to the river, would have a magnificent effect. It is true, our climate and the expence of building in England are great restrictions on imagination; but when one talks of the extent of which architecture is capable, one must suppose that pomp and beauty are the principal objects; one speaks of palaces and public buildings; not of shops and small houses—but I must restrain this dissertation, and come to the historic part, which will lie in a small compass.

Felibien took great pains to ascertain the revival of architecture, after the destruction of the true taste by the inundation of the
northern

northern nations; but his discoveries were by no means answerable to his labour. Of French builders he did find a few names, and here and there an Italian or German. Of English he owns he did not meet with the least trace; while at the same time the founders of ancient buildings were every where recorded: so carefull have the monks (the only historians of those times) been to celebrate bigotry and pass over the arts. But I own I take it for granted that these seeming omissions are to be attributed to their want of perspicuity rather than to neglect. As all the other arts * were confined to cloysters, so undoubtedly was architecture too; and when we read that such a bishop or such an abbot built such and such an edifice, I am persuaded that they often gave the plans as well as furnished the necessary funds;

* The arts flourished so much in convents to the last, that one Gyffard, a visitor employed by Thomas Cromwell to make a report of the state of those societies previous to their suppression, pleads in behalf of the house of Wolstrop, "That there was not one religious person there, but that he could and did use, either embrother-yng, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, *carving, painting, grassing.*" Strype's memor. vol. i. p. 255.

but

but as those chroniclers scarce ever specify when this was or was not the case, we must not at this distance of time pretend to conjecture what prelates were or were not capable of directing their own foundations.

Felibien is so impartial an author, that he does not even reject the fables with which our own writers have replenished the chasms in our history. He quotes Matthew of Westminster for the flourishing condition of architecture in Britain at a time when indeed neither that nor any other science flourished here—King Arthur, say they, * caused many churches and considerable edifices to be erected here. It would in truth have been an act of injustice to us to omit this vision, in a man who on the authority of Agathias, relates that the emperor Justinian had in his service one Anthemius, so able a *mathematician* that he could make artificial earthquakes, and actually did revenge himself by such an experiment on one Zeno a rhetorician. The machinery was extremely simple, and yet I question whether the greatest mathemati-

* Felib. vol. v. p. 165.

cian of this age is expert enough to produce the same effect; it consisted in nothing but placing several caldrons of hot water against the walls of Zeno's house. The same author has cited Procopius for the origine of dams to restrain the course of rivers, the method of whose construction was revealed to Chryses, an architect of Alexandria, in a dream. Dreams, lies, and absurdities are all one finds in searching into early times. In a scarcity of facts probability was the last thing to which such authors attended, and consequently they left a mark by which, if we pleased, we might distinguish between the truth and what they invented.

In Felibien † the only thing I find to my purpose, and all that he really found in Matthew of Westminster, is, that in the kingdom of the Mercians Sexulphus, abbot and afterwards bishop, built a considerable monastery called ‡ Medes Hampstede: unless it may be a satisfaction to antiquaries to know who first invented those Grottesque monsters and burlesque faces with which the

† Felib. p. 185.

‡ Peterborough.

spouts and gutters of ancient buildings are decorated. It was one Marchion of Arezzo,* architect to Pope Innocent III. Indeed I speak now critically; Marchion used those grinning animals only to support columns—but in so fantastic an age they were sure of being copied, and soon arrived at the top.

Vertue, no less industrious than Felibien, could discover but two ancient architects, Gundulphus who built the tower † (the same person who erected the cathedral of Rochester) and Peter of Colechurch priest and chaplain, who in the year 1163, rebuilt London bridge of timber. ‡ Edward

* Felib. p. 224.

† See the compact between the king and bishop in the *Textus Roffensis*, published by Hearne; and that between the same bishop and William Rufus for erecting the castle of Rochester. cap. 83. and Stowe's *Survey of London*.

‡ William de Sens soon after the year 1174 temp. Hen. 2di. built the choir of the cathedral of Canterbury, as it still exists. Helias de Berham, canon of Salisbury, à primâ fundatione (temp. Hen. 3di) rector fuit novae fabricae per 25 annos; et Robertus caementarius rexit per 25 annos. See Leland's *Itinerary* vol. iii. p. 66. Helias de Berham was probably the person mentioned above p. 2. by the name of Elyas in the reign of king John.

Fitzodo, we have seen, was master of the new works at Westminster under Henry III. and may fairly claim his place in this list. *

In the cathedral of Lincoln is a curious gravestone over a mason of that church, almost perfect, except in that material part the year of his death, the latter figures being obliterated. On each side of him is his trowel and square ;

Hic jacet Ricardus de Gaynisburgh
olym Cementarius hujus ecclesie qui obiit
duodecim. Kalendarum Junii Anno Do-
mini M ccc. —

But the brightest name in this list is William of Wykeham, who from being clerk of the works rose to be bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor—a height which few men have reached by mere merit in any mechanic science. Wykeham had the sole direction of the buildings at Windsor and Queenborough-castle ; not to mention his own foundations. He rose by pleasing one of the greatest princes, and deserved his fortune by bestowing it on noble charities.

* See Stowe's Survey p. 28. Isembert of Xaintes is mentioned as a builder of the bridge of London, and of the chapel in it.

William Rede bishop of Chichester in 1369, reckoned the best mathematician of the age, was a prelate of similar taste; he built the first library at Merton college, and the castle of Amberley.

In St. Michael's church at St. Alban's were the following inscriptions:

“Hic jacet Thomas Wolvey [or Wolven] Latomus in arte, nec non armiger illustrissimi Principis Ric. secundi, quondam Regis Angliæ, qui obiit Anno Dom. M,cccc,xxx. in vigiliâ Sti. Thomæ Martyris, cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.”

“This man, as far as I understand by this inscription [says Weaver, p. 582.] was the master-mason, or surveior of the king's stone-works, as also esquire to the king's person.”

“Hic jacet Richardus Wolven [or Wolvey] Lathonius, filius Johannis Wolven, cum uxoribus suis, Agnete et Agnete, et cum octo filiis, et decem filiabus suis, qui Richardus obiit An. 1490. Quorum animabus &c.”

I have myself turned over most of our histories of churches, and can find nothing like the names of artists. With respect to the

builders of Gothic, it is a real loss: there is beauty, genius and invention enough in their works to make one wish to know the authors. I will say no more on this subject, than that, on considering and comparing it's progress, the delicacy, lightness and taste of it's ornaments, it seems to have been at it's perfection about the reign of Henry IV. as may be seen particularly by the tombs of the archbishops at Canterbury. That cathedral I should recommend preferably to Westminster to those who would borrow ornaments in that stile. The fret-work in the small oratories at Winchester, and the part behind the choir at Gloucester would furnish beautifull models. The windows in several cathedrals offer gracefull patterns; for airy towers of almost filigraine we have none to be compared with those of Rheims. *

It

* Some instances of particular beauty, whose constructions date at different aeras from what I have mentioned, have been pointed out to me by a gentleman to whose taste I readily yield; such as the nave of the minster at York (in the great and simple stile), and the choir of the same church (in the rich and filigraine workmanship) both of the reign of Edward III. The
Lady-

It is certain that the Gothic taste remained in vogue 'till towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII. His father's chapel at Westminster is entirely of that manner. So is Wolfey's tomb-house at Windsor. But soon after the Grecian style was introduced; and no wonder when so many Italians were entertained in the king's service. They had seen that architecture revived in their own country in all it's purity—but whether they were not perfectly masters of it, or that it was necessary to introduce the innovation by degrees, it certainly did not at first obtain full possession. It was plaistered upon Gothic, and made a barbarous mixture. Regular columns, with ornaments, neither

Lady-chapel (now Trinity-church) at Ely, and the Lantern-tower in the same cathedral, noble works of the same time: and the chapel of bishop West (also at Ely) who died in 1533, for exquisite art in the lesser style. These notices certainly can add no honour to a name already so distinguished as Mr. Gray's; it is my own gratitude or vanity that prompts me to name him; and I must add, that if some parts of this work are more accurate than my own ignorance or carelessness would have left them, the reader and I are obliged to the same gentleman, who condescended to correct, what he never could have descended to write.

Grecian nor Gothic, and half embroidered with foliage, were crammed over frontispieces, facades and chimnies, and lost all grace by wanting simplicity. This mungrel species lasted 'till late in the reign of James the first.

The beginning of reformation * in building seems owing to Holbein. His porch at Wilton, though purer than the works of his successors, is of this bastard sort; but the ornaments and proportions are gracefull and well chosen. I have seen of his drawings too in the same kind. Where he acquired this taste is difficult to say; probably it was adopted from his acquaintance with his fellow-labourers at court. Henry had actually an Italian architect in his service, to whom I should without scruple assign the introduction of regular architecture, if it was clear that he arrived here near so early as Holbein. He was called John of Padua, and his very office seems to intimate something novel in his practice. He was termed *Devizor of his majesty's buildings*. In one of the office-books which I have quoted, there

* Brunelleschi began to reform architecture in the fourteenth century. See Voltaire. *Hist. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 179.

is a payment to him of 36 *l.* — 10 *s.* — 0 *d.* In the same place is a payment of the same sum to Laurence Bradshaw, surveyor, with a fee of two shillings per diem. To the clerk of the latter, 9 *l.* — 2 *s.* — 0 *d.* for riding expences, 53 *l.* — 6 *s.* — 0 *d.* and for boat hire 13 *l.* — 6 *s.* — 8 *d.* John de Padua is mentioned again in Rymér's *Foedera*, on the grant of a fee of 2 *s.* per diem.

AD. 1544. Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, De gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon in consideratione boni et fidelis servitii quod dilectus serviens noster *Johannes de Padua* nobis in architectura, ac aliis in re musica inventis impendit ac impendere intendit,

Dedimus et concessimus, ac per praesentes damus et concedimus eidem *Johanni* vadium sive feodum *Duorum Solidorum Sterlingorum per diem*,

Habendum et annuatim percipiendum praefato *Johanni* dictum vadium sive feodum *Duorum Solidorum*, durante beneplacito nostro de thesauro nostro ad receptam scaccarii nostri, per manus thesaurii et camerariorum nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existentium,

ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paschae per aequales portiones ;

Et insuper sciatis quod, cum dictus *Johannes* nobis inservivit in dicta arte a *Festo Paschae* quod erat in anno regni nostri tricesimo quarto, prout certam habemus notitiam, nos de uberiori gratia nostra dedimus et concessimus, ac per praesentes damus et concedimus *eidem Johanni* praefatum feodum *Duorum Solidorum* per diem habendum et percipiendum eidem, a dicto festo Paschae nomine regardi nostri ;

Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium tricesimo die Junii.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo.

This grant was renewed to him in the third of Edward VI. From the first warrant it appears that John of Padua was not only an architect but musician, a profession remarkably acceptable to Henry.

I cannot certainly indicate to the reader any particular work * of this master ; but these

* Holmby-house was one of our earliest productions in regular architecture, and by part of the frontispiece lately standing, appeared to be of a very pure and beautiful style, but can not well be ascribed to John of Padua as the date was 1583. Wollaton-hall in Nottinghamshire.

these imperfect notes may lead curious persons to farther discoveries. Jerome di Trevisi, one of the painters mentioned before, is also said to have built some houses here. *

Henry had another architect of much note in his time, but who excelled chiefly in Gothic (from whence it is clear that the new taste was also introduced) This was Sir Richard Lea master mason, and master of the pioneers in Scotland. Henry gave him † the manor of Sopewell in Hertfordshire, and he himself bestowed a brazen font on the church of Verulam, or St. Alban's, within a mile of which place out of the ruins of the abbey he built a seat called Lees-place. The font was taken in the Scottish wars, and had served for the christening of the royal children of that kingdom. A pompous inscription ‡ was en-

hamshire was perhaps of the same hand. The porch of Charlcot-house, the seat of the Lucys, is in the same style, and at Kenelworth was another, with the arms of Dudley Earl of Leicester.

* Felibien vol. ii. p. 71.

† Chauncy's Hertfordshire p. 461, where he is called Sir Richard à Leigh.

‡ See it in Camden's Britannia p. 355. vol. i. edit. 1722.

graved on it by the donor; * but the font was stolen in the civil wars.

Hector Asheley appears, by one of the office-books that I have quoted, to have been much employed by Henry in his buildings, but whether as architect or only supervisor is not clear. In the space of three years were paid to him on account of buildings at Hunsdon-house above nineteen hundred pounds.

* Nicholas Stone sen. the statuary and master mason had a portrait of this Sir Richard Lee, whom he much esteemed. It was painted on board about a foot high, his sword by his side. It came afterwards to one whom Vertue calls, old Stoakes, and he gave it to — Jackson, master mason, lately dead.

ANECDOTES of PAINTING, &c.

C H A P. VI.

State of Painting under EDWARD VI. and MARY.

UNDER a minor prince, and amidst a struggle of religions, we are not likely to meet with much account of the arts. Nobody was at leisure to mind or record them. Yet the seeds sown by Henry were not eradicated; Holbein was still alive. We have seen that he was chosen to celebrate the institution of Bridewell. He drew the young king more than once after he came to the crown.

Among the stores of old pictures at Somerset-house was one, painted on a long board, representing the head of Edward VI. to be discerned only by the reflection of a cylindric mirror. On the side of the head was a landscape, not ill done. On the frame was written *Gulielmus pinxit.* This was probably :

M A R C

M A R C W I L L E M S,

Who was born at Antwerp about 1527, and was scholar of Michael Coxie. He was reckoned to surpass his cotemporaries in his manner and facility of composing. This picture is the sole evidence of his having been in England: in his own country he painted the decollation of St. John, still extant in the church of St. Rombout, for which too he drew the story of Judith and Holofernes. When Philip II. made his public entry into Mechlin in 1549, Willems was employed to paint a triumphal arch, on which he represented the history of Dido. He made designs for most of the painters, glass-painters and arras-makers of his time, and died lamented in 1561. *

Another picture of Edward VI. was in the collection of Charles I. painted by Hans Hueet, of whom nothing else is known. It was sold for 20 *l.* in the Civil War.

There was another painter who lived at this time, of whom Vertue found an account in a MS. of Nicholas Hilliard, but never discovered any of his works. As this person

* See Delcamps and Sandrart.

is so much commended by a brother artist, one may believe he had merit, and as the testimony may lead to farther investigation, I shall give the extract in the author's own words ;

“ Nevertheless, if a man be so induced by nature, and live in time of trouble and under a government wherein arts be not esteemed, and himself but of small means, woe be unto him, as unto an untimely birth ; for of my own knowledge, it hath made poor men poorer, as amongst others many, that most rare English drawer of story works in black and white

J O H N B O S S A M,

One for his skill worthy to have been serjeant-painter to any king or emperor, whose works in that kind are comparable with the best whatsoever in cloth, and in distemper-colours for black and white ; who being very poor, and belike wanting to buy fairer colours, wrought therefore for the most part in white and black ; and growing yet poorer by charge of children, &c. gave painting clean over : but being a very fair-conditioned, zealous and godly person grew into a love of God's divine service
upon

upon the liberty of the gospel at the coming in of queen Elizabeth, and became a reading minister; only unfortunate, because he was English born, for even the strangers * would otherwise have set him up."

The protector was magnificent, and had he lived to compleat Somersset-house, would probably have called in the assistance of those artists whose works are the noblest furniture. I have already mentioned his portrait by Holbein. His ambitious duchess Anne Stanhope and her son are preserved in a small piece † of oil-colours at Petworth, but I know not who the painter was, nor of the portrait of the protector's brother, admiral Seymour, at Longleat. A miniature of the same person is in the possession of Mrs. George Grenville. Of the admiral's creature Sir William Sherrington there are two or three pictures extant; one, among Holbein's drawings at Kensington. This man was master of the mint, and was convicted by his own confession of great frauds. ‡

* King Philip and the Spaniards.

† There is a head of her too at Sion, and Mr. Bateman has given me another in small, with a portrait of the protector in her hand; painted probably after his death.

‡ Strype's memorials vol. ii. p. 123.

He put the mint of Bristol into the hands of the admiral, who was to take thence 10,000 *l.* per month for his rebellious purposes. Yet Sherrington was pardoned and restored. It has never observed, but I suppose the lightness which is remarked in the coins of Edward VI. was owing to the embezzlements of this person.

Now I am mentioning the mint, I shall take notice that among the patent-rolls is a grant in the 6th of Edward to Antony Deric of the office of capital sculptor of the monies in the tower of London; and at the end of the same year John Brown is appointed during pleasure surveyor of the coins. Clement Adams has a grant to instruct the king's henchmen or pages; an office he retained under queen Elizabeth. In Hackluyt's voyages, * that of Richard Chancellor to Cathay is said to be written in Latin by that learned young man Clement Adams.

Of the protector's rival, Dudley duke of Northumberland, there is a good head in the chamber at Knowle, where there are so many curious portraits, supposed to have been assembled by the treasurer Buckhurst.

* Page 270.

Another person of some note in this reign was Sir John Godsalve, created knight of the carpet at the king's coronation ; * and commissioner of visitation the same year ; † and in the third year comptroller of the mint. His portrait is in the closet at Kensington, and Vertue mentions another in miniature, drawn by John Betts, ‡ (who he says was an esteemed painter in the reign of queen Elizabeth) On this picture was written, captum in castris ad Boloniam 1540 ; with his arms, party per pale gules and azure, on a fess wavy argent, between three crozlets pattee, or, as many crescents sable. The knight was drawn with a spear and shield. This picture belonged to Christopher Godsalve, clerk of the victualling-office in the reign of Charles I. in whose cause he lost 7,000 *l.* and was near being hanged. He was employed by Charles II. in the navy-office and lived to 1694.

Guillim Stretes was painter to king Edward ; in 1551 “ He had paid him, says Strype, § fifty marks for recompence of

* See Strype.

† Heylin.

‡ Vertue says that Betts learned of Hilliard.

§ Vol. ii. p. 494.

three great tables made by the said Guillim, whereof two were the pictures of his highness, sent to Sir Thomas Hoby, and Sir John Mason (ambassadors abroad) the third a picture of the late earl of Surrey attainted, and by the council's commandment fetched from the said Guillim's house." The peculiarity of these last words induce me to think that I have discovered this very picture. In my father's collection was a very large piece representing that unfortunate lord, at whole length, leaning on a broken column, with this motto, *Sat superest*, and other devices, particularly the arms of England, one of the articles of his impeachment, and only the initial letters of his name. This was evidently painted after his death, and as his father was still detained in prison during the whole reign of Edward, it cannot be probable that a portrait of the son, with such marks of honour, should be drawn by order of the court. On the contrary, it's *being fetched from Guillim's house by the council's commandment*, seems to imply that it was seized by their order. It is now in the possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk. *at Arundel castle. 10000*

Architec-

Architecture preserved in this reign the footing it had acquired under the last king. Somerset-house is a compound of Grecian and Gothic. It was built on the scite of Chester inn, where the ancient poet Occleve formerly lived. As the pension to John of Padua was renewed in the third of this king, one may suppose that he owed it to the protector, and was the architect of this palace. In the same style and dating it's origine from the same power, as Somerset-house, is Longleat, though not begun 'till 1567. It was built by Sir John Thynne, a principal officer to the protector.

1553.

The reign of Mary, though shorter even than that of her brother, makes a much more considerable figure in the annals of painting. It was distinguished by more good painters than one; the principal was

SIR ANTONIO MORE.

He was a native of Utrecht, and scholar of John Schorel, * but seems to have studied

* Schorel was scholar of Mabuse, and was a poet, musician, and orator. See an account of him in Sandart, p. 235.

the manner of Holbein, to which he approached nearer than to the freedom of design in the works of the great masters, that he saw at Rome. Like Holbein he was a close imitator of nature, but did not arrive at his extreme delicacy of finishing; on the contrary, Antonio sometimes struck into a bold and masculine style, with a good knowledge of the Chiaro Scuro. In 1522 he drew Philip II. and was recommended by cardinal Granvelle to Charles V. who sent him to Portugal, where he painted John III. the king, Catherine of Austria his queen, and the infanta Mary, first wife of Philip. For these three pictures he received six hundred ducats, besides a gold chain of one thousand florins, and other presents. He had one hundred ducats * for his common portraits. But still ampler rewards were bestowed on him when sent into England, to draw the picture of queen Mary, †

* Titian himself had but one hundred pieces of gold. See Sandrart, p. 224.

† Sandrart says she was very handsome. It is certain that the drawing of her (when about sixteen) by Holbein at Kensington is not disagreeable though her later pictures have all a stern hard-favoured countenance. *There is very fine picture of her at Apud*

VOL. I.

O^o the
Combe in the Isle of Wight.

the intended bride of Philip. They gave him one hundred pounds, a gold chain, and a pension of one hundred pounds a quarter as painter to their majesties. He made various portraits of the queen; * one was sent by cardinal Granvelle to the emperor, who ordered two hundred florins to Antonio. He remained in England during the reign of Mary, and was much employed, but having neglected, as is frequent, to write the names on the portraits he drew, most of them have lost part of their value, by our ignorance of the persons represented. The poorest performers have it in their power to add so much merit to their works, as can be conferred by identifying the subjects, which would be a little reparation to the curious world, though some families should miss imaginary ancestors.

On the death of the queen, More follow-

* In king Charles's collection was a miniature in oil of this queen by Antonio More, painted on a round gold plate, in blue flowered velvet and gold tissue with sleeves of fur, two red roses and a pair of gloves in her hand; the very same dress of her picture at the duke of Bedford's at Woburn. The miniature was a present to the king from the earl of Suffolk.

ed Philip [and probably his religion *] into Spain, where he was indulged in so much familiarity, that one day the king flapping him pretty roughly on the shoulder, More returned the sport with his handstick: A strange liberty to be taken with a Spanish monarch, and with such a monarch! His biographer gives but an awkward account of the sequel; and I repeat it as I find it. A grandee interposed for his pardon, and he was permitted to retire to the Netherlands, but under promise of returning again to Spain. I should rather suppose that he was promised to have leave to return thither, after a temporary banishment; and this supposition is the more likely, as Philip, for once forgetting majesty in his love of the arts, dispatched a messenger to recall him, before he had finished his journey. But the painter sensible of the danger he had escaped,

* He was suspected by the inquisition of making use of his interest with the king in favour of his countrymen, says Sandrart. This might be meant either of their religious or political principles. But sure the inquisitors knew Philip too well to be apprehensive of his listening to any insinuations of tenderness on either head.

modestly excused himself: and yet, says the story, the king bestowed noble presents and places on his children. At Utrecht Antonio found the duke of Alva, and was employed by him to draw several of his mistresses, and was made receiver of the revenues of West-Flanders; a preferment, with which, they say, he was so elated, that he burned his easel, and gave away his painting tools.

More was a man of a stately and handsome presence; and often went to Brussels, where he lived magnificently. He died at Antwerp in 1575 in the 56th year of his age.

His portrait, painted by himself, is in the chamber of painters at Florence, with which the great duke, who bought it, was so pleased, that he ordered a cartel with some Greek verses, written by Antonio Maria Salvini, his Greek professor, to be affixed to the frame. Salvini translated them into Italian and into the following Latin,

Papae ! est imago cujus,
 Qui Zeuxin atque Apellem,
 Veterumque quot fuere,
 Recentiumque quot sunt,
 Genus arte vicit omnes !
 Viden' ut suam ipse pinxit

Propriâ

Propriâ manu figuram ;
Chalybis quidem nitenti
Speculo se ipse cernens.
Manus O ! potens magistri !
Nam pseudo-morus iste
Fors, More, vel loquetur.

Another picture of himself, and one of his wife, were in the collection of Sir Peter Lely. More's was three feet eight inches high, by two feet nine wide. King Charles had five pictures painted by this master ; and the duke of Buckingham had a portrait of a man by him. See his catalogue p. 18. A print of him in profile was published by Hondius, and a medal struck of him in Italy with this legend, Ant. More, pictor transmontanus. At what time or where he was knighted is uncertain. He painted his master John Schorel in 1560. Several of his works are or were at Sir Philip Sydenham's at Brympton in Somersetshire. A very good portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham is at Houghton. I have a miniature by him, called Thomas duke of Norfolk, engraved among the illustrious heads : it belonged to Richardson the painter, and came out of the Arundelian collection ; and a half length of a lady in black with a gold chain about her waist, which is mentioned in the catalogue

of pictures of James II. and by that of Charles I. appears * to be Margaret of Valois, sister of Henry II. of France, and duchess of Savoy, at the tournament for whose wedding that monarch was killed. Lady Elizabeth Germain has the portrait of Anne daughter of Francis earl of Bedford and wife of Ambrose earl of Warwick.

At Newstede abbey in Nottinghamshire, the beautifull seat of the lord Byron, where are the most perfect remains of an ancient convent, is an admirable portrait, painted as I believe by this master, and worthy of Holbein. It is a half length of a fat man with a beard, on a light greenish ground. His arms are, three roses, the middle one highest, on a field argent; in base, something like a green hill: These arms are repeated on his ring, and over them, J. N. aet. 1557. As this bearing is evidently foreign, I suppose the portrait represents one of the family of Numigen. Nicholas Byron married Sophia, daughter of Lambert Charles of Numigen. †

But More did not always confine himself to portraits. He painted several historic pieces, particularly one much esteemed of

* See p. 108. N^o 7.

† Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, p. 261.

the resurrection of Christ with two angels; and another of Peter and Paul. A painter, who afterwards sold it to the prince of Condè, got a great deal of money by showing it at the foire St. Germain.

He made a fine copy of Titian's Danaë for the king; and left unfinished the Circumcision, designed for the altar in the church of our Lady at Antwerp.

In the catalogue of pictures at the palais roial is a portrait said to be of Grotius by Antonio More, who was dead above twenty years before Grotius was born.

Another performer in this reign was

JOAS VAN CLEEVE,

Or Sotto Cleefe, an industrious painter of Antwerp: his colouring was good, and his figures fleshy and round; but before he arrived at the perfection he might have attained, his head was turned with vanity; a misfortune not uncommon to the profession, who living secluded from the world and seeing little but their own creation rising around them, grow intoxicated with the magic of their own performances. Cleeve came to England, expecting great prices for his pictures from king Philip, who was

making a collection, but unluckily, some of the works of Titian arrived at the same time. Cleeve begged the recommendation of Sir Antonio More, his countryman; but Philip was too much charmed with the beauties of the Venetian master, and overlooked the labours of the Fleming. This neglect completed his frenzy, the storm of which first vented itself on Sir Antonio. Cleeve abused him, undervaluing his works, and bidding him return to Utrecht and keep his wife from the canons. At last the poor man grew quite frantic, painted his own cloaths, and spoiled his own pictures, 'till they were obliged to confine him, in which wretched condition he probably died. He had a son that followed his profession, and was, it is said, no despicable performer.

Of Joas there is a print with with legend, *vivebat Antwerpiae in patriâ 1544*. Another inscribed, *Justo Clivenfi, Antwerpiano pictori*. The original painted by himself with a black cap and furred gown, upon a greenish ground, and a portrait of his wife, were purchased by King Charles I. * who

* See his catal. p. 153. Cleeve's portrait is still in the lower apartment at Kensington.

had also of this master a picture of Mars and Venus.*

James II. had of his painting, the Judgment of Paris, † and the birth of Christ with angels. ‡ The duke of Buckingham had a portrait of a man, and Sir Peter Lely a bacchanalian two feet one inch wide, by three feet four inches high.

Vertue found grants in this reign to another painter, who, it seems, had been in the service too of Henry and Edward. His name was *Nicholas Lyfard*; he had a pension for life of ten pounds a year, and the same fee charged on the customs, as had been granted to the serjeant-painters John Brown and Andrew Wright — Of Lyfard I find no farther mention, but that in a roll of queen Elizabeth's new-years gifts he presents her with a table painted of the history of Ahasuerus, and her majesty gives him one gilt creuse and cover. This was in the first year of her reign. He died in her service 1570. In the register of St. Martin's is this entry, "April 5, buried Nicholas Lyzard serjeant-painter unto the queen's majestie."

* Mentioned in a MS. catalogue.

† See his cat. N^o 540, and 830.

‡ See his catal. p. 18.

There was in this reign another person too illustrious a lover and even practicer of the art to be omitted, though I find no mention of him in Vertue's MSS. This was

EDWARD COURTENAY,

The last earl of Devonshire, *

The comeliness of whose person was very near raising him to that throne, for nearness to which in blood, he was a prisoner from ten years old; and from that time to thirty when he died, he scarce enjoyed two years of liberty. It was a happiness peculiar to him to be able to amuse himself with drawing, † in an age in which there were

* When queen Mary released him, she restored him too to the Marquisate of Exeter, though that title is omitted by all our historians when they mention him.

† My authority is Strype, who produces undoubted authority for his assertion, having given us the oration pronounced at his funeral by Sir Thomas Wilson, afterwards Secretary of State. Besides his progress in philosophy, mathematics, music, and the French, Spanish, and Italian languages, Sir Thomas adds, "Tanta etiam expingendarum effigierum cupiditate ardebat, ut facile et laudabiliter cujuscumque imaginem in tabula exprimeret." See Strype's memorials vol. iii. p. 339, and appendix p. 192.

so many prisoners and so few resources; and it gives one very favorable ideas of his being naturally accomplished, of a spirit not easily to be depressed, when we find that queen Mary no sooner delivered him from his captivity than she wished to marry him; and that he, conscious of his great blood and yet void of interested ambition, declined a crown, and preferred the younger sister, the princess Elizabeth. For this partiality, and on the rising of the Carews in Devonshire who were flattered with the hopes of this match, the princess and he were committed to the tower, and accused by Wyatt as his accomplices. Our historians * all reject this accusation, and declare that Wyatt cleared him at his death; and indeed the earl's gratitude would not have been very shining, had he plotted to dethrone a princess who had delivered him from a prison and offered him a throne. The English, who could not avoid feeling partiality to this young prince, were pleased with king Philip, to whose intercession they ascribed the second release of the earl, as well as the safety of the lady Elizabeth. Courte-

* See Holinshed, Heylin, and Burnet.

ney asked leave to travel, and died at Padua, not without suspicion of poison, which seems more probable than those rumours generally are, as he was suspected of being a Lutheran and as his epitaph, * written in defence of the Spaniards, formally declares that he owed his death to affecting the kingdom, and to his ambition of marrying the queen; the last of which assertions at least is a falsehood, and might be a blunder, confounding the queen and princess. After his death one Cleybery was executed for pretending to be this earl, and thence endeavouring to raise commotions.

There is a very good portrait of him at the duke of Bedford's at Woburn, painted, I should think, by Sir Antonio More; on the back ground, a ruined tower.

* See it at length in the genealogical history of the noble house of Courtenay by Edward Cleaveland, fol. 1735, p. 261.

ANECDOTES of PAINTING, &c.

C H A P. VII.

Painters in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

THE long and remarkable reign of this Princess could not but furnish many opportunities to artists of signalizing themselves. There is no evidence that Elizabeth had much taste for painting; but she loved pictures of herself. In them she could appear really handsome; and yet to do the profession justice, they seem to have flattered her the least of all her dependents: There is not a single portrait of her that one can call beautiful. The profusion of ornaments with which they are loaded, are marks of her continual fondness for dress, while they entirely exclude all grace, and leave no more room for a painter's genius than if he had been employed to copy an Indian idol, totally composed of hands and necklaces. A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds,

diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale and a bushell of pearls are the features by which every body knows at once the pictures of queen Elizabeth. * Besides many
of

* It is observable that her majesty thought enormity of dress a royal prerogative, for on the 12th of February 1579, an order was made in the Star-chamber, "that no person should use or wear excessive long cloaks, (this might proceed from apprehension of their concealing arms under them) as of late be used, and before two years past hath not been used in this realm; no persons to wear such great ruffles about their necks; to be left off such monstrous undecent attyring." Also another against wearing any sword rapier, that shall passe the length of one yard and half a quarter in the blade, nor dagger above twelve inches in the blade at most. In her father's time, who dictated in every thing from religion to fashions, an act of parliament was passed in his twenty-fourth year against inordinate use of apparel directing that no one should wear on his apparel any cloth of gold, silver or tinsel, fatyn, silk, or cloth mixed with gold or silver, any fables, velvet, furrs, embroidery, velvet in gowns or outermost garments, EXCEPT PERSONS OF DISTINCTION, dukes, marquisses, earls, barons and knights of the order, barons' sons, knights or such that may dispend 250 *l.* per ann. This act was renewed in the second of Elizabeth. Edward VI. carried this restraint still farther: In heads of a bill drawn up with his own hand 1551, (though it never passed into a law) no one, who had less than 100 *l.* a year for life, or gentlemen, the king's sworn servants, was to wear fatten,
damask,

of her majesty, we are so lucky as to possess the portraits of almost all the great men of her reign, and though the generality of painters at that time were not equal to the subjects on which they were employed, yet they were close imitators of nature, and have perhaps transmitted more faithfull representations, than we could have expected from men of brighter imagination. The first painter who seems to have made any figure in this reign, was

L U C A S D E H E E R E,

Born at Ghent in 1534, of a family peculiarly addicted to the arts. John his father was a good statuary and architect: Anne Smitter his mother painted in miniature, and with such diminutive neatness, that she executed a landscape with a wind-mill, millers, a cart and horse and passengers; and half a grain of corn would cover the whole composition. The father went

damask, ostrich-feathers, or furs of conies; none not worth 200*l.* or 20*l.* in living certain, to wear chamblet: no serving-man, under the degree of a gentleman, to wear any fur, save lamb; nor cloth above ten shillings the yard.

often

often to Namur and Dinant, where the son copied ruins and castles; but he soon learned of a better master, Francis Floris, under whom Lucas improved much, and drew many designs (which passed for his master's) for tapestry and glass-painters. From Ghent he went to France and was employed by the queen and queen-mother in making drawings for tapestry; and residing some time at Fontainbleau, where he married Eleanor Carboniere, he contracted a taste for the antique by seeing the statues there, an inclination he showed less by his own works, than by making a collection of bronzes and medals. He returned to Ghent, where he drew the Count de Vaken, his lady and their jester, and painted two or three churches; in St. Peter's, the shutters of an altar-piece, in which he represented the Lord's Supper, much admired for the draperies of the apostles. In St. John's church he painted an altar-piece of the Resurrection, and on the doors of it, Christ and the disciples at Emaus, and his apparition in the garden.

Lucas was not only a painter, but a poet. He wrote the Orchard of Poesie; and translated

lated from the French of Marot, the Temple of Cupid and other pieces. He had begun the lives of the Flemish painters in verse. Carl Vermander his scholar, who has given the lives of those masters, learned many anecdotes of our English painters from Lucas.

At what time the latter arrived in England is not certain: nor were his works at all known here, 'till the indefatigable industry of Mr. Vertue discovered several of them.

1. The first of these was a portrait of Sir William Sidney, grandfather of Sir Philip; but as Sir William died in 1553 at the age of 72, when Lucas de Heere was but nineteen, it is not probable that Sir William was abroad after that young man was in repute enough to draw his picture; and it is less probable that he had been in France, had married and arrived here by the age of nineteen. This picture which Vertue found at Penshurst, was in all likelihood a copy.

2. The next was a portrait of Henry lord Maltravers eldest son of Henry Fitzalan earl of Arundel, dated 1557, the year before the accession of queen Elizabeth; but as

this young lord died at Bruffels, it is probable that De Heere drew his picture there, and that very acquaintance might have been a recommendation of Lucas to England.

3. The third is a picture in my possession, well known by the print *Vertue* made from it. It contains the portraits of Frances duchess of Suffolk, mother of lady Jane Grey, and her second husband Adrian Stoke. Their ages, and De Heere's mark **HE** are on the picture, which is in perfect preservation, the colouring of the heads clear, and with great nature, and the draperies which are black with furs and jewels, highly finished and round, though the manner of the whole is a little stiff. This picture was in the collection of lord Oxford. There is a tradition that when this great lady made this second match with a young fellow who was only master of her horse, queen Elizabeth said, "What! has she married her horse-keeper? Yes, madam, replied my lord Burleigh, and she says your majesty would like to do so too."—Leicester was master of the horse. The date on this picture is 1559.

4. Lord Darnley, husband of Mary queen of
of

of Scots, and his brother Charles Stuart, a boy, afterwards father of the lady Arabella. There are two of these; one as large as life, in the room going into the king's closet at St. James's; the other small and neatly finished in the private apartments below stairs at Hampton-court. The date 1569.

5. The next is a very remarkable picture on board at Kensington: Queen Elizabeth richly dressed, with her crown, scepter, and globe, is coming out of a palace with two female attendants. Juno, Pallas, and Minerva seem flying before her; Juno drops her scepter, and Venus her roses; Cupid flings away his bow and arrows, and clings to his mother. On the old frame remain these lines, probably written by the painter himself, who, we have seen, dabbled in poetry too;

Juno potens sceptris, et mentis acumine Pallas,
Et roseo Veneris fulget in ore decor;
Adfuit Elizabeth; Juno perculsa refugit;
Obstupuit Pallas, erubuitque Venus.

To have completed the flattery, he should have made Juno or Venus resemble the queen of Scots, and not so handsome

as Elizabeth, who would not have blushed like the last goddess. *

* Another curious picture painted about the same time, I know not by what hand, was in the collection of James West, Esq. It represents Henry VIII. sitting under a canopy supported by pillars and delivering the sword to prince Edward. On the right hand of the king stand Philip and Mary; Mars is coming in behind them. Queen Elizabeth, too large in proportion to the rest, stands forward on the other side, and leads Peace and Plenty, whose faces are said to be portraits of the countesses of Shrewsbury and Salisbury; but the latter must be a mistake in the tradition, for there was no countess of Salisbury at that time. Lady Shrewsbury I suppose was the famous Elizabeth of Hardwicke. Circumscribed in golden letters on the frame are these lines, extremely in the style of the queen's own compositions;

A face of much nobility lo! in a little room,
Four States with their conditions here shadow'd in a
show;

A father more than valiant, a rare and virtuous son;
A daughter zealous in her kind, what else the world
doth know,

And last of all a virgin queen to England's joy we see
Successively to hold the right and virtues of the three.

And in small letters on the fore-ground at bottom,
these,

The queen to Walsingham this table sent,
Mark of her people's and her own content.

This picture was brought from Chislehurst, whither it had been carried from Scadbury, the seats of the Walsinghams, and is now at Strawberry-hill.

6. There is a small whole length of queen Elizabeth by De Heere at Welbec: on the back ground, a view of the old fabric at Wanstead.

7. At lord Dacre's at Belhouse in Essex is one of the best works of this master; it always passed for Holbein's, but Vertue discovered it to be of De Heere, whose mark is still discernible. It is the portrait of Mary Neville daughter of George lord Abergavenny, and widow of Thomas Fienes lord Dacre, executed for an accidental murder in the reign of Henry VIII. a picture of her husband, aet. 22, 1549, copied from a larger piece, is represented as hanging in the room by his wife. Her head is finely coloured.

8. The picture from whence Vertue engraved his lady Jane Grey, he thought, was drawn too by Lucas; but that is liable to the same objection as his painting Sir William Sidney.

Since the first edition of this work, I have discovered another considerable work of this master; it is at Longleate, and represents a whole family. The figures are less than life, and about half lengths. An elderly gentle-

man is at table with his wife, and another lady, probably [from the resemblance, her sister. The first lady has tags of a particular form, exactly like those on the dress of my duchess of Suffolk, as is the colouring, though not so highly finished; yet the heads have great nature. Before them are seven young children, their ages marked, which show that three of them were born at a birth. They are playing with fruit, and by them are a parrot and a monkey: but the animals and fruit are much inferior to the figures. There are some Latin verses in commendation of the gentleman, whose name or title was *Cobham*. I suppose Sir George Brooke lord Cobham, who died in the first year of queen Elizabeth, leaving eight sons and two daughters. He had been committed to the tower by queen Mary, as privy to Wyatt's rebellion. I have likewise found two more pieces of this master at Drayton, the ancient castle-like mansion of the Mordaunts, now of the lady Elizabeth Germain. One is a half length of Margaret Audley second wife of Thomas duke of Norfolk beheaded temp. Eliz. Her arms and titles are on the background: but the picture has suffered. The
other,

other, of the same size, is of a young nobleman, in a white stiff-bodied habit, black cloak and hat; he is very swarthy but handsome. His age 22, 1563. This piece is finely preserved and strongly coloured. In the life of Holbein I have mentioned the Henry VIII. at Trinity Coll. Cambridge, with De Heere's mark. The face has been repainted, but the rest of the body is highly finished, and does great honour to the copyist.

In 1570 Lucas was employed to paint a gallery for Edward earl of Lincoln, the lord high admiral. * He was to represent the habits of different nations. When he came to the English, he painted a naked man with cloth of different sorts lying by him,

* At the duke of Bedford's at Wobourn are two heads of a countess of Lincoln and of lady Anne Ayscough, daughter of the earl. As they are evidently painted at the same time, and as the daughter appears the elder person, there is great reason to believe that the countess was only the mother-in-law, and consequently that this portrait represents the fair Geraldine, so much celebrated by the earl of Surrey. Her chief beauty seems to have been her golden hair. These pictures, I should think, were painted by the following master, Ketel, rather than by Lucas de Heere.

and a pair of sheers, as a satire on our fickleness in fashions. This thought was borrowed from Andrew Borde, who in his introduction to knowledge, to the first chapter prefixed a naked Englishman, with these lines,

I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mind what rayment I shall wear.*

Lucas.

* It is not extraordinary that this witticism should have been adopted into the lord admiral's gallery. Andrew Borde, or Andreas Perforatus, as he called himself, was an admired wit in the latter end of Henry VIII. to whom he was some time physician. He had been a Carthusian, then rambled over many parts of the world, turned physician, and at last wrote against the marriage of priests; for which I conclude (though Antony Wood could not guess the reason) he was shut up in prison, where some said he poisoned himself. He wrote 'The Introduction to knowledge, partly in verse and partly in prose, and dedicated it to the lady Mary, afterwards queen. There are cuts before every chapter. Before the seventh is his own picture, standing in a pew with a canopy over him, a gown with wide sleeves and a chaplet of laurel. The title of the chapter is, "The seventh chapter showeth how the author of this booke had dwelt in Scotland, and did go thorow and round about Christendom, and out of Christendom, declaring the properties of all the regions, countries and provinces, the which he did travel thorow." He wrote besides, The Breviary of Health; a Dietary of Health; The

Lucas de Heere returned to his own country before his death, which happened at Ghent in 1584. His mark, as above, is on most of his pictures. He used for an anagram these words, Schade leer u, which Sandrart says signify, *Nocumenta tibi sint documenta.*

CORNELIUS KETEL *

Was born at Gouda in 1548, and early prosecuted his art with great ardour, under the direction of his uncle, a tolerable painter and a better scholar. At eighteen he went to Delft, and placed himself with Antony Blockland, with whom he remained a year. From thence he travelled to Fontainbleau, where he worked with great applause, in competition with three of his countrymen;

The merry tales of the mad men of Gotham; a book extremely admired and often reprinted in that age. A right pleasant and merry history of the mylner of Abingdon, with his wife and his fair daughter, and of two poor scholars of Cambridge; and other things which may be seen in Antony Wood, vol. i. p. 75.

* See Sandrart 272. and Carl. Vermander, from whence Vertue collected most of the particulars of Ketel's life; and Descamps who copied Vermander. p. 69.

but

but the court coming to Fontainbleau, they were ordered to leave the palace; Ketel went to Paris and lodged with John de la Hame, the king's enameller, where he painted some histories; but an edict obliging the subjects of the king of Spain to quit France, Ketel returned to Gouda and remained there six years. The troubles in his own country continuing, and consequently little encouragement being given to the arts, Ketel embarked in 1573 for England, and was entertained at London by a sculptor and architect there, a friend of his uncle. Here he married a Dutch woman, and his works growing into esteem, he was much employed by the merchants in painting portraits, but was seldom engaged on history, to which his inclination chiefly led him. However, having painted an allegoric piece of Strength vanquished by Wisdom, it was purchased by a young merchant, and presented to Sir Christopher Hatton, afterwards lord chancellor. This incident introduced Ketel to court; he drew a good whole length of Sir Christopher, now at the earl of Litchfield's at Ditchley; the portrait of Edward Vere earl of Oxford, of William Herbert earl of Pembroke;

Pembroke; of the lord admiral Lincoln, now at Woburn, and of Henry Fitzalan earl of Arundel; and of several others. At last, in 1578, he had the honour of painting the queen herself, at the request of the † countess of Hertford; Elizabeth being then entertained at Hanworth by the famous Anne Stanhope, widow of the protector, and mother of the earl of Hertford, then very aged. ‡

Ketel left England in 1581, and settled at Amsterdam, where he painted a large picture of the trained bands with their portraits, and their captain Herman Rodenburgh Beths at their head. In this picture too he introduced his own portrait. The disposition, resemblances, and the different stuffs of the habits, well imitated, were much admired in this piece. It was placed in the gallery of the Mall at Amsterdam. In 1589 he undertook another picture of the same sort for the company of St. Sebastian, in which was the portrait of their captain

† This I suppose was Frances Howard, second wife of the earl, and sister of the lord admiral Nottingham, a favorite. The earl of Hertford had been in disgrace for his first marriage with the lady Catherine Grey.

‡ The duchess died nine years afterwards, at the age of ninety.

Didier Rosencraus. It was reckoned not inferior to the former, and was neither confused nor unanimated, notwithstanding the number of portraits it contained.

In another of his works, under the figures of Christ and the apostles, he represented Henry Keyser an architect of Amsterdam, and the principal virtuosos of that city. His best picture was the portrait of Simon Lack of that city; it was in the possession of one of the same family at the Hague. Many of his works were carried to Dantzick.

In the duke of Buckingham's collection was a large picture by this master, representing the Virtues and Vices. See his catal. p. 19.

But Ketel, not content with the glory he acquired by these performances, instead of aiming at greater perfection, took it into his head to make himself known by a method of painting entirely new. He laid aside his brushes, and painted only with his fingers, * beginning with his own portrait.

* Descamps mentions a fine picture painted by Weenix in the same manner. Vol. ii. p. 310. And in a sale of pictures in Covent-garden 1729, were two heads painted by one Brandell with his thumb.

The

The whim took ; he repeated the practice, and they pretend, executed those fantastic works with great purity and beauty of colouring. In this manner he painted two heads for the Sieur Van Os of Amsterdam ; the first, a Democritus, was his own portrait ; the other, of M. Morosini, in the character of Heraclitus. The duc de Nemours, who was a performer himself, was charmed with the latter and bought it. Another, was the picture of Vincent Jacobson, a noted Wine-merchant of Amsterdam, with a glass of renish in his hand. As his success increased, so did his folly ; his fingers appeared too easy tools ; he undertook to paint with his feet, and his first essay he pretended to make in public on a picture of the God of Silence. That public, who began to think like Ketel, that the more painter was a mountebank, the greater was his merit, were so good as to applaud even this caprice.

Ketel, like De Heere, was a poet too, and wrote descriptions of several of his own works in verse. He understood architecture, geometry and perspective, and modelled in clay and wax. He was living

in 1600, when Vermander wrote his account of him. Sandrart who makes him travel to Venice and Rome, and die young, while he was employed on a picture of the king of Denmark, has confounded the master with the scholar; the latter incidents relate to Isaac Oteryn of Copenhagen, Ketel's only disciple.

Vermander dedicated to Ketel a dissertation on the statues of the ancients, in which he mentions the great friendship that had subsisted between them for thirty years.

Vertue observed on the works of De Heere and Ketel, that those of the former are generally smaller than the life, neater, not so strongly coloured, and most commonly painted on board. Those of Ketel, more strongly coloured and with a fuller pencil, and always as large or rather larger than nature.

The next on our list is a name of more note, celebrated even in the lists of the great Italian masters: this was

FREDERIC ZUCCHERO, *

The younger brother of Taddeo, and born

* See Sandrart, Felibien, and Baglione.

like

like him, at Vado in the duchy of Urbino, in the year 1550. Frederic was carried by his parents to Rome, where their elder son was then employed: the younger improved so much in the space of six years, that without his brother's assistance he painted a picture of Helicon and the Muses for a Roman nobleman; and executed greatest part of a chapel in which his brother was engaged. They worked for some time in concert; and being at Florence painted in four days the whole history of the Passion which was bespoken in a hurry for the decoration of a church on Easter Sunday. Taddeo dying at the age of thirty-seven, Frederic finished his imperfect works, among which were the paintings at the magnificent palace then lately built at Caprarola by cardinal Farnese. His picture in distemper of Calumny, borrowed from the description of one painted by Apelles, was supposed a tacit satire on that cardinal, with whom he had quarrelled on some deficiency of payment. Zuccherò's temper seems by another instance to have been pretty strongly tinged with resentment; while he was employed by Gregory XIII. to paint the Pauline chapel in
the

the vatican, he fell out with some of his holiness's officers. To be revenged, he painted their portraits with ears of asses, and exposed the picture publicly over the gate of St. Luke's church, on the festival of that saint, the patron of painters.* But for this exploit he was forced to fly from Rome; and passing into France, he was for some time employed in the service of the cardinal of Lorrain. Thence he went into Flanders, and made cartoons for tapestry; and in the year 1574 arrived in England. The queen sat to him for her picture; so did the queen of Scots, for that well-known portrait at Chiswick, which has been engraved **by** Vertue. Another picture of Elizabeth, in a fantastic habit, something like a Persian, is in the gallery of royal personages at Kensington. Melville mentions her having and wearing dresses of every country: in this picture too appears her romantic turn; she is drawn in a forest, a

* Verrio quarrelling with Mrs. Marriot the house-keeper at Windsor, drew her picture for one of the furies. This was to gratify his own passion; to flatter **that** of the court, he has represented lord Shaftsbury among the Demons of faction, in St. George's hall.

stag behind her, and on a tree are inscribed these mottoes and verses, which as we know not on what occasion the piece was painted, are not easily to be interpreted;

Injusti justa querela.

a little lower,

Mea sic mihi.

still lower,

Dolor est medicina *ed tori*. (should be, dolori.)

on a scroll at bottom,

The restless swallow fits my restlesse mind,
In still revivinge, still renewinge wrongs;
Her juste complaints of cruelty unkinde
Are all the musique that my life prolonges.
With pensive thoughts my weeping stag I
crown,

- (i) Whose melancholy teares my cares expresse;
His teares in silence and my sighes unknowne
Are all the physicke that my harmes redresse.
My onely hopes was in this goodly tree,
Which I did plant in love, bring up in care,
(too) But all in vaine, for now so late I see
(shells) The *shales* be mine, the kernels others are.
My musique may be plaintes, my musique
teares,
If this be all the fruite my love-tree beares.

Tradition gives these lines to Spenser; I think we may fairly acquit him of them, and conclude they are of her majesty's own composition, as they much resemble the

style of those in Hentznerus p. 66. of the English edition.

The portraits of Sir Nicholas Bacon at Woburn, of Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, at * Hampton-court, and of Sir Francis Walsingham, in my possession, all three engraved among the illustrious heads; and the picture of queen Elizabeth's gigantic porter at Kensington, were painted by Zuccherò; here too he drew his own portrait, and copied the works of Holbein at the Steelyard as I have mentioned. A chapel at Roehampton belonging to Mr. Bagnols was said to be painted by him. What other works he performed here I do not find; † probably not many; his stay was not long; historic subjects were

* There too by his hand was a picture of Venus passing sentence on the boar that had killed Adonis. It was sold for 25*l.* at the sale of king Charles's collection.

† Vertue mentions a portrait of a marquis of Somerset; but there was no such person in that reign. At Wilton is a Nativity by Taddeo and Frederic, and two small portraits of Francis II. and Charles IX. of France, but these were not painted in England. Mr. Pennant mentions a head of sir Lionel Talmache by Zuccherò. *Tour to Scotl.* vol. ii. p. 15.

not in fashion, and he was offended at our religion. He returned to Italy, and finished the dome at Florence begun by Vasari. The Pope's anger too being vanished, he was readmitted to his old employment at Rome, where he built a house for himself on the Monte di Trinita, adorned with four portals, and painted on the outside in fresco by his own hand. On the accession of Sixtus V. Zuccherò was invited to Spain by Philip II. to paint the Escorial, but his frescos not pleasing, he returned to Rome, and founded the academy of painting, for which Gregory XIII. had given him a brief, and of which he was elected the first prince. These expences however drained him so much, that he again quitted Rome, and went to Venice † to print some treatises that he had written on painting; and some poems too, for Zuccherò was a poet like others of his profession. From Venice he passed into Savoy, where he was favorably received by the duke for whom he began to paint a gallery. Returning, he visited

† There he was competitor with Tintoret for painting the chapel of St. Roch. Catal. raisonnè des tableaux du Roi. vol. ii. p. 70.

Loreto, and died at Ancona in 1616, aged 66, leaving the remains of his fortune to his academy.

M A R C G A R R A R D †

The son of a painter of the same names, was born at Bruges in 1561, and practised history, landscape, architecture and portrait. He engraved, illuminated, and designed for glass-painters. His etchings for Aesop's fables and view of Bruges were much esteemed. He came to England not long after the year 1580, and remained here 'till his death which did not happen 'till 1635, having been painter to queen Elizabeth and Anne of Denmark.

His works are very numerous, though not easily known, as he never used any peculiar mark. In general they are neat, the ruffs and habits stiff, and rich with pearls and other jewels. His flesh-colours are

† His name is written Gerhardus, Guerards, and Garrard. Among the Sidney-papers at Penhurst was a letter from Sir Robert Sidney to his lady about 1597, desiring her to go to Mr. Garrats, and pay him for the picture of her and the children, so long done and unpaid.

thin, and light, tending to a blueish tincture.

His procession of queen Elizabeth to Hunfdon-houfe has been engraved and described by Vertue, who thought that part of the picture of Sir Thomas More's family at Burford might have been compleated by this painter.

Garrard drew a procession of the queen and knights of the garter in 1584, from whence Ashmole took his plate for the history of that order. The portraits, though small, have great resemblance, with that uncommon fidelity of representing the air, stature and bulk of the persons exhibited. Vertue made a copy of this roll in water-colours, which I bought at his sale. It is not quite compleat, the original not having been entirely finished.

Garrard painted both prince Henry and prince Charles. Some portraits of ladies by him are at lord Litchfield's at Ditchley. His own picture was engraved by Hollar.

An introduction to the general art of drawing, first set out by Marc Gerard of Bruges, was translated and published in English, quarto, 1674.

HENRY CORNELIUS VROOM *

Was born in 1566 at Harlem, where his father was a statuary, of whom and of his father in law, a painter of Florence, young Henry learned to draw. His inclination led him first to paint views of towns; in that pursuit he went to Rotterdam, and soon after on board a Spanish ship to St. Lucar, and thence to Seville, where he lived a short time with a Dutch performer, a painter of monkeys, called by the Spaniards, a Pintemony: From thence to Florence and Rome, where he fixed for two years and was employed by Cardinal de' Medici, and became acquainted with Paul Brill. At Venice he staid a year, and passing through Milan, Genoa, Turin and Paris, returned to Harlem, where he employed himself on devout subjects in little, and having stocked himself with a quantity, again set out for Spain, where he proposed to sell them, but was cast away on a small island near the coast of Portugal. He and some of the crew were relieved by monks that lived among the rocks, and

* See Sandrart 274 and Descamps 254.

conducted to Lisbon, where relating the danger he had escaped, a paltry painter there engaged Vroom to draw the storm he described, in which he succeeded so happily, that it was sold to a nobleman for a considerable price. The Portuguese painter was charmed, and continued to employ Vroom, who improved so much in sea-pieces, that having got money, and returning home, he applied himself entirely to that style of painting.

At this period, the great earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England, whose defeat of the Spanish Armada had established the throne of his mistress, being desirous of preserving the detail of that illustrious event, had bespoken a suit of tapestry, describing the particulars of each day's engagement. Francis Spiering, an eminent maker of tapestry, undertook the work, and engaged Vroom to draw the designs. The excellence of the performance, obvious to the public eye, makes encomiums unnecessary.

It is pleasingly remarkable that there are two monuments of this sort, and both finely executed, the tapestry in question and the

suit at Blenheim, monuments of two signal victories, acquired by sea and land, under the auspices of two queens of the same country, and both gained in defence of the liberties of nations, attacked by two of the most powerfull princes, Philip II. and Louis XIV.

Vroom received an hundred pieces of gold for his labour: The arras itself containing 708 ells Flemish, at 10*l.* 1*s.* per ell, cost 1628*l.* which was paid by the crown to the earl in the 14th of king James—but it was during the Republic that this noble trophy was placed in a temple worthy of it. *

The painter came to England to receive instructions and execute his commission; and contracting a friendship with Isaac Oliver was drawn by him: There is a print from that picture.

He returned to his own country, and painted a large picture, which was much admired by prince Maurice, of the seventh day's action of the fight above-mentioned.

* See Journals of the Commons, January 1, 1650. The house of Lords was then used for committees of the Commons.

Vroom died rich, in what year is not mentioned.

In the collection of king James II. were two sea-pieces, and in that of Sir Peter Lely, a landscape, both described to be of old Vroom, whence I suppose he had a son who followed his profession, and his style too, as in the former catalogue is mentioned a sea-piece with king Charles coming from Spain, said to be by Vroom, without the adjunct of old. I find no other account of the son, nor of his being in England.

These were the principal performers in oil in this reign: some of less note, and of whom but little is recorded, I shall mention at the end of this chapter; but first I shall treat of the painters in miniature. The name of

PETRUCCIO UBALDINI

occurs in several places. * He appears to have been an illuminator on vellum; some of his works in that kind are or were very lately extant: As the psalms of David in folio: at the beginning the coat of arms

* Vertue says he taught the Italian language.

and

and supporters of a nobleman, and facing it, king David on his knees. At the end of the book this inscription ;

Petrucius Ubaldinus Florentinus Henrico comiti Arundeliae, Maecenati suo, scribebat Londini M.D.LXV.

Another book of vellom, written and illuminated by the same person, containing the sentences of scripture painted in the Lord Keeper's gallery at Gorhambury. * This book was made by order of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and by him presented to the lady Lumley.

Another, containing various kinds of writing, chiefly in the Italian language, very neatly executed. This was in the Cotton library.

* This gallery and the inscriptions are still extant at the house, now lord Grimston's near St. Alban's, where are several curious portraits, a large statue of Henry VIII. in armour, busts of Sir Nicholas Bacon and his lady, and of lord Bacon when a boy. This mansion was built by the Keeper, and much improved by Sir Francis Bacon, who added Italian porticos, and loggias, but artfully preserved from being too dissonant from the older parts of the building. It is a sweet retirement, without ostentation, and adapted to his motto, *Mediocria firma*. It was purchased by Sir Harbottle Grimston, and much of the old furniture the purchasers and present possessors have had the good taste to preserve.

There

There were besides, in the king's library, (most of them now in the Museum) *Scotiae descriptio à Deidonensi quodam facto A. D. 1550. et per Petruccium Ubaldinum transcripta A. D. 1576. in charta. 13. A. viii.*

Petruccio Ubaldino, un libro d'effemplari. carta. 14. A. i.

— — — un libro della forma et regola dell' eleggere e coronare gli imperadori. carta 14. A. viii.

— — — comentario del successo dell' armata Spagnuola, &c. 14. A. x.

— — — dell' impresa fatta contro il regno d'Inghilterra dal re Cattolico. &c. scritta da Petruccio Ubaldino cittadino Florentino, in Londra, il di 15 d' Aprile 1589. 14. A. xi.

Le vite et i fatti di sei donne illustri. 14. A. xix. *

Another

* He published a book of this kind, intituled, *Le Vite delle Donne illustri del regno d'Inghilterra, e del regno di Scotia, e di quelle, che d'altri paesi nei due detti regni sono state maritate.* Thin quarto, London, printed by John Wolf 1591. To give an idea of Petruccio's talents for history, it will suffice to produce two of his Heroines. The first was Chembrigia, daughter of Gurguntius, son of king Bellinus, who having married one Cantabro, founded a city, which from a mixture

Another Italian book, presented by Petruccio to the queen, is in the Bodleian library.

Petruccio seems to have been in favour at court; he is frequently mentioned in the rolls of new-years gifts, which used to be repositied in the jewel-office, and in which the names of Hilliard, Oliver and Marc Garard do not appear.

In the 21st year of Elizabeth—

To Petruccio — *v l.*

He returns, a book of Italian, with pictures to the life, and metamorphosis of Ovid.

Another in 1585, by Petruccio Ubaldini, a pedigree: To him, gilt plate five ounces.

In 1588, To Petruccio in gilt plate five ounces: He returned, a book covered with vellom, of Italian.

In one of these rolls Mr. Sidney (the mixture of both their names was called Cambridge. The other *illustrious* lady he styles expressly *Donna senza nome*. As the reader may be curious to know who this nameless yet illustrious lady, who deserved to have her life written, was, It is the mother of Ferrex and Porrex in lord Dorset's Gorboduc, who because one of her sons killed the other, that was her favorite, killed a third son in a passion.

famous

famous Sir Philip) presents the queen at new-year's tide with a whip fet with jewels, and another time with a castle enriched with diamonds.

NICHOLAS HILLIARD

Limner, jeweller and goldsmith to queen Elizabeth and afterwards to king James, was son of Richard Hilliard of Exeter, high sheriff of that city and county in the year 1560. Nicholas (I suppose a younger son) was born in 1547, and brought up to the business of a jeweller and goldsmith, to which his inclination soon added that of painting in miniature. The want of an able instructor directed him to study the works of Holbein, as he says in a MS. I shall mention; "Holbein's manner of limning I have ever imitated, and hold it for the best." But though Hilliard copied the neatness of his model, he was far from attaining that nature and force which that great master impressed on his most minute works. Hilliard arrived at no strength of colouring; his faces are pale, and void of any variety of tints, the features, jewels and ornaments expressed by lines as slender as a hair. The exact dress
of

of the times he curiously delineated; but he seldom attempted beyond a head, yet his performances were greatly valued; Dr. Donne in his poem on the storm in which the earl of Essex was surprized returning from the island voyage, says,

————— a hand or eye
By Hilliard drawn, is worth a history
By a worse painter made.

And Peacham on limning says, “ comparing ancient and modern painters, brings the comparison to our own time and country; nor must I be ungratefully unmindfull of my own countrymen, who have been and are able to equal the best if occasion served, as old Hilliard, Mr. Isaac Oliver, inferior to none in Christendome for the countenance in small, &c.” † Richard Heydock too of new college Oxon, in his translation of Lomazzo on painting, published in 1598, says, “ Limnings, much used in former times in church-books, as also in drawing by the life in small models; of late years by some of our countrymen, as *Shoote, Betts, &c.*

* See an account of him in Wood's *Athenae* vol. ii. p. 296.

but brought to the rare perfection we now see, by the most ingenious, painfull and skilfull master, Nicholas Hilliard, and his well-profiting scholar, whose farther commendations I refer to the curiosity of his works."

The same author in another place mentioning "Mr. N. Hilliard so much admired by strangers as well as natives," adds, "to speak truth of his ingenious limnings, the perfection of painting (in them) is so extraordinary, that when I devised with myself the best argument to set it forth, I found none better than to persuade him to do it himself to the view of all men by his pen, as he had before unto very many by his learned pencil, which in the end he assented to; and by me promiseth a treatise of his own practice that way, with all convenient speed." This tract Hilliard actually wrote but never published. Vertue met with a copy of it, which I have among his MSS.*

Blaise Vigenere mentions Hilliard and the neatness of his pencil very particularly; "Telle estoit aussi l'écriture et les traits

* An extract of it is in Brown's *Ars pictoria* p. 95. Lond. 1675, and some of his receipts in Sanderfon's *Graphice*.

d'un peintre Anglois nommè *Oeillarde*, d'autant plus à émerveiller, que cela se faisoit avec un pinceau fait des poils de la queue d'un escureuil, qui ne resiste ni ne soutient pas comme feroit une plume de corbeau, qui est tres ferme."

Hilliard's portrait, done by himself at the age of thirteen, was in the cabinet of the earl of Oxford. He was still young when he drew the queen of Scots. Queen Elizabeth sat to him often. Charles I. had three of her portraits by him, one, a side face in the clouds, another, one of his most capital performances, a whole length of her in her robes sitting on her throne. In the same collection were several more of his works, particularly a view of the Spanish Armada; and a curious jewel, containing the portraits of Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. and queen Mary; on the top was an enamelled representation of the battle of Bosworth, and on the reverse, the red and white roses. This jewel was purchased by the king of Hilliard's son.

In the essay towards an English school of painters, * it is said that Mr. Fanshaw had

* Printed in 1706 at the end of the translation of *De Piles Art of Painting*. See p. 430.

the portraits of * Hilliard and his father, finely executed, with inscriptions in gold letters; on the former

Nicolas Hilliardus, aurifaber, sculptor et celebris illuminator serenissimae reginae Elizabethae, anno 1577. aet. suae 30.

On the other,

Ricardus Hilliardus, quondam vicecomes civitatis et comitatus Exoniae, anno 1560, aetatis suae 58, annoque Domini 1577. *

Hilliard continued in vogue during this reign, and great numbers of portraits by his hand, especially of ladies, are extant. He obtained still greater favour from king James, drawing his majesty's and prince Henry's pictures; and receiving a patent, printed by Rymer, to this effect,

Whereas our well-beloved servant Ni-

* Vertue says he saw them afterwards in the possession of the last Sidney earl of Leicester, and that they were then taken out of the old frames, and set in a snuff-box. Mr. Simon Fanshaw is in possession of two such heads, which have been thought the very pictures, and are undoubtedly of Hilliard's best manner, though one has no inscription, and the other only the date of the year and the age. But lord Leicester gave the snuff-box in question to marshal Sir Robert Rich, in whose possession it remains with the pictures. I have a duplicate of the father.

cholas Hilliard, gentleman, our principal drawer of small portraits, and embosser of our medals in gold, in respect of his extraordinary skill in drawing, graving, and imprinting, &c. we have granted unto him our special licence for twelve years, to invent, make, grave and imprint any pictures of our image or our royal family, &c. and that no one do presume to do, without his licence obtained, &c.

This grant was of great emolument to him, as about that time he engraved many small plates and sold licences for others, with the heads of the king and royal family, which were then and are still used for counters. Simon Pass and other engravers were employed by him in these works.

Hilliard died January 7, 1619, and was buried in St. Martin's church in the fields, Westminster (as appears by the register) in which parish he had a house. He made his will * in the preceding December, leaving twenty shillings to the poor of the parish; to his sister Anne Avery twenty pounds of thirty † that were due of his

* From the register in Doctors Commons.

† He had the same salary as Holbein.

pension; the remaining ten pounds to his other sister; some goods to his servant maid; and all the rest of his effects, plate, jewels, rings, &c. to his son Laurence Hilliard, his sole executor. But the greatest obligation we have to Hilliard is his having contributed to form *

I S A A C O L I V E R. †

Hitherto we have been obliged to owe to other countries the best performances exhibited here in painting. But in the branch (miniature) in which Oliver excelled, we may challenge any nation to show a greater master, if perhaps we except a few of the smaller works of Holbein.

* John Betts, whom I have mentioned as painting the portrait of Sir John Godsalve, is said by Vertue to have learned of Hilliard, and is called DESIGNER in Hall's chronicle about the year 1576, where too is mentioned one Tyrrel, a carver in wood.

† I must not disguise, that, though Oliver was probably born in England, he was in all likelihood of French extraction: In his will he spells his name Oliver, but on his drawings writes it Olivier. Vertue found mention of one "Aubin Olivier natif de Boisy, inventeur des engins de monoyes a Moulins;" and in

bein. Don Julio Clovio, the celebrated limner, whose neatness and taste in grotesque were exquisite, cannot be compared with Isaac Oliver, because Clovio never painted portraits, and the latter little else. Petitot, whose enamels have exceeding merit, perhaps owed a little of the beauty of his works to the happy nature of the composition: We ourselves have nobody to put in competition with Oliver, except it be our own Cooper, who, though living in an age of freer pencil and under the auspices of Vandyke, scarce compensated by the boldness of his expression, for the truth of nature and delicate fidelity of the older master. Oliver's son, Peter, alone approached to the perfection of his father.

Palmer's History of Printing, p. 274, are accounts of Peter Olivier printer at Caen in Normandy 1515, and of Jean Olivier printer in the same city 1521. But Hondius, Sandrart, and all the writers who mention him, call him an Englishman, and it is an additional confirmation of his English birth, that he wrote in that language a treatise on limning, partly printed in Sanderfon's Graphice; in his pocket-book was a mixture of French and English. We have seen in the preceding life of Hilliard that Peacham calls Oliver his countryman.

Of the family of Isaac Oliver I find no certain account; nor is it of any importance; he was a genius; and they transmit more honour by blood than they can receive. After studying under Hilliard, he had some instructions from Zucchero; Virtue even thought, from variety of his drawings after the great masters, especially Parmegiano, that he had been in Italy. For whatever else relates to him, let his works speak.

Dr. Meade possessed some of the most capital; as Oliver's own portrait, extremely small; the head of the queen of Scots, * an admirable piece, though very doubtful whether of her; queen Elizabeth, profile; Henry prince of Wales, † Ben Johnson; ‡ and the whole length of Sir Philip Sidney, sitting under a tree. All these were purchased by the late prince of Wales. I have another portrait of Oliver himself, larger

* Zink made an exceedingly fine copy of this in enamel, purchased by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. It is engraved in Jebb's collections.

† There are one or two others of this prince by the same hand.

‡ It is engraved among the illustrious heads, but is very unlike the old pictures and prints of that poet.

than that of Dr. Meade's, and without a hat, bought at Mr. Barret's sale. This picture alone would justify all I have said of him. The art of the master and the imitation of nature are so great in it, that the largest magnifying glass only calls out new beauties. * But the first, at least the best preserved of all his works, is in my possession; it is the head of lady Lucy Percy, mother of Venetia lady Digby. She is in black with a large hat of the same colour, and a very large ruff; the whole painted on a lilac ground. This was purchased, with many exquisite pieces by his son Peter, under whose article I shall mention them.

At the lord Montacute's at Coudray is another invaluable work of Isaac. It represents three brothers of that lord's family, whole lengths, in black: their ages twenty-one, twenty-four, and eighteen, with the painter's mark Φ . These young gentlemen resembled each other remarkably, a peculiarity observable in the picture, the motto on which is, *Figurae conformis affec-*

* Col. Sothby has another larger, and containing only the head, but bold, and admirably painted.

tus, 1598. * another person is coming into the room, aged twenty-one. The picture is ten inches by seven.

His painting of James I. served Rubens and Vandyke, when they had occasion to draw that prince after his decease.

In an office-book of the lord Harrington treasurer of the chambers, in the possession of the late Dr. Rawlinson, was an entry of payment to Isaac Oliver picture-drawer, by a warrant dated at Lincoln April 4, 1617, for four several pictures drawn for the prince's highness as appeareth by a bill thereunto annexed, 40*l.*

In king Charles's catalogue are accounts of several of his works: king James II. had still more; the earl of Arundel many. He drew a whole length of Robert earl of Essex in white, and heads of him several times, and of many others of the nobility; but his works are much scarcer than those of his master Hilliard.

Colonel Sothby has a fine Magdalen by him, and the duchess of Portland a head of Christ, that was Dr. Meade's.

* Vertue met with a print, from whence he supposed Oliver borrowed his design. It was inscribed, Colignaei Fratres, Odetus, Gaspar, Franciscus.

Of his drawings several are extant, particularly a capital one in queen Caroline's closet at Kenfigton; the subject, the placing of Christ in the sepulchre, consisting of twenty-six figures. * This piece which Isaac had not compleated, was finished by his son, and is dated 1616. Another, a large drawing, the murder of the Innocents, on blue paper heightened, after Raphael. Vertue saw a print of the history of St. Laurence touched and heightened by Oliver with great skill. Sir John Evelyn in 1734 showed to the Society of Antiquaries † a drawing by Oliver from a picture of Raphael in the Escorial, of the Virgin, Child, and St. John; it was copied by Isaac in 1631, while the original was in the collection of Charles I.

He did not always confine himself to water-colours. There are instances of his working in oil. In this manner he painted his own, his wife's, and the portraits of his children; a head of St. John Baptist on

* Mr. Hollis has a fine drawing of the same, inscribed Isa. Ollivier, which he bought at Vertue's sale. It has been retouched in several places.

† V. Minutes of the Society, vol. i. p. 206.

board ; and the holy family. * Vertue commends these much : as I never saw them, I can give no other account of his success in this way, than that the works I have seen in oil by him are but indifferent.

Isaac Oliver died at his house in the Black-friars London, in 1617, aged sixty-one or sixty-two. He was buried in St. Anne's church in that parish, where his son erected a monument to his memory, with his bust in marble †. By his will (in the Prerogative-office) proved in October, and executed in the preceding June, he bequeathed to his wife the third of his effects, and the lease of his house in Black-friars ; excepting only to his eldest son

* Four heads on board in oil, by Oliver, are at lord Guildford's at Wroxton. These Vertue owns have a little of the stiffness of miniature, though at the same time very neat. Lord Oxford had the famous seaman T. Cavendish and Sir Philip Sidney, by Oliver, in oil : the last is now lord Chesterfield's : the former is at Welbeck. In a sale of pictures brought from Ireland was a large oval head of Lucy Harrington countess of Bedford, and the marriage at Canaan, by Isaac Oliver, and, I conclude, in oil.

† The monument and bust were destroyed in the great fire in 1666, but a model of the latter is probably extant, Vertue having seen it.

Peter,

Peter, all his drawings, limnings, historical or otherwise, finished, or unfinished, of his own handy-works, or in case of Peter's death, to any of his other sons that should follow his profession. All the other two parts of his effects, to be sold and equally divided between his sons and a daughter. His other paintings or collections to be sold, allowing his son Peter to purchase whatever he pleased thereof at five shillings per pound less than the true or genuine value of them. His wife he left sole executrix; his son Peter and two other gentlemen trustees.

Hondius, in his collection of artists of that age, has given the portrait of Oliver, with these lines, which are poor enough,

Ad vivum laetos qui pingis imagine vultus,
 Olivere, oculos mirifice hi capiunt.
 Corpora quae formas justo haec expressa colore,
 Multum est, cum rebus convenit ipse color.

Vertue found another in a MS. treatise on limning, the author unknown, but the epitaph which follows, was inscribed, "On my dear cousin, Mr. Isaac Oliver."

Qui vultus hominum, vagasque formas
 Brevi describere doctus in tabellâ,

Qui mundum minimum typo minore
Solers cudere mortuasque chartas
Felici vegetare novit arte,
Ifaacus jacet hic Olivarius,
Cujus vivificâ manu paratum est,
Ut nihil propè debeant Britanni
Urbino, Titianoque, Angeloque.

Besides these principal, there were several other artists in this reign, of whom there are only slight memorials. I shall throw them together as I find them, without observing any particular method.*

* Vertue had seen on a large skin of vellum a plan of the town and boundaries of Dunwich in Suffolk, with it's churches, adjacent villages, &c. and several remarks, made by Radulphus Aggas in March 1589. Whether this person was a professed painter does not appear; but from him was probably descended Robert Aggas, commonly called Augus, "who, says Graham in his English school, p. 398, was a good landscape-painter both in oil and in distemper, and was skillfull in architecture, in which he painted many scenes for the playhouse in Covent-garden." Few of his works are extant; the best is a landscape presented by him to the company of painter-stainers and still preserved in their hall, with other works of professors, whose dates I cannot assign. Robert Aggas died in London in 1679, aged about sixty—but I know not what the author I quote means by a playhouse in Covent-garden before the year 1679—I suppose it should be the theatre in Dorset-gardens.

At

At the duke of Bedford's at Woburn is a portrait of Elizabeth Bruges, daughter of the lord Chandois, with this inscription, Hieronymus Custodio, Antwerpiensis fecit 1589. The colouring is flat and chalky.

On the picture of the murder of the lord Darnley at Kensington is the name of the painter, but so indistinct, that Vertue who engraved it, could not be sure whether it was Levinus *Vogelarius* or Venetianus. As it is as little certain whether the picture was painted in England, Scotland, or abroad, no great stress can be laid on this painter, as one of queen Elizabeth's artists. Vertue thought he might be the same person with Levino, nephew of Pordenone, of whose hand king Charles had a picture.

At the same time resided here one Le Moyne, called † Le Morgues, who is mentioned by Hackluyt in his translation of Laudonniere's voyage to Florida, vol. iii. p. 300. "Divers things of chiefest importance at Florida drawn in colours at the charge of Sir Walter Raleigh by that skill-

† Indorum Floridam provinciam habitantium Icones primum ibidem ad vivum expressae a Jacopo Le Moyne cui nomen De Morgues 1591.

full painter James Morgues, some time living in the Blackfryars London, he whom monsieur Chatillon, then Admiral of France, sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose."

We have seen in the life of Hilliard that Shoote and Bettes are mentioned as painters in miniature. The former I suppose was John Shute, who styles himself paynter and architecte in a book written and published by him in folio in 1563, called, The first and chief groundes of architecture, used in all the auncient and famous monyments, with a farther and more ample discourse upon the same, than hitherto hath been set out by any other. The cuts and figures in the book are in a better style than ordinary, the author, as he tells the queen in the dedication, having been sent into Italy in 1550 by the duke of Northumberland, (in whose service he had been) and who maintained him there in his studies under the best architects. This person published another work, intituled, Two notable commentaries, the one of the original of the Turks, &c. the other of the warres of the Turke against George Scanderbeg, &c. translated out of Italian into English. Print-

ed by Rowland Hall 1562. † Of Bettes, there were two of the name, Thomas and John, who, with several other painters of that time, are mentioned by Meres in his second part of *Wit's Commonwealth*, published in 1598 at London. "As learned Greece had these excellent artists renowned for their learning, so England has these, Hilliard, Jsaac Oliver and John de Cretz, very famous for their painting. So as Greece had moreover their painters, so in England we have also these, William and Francis Segar brethren, Thomas and John Bettes, Lockie, Lyne, Peake, Peter Cole, Arnolde, Marcus (Garrard) Jacques de Bruy, Cornelius, Peter Golchi, Hieronimo (de Bye) and Peter Vandavelde. As Lysippus, Praxiteles and Pyrgoteles, were excellent engravers, so have we these engravers, Rogers, Christopher Switzer and Cure." I quote this passage to prove to those who learn one or two names by rote, that every old picture they see is not by Holbein, nor every miniature by Hilliard or Oliver. By Nicholas Lockie, mentioned in this quotation, there are several portraits; Dr. Rawlinson had one of

† Ames's *History of Printing* p. 217.

Dr. John King bishop of London, from which Simon Pafs engraved a plate. Stowe mentions one master Stickles, *an excellent architect* of that time, who, in 1596, built for a trial a pinnace that might be taken to pieces. Chron. p. 769.

In the list of new-year's gifts to queen Elizabeth, Bartholomew Campaine presents one piece of cloth of silver stained with the half figure of Henry VIII. This might be the same person with one Campion, an engraver or chaser of plate, whose name is preserved in an old inventory of the goods, chattels, jewels, &c. of the earl of Suffex taken at his death in 1583. There appear the names of the following artists; amongst the gilt and silver plate, one great pair of gilt vases richly wrought by Derick; others made by Campion. Pots engraven and made by Martin, many other vessels by Derick, and others by Metcalfe.

The contract for the tomb of this great peer, Thomas Radcliffe earl of Suffex, lord chamberlain to the queen and a signal antagonist of Leicester, is still extant. † He bequeathed

† This contract and inventory Vertue saw among the MSS. of Peter Leneve Norroy, a great antiquary.

bequeathed $\pounds 500$ *l.* to be expended on it; and his executors, Sir Christopher Wray, lord chief justice of her majesty's bench, Sir Gilbert Gerard, master of the rolls, Sir Thomas Mildmay and others, agreed with Richard Stevens for the making and setting it up in Boreham church in Suffolk, where it still remains. The whole charge paid to Stephens for his part of the work was 292 *l.*— 12 *s.*— 8 *d.* In a list of debts to be paid after the earl's death by his executors, one was to || Horatio Palavicini; probably

I do not doubt but considerable discoveries might be made of our old artists, particularly architects, from papers and evidences in ancient families.

|| Sir Horatio Palavicini was collector of the pope's taxes in England in the reign of queen Mary, on whose death, and the change of religion that ensued, he took the liberty of keeping the money himself, and settling in England, he built a house in the Italian style with a loggia to the second story with his arms over the portal, at Little Shelford; which was pulled down in 1750. He was also possessor of the estate and house at Baberham near Cambridge, where in the hall, on a costly chimney-piece, adorned with the history of Mutius Scævola, his arms still remain. His family were buried at Baberham, as appears by several entries in the parish register, where also is recorded the marriage of his widow (exactly a year and a day after Sir Horatio's death

probably for a set of hangings mentioned in the inventory; and 6 l.—16 s.—0 d. to Randolph the painter.

death who died July 6, 1600) thus, Mr. Oliver Cromwell and the lady Anne Palavicini were married July 7, 1601." In a MS. of Sir John Crew of Uthington, a great antiquary and herald, was this epitaph, corroborative of the tradition abovementioned;

Here lies Horatio Palavazene,
Who robb'd the pope, to lend the queene.
He was a thief: a thief! thou lyeft;
For whie? he robb'd but Antichrift.
Him Death wyth besome swept from Babram
Into the bosome of oulde Abraham:
But then came Hercules with his club,
And struck him down to Belzebub.

In Peck's *Defiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 52. lib. 7. it is said that when the lord Arundel was imprisoned by queen Elizabeth for accepting the title of count of the empire, he referred his case to Sir Horatio and others, adding these words in his letter to one of the principal lords of the court; "Neither doe I thinke England to be so unfurnished of experienced men, but that either Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Robert Sidney, Mr. Dyer, or some other, can witness a truth therein." But Palavicini had higher merit, as appears by an incontestable record; he was one of the commanders against the Spanish armada in 1588, and his portrait is preserved amongst those heroes in the borders of the tapestry in the House of Lords, engraved by Pine.

Richard Stephens above-mentioned was a Dutchman, and no common artist. He was a statuary, painter and medallist. The figures on lord Suffex's tomb were his work, and in a good style. In the family of Lumley are some portraits painted by him, * and among other accounts some of his receipts, as there are too in the possession of the duke of Devonshire, which makes it highly probable that the curious portraits at Hardwicke of queen Elizabeth, in a gown embroidered with sea-monsters, the queen of Scots, both at whole length, and others, were painted by this Richard Stevens. But his best performances seem to have been his medals, which are bold and in good taste. Mr. Bryan Fairfax had one with a lady's head in the dress of ~~the~~ times, and this legend,

Anna Poincs, uxor Thomae Heneage;
under the bust, 1562. Ste. H. F. that is,
Stephens, Hollandus, fecit.

* Particularly John lord Lumley 1590. When Jervase saw this picture (on which the name of Stephens appears) it was so well coloured, and so like the manner of Holbein, that he concluded many pictures ascribed to that master are the works of Stephens.

Dr. Meade had two more, one of William Parr marquis of Northampton; the other of Robert Dudley earl of Leicester, engraved in Evelyn's discourse on English medals. The author says, that when Leicester quitted Holland, he caused several medals to be engraved, which he gave to his friends there. The medal in question is remarkable for the impertinence of the reverse; sheep grazing; and a dog turning from them; under his feet, *Invitus desero*—round, *Non gregem fed ingratos*. Vertue mentions others by the same workman, of the earl of Pembroke and Sir Thomas Bodley.

Robert Adams, surveyor of the queen's buildings, seems to have been a man of abilities. I cannot specify his works in architecture, but there are two plans extant that he published; one is a large print of Middleburgh dated 1588; the other, of the same date, is a small parchment roll, drawn with the pen and intituled *Thamesis Descriptio*; shewing by lines cross the river how far and from whence cannon-balls may obstruct the passage of any ship upon an invasion, from Tilbury to London, with proper distances marked for placing the guns.

Adams was buried in an isle on the north side of the church of Greenwich with this inscription; *Egregio viro, Roberto Adams, operum regionum supervisor, architecturae peritissimo. ob. 1595.* Simon Basil, operationum regiarum contrarotulator hoc posuit monumentum 1601.

Valerio Belli, called Valerio Vicentino, was a celebrated engraver of precious stones; Felibien says,* if his designs were equal to his execution, he might be compared with the ancients. He engraved caskets and vases of rock chrystal for pope Clement VII. and performed an infinite number of other works. He certainly was in England in this reign, and carved many portraits in cameo. Dr. Meade had a fine bust of queen Elizabeth on onyx, † alto relievo in profile, and very large, by the hand of this master. I have a jewel by him, containing the head of lord treasurer Burleigh, affixed to the back of an antique intaglia of Caracalla, and appendant to it, a smaller head of the queen, both in cameo on onyx. The duke of Devonshire has several of his works: Two ‡

* Vol. ii. p. 121.

† Lord Charlemont bought it at Dr. Meade's sale.

‡ The earl of Exeter has also one or two.

profiles in cameo of queen Elizabeth; another gem with the head of Edward VI. cameo on one side, and intaglia on the other; and two pieces of chrystal with intaglias of several figures from the antique. To these two last is the sculptor's name.

The duchess of Leeds has a singular curiosity by this hand; it is a pebble, in the shape of an oblong button; the upper side, brown, and very convex; the under, red and white, and somewhat concave. On the top is a profile of queen Elizabeth, incircled with foliage: at bottom, a knight, completely armed, in the act of tilting: on the back ground the front of a castle with columns; on the bases of which are the syllables, *Es—sex*; intimating the earl to be her majesty's knight. In the museum Trevifanum is a medalion of him in marble, another smaller in copper; on the back of it Valerio Belli Vicentino, and a third of his son, dated 1572.

Among the Harleian MSS. is a list of jewels belonging to queen Elizabeth; Item, a flower of gold garnished with sparkes of diamonds, rubyes and ophals, with an agath of her majestie's visnomy and a perle pen-

dante with devifes painted on it given by eight maskers in the Christmas week anno regni 24. The agate was perhaps the work of Vicentino.

It is certain, though the queen's oeconomy or want of taste restrained her from affording great encouragement to genius, that the riches and flourishing situation of the country offered sufficient invitations to the arts. Archbishop Parker retained in his service at Lambeth a printer, a painter and more than one engraver. Of the latter, the principal were Berg or Hogen Berg, and Lyne above-mentioned, who was probably his painter too. Prefixed to the archbishop's life, printed at Lambeth, is a cut of his grace, inscribed, R. Berg f. Above twenty books were published by the archbishop from his own printing-house: two only have this head. At Ruckolt in the parish of Low-layton in Essex (the mansion of the Hicks's) was a large genealogy of the kings of England from the conquest to queen Elizabeth, with all the line of France and England under these two titles, *Linea Valfiorum et Linea Angliae*; at bottom the workman's name, Remigius Hogenbergius, fervus

fervus D. Matt. archiep. Cant. sculpsit
1574.*

There was another such genealogic chart, intituled, *Regnum Britanniae tandem plenè in Heptarchiam redactum a Saxonibus, expulsis Britannis, &c.* A°. 686. executed in wood very plain and well: the name, Richardus Lyne, fervus D. Matth. archiep. Cant. sculpsit 1574.

One Lyly too is mentioned as curious in copying the hands of ancient deeds, who was employed by the same patron.

D. John Twisden, a divine of that age, was himself a performer in painting. He died at the age of eighty-five in 1588. Ver-tue was showed a small portrait of him neatly done by himself in oil on copper about forty years before his death.

But there was one gentleman in this reign, who really attained the perfection of a master, Sir Nathaniel Bacon † knight of the Bath, a younger son of the keeper, and half brother of the great Sir Francis.

* Ames's *Typograph. antiqu.* p. 540.

† He married the daughter of the famous Sir Thomas Gresham, by whom he was ancestor of the present lord Townshend. See Collins's *English Baronets*, vol. i. p. 4.

He travelled into Italy and studied painting there; but his manner and colouring approaches nearer to the style of the Flemish school. Peacham on limning p. 126, says, "But none in my opinion deserveth more respect and admiration for his skill and practice in painting than master Nathaniel Bacon of Broome in Suffolk (younger son to the most honorable and bountifull-minded Sir Nicholas Bacon) not inferior in my judgment to our skillfullest masters." At Culford where he lived, are preserved some of his works, and at Gorhambury his father's feat, is a large picture in oil by him, of a cook maid with dead fowls, admirably painted, with great nature, neatness and lustre of colouring. In the same house is a whole length of him by himself, * drawing on a paper; his sword and pallet hung up: and a half length of his mother by him. At Redgrave-hall in Suffolk were two more

* His monument and bust are in the church at Culford, with his pallet and pencils. There is another for him at Stiffkey in Norfolk, the inscription on which may be seen in the appendix to Masters's History of Corpus Christi coll. Camb. p. 85. It is said in the note that Sir Nathaniel was famed for painting plants, and well skilled in their virtues.

pieces

pieces by the same hand, which afterwards passed into the possession of Mr. Rowland Holt, the one, Ceres with fruit and flowers; the other, Hercules and the Hydra. In Tradescant's Museum was a small landscape, painted and given to him by Sir Nathaniel Bacon.

Of the engravers in the reign of queen Elizabeth, who were many and of merit, I shall say nothing here; Vertue having collected an ample and separate account of them, which makes another volume of this work. I shall only mention now that that age resembled the present in its passion for portraits of remarkable persons. Stowe in his annals speaking of the duke d'Alencon, who came over to marry the queen, says "by this time his picture, state and titles were advanced in every stationer's shop and many other public places." * The same author mentioning

* In the Cecil papers is a letter to the lord mayor of London dated July 21, 1561, telling him "The queen's majesty understandeth that certain bookbinders and stationers utter certain papers wherein be printed the face of her majesty and the king of Sweden; and although her highness is not miscontented that either her own face or the said king's should be painted or portraited;

mentioning Sir Francis Drake's return, says, there were books, pictures and ballads published of him." In another point too there was a parity; auctions were grown into vogue, and consequently, abuse; the first orders for regulating them by the lord mayor were issued in that reign.

At the same period was introduced the custom of publishing representations of magnificent funerals. There is a long roll exhibiting the procession at the obsequies of Sir Philip Sidney. It was (as is said at the bottom of it) contrived and invented by Thomas Lant, * gentleman, servant to the said

portraited; yet to be joined with the said king or with any other prince that is known to have made any request in marriage to her majesty, is not to be allowed; And therefore your lordship should send for the warden of the stationers or other wardens that have such papers to sell, and cause such papers to be taken from them and packed up together in such sort as none of them be permitted to be seen in any place." The effect of this order appears from a passage in Evelyn's art of chalcography; "Had queen Elizabeth been thus circumspect, there had not been so many vile copies multiplied from an ill painting; as being called in and brought to Essex-house, did for several years furnish the pastry-men with peels for the use of their ovens." p. 25.

* This Thomas Lant was portcullis poursuivant: there
are

said honorable knight, and graven in copper by Derick or Theodor de Brie in the city of London 1587. It contains about thirty-four plates. Prefixed is a small oval head of Mr. Lant. aet. 32. The same person wrote a treatise of Heraldry.

John Holland * of Wortwell esq; living in 1586, is commended as an ingenious painter in a book called "The excellent Art of Painting," p. 20. But it is to the † same hand, to which this work owes many of it's improvements, that I am indebted for the discovery of a very valuable artist in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

The eastern side of the college of Caius and Gonville at Cambridge, in which are the Portae Virtutis et Sapientiae, was built in the years 1566 and 1567. These are several copies extant in MS. of a treatise called, the Armoury of Nobility, first gathered by Robert Cook Clarendieux, corrected by Robert Glover, Somerset herald, and lastly augmented with the knights of the garter by Thomas Lant, portcullis, anno 1589. One copy of this work is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Charles Parkin of Oxburgh in Norfolk, to whom I am obliged for this and other curious communications.

* See the pedigree of Holland in Blomfield's Norfolk.

† Mr. Gray.

joined

joined by two long walls to the Porta Humilitatis, and in these are two little Doric frontispieces, all, in appearance, of the same date, and showing the Roman architecture reviving, with little columns and pilasters, well enough proportioned in themselves and neatly executed, though in no proportion to the building they were intended to adorn. In the entries of the college under the year 1575, are these words, “ Porta, quae honoris dicitur et ad scholas publicas aperit, a lapide quadrato duroque extruebatur, ad eam scilicet formam et effigiem, quam Doctor Caius, dum viveret, architecto praescripserat, elaborata.” This gate cost 128*l.*—9*s.*—0*d.* Dr. Caius died July 29, 1573. In the same year are these words, “ Positum est Joh. Caio ex alabastro monumentum summi decoris et artificii eodem in facelli loco, quo corpus ejus antea sepeliebatur: cui praeter insculpta illius insignia, et annotatum aetatis obitusque diem et annum (uti vivus executoribus ipse praeceperat) duas tantummodo sententias has inscripsimus, *Vivit post funera Virtus—Fui Caius.*” This monument (made to stand upon the ground, but now raised much above the eye on a heavy

heavy base projecting from the wall) is a sarcophagus with ribbed work and mouldings, somewhat antique, placed on a base-ment supporting pretty large Corinthian columns of alabaster, which uphold an entablature, and form a sort of canopy over it. The capitals are gilt and painted with ugly scrolls and compartments, in the taste of that reign. The charge of the founder's tomb was as follows ;

For alabaster and carriage	-	10—10—0
To Theodore and others for		
carving	—	— 33—16—5
To labourers	—	— 0—18—1
Charges extraordinary	—	— 2— 0—2

Then in the year 1576 are these words, “ In atrio doctorio Cuii columna erecta est, eique lapis miro artificio elaboratus, atque in se 60 horologia complexus imponitur, quem THEODORUS HAVEUS Cleviensis, artifex egregius, et insignis architecturae professor, fecit, et insignibus eorum generosorum, qui tum in collegio morabantur, depinxit; et velut monumentum suae erga collegium benevolentiae eidem dedicavit. Hujus in summitate lapidis constituitur ventilabrum

ventilabrum ad formam Pegasi formatum." That column is now destroyed with all its sundials, but when Loggan did his views of the colleges, the pillar (though not the dials) was yet standing.

In the college is a good portrait on board of Dr. Keys (not in profile) undoubtedly original, and dated 1563, aetatis suae 53, with Latin verses and mottoes; and in the same room hangs an old picture (bad at first and now almost effaced by cleaning) of a man in a slashed doublet, dark curled hair and beard, looking like a foreigner, and holding a pair of compasses, and by his side a Polyedron, composed of twelve pentagons. This is undoubtedly Theodore Haueus himself, who, from all these circumstances, seems to have been an architect, sculptor, and painter, and having worked many years for Dr. Caius and the college, in gratitude left behind him his own picture.

In the gallery of Emanuel college, among other old pictures, is one with the following inscription, recording an architect of the same age with the preceding; "Effigies Rodulphi Simons, architecti suâ aetate peritissimi, qui (praeter plurima aedificia ab eo
I
praeclarè

præclarè facta) duo collegia, Emanuelis hoc, Sidneii illud, extruxit integrè: magnam etiam partem Trinitatis reconcinnavit amplissimè." head and hands, with a great pair of compasses.

In a book belonging to the jewel-office, in the possession of the earl of Oxford, Vertue found mention "of a fair bason and lair (Ewer) gilt, the bason having in the bushel (body) a boy besriding an eagle, and the ewer of the worke of Grottestain, with gooses heads antique upon the handle and spoute, weighing together xx ounces." In the same book was this memorandum, "remaining in the hands of Robert Brandon and Affabel Partrage, the queen's goldsmiths, four thousand ounces of gilt plate, at five shillings and four-pence the ounce, in the second year of the queen."

I shall conclude this reign and volume with what, though executed in the time of her successor, properly relates to that of Elizabeth. In the earl of Oxford's collection was an office-book in which was contained an account of the charge of her majesty's monument.

288 *Painters in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

Paid to Maximilian Powtran	170 l.
Patrick Blacksmith	— 95 l.
John de Critz, * the painter	100 l.
Besides the stone, the whole cost	965 l. †

* This is the painter mentioned above by Meres, and who, I suppose, gave the design of the tomb. One De Critz is often mentioned among the purchasers of king Charles's pictures during the civil war, as will appear in the second volume.

† This monument, and those of the queen of Scots, and of the two young princesses Mary and Sophia, daughters of king James, cost 3500 £.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

S U P P L E -

S U P P L E M E N T.

BY the favour of the earl of Warwick, I am enabled to bring to light a very capital Artist, who designed or improved most of the principal and palatial edifices erected in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. though even his name was totally forgotten. I am empowered by the same condescension to point out a volume of drawings of that individual architect

J O H N T H O R P E,

who has left a folio of plans, now in lord Warwick's possession. There are not many uprights, but several ground plans of some of the palaces and many of the seats of the nobility, extant, erected, or altered at that period. Of some he names himself the author — of others he either designed, supervised, or proposed alterations — though, according to the negligence of that age, he is not circumstantial in particulars. There are ground plans of Somerset house; of

VOL. I.

T

Buckhurst

S U P P L E M E N T.

Buckhurst house in Suffex, an immense pile ; of Woolaton ; Copthall ; Burleigh house ; * Burleigh on the hill, (the duke of Buckingham's ;) fir Walter Cope's, now Holland-house at Kensington ; Giddy hall in Effex ; Audley inn ; Ampthill (now called Houghton ;) and Ampthill old house, another spacious palace in which Catherine of Aragon some time resided, and of which he says he himself gave the plan of enlargement ; and Kirby, of which he says he laid the first stone in 1570. The taste of all these stately mansions was that bastard style which intervened between Gothic and Grecian architecture ; or which perhaps was the style that had been invented for the houses of the nobility, when they first ventured, on the settlement of the kingdom after the termination of the quarrel between the Roses, to abandon their fortified dungeons, and consult convenience and magnificence ; for I am persuaded that what we

* Cliefden, built by the second Villiers duke of Buckingham, was evidently copied in little from his father's seat Burleigh on the Hill.

S U P P L E M E N T.

call Gothic architecture was confined solely to religious buildings, and never entered into the decoration of private houses. Thorpe's ornaments on the balustrades, porches, and outsides of windows are barbarous and ungracefull, and some of his vast windows advance outwards in a sharp angle; but there is judgment in his dispositions of apartments and offices; and he allots most ample spaces for halls, staircases and chambers of state. He appears also to have resided at Paris, and even seems to have been employed there; at least he gives alterations for the queen-mother's house *Faber St. Germain*, which I suppose means the Luxembourg in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, and a plan of the house of monsieur Jammet (Zamet.)

There are several other smaller seats and houses in the book, some with the names of the gentlemen for whom they were built. One, which he calls *Cannons, his Father Fakes* house; and another is a whimsical edifice designed for himself, and forming the initial letters of his name **J T** conjoined by a corridore [which I have expressed by

S U P P L E M E N T.

the dotted lines] and explained by this curious triplet,

These two letters I and T,
Joined together as you see,
Is meant for a dwelling house for me

JOHN THORPE.

The volume however is a very valuable record of the * magnificence of our ancestors, and preserves memorials of many sumptuous buildings, of which no other monument remains.

* There is a draught of the chapel of Henry VII. which he says cost 14,000 *l*.

A P P E N D I X

A P P E N D I X.

THIS INDENTURE * made the
day of in the fourth yere of
our sovrain lord kyng Herry the 8th be-
twyne Mr. Robert Hacomblein provost of
the kyng's college royal at Cambrydge and
the scolers of the same with the advise and
agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke surveyor
of the kyng's works there on the oon
partye, and John Wastell master mason of
the seid works, and Herry Severick oon of
the wardens of the same on the other partye.
witnesseth that hit is covenanted bargayned
and agreed betwyne the partyes aforesaid,
That the seid John Wastell and Herry Se-
verick shall make and sett up, or cawse to
be made and set up at ther costs and
charges, a good, fuer, and sufficient vawte
for the grete churche there, to be work-
manly wrought, made, and sett up after the
best handlyng and forme of good work-
manship, according to a plat thereof made
and signed with the hands of the lords ex-

* See page 168.

A P P E N D I X.

ecutors to the kyng of most famous memorye Herry the 7th, whose fowle God pardon. And the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick shall provide and fynde at ther cost and charges, as moche good sufficient able ston of Weldon quarryes, as shall suffice for the performing of all the said vawte, together with lyme, found scaffolding, cinctores, moles, ordinaunces, and evry other thyng concerning the same vawtyng, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of stuff and ordinaunces that shall be required or necessary for the performance of the same; except the seid Mr. Provost and scollers with the assent of the seid surveyors granted to the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick for the great cost and charge that they shall be at in remevyng the great scaffold there, to have therefore in recompence at the end and performyng of the seid vawte the timber of two severeyes of the seid grete scaffold by them remeved to their own use and profight; And on that the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick shall have during the tyme of the seid vawtyng, certeyne stuffs and necessaryes there, as gynnes, whels, cables, hobynatts sawes and such other

A P P E N D I X.

other as shall be delyvered unto them by indenture; And they to delyver the same agayne unto the college there at the end of the seid worke. The said John Wastell and Herry Severick granten also and bynde themselves by these covenantes, that they shall performe and clerely fynish all the seid vawte within the time and space of three yeeres next ensuyng after the tyme of their begynnyng upon the same; And for the good and suer performyng of all the premysses as is afore specyfyed, The seid Provost and scolars covenant and graunte to pay unto the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick 1200*l.* that is to sey, for every severey in the seid church 100*l.* to be payd in forme followyng, from tyme to tyme as moche money as shall suffice to pay the masons and others rately after the nombre of workmen; And also for ston in suche tymes and in suche forme as the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick shall make their bargaynes for ston, so that they be evyn paid with 100*l.* at the end of the performyng every severey; and if there remaine any parte of the seid 100*l.* at the fynishing of the seid severey, then the seid

A P P E N D I X.

Mr. Provost and scholers to pay unto them the surplufage of the feid 100*l.* for that feverey, and fo from tyme to tyme unto all the feid 12 severeys be fully and perfyttly made and performed.

THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of Auguft in the fifth yere of the reign of our foverayn lord kyng Herry the 8th, betwene Mr. Robert Hacombleyn provost of the kynges college royal in Cambrydge and the fcolers of the fame with the advice and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke furveyor of the kynges works there on the oon partye, and John Wafsell master mason of the feid works on the other partye, witneffeth, That it is covenanted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the partyes aforefeid, that the feid John Wafsell fhall make and fett up or cawfe to be made and fett upp at his propre costs and charges the vawting of two porches of the newe churche of the kynges college aforefeid with Yorkshere fton, And alfo the vawtes of feven chapels in the body of the fame churche with Weldon fton accordynge to a plat made as well for the
fame

A P P E N D I X.

same seven chapels as for the seid two porches; and nine other chapels behynd the quyre of the seid churche with like Weldon ston to be made of a more course worke, as appereth by a platte for the same made; And that the seid John Wastell shall make and sett up or cawse to be made and sett up at his cost and charge the batelments of all the seid porches and chapels with Weldon ston accordyng to another platte made for the same remayning with all the other plattes afore reherfed in the keyng of the seid surveyor signed with the hands of the lords the kynge's executors; All the seid vawtes and batelments to be well and workmanly wrought, made and sett up after the best handlyng and forme of good workmanshyp, and according to the platts afore specified; The foreseid John Wastell to provide and fynde at his cost and charge not only as moche good sufficient and hable ston of Hampole quarryes in Yorkshere as shall suffice for the performance of the seid two porches, but also as moche good sufficient and hable ston of Weldon quarryes, as shall suffice for the performyng of all the seid chapels and batelments, together with

A P P E N D I X.

with lyme, sand, scaffolding, mooles, ordinaunces, and every other thyng concernyng the fynyshing and performyng of all the seid vawtes and batelments, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of stuff and ordinaunce as shall be requyred or necessary for performance of the same: provided alwey that the seid John Wastell shall kepe continually 40 fre-masons workyng upon the same. The seid John Wastell graunteth also and byndeth hymself by these presents to performe and clerely fynysh all the seid vawtes and batelments on this side the ffeeste of the Nativitie of Seynt John Baptiste next ensuyng after the date hereof; And for the good and suer performyng of all these premysses, as is afore specyfyed the seid provost and scolers granten to pay unto the seid John Wastell for ston and workmanship of every the seid porches with al other charge as is afore reherfed 25 l.

And for evry of the seid seven chapels in the body of the churche after the platt of the seid porches 20 l.

And for vawtyng of evry of the other nine chapels behind the quyre to be made of more course work 12 l.

And

A P P E N D I X.

And for ston and workmanship of the batelments of all the seid chapels and porches devided into twenty severeyes evry severey at 100 l.

And for all and singler covenants afore reherfed of the partye of the seid John Wastell wele and truly to be performed and kept, he byndeth himself, his heirs and ex-ecutors in 400 l. of good and lawfull money of England to be paid unto the seid Mr. Provost, scolers and surveyor at the ffeeste of the Purification of our blessed Lady next comyng after the date of these presentes; And in lyke wise for all and singler covenantes afore reherfed of the party of the seid Mr. Provost, scolers and surveyor wele and truly to be performed and kept, they bynde themselves, their successors and ex-ecutors in 400 l. of good and lawfull money of England to be paid unto the seid John Wastell at the seid ffeeste of the Pu-rification of our blessed Lady, In witnesse whereof the parties aforeseid to these present indentures interchangeably have sett their seales, the day and yere above wryten.

THIS

A P P E N D I X.

THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of January in the fourth yere of the reign of our soverayn lord kyng Herry the 8th, betwene Mr. Robert Hacombleyn provost of the kynges college royal in Cambrydge and the scolers of the same with the advice and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke surveyor of the kynges works there on the oon partye, and John Wastell master mason of the seid works on the other partye, witnesseth, That it is covenanted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the partyes aforeseid, that the seid John Wastell shall make and sett up or cawse to be made and sett up at his propre costs and charges the fynyalls of the buttrasses of the grete church there, which be 21 in numbre; the seid fynyalls to be well and workmanly wrought made and sett up after the best handelyng and forme of good workmanship, according to the platts conceyved and made for the same, and according to the fynyall of oon butterasse which is wrought and sett up, except that all these new fynyalls shall be made sum what larger in certayne places, according to the mooles for
the

A P P E N D I X.

the same conceyved and made; Also it is covenanted, bargayned and agreed between the partyes aforseid that the seid John Wastell shall make and sett up or cawse to be made and sett up at his propre cost and charges the fynyshing and performing of oon towre at oon of the corners of the seid churche, as shall be assigned unto him by the surveyor of the seid works; all the seid fynyshing and performing of the seid towre with fynyalls, ryfaat gabblets, batelments, orbys, or crosse quarters, and every other thyng belongyng to the same to be well and workmanly wrought made and sett up after the best handelyng and forme of goode workmanship, accordyng to a plat thereof made remayning in the keypyng of the seid surveyor. The seid John Wastell to provide and fynde at his cost and charge as moche good suffycyent and able ston of Weldon quarryes, as shall suffice for the performing of the fynyalls of all the seid buttrasses, and also for the performing and fynyshing of oon of the towres, as is afore specified, together with lyme, sand, scaffolding, mooles, ordinances and evry other thyng concernyng the fynyshyng and performing of all the buttrasses and towre

aforeseid,

A P P E N D I X.

aforeseid, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of stuff and ordenances as shall be required or necessary for performance of the same, except the seid Mr. Provost, scolers and surveyor granten to lend to the seid John Wastell sum parte of old scaffolding tymbre, and the use of certayne stuff and necessaryes there, as gynnes, whels, cables, hobynatts, sawes, and such other as shall be delyvered to him by indenture; and the seid John Wastell to delyvre the same agayne unto the seid surveyor as sone as the seid buttraffes and towre shall be performed. The seid John Wastell graunteth also and byndeth himself by these covenants to perform and clerely fynysh all the seid buttraffes and towre on this side the feest of the Annunciation of our Blessed Lady next ensuyng after the date hereof; And for the good and sure performing of all these premysses, as is afore specified, the seid Provost and scholers covenanten and granten to paye unto the seid John Wastell for the performing of every buttraffe 6*l.*—13*s.*—4*d.* which amounteth for all the seid buttraffes 140*l.* and for performing of the seid towre 100*l.* to be paid in forme following; That is to say,

A P P E N D I X .

sey, from tyme to tyme as moche money as shall suffice to pay the masons and other laborers rately after the numbre of workmen; And also for ston at suche times and in suche form as the seid John Wastell shall make his provisyon or receyte of the same ston, from tyme to tyme as the case shall requyre; provided alway that the seid John Wastell shall kepe continually sixty fre-masons working upon the same works, as sone as shall be possible for him to call them in by vertue of suche commissyion as the seid surveyor shall delyvre unto the seid John Wastell for the same entent; and in case any mason or other laboror shall be found unprofytable or of any suche ylle demeanor whereby the worke should be hyndred or the company myfordred, not doing their duties accordyngly as they ought to doo, then the seid surveyor to indevor himself to performe them by such wayes as hath byn there used before this time; And also the forenamed Mr. Provost, scolars and surveyor shall fynde as moche iron worke for the synyalls of the seid buttrasses as shall amounte to five shillings for every buttrasse; that is in all 4 l.—5 s. And whatsoever

A P P E N D I X.

soever iron werke shall be occupied and spent about the seid werkes and for suertie of the same above the seid five shillings for a buttrasse, the seid John Wastell to bere hytt at his own cost and charge; And for all and singuler covenants afore reherfed of the partie of the seid John Wastell wele and truly to be performed and kepte, he byndeth himself, his heirs and executors in 300 *l.* of good and lawfull money of England to be paid unto the seid Mr. Provost, scolers and surveyor at the feste of Ester next comyng after the date of thes presentes; And in lyke wise for all and singuler covenantes afore reherfed of the partie of the seid Provost, scolers and surveyor well and truly to be performed and kepte, they bynde them their successor and executors in 300 *l.* of good and lawfull money of Englande to be paid unto the seid John Wastell at the seid ffeite of Ester, in witnesse whereof the parties aforeseid to this present indenture interchangeably have sett their seales the day and yere above wryten.

THIS INDENTURE made the thirde day of the moneth of May in the yere of the reigne of Henry the 8th by
the

A P P E N D I X.

the Grace of God Kyng of England and Ffraunce, Defendor of the Ffeyth and Lorde of Ireland the eightene, betwene the Right Worshepfulle masters Robert Hacombleyn Doctour of Divinitie and Provost of the Kynge's college in the univerfitie of Cambridge, William Holgylle clerke master of the hospitalle of Seint John Baptiste called the Savoy besydes London, and Thomas Larke clerke Archdeacon of Norwyche on that oon partie, And Ffraunces Wylliamson of the parysshe of Seint Olyff in Southwerke in the countie of Surrey glasyer, and Symond Symonds of the parysshe of Seint Margaret of the towne of Westminster in the countie of Middlesex on that other partie, witneffeth, That it is covenanted condescended and agreed betwene the feid parties by this indenture in manner and forme folowing, that is to wete, the feid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes covenante, graunte and them bynde by these presents that they shalle at their owne propre costes and charges wele, fuerly, clenely, workmanly, substantlyally curyously and sufficyently glase and sett up or cause to be glased and sett up

A P P E N D I X.

four windows of the upper story of the great church within the Kynges college of Cambridge, that is to wete, two wyndowes on the oon syde of the seid church, And the other two wyndowes on the other syde of the same church with good, clene, fure and perfyte glasse and oryent colors and imagery of the story of the old lawe and of the newe lawe after the forme, maner, goodenes, curyousitie and clenelynes in every poynt of the glasse windowes of the Kynges newe chapell at Westmynster; And also accordyngly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Fflower glasyer late deceased by indenture stode bounde to doo; And also accordyngly to suche patrons otherwyse called vidimus, as by the seid masters Robert Haccombeyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke or by any of them to the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes or to either of them shal be delyvered, for to forme glasse and make by the foreseid four wyndowes of the seid church; And the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes covenante and graunte by these presentes that two of the seid wyndowes shall be clerely sett up and fully fynished after the fourme
aboveseid

A P P E N D I X.

abovesaid within two yeres next ensuyng after the date of these presentes, And that the two other wyndowes resydue of the seid foure wyndowes shal be clerely sett up and fully fynysht within three yeres next ensuyng after that — without any furder or longer delay; Furdermore the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes covenante and graunte by these presentes that they shalle strongely and fuerley bynde all the seid foure wyndowes with double bands of leade for defence of great wyndes and other outragious wethers; And the seid masters Robert Haccombeyn, William Holgyllle and Thomas Larke covenante and graunt by these presentes that the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes shall have for the glasse, workmanship and setting up of every foot of the seid glasse by them to be provided, wrought, and sett up after the forme abovesaid sixtene pence sterlinges; And where the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes, and also John a More of the parysshe of Seint Margarett of the towne of Westmynster in the countie of Middlesex squyer, John Kellet of the same parysshe towne and

A P P E N D I X.

countie yoman, Garrard Moynes of the parysshe of Seint Olyffe in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey joyner, and Henry Johnson of the parysshe of Seint Clement Danes without the barres of the newe temple of London in the countie of Middlefex cordwaner by their writtyng obligatory of the date of these presentes be holden and bounde to the feid masters Robert Haccombeyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke in the summe of two hundred pounds sterlinges to be paid at the ffeeste of the Nativitie of Seint John Baptiste, now next comyng after the date of these presentes, as in the same writtyng obligatory more plainly at large doothe appere; Neverthelesse the same masters Robert Haccombeyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executors covenante and graunte by these presentes, that yf the said Ffraunces Williamson and Symond Symondes on their part wele and truly performe, observe, fulfille and kepe all and every the covenants, bargaynes, graunts, and promyses and agreements aforeseid in manner and fourme as is above declared, That then the same writtyng obligatory

A P P E N D I X.

gatory shal be voyd and had for nought, And else it shall stande in fulle strengthe and effect. In witnesse whereof the seid parties to these indentures interchangeably have sett their sealles.

YOVEN the day and yere abovesaid.

THIS INDENTURE made the laste day of the moneth of Aprelle in the yere of the reigne of Henry the 8th by the Grace of God Kyng of England and Ffraunce, Defendor of the Ffeyth and Lorde of Ireland the eightene, betwene the Right Worshepfulle masters Robert Hacombleyn Doctour of Divinitie and provost of the kynge's college in the universitie of Cambridge, master William Holgylle clerke master of the hospittalle of Seint John Baptiste called the Savoy besydes London, and master Thomas Larke clerke archdeacon of Norwyche on that oon partie, and Galyon Hoone of the paryssh of Seint Mary Magdalen next Seint Mary Overey in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey glasyer, Richard Bownde of the parysshe of Seint Clement Danes without the barres of the new temple of London in the countie of Middle-

A P P E N D I X.

sex glasyer, Thomas Reve of the parysshe of Seint Sepulcre without newgate of London glasyer, and James Nycholson of Seint Thomas Spyttell or Hospitalle in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey glasyer on that other parties witneffeth, That it is covenanted condescended and aggreed between the seid parties by this indenture in manner and forme folowing, that is to wete, The seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson covenante, graunte and them bynde by these presentes that they shalle at their own propre costes and charges well, fuerly, clenely, workmanly, substantially, curiously and sufficiently glase and sette up, or cause to be glased and sett up eightene wyndowes of the upper story of the great churche within the kynge's college of Cambridge, whereof the wyndowe in the este ende of the seid churche to be oon, and the windowe in the weste ende of the same churche to be another; And so feryatly the resydue with good, clene, sure and perfyte glasse and oryent colors and imagery of the story of the olde lawe and of the newe lawe after the forme, maner, goodenes, curiousytie, and clenelynes, in every

A P P E N D I X.

every poynt of the glasse wyndowes of the Kynge's newe chapell at Westminster; and also accordyngly and after suche maner as soon Barnard Flower glasyer late deceased by indenture stode bounde to doo, that is to sey, six of the seid wyndowes to be clerely sett up and fynysshed after the forme aforeseid within twelve moneths next ensuyng after the date of these presentes; And the twelve wyndowes residue to be clerely sett up and fully fynysshed within foure yeres next ensuyng after the date of these presentes; And that the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shalle fuerly bynde all the seid windowes with double bands of leade for defence of greate wyndes and outragious wetheringes; Furthermore the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson covenante and graunte by these presentes that they shall wele and suffycyently sett up at their owne propre costes and charges all the glasse that now is there redy wrought for the seid wyndowes at such tyme and whan as the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shal be assigned and apoynted by the seid masters Robert Hac-

A P P E N D I X.

combeleyne, Wylliam Holgylle, and Thomas Larke or by any of them; And wele and suffyciently shall bynde all the same with double bands of leade for the defence of wyndes and wetheringes, as is aforeseid after the rate of two pence every ffootte; And the seid masters Robert Haccombeleyne, Wylliam Holgylle and Thomas Larke covenante and graunte by these presentes, That the foreseid Galyon, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shall have for the glasse workmanship and setting up twenty foot of the seid glasse by them to be provided, wrought, and sett up after the forme aboveseid eightene pence sterlinges; Also the seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson covenante and graunte by these presentes that they shalle delyver or cause to be delyvered to Ffraunces Williamson of the parysshe of Seint Olyff in Suthwerke in the countie of Surrey glasyer, and to Symond Symondes of the parysshe of Seint Margarete of Westmynster in the countie of Middlefex glasyer, or to either of them good and true patrons, otherwyse called a vidimus, for to fourme glasse and
make

A P P E N D I X.

make by other four wyndowes of the feid churchē, that is to sey, two on the oon syde thereof and two on the other syde, whereunto the feid Ffraunces and Symond be bounde, the feid Ffraunces and Symond paying to the feid Galyon, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson for the feid patrons otherwyse called a vidimus as moche redy money as shal be thought reasonable by the foreseid masters William Holgylle and Thomas Larke; And where the feid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reeve and James Nycholson by their writtyng obligatory of the date of these presentes be holden and bounden to the feid masters Robert Haccombeleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke, in the some of five hundred markes sterlinges to be paide at the ffeiste of the nativitie of Seint John Baptiste now next comyng after the date of these presentes, as in the writtyng obligatory more plainly at large may appere; Neverthelesse the same masters Robert Haccombeleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executors wille and graunte by these presentes that yf the said Galyon Hoone, Richarde, Bownde,

A P P E N D I X.

Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson well and truly performe, observe, fullfille and kepe all and every the covenantes, bargaynes, graunts, promyses and agreeementes aforeseid in maner and forme as is above declared, That then the seid writtyng obligatory shall be voyde and had for nought, and else it shall stand in full strength and effect; In witnesse whereof the seid parties to these indentures interchangeably have sett their sealles.

YOVEN the day and yere aboveseid.

I N D E X

I N D E X

O F

NAMES of ARTISTS

IN THIS VOLUME

Ranged according to the Times in which they lived.

In the Reign of King
JOHN.

ELYAS, architect, p. 4.

HENRY III.

Odo, goldsmith, 10.

Edward Fitzodo or Edward of
Westminster, 12.

Master William, painter, 24.

Master Walter, painter, 25.

Peter Cavalini, sculptor, 29.

RICHARD II.

John Sutton, carver, 49.

B. and Godfrey of Woodstreet,
goldsmiths, 50.

HENRY IV.

John Siferas, monk, illuminator,
51.

John Thornton, glazier, do.

Thomas Occleve, poet and painter,
52.

HENRY V.

Richard Frampton, illuminator,
56.

HENRY VI.

William Seburgh, painter, 62.

Thomas Prochalion, statuary, 65.

John Essex, marbler, do.

William Austen, founder, do.

Thomas Stevens, coppersmith, do.

John

I N D E X.

John Bourde, marbler, 66,
 Barth. Lambspring, goldsmith'
 do.
 John Prudde, glazier, do.
 John Brentwood, painter, 67.
 Kristian Coleburne, painter, do.
 Richard ———, carver, 69.
 Brother Rowsby, monk and ar-
 chitect, do.

E D W A R D I V.

Master Cumings, sculptor, 76.

H E N R Y V I I.

John Mabuse, painter, 79.
 John Rous, antiq. and painter,
 88.

H E N R Y V I I I.

Johannes Corvus, 92. }
 Antony Toto, } 93 } painters.
 Barth. Penne, }
 Gerard Luke Horneband, pain-
 ter, 96.
 Susanna Horneband, paintress, do'
 Andrew Wright, painter, do.
 John Brown, painter, 99.
 Lucas Cornelii, painter, 100.
 Hans Holbein, painter, 104.
 Pietro Torreggiano, sculptor,
 162.
 Laurence Ymber, carver, 166.
 Humphrey Walker, founder, do.
 Nicholas Ewer, coppersmith, do.
 John Bell, painter, do.
 John Maynard, painter, do.
 Robert Vertue, mason, do.

Robert Jenings, mason, 166.
 John Lebons, mason, do.
 William Vertue, mason, do.
 John Hylmer, carpenter, do.
 Humphrey Cooke, carpenter,
 167.
 James Hales, carver, do.
 Robert Cook, painter, do.
 John Wastell, mason, 168.
 Francis Williamson, } glafs-
 Simond Symonds, } painters,
 Barnard Flower, } 170.
 Galyon Hoone, }
 Richard Bownde, } glafs-pain-
 Thomas Reeve, } ters, 171.
 James Nicholson, }
 John Mustyan, arras-maker, 173.
 John de Mayne, seal-engraver,
 do.
 Richard Atfyll, graver of stones
 do.
 Master Newton, painter, do.
 Levina Tirlinks, paintress, 174.
 Theodore Bernardi, painter, do.
 Benedetto da Rovizzano, sculp-
 tor, 175.
 Antonio Cavallari, sculptor, do.

Architects in various Reigns.

Gundolphus, 191.
 Peter of Colechurch, do.
 William de Sens, do.
 Helias de Berham, do.
 Isembert de Xaintes, 192.
 William

I N D E X.

- William of Wykeham, 192.
 William Rede bishop of Chichester, 193.
 Holbein, 196.
 John of Padua, do.
 Jerome di Trevifi, 199.
 Sir Richard Lea, do.
- EDWARD VI. and
 MARY.**
- Marc Willems, painter, 202.
 Hans Hueet, painter, do.
 John Boffam, painter, 203.
 Antony Deric, medallist, 205.
 Guillim Stretes, painter, 206.
 Sir Antonio More, 208.
 Joas Van Cleve, 215.
 Nicholas Lyfard, 217.
 E. Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, 218.
- Queen ELIZABETH.**
- Lucas de Heere, painter, 223.
 Cornelius Ketel, 233.
 Frederic Zucchero, 238.
 Marc Garrard, 244.
 H. Cornelius Vroom, 246.
 Petruccio Ubaldini, 249.
 Nicholas Hilliard, painter in miniature, 253.
 Isaac Oliver, 259.
 ——— Tyrrel, carver, do.
 Hieronymus Custodio, painter, 268.
 Levinus Vogelarius, 288.
 Robert Aggas, painter, 267.
- James Morgues, painter, 269.
 John Shute, painter and architect, do.
 Tho. and John Bettes, painters, 270.
 Will. and Fran. Segar, painters, do.
 Lyne, P. Cole, Arnolde, painters, do.
 Jacques de Bruy, painter, do.
 Peter Golchi, painter, do.
 Hieronymo de Bye, painter, do.
 Peter Vandevelde, painter, do.
 Nicholas Lockie, painter, do.
 Rogers, Chr. Switzer, Cure, engravers, do.
 Master Stickles, architect, 271.
 Barth. Campaine, or Campion, chaser, do.
 Martin and Metcalf, do.
 Richard Stevens, painter, statuary, and medallist, 272.
 Horatio Palavicini, arras-maker, do.
 Randolph, painter, 273.
 Rob. Adams, architect, 275.
 Valerio Vincentino, engraver of stones, 276.
 Dr. J. Twisden, painter, 279.
 Sir Nath. Bacon, painter, 279, 280.
 John Holland, painter, 283.
 Theodore Haveus, architect, 285.
 Ralph Simons, architect, 286.

I N D E X

O F

NAMES of ARTISTS

Ranged alphabetically.

A.

A D A M S, Robert, p. 275.
Aggas, Robert, 267.
Arnolde, ———, 270.
Atsyll, Richard, 173.
Austen, William, 65.

B.

Bacon, Sir Nath. 279, 280.
Bell, John, 166.
Berham, Helias de, 191.
Bernardi, Theodore, 174.
Bettes, John, 270.
Bettes, Thomas, 270.
Bosham, John, 203.
Bourde, John, 66.
Bownde, Richard, 171.
Brentwood, John, 67.
Brown, John, 99.
Bruy, Jacques de, 270.

Bye, Hieronymo de, 270.

C.

Campaine or Campion, Barth.
271.
Cavalini, Peter, 29.
Cavallari, Antony, 175.
Cleeve, Joas van, 215.
Cole, Peter, 270.
Coleburne, Kristian, 67.
Colechurch, Peter of, 191.
Cooke, Humphrey, 167.
Cook, Robert, do.
Cornelii, Lucas, 100.
Corvus, Johannes, 92.
Courtney, Earl of Devonshire,
218.
Cumings, ———, 76.
Cure, ———, 270.
Custodio, Hieronymus, 268.

D. Deric,

I N D E X.

D.

Deric, Antony, 205.
Devonshire, Earl of, 218.

E.

Elyas, ———, 4.
Effex, John, 65.
Ewer, Nicholas, 166.

F.

Flower, Bernard, 170.
Frampton, Richard, 56.
Fitzodo, Edward, 12.

G.

Garrard, Marc, 244.
Godfrey, ———, 50.
Golchi, Peter, 20.
Gundulphus, 191.

H.

Hales, James, 167.
Haveus, Theodore, 285.
Heere, Lucas de, 223.
Hilliard, Nicholas, 253.
Holbein, Hans, 104, 196.
Holland, John, 283.
Hoone, Galyon, 171.
Horneband, Gerard Luke, 96.
Horneband, Sufanna, do.
Hueet, Hans, 202.
Hylmer, John, 166.

J.

Jenings, Robert, 166.

K.

Ketel, Cornelius, 233.

L.

Lambspring, Barth. 66.
Lea, Sir Richard, 199.

Lebons, John, 166.
Lockie, Nicholas, 270.
Lyne, ———, do.
Lyfard, Nicholas, 217.

M.

Mabuse, John, 79.
Martin, ———, 271.
Maynard, John, 166.
Mayne, John de, 173.
Metcalf, ———, 271.
More, Sir Antonio, 203.
Morgues, James, 269.
Mustyan, John, 173.

N.

Newton, ———, 173.
Nicholson, James, 171.

O.

Occleve, Thomas, 52.
Odo, ———, 10.
Oliver, Isaac, 259.

P.

Padua, John of, 196.
Palavicini, Horatio, 272.
Penne, Barthol. 93.
Porchalion, Thomas, 65.
Prudde, John, 66.

R.

Randolph, ———, 273.
Rede, Bishop of Chichester, 193.
Reve, Thomas, 171.
Richard, ———, 69.
Rogers, ———, 270.
Rovezzanno, Benedetto da, 175.
Rous, John, 88.
Rowlby, ———, 69.

I N D E X.

S.

- Seburgh, William, 62.
Segar, Francis, 270.
Segar, William, do.
Sens, William de, 191.
Shute, John, 269.
Sifernas, John, 51.
Simons, Ralph, 286.
Stevens, Richard, 272.
Stevens, Thomas, 65.
Stickles, ———, 271.
Stretes, Guillim, 206.
Sutton, John, 49.
Switzer, Christopher, 270.
Symonds, Simon, 170.

T.

- Thornton, John, 51.
Tirlinks, Levina, 174.
Torreggiano, Pietro, 162.
Toto, Antony, 93.
Trevisi, Jerome di, 199.
Twifden, Dr. John, 279.
Tyrrel, ———, 259.

V.

- Vandevelde, Peter, 270.

Vertue, Robert, 166.

Vertue, William, do.

Vincentino, Valerio, 276.

Vogelarius, Levinus, 268.

Vroom, H. Cornelius, 246.

U.

Ubal dini, Petruccio, 249.

W.

Walker, Humphrey, 166.

Walter, ———, 25.

Wastell, John, 168.

Willems, Marc, 202.

William, ———, 24.

Williamson, Francis, 170.

Wright, Andrew, 96.

Wykeham, William of, 192.

X.

Xaintes, Isembert de, 192.

Y.

Ymber, Laurence, 166.

Z.

Zuccher o, Frederic, 238.

F I N I S.

AC
J

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