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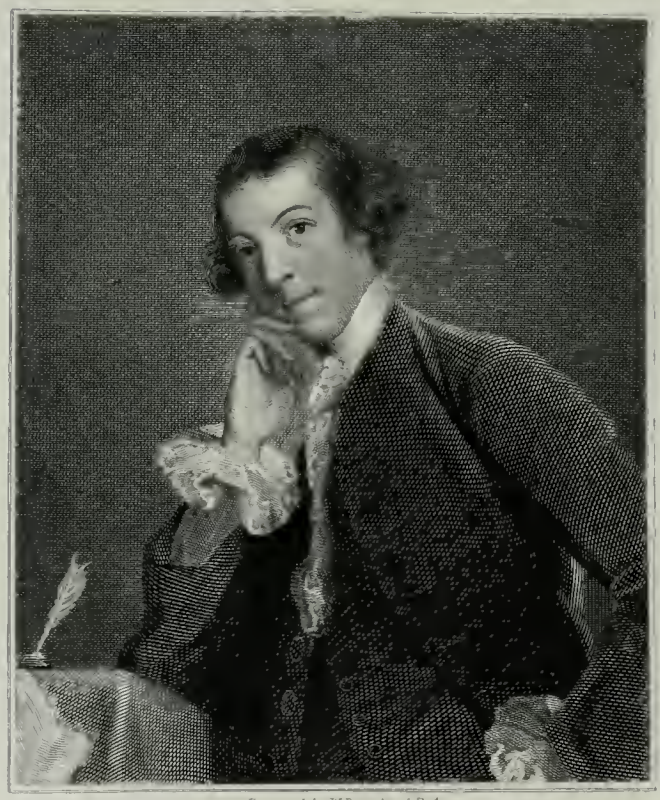

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THE HON. ROBERT WALPOLE.

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LONDON.
Published by John Major 50 Fleet Street.
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ANECDOTES

OF

PAINTING IN ENGLAND;

WITH SOME

ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTISTS;

AND

INCIDENTAL NOTES ON OTHER ARTS;

COLLECTED BY THE LATE

MR. GEORGE VERTUE;

DIGESTED AND PUBLISHED FROM HIS ORIGINAL MSS.

BY

THE HONOURABLE HORACE WALPOLE;

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS

BY

THE REV. JAMES DALLAWAY.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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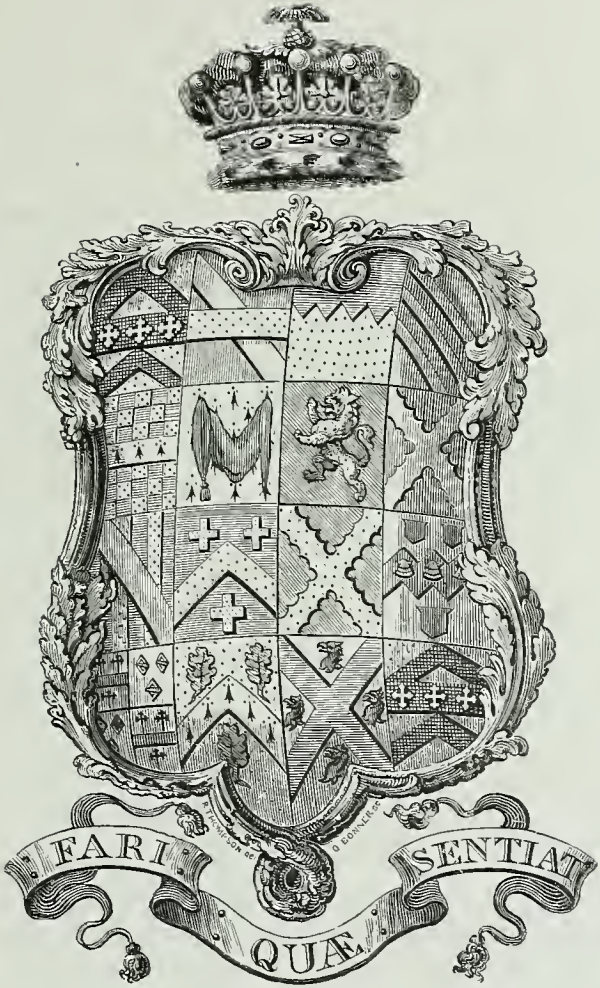
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ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE PROPRIETOR of this edition, in offering it to the public in its present augmented state, feels himself justified in claiming their indulgence to the following observation.

It is well known, that the Portraits which Mr. Walpole procured to be engraven for the former editions, were not only sometimes taken from authorities inferior to others equally accessible, but that they were executed in a manner which, candour must allow, exhibited the parsimony, rather than the encouragement, of this otherwise noble patron of the arts.

Neither care nor expense have been spared to render the present engravings, as to number—exact imitation of the originals now selected—and high finishing, worthy of the work they embellish, and of the best modern artists, who have been engaged for that purpose.

Mr. Walpole designated his volumes "Anecdotes of Painting in England;" but found that he could not treat of the sister arts *incidentally*, as he had intended, with complete satisfaction. It has been my endeavour to fill up his outline more methodically, and to expand his information, where he has been concise, upon a presumption

that his readers possessed a range of knowledge which equalled his own. I have therefore allotted a greater share to Architecture and Sculpture; that a more general and equal view may be offered of the origin and progress of the sister arts, in this kingdom, in marking their fate through successive æras, and as they have been highly favoured or barely tolerated, by its sovereigns. It is scarcely less difficult to offer any new remarks, than to condense what is valuable in those already made. Both will be attempted, and as succinctly as possible.

My primary intention has been to extend an acquaintance with these subjects, by contributing to the original work various remarks, which have occurred to me, during the leisure of many years pursuit of an inquiry, at least, interesting and delightful to myself. If, as Horace warns us, not to become obscure by brevity and conciseness; I fear that to be copious and tedious, may not be far distant from each other. Without assuming a diffidence, which common discernment would be prompt to detect, I have studiously abstained from giving a peremptory or decisive opinion, if not depending on fact, concerning the ambiguous originality of any particular portrait, excepting where I have followed a judgment, much abler than my own. The additions will be rather *Anecdotes of Portraits*, than of those by whom they were painted.

A certain risque may be incurred, of fatiguing such of my readers who little value minuteness of inquiry, and have no taste for catalogues, however elucidated. I must nevertheless consider them as a part of Mr. Walpole's plan, and necessarily expletive of this work. There is, in fact, no method so satisfactory of ascertaining the excellence or fertility of the pencil of any able artist, as by collecting notices of his performance, and comparing them with each other; scattered abroad as the individual pictures are, and many of them no longer extant. So that valuable information must be drawn from many sources still existing; and, what is most to the purpose, accessible. I consider myself as having been much favoured in that respect, and beg to express my particular obligation, as it may be due.

Mr. Park, the excellent editor of the Royal and Noble Authors, (a part of whose plan I have followed, as inclosing additions within double brackets), has very truly observed, that Mr. Walpole requested information from those whom he thought best qualified to supply it; and that when he had obtained and acknowledged it, he rejected it altogether, with the exception only of what was given by the poet Gray, or Mr. Cole.

It is apparent, that the same inert or fastidious principle prevailed, when he left the "Anecdotes" completed by himself, so as to form a portion of the posthumous edition of his works. Of what he

then added, nothing has been altered or omitted. But it was very inconsiderable. In Italy, Flanders, Holland, France and Spain, the biography of their painters is positively voluminous. *We* had *none*, before a few scattered notices of a few of the early writers were embodied by Mr. Walpole.

The plan was his own, and the intelligence gratuitously given. Whatever was known on these subjects, was confined to the memoranda of a very few *virtuosi* and antiquaries, before his first volume appeared, at the commencement of the last reign. By him, the prospect was first opened; the sources of information pointed out: and a new interest in the works of our native or adopted artists was created, which in its progress, was animated by taste, and fostered by industrious research.

The praise and thanks of every lover of the arts are but a just tribute to the memory of Mr. Walpole.

JAMES DALLAWAY.

Herald's College,
London, 1826.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

MARY LEPEL,

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 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 case 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.

PREFACE.

When one offers to the public the labours of another person, it is allowable and precedented 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 deficiences, 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 show 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 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 particu-

larities 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, 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 falsehood. 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 quaere 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. Vertue, I believe, and I should be glad to have the continuation of the

work do greater honour 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 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 meaned 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; 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. Nonsense 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; 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 useful 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

* 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 ὁμοιούσιος similis essentiae.

efforts in England. Our eloquence and the glory of our arms have been carried to the highest pitch. The more peaceful arts have in other countries generally attended national glory. If there 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 graceful representations.

This is by no means said to depreciate the artists we have, but to inspire with emulation those arising. Rysbrack, 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

* The Duke of Richmond.

[Charles, third Duke of Richmond, who died in 1806. Of this institution in 1770, an account is given by Edwards, in his Introduction to the Anecdotes of Painters, 4to. 1808. It continued for a very few years.]

them as models. What made Rome more venerable than every 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 excel those beautiful 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† 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

* On Civil Architecture, folio, 1759.

† By Mr. Wood.

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.

LIST OF PLATES TO VOL. I.

ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.

ERRATA.

Page 12, line 33, *for* 1751, *read* 1781.
Page 57, line 14, *for* Bingham, *read* Brigham.
Page 75, line 9, *for* St. Albans, *read* Gloucester.

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OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ANECDOTES

OF

PAINTING, &c.

CHAPTER 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 dawnings 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 reason-

* [This question, as to the priority of the Invention of Painting in Oil, would require a dissertation, rather than a note. That oil was used in the early ages, as a vehicle of colour, when applied to the "lambrusca" or wainscot of wood in principal apartments, admits of no doubt; as the Queen's chamber in the palace of Westminster was so decorated, by a royal order, dated in 1234, "pro olio, vernice et coloribus emptis." This is, indeed, the only document among the twenty one extracts from the Pipe and Close Rolls, during the reign of Henry III. made by Vertue, and printed in the subsequent pages, which has an unequivocal and determinate reference to the invention of painting in oil, and is so considered by Mr. Raspe, "*On the Discovery of Oil-Painting.*"]

ing, I shall faithfully lay 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. Vertue had carefully consulted. There he found the following entries;‡

* 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 hooks, gives the following account; "Habebat tunc [Wolstanus] magistrum Ervenium nomine, inscribendo et quidlibet coloribus effingendo peritum. Is lihros scriptos, sacramentarium et psalterium, quorum principales litteras auro effigiaverit, 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, et ex imo pectore alta traxit suspiria." If this passage is not sufficient authority, as I think it is not, to prove St. Wolstan a painter, at least it is decisive for Ervenius, who was certainly an illuminator of MSS.

‡ 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:

"MCCXXVIII, Ao. 12. Hen. III. m. f. Rex thes. et "camer. suis salutem. Liberate cuidam pictori 20*s*. ad "cameram magni scaccarii depingendam."

"1228, the 12th year of Henry III. The king to his "treasurer and chamberlains health. Pay to a certain "painter 20 shillings for painting the great Exchequer "chamber."

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 mere 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.

"MCCXXXIII. Liberate Ao. 17. Hen. III. m. 6. "Mandatum est Vicecomiti Southton. quod cameram regis "*lambruscatam de Castro Winton. depingi faciat *eisdem* "*historiis et picturis quibus fuerat prius depicta*.† Et cus- "tum, &c. computabitur. Teste rege apud Kideministr. "iii die Junii."

"1233. Payments Anno 17. Hen. III. membrane 6. Precept to the Sheriff of Southampton, that he shall cause

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"Anno, 1209, Vicecomites Lond. et Midl. allocaverunt "Elyae ingeniatori x marcas, ad reparationem domorum regis "apud Westmonast. per breve H. Archiep. Cantuar."

Anno, 1210, Willelmus Puintellus redd. comp. de 1216*l*. 13*s*. 6*d*. quos "recepit de thesauro ad operationes turris Londoniae."

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

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

† [The wainscotted or plastered walls were most commonly worked in *distemper* (*alla tempera*), or with varnishes made of gluten or albumen of eggs. These were usually in simple

" the king's chamber wainscot, in the castle of Winchester, " to be painted with the same pictures as formerly; and " that he shall account for the cost. Witness the King, at " Kidderminster, June 3."

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.*

" Liberate Ao. 17. Hen. III. m. 10. Mandatum est cus- " todi domorum regis de Wudestok, quod in rotundâ capellâ " regis de Wudestok bonis coloribus depingi faciat, majes- " tatem domini et iiii Evangelistas, et imaginem sancti Ed- " mundi ex unâ parte, et imaginem sancti Edwardi ex aliâ " parte, et ib fieri faciat duas† verimas novas."

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colours (*viridi colore depingi faciat*). Portraits of Saints were then attempted, and, soon afterward, whole histories (*depingi faciat historiam Antiochiæ*)—but in the embellishment of manuscripts, miniature illuminations preceded, which were in the same style of drawing and design, but upon an enlarged scale.]

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

† *Verimas*, a barbarous word, not to be found even in Dufresne's glossary. One cannot help observing the absurdity of

"Payments, 17 Henry III. m. 10. Order to the keeper "of the King's palace at Woodstock, that he cause the "round chapel there to be painted with the figures of our "Lord, and the four Evangelists, and of St. Edmund, on "one part, and that of St. Edward on the other part, and "that he should have two windows made there."

"Rot. Claus. 20. Hen. III. m. 12. Mandatum est thesau-"rario 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 faciat: ita quod rex in primo adventu "suo illuc inveniat predictas cameram et garderobam ita "depictas et ornatas, sicut predictum est.

"Close Roll, 20 Hen. III. m. 12. Order to the king's "treasurer, that he cause the king's great chamber, at West-"minster, to be painted with a good green colour, so as to "resemble a eurtain, and in the great window of the said "chamber, this motto to be painted.

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those times, in couching orders in a language which they could not write, and addressed to persons by whom it was not understood.

[The age was not quite so absurd as Mr. W. would insinuate. The word "*verimas*" is not barbarous only, but unknown. The transeriber from the Close Rolls was not aware, that the word is really *venestras* or *fenestras*," by which no one will be puzzled.]

* ["In magno gabulo," the great west window above the entrance.]

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

"He who gives not what he has, receives not what he wishes
"for,"
"and likewise, the king's small wardrobe, with green like a
"curtain; and that the king, on his first coming there, may
"find the said chamber and wardrobe so painted, as before
"said.

"Rot. Claus. Ao. 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 reginae ex aliâ parte ejusdem
"capellae interius et exterius depingi faciat de viridi colore:
"juxta sedem ipsius reginae depingi faciat quandam crucem
"cum Mariâ et Johanne ex opposito crucis regis, quae
"juxta sedem regis depicta est. T. vii die Febr."

"Close Rolls, 20 Hen. III. m. 12. Order to Henry de
"Pateshull, treasurer of our Lord the King, that he have
"the bordure behind the king's seat in the chapel of St.
"Stephen, Westminster, and the bordure of the queen's
"seat, in the other part of the said chapel, painted with
"green colour, both withinside and out; and that he cause
"a crucifix with Mary and John, to be painted near the
"said seat of the Queen, and opposite to the cross painted
"near the king's seat." Witness, &c. 7th of April."

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 coloribus;* 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 lega- " lium hominum, computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste " rege apud Windesor. x. die Decembr."

" That ye cause to be whitened all the old wall round our " tower above mentioned. And the cost that ye shall make " upon it, shall be accounted to you, at our Exchequer, " upon the view and oath of lawful men. At Windsor, " 10 Dec."

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 cancel- " lum beatae Mariae in ecclesiâ sancti Petri infra ballium

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* 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.

[Some of the most ancient and beautiful stained glass in the kingdom remains in the Chancel of Chetwood in Buckinghamshire, which are undoubtedly of the date of 1244. The design or pattern is precisely that usually wrought in mosaic, as at that time newly introduced into England by Italian artists. *Lysons's Magn. Brit.* vol. i. p. 488.]

" turris nostrae London. et cancellum beati Petri in eadem
" ecclesia, et ab introitu cancelli beati Petri usque ad spa-
" tium quatuor pedum ultra stallos ad opus nostrum et regi-
" nae nostrae in eadem ecclesia factos bene et decenter lam-
" bruscari faciatis, et eosdem stallos depingi, et Mariolam
" cum suo tabernaculo 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 optimis coloribus depingi;
" et quandam ymaginem de sancto Christofero tenentum et
" portantem Jesum, ubi melius et decentius 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 sancto-
" rum in eadem ecclesia; et duos cherumbinos stantes a
" dextris et a sinistris magni patibuli pulcros fieri faciatis in
" praedicta ecclesia cum hilari vultu et jocoso; et praeterea
" unum fontem marmoreum cum colompnis marmoreis bene
" et decenter incisis. Et custum, &c. Teste ut supra."

" The King to the same, &c. We order that you have the
" chancel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of St.
" Peter, in the baily of our Tower of London, and the
" chancel of St. Peter, within the said church, to be well
" and properly wainscotted for the space of four feet beyond
" the stalls, erected for the use of ourself and queen, and
" that the said stalls be painted with a small figure of the
" V. Mary, standing in her shrine (or niche); the figures of
" the Saints Peter, Nicholas and Catherine, the beam
" beyond the altar of St. Peter, and the small crucifix with
" its figures, to be painted anew with fresh colours. And
" that ye cause to be made an image of St. Peter, in his
" pontificals as an Archbishop, on the north side beyond the
" said altar, and the same to be painted with the best
" colours: and also an image of St. Christopher holding and

" carrying Christ, in the best manner that it can be painted " and finished in the said chapel. And that ye likewise " cause two fair pictures to be painted with the best colours, " of the histories of St. Nicholas and Catherine, at the altar " of the said saints, in the said church; with two fair cheru- " bims standing to the right and left of the crucifix; and " having a cheerful countenance; and also a marble font " having pillars of marble neatly carved. And the cost, &c. " dated as above.

The next again specifies the sum to be expended on paintings at Westminster:

" Rot. Liberat. Ao. 21. Hen. III. m. 5. Rex thesaurario " et camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro " Odoni aurifabro custodi operationis nostrae Westm. qua- " tuor libras et undecim solidos ad picturas faciendas in " camera nostra ibidem. Teste rege apud Westm. ii. die " Augusti."

" Roll of Liveries, 21. Hen. III. m. 5. The king to his " Treasurer and Chamberlains, &c. Pay from our treasury " to Odo, the goldsmith, keeper of our works at Westmin- " ster, four pounds and eleven shillings, for making the " pictures (statues) in our chamber there. Witness, &c. " 2d. August."

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

" Liberat. Ao. 22. Hen. III. m. 3. Mandatum est vic. " Southampt. quod cameram apud Winton colorari faciat " viridi colore, et *stellari auro*,* in quibus depingantur his- " toriae veteris et novi testamenti."

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* [" Stellari auro, set with stars of gold." This alludes to the fashion of studding the ceiling and frequently the side walls of rich chambers, with stars of gold, upon a ground of green or blue, in compartments. Representations of such chambers occur in several of the illuminated MSS. preserved in the British Museum.]

"The same, 22d. Henry III. Precept to the Sheriff of "Southampton, that he cause the chamber, at Winchester "to be painted of a green colour, and with stars of gold, "(*and compartments?*) in which may be painted histories, "from the Old and New Testament."

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

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* 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.

[And Governor Pownal in the 9th vol. of the Archæologia, pp. 152-54, has produced from the sacristy of Ely some accounts that are as explicit as possible, that oil was used in the mixture of colours. The first says, "In tres lagenis et dimid: olei pro ymaginibus super columnas depingend.' The next, In 31 lagenis et dimid: olei empt. pro color. temperand. (for mixing colours which is distinguishing it from varnish). And the third, In oleo empt. pro picturâ faciendâ in capellâ. Could oil-painting be more exactly described at this day?

1. Oil for painting images on columns, 1325.
2. Oil for mixing colours.
3. Oil for making pictures in the chapel.

Note too, that the first is dated in the reign of Edward the Second, the last in that of Edward the Fourth.

[Vertue's honest zeal for the credit of the inventive genius of his own country, triumphs over the exclusive pretensions of others, or the sole claim of the two brothers Hubert and John ab Eyck of Bruges (1366—1441. *Vasari and Lanzi*), as far as that point, abstractedly considered. Their pretensions were first questioned by Albertus Miræus, in his Chronicon Belgicum 1410; who mentions that more ancient paintings, in oil, were extant in the Netherlands. The assumptions, indeed, of the

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

schools of Florence or Naples may be supported by authorities which convey as much satisfaction. According to Malvasia there was a Madonna by Lippo Dalmasio, bearing a date 1376, in which oil was used as a vehicle, and not, as practised by the earlier Greek artists, either common size, the clarified white of eggs, or resinous gum. (*Felsina Pittrice,* tom. i. p. 28. Cimabue (1240-1300) is considered by Vasari and Lanzi, as having first practically understood the use of oil in painting, but the earlier competitors for that fame are Guido da Sienna (in 1221,) concerning whom, both Vasari and Baldinucci are silent, and Lanzi doubts; and Margheritone of Arezzo, in 1260. Their performances are still extant, and are enumerated in catalogues. Lessing (*sur l'ancienneté de la peinture à l'huile,* 1774), contests the merit of the invention as belonging solely to John ab Eyk, with Vasari, anterior to whom, no Flemish or Dutch historian of painting had arrogated the honour for their own country. Antonello da Messina, 1449-1496) is said to have acquired the secret in Flanders, and to have revealed it to Giovanni Bellini (1422-1512) who was established at Venice. According to Baldinucci (Dec. III. Sec. v.) the secret of the practice in oil was taught to Andrea da Castagna of Florence by Dominico da Venezia, a similar circumstance attributed to different individual painters. This subject is slightly investigated in *Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medicis,* 8vo. v. ii. ch. 9. Vasari gave the invention to the Van Eycks implicitly, and Van Mander has copied and amplified his first report. The question, as far as mere priority of invention, appears to have been completely set at rest by the late ingenious Mr. Raspe, who annexed to his Critical Essay on oil-painting, (4to. 1751) two MSS. both of early monkish antiquity, and then first printed,—Theophilus Monachus de omni scientiâ artis pingendi à Codice MS. Coll. Trin. Cantab.; and Eraclius de coloribus et artibus Romanorum. The merit of the Van Eycks was, not, that they invented the use of oil

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

" Close Rolls, 23d. Henry III. The King to his trea-
" surer and chamberlains. Pay from our treasury to Odo
" the goldsmith, and Edward his son, one hundred and
" seventeen shillings and ten-pence for oil, varnish, and
" colours bought by them, and for pictures made in the
" Queen's chamber at Westminster, to the octaves of the
" Holy Trinity, (May 25) in the 23d year of our reign, to
" the feast of Saint Barnabas (June 11th) in the same year,
" namely for fifteen days.

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.

" Ao. 28, Hen. III. Mandatum est vicecomiti Kanciae
" quod sub omni qua poterit festinatione emi faciat et ca-
" riari usque Westmon. 100 navatas grisiae petrae ad ope-
" rationes quas ibi sine dilatione fieri rex praecepit; et ta-

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colours, but, that by a more scientific application of them they have greatly improved upon a very imperfect manner, and a very tedious process; and have therefore an incontestible claim to a practice of the art, which Leonardo da Vinci, Raffaelle, Titian and Rubens, brought to an ultimate perfection.]

" lem et tam festinantem diligentiam ad hoc mandatum
" regis exequendum ponat, quod se inde rex commendare
" debeat; et ne W. de Haverhull thesaurius et Edwardus,
" quibus operationes praedictas rex injunxit faciendas, cul-
" pam dilationis in se refundere possint, si praedictae opera-
" tiones contra voluntatem regis differantur."

" 28, Henry III. Precept to the Sheriff of Kent, that
" with all possible speed, he cause to be purchased and con-
" veyed to Westminster, one hundred barge loads of grey
" stone, for the works which the king has ordered to be
" done there, and that he use such speed and diligence, that
" the king should commend him for the same; so that nei-
" ther W. de Haverhill the treasurer, nor Edward, to whom
" the king has entrusted these works, may have any blame
" on account of delay, if they should be delayed contrary to
" the will of the king."

" Rex dedit et concessit Deo et beato Edwardo et eccle-
" siae Westmonasterii ad fabricam ipsius ecclesiæ 2591
" libras, in quibus regi tenetur Licoricia, quæ 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 Westmonas-
" terii, et Edwardo de Westminstre, quos ejusdem scaccarii
" thesaurarios assignavit. Teste rege apud Windsore."

" The King gave and granted to God and St. Edward,
" and the church, at Westminster, towards the building of
" the said church, 2591l. in which sum Licoricia the widow
" of David, a Jew of Oxford, was bound. And the King
" wills, that the said money shall be returned into the new
" Exchequer, which the King has established for this pur-
" pose, at Westminster, to the Archdeacon of Westmin-
" ster, and to Edward of Westminster, whom the King has
" appointed to be the treasurers of that Exchequer. Wit-
" ness, &c."

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 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 Southamtoniæ salutem. Praecipimus "tibi quod de exitibus comitatus tui depingi facias in capella "reginae nostrae apud Wintoniam super gabulum versus "occidentem ymaginem sancti Christoferi, sicut alibi depin-"gitur; in ulnis suis deferat Christum; et ymaginem "beati Edwardi regis, qualiter tradidit annulum suum cui-"dam peregrino, cujus ymago similiter depingatur. Teste "rege apud Windesore vii die Maii."

"A. D. 1248. The King to the Sheriff of Southampton. "We enjoin you, that out of the receipts of your county, "you cause to be painted, in the chapel of our Queen, at "Winchester, over the great west window, the image of St. "Christopher, as he is elsewhere painted, bearing Christ in "his arms; and the figure of St. Edward the King, when "he gave his ring to a pilgrim, whose figure should be "painted in like manner. Witness, &c. at Winton, 7th "May."

Another:

"Rex custodi manerii de Wudestoke praecepit, ut inter "alia fieri faciat duas fenestras de albo vitro, et fenestram "aulae versus orientem, similiter cum picturâ ejus aulae "emendari faciat. Quoddam etiam scaccarium fieri faciat "in eadem aula, quod contineat hunc versum, qui non dat "quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat."

The King to the Keeper of the manor of Woodstock. "Precept, that amongst other things, he will cause to be "made, two windows of white glass; and the window of "the hall towards the east, he shall cause to be amended, "and likewise the paintings, in the said hall. And he shall "also have made a checquered table, upon which shall be "painted this verse." "He who gives, &c."

"Claus. 33. Hen. III. m. 3. Rex injunxit magistro "Johanni de sancto Omero quod garderobam camerac regis "apud Westm. perpingi faceret sicut pictura illius garde-"robae inchoatur, et quod faceret unum lectrinum ponen-"dum in novo capitulo Westm. ad similitudinem illius "quod est in capitulo sancti Albani, vel decentius et pul-"crius, si fieri poterit; et ad haec facienda colores et maere-"mium et necessarias liberationes usque ad adventum regis "London. ei inveniri faceret. Et custum ad haec opposi-"tum, cum rex illud sciverit, reddi faciet. Et mandatum "est abbati Westm. Edwardo filio Odonis, et Philippo "Luvel, quod liberationes et alia necessaria supra inveniri "fac. Teste rege apud Windesore. xxiii die Septembr."

"Close Rolls, 33d of Henry III. The King enjoins "Master John of St. Omer, that he shall cause the wardrobe "of the King's chamber at Westminster, to be painted, in "the same manner as the painting of the said wardrobe is "begun, and that he shall make a new reading desk, to be "placed in the new Chapter house at Westminster, like that "which is in the Chapter house at St. Albans; or more "handsome and fair, if it can be so made; and that he pro-"vide for this work, colours and timber and other necessa-"ries, before the coming of the King to London. And the "King, when he is made acquainted with the amount, will "order it to be paid. Precept to the abbot of Westminster, "Edward Fitz Odo and Philip Lovel, that they shall find "these deliveries and other necessaries. Witness, &c. at "Windsor, 23d September.

In Henry's 34th year Edward of Westminster

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. 54. Hen. III. m. 7. Mandatum est Edwardo* "de Westm. quod in capella beati Stephani depingi faciat "imagines Apostolorum in circuitu ejusdem capellae; et "judicium in occidentali parte ejusdem; et iconem beatae "Mariae virginis in quadam tabula similiter pingi faciat; "ita quod haec parata sint in adventu regis. Teste rege "apud Brugwauter xiii. die Augusti."

"Close Rolls, 34. Henry III. Precept to Edward of

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* 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.

[Ralph de Neville, Bishop of Chichester, who had been Lord Chancellor of England, ob. 1244.]

† Duchesne, Antiq. Franc. vol. i. p. 145, says the Louvre was so called from l'œuvre, the new work.

" Westminster, that in the Chapel of St. Stephen he shall " have painted, around the walls, the figures of the Apos- " tles, and the Day of Judgment in the western part of the " same, and that he shall cause the figure of the Blessed " Virgin to be painted in the same manner upon a pannel: " so that these things may be ready at the King's coming. " Witness, &c. at Bridgewater, 13th August.

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 sa- " cristae Glaston. tres quercus ad imagines inde faciendas et " ponendas in ecclesia sua Glaston. de dono regis. Teste " rege apud Glaston. xv die Augusti."

" Id. Precept to the keeper of the park at Periton, that " he shall deliver from the said park, three oak trees to the " Sacristan of the Abbey of Glastonbury, that images may " be made out of them, to be placed in the church of Glas- " tonbury, as of the royal gift. Witness, &c. at Glaston- " bury, 15th August."

The following is not less curious:

" Claus. 34. Hen. III. m. 12. Mandatum est R. de " Sandeford magistro militiae templi in Anglia quod faciat " habere Henrico de warderoba, latori presentium, ad opus " reginae* quendam librum magnum, qui est in domo sua " London. Gallico ydiomate scriptum, in quo continentur

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* 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.

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 se that wore was non suilk creature.

† " may o lif,"—" maid alive." Hearne's Glossary.

" gesta regis Antiochiae et regum, aliorum, &c.* Teste rege " apud Westm. xvii die Maii."

" Id. Precept to R. de Sandford, Master of the Knights " Templars in England, that he cause to be delivered to " Henry of the wardrobe, bearer of these presents, in aid of " the Queen, a certain great book, which is in his house in " London, written in the French language, in which are " contained the gests of the King of Antioch, and of other " kings. Witness at Westminster, 17th May."

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;

* ["Gesta Antiochiæ et regum aliorum." Richard the first performed scarcely credible feats of valour, at the siege of Antioch, during the Croisade. King Henry III. greatly admired his uncle's heroic character. The book abovementioned was compiled and illuminated by his order, and in the Pipe roll of the 21st of his reign, it is ordered, that these exploits should be the subject of paintings on the wainscot of a room, in the royal palace at Clarendon, "hystoria Antiochiæ in eâdem depingendâ, cum duello regis Ricardi. *Archaeolog. Vol. iii. p.* 187. *Warton's Hist. of Poetry, Vol. i. p.* 114.]

† 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.

the origine probably of what is now styled the Jerusalem-chamber.

"Claus. Ao. 35 Hen. III. m. 11. Mandatum est Ed-
"wardo de Westm. *quod depingi faciat historiam An-*
"*tioch.** 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."

"Close Roll, 35 Henry III. m. 11. Precept to Edward
"of Westminster, that he cause to be painted the history of
"Antioch, in the king's chamber, in the Tower of London,
"as Thomas Espernir shall say to (or direct) him; and the
"cost which he shall incur, shall be allowed by the king.
"Witness, &c. at Westminster, 5th of June.

"Ibidem. m. 10. Mandatum est Edwardo de Westm.
"quod Judaismum regis apud Westm. et magnum † cella-

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* [This order for painting the history of Antioch, in the king's chamber, in the Tower of London, bears date fourteen years subsequently to that, for the same subject, at Clarendon, of which it was probably a copy. "sicut ei dicet Thomas Espernir," the inventor of it.]

† 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. Ao. 34. Hen. III. m. 19. De potibus delicatis ad
"opus regis faciendis. Mandatum est custodibus vinorum regis
"Winton. quod de vinis regis quae habent in custodia sua
"liberent ‖ Roberto de Monte Pessulano tanta et talia, qualia
"et quanta capere voluerit, ad potus regis pretiosos delicatos
"inde faciendos. Teste rege apud Lutegareshall xxvi. die
"Novembr."

"Claus. 36. Hen. III. m. 31. Mandatum est custodibus vino-
"rum regis de Ebor. quod de melioribus vinis regis quae sunt
"in custodia sua faciant habere Roberto de Monte Pessulano

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

" rium vinorum regis lambruscari, et bassam cameram in " gardino regis, et parvam turellam ultra capellam ibidem " depingi, et in eadem camera unum caminum fieri faciat, " quam quidem cameram Antioch volumus appellari."

" Ibid. Precept to the said Edward, that the king's " Jewry at Westminster, and the king's great wine cellar " should be wainscotted; and that the low chamber in the " king's garden, and the little turret beyond the chapel " there, should be painted, and that in the same chamber a " chimney should be made, and that we will that the said " chamber shall be called the *Antioch chamber*."

These that follow all relate to various paintings.

" Ibidem. m. 5. Mandatum est Simoni Capellano et " aliis custodibus operationum Windesor. quod claustrum " regis in castro Windesor. paviri et lambruscari, et Apostolos " depingi faciant, sicut rex ei et magistro Willielmo pictori " suo ibidem injunxit. Teste rege apud Havering. xx die " Augusti."

" Ibid. m. 5. Precept to Simon the chaplain, and other " masters of the works, at Windsor, that they have the " king's cloister in the castle, paved and wainscotted; and " the Apostles to be painted there, as the king has given " orders to William, his painter. Witness, &c. at Have- " ring, 20th of August."

" Liberat. 36. Hen. III. m. 15. Rex Vicecomiti Not- " tinghamiae salutem. Praecipimus tibi quod in camera " reginae nostrae aput Nottingham depingi facias historiam

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" 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 gar- " hiofilac. et clarat. predict. faciat sicut annis preteritis facere " consuevit."

* A composition of wine and honey, V. Hist. de l'ancienne Che valerie, vol. i. p. 49.

" Alexandri circumquaque; et custum quod ad hoc posue-
" ritis computabitur. Teste rege apud Nottingham xv die
" Januarii."

" Payments, 36 Henry III. m. 15. Precept to the Sheriff
" of Notts, that you cause the queen's chamber in the castle
" of Nottingham, to be painted all around, with the history
" of Alexander, and the king will account with him for the
" cost. Witness, &c. at Nottingham, 15th January.

" Liberat. 36. Hen. III. m. 15. Mandatum vic. North-
" ampton, quod fieri faciat in castro North. fenestras de albo
" vitro, et in eisdem historiam Lazari et Divitis depingi."

" Ibid. To the Sheriff of Northampton, that he cause a
" window of white glass to be made in the Castle of Nor-
" thampton, and that the history of Dives and Lazarus be
" painted thereupon.

" Claus. 36. Hen. III. m. 22. Mandatum est Radulpho
" de Dungun, custodi librorum* regis, quod magistro Wil-
" lielmo pictori regis habere faciat colores ad depingendum
" parvam garderobam reginae, et emendandum picturam
" magnae camerae regis et camerae reginae. Teste rege
" apud Westm. xxv die Febr. Per regem."

" Clause Roll, 36. Hen. III. Precept to Ralph de Dun-
" gun, keeper of the king's books, that he should supply
" William the painter, with colours for painting the queen's
" little wardrobe, and to restore the paintings in the king's
" and queen's chambers. Witness at Westminster, 25th
" February."

The six next precepts appertain to various arts, not to painting in particular.

" Claus. 36. Hen. III. m. 31. Mandatum est Edwardo

* 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.

" de Westm. quod cum festinatione perquirat quendam pul-
" crum gladium, et scauberd. ejusdem de serico, et pomel-
" lum de argento bene et ornate cooperiri, et quandam pul-
" cram zonam eidem pendi faciat, ita quod gladium illum sic
" factum habeat apud Ebor. de quo rex* Alexandrum
" regem Scotiae illustrem cingulo militari decorare possit in
" instanti festo Nativitatis Dominicae. Teste rege apud
" Lychfeld xxi die Novembr. Per ipsum regem."

" Ibid. m. 31. Precept to Edward of Westminster, that
" he will procure without delay, a certain handsome sword,
" and have made a scabbard of silk, with the pomel of silver,
" well and fairly ornamented, and a rich belt to hang there-
" from: so that the said sword may be delivered to him at
" York, with which Alexander, the illustrious King of Scot-
" land may be decorated, together with a military girdle, at
" the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, next ensuing
" Witness at Lichfield, 21st November.

" Claus. 36. Hen. III. m. 30. Mandatum est J. de
" Somercote† et Rogero Scissori, 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 Dominicae."

" Ibid. Precept to John de Somercote, and Roger the
" Tailor, that without delay they make a bed of great price,
" so that it may be delivered at York, to be presented as a
" gift to Alexander King of Scotland, at the feast of the
" Nativity, next ensuing."

" Ibidem. Mandatum est I. de Somercote et Rogero
" Scissori, quod de melioribus samittis quos invenire pote-
" runt sine dilatione faciant quatuor robas, duas videlicet
" ad opus regis, et duas ad opus reginae, cum aurifraxis

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* 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.

" semilatis, 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 Nativitatis Dominicae. Teste
" rege apud Lychfeld xxi die Novembr."

" Ibid. Precept to John de Somereote, and Roger the
" Tailor, that, without delay, they make four robes of the
" best satin that can be proeured, viz. two for the service
" of the king, and two for the queen, with fringes laid
" thereon of gold and various colours: and that the tunics
" shall be of softer satin than the clokes and surcoats: that
" the clokes be furred with ermine, and the surcoats with
" mineyre, so that the king may have the said robes hand-
" somely made, and delivered to him, at York. Witness at
" Lichfield, 21st November."

" Ibidem. Mandatum est I. de Somereote et Rogero
" Scissori, quod preter illas duas robas quas rex fieri prece-
" pit ad opus suum, fieri faciant ad opus regis tres robas de
" queintisis, videlicet unam robam de meliori samitto vio-
" laceo, quam invenire poterunt, cum tribus parvis* leopardis
" in parte anteriori, et aliis tribus parte posteriori; et duas
" de aliis melioribus pannis qui inveniri poterunt; ita quod
" robas illas decenter et ornate factas rex promptas habeat
" apud Ebor. in festo Nativitatis Domini."

" Ibid. Precept to the same, that beside those two robes
" which the king has ordered, for his own use, that they
" likewise make for him three robes of embroidery or fancy
" work, viz. one robe of violet-coloured satin, the best that

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* The lions in the arms of England were originally leopards. [In the romance of Richard Cuer de Lyon,

" Upon his shoulders a scheld of stele,
" With the Lybbards paintyd wele."

Barrington on the Statutes, p. 227.

Menestrier De l'origine des Armoires, L. i. p. 68, &c.]

" can be procured, wrought with three leopards in the fore
" and as many in the hinder part: and two robes of other
" cloth, the best that can be found. So that the king may
" receive them duly finished, at York on the feast of the
" Nativity."

" Claus. 39 Hen. III. Rex concessit magistro Johanni
" de Gloucestre cementario suo, quod toto tempore vitae
" suae quietus sit de omnimodo Tallagio et Thelonio
" ubique per totam potestatem regis."

" Clause Roll 39 Henry III. The king granted to John
" of Gloucester, his plasterer, that for the whole term of
" his life he shall be free from all taillage and tolls, every
" where, throughout the realm."

" Claus. 43. Hen. III. m. 10. Mandatum est magistro
" Johanni de Glouc. cementario suo, et custodibus opera-
" tionum Westm. quod quinque imagines regum incisas in
" franca petra, et quandam petram ad supponendum pedi-
" bus unius imaginis beatae Mariae, faciatis habere custo-
" dibus operationum ecclesiae sancti Martini London. ad
" easdem operationes, de dono regis. Teste rege apud
" Westm. xi. die maii."

" Claus Roll, 43. Henry III. Precept to master John of
" Gloucester, his plasterer, and the masters of his works at
" Westminster, that they make five statues of kings carved
" in free stone, and a pedestal for the image of the blessed
" Virgin to be delivered to the masters of the works of the
" Church of St. Martin in London, as the king's gift. Wit-
" ness, &c. 11th of May."

Then comes a record intituled:

" Pro rege de coloribus ad picturam Windesor. Claus.
" Ao. 44. Hen. III. m. 6. Mandatum est Edwardo de
" Westm. quod colores et alia ad picturam necessaria sine
" dilatione faciat habere fratri Willielmo monacho Westm.
" pictori regis, ad picturas regis apud Windsor inde* reno-

* Hence it appears that Windsor had been a place of note

" vandas, prout idem frater Willielmus 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."

" Clause Roll, 44. Henry III. For the King. Precept
" to Edward of Westminster that without delay he shall
" deliver to brother William, Monk of Windsor, colours and
" other things necessary for painting, for restoring the king's
" paintings there, accordingly as William the monk, shall
" instruct the said Edward, on the part of the king And
" this, as he loves the king, he may not omit: and when the
" king knows the cost he has incurred, he will send his writ
" for payment thereof. Witness, &c. 13th of August.

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

" Liberate Ao. 44. Hen. III. m. 11. Rex vicecom.
" Surr. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod exitibus comitatus tui
" picturas magnae aulae nostrae de Guldeford, prout necesse
" fuerit, sine dilatione emendari, et in magna camera nostra
" ibidem ad caput lecti nostri super album murum quoddam
" pallium depingi, et tabulas et fruntellum altaris magnae
" capellae nostrae ibidem sine dilatione fieri facias, prout
" injunximus Willielmo Florentino pictori: et custum quod
" ad hoc posueris per visum et testimonium proborum et
" legalium hominum conf. &c. Teste meipso apud Westm.
" xxx die Octobr."

" Payments, 44. Henry III. Precept to the Sheriff of
" Surrey, that out of the issues of the said County, you
" cause the paintings of the great hall at Guildford to be
" repaired, as it may be necessary, without delay, and in
" our large chamber there to be painted upon the white
" wall, at the head of our bed, a certain cloth or pall: and

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even before the reign of Hen. III. consequently long before it was beautified by Edward III.

" that immediately, the pictures and frontispiece of the altar
" of the great chapel, be made, as we have directed Wil-
" liam of Florence, and the cost shall be paid upon the view
" of honest and lawful men, &c. Witness, &c. at West-
" minster, 30th October.

I conclude that master William, William the monk of Westminster, and William 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 surprised 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 Ao. 49. Hen. III. m. 7. Rex Thes. et came-
" rariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro pictoribus
" camerae nostrae apud Westm. septem libras et decem
" solidos ad picturas ejusdem camerae nostrae retro lectum
" nostrum ibidem faciend."

" Payments, 49 Hen. III. The king to his treasurer and
" chamberlain. Pay from our treasury at Westminster to
" the painters of our chamber at Westminster, seven pounds
" and seven shillings for pictures, at the back of our bed,
" in our said chamber."

" Liberate Ao. 51. Hen. III. m. 10. et 8. Rex Bal-
" livis civitatis London. salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de
" firma civitatis praedictae habere faciatis magistro Waltero
" pictori nostro viginti marcas ad picturas camerae nostrae
" apud Westm. inde faciend. et hoc nullo modo omittatis.
" Et computabitur vobis ad scaccarium. Teste rege apud
" Westm. vii die Januar."

" Ibid. 51. Henry III. m. 10. Precept to the bailiffs of

"the City of London, that ye pay out of the fee-farm of "the said city, to master Walter, our painter, twenty marks "for pictures in our great chamber, at Westminster: and "that ye by no means omit to do it. And it shall be ac-"counted with you, in the Exchequer. Witness, &c. 7th "of January."

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 Westm. ab inceptione usque "in die dominica proxima post festum divi Michaelis anno "regni regis Henrici xlvto. Et CCLX librae restant solvendae "pro stipendiis alborum cissorum et minutorum operario-"rum, et pro franca petra et aliis emptionibus quae non "computantur in hac summa; XXIX millia, CCCXLVl. XIXs. "VIIId."

"The sum total of the works at Westminster from their "beginning to the Sunday next after the feast of St. Mi-"chael in the forty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry. "And 260*l.* remain to satisfy the wages of the free-stone "cutters, and of other workers in the minuter parts of the "building, and for freestone, and other purchases which are "not computed in this sum, 29,340*l.* 19*s.* 8*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. 11. Rex vicecom. Surr. et "Suss. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus com. "praedictorum infra curiam nostram manerii nostri de "Guldeford quandam cameram cum stadio et camino, gar-"deroba, et camera forinseca, et quandam capellam ad caput

" ejusdem camerae, cum stadio et fenestris vitreis easdem
" cameram et capellam decentibus, ad opus karissimae filiae
" nostrae Alianorae consortis Edwardi primogeniti nostri,
" et unam cameram cum stadio et camino camera forinseca,
" et fenestris vitreis eandem cameram decentibus, ad opus
" militum karissimae consortis nostrae Alianorae reginae
" Angliae, et quoddam *appenticm. ibidem de novo sine
" dilatione fieri, et herbarium ejusdem reginae nostrae repa-
" rari et emendari facias, secundum quod Willielmo Floren-
" tino pictori nostro injunximus, et idem Willielmus plenius
" tibi scire faciet ex parte nostra ; et custum, &c. per visum
" &c. computabitur."

" Liberate, 52. Henry III. The king to the Sheriff of
" Surrey and Sussex. Precept, that out of the issues of the
" said counties, ye cause a certain chamber to be erected,
" within the castle of our manor of Guildford, with a raised
" hearth and chimney, a wardrobe and necessary closet, and
" with glazed windows, and a small oratory at the end of the
" said chamber, for the use of our dearest daughter, Eleanor
" the wife of our eldest son Edward; and also another
" chamber as above, for the body guard of Eleanor our
" dearest Queen consort, with a penthouse leaning thereto,
" and that they be made anew, without farther delay. And
" that ye cause the queen's inclosed herb garden to be
" repaired and amended, in the manner which we have en-
" joined William the Florentine our painter, and of which
" the said William will inform you farther, upon our part.
" And the cost, &c."

" Rex eidem vicecom. salutem. Precipimus tibi quod
" de exitibus com. praedictorum faciashabere Willielmo Flo-
" rentino custodi operationum nostrarum manerii nostri de
" Guldeford singulis diebus sex denarios pro stipendiis suis,
" quam diu fueris vicecomes noster eorundem comitat. et
" praedictus Willielmus custos fuerit operationum praedic-

* Sic originale.

" tarum, sicut eos temporibus retroactis ante turbationem " habitam in regno ibidem percipere consuevit: et custum, " &c. Teste rege apud Westm. xxix die Jan."

" The King to the same. Precept, that out of the issues " of the said counties, you shall pay to William the Floren- " tine, Master of our works at Guildford, on each day, six " pence, for his wages, as long as you shall remain Sheriff of " the said counties. And that the said William shall be " master of the aforesaid works, as he was, before the late " troubles in the realm. And the cost, &c. Witness at " Westminster, 29th January.

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

* 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.

[In the reign of Edward II. John Thokey, Abbot of Gloucester had embellished the wainscot of his great parlour, with the portraits of all the preceding monarchs. This circumstance is related in his life. *MSS. Cotton. Domitian* VIII. *p.* 128.]

[† " crosses erected to Q. Eleanor."] Chronology will confute this supposition, for Abbot Ware, who visited Rome, in 1260,

memory, which Vertue with great probability supposed were built on the designs of Peter Cavallini,* 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,†

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and there saw a shrine erected in 1254, died in 1285; which was eight years before the demise of Q. Elinor, in 1291: Giotto, who was born in 1276, was only seven years old at the time of Ware's death, and Cavallini being three years younger than Giotto, it is not possible, that he could have been employed by the Abbot, as an artist, at four years old.]

* [Peter Cavallini was born in 1259, and died in 1344, at the advanced age of 85 years, according to certain authorities; and the great discrepancy of other dates has occasioned some investigation. He was seventeen years older than Giotto, (n. 1276, m. 1336,) if that be true. But it appears, that Mr. Walpole will not be supported in his assertion, that Cavallini could not be the scholar of Giotto, for the sole reason, that he was twenty years older. Allowing that Cavallini was born in 1249, and Giotto in 1276, he was seventeen older, if in 1279, Giotto was three years older than him. Lanzi decidedly inclines to an opinion, that Cavallini learned, at least, the improvement of the art from Giotto, against which conjecture, the age of Cavallini, compared with that of Giotto, is no sound argument. In either case, Lanzi is borne out in his assertion. An improvement, or new method of painting may be acquired at any period of life, but the elements in youth only.]

† "completo quasi deno,"]—Ten years spent in the comple-

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 Cavallini, a painter and the inventor of Mosaic, who had performed several 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 expense of John

tion of it: Gough (*Sepulch. Mon. v. i. p.* 5.) observes, that the date should have therefore been 1280.]

* [The inscription states, that the shrine of St. Edward was finished in 1270. "Petrus civis Romanus" could not have been Pietro Cavallini, nine years before the most authentic date of his birth.]

† 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.

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 expense, 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 workmen and rich porphyry stones for Edward the Confessor's secretary; 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.

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* 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 complete and finish the building of the Abbey, and then adds, "Ob reverentiam nimii amoris quem ego in ipsum inclitum regem Edwardum habue-

Vasari's silence on Cavallini's journey to England ought to be no objection; he not only wrote some hundred years after the time, but confounds his own account so strangely as to make Peter Cavallini 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 Cavallini. This painter and sculptor probably, as I have said, *gave the designs for the crosses erected by Edward to his beloved Eleanor.** Vertue had

ram, Tumbum ejus et reginae juxta eum positæ, ex auro et argento, fabrili opere, artificiosi decoris mirificè operiri feci.

* I have some suspicion that a son of Peter Cavallini, is the person called Peter le Orfever, mentioned in a precept of

drawn them, with a design of engraving; I have his original drawings. I must not omit that it was no small part of Peter Cavallini'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 favourites. But it is plain that the number and magnificence of his buildings and palaces must have swallowed great part of the sums, mali-

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 Cavallini might marry and settle in that town. See *Peck's Stanford,* lib. x. sect. 13.

[Without farther question as to the discrepancy of the date, it is highly improbable that the same artist who designed the Roman form and the mosaic ornament of the tombs of Edward the Confessor and Henry III. should have been the architect of crosses, which are pre-eminent specimens of the gothic, peculiar to the age. The statue of Q. Elinor is said to have been modelled from her person after death, and probably by an Italian sculptor (*civis Romanus*), from which all the others were copied; and it has been asserted, that it was considered as the worthy prototype of the numerous images of the Virgin Mary for a century afterwards. The three remaining crosses have been engraven upon a large scale in the *Monumenta Vetusta,* v. iii. and in *Britton's Architectural Antiq.* v. i. pp. 24, &c.]

* *Felibien,* vol. i. p. 172.

ciously charged to the single article of unworthy favourites.*

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

* [The unbounded liberality of this sovereign to his favourites, was, in one instance at least, applied with a profusion emulous of his own; and is a curious evidence how much he encouraged the magnificence of architecture; in those whom he patronised and enriched. Pauline Le Peyvere was the steward of his household, to whom he made enormous grants both of land and money. This courtier built, at Toddington in Bedfordshire, a castellated house, which with vast extent, apartments covered with lead, orchards, and gardens, excited universal wonder, "ut intuentibus admirationem parturierit," says M. Paris, (p. 821), who adds, that he spent more than a hundred shillings in every week during the building; and that the wages of certain of the artificers, amounted to ten marks in the same space of time. Some of the most sumptuous parts of cathedral and conventual churches in different parts of England, in fact, a new and most beautiful style of gothic originated, and reached perfection, during the long reign of Hen. III. So urgent was his want of money, that he was forced to pawn and sell the jewels with which he had enriched the shrine of St. Edward, to the Pope's Legate. Patent Roll, 51st, Henry III. memb. 18.]

must have done so much more in a season of such heroic barbarism as that of Henry III. and the want of an enterprizing 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 cielings, his halls, his basreliefs. 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 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 First of the most triumphant. Yet I would ask by which of the two did the nation suffer most? By sums lavished on favourites 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.

REMARKS.

From a concise view of this introductory chapter, it is evident, that Mr. W. willingly adopted Vertue's claim of the earlier usage of painting in oil—yet the confusion of dates, clouds his brightest conjecture. With respect to the tomb of Edward the Confessor, and the fact of P. Cavallini's having been employed as an artist, in this country; they are, at least, contradictory; and it is still more difficult to connect him with Abbot Ware, who died in his infancy. Mr. Gough, who examines this question (*Sepulch. Mon.* v. i. p. 485) hesitates to allow the circumstance of Cavallini's having been taught by Giotto; but is satisfied to place the birth of the first mentioned, in 1279, as the æra best supported by proof; and consequently destructive of the whole hypothesis, as to the twenty preceding years.

Petrus Civis Romanus being identified with P. Cavallini, is a fact not so happily traced by Vertue, as Mr. W. is led to suppose. Mr. Gough may be said to have been more successful. He observes, that P. Civis Romanus, was, with greater probability, a pupil of Andrea Taffi and Gaddo Gaddi, who were anterior to Giotto; and that he was sent to England to complete the designs furnished by artists of the original school of mosaic, invented at Florence, and removed to Rome.

No doubt can be entertained, but that paintings in fresco, on walls, and mosaic floors, were imitated in stained glass, of which there was no known introduction into England, prior to this reign. Instances of the designs having been so transferred to windows, have yet survived the effects of time, and the rage of the reformers. Painting on or rather staining glass is first mentioned in the Close Rolls of the twentieth year of K. Henry III. 1236. Specimens of whole windows in the same reign, are enumerated in *Lysons's Magna Britannia.* In Chetwode Chancel, Buckinghamshire, dated 1244, are rich and beautiful mosaics, and small figures of Saints, inclosed within ovals highly ornamented. There is likewise a regal portrait, and much tracery upon a single colour, more elegant, if less

brilliant than in the succeeding age, and in larger windows. At Norbury, Derbyshire, are specimens of very elegant designs in mosaic, which sufficiently prove that the monks were not deficient in invention, or even exquisite pencilling.

Mr. Walpole possessed a happy talent in relieving, by discrimination, the dulness of history; and by many pointed observations, and striking analogy. He had formed his style in the new French school, as first established by Voltaire; who in all his historical works, is to be praised rather for his novel and ingenious inferences, and brilliant remarks, than for sound investigation, correctness or impartiality.

The love and encouragement of the arts are made to constitute a redeeming virtue in the character of Henry III.: and it has been likewise pleaded by the apologists of one of his successors. The claim may be readily admitted, nevertheless the treachery of the first mentioned monarch to Magna Charta, and his brutal exactions from the Jews, place him on a level with the "ruthless king"* and the "Vir immortalis."† of France.

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* Gray's Bard. † Pinkerton on Medals, vol. ii. p. 68.

CHAPTER 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

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

[In the MS. of the lives of the Abbats of Gloucester, (MSS. Cotton, Domit. VIII.) it is asserted, that John Wygmore Abbat, procured his great dining room to be painted with portraits of all the English kings, who preceded Edward II., against his being present there, at a sumptuous feast. The same MS. p. 23, mentions, that Wygmore not only employed artists, but was himself eminent for the practice of limning and embroidery. "quod in diversis artibus multum delectabatur ut ipse sæpissime operetur, et multos diversos operarios in dictâ arte (limning) percolleret, tam in opere mechanico, quam in textura." Similar instances might be easily adduced which had escaped the notice of Vertue and Mr. W.'s antiquarian contributors.

glass. No wonder that a proud, a warlike, and ignorant nobility, encouraged only that branch which attested their dignity. Their dungeons were 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

If, as is most probable, the chapel of St. Stephen, within the palace of Westminster, was embellished with paintings by its founder K. Edward I. an additional proof is supplied.]

* 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 practised 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 favourable idea of the taste and artisans 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 ribands. 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.

[The singularly sumptuous crosier which belonged to W. Wykeham, and was bequeathed in his will to remain in his

their chairs were mere pedestals, their clothes 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

college, at Oxford, is still shewn there, being preserved in the chapel. In *Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, (vol. i. pl. 47), it is most accurately delineated, at length, upon a folded, folio sheet. It is of silver gilt, and very richly enamelled; about seven feet high, and in the crook or circle, instead of the holy lamb, frequently introduced in other crosiers, is a kneeling figure of the Bishop himself. The will is printed in Bishop Lowth's life of Wykeham, in the Appendix, by reference to which the antiquarian reader will entertain no doubt concerning the perfection of the arts of enamelling, limning, and embroidery, certainly borrowed from the French, but successfully practised in England, during reigns immediately antecedent to that of Edward the third. The wills of noblemen and prelates which have been collected and published give us numerous examples. It has been observed, indeed, by Warton (*Hist. of Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 254.) that "after the battle of Cressy by our victorious monarch, and towards the end of the 14th century, riches and plenty, the effects of conquest, peace, and prosperity, were spread on every side, and new luxuries were imported in great abundance, from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their possession precious articles of dress and furniture, such as silk, fur, tapestry, embroidered beds, embossed cups of gold and silver, agate and chrystal, bracelets, chains, and necklaces, brought from Caen, Limoges, and other foreign cities."—]

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.* The representations of these extravagances (as we see them collected by Montfaucon in his Antiquities of France) demanded Japonesc 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

* La Bruyère has expressed this with the happiest decency; "Ils avoient trouvé le secret de paroitre nuds tout habillez." Vol. ii. p. 234.

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

[The figure of a knight standing in plate armour, holding a

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

spear, with a long sword by his side, and the escutcheon of France and England quarterly (France anciently) and having a red rose, placed beneath his feet, is said to represent (but from no stated authority) Edward, the black prince. It is a fragment, which still remains in a lancet window, under the south tower, in Westminster Abbey. The flowing beard belongs to no portrait of the black prince, and his effigy upon his tomb at Canterbury has scarcely any. This representation is, with a greater degree of probability, that of his father, who first quartered the arms of France. Edward the Third's portrait is exhibited, with the utmost exactness, in the brass effigy, recumbent upon his tomb. His face was doubtless modelled and cast from a mask taken after death; a practice well known to artists of that age; his beard is long, and his hair dishevelled. Engraved in *Gough's Sep. Monum.* v. i. p. 138.]

* [Mr. W. was probably not aware that the figure and face of the munificent Wykeham are of very inferior workmanship, and that he founded his praise upon Vertue's engraving. It is remarkable, that the head of his successor, Bishop Waynflete, whose tomb is likewise in Winton Cathedral, is of peculiar excellence, for strength of character. In Chandler's life of that prelate, (8vo. 1811), is a spirited engraving of it. But it applies to a later period of the arts, as Waynflete died in 1486.]

magnificent charities yet 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 expense 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

* [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 claim of this, as a genuine portrait of the Black Prince, is at least apocryphal. I cannot but consider it as of a much later age, and painted even since the succeeding century. There is a poor engraving of it, in the Antiquarian Repertory. Among the paintings discovered in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, when fitted up for the accommodation of the House of Commons, in 1800, were the portraits, undoubtedly taken from the life, both of King Edward and his heroic son, concerning which more will be said, in the Remarks on this chapter.]

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.

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.

* [This portrait of Richard II. was in its primary state of singular curiosity. It was, at first, placed above one of the stalls of the choir of Westminster Abbey; but has been removed into the Jerusalem chamber, in the Dean's lodgings. It was most injudiciously restored, or in fact, painted over, about a century ago. In *Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, is given an elaborately coloured etching of it, on a large scale; and in the printed description, it is said, that either Talman's drawing, or Vertue's engraving was deficient, in point of accuracy. It has been lately cleaned, and made to approach nearer to its original character.]

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

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 MS. antecedent to that date was a proof of that. The short quære would be, with what is the picture in question painted? To that I can only reply, that it is covered with glass, 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 freshness, and not grown black as oil-colours would be, and is, as I have said, guarded by a glass, 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

* [An accurate and scientific examination of the Wilton picture has been made by T. Phillips, Esq. R. A. (published in the *Beauties of Wiltshire*) who says "that it is certainly painted in water colours, on a gilt ground, which is left in a most ingenious manner for the ornaments of the draperies; these ornaments are exceedingly rich and minute. The colours are laid on very thick, with an even and full touch. The drawing is very good, when we consider the early period of its production." There is every probability of its having been the work of some very able illuminator, upon a large scale. It was engraved by Hollar, 1639.]

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 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

* [The "undoubted originality' of this portrait of Henry IV. may be, at least, investigated. No doubt is entertained of its having been carefully preserved, at Hampton Court, Herefordshire, till its late removal to Cashiobury, Essex. When Vertue was engraving his series of English monarchs, he procured permission, from the proprietor, Lady Coningsby, to copy it. A gentleman who resided in the neighbourhood at that time, and who was particularly versed in the knowledge of old portraits, assured the editor, that it then exhibited such marks of decay, that the *restorer* thought it necessary to paint it over, in many parts. It is now highly varnished.]

† 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.

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 eosdem linteo, prius glutine mediante, induxerunt, desuperque 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 the work should crack, they proceeded in this manner: they glued a linen 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 gum-dragant, 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.

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

* The Society of Antiquaries. † *Academ. Pictur. p.* 15.

mixture Cimabue, 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.†

Cimabue 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

* [In a page immediately subsequent to this, Mr. W. states that Cimabue restored or invented the art of oil-paintings, as early as 1250. Now, the Italian artists, who were employed in his new Abbey of Westminster by Henry III. did not arrive in England, before 1270; and at that time, they might have learned the secret at Florence or Rome, and had little occasion to have found it in England.]

† *Academ. Pictur. p.* 94.

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

very pictures 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 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 surprised, says Sandrart,* Quod aqua purgari possent, coloribus non deletis.

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.

* 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.

[Sandrart reasons inconclusively. The Florentine artists could not have expressed surprise that the colours were not to be removed by the application of water, for they certainly knew how to prepare their colours with oil, when Antonello first made the invention or rather the application known to the Neapolitan painters by the exhibition of one of ab Eyk's pictures.]

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 crowded into history and antiquities. It wrests all arguments to the favourite point. A man who sees with Saxon eyes sees a Saxon building in every molehill: a Mercian virtuoso can discover king lords and commons in the tumultuary conventions of the Wittenagemot; and an enthusiast to the bards find primæval 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. Froisard 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

† [This most beautiful and perfect of the MS. copies of Froissart,

are still more uncertain than the method in which they painted. I can find no names of artists* at

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 eye-witness 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 Surrey and of Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, &c. Part 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

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which are to be found not unfrequently, both in public and private libraries in England, is a very large and magnificent folio volume, marked No. 4350, *MSS. Harleian Brit. Museum.* It is covered with green velvet, and has large clasps of silver. The illuminations are very numerous and elaborately finished with gold and colours, of which four centuries have not diminished the freshness and brilliancy. In almost every page we are presented with a portrait or scene, in which the dress, armour, furniture and architecture of the 14th century are minutely given. The portraits of K. Edward III. his son and Richard II. occur in several instances. The "Historic poem" is still superior to it, for the delicacy of the limnings. That is likewise among the MSS. Harl. numbered 1319. Appended to *Johnes's Translation of Froissart,* 4to. are engravings of the first mentioned: and outlines of the last, are given in the very excellent prose translation by the Rev. J. Webb, published in the 20th vol. of the *Archæologia.*

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† Strutt has engraved them for his *Regal and Ecclesiastic Antiquities.*

that period. Nor is this extraordinary. In countries where the science flourished more, our knowledge of the professors is very imperfect. Though Cimabue 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 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, goldsmiths, 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.

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 800l. An enormous sum for that time! See *Descrip. of Lond. and the Environs,* vol. iv. p. 30.

* *Annals,* p. 342.

† [Engraved and coloured in *Carter's Anc. Sculpt. and Archit.* The other portraits, which have the best claim to be considered

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

as original and contemporary, are those of Hen. VI. and Archbishop Chicheley. There were once those of Edward III. Henry IV. and V., and of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Wood*, p. 486.]

* 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 Henry V. consequently Henry IV. could not have lived there.

[Leland's authority is beyond tradition. In the 4th vol. of his Itinerary (p. 91) he distinctly mentions Hampton-court, in Herefordshire, and its founder, with the date and cause of its being built. "This place was sumptuously erected by one Sir (Rowland) Lenthal knight, that thus rose by service. He was yeoman of the robes to K. Henry IV. and being a gallant fellowe, either a daughter or a neere kinswoman of the kinges fell in love with him, and in continuance, was wedded unto him." He adds, "This Lenthal was victorious at the battaile of Agincourte, and tooke many prisoners there, by which pay he began the newe building of Hampton Courte." Margaret, daughter of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who was allied in blood to the king, was the wife of Sir Rowland Lenthal. Suspended round the neck of the portrait in question, is a jewel or piece of gold marked with a lion rampant, which was never adopted as a cognizance by the house of Lancaster; but was the bearing of Fitz-Alan. May it not then rather represent the Earl of Arundel, and have been copied in large, from a miniature illumination at a later period. It is observable, that a similar turban or coif, partly hanging on one side, appears likewise to have been worn by one of the nobility, attendant on Richard II. See the MS. already adverted to.]

VI. of France with exactly the same extraordinary head dress, as was worn by this king.

Vertue met with a fine illuminated MS. 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 expense 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 sixpence 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

* [The west window in the same Cathedral, and the east window at Gloucester, are not inferior in point of dimensions, number of compartments, or workmanship; and are likewise of the same era. In the next century, similar examples abound.]

† *Drake's York, p.* 527.

‡ [This portrait of Chaucer could not have afforded any specimen of painting in the reign of Henry IV. for it was copied

within these few years on his tomb at Westminster; and another, says Vertue on his print of that poet, is preserved in an illuminated MS. of Thomas Occleve, painted by Occleve himself. 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 Kensington, 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

from some known miniature of him, when Nicholas Bingham erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, in 1550, as the inscription proves, at which time it was painted against the wall. No trace is now visible. A miniature of Chaucer, on horseback, as he represents himself journeying with the pilgrims to Canterbury, is preserved in a MS. of his poems, belonging to the Marquis of Stafford, which has been engraved in *Todd's Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, 8vo. 1810. Other MSS. have his portrait, but usually of half length only.]

* 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.

[A most curious illumination of the Coronation of Henry V. is preserved among the MSS. in Bene't College library at Cambridge. See *Archaeolog. vol. ii. p.* 194, *and vol. iii. p.* 189. It is a frontispiece to a French translation of the *Legenda Aurea.*]

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 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

* It is now at Strawberry-hill.

† 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.

shall be excused inserting the description of it in this place.

It is painted on several boards joined, 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 Glocester. 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 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

* 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.

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

* 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.

[It has passed from Mr. Edwards, bookseller, to the Duke of Marlborough, and from him to Earl Spencer, 1823.]

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 Gloucester, 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 Divinity-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

* I have since the first edition of this work, authenticated two portraits of that prince; v. hereafter, p. 63.

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

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

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 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

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

S Freeman sculp.t

MARRIAGE OF HENRY VI.TH

in a widow's dress, opposite 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 ministration of an inferior prelate. Behind the queen of 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

* 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.

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† [As late as the 16th century a portrait of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester was perfect in a window of Greenwich Old Church, which was engraved for the *Catalogue of the Bodleian Library*, letter K.]

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 salv 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 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

* 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.

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. 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 yeer 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 v*d.* 08*l.*—6*s.*—00*d.*

Item, for the peynting of two paveys for my lord, the one with a gryfon stondying in my lordis colours rede, white and russet, 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 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 mere 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. 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

* *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, p. 408.

their lineage were long extant in the church at Warwick. Her great templys* 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 russet velvet which she bestowed on St. Winifrede. But having thus disposed of her wardrobe for the use of the saints, she seems to have had very different thoughts about herself, 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

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

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*, coppersmyth, *John Bourde* of Corffe castle, marbler, *Bartholomew Lambspring* a Dutch goldsmith; 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 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 steyner 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 purpure, 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.* sterling; the image 40*l.* the gilding of the image and its appurtenances, 13*l.* The glass-painter was to have 2*s.* for every foot of glass, and so for the whole 91*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* The

scripture-piece on the wall was to cost 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the painting of the four images 12*l.* The whole expenec of the ehapel and monument, whieh were not eompleated under one and twenty years, amounted to 248*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*

The wealth and splendour of that family was so great, that Henry Beauchamp, son of Richard and Isabel, was at the age of nineteen created premier Earl of England, and three days after he was made Duke of Warwiek, with preeedence next to the Duke of Norfolk and before the Duke of Buckingham—an act of power so destruetive of all the vanity of nobility and blood, that the duke of Buekingham could not digest it: It occasioned such animosity, that the king was obliged to qualify his grant, by establishing between the eontending parties a rotation of seniority, each to take place alternately for a year, the survivor to precede for his life the heir of the other, and so in perpetuum. A senseless jumble, soon liquidated 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 ean 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 seulptor at the same æra; 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 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,

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

† 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 χρυσογραφια. There are two others in Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca.

§ See *Warwickshire,* p. 110.

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 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.*

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

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 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.

* Chauncy, 445.

† [Mr. Pennant discovered at Canon's Ashby, the seat of the Marquis of Northampton, two portraits painted in oil, upon pannel, of the age of Henry VI. They represent the great warrior, Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury and his countess. The Earl is in his tabard of arms. A duplicate, which had been placed near his tomb, in Old St. Paul's Cathedral, was brought after the fire of London, to the College of Arms, where it is still preserved.]

REMARKS.

Mr. Walpole, who wrote an account of Noble Authors, and who lived himself to be one of them, possessed a felicitous style. He always thought with animation, and expressed himself with perspicuity. His was a well-stored mind, under the guidance of Taste. The History of Painting in England, a subject, in its first æra, necessarily barren in itself, he has rendered interesting to common inquirers, by the novelty of his remarks, and valuable to the lovers of the antiquities of their own country, by authentic memorials of the arts, as they then existed.

These pursuits, which before his time, had been mostly confined to the obscure and plodding investigator, having been thus adopted by a man of rank and consideration, enjoyed the protection of fashion; and a curiosity having been excited, collections were formed, and inquiries discussed which have much encreased the fund of information.

Should we judge only, by the present state of knowledge and general acquirement, which every man of taste and literature now possesses, we should be little aware of the confined and partial acquaintance, which our immediate predecessors had with such subjects, before the appearance of these volumes in their first edition.

We certainly owe to Mr. Walpole, a direction of the mind to pursuits of high gratification, to be experienced by those who value the arts, as well in their origin, as their perfection, and who love to ascertain, and to contemplate the efforts of skill, ingenuity and fancy, which were displayed in the habits of our forefathers. Rude magnificence, in their external shows, did not engage all their attention. Their richly painted oratories and cabinets, their tapestries, and their embossed and illuminated manuscript books, shared their delight and expenditure, in no inferior degree. Among the first efforts of design and painting, were limnings* or illuminations, introduced as embel-

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* [Du Cange ascertains the origin and meaning of the word limning, or as he terms it "Illumination" —" illuminare, coloribus adumbrare —" illuminator, Enlumineur, *Gallice*, Aurarius Pictor as occurring in Ordericus Vitalis, L. 3, p. 480.

Spelman in his Glossary. "Illuminare," *Anglice* to limne—and he quotes Higden de Osmundo Episc. Sarisburiensi "ut ipsemet Episc. libros scribere, ligare, et *illuminare* non fastidiret." "Miniare" quasi minio describere, miuiator "relieveur in vermilion." The custom of writing the great initial letters, in MSS. with red lead, or vermilion, was the most ancient variation, for the sake of ornament, and that which eventually introduced the exquisitely finished miniatures, inclosed within the space once occupied by the letter. In many MSS. common-place books, or collections made by the more ingenious monks, we find secrets aud recipés of the various modes and processes, by which colours and the laying on of solid gold were effected.

lishments of the more splendidly written missals and chronicles, which when finished in the greatest degree of excellence, of which they were capable, were extremely rare, and of vast expense, the pride of the possessor in life, and the subject of testamentary bequest.

The devastation committed by the early reformers upon these exquisite specimens of art, exceeded the destruction and mutilation of stained windows, or the obliterating of fresco paintings from the walls. Humphrey Duke of St. Albans, and Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, presented many of the very rich MSS. to the newly founded library at Oxford, the annihilation of which (a copy of Valerius Flaccus only excepted) is so deeply deplored by A' Wood.

The whole life of an individual artist was not unfrequently spent in completing a single MS.; so great was the number and so exquisite the finishing of the subjects. Others, and the more common, have a limning, as a frontispiece, representing the artist offering his book to his patron, a king or nobleman; and with the initial letters and bordures wrought in gold, intermixed with the brightest colours.*

To some readers, perhaps, a concise view of the MSS. of this description, still extant in England; and particularly those

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* A more curious instance of minute representation than that of the MS. Froissart, above quoted, does not remain to our time. We have the chamber and bed in which Anne wife of Richard II. died. Rich specimens of dossers, or clothes of estate placed behind the king at the high table; arras, insides of royal tents, trappings of horses, which reach the ground, composed of silk boudekin, and gold: views of the interior of churches, and large trees with scrolls and mottoes placed across their stems, single letters, &c.

The prurient imagination of these ingenious scribes incited them to introduce frequently ridiculous combinations, intended to convey satire upon certain orders of ecclesiastics. These devices were usually inserted into the arabesque bordures of each page. One has a cock tilting on the back of a fox—a hare riding on a greyhound—a monkey carrying a fox upon his shoulders—preaching to geese;—and in a Cardinal's cloak, holding a mitre. Cocks fighting, &c. not unfrequent allusion to the intercourse between monks and nuns.

which are accessible to the curious, in the British Museum. may give satisfaction. The subjoined account commences with the reign of Edward III. and is continued with the contents of this chapter, to the end of that of Henry VI. 1327-1460.

I. "La Bible Historiaux."—A large folio covered with velvet, King's MSS. 19 D 2. This richly ornamented book was taken after the battle of Poytiers by William Montacute, Earl of Shrewsbury, and given by him to his lady Elizabeth. It was began in 1350. "Ce commence La Bible Historiaux, ou les histoires escolastres. C'est le proheme de celuy, qui mist cest livre de Latin en François."—The buildings and figures represented, are all of them in the style of the 14th century.

II. The Histories of Froissart, now in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. No. 4380, large folio, written about 1490. Montfaucon in his Monarchie Françoise, has engraven similar illuminations from two copies of equal curiosity, in the Royal Library, Paris, No. 8320; and the other in that of Mons. Colbert. This MS. remains in a state of great perfection.

III. The history of the deposition of K. Richard II. MSS. Harl. No. 1319, containing sixteen illuminations, exquisitely finished, and superior to the Froissart. "Ce livre de la privée du Roy Richard d'Angleterre est à Mons. Charles d'Amon, Conte du Maine et de Mortaing, et gouverneur de Languedoc," with his autograph. It bears sufficient internal evidence of its authenticity, is the production of an eye-witness, and the MSS. probably finished under his own immediate inspection.

IV. Legenda Aureá. Folio of the largest size bound in green velvet, with silver clasps. It was translated into French by Jean de Vignay, at the request of Jane, wife of Philip de Valois, about 1330, and contains more than two hundred miniatures of the martyrdom of Saints. After the Revolution it was brought to England by Gilbert Heathcote, Esq. and is now in the collection of the Duke of Norfolk.

V. The Sherburne Missal, dated 1339, with very numerous and most delicate miniatures, bordures, &c. It is a large folio, purchased at the sale of G. Mills, Esq. in 1800, by the late Duke of Northumberland, for 210l.

VI. The Lutterell Psalter, which belongs to H. Weld, Esq. of Lulworth Castle, Dorset. "Dominus Galfridus Loterell me fecit." It was once in the possession of Lord W. Howard, and was inherited by the Welds, from a daughter of Sir Nicholas Sherburne.

VII. The Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by Rous, the hermit of Guy's Cliff. It is a quarto, containing fifty-five drawings, in black and white, as if preparatory to illumination, and drawn with great skill. MSS. Cotton. The whole engraved by Strutt. Among the Norfolk MSS. in the Herald's College are the portraits of all the Earls of Warwick.

VIII. The Bedford Missal, executed for John Duke of Bedford and Anne of Bretagne his wife in 1430, whose portraits appear in it, with many other highly wrought paintings. It is eleven inches long by seven and a half wide and two and a half thick, with gold clasps. It was presented to K. Henry VI. by the Duchess, and was purchased out of the Arundel Collection by the late Duchess of Portland. At the sale of her collection, in 1786, Mr. Edwards of Pall-Mall gave 213*l.* for it. The late king offered 200 guineas. When Mr. Edwards's books were sold the present Duke of Marlborough advanced its price to 700*l.* and it is now added to the singular and superb library of Earl Spencer.*

This short catalogue might be extended, and we should hardly be excused for omitting a most splendid and elegant MS. on vellum, which was undoubtedly a present to K. Henry VI. during his retirement to the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury from the Feast of Christmas to St. George's day, (April 23,) 1433. It contains a set of Lidgate's (the monk of Bury) poems in honour of their patron St. Edmund, the king, embellished with 120 pictures of various sizes, and amongst them the portraits of the young monarch, and his guardian uncles. *MSS. Harl.* 2278, 4to. and *Warton's Hist. of Poetry,* v. 2, p. 365, 8vo.

But Lidgate appears to have been a translator only. The

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* A small 4to. describing this missal, with four fac-similes, cleverly etched in outline, was published in 1794, by the late Mr. Gough.

late John Towneley, Esq. possessed the original in Latin, written in the early part of the twelfth century with 32 illuminations, exhibiting the architecture, shipping, arms, armour, and various habits of that period. In the same Collection was a MS. entitled the miracles of St. Edmund, with 23 illuminated initials, differing from those in the British Museum. MSS. Cotton Tib. B. 2, and Tit. A. 8.

These references are offered merely for the gratification of the more curious reader, and not with a view to supply a deficiency in Mr. W.'s work. It is evident, that he mentions "limning" only incidentally, not as necessarily connected with his plan, and that he considers Painting, as simply applied to any wall or surface. The genuine and very early Saxon illuminations were therefore omitted, by him, upon that account; yet those who may be interested in an inquiry after them may consult *Warton Hist. Poet.* v. 1. *Dissert.* p. 129-130, 8vo. and inspect also those in MSS. Cotton Calig. 1.—Vespas : A. 8. and the Missal of Ethelred Bish. Winton. A. D. 970—all in the British Museum—and what information is given, cannot be considered as irrelevant to the history of painting in England before the use of oil, and pictures upon pannel or canvas were in fact known. The designs and portraits were then transferred and enlarged ; but miniature limnings were their true prototype.

Another mode of painting, which had risen to considerable perfection, as early as the reign of K. Edward III. deserves a particular notice ; especially as the most remarkable specimen of it had not been discovered when Mr. W. published this work. The subjoined notes concerning these portraits extracted from the memoir by Sir H. Englefield, accompany several copies of fine engravings of the paintings on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, discovered in 1800, and published by the Society of Antiquaries. *Imperial folio.* It is a source of no small regret that the originals were destroyed.

Upon the north side of the high altar are seven arcades, each having a figure in the armour, peculiar to the fourteenth century, who is represented as kneeling.* These are the por-

* The following patent seems to ascertain the chief artist employed

traits of K. Edward III. with his five sons, accompanied by their tutelar Saint George. Under each of these his name has been inscribed, in French, of which those of the king and the saint only were legible. There can be no doubt but that they were intended for the Royal family; and it is much to be regretted, that the faces of the four younger princes should have been obliterated, while every other part remains in nearly a perfect state. The emblazoned coat armour is resplendent in colours and gold. Of the King's portrait, the face may be called handsome; and with great probability as true a likeness, as the art of that day could effect. He was then forty-four years old. His son the Prince of Wales was twenty-five or six, and is represented as a beardless young man, with a decided resemblance to his father. A helmet ensigned with a coronet, distinguishes him. None of the figures exceed eighteen inches in height, Pl. XVI.

Pl. XVII. On the other side of the altar, under the great East window, are delineated the Queen Philippa and the Princesses kneeling, which are higher by two inches than the figures on the other side. These figures are habited in rich kirtled surcoats, but are stiff and meagre, as those of the king and his sons; and the heavy plaited tresses which load their heads, are nearly as adverse to grace, as the mailed gorgets of the men. These two compartments have been very beautifully copied in colours as a fac-simile, for the Antiquarian Society, by the late R. Smirke, and are exhibited in their library.

There is besides a series of scriptural subjects: 1. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. 2. History of Job. 3. History of Tobit and three Angels. Mr. Smirke in his annexed account observes that, "the great beauty and variety of design, both in the tunics of the angels, and the mantles they hold; and the extreme richness and elegance of the embroidery, with which the drapery of all the figures are bordured, and otherwise decorated, shews that the art of embroidery had attained to a very high perfection, at that early period. Splendour of

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in this elaborate work. "Hugoni de Scto Albano MAGISTRO PICTORUM pro Capellâ Sti Steph. Westmonast. Rymer. v. 5. p. 670.

dress in the higher orders, and particularly in all the functions of religion, was a characteristic of the times, and numerous artists were employed in embroidery. Some of these were of so great eminence; and (though rather of a later date than this we now treat of) had attained such excellence in finishing not only arabesques and flowers, but historical subjects worked with the needle in silk and gold, as to be recorded in history with the painters of their time; and Lanzi speaks distinctly of individual artists who not only possessed unusual dexterity but knowledge of design.

Inventions are commonly considered as instantaneous efforts or productions of genius. This is not a correct view of the subject, for art is absolutely progressive, and perfection is obtained by experiment, and long practice. Whether the invention of painting in oil be more accurately traced to Cimabue or ab Eyk, is not the whole of the question; for it was gradually effected by those early painters, who well knowing the deficiency of the vehicle employed, bent their mind to improve it, by repeated trials, and application of the materials; and the eventual success, was the greater skill, or the better fortune of the individual artist, who has been styled the sole inventor.*

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* Like the inventions of Engraving or Printing, there is little probability that the precise date will ever be ascertained, because perhaps it has never existed. Colours used in painting, appear to have been, at first, prepared with water or with size, but it must have been soon discovered to be liable to obliteration or destruction, it is therefore easy to imagine, that other expedients would be sought for, and vegetable mucilage and gums and oil of various sorts have been adopted. That the *vehicle* to paint upon pannel has been oil, or oil mixed with certain kinds of varnish, even when the colour itself was compounded with size, is also probable; and thus by degrees the use of oil may have gradually insinuated itself into the process, and rendered precision as to the time of its first introduction, as hopeless, as it is, at this day, to ascertain when cotton was first introduced into the manufacture of paper, or when linen supplied its place, in common with inventions of a similar kind.

D.

CHAPTER 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

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

["Edmund of Langley did bear also for an impress a falcon in a fetter-lock, implying, that he was shut up from all hopes and possibility of the kingdom, when his brother John (of Gaunt) began to aspire thereto. Whereupon he asked (on a time) his sons, when he saw them viewing this device, set up in a window: "what was the Latin for a fetterlock, whereat when the young gentlemen studied, the father said, "Well, if you cannot tell me, I will tell you. *Hic hæc hoc taceatis,*" as advising them to be silent and quiet; and wherewithal said, "Yet God knoweth, what may come hereafter." This his great-grandson Edward IV. reported, when he commanded that his younger son Richard Duke of York should use this device, with the *fetterlock opened,* as Roger Wall, a herald of that time reporteth."

Camden's Remains, p. 215. *Sandford,* p. 357.]

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. 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:‡

* [Portrait-painting, which was the true likeness of an individual represented, and of the size of life, cannot be said to have been practised, in England, before this reign. There are preserved at Kensington (which being a royal collection has superior pretensions to originality) several of these heads, which have, certainly, a few contemporaneous copies. Edward IV.—others at Q. College Cambridge, and at Hatfield, exactly like.—Richard III. with three rings, one of which he is placing on his finger,—others at Hatfield.]

† 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

A lock of it (if we may believe tradition) is still extant in the collection of the Countess of Cardigan, and is marvelously beautiful, seeming to be poudered 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

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 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 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.

* [Portraits of Edward IV. and V. Richard III. and Henry VII. are painted in distemper, in the Royal chapel at Windsor. King Edward IV. with his Queen, and her two sons and five daughters, are still to be seen in stained glass at Canterbury; and in a less perfect state, in the church of Little Malvern Priory, Worcestershire. These were not imaginary, but from drawings or patterns made from the life, and attempting an actual resemblance of form and feature. At Donnington, the ancient seat of the Earls of Huntingdon, are portraits, on pannel, of Edward IV. and George Duke of Clarence.]

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.

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 beforesaid, a new sepulchre well-gilt, and cover thereto, an image of God Almighty rysing out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance that longeth thereto ; that is to say,

* [The original is in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk, from which there are several very early copies belonging to the other noble branches of the House of Howard.]

† [This extract is authentic, and an exception to the self-detecting falsifications of the ill-fated Chatterton, in his pretended discoveries in the Muniment-room of Redcliff Church, Bristol.]

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 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 heven 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

* 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 ball or mound. *Four chevelers:* chevelures 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.

the very service for 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 its 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, chicanc, 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 in the life of that painter—but of this person, whoever he was, are probably some ancient limnings† in a cabinet at Kensington,

* Raphael was born in 1483.

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

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W. H. Worthington

MABUSE

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 contemporary countrymen, stiffness in his manner, and 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

* [Pilkington says, without stating his authority, that he died in 1562, aged 63.]

† 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 patria 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.

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

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* [Mr. Bryan's (*Dict. of Painters*, 4to. 1816) has given sufficient evidence of the inaccuracy of Le Compt and Deschamps, in stating that the death of Mabuse took place in 1562. If Vertue's conjecture of his having been only fifty-two years old, when he died, be allowed, he could not have painted Henry the Seventh's children before 1502; according to those authors. The time of his appearance in England is no longer uncertain, for it must have preceded that particular date.]

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 servility 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 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

* P. 234.

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

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 farmyard for every animal of a congenial constitution?

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

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

† [Mr. Bryan has observed "that to appreciate the extraordinary merit of John de Mabuse, it is necessary to have seen his genuine pictures, instead of the wretched remains of gothicity, which are frequently ascribed to him. His colouring is fresh and clear, his design as correct as that of Albert Durer, and much in the style of that master, and his pictures are of a finish so precious and polished, that they are not surpassed by the surprising productions of Mieris and Gerard Douw. One of his most admired works was a picture of the descent from the cross, painted for a church at Middleburgh, which was considered one of the most surprising productions of the age. His most capital and distinguished performance was a picture painted for the altar-piece of the Abbey of Grammont; it represents the Wise Men's Offering, a composition of several figures admirably grouped, with a fine expression of the heads; and the draperies and ornamental accessories, coloured and finished in the most beautiful manner. It appears by the registers of the abbey, that this picture occupied the painter for seven years (*occasionally?*) and that he was paid two thou-

were preserved in the same city in the time of Carl Vernander. 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 houshold to be dressed in white damask. Mabuse, always wanting money to waste in debauchery, when the tailor came to take his measure, desired to have the damask, under pretence of inventing

sand golden pistoles for his labour. When Albert and Isabella were governors of the Netherlands, they purchased it of the monks, and placed it in the private chapel of their palace. After the death of Prince Charles of Lorraine it was sold with the rest of his pictures, and afterwards brought to this country. It is now in the possession of the Earl of Carlisle."

One of the most excellent of these was purchased in the Low Countries, by Dudley Earl of Leicester, " deinde admirandum illud maximumque Diluvii opus pingebat quod postmodum comes Leycestriæ in Angliam accepit. *Sandrart*, p. 278.]

* Mint-master of Zeland.

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 Margaret, when children, now in the china-closet at Windsor, was done by him.* A neat little copy of, or rather his original

* [These paintings are extremely interesting, as being the first attempt in portrait, with any effort or success in art, which had appeared in England, at the end of the fifteenth century. One of the four must have been original; and there is a circumstance, which may be added to the greater excellence of *that* at Wilton, that it bears a date, 1495. The children are represented as being dressed in black, playing with

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, formerly

fruit, which is spread upon a green cloth, covering the table. Though in the early dry manner, the infantine faces are well drawn, and the carnations bright. There is much good colouring, particularly in the head of Prince Henry, which having a half reflected light, presented a considerable difficulty to the artist. Each of these pictures is on pannel, with a small difference in point of size. The *Wilton*, is one foot three inches and a half, by one foot one inch—the *Methuen* twenty inches by fourteen. It is one of G. Vertue's historical engravings. The best portrait of Henry VII. on pannel, perhaps by Mabuse, is at Strawberry Hill.]

* 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 Malvagius, 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.

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 200l. 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 500l. for it.‡ It is painted 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

* It is now at the Grange, in Hampshire, the seat of the Lord Chancellor Henley, [at whose sale it produced 10*l.* 10*s*!]

† See catalogue of his collection, p. 48. No. 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.

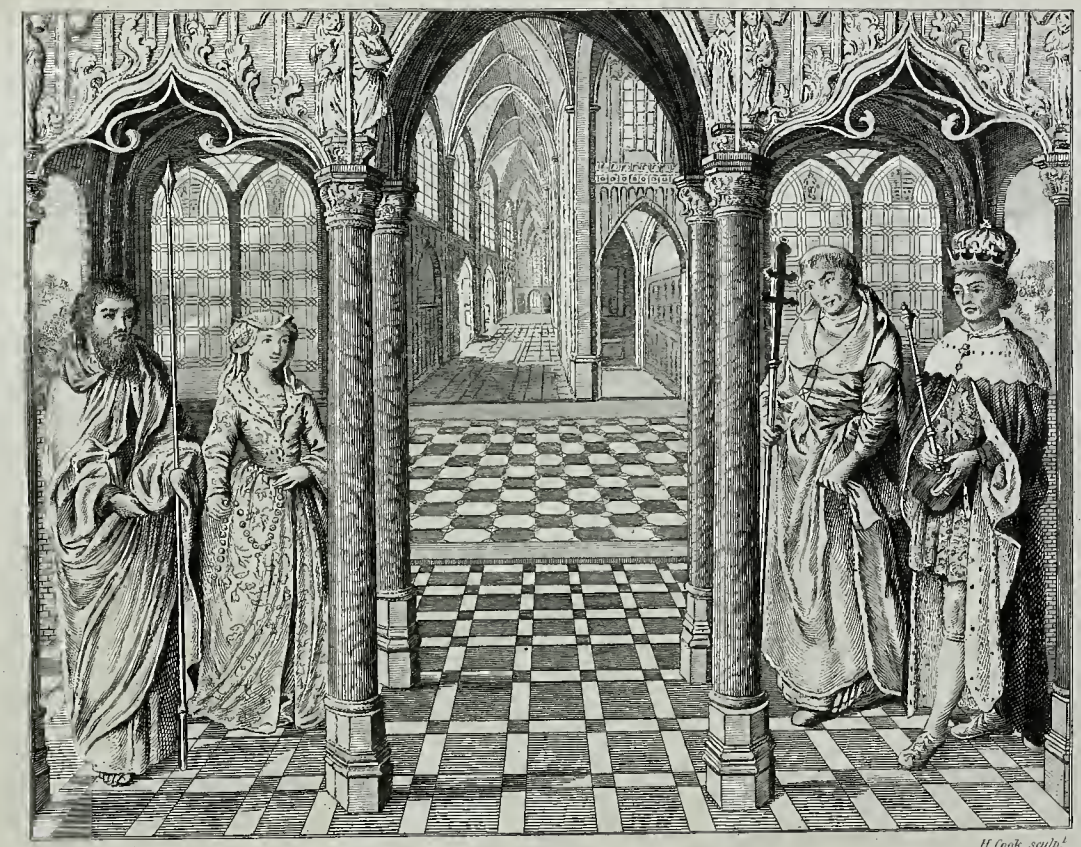
§ I gave eighty-four pounds.

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 trist, lean, ungracious figure, with a downcast 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 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.

* 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.

‡ 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.



Mabuse pinx.t *H. Cook sculp.t*

MARRIAGE OF HENRY THE VII.th

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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 Mostart assisted the latter in his works at Middleburgh.

In the library of St. John's College* Cambridge is an original of their foundress Margaret of

* [Of Prince Arthur there are several portraits extant, which claim originality, and those taken of him when a youtb. One was at Mr. Sheldon's, at Weston, Warwickshire. But the most likely to have afforded a true resemblance, is in stained glass, now carefully preserved in the Church of Great Malvern, Worcestershire. Both he and his friend, the celebrated Sir Reginald Bray, are represented in their tabards of coat armour, kneeling at an altar. These have been published in coloured etchings by Carter. At Strawberry-Hill are Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon, brought from Colonel Middleton's in Denbighshire, and at Lee Court, Kent, Margaret Queen of Scotland. At Kensington is a tripartite picture, probably intended for an altar-piece at the Royal Chapel at Stirling, on pannel, painted certainly after the departure of Mabuse from England. 1. Margaret, Queen of James IV. King of Scots and her husband. 2. The same with his brother Alexander Stuart, praying before Saint Andrew. 3. The Queen kneeling before St. George, who is habited in the plate armour of the time. At Knowlsley, the Earl of Derby has a head of Margaret Countess of Richmond, wife of the first Earl, a circumstance which favours its originality.]

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

* [It was sold for 32*l.* 10*s.* at Mr. West's sale in 1773.]

† [If the drawings which are seen in a MSS. *Brit. Museum Cotton*, (*Julius E* 4.) of which there are no less than fifty-five excellently done in trick, and uncoloured, in the Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, were the genuine work of the author John Rous, the Hermit of Guy's Cliff, near Warwick, Mr. W. has disparaged his talents. Among the Norfolk MSS. Herald's College, is a long roll about nine inches wide, in which are delineated the whole series of the Earls of Warwick, with their arms emblazoned, down to R. Beauchamp. It must be confessed that though a curious, it is an inferior performance. A similar roll was in the possession of the late Earl of Sandwich, from which the etching in the Historic Doubts. At Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, Sir R. Bedingfield's, are portraits upon pannel of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, King Edward IV. and Henry VII. when young, apparently ancient or original. These several proofs are adduced, that portraits in oil taken from the life, had a date in this kingdom, some years earlier, than has been generally allowed. A portrait of Henry the Seventh, soon after his accession to the throne, (now in the possession of Mr. Gwennap, London) is

Warwickshire, who drew his own portrait and other semblances, but in too rude a manner to be called paintings.

attributed, from its excellence, to Mabuse. It has a distinguishing peculiarity: on the button of the hat is represented, and of course very minutely, a memorable circumstance of Welsh history, the Chief, Rice ap Thomas, prostrating himself on the ground, and the Earl of Richmond, on his landing, as passing over his body, in consequence of a vow. Of the same monarch and his queen there are two large portraits in stained glass, now in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. They were intended as a present by the magistrates of Dort, in Holland, and probably the work of Adrien de Vrije, an eminent Dutch artist.]

REMARKS.

The interest we take in the examination of the very early portraits, or family pieces, which are of a date subsequent to their introduction into Missals or other beautified MSS. must greatly depend upon the evidence of their originality, presented to us. Of this evidence the most certain is, that the painting in question has been preserved through descents of the same family, from the time of the individual represented; the merit of the performance itself; whether that be sufficient to justify its claim, as the work of any particular artist; and lastly, whether it be confirmed by any mark or date which may be fairly considered as authentic? Any of these circumstances are fortified by a constant tradition, which must not, in certain instances, be admitted without them. Mabuse was a painter of transcendant merit; but there are circumstances which induce us to believe that his stay in England was limited to one year, and that, 1495. His immediate successors employed themselves in engraving, or in etching at least, and usually affixed their monogram. Had this practice prevailed more generally with them, in their pictures likewise, we should, in many instances, be relieved by positive proof from mere con-

jecture, however well supported. Our next assistance may be derived from dates, where there is an internal evidence that they were originally placed upon pictures before any repainting or varnishing had been applied to them, a circumstance which must ever awaken suspicion. When the name of these very early masters is hazarded, and a confirmation is pretended by a date affixed, we should first of all enquire, whether the painter was in England at the precise time stated? or whether the man or woman pourtrayed were then not born, or were children, or dead. The known costume must likewise coincide with the date. These chronological tests are safe and decisive. Some of these early specimens have been held in a kind of veneration by their possessors, so that other families connected with them, have procured copies in ancient times, to which age, and nearly equal merit, has given a contemporaneous appearance. This renders decision, as to the original, too uncertain to be always conceded. Of the first royal portraits from Henry IV. to Henry VII. repeated probably by the master, or under his immediate inspection, out of four or five of each of them, still extant, who shall say which is the genuine picture, for which the monarch sate? But the grand essential is what is the "faculty of the few," a certain *tact* in discovering the work of any individual master, which in the language of painters is called a knowledge of hands.

CHAPTER 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 gallant, 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 of romantic politeness. In one* which he held on the birth of his first child, he styled himself *Cœur Loyal.*† In his interview

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

† [This singularly curious roll of vellum was contributed to the library of the College of Arms, by Henry Duke of Norfolk. It is in length seventy feet, eighteen inches broad, and contains 170 figures and seventy-three horses in procession, with he lists, combat, and triumphal return. Some readers will

with Francis I. in the Vale of Cloth of Gold, he revived the pageantry of the days of Amadis. He

approve of the following extract, which offers a nearer view of the forms and circumstances, by which these gorgeous ceremonies were conducted.—" At the beginning of the roll, is the Royal cognizance, the red rose impaled with the pomegranate of Arragon—on a scroll, " Vive le noble roy Henry viij." Then follows the procession, with names in French superscribed, " Le maystre des armurez du Roy" with men carrying the tilting spears, capped with horn or cornel—Les trompettes —Les Gorgyas de la cour, who are eight of the young nobility upon horses superbly caparisoned.—Les Officiers d'armes, five heralds and pursuivants with Wriothesley Garter, represented as a very old man introducing the four knights with their beauvoirs close, riding under superb pavilions of estate, with the letter *K.* profusely scattered about them, and their " Noms de guerre" or chivalrous names superscribed. " Joyeulx Penser"—" Bon vouloir"—" Valiant Desire"—and " Noble Cœur Loyal." who was the King in person. They are followed by Les selles des armes, horses richly caparisoned for the tilt. Les pages du Roy, mounted on nine horses bearing the cognizances of York, Lancaster or Beaufort, France, Grenada, and Arragon, with those of France and England. La selle d'honneur, covered entirely with ermine. Le grand escuyer et le maystre des pages. The barriers and scaffold are next represented. The point of time is the victory of Noble Cœur Loyal (*the king*) over one of the Venans or Comers, whose spear he had just broken. In the centre of the gallery sits Queen Katherine, under a tester of estate, accompanied by the ladies of her court, and on either side, in separate compartments, several of her nobility. Les Venans, are nine knights in closed helmets ; and upon the horse trappings of one of them are three escallops, which denote him to be Lord Scales or Dacre of the North.

The scene is now changed — and after the trumpets is L'yssue du champ, or the triumphal return ; in which sixteen

and his favourite Charles Brandon, were the prototypes of those illustrious heroes, with which Mademoiselle Scuderi has enriched the world of chivalry. The favourite'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,
> Though thou be matched with cloth of frize ;
> Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
> Though thou be matched with cloth of gold.*

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of the young nobility, gorgeously apparelled, lead the procession. L'heaulme du Roy, ensigned with the crown imperial, is next borne. The Queen is drawn as sitting in state, attended as before, but on a smaller scaffold : then follows the King in a magnificent robe, holding part of a broken spear, in token of his victory : over him is written Le Roy desarmé. The whole is then closed by a crowd of attendants.

* [In the royal collection at Windsor, were formerly four large historical paintings of very great interest and curiosity.

I. The Embarcation of Henry VIII. at Dover, May 31, 1520, previously to his interview with Francis I. In this picture is an exact representation of the celebrated ship called the "Harry Grace Dieu," a most curious specimen of early naval architecture in England. It has the peculiarity of four masts, *Archæologia, V. 6, pp.* 179-220.

II. Le Champ de Drap D'or.—The interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I. between Guisnes and Ardres, near Calais, on the seventh of June, in 1520. It contains every circumstance of the interview, in progression, from the commencement to the conclusion of the interview. A great uncertainty has hitherto prevailed concerning the artist of this elaborate work. That it is of sufficient excellence to be attributed to one of the Flemish or Italian painters, who were at that

Francis the first was the standard which these princely champions copied. While he contended with Charles V. for empire, he rivalled our Henry

time employed by the King, and were resident in England, no reasonable doubt will be maintained. An anecdote of this picture is worthy notice. After the death of Charles I. the Parliament appointed commissioners to dispose of his collection, and an agent from France was in treaty for this particular picture. Philip Earl of Pembroke resolved to prevent the conclusion of the bargain, and found a secret opportunity to cut out the head of King Henry from the canvas, and to conceal it in his pocket book. The agent, after such a mutilation, declined the purchase; and it was reserved in that condition until the restoration. The succeeding Earl of Pembroke delivered the dissevered part to King Charles II. at the first levee he attended; and it was carefully reinserted into its place. By looking at the picture, in a side light, the restoration is readily discerned. Each of these pictures is five feet six inches in height, and eleven feet three inches wide. Described in *Archæologia, V.* 3, *pp.* 185-229, *by Sir Joseph Ayloffe.*

III. The Battle of the Spurs, which was fought at Guinegaste in France, in 1513, and was so called from the French having made more use of their spurs than their swords.

IV. K. Henry VIII. with Q. Katherine Par, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, W. Somers the jester at one door, and a female dwarf at the other. The King sits on his throne, with one hand laid on the shoulder of the Prince. The scene is an open colonnade, looking through to a garden, and it is evident that the painter must have drawn his lines from one of Henry's palaces.

The abovementioned, by the favour of his late Majesty (in 1815) now decorate the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset-house, at whose expense the Champ de Drap D'or has been engraved.

At Apuldurcombe in the Isle of Wight, is a small picture on pannel, much in the manner (if not an original) of Mabuse, of

in pomp and protection of the arts. Francis handled the pencil himself. I do not find that Henry pushed 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 gallantry 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,

Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mary his wife, Queen Dowager of Louis XII. King of France.

Another is in the possession of Sir S. Egerton Brydges, Bart. in which is introduced the Duke's fool, as whispering these monitory verses in his ear. The introduction of privileged jesters who called themselves, and were called Fools, into family pictures, is not unfrequent in this, and the subsequent reigns. In the picture to which Mr. W. alludes, at Strawberry-hill, the motto is on a label.]

* [It has been allowed by all who have written concerning the age, or the character of Henry VIII. that in the early part of his reign he discovered a considerable intention to patronise the arts. Mabuse had long before quitted England, and Henry was induced (and the desire of rivalling Francis I. in all that should promote splendour, was a paramount motive) to offer liberally both to Raffaelle and Primaticcio, if they would visit England, and embellish his palaces. Wolsey's influence at Rome would seem to have forwarded these views; it is yet certain that the offer was rejected. There are, however, satisfactory proofs, that some of their eminent scholars enjoyed the patronage of that monarch. Mr. W. has mentioned them only cursorily. The records of grants issued to them from the

and they acquired such solid foundation here, that they were scarce eradicated by that second

Treasury confound their real designation and names. *Anthony Toto* was known among his countrymen as "Toto del Nunciato." *Lanzi* speaks of him as one of the best Italian artists who came to England, "che gl' Inglesi computano fra miglior Italiani, in quel secolo, nella lor isola."—There is no certain document to fix his arrival to a period earlier than 1531; and he remained in England twenty years. In the accounts of Sir T. Carwarden, Master of the Revels in 1551, is this entry, "To Antony Toto, Serjeant painter, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* towards his pains and charges in the setting forward the painter's work." *Archaeolog. v.* 18, *p.* 324.

Jerome di Trevisi. Lanzi calls him Girolamo da Trevigi, who studied in the School of Raffaelle. He was born in 1503, and died in 1544, as above mentioned—*Vasari and Bryan's Dict. of Painters.* As he remained in the greatest favour at Court for thirteen years, from 1531, it is more than probable that the Champ de Drap D'or, and the Embarcation, were among those works which so long a residence in England gave him an opportunity to execute. He made cartoons for tapestry, so many suits of which adorned the Royal palaces. According to Lanzi, he had a pension of 400 crowns from Henry VIII. for his services, as painter, architect and engineer.

The Greek painters intermixed gilding with their colours, which practice was sometimes adopted by the early Italian and Flemish painters. It had sometimes the appearance of gold dust, as in the family picture of Henry VIII. now at Somerset House.

Bartholomew Penne, an anglicised name, certainly intended for "Luca Penni." Of this able artist mention is made in almost all the memoirs of painters. Vasari says that his brother Gian Francesco, gained such credit for industry among the contemporaries of Raffaelle, that he was styled "*Il Fattore.*;" and that Luca was associated in several considerable works with Perino del Vaga. He arrived here about 1537, having pre-

storm which broke upon them during the civil war,—an aera we antiquaries lament with no less devotion than the former.

viously accompanied Rosso, or as he is more frequently called Maitre Roux, to the Court of Francis the First. This fact is stated in the grant, and according to Lanzi "passato *per ultimo* in Inghilterra, dipinse pel Re, e piu anche disegno per le stampe." He is said not only to have designed for engravers, but to have engraved himself. There is no certain date of his death, or of his leaving this country. He had travelled much and was retained by Francis I. for some years, to decorate his palace at Fontainbleau. Painters of the Flemish or Dutch schools, the disciples of Albert Durer and Mabuse, the followers of John ab Eyk, sought likewise encouragement under the auspices of Henry VIII. *Johannes Corvus* and *Gerberius Fleccius*, are ascertained only by their names attached, each of them, to a single portrait, the first, as above remarked, and the other of Archbishop Cranmer, in the British Museum.

Lucas Cornelij or *Cornelisz.* Bryan allows him considerable praise. He was born as early as 1493, and we have no certain account of his death. According to Sandrart, he came to England soon after 1509, and was employed there till he died. Although it would be difficult to authenticate his works, it can not be supposed that he remained in England so long, without having executed many that were excellent. He taught Holbein to paint miniatures in water colours.

Gerard Luke Horneband, called in Flanders "Guerard Horrebout," who enjoyed a great reputation as a painter of small altar pictures, before he left that country. He was greatly patronised both by the king and the nobility, and was probably connected with Cornelij, as he is said to have been born at Ghent in 1498. Deschamps observes "that the patronage extended by Henry VIII. to Horrebout and Holbein, characterises the taste of that monarch.

Before the most unfortunate conflagration of Cowdray-house, Sussex, in 1793, there were several portraits of great curiosity, which were destroyed by that calamity. They were

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 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. Vertue 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.‡

painted by some of those artists who had preceded Holbein. 1. Sir William Fitzwilliam, K. G. the Founder, represented as walking by the sea-side, holding a staff with a head of gold emblazed with his arms in fifteen quarterings. 2. The same, together with Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, with whom he was sent Ambassador to France, in 1536, to treat with Francis I. 3. Sir Anthony Browne, with a cap and feather, and a gillyflower fastened in the band; a medal of St. George depending from the neck. Of the celebrated fresco-paintings, likewise destroyed, a farther mention will be made.]

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

† 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

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 begins in his twenty-first year, and contains part of that and the two next years compleat. 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.

the college, but this is probably the original; is flat, and a poor performance.

* It was in the collection of Mrs. Bridgman, of Hanover-square.

† In the library of the Royal Society.

* An°. 30 Hen. VIII. 1543. Pro pictore regis de indigenatione.

Felibien mentions this painter, and his coming to England;† speaking of Ridolphi, fils de Dominique Ghirlandaio, he says, "Chez luy il y avait Toto del Nuntiato, qui depuis s'en alla en Angleterre, ou il fit plusieurs ouvrages de peinture et d'architecture, avec lequel Perrin fit amitié, et à l'envie l'un de l'autre s'efforcoit 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 Bartholomew, but Luca Penni; he was brother of Gio. Francesco Penni, a favourite 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 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

* *Foedera*, vol. xiv. p. 595.

† 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,  that is, Luca Penni Romano.

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 likelyhood they were on the several occasions, before the arrival of that great master in England.

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

* 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 galley on the Cydnus.

† This bad judgment was made even by Mr. Evelyn in his Discourse on Medals.

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

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 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 its 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.

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* 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.

† [Extracts in a more regular and copious series from *MSS. Harl.* No. 1419, in two volumes, folio, intitled, "A Survey of the Wardrobe," dated Sept. 8, 1547, will be added to Mr. W.'s Supplement at the end of this volume.]

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 russet 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."*

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* 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, No. HR 22; on the other, No. HR 25. In the catalogue of King Henry's pictures in the Augmentation-office, No. 25, is Frederic Duke of Saxony; No. 26, is Philip Archduke of Austria; in all probability these very pictures. They have a 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

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 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

LUCAS CORNELII,‡

who was both son and scholar of Cornelius

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.*

‡ See *Sandrart*, p. 239.

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 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

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

† P. 377.

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, 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

HANS HOLBEIN.

Born 1498. Died 1554.†

Few excellent artists have had more justice done to their merit than Holbein. His country

* [Mr. W.'s observation on the incompetency of the artists who were invited into England, before Holbein, must be rather taken in a comparative sense, because the fame they had gained, before their arrival, in the schools of art where they had studied, and the value of their works, in their own country, after death, absolutely excludes the idea of their positive inferiority.]

† [The addition of the date to the name of each painter, omitted by Mr. W., is made with a view to the verification of portraits, and to detect discordant periods when marked upon them.]

Scipse. pinx^t *F. Englehart sculp^t*

HANS HOLBEIN

LONDON,
Published by John Major, 50, Fleet Street,
Feby 15th 1826

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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 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 England. 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 contemporaries. His being one of the first to attack superstitions which he had not courage to relinquish, gave him 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 beautiful enough to be transmitted to posterity. His cupboard of plate, all presented to him

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

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, in his portraits is admirable for his truth and precision, both, with respect to colour and drawing; but the principle of colouring and chiaro-scuro, as applicable to the conduct of the whole picture, so well understood by the great masters of the Venetian School, was not known in Switzerland and Germany, during his time. This deficiency gives an air of dryness to his portraits, and their want of roundness and breadth of colour and effect, makes us, at first view, disposed to undervalue the merit, which he always displays in the delicacy of his pencil, and the truth of his local tints. On this master, Fuseli has observed, (*Lecture on Painting* II. p. 93.) "that the scrupulous precision, the high finish and his *Titianesque* colour, make the least part of his excellence, for those who have seen his designs of the Passion, and that series of emblematic groups, known as Holbein's Dance of Death." "As for Holbein, his execution surpassed even that of Raffaelle and I have seen a portrait of his painting, with which one of Titian's could not come in competition." *Du Fresnoy, Abbé Dubos.*]

† See an account of him in *Palmer's History of Printing*, p. 218.

Holbein, rudely enough, wrote under the figure of an old student, the name of Erasmus. The 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,

* In the Moriae Encomium, published at Basil by M. Patin, 1656, 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 sors 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.

[Dates and other circumstances, by no means, correspond with the identity of either the Earl of Arundel or Surrey. William Earl of Arundel died, an old man, in 1524, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, became Duke of Norfolk, in the same year, and for several years before, had been engaged in military transactions, in Ireland and Scotland. Sandrart mentions only of Holbein, "cum inter confabulandum, mentionem forte injecisset, *Comitis Angli*, qui se olim Basiliæ, ut Angliam petiret, fuisse exhortatus."—A name has been attributed to this *English Count* by other biographers.]

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 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

* [Erasmus wrote to Peter Ægidius to introduce Holbein, when at Antwerp on his way to England. "Qui has reddit, est qui me pinxit, ejus commendatione te non gravabo, quanquam est insignis artifex. Si cupiat visere, Quintinum (Matsys) ejus poteris commonstrare domum. Hic (*Basle*) artes frigent, petit Angliam, ut corrodat, aliquot *Angellotos*," alluding to an English gold coin, then called "Angels," current in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII.]

More, with a present of his own picture by Holbein, which he assured the Chancellor was more like than one drawn by Albert Durer.* Holbein stopped for a short time at Antwerp, having other

* At Lord Folkston's at Longford in Wiltsbire, 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.

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† [This identical portrait, which is exquisitely finished of a small size, belongs to the Hon. H. Howard of Greystoke castle, Cumberland, where it is now preserved. It was bequeathed by Alathea, Countess of Arundel, to her grandson, Charles Howard, the immediate ancestor of the late Duke of Norfolk.]

letters for P. Aegidius, a common friend of Erasmus and More. In those letters the former tells Aegidius, that Holbein was very desirous of seeing the works of Quintin Matsis, the celebrated blacksmith 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 contemporary 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 acuteness 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

* [This sentence is a memorable instance of Mr. W.'s extreme taste for antithesis.]

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—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

* [Mr. Dawson Turner of Yarmouth, Norfolk, has a portrait attributed to Holbein, of this queen, from which an engraving has been lately taken for Mr. Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages. It differs, considerably from the beautiful miniature of her at Strawberry-hill.]

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 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 Wyat 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

* Lovelace, in his collection of poems called Lucasta, 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.

she herself sent the king word, "That she had but one head; if she had two, one of them should be at his majesty's service.*

Holbein was next dispatched by Cromwell to draw the lady Anne of Cleve, and by practising 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 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

* 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 its 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 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.

[Now in the possession of his great nephew T. Brydges Barret, Esq.]

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 so ever 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 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

* [*Vita Johannis Holbenii Gerardi Listrij*, 8vo. 1676. *Sandrart Acad. Picturæ Nobilis*, fol. 1683. *Holbein, L. 7, p.* 238. *Oeuvres de Iean Holbein, ou Recueil de Gravures d'après ses plus beaux ouvrages, par Chretien Michel, Basle*, 4to. 1780. In which, among several exquisite engravings, is a portrait of Holbein, in advanced life, without a beard.]

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 cemetery of that dissolved priory, and consequently close to his patron's house.

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

* 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.

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 complete catalogue of his works; they were extremely numerous; and as I have said, that number is increased by copies, by doubtful 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

* [It is evident that Holbein did not confine himself to work exclusively with his left hand, but that he used either hand at pleasure. Both Leonardo da Vinci and himself were ambi-dextrous.]

† [Engraved in Michel's work; which contains likewise Le Triomphe des richesses et de la pauvreté, hereafter noticed.]

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 St. Matthew.

Ibidem, The same in an oval; smaller.

Ibidem, The portrait of Amerbach.

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 beautiful 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 Burgomaster of Basil and his wife, 1516, with the sketches for both pictures. In the museum of Fesehius.

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.

Another portrait of Erasmus, bought at Basil by the same Le Blond for an hundred ducats. This was engraved in Holland by Visehe r. It is mentioned in the catalogue of the duke's pictures, p. 17, No. 6. To this was joined the portrait of

* 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 Mons. 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 solicited, had sold to J. Lossert 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.

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.

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. Martyn Werdmyller, senator of Basil.

* But the Erasmus is thought a copy: the true one King Charles gave to Mons. 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.

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 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;

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

The Dance of Death in the churchyard 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*

* [Mr. Ottley (*Hist. of Engraving*, v. ii. p. 760-764) considers Holbein as the original designer, but that the pictures were

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 mention 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

not engraven on wood by him. His reasoning is very ingenious. At Munich Mr. Dibdin saw a series of these figures, which are (he says) indisputably the oldest of their kind extant, as old probably as the middle of the fifteenth century. The figure of death is always entwined by a serpent, and when before a Pope is represented as playing upon bag-pipes." (*Bibliograph. Tour*, v. iii, p. 278. The fact appears to be, that Holbein was not the inventor of the original idea, but that he very greatly improved it. The earliest Edition of the Dance of Death, known, was published at Lyons in 1538. Warton, in his *Essay on Spenser*, (v. ii. pp. 115-121) gives an admirable critique on this subject, which must be injured by an attempted abridgement. The book from which Hollar copied these designs was published at Basle, in 1554, intitled "Icones mortis." Spenser alludes to some of these representations, which in his age were fashionable and familiar:

"All musicke sleepes, where Death doth lead the daunce."

See likewise, *Warton's Hist. Poet.* v. ii. p. 364 n. 8vo.]

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 Razet; 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.

* [This subject was originally painted in fresco on the walls of the cloisters of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, about 1440. *Stowe's Survey of London*, p. 264. *Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, and Lidgate's Daunce of Maccabre.*]

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

‡ [These pictures are still in the collection of the King of France at the Louvre. *St. Germain, Guide des Amateurs*, 1818.]

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 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 Essex, now at Mr. Southwell's, and engraved among the illustrious heads.†

* 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 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 Mr. 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*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

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.

[The portrait of the Earl of Essex is now at King's Weston

3. Anne of Cleve.
4. Holbein's own portrait.
5. Erasmus writing; a smaller picture.
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 Gysein.†

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, parti-

near Bristol, and a repetition at Sir T. Clifford's, Tixal, Staffordshire.]

* 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 four portraits abovementioned, upon the sale of the Orleans Gallery, were brought with it into England, and first exhibited in 1793, previously to the general sale, in 1798.]

‡ [In the Florence Gallery, were small portraits of H. Earl of Surrey, and Richard Southwell, both purloined during its occupation by the French, in 1800.

The Editor, not without diffidence, offers an extended catalogue of the works of Holbein, now remaining in England. This list (he wishes it to be understood) does not pretend to indubitable verification of the portraits, noticed, as authentic. Such he has selected, in addition to others mentioned by Mr. W.; but he has passed over, without offering any criticism, a

cularly of his miniatures were, I believe, consumed when Whitehall was burned. There perished the

few which have certainly long enjoyed the credit of having been painted by Holbein, without contributing to his fame in the least degree. He would be unwilling to give the slightest offence to their possessors, by exciting doubts or obtruding opinions, even if such judgment could confer or detract, a certain value. It must be recollected too, that many curious collections are accessible only by personal favour.

No doubt is entertained, that Holbein painted the portraits of the royal or more eminent personages, more than once. These pictures may be fairly estimated as repetitions. That in certain instances copies have been made by his assistants or his successors, is equally true.

Portraits by Holbein now in England.

In the Royal Palaces.

WINDSOR.

1. Sir Thomas More.
2. Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk.
3. Henry, Earl of Surrey, w. l.
4. Holstoff, a merchant.

KENSINGTON.

Holbein's Father, and his Mother, by J. H. sen. or his son Sigismond.

Himself and wife, (sm.) *water-colours.*

Henry VIII. a head, white fur in the shoulders.

Katherine of Arragon, with a Dwarf.

Sir Henry Guldeford.

William Somers, the King's Jester, looking through a lattice.

Erasmus, valued at Charles the First's sale at 200*l.*

Frobenius, his printer, (the Architecture added by Steinwyck.) Others at Hatfield, before 1527, at Althorp and Strawberry-hill.

Erasmus, at Althorp; and at Strawberry-hill, (round) at Longford Castle, formerly Dr. Mead's, sold for 110*l.*

Ægidius, or Peter Giles the Lawyer of Antwerp, his friend. In the same collection.

large picture of Henry VII.* and of Elizabeth of York, of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour; it was

HAMPTON COURT.

Erasmus.

John Reiskimer,

Several portraits by Holbein are said to have been preserved in the Royal Palaces of Somerset or Denmark house, taken down in 1775. Whitehall was burned in 1698, and St. James's in 1809, and the pictures have been either destroyed, or replaced in others of the king's residences.

Erasmus, (sm.) Greystoke Castle, Cumberland. THE ORIGINAL.

Thomas, Third Duke of Norfolk, (sm.) H. Howard, Esq. Corby Castle.

The same,
- (h. l.) Norfolk House.
- (h. l.) Castle Howard, with a View of two Castles.
- (h. l.) Thorndon.
- (h. l.) Gorhambury.

Henry VIII. (w. l.) bought at Lord Torrington's sale in 1778, for 112*l.* sitting, holding a walking staff, at Knowle.

Francis I. at Lord Harrington's 1780, brought from Spain.

Henry VII. and Henry VIII. sketch in black chalk, size of life, Chatsworth.

Henry VIII. (sm.) was in the Duke of Buckingham's collection.

The same,
- (w. l.) at Petworth.
- (w. l.) at Belvoir Castle.
- (head) Apuldercombe.
- from Lee Court, Kent, Sir T. Baring.
- and Q. Catherine with the divorce, in her hand, (sm.) Dalkeith.

Q. Anne Boleyne, half length, with a velvet bonnet and single feather, many jewels, ANNA REGINA, IH. 1533.

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* 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 king's grandame (as she was called) Margaret, Countess of Richmond.

painted on the wall in the privy chamber. The copy which Remèe* made of it for Charles II. in

Q. A. Boleyne, Warwick Castle.
Q. Jane Seymour, (1336.) Woburn.
Q. Katherine Par, Dawson Turner, Esq.
Margaret, Q. of Scotland, Newbattle Abbey.
K. Edward Sixth (w. l.) Petworth.
The same, when a child, with a rattle, Apuldercombe.
Ditto, small whole length, Houghton.
W. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambeth. At Ditchley.
Martin Luther, Stowe.
J. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, St. John's Coll. Camb.; Didlington, Norfolk.
Sir John Gage, K. G. Belvidere, Kent.
Judge Montagu, Liscombe, Bucks.
Lord Paget, (a repetition,) Beaudesert.
Sir Nicholas Carew, Lumley Castle.
Sir W. Petre, Thorndon. At Lumley Castle.
H. Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, Longleat.
John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Penshurst.
Sir J. Brydges, 1st. Lord Chandos, Avington.
Sir A. Denny and his Lady, Northumberland House.
The same, when Lord Denny, Longford Castle.
Sir H. Guldeford and his Lady, Northumberland House.
Sir J. More, (Judge) Longleat.
Sir Edward Grimstone, (1548, æt. 20.) Gorhambury.
Sir Thomas Smyth, Secretary of State.
Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, at Longleat, Stowe, and Castle Ashby.
Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, at Longleat, and at Stowe.
Gregory Lord Cromwell, Tixhall, Purnham, Dorset.
Sir T. Chaloner, (æt. 28, 1548.)
Henry Chesman, (1533) Falconer to Henry VIII.
This portrait, or a repetition of it, is noticed by Sir J. Reynolds

* Remèe was a scholar of Vandyke and died in 1678, aged 68. [This was Remegius or Remée Van Lemput.]

small, and for which he received 150*l.* hangs in the king's bedchamber below stairs at Kensington;

(Works, v. ii. p. 346,) at the Hague, as being "admirable for its truth and precision, and extremely well coloured. The blue flat ground, which is behind the head, gives a general effect of dryness to the picture: had the ground been varied, and made to harmonise more with the figure, this portrait might have stood in competition with the works of the best portrait-painters. On it is written, Henry Chesman, 1533."

Moret, the king's Jeweller, and enchaser, who wrought from Holbein's designs, cups, daggers, &c. Northumberland-house.

Sir Thomas Pope, Founder of Trin. Coll. Oxon, Wimpole, brought from Tittenhanger, Herts. At Wroxton.

Holbein, his wife, four boys and a girl, (sm.) Mereworth Castle, Kent.

"As a whole it has no effect; but the heads are excellent. They are not painted in the common flat style of Holbein, but with a round firm glowing pencil, and yet exact imitation of nature is preserved—the boys are very innocent beautiful characters."—*Gilpin.*

May not this be a repetition of the family picture mentioned by Mr. W. in a note p. 147, as having been in Holbein's house on London Bridge, and destroyed in the great fire? Or may it not be the same picture, rescued?

Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, Knowlsley.

Sir T. Wyat.—E. of Romney, The Moat, Kent.

John Lord Berners, Didlington, Norfolk, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He holds a lemon in one hand to prevent infection; alluding probably to his having escaped the plague, when sitting as a Judge in court.

Henry VIII. Didlington, Norfolk.

John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, 1545, Penshurst.

The Princess, afterwards Q. Elizabeth, when young, in red, holding a book, formerly at Whitehall, now at Kensington.

Sir Brian Tuke. Corsham.

Sir John Gage, 1541.

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

W. Par, Marquis of Northampton, Kensington.

Anne Boleyne,; sold at Sir L. Dundas's sale for 78*l.* 15*s.*

W. Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, Wilton.

Dr. Butts, Henry VIII.'s Physician, and his Wife, at Anthony, Cornwall.

W. Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, destroyed at Cowdray.

In the Collection of G. Villiers, Duke of Bucks, were four portraits, none exceeding two feet square.

1. K. Henry VIII. 2. Mary Queen of France. 3. Erasmus. 4. T. 3d. Duke of Norfolk. Attributed to Holbein, in B. Fairfax's Catalogue.

Miniatures by Holbein.†

Himself, (round) Strawberry-hill.

Katherine of Arragon, ditto.

Q. Katherine Par, ditto.

Q. Anne of Cleves, Lee Priory, Kent.

Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Frances (Grey) Duchess of Suffolk, two children of Charles Duke of Suffolk, (*limning*) Kensington.

Himself, (small round) Althorp.

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* *See Peacham on limning.*

† [Several of Holbein's miniatures were preserved in carved boxes of ivory and ebony, in Charles the First's Cabinet; and some of the smaller portraits perished in the fire, at Whitehall, in 1698.]

him—I would not warrant many of them. There is one at Trinity college Cambridge,* another at Lord Torrington'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 Zucchero considered our artist, when he told Goltzius that in some respects he preferred him to Raphael. Both Zucchero 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

Henry VIII. (size of life) sitting at a table, with his daughter the Princess Mary, and W. Somers bringing in a lap-dog, has been attributed to Holbein from its resemblance to the family picture at Somerset-House. Althorp.]

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

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 surprising 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 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

* 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.

[The ORIGINAL is now at Norfolk-house.]

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* un-

* [In the British Museum is a MS. of great curiosity, *Harl.* No. 6000, in which an account of these limnings is given, which greatly elucidates the subject. It is evidently written in the reign of Charles I. and from strong internal evidence, compiled from the notes of Hilliard. Concerning this work of Holbein, Sanderson, or rather Flatman, who composed the extraordinary book which was published in his name, has taken great liberties with the original notice. P. 15 of the genuine MS. affords the following information. "I shall not need to insist upon the particulars of this manner of working (*crayons*), it shall suffice, if you please, to take a view of a booke of pictures by the life, by the incomparable Hans Holbein, servant to King Henry VIII. They are the pictures of most of the English Lords and Ladies then living, and were the patterns whereby that excellent painter made his pictures in oyl; and they are all done in this last manner of crayons. I speak of and knowe of many of them to be miserably spoyled by the injury of tyme, and *the ignorance of some who had formerly the keepinge of the booke,* yet you will find in these ruinous remaines, an admirable hand, and a rare manner of working in few lines, and no labour in expressing of the life and likenesses, many times equal to his own, and excelling other men's oyl-pictures. The booke hath beene long a wanderer; but is now happily fallen into the hands of my Noble Lord the Earl Marshal (T. Earl of Arundel) of England, a most eminent patron to all painters who understood the arte; and who therefore preserved this book with his life, till both were lost together."

Sir Edward Walker, in his life of Lord Arundel, observes (p. 222) that "his paintings were numerous, and of the most excellent masters, having more of that exquisite master Hans Holbein, than are in the world besides."

known. They did belong to Charles I.* who

In a MS. bequeathed by Dr. Rawlinson to the Bodleian Library, (No. 336) intitled "Miniature or the Arte of Limning, by Edw. Norgate," after treating of crayons, he says, "a better way was used by Holbein, by pinning a large paper with a carnation or complexion of flesh colour, whereby he made pictures by the life, of many great lords and ladies of his time, with black and red chalke, with other flesh colours, made up hard and dry, like small pencil sticks. Of this kind, was an excellent booke, while it remained in the hands of the most noble Earl of Arundel and Surrey. But I heare it has been a great traveller, and wherever now, he hath got his errata, or (which is as good) hath met with an index expurgatorius, and is made worse with mending."

The Editor has reason to believe that they were purchased for the Crown, at the sale of Henry Duke of Norfolk, in 1686, *London Gazette of that year.*

By the order of Q. Caroline, they were framed and glazed. His late Majesty released them, and they were placed in portfolios. He gave permission to J. Chamberlaine, Esq. to have them engraven, as nearly as possible, fac-similes. His predecessor, Mr. Dalton, originated the idea, but the public were so little satisfied with an inferior work, that it was abandoned, after the publication of ten plates only, in 1774.

Between the years 1792, and 1800, were published fourteen numbers, (price 36 guineas imperial folio), which contain eighty-two portraits, of which twelve are unknown. Of these, all excepting eight were engraved by F. Bartolozzi, and the biographical notices were written by Edmund Lodge, Esq. then Lancaster Herald. They are intitled, "*Imitations of original drawings by Hans Holbein, in the Collection of His Majesty, for the Portraits of Illustrious Persons of the Court of Henry VIII.* with biographical Tracts. Published by John Chamberlaine, Keeper of the King's Drawings and Medals." This book is indeed a splendid addition to many libraries, and the plan, so well executed, was first suggested by Mr. W.]

* After Holbein's death they had been sold into France,

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 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

from whence they were brought and presented to king Charles by Mons. 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 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, Mons. de Lieneourt.

† Some have been rubbed, and others traced over with a pen on the outlines by some unskilful 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.

Fisher, Sir Thomas Wyat, and Broke lord 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.

* 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 graceful head of the Duchess of Suffolk.

† The father of Lord Treasurer Oxford passing over London bridge, was caught in a shower, and stepping 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 shew it to some persons. Immediately after happened the fire of London and the picture was destroyed.

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

* There is a burlesque figure of him in the armoury at the Tower.

[Of those extraordinary characters denominated Fools or privileged Jesters, which were not merely tolerated at Court, and in the houses of the higher nobility, most interesting information is given by Mr. Douce, in a *Dissertation on the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare,* v. ii. p. 299. The very frequent introduction of them, and likewise of Dwarfs of either sex, into groups of family pictures, affords ample evidence of the estimation in which they were held by their masters, even to so low an era as that of Charles I. and Vandyck.

William Somers appears in more instances than others. He is introduced in an illumination of Henry VIII.'s Psalter, now in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 2 A. vi. where is the king himself as David playing on the harp, and likewise in the large picture of himself and family, abovementioned, as now being in the Antiquaries room at Somerset Place. At Kensington, he is standing behind a glazed lattice. The two last are by Holbein. There is a portrait of him at Billingbear, Berks, perhaps a repetition.

The Burford Picture was bought in at Christie's a few years since for 1000*l.* with a view to ascertain its value. As Mr. W. has omitted the names of the persons of whose portraits this celebrated picture is composed, they are now added.

1. Elizabeth Damsey, his daughter, æt. 21. 2. Margaret Gigey, a relative, æt. 22. 3. Cæcilia Heron, his daughter, æt. 20.

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. Wolsey, 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, Wolsey's fool; Harry Patenson, Sir Thomas's More's; and of Bisquet and Amaril, the Jesters of Francis I. not to mention Hitard,* King Edmund's buffoon; Stone,† and Jeffery Hudson, the dwarf of Henrietta Maria. Of some of these personages I have found the following anecdotes: Saxton is the first person re-

4. Alicia More, second wife of Sir Thomas, æt. 57. 5. Sir John More, the Judge, his father, æt. 76. 6. Anne Grisacre, betrothed to John More, his son, æt. 15. 7. John More, last mentioned, at 19. 8. Sir Thomas More, æt. 50. 9. Henry Patenson, his Fool, æt. 40. 10. Margaret Roper his heroic daughter, æt. 22. who died in 1544. æt. 36. An outline of this picture is prefixed to the *Tabellæ Selectæ Catharinæ Patinæ, Fol.* 1691, which Vertue has copied for *Knight's Life of Erasmus.* Aubrey, who saw this picture (now at Burford) in the hall of Sir J. Lenthal, at Besilsleigh, Berks, says that it had an inscription in golden letters, of about sixty lines, 1670.]

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

† A fool mentioned in *Selden's Table-Talk.*

corded 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 Wolsey's fool, 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 retouched, 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 Easterlings 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 riding in a golden car; 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 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.

the car 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 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 Zucchero, but the copies which Vosterman had made, in order to engrave. These drawings I suppose were

sold in the Duchess's auction.* For the large pictures themselves 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 Steel-yard 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, Guilda Aula Teutonicorum. Edward I. confirmed their

* 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 graceful, 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 Crœsus has great resemblance to the younger portraits of Henry VIII. By the masterly execution of these drawings, I should conclude them Zucchero'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, Zucchero's. They are now at Strawberry-hill.

† *Survey of London*, p. 249.

charter; and in the same reign there was a great quarrel between the Mayor of London and those merchants of the Hanse, about the reparation of Bishop-gate, which was imposed on them in consideration of their privileges, and which they suffered to run to ruin. Being condemned to the repairs, they were in recompense 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, though an original picture, most likely not of Sir Thomas and his family. That Holbein was to draw such a piece is indubitable; 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 his supposed author, is not always an argument sufficient to destroy its 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 its own pretensions. Holbein died in 1554. The picture at Burford is dated 1593. It is larger and there are more figures than in its rival, the piece in Yorkshire, and some of these Vertue thought were painted from the life. This was kept at Gubbins in Hertfordshire, the seat of the Mores; but by what means 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 relicks 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 Vertue 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 contemporary, it sounds extraordinary, that a picture, which he thought genuine, should be doubted now; and yet Vertue gives such strong reasons, supported by so plausible an hypothesis, to account for its 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 characterizes his works. And this is the more probable as Vertue observed that the faces and hands are left flat and unfinished, but the ornaments, 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 Poussin 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 1500l. When I saw it there in 1741, they had sunk it to 400l. 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 is beautiful 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

* There is recorded a bon mot of Sir Thomas on the birth of his son : he had three daughters : his wife was impatient 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."

by Bischop 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.

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 Hollar.† As also Mons. Moret, jeweller to Henry VIII.

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

The Duke of Buckingham had eight of his hand,

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

† 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.

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 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 Somerset's 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, ex-

* This is a mistake. It was painted by Antonio More, and is now at Strawberry-hill, and is the portrait of John Lord Sheffield.

quisitely 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.

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. Ditto, 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 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.†

*[François Clouet, *dit Janet,* was painter to the French Court during the reigns of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. He greatly excelled in miniature and small portraits in oil, very much in the style and execution of Holbein. At Kensington are the portraits of Francis II. and Mary Queen of Scots by him. The latter in a white dress; and in the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford, in mourning, as Queen Dowager, which was brought from France, by an ancestor of the Sheldon family. His most admired portraits were those of Francis the First and Second at Fontainbleau, and a collection of them made by the celebrated President De Thou.]

† 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 a French composition. The

The circumstances of three 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 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.

person in the middle is a black swarthy man with a sharp beard, like Francis I. and resembling neither of the Dukes of Norfolk and 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.

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 designs for weapons, hilts, ornaments, scabbards, sheaths, sword-belts, buttons and hooks, girdles, hatbands and clasps for shoes, knives, forks, salt-sellers and vases, all for the king. Hollar engraved several of them. The Duchess of Portland† and Lady Elizabeth Germayn,† 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,

* 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.

† The dagger, in Her Grace's collection, is set with jacynths, 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. Germayn's is set with above 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.

[For the dagger Mr. W. gave fifty guineas.]

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 Historiarum 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 fruitfulness 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, printed by Walter Lynn 1538, quarto, the title is a wooden cut re-

* In St. John's college Cambridge is Henry the VIII.'s Bible printed on vellum, with Holbein's cuts finely illuminated, and the figures of Henry, Cromwell, and others.

presenting 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, entituled 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 graphice; 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 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 Nonsuch were many of his productions.

It may be wondered that I have said nothing

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

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 its 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 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

* [In the third volume of the Archaeologia, is given a minute account of these most curious paintings upon the walls of a large apartment in Cowdray House, Sussex, all of which perished in the fire, Sept. 27, 1793. The originals are lost to the Antiquarian world. A few of them have been accurately engraved, at the expense of the Antiquary Society; and Mr. Gough's complete description will supply a competent idea of the rest.]

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 Ardres 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, 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 cotemporary with Holbein, and whose works are often confounded with our painter's.*

Holbein's fame was so thoroughly established†

* 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.*

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 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 Ausberg; 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;

* It was in the possession of Mr. Holmes, keeper of the records in the Tower, and was exhibited to the Antiquarian Society, in 1736.

Holbein gave a picture of the Prince's grace.

Lucas a screen to set before the fire.

Richard Atsyll, a brooch 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.* 0d.

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, certifyed by the Lord privy seal's letters, to Hans Holbein, paynter, in the advancement of his whole year's wages before

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

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

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 economy 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 pre-

* Sandrart by mistake says only 200 florins.

† [Subsequently to these grants, it appears from an entry in the accounts of Sir T. Carwarden, Master of the Masques and Revels, in 1551, "Item, for a peynted booke of Mr. Hanse Holbye, (H. Holbein) making, 6*l.*" It probably contained his designs for the scenes.]

‡ Page 499.

§ [Pietro Torrigiano, or as he was called in England, Peter Torisa, or Torrysani. Vasari says, that he was born at Florence about the year 1470, and was an eminent sculptor, when he contracted to make King Henry VIIth's tomb, as appears by the original deed of contract, in the archives of Westminster Abbey, dated in 1516. It was finished in 1519, after which he

ceding year appears by a book of acts, orders, decrees and records of the Court of Requests printed in 1592, 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 Torisano, 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,* was

left England for Spain. A cast from the head of Henry VII. is now preserved at Strawberry-hill.]

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

[Mr. Cumberland in his *Anecdotes of Spanish Painters,* 8vo. 1787, p. 10. relates this story at large. "Torrigiano had undertaken to carve a Madonna and child of the natural size,

thrown into the inquisition, tried and condemned —the execution indeed was respited, but he became

at the order of a Spanish Grandee : it was to be made after the model of one, which he had already executed, and a promise was given him of a reward proportioned to the merit of his work. His employer was (the Duke d'Arcas) one of the first Grandees of Spain ; and Torrigiano, who conceived highly of his generosity, and well knew what his own talents could perform, was determined to outdo his former work. He had passed a great part of his life in travelling from kingdom to kingdom in search of employment, and, flattering himself with the hope that he had now found a resting place after all his labours, the ingenious artist, with much pains and application, completed the work ; and presented to his employer a matchless piece of sculpture, the utmost effort of his art. The Grandee surveyed the striking performance, with great delight and reverence, applauded Torrigiano to the skies, and impatient to possess himself of the enchanting idol, forthwith sent to demand it. At the same time, to set off his generosity with a better display, he loaded two lacqueys with the money ; the bulk was promising, but when Torrigiano turned out the bags and found the specie nothing but a parcel of brass maravedi, amounting only to thirty ducats, vexation upon the sudden disappointment of his hopes, and just resentment for what he considered as an insult to his merit, so transported him, that snatching up his mallet in a rage, and not regarding the perfection (or what was to him of more fatal consequence) the sacred character of the image he had made, he broke it suddenly in pieces, and dismissed the lacqueys, with their load of farthings to tell the tale. They executed their talent too well. The Grandee, in his turn, fired with shame, vexation, and revenge, and assuming, or perhaps conceiving horror for the sacrilegious nature of the act ; presented himself before the Inquisition and impeached the artist at that terrible tribunal. It was in vain that Torrigiano urged the right of an author over his own creation. Reason pleaded at his side, but superstition

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

sate in judgment, the decree was death, with torture. The Holy Office lost its victim, for Torrigiano expired in prison, and not under the hands of the executioner."

Mr. Cumberland observes, "for my part, I lament both his offence and his punishment. The man who could be so frantic with passion, as in the person of M. Angelo, to deface one of the divinest works of heaven, might easily be tempted to destroy his own; and it has been generally observed that hearts so prone to anger, have, on occasion, been as susceptible of apprehension and fear. It is to be supposed, that Torregiano's case was not better, in the eyes of the Holy Office; for his having been resident in England, and employed by King Henry VIII. Whether they considered him as tinctured with the heresy of that royal apostate, does not appear. I am inclined to think that he more resembled Henry in temper, than in opinion: at least if we are to credit his assault on M. Angelo, and to try him on that action, since the days of Diomede, few mortals ever launched a more impious blow." p. 17.

Condivi relates this act of violence. See likewise *Duppa's Life of M. Angelo*, p. 159, 4to.]

* [*Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, scritta da lui stesso,*" 1730. Translated by *Dr. Nugent*, and republished with additional notes, 2 vol. 8vo. 1822, by *T. Roscoe.*]

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, Torreggiano 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 soldier rather than of a statuary, his admirable gestures, sonorous voice, and the action of his brow striking with amazement, ed ogni giorno ragionava delle sue bravure con quelle bestie di quelli Inglesi every day relating his brave treatment of those beasts the English. But as much struck as Cellini was with this lofty behaviour to us savages, he took an aversion to his new master, on the latter boasting of a blow in the face that he had given to the divine Michael Angelo with his fist, the marks of which he would carry to his grave. Others say that this event happened in the palace of the Cardinal de' Medici, Torreggiano being jealous of the superior honours paid to Michael Angelo, whose nose was flattened by the blow. The aggressor fled, and entered into the army, where he obtained a captain's commission, but being soon disgusted with that life, he retired to Florence, and from thence came to England.

To Torreggiano Vertue ascribes likewise the tomb of Margaret Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. and that of Dr. Young, master of the rolls, in the chapel at the rolls in Chancery-lane. There is a head of Henry VIII. in plaister 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 expense 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 Windsor for 700*l.*† Humphrey Cooke,‡ was

* At Strawberry-hill is a model in stone of the head of Henry VII. in the agony of death. It is in the great style of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and worthy of either, though undoubtedly by Torreggiano.

† 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

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,

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. lxv. says, "All that see King's College Chapel 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 VIth's share reacheth, and contriver or designer of the whole, afterwards finished by Henry VII. and beautified by Henry VIII."

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 VIth. (who had appointed him fellow in 1443) had such confidence, that he made him overseer and manager of all his intended buildings

a work, alone sufficient to 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 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

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.

church, and one tower at one of the corners of the said church, and for finishing and performing of the said tower with finyalls, rysaats, gablets, battlement, orbys and cross-quarters and every thing belonging to them. For every buttress to be paid 6*l.*—13*s.*—4d. 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 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 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 be-

* 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 psent writyng endented 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 reverend fader in God, Edward, by the grace of God, bysshopp of Karlyle, Mr. or Wardeyn of the house or college of St. Michael of Cambr: and the scolers of the same on the oon part, and maist: Henry Cossey, 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 Ffyshwyke hostle, belonginge to Gonville hall, &c. Written at Cambr: 17, Aug. 1476, 16, Edward IV."

speak 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 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 Mustyan, born at Enguien, is recorded as Henry's arras-maker; John de Mayne as his seal graver; and Richard Atsyll* 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

---

* Hillyard (the same person probably, of whom more hereafter) cut the images of Henry VIII. and his children on a sardonyx, 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 intaglio on the other.

† With a fee of twenty pounds a year.

> I saw maister Newton syt 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 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 expense 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.

* [Bishop Sherburne employed Theodore Bernardi, a Flemish painter who came to England, with his two sons, in 1519. They painted two pictures of very considerable dimensions upon oak pannel, describing two principal epochs, in the history of that church of Chichester; the foundation of the See of Selsey by Ceadwalla, and the establishment of four prebends by himself. There is sufficient reason for conjecture, that the chambers in Cowdray House were likewise painted by them. Theodore's descendants, Anthony and Lambert Bernardi, and another Lambert Bernardi, are registered in the parish of All Saints, Chichester." *Hist. of Western Sussex*, v. i. p. 181.]

The congenial temper of Wolsey* displayed itself in as magnificent a manner as the king's.

* [Lord Herbert adds a reflection—" Thus did the Tomb of the Cardinal partake the same fortune with his college (at Ipswich) as being assumed by the king, both which yet remain still imperfect."

Speed in his *History of Britain*, p. 1083, has copied a MS. of Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, entitled, " The manner of the Tombe to be made for the king's Grace, at Windsor." Of its extraordinary dimensions and magnificence, both of materials and art, the following extract may communicate some idea, " The inclosure, statues, &c. to be composed of copper gilt. Upon two separate altar or table tombs of touch stone, the figures Henry VIII. and his Queen Jane Seymour, recumbent, in their royal habits, " not as death but as sleeping;" on both sides, and of the size of a man and woman, with two angels at the head of each. Upon a high basement between them, upon which shall be the history of St. George embossed, shall stand the king on horseback, in full armour, " of the stature of a goodly man and a large horse," Over all, " the Image of God the Father, holding the king's soul in his left hand, and his right hand extended, in the act of benediction."—Thirteen Prophets and four Saints, all five feet high, and between each, pillars of serpentine marble. The amount of the carvings, 133 statues, and 44 " stories, or bas-reliefs." In Henry VIIIth's. Will this Tomb is specified, " an honorable tomb for our bones to rest in, which is well onward, and almoost made therefore, already." Dated, Dec. 30, 1546. The whole of this unfinished pile of statuary was sold by the Parliament commissioners, for 600*l.* and melted down. Among the Landsdowne *State Papers*, No. 116, is a certificate of the Lord Treasurer (Burghley) of the state of the Tombs of Henry VII. and VIII. with a view to their repair. It is dated in 1579, when Q. Elizabeth might have entertained some serious intention of paying that respect to her ancestors. No estimate of the expense is given, in this document, and it is more than probable, that her economy subdued her filial piety. It had been exerted in vain.]

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 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 gilder 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 Rovezzano, another Florentine sculptor, who, Vasari says, executed

* Page 342.

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 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;

* 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 its place, intending himself to be buried there; but afterwards changed his mind and built his chapel at Westminster. See Leland's comment on the Cygnea Cantio published with his Itinerary by Hearne, vol. 9.

it remains a ruin,* known by the name of the tomb-house.

* [In 1800, his late Majesty directed, that the whole structure should be repaired and glazed; and the decayed battlements and other ornaments completely restored, but nothing farther, as to its appropriation, was done at that time.]

REMARKS.

Holbein was the luminary of Painting in England, in the semi-barbarous court of Henry VIII. which shone with a powerful influence in efforts of ingenuity and splendour; and diffused a taste for the various works of art, and a perception of their comparative excellence, hitherto unknown.

The common, but somewhat injurious consequence of this supereminence is the throwing into shade, the merits of other artists, who approach them with a degree of successful competition which is not always duly allowed.

Henry VII. was of too penurious a character to patronise artists; and we find that Mabuse was so little satisfied with the encouragement he received from him, that he quitted England, after a residence of one year only.

When Henry VIII. succeeded; his love of gorgeous ornament and his rivalry of the Emperor Charles V. and of Francis I. incited him to a display of gothic magnificence, in which the wealth, amassed by his father, enabled him to surpass them. But the same motives induced a more elegant pursuit; and as those monarchs were liberal patrons of Painters who, at that period, professed likewise architecture, and all works of design, he followed their example by offers of great remuneration to some members of the Italian and Flemish schools. And though

Raffaelle, Primaticcio and Titian declined to accept his munificence, others, already celebrated in their own country, were willing to try their fortune, in this.

The faculty of an artist, at that time, was to complete a palace—to plan and design it, as an architect—to embellish it, as an inventor of carvings, and of patterns for tapestry and stained glass,—to enrich the larger apartments with fresco paintings on the walls and cielings, and the smaller with portraits and cabinet pictures. Such palaces had already risen, under the royal auspices, on the continent, by the efforts and directing genius of one man. Our Henry spared neither solicitation nor expense to effect a similar purpose.

Previously to the arrival of Holbein in England, Lucas Corneliiz, Luca Penni, a favourite scholar of Raffaelle, and probably sent by him to lessen the disappointment consequent upon his refusal of the king's invitation, as Lanzi asserts that he came to England to paint his portrait, (T. ii. p. 90); Antonio Toto del Nunciato, and another of Raffaelle's scholars, Girolamo da Trevigi, were settled and constantly employed, in the Court of Henry VIII.

Evidences fail us in ascertaining their several works, and appropriating them either separately or conjointly. We know, that the palaces of St. James's, York House, Richmond, Nonsuch and Hampton-court were, each of them, built or ornamented during the early part of the sixteenth century; and that retaining pensions were paid to all these artists, but we are not supported even by tradition, as to their individual performance.

The superior talents of Holbein commanded universal praise and acknowledgment; but eminent as his powers both of invention and execution must have been, he is familiarised to us, as a painter of portraits. As Mr. W. speaks only of Holbein's general excellence, and chiefly as a colourist; the opinions of other critics may not be irrelevant. De Piles, in his scale of painting, places him but one degree below Rubens and Vandyck. His immediate successors and those who followed them in the reign of Charles I. considered his portraits as

models of perfection; they were frequently employed in copying them; and were emulous, to acquire his style. Norgate (in the MS. treatise already quoted) observes, "the incomparable H. Holbein, who in all his different and various method of painting, either in oyle, distempre, lymning or crayon, was, it seems, so general an artist, as never to imitate any man, nor ever was worthily imitated by any."—Zucchero, after having examined his works, preserved in the English collections, indulged in extravagant encomium. It is said, that Mirevelt (who was never in England) adopted his colouring with admirable facility, and that several portraits by Holbein were sent over to him at Delft, to be copied with such singular success: "nam cum est arduum similitudinem effingere ex vero; tum longe difficilius est imitationis imitatio," (*Plin. Epist.* L. 4, 28.)

Holbein gratified his royal patron by furnishing designs to be embossed or chased in gold or silver, to the goldsmiths; particularly to Moret, whose portrait was one of the most admired in the Arundel collection. These were principally applied to standing cups, daggers and flasks for gunpowder, Sandrart says, (p. 241) that Inigo Jones showed him a small book full of the most beautiful conceits, drawn in Indian ink. (now 5308, *MSS. Harl.*) About this time, Benvenuto Cellini was retained by Francis I. and Benedetto da Rovezzano was resident in England, and associated with Holbein; who had opportunities of seeing their exquisite works, and of acquiring their art, with the usual happiness of his genius. As an architect, he properly belongs to the next chapter.

Respecting the cartoons, or, as these designs were then called, "*vidimus*," prepared by painters in water-colours to be transferred or copied upon glass, Mr. W. has remarked, an exact adaptation of one of Raffaelle's, in the windows of King's College, Cambridge. Designs of able masters, originally intended for tapestry, were easily applied to stained glass, more particularly when the windows were made to represent Scripture histories.

The celebrated twelve cartoons were designed and executed

by Raffaelle about the year 1517.* The building of King's College Chapel is said to have been completed, in 1515; and as the agreement cited in the text bears date in 1527; the cartoons had been long enough in Flanders to admit of copies having been obtained, according to Mr. W.'s conjecture. The exquisite series of the Story of Cupid and Psyche, painted by the same master, in the little Farnese palace at Rome, were copied "en grisaille" for the windows of the gallery of the castle of Ecouen. We had, at this time, the abovementioned artists resident in England, who are known to have had employment in similar designs, from the glaziers, who made similar contracts; and who were in constant intercourse with France, Holland, and the Netherlands, where the art of staining glass had nearly reached the zenith of its perfection.

Although the mausoleum of Henry VII. be in dimensions and magnificence, a work worthy of all the admiration then bestowed upon it, the art of sculpture and casting in metal, as applied to sepulchral monuments, had previously attained to a positive degree of excellence in this kingdom. If we refer to the effigies of his predecessors still extant, it will appear, that sculpture had made nearly an equal progress with architecture during the 14th and 15th centuries. Casting in metal succeeded to the art of plating with it upon wood. The faces were wrought from masques taken from the dead subject, and therefore the likeness was preserved entire, of which many curious and authentic specimens are given in *Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.*

They occur in the following series :—

1272.	Henry III. -	Copper-gilt	Westminster.
1290.	Elinor Q. of, -	Bronze or Latten,	Ditto.
1307.	Edward I. -	Copper-gilt, -	Ditto.
1327.	Edward II. -	Alabaster,	Gloucester.
1377.	Edward III. -	Copper-gilt	Westminster
1369.	Q. Philippa, -	Alabaster, -	Ditto.

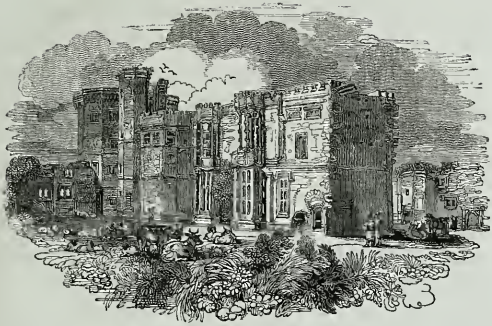
* Fuseli, (Lect. III. p. 138) "as they are now in the copies of the Tapestry annually exhibited in St. Peter's; in *thirteen* compositions."

1395. Richard II. Anne his Q. Latten, or mixed metal, Ditto.
1412. Henry IV. his Queen, Alabaster, Canterbury.
1422. Henry V. Oak plated with silver, and the head solid, Westminster.

Added to these are Aymer de Valence, 1246, of oak plated with copper, and John of Eltham, of alabaster, in Westminster; Edward the Black Prince in Canterbury, and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in his chapel at Warwick, both of copper gilt. The existing contracts are made with English artists, copper-smiths, chasers, or gilders. From Le Noir's collections relative to the statues of the Kings of France, it may be supposed, that the art of casting in metal was there unknown at the same period. Certain it is, that it was rarely practised: because so many monuments mentioned, are of marble, black or white, and of alabaster, almost without exception.

In this æra of the history of Painting in England, it is obvious to contemplate the perfection to which it had already attained in Italy. Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, Raffaelle and Titian were in their full glory; and when compared with their transcendent works in other countries, Painting, in our own, was little more than genius, struggling with barbarism.

France had not long preceded or excelled us. The light diffused by Primaticcio and Salviati over that country was soon reflected here by the efforts of such of the Roman school as had ventured to visit this northern region. An admiration of painting, more especially of portrait, was excited by the novel exhibition of it; under the royal protection. Still, however, till after the arrival of Holbein, our native artists were content to admire, and had not dared to imitate.



Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire.

CHAPTER 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 descendents 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 enquiries 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 descendents: Yet such a curiosity would destroy much greater treasures; it 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 practised them were not idle enough to record. Their inventions were obvious, their productions useful and clumsy. Yet the little merit there was in fabricating them being soon consigned to oblivion, we are bountiful 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 Phœnicians. 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 Phœnicians, 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 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

* 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

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; but being so natural, it is simply, when unaccompanied by any graceful ornaments, a mark of a rude age—if attended by mishapen and heavy decorations, a certain mark of it.† The pointed arch, that peculiar of Gothic

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.

† [This definition of the Saxon style by our ingenious author will be considered as rather jejune, and by no means satisfactory. When Mr. W. wrote, the subject had not been explored, the points of discrimination discovered, nor the precise boundary marked out, which divide the pure Saxon manner, before Edward Confessor, from that introduced by the Norman prelates. They are still frequently confounded.

It is allowed by those who have investigated the history of architecture among the Saxons, that very few churches of that early date are now seen above ground, and that crypts and

architecture, was certainly intended as an improvement on the circular, and the men who had not

doorcases supply the most authentic evidence. These, in many most curious instances, are sufficiently known to the architectural antiquary. Who that has examined the workmanship of capitals, doorcases, bas-reliefs, and soffits of arches, or the carvings of fonts, all of which have a confirmed reference to the Saxon æra; will hastily condemn them as "heavy or misshapen ornaments?" Malmsbury, to cite no other instance, will vindicate such specimens, from that censure, in particular. Several of the ornaments of the door-cases resemble those we see adopted in the Roman mosaic; and the finishing, so far from being coarse, approaches to delicacy.

The leading marks of distinction between the Saxon, and the Anglo-Norman style, immediately consequent upon it, does not depend upon the arches; for, in both, they are circular. The arcades of St. Frideswyde, (now Oxford Cathedral) and of Waltham Abbey, are exclusively Saxon, according to the learned Mr. King, whose authority was highly valued. But a chief peculiarity (continued certainly by the Normans) was the carving on the soffits of the arches; and the placing a bas-relief of our Saviour, generally as sitting, in the round head of the door-case, so as to leave the door itself of an oblong shape.

The Anglo-Norman period may be comprised between the reigns of Edward Confessor, and that of Henry I. when several of the cathedrals were first rebuilt, with greatly increased dimensions, and simpler ornaments in the moulding. The heads of animals, beaks of eagles and other chimeras were then very rarely introduced, and are rather demonstrative of the Saxon manner, and evidently copied from the lower Roman. The Norman "Romanesque" which prevailed to the year 1100, was characterised by plainness and simplicity.

Few subjects have been investigated with more zeal than the real origin of the "Pointed Arch," since this observation of

the happiness of lighting on the simplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however so

Mr. W. first appeared. To detail and examine the various hypotheses, which have in general been supported with considerable ability, would demand volumes.

Sir Christopher Wren's opinion, to which Warburton and Warton greatly inclined, ascribed what is commonly known as Gothic architecture, to the invention of the Saracens, which the Croisaders first introduced into Christendom. "Time has revealed that errour; no such Saracenic works exist in Spain, nor Sicily, nor in any other country to which the Arabian power had extended, (*Archael.* v. viii. p. 191).—yet Mr. Hamilton, (in his *Ægyptiaca,* p. 347.) and Mr. Haggitt, (in *Gothic Arch.* p. 121.) contend for the Eastern origin of the pointed arch; and that remains of Gothic architecture are not less frequent in Egypt than in Palestine; Alexandria, Rosetta, Cairo and Upper Egypt abound with them."

Mr. Barry, (*Works,* p. 123,) is convinced "that the style called gothic is nothing more than the architecture of the old Grecks and Romans, in the state of final corruption into which it had fallen." This mode since its introduction into Italy has acquired various designations, from different authors on the subject—such as "La maniera vecchia, non antica—Greco-Goffa—Goffa - Tedesca — Gottica — Longobardica," the last mentioned was the heavy style; the light Gothic "maniera Tedesca." Maffei, Muratori, and Tiraboschi have shewn "that neither the Goths nor the Lombards introduced any style, in particular; but employed the architects whom they found in Italy." Dr. Moller, a late German writer on the Gothic style in that country, remarks that "neither the Goths nor the Lombards were inventors of the architecture which has taken their name, for the ancient paganism of the Northern nations had no influence on the style of church-building." Heyne (the well-known) is more decisive in asserting, that the Gothic architects residing at Rome were in reality those who first

lucky as to strike out a thousand graces and effects which rendered their buildings magnificent, yet

migrated into France with other Goths who professed the arts, from Aquitaine and Spain; and concludes with his confirmation of the opinion above cited.

Millin says, that the style denominated "Le Gothique Grec," is peculiar to the lower empire; when Greek architects were employed in Italy, to apply fragments of classical architecture to gothic irregular edifices, as at St. Marco at Venice." The Genoese and Pisan merchants were frequently laden on their return from their settlements in Greece, with marble from the ruined cities, which was used in constructing their churches, as a more abundant quarry.

Great resemblance of the first to the later Gothic will excuse the introduction of the following passage, frequently quoted by others, into this long note. Cassiodorus, who, in the sixth century was secretary to the first Gothic kings of Italy, has this striking observation concerning their ecclesiastical architecture, which had then began to prevail. He inquires, (*Op. Cassiod. Venetiis*, p. 23.) "Quid dicamus columnarum junceam proceritatem! moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum; quasi quibusdam erectis pastilibus continui, et substantiæ qualitate concavis canalibus excavatas; ut magis ipsas estimes fuisse transfusas, alias ceris judices factas, quod metallis durissimis expolitum."

Mr. R. Smirke, (*Archæol.* v. xv. p. 363,) thinks that Gothic architecture was introduced into Italy, at a very early period, and that it acquired a degree of richness, which Gothic buildings in this country did not assume, till many years afterward." His specimens, in confirmation, are a window of the church of Messina, in Sicily, in the early part of the 10th century; the baptistery at Pisa, by Dioti Salvi, 1152; and the Campo Santo begun by Giovanni da Pisa, in 1275. The late Sir H. Englefield, adds remarks on the same letter (p. 367); and conjectures that the tracery of the windows of the great cloister of the Campo Santo is not of a period earlier than 1464; and he

genteel, vast, yet light,* venerable and picturesque. It is difficult for the noblest Grecian temple to

grounds his opinion upon an inscription still to be seen, and quoted in the Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ, (p. 375). Mr. Smirke replies, in confirmation of his first opinion, to shew that the circular and pointed arch with tracery, were not uncommon in the same building, as early as he has stated. He discredits Sir H. E.'s proofs, that any material alteration or addition took place either in the Battisterio or the Campo Santo." Mr. Gunn (*On the Origin and Influence of Gothic Architecture*, p. 227) had commissioned a friend to cause an accurate investigation to be made, whether the Gothic ornaments were original or substituted; when the first opinion was said to have been confirmed by the keeper Sign. Toscanelli; who has since declared, that it was never authorised by him. (*Arch.* v. xx. p. 551.)

That this style "originated in ancient Rome," is advanced in Mr. Gunn's very sensible treatise, and pursued with more science by Mr. Kerrich, the librarian of the University of Cambridge, whose notes and illustrations are most ingenious and valuable. A satisfactory extract only is offered to those who have pursued these inquiries, and who are referred to the later volumes of the Archaeologia, and the treatises which have been mentioned. "Gothic Architecture is said by Torre, to have been first so named by Cesare Cesarini, in his Commentary on Vitruvius. The Italians call the old heavy style of building, Lombard architecture, and we, for like reason, call it Saxon or Norman, but the architecture is the same. The errour has been, to suppose that it came to us, from some distant country, adult, and in its full vigour; and that it was implicitly adopted, and made use of, exactly as received. And it was not till very lately, that these notions having been found not to be supported by facts, we began to look nearer home,

* For instance, the façade of the Cathedral at Rheims.

convey half so many impressions to the mind, as a cathedral does of the best Gothic taste—a proof

to observe the buildings around them; and to consider the objects themselves, with the abilities, required for their production."—(*Arch.* v. xvi. p. 292.)

But the single hypothesis of the origin of the pointed arch was more generally agitated, after the appearance of Mr. Whittington's *Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, and the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture in Europe.* This very ingenious author attributes the introduction to France, at least the adaptation of it, in priority to England.

Dr. Milner disallows that fact, in a treatise which immediately followed, entituled, "*On Ecclesiastical Architecture in England during the Middle Ages,*" the avowed object of which is to refute the assertion that the pointed style first appeared in France. "It is probable that the first pointed open arches in Europe were the twenty windows constructed by that great patron of architecture, Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winton, in the choir of the Church of St. Cross, near that city, between the years 1132 and 36."

This essay called forth a spirited examination of that fact from Mr. Haggitt, with a farther confirmation by Mr. Hawkins in the instance of the Abbey of Clugny.

As a corollary to this limited view of the question, we may perhaps safely infer, that the Lombardic, Saxon, and Anglo-Norman is one and the same style, formed upon the "Romanesque" or debased Roman, and that the pointed arch originated in the East, or was, in fact a new style, in Europe, from whencesoever it sprang,

——— sed hâc in lite
Apellabo"———

no author in particular—but leave the matter for the decision of future critical antiquaries. One result is certain, that science may be exercised, and ingenuity elicited by such investigations.

No one literary pursuit has been farther advanced within the last half century, in the rapid progress of the graphic art

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. 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 its 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 its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it in Grecian temples.*

in England, by its numerous professors, than our knowledge of the Gothic style and construction. The building of a cathedral is no longer a mystery. By the ample elucidation afforded in the publications of the Antiquary Society, and in those of Mr. Britton, the amateur is competently instructed in the architectural antiquities of his own country, and enabled not only to "feel Gothic," (as Mr. W. says) but to comprehend it.]

* In the six volumes of letters published at Rome and intituled, Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura, are several of Mons. 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

I certainly do not mean by this little contrast to make any comparison between the rational

too apt to be led by words, and to talk by rote. Connoisseurs in the arts are not the least bigotted. Taste has its 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 totally 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, 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 è arrichita di presso di cento ritratti, e la stampa è veramente magnifica. Io vi farò ridere, se vi dirò, che la Chiesa di San Pietro non è di suo gusto, e che egli la trova troppo carica d'ornati, il che non gli pare proprio per un tempio degno dello Maestà dell' Essere supremo, che lo abita: che gli ornamenti, che vi sono sparsi a profusione, non vi sono posti per altro che per fomentare* la superstitione, di che egli accusa malamente la nostra

* 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 Greeian 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, 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 Shakspeare's? The one copies rules,

beauties of regular architecture, 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 choose 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†

Chiesa Romana. Ed a quale edifizio credete voi, che egli conceda la preferenza sopra a S. Pietro? A una Chiesa fabricata sul gusto Gotico, e le di cui muraglie sieno tutte nude: cosa, che fa Pietà!"

* ["We admire commonly those things which are oldest and greatest, old monuments and high buildings do affect us above measure; and what is the reason? Because what is oldest cometh nearest to God for antiquity, and what is greatest cometh nearest his works, in spaciousness and magnitude." *Bishop Corbet.*"]

† [This circumstance cannot deserve implicit credit; Mr. W. had probably heard it himself from the verger, or copied it

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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 Mons. 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,

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 latter 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

from Vertue's notes,—but Sir Christopher Wren had too perfect a knowledge of geometry, ever to have made the observation. This roof and that of Henry VIIth's Chapel of the same date, are either of them composed of twelve substantive divisions, then called "severeys," and as totally independent on each other for support, and being so considered they were separately contracted for, with the builders, "100*l.* to be paid to them upon the completion of each severey, and so from tyme to tyme until all the said twelve severeys be fully and perfectly made and performed." The point of difficulty will be solved in a great measure, if, instead of contemplating the roof as a whole and entire work, we consider the space only which is contained between four buttresses, as independent and complete in itself; and the connection between each several compartment concealed for the purpose of producing a very surprising effect of elongation. Each severey is bonded by two strong arches. Allowing this position, the length ceases to be wonderful, excepting on account of the great labour and expense. The more scientific reader will consult Ware's Essay on Vaults, (*Archæol.* v. xvii. p. 79) for a very satisfactory description of the roof of King's College Chapel. *Particulars of the building of K. Coll. Chapel, MSS. Harleian,* No. 433, T. 49.]

* In Lincoln's Inn chapel, the steeple of the church at Warwick, the King's Bench in Westminster-hall, the screen at Gloucester, &c.

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 colonnade, 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 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, ter-

* [The reason of the failure of these two most eminent architects was simply their *classically* confined views of architecture. They were unwilling to copy, and incompetent to invent designs, in any degree analogous to original examples of the different *Gothic* manners.]

rasses 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 expense 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 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

* [Among the MSS. Cotton, in the British Museum, is one of Gervasius, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, (*Vespas.* B. ii. 19), relative to the building of that magnificent cathedral, after the fire in 1174. It is incorporated with the other works of Gervase, in the *Decem Scriptores,* (*col.* 1290) published by *R. Twisden,* Fol. 1652.

It is the more curious from the extreme rarity of any MS. on architectural science of so early a date as the reign of K. John. It includes a very minute account of Bishop Lanfrank's original structure, as well as of the restoration made under the superintendence of William of Sens, and of William the Englishman, who completed the work, and who is the first architect or at least master-mason, a native of this country, con-

the least trace; while at the same time the founders of ancient buildings were every where recorded: so careful 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; 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

cerning whom any thing satisfactory is known; and that he was the first who boldly attempted to work the ribbed and vaulted ceiling, in stone and toph.]

* 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 embrotheryng, writing books with very fair hand, making their own garments, *carving, painting, graffing*." *Strype's Memor.* vol. i. p. 255.

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 mathematician 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 pur-

* *Felib.* vol. v. p. 165. † *Ibid.* p. 185.

[That Mr. W. should have consulted Felibien only, for

pose, and all that he really found in Matthew of Westminster, is, that in the kingdom of the Mer-

information concerning architecture, in England, will excite some surprise. Felibien avows his disappointment, on finding that *Dugdale's Monasticon*, gave no account of Gothic architects! We may indeed be considered as nationally unfortunate that whilst the great Italian, French and German churches are indubitably ascertained, as the work of architects, whose names have been recorded, and have reached us; we are left to strengthen our plausible conjectures, as to the builders of almost all in England, by defective evidence.

We have yet notices, sufficiently authentic, of several eminent master-masons, a term in those days, equivalent to architects.

1. Henry Latomus, (*Lithotomus, Stone-cutter*) who rebuilt the Church of Evesham, 1319. *Leland, Collect.* v. i. p. 249.

2. Walter de Weston, St. Stephen's Chapel, Westm. *Pat.* iv. Edw. III.

3. Alan de Walsingham. The Octagon and Louvre of Ely Cathedral. In the Life of Bishop Hotham, *Leland's Collect.* v. ii. p. 604. Alan, the sacrist, is said to have built the "Campanile Novum," in twenty years, and that the whole cost was 2406*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* in 1342. Alan is styled "Vir venerabilis et *artificiosus* Frater."

4. William Wynford, mentioned in the will of W. Wykeham, as the architect of the nave of Winton Cathedral, 1403.

5. Nicholas Walton, *Pat.* 17, *Richard II.* m. 3. "To N. Walton, Master Carpenter, and Engineer of the King's works for the Art of Carpentry." In that reign, the grand Halls of Westminster and Eltham were completed, the stupendous timber-framed roofs of which were probably designed by, and executed under the superintendence of this architect.

6. John Kendale, *Pat.* 1*mo. Edward IV. m.* 16, *p.* 3. A fee to J. Kendale for life, as supervisor of all the King's works, throughout the realm.

In the archives of the great abbies and churches on the

cians 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 grotesque monsters and burlesque faces with which the 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 fan-

Continent, the original plans as drawn by their architects, have been preserved to the present day. In England perhaps, not a single document of that nature remains. There is a basso-relievo in the Cathedral at Worcester, on which is represented an architect presenting a plan to the superior of a monastery, drawn on tablets; it is of high antiquity, and affords a certain proof, that ecclesiastical buildings were not erected without a plan. *Carter's Ancient Sculpture.*

When the zealous, but tasteless reformers seized on the literary treasures of the Romish church, the MSS. in conventual libraries, were frequently destroyed without reserve. But all illuminated books were condemned and dispersed; and, as those, which contained architecture, or any other art or science, were usually so elucidated, they were involved in one common annihilation, and we cannot wonder, that scarcely one remains to this day.

* Peterborough.

† *Felib.* p. 224.

‡ [Marchion of Arezzo must resign the merit of this invention to the ancient Greeks. The masks or heads of lions were placed to convey the water from the roofs, not unfrequently, but particularly in the Temple of Ceres, at Eleusis. (*Unedited Antiq. of Attica*). Gothic fancy having once adopted them, exerted itself in a great variety of monstrous shapes. They

tastic 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 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,

were generally called Gargouilles, which are literally dragons. yet they are made to represent chimeras and demons. Lidgate mentions them,

"And many a gargoyle and manie a hidous head."

Troy Boke.]

* 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. 88. 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, a prima fundatione (temp. Hen. 3ii) rector fuit novae fabricae per 25 annos; et Robertus cacmentarius 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.

‡ 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.

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 Domini Mccc.—

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.

William Rede, Bishop of Chichester in 1369, reckoned the best mathematician of the age, was

* ["Anno 1359, circa hæc tempora R. Edoardus castrum de Windlesore pulchris edificiis splendide decoravit, &c. et idem fecit in palatio suo de Westminster, consulente cum ad hoc Dno. Gulielmo de Wykeham, quem Rex de paupere clerico assumens constituit superiorem operum suorum." *Leland Collect.* v. p. 378.

Lowth (*Life of Wykeham,* p. 195) says decisively that William Wynford was his architect, and employed for the nave of his cathedral, in 1394. May it not be presumed, that Wynford had been previously engaged in the colleges founded by Wykeham at Oxford and Winton? The munificent prelate's claim to the science and practice of architecture rests upon an undisputed tradition; and that plans or "Vidimus" were drawn out by ecclesiastics for the master masons to work by, appears to be certain, from remaining MSS.

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 Angliae, qui obiit Anno Dom. M,cccc,xxx. in vigilia 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] Lathomus, 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

* ["The construction of this castle is upon a geometrical plan which differs in many respects from the military architecture and contrivance of that age. It is nearly a parallelogram: there was a square tower at each angle which did not project beyond the side walls." *Hist. of Western Sussex*, v. ii. p. 198.]

† [Chaucer was appointed Clericus operationum, Clerk of the Works of all the Royal Palaces, with a salary of two shillings a

subject, than that, on considering and comparing its progress, the delicacy, lightness and taste of its ornaments, it seems to have been at its 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

day. *Pat.* 13 *Ric.* II. p. 1. m. 30. "Pro capellâ Regis Vindsoriæ emendandâ, Galfrido Chaucer," &c. From these grants it is evident that he was paymaster and director only of the workmen, and not, that he furnished designs, or, in fact, could be professionally considered, as an architect. Notwithstanding, the very minute and correct descriptions of the various architectural ornaments, of which his imaginary castles and palaces are composed, give a certain degree of evidence, that Chaucer was a proficient in the science. The great hall and other additions to Kenilworth Castle were made by John of Gaunt, and the great gateway at Lancaster. Dugdale mentions a warrant from K. Richard II. dated in 1392, directed to Robert de Skillington, master mason, to impress twenty workmen, carpenters and others. The ruins of this hall show, that it nearly resembled, both in plan and dimensions, those of Westminster and Eltham.

John Druell and Roger Keys were the architects of All-Souls, and W. Orchyerde of Magdalene Colleges, in Oxford. *Wood.* The original contract, with the last mentioned, is preserved in their muniment room. It appears, that he was not only the supervisor, but the architect and designer. On a plate of brass to the memory of "Eustace Marshal" in 1567, in the church of Farnham Royal, Bucks, he is said to have been "Clerk of the works to Cardinal Wolsey, at the building of St. Frideswide's in Oxford (Christ Church College), and for several years, chief clerk of accounts for all the buildings of K. Henry VIII. within twenty miles of London;" but this may not be considered as a sufficient proof, that he was an architect.]

borrow ornaments in that stile. The fret-work in the small oratories at Winchester, and the part behind the choir at Glocester would furnish beautiful models. The windows in several cathedrals offer graceful patterns; for airy towers of almost filigraine we have none to be compared with those of Rheims.*

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 Wolsey's tomb-house

* 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 style) and the choir of the same church (in the rich and filigraine workmanship) both of the reign of Edward III. The 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.

[The idea, that the Essay on Gothic Architecture prefixed to Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, was, in fact, written by Gray, was firmly held by the late most able critic, T. Warton, who had himself announced an intention of writing a history of Gothic Architecture, for which, if he had ever made collections, they were, at his death, either lost or destroyed.]

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

* [The chapel, called Wolsey's tomb-house, had been previously erected by Henry VII.

The Computus, or statement of sums expended on some of the great ecclesiastical buildings begun in the end of the 15th century, are of sufficient curiosity to be inserted.

1. Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick. Computus for seventeen years from 1443, 1806*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* 2. King's College, Cambridge, from 1441 to 1515, 22,469*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* 3. Windsor Chapels, from 1478 to 1482, 6572*l.* much more was added to this sum. 4. Henry VIIth's Chapel, according to an account mentioned, but not specified, by Holinshed, 14000*l.* For the perfect restoration of the external walls of this sumptuous building with their ornamental mouldings, figures, and foliage, Parliament voted, between the years 1807 and 1822, the aggregate sum of 42,028*l.* 14*s.* 3*d*$\frac{1}{4}$. The whole has been most ably executed by the master-mason (Mr. Gayfere); and with skill and ingenuity equal to that of his predecessors, in the original work.]

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 graceful 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 *Devizer of his Majesty's buildings.*† In one of the

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

[It should be considered that at this period, when Holbein presided over the Arts in England; under Francis the First and his successor Henry II. during the whole of the sixteenth century, Architecture had been carried to a very high degree of excellence. Vignola had resided two years in France; Le Scot and De Lorme had practised in the great Italian schools of architecture. Their works had been seen and admired by the English nobility, who had visited France; and it is by no means improbable, that even their plans and elevations had been acquired by Holbein. Of the two gates built after his design, at Whitehall, now removed, there are plates in the *Mon. Vetusta,* v. i. pl. 171. That of New Hall, in Essex, is likewise taken down, but the abovementioned, at Wilton, is still extant.]

† [Who was "Johannes de Padua?" what was his real

office-books which I have quoted, there is a payment to him of 36*l.* 10*s.* 0d. 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 expenses, 53*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* and for boat hire 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John de Padua is mentioned again in Rymer's Fœdera, on the grant of a fee of 2*s.* per diem.

A. D. 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 foedum *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 inser-

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name? how educated? and what were his works previously to his arrival in England? no research has hitherto discovered with any satisfaction. But *here,* he acquired a title, not before that patent (1544) given to any architect as "Devizor of his Majesty's buildings," which implies likewise, that he had the sole and exclusive appointment. Henry VIII. had then completed his palaces, and little more could have been done, before his death in 1547.]

vivit 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 imper-

* 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 cannot well be ascribed to John of Padua, as the date was 1583. Wollaton-hall in Nottinghamshire 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.

[John of Padua enjoyed the patronage of the Protector Somerset, for whom, in 1549, he designed and built his great palace in the Strand. The walls only were finished, when the Duke was led to the scaffold, in 1552. It is said to have abounded in ornaments of Roman architecture, and greatly to have resembled the mansion at Longleat, Wiltshire, which was begun by Sir John Thynne in 1567, and according to a received tradition, under the superintendance of John of Padua. The design likewise of the "Gate of Honor" at Caius College, Cambridge, has been attributed to him by Mr. Wilkins, architect, in *Mon. Vetusta,* v. 4. Begun in 1572. These facts being

fect 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

allowed, it is certain, that John of Padua came to England in the early part of his life, and practised his profession to a good old age. John Shute was sent, in 1550, to study in Italy, by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, with an intention of employing him upon his return, in constructing a palace. Shute, in 1563, published the first scientific book upon architecture, which had appeared in our language.]

* *Felibien,* vol. ii. p. 71.

† [This Sir Richard Lea or à Lee was, with greater probability, excellent as an engineer or military architect. He was certainly so employed by his royal master, as Jerome da Trevigi had previously been. His grant of the demesnes and site of the nunnery of Sopewell bears date, in 1539. His pedigree is given in *Clutterbuck's Herts,* v. i. p. 105. The inscription on the brazen font abovementioned, is sufficiently pompous "Læus Victor, sic voluit, A. D. 1543." Mr. W. specifies no work which he completed as a civil architect.]

‡ *Chauncy's Hertfordshire,* p. 461, where he is called Sir Richard a Leigh.

taken in the Scottish wars, and had served for the christening of the royal children of that kingdom. A pompous inscription* was engraved 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.

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

† 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.

‡ [To this account of Hector Asheley, the Editor can make no addition.

Hunsdon-house, (Herts.) though much reduced, retains its ancient appearance. It was principally built by Henry VIII. for the reception of his children, as New Hall in Essex had been. Strype (Annals) has preserved letters from Edward VI. and the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, dated from this place. After the latter became Queen, she gave this domain to Sir Henry Cary, her cousin, and created him Baron Hunsdon. The procession when the Queen came to visit him there, was the subject of a most curious picture painted by Marc Guerard, and engraved by Vertue, which contains the portraits of the Queen and several of her ladies and chief officers of State.]

REMARKS.

Mr. W. has made but a slight allusion to Domestic Architecture, during the reigns of K. Henry VII. and his more magnificent successor.

In endeavouring to supply a certain quantity of information upon that subject; it must be premised, that an account of castles would be necessarily too voluminous for our present purpose, and it is therefore omitted. The periods and the instances to be described, must be confined to the whole of the fifteenth and the first part of the next century, which preceded the appearance of Holbein and John of Padua; by adducing the examples of palaces built by sovereigns, and others of the nobility, in England; without assuming to present them all to the reader's view.

And now, "that the substance of the far greater part of these fabricks has passed away; their very shadows may be acceptable to posterity." In the plans, surveys, verbal descriptions and engravings of them still to be seen and examined by investigators of curiosity and taste, in the national repositories; a very competent knowledge of what they have been, may be retrieved, although now in dilapidation, or totally removed from the earth. Imperious necessity, the effect of the waste or the division of property; want of respect to ancient things in individual possessors, as to passed magnificence; personal absence and the neglect of agents, and more frequently the advice of interested architects as to modernization or supposed improvement, have sunk more of these venerable and once splendid mansions into decay or oblivion, than even the direct injuries of time, assault, or conflagration.

Those castles which were erected in the later ages, after they had ceased to be entirely military, in their plan and dimensions, had usually a spacious court, accommodated to the purposes of domestic habitation, and which consisted of large and even splendid apartments. As the necessity of defence and seclusion abated with the exigences of the times, the palaces and

great manor houses were constructed with more ornament, which was engrafted upon, or mixed with, the ancient military manner of building. Towers placed at the angles were retained but now richly parapeted and embattled—superb portals and gateways rose from the centre—wide windows were perforated through the external side-walls; and the projecting or bay-windows were worked into forms of most capricious embellishment.

About the reign of K. Edward IV. a mode of building of a new character, as applied to palatial structures, was introduced into our own country. In the middle of the fifteenth century (for there are no satisfactory proofs of an earlier date) under the auspices of Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy, (1419—1467) a peculiar invention of civil architecture appears to have originated, and was certainly much practised within his dominions. It may fairly be considered as a distinct mode, and denominated the "Burgundian." In that prince's palace at Dijon, its features and discriminations were first exhibited; and these were carried to a higher degree of excellence, in the Hall of Justice at Rouen, and likewise in similar edifices, at Bruges, Brussels, and Ghent. The "Maison de la Pucelle" at Rouen is an admirable specimen of the Burgundian domestic architecture.

Our English architects soon adopted, in part, the Burgundian style, aided probably by the increasing intercourse between Flanders and England.

When any memorable change in the construction or ornament of any considerable castle or mansion house took place, the novel mode of building was adopted by others. Such a transition, from rude and massive strength, to light and picturesque decoration, may be traced, with scarcely less certainty than in Sacred architecture; and although so few instances remain, they are equally to be referred to their own æra. The "Burgundian" may be therefore considered as the true prototype of our "Tudor" style, and as being merely confined to the two first reigns, of that dynasty.*

* Speed, (Hist. Britaine, p. 995.) observes concerning Henry VII.

But, in the reigns of the three preceding sovereigns, Castellated Houses of rich and highly decorated architecture had been erected, and it is curious to observe that during the turbulent times of the last of those princes, the great ministers of his government had severally huilt for themselves palatial castles.*

It appears, that King Henry VII. confined himself to the expense of rehuilding the Palace of Shene, after a destructive fire in 1500, when he conferred on it his own name of "Richmond." It was in the Burgundian style, heing the second instance, as the "Plaisance" at Greenwich was the first. It now remains to us, only in early and accurate delineations.

King Henry VIII. is styled by Harrison, (*Descript. of England*, p. 330.) "The onlie phœnix of his time, for fine and curious masonrie." But he is so to he considered, rather for the additions of large apartments and external ornament to the palaces already built, as at Windsor, Whitehall, and Hunsdon. Bridewell, St. James's, and Beaulieu or New-Hall, Essex, of an

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"Of his building was Richmond palace, and that most beautiful piece, the Chapel at Westminster which forms of more curious and exquisite building, he and Bishop Foxe, first as is reported, *learned in France, and thence brought with them into England.*" This peculiar architecture was effectually promoted by Henry VII. whose enormous wealth enabled him to undertake the most sumptuous buildings, and, in most instances, his avarice directed, that they should not be paid for till after his death. By his executors in the early part of his son's reign, the chapels of Westminster, King's College, Cambridge, and Windsor were completed. K. Henry VIII. contributed nothing!

* These were, 1. "Placentia or Plaisance," at Greenwich, by Humphry Duke of Gloucester, Lord Protector, 1440. 2. Hurstmonceaux, Sussex, by James Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele, and Lord High Treasurer, 1447. 3. Sudley Castle, Gloucestershire, by Ralph Lord Sudley, 1450. 4. Tattershal Castle, Lincolnshire, by Ralph Lord Cromwell, 1455. Both the last mentioned enjoyed the same office. Of these structures, Greenwich and Sudley are dilapidated and ruined, Tattershal and Hurstmonceaux, are bare walls only; the last was despoiled by the advice of a modern architect, about fifty years ago." "Reproach and glory of the Regnian coast!"

inferior description, were indeed entirely built by him. Nonsuch was begun, but not finished.*

His courtiers vied with each other, in the vast expenditure which they employed in erecting sumptuous houses, in the provinces, where their influence extended. Wolsey, beside the great progress he had made, at the time of his fall, in his Colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, had completed Hampton Court, and rebuilt the episcopal residences of York House (afterwards Whitehall), and Esher, in Surrey. Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, rivalled him in his palace at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, from which, when half finished, he was hurried to the scaffold. Grimsthorp in Lincolnshire was built by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Both the Treasurer Duke of Norfolk and his accomplished son, Lord Surrey, were magnificent in their ideas of architecture, as the descriptions of their houses at Keninghall, Norfolk, and Mount Surrey, near Norwich, amply prove. These are said to have had the ornaments subsequently introduced, but not a stone of either now remains in its former place. Others may be classed together for particular information. 1. Haddon-hall, Derbyshire. 2. Cowdray, Sussex, destroyed by fire, in 1793. 3. Hever Castle, Kent. 4. Gosfield Hall, Essex, perfect. 5. Hengrave Hall Suffolk, perfect. 6. Layer Marney, Essex, ruined. 7. Raglan Castle, Monmouthshire, ruined. 8. Hunsdon House, Herts. rebuilt. 9. South Wingfield, Derbyshire, dilapidated. 9. Hill Hall, Essex, built in 1542, by Sir Thomas Smyth. 10. Wolterton, in East Barsham, Norfolk, brickwork, in ruins. 11. Harlaxton, Lincolnshire, perfect. 12. Westwood, Worcestershire, perfect.

There seems to have been a leading idea, as to the construction of mansion houses of the first degree, which was generally considered as complete, and therefore adopted in numerous instances. In the very curious tract entitled "*A Dyetorie or regiment of health by Andrew Boorde of Physicke Doctor,* 8vo.

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* Castles, Royal Palaces, and buildings, temp. Edw. IV. Henrici VII. & VIII. Westminster *Chapter-house Records,* and *Vetusta Monum.* v. ii.

first printed in 1547, we have directions "howe a man should build his house or mansion." "Make the hall of such fashion, that the parlour be annexed to the head of the hall; and the buttrye and pantrye at the lower ende thereof; the cellar under the pantrye sett somewhat at a base; the kechyn sett somewhat at a base from the buttrye and pantry; coming with an entrie within, by the wall of the buttrie; the pastrie house and the larder annexed to the kechyn. Then divyde the logginges by the circuit of the quadrivial courte, and let the gatehouse be opposite, or against the hall doore; not directly, but the hall doore standyng abase of the gatehouse, in the middle of the front enteringe into the place. Let the prevye-chamber be annexed to the great chamber of estate, with other chambers necessary for the buildinge; so that many of the chambers may have a prospecte into the chapell." The antiquary who investigates the ground plot of many of these large mansions in their present ruined state, will find this description to be exactly correspondent, particularly at Cowdray.

A very principal innovation in the early Tudor style was the introduction of gatehouses, bay-windows and quadrangular areas, of which castles constructed for defence could not admit. Of these component parts of the palaces and mansions of this age, some account may be allowed. As to their materials, freestone or brick, they seem to have depended entirely upon the greater facility with which they might be acquired, and they were not unfrequently mixed. Trevisi and Holbein introduced both *terra cotta* or moulded brick work for rich ornaments and medallions or *bas-reliefs* fixed against the walls; plaster-work laid over the brick wall, and sometimes painted, as at Nonsuch, and square bricks of two colours highly glazed and placed in diagonal lines, as at Layer Marney. The chimnies were clustered and composed of columns twisted or wrought in patterns with heads or capitals embossed with the cognizance of the founder, as at Thornbury Castle and Woolterton-Manor-house, the subjects of the vignettes engraved on wood, and annexed to this chapter.

Gateways were considered as a great feature in all these

edifices, and constructed with most expensive ornament. That at Whitehall, before mentioned as having been designed by Holbein, was composed of square glazed bricks of different colours, over which were appended four large circular medallions of busts, now preserved at Hatfield Peverel, Herts. It contained several apartments, but the most remarkable was the "little study, called the new library,"* in which Holbein was accustomed to employ himself in his art, and the courtiers to sit for their portraits. It was probably in this chamber, that the adventure took place which Mr. W. repeated, as having been omitted by none of his biographers. The gateways at Hampton Court and Woolterton afford similar specimens.

Of bay-windows, and the capricious variety in their first formation, some observations occur.

A bay-window, in common acceptation, means simply a projecting window between two buttresses (a space anciently termed a bay of building), and frequently placed at the end of the mansion. They were invented a century, at least, before the Tudor age;† in which they were usually composed of divisions made by right angles and semicircles placed alternately, as may be seen in the buildings of K. Henry VIII. at Windsor, and at Thornbury Castle. Those at the upper end of the great halls were brought from the ceiling to the floor, and were of a more simple and regular form. The use to which they were applied, appears from a MS. in the Herald's College, relating to a feast given by Henry VII. in the hall of Richmond palace. "Agaynst that His Grace had supped; the hall was dressed and goodlie be seen, and a rich cupboord sett thereup in a baye window of IX or X stages and haunces of hight, furnissed and fulfilled with plate of gold, sylver and regilte." As an interior decoration, carved wainscotting generally of oak in pannels, was introduced into halls, and with greater nicety both of design and execution into parlours and presence cham-

* *Warton's Hist. Poet.* v. ii. p. 44. 8vo. *MSS. Harl.* 1419.

† In John of Gaunt's palace at Lincoln, built in 1390, there still remains a most beautiful Oriel window, the corbel which supports it having most elaborate sculpture in distinct pannels.

bers; there was an abundance of cyphers, cognizances, chimeras and mottoes. These ornaments prevailed in the splendid castles built in France about the age of Francis I. and were called "Boisseries." *Millin, Monumens Franc.* T. i, p. 20. The hall and other chambers of the dilapidated mansion of the Lords La Warre, at Halnacre, Sussex, still retain some singularly curious specimens.

The area or court was quadrangular: and besides the great staircase near the hall, there were several exangular towers containing others. These usually occurred in each angle of the great court; and exceeding the roof in height, gave a very picturesque effect to the whole pile of building, and grouped with the masses of the lofty and richly ornamented chimnies.

By these peculiarities, the æra of the earlier Tudor style may be discriminated from that prevalent in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of which a similar description will be given, in its place.

Woolterton Manor House, Norfolk.

CHAPTER 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 mirrour. On the side of the head was a landscape, not ill done. On the frame was written Gulielmus pinxit. This was probably

MARC WILLEMS,

Died 1561,

who was born at Antwerp about 1527, and was

* [There is reason to believe, that when Somerset-house was entirely taken down from 1776 to 1784, that though orders were given for the removal of what were then considered as the best pictures, to the other palaces, many of considerable value were dispersed. The curiosity here mentioned, is noticed by Hentzner in his travels.]

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 Huect, 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 is so much commended by a brother artist, one may believe he had merit, and as the testimony may lead to farther investi-

* [Descamps says, that Marc Willems was born at Malines and not at Antwerp. Millin (*Peinture sur verre*, p. 57), follows Descamps, adding that he was established in that city, where he gained a lasting reputation. He excelled chiefly in designs for stained glass and tapestry, and we may conclude, that his works, for both those materials were well known in England, before his arrival, and certainly short residence.]

† See *Descamps* and *Sandrart*.

gation, 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,

JOHN BOSSAM,

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 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 Somerset-house, would probably have

* King Philip and the Spaniards.

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.† 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 been 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

* 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.

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 Chanceler 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.†

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,

* Page 270.

† *Biographical Sketches of eminent persons whose portraits form part of the Duke of Dorset's Collection, at Knowle, Kent,* 8vo. 1795. Nearly fifty portraits are noticed, the majority of which have certainly no claim, as original.

‡ See *Strype.* § *Heylin.*

‖ Vertue says that Betts learned of Hilliard. [But this miniature must have been a copy from Holbein.]

between three croslets 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 7000*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 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

* Vol. ii. p. 494.

† [Henry Howard, the highly gifted and unfortunate Earl of Surrey, was beheaded January 19, 1546-7. He is standing under a Roman arch, habited in a close dress of brown silk, profusely embroidered with gold. He has the Order of the Garter, a sword and dagger; the motto, "Sat superest HH. æt. 29, 1547;" and two escocheons, upon one the arms of France and England, quarterly; and on the other, those of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, eldest son of King Edward the first by his second marriage, from whose surviving coheir, Lord Surrey was lineally and legitimately descended.

This most curious picture is a whole length of large dimensions, and nearly of a square shape, and has never been engraved. At Knowle, there is a half length of Lord Surrey exactly copied from this portrait.

It was purchased in 1720, at the sale of the Arundel collection at Stafford house, near Buckingham gate, for Sir Robert Walpole, who, with liberality extremely honourable in his

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, its *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.

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 its origine from the

political station, made a present of it to the late Edward Duke of Norfolk. It is now at Arundel Castle.]

Sapse pinx! *R. Cooper sculp!*

SIR ANTONIO MORE

LONDON
Published by John Major, 50 Fleet street

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,

Born 1519. Died 1575.

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

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

[In *Cumberland's Anecdotes of eminent Painters in Spain,* we have the following notice of Sir Antonio More." He came into Spain in 1552, Charles V. being then on the throne, under the protection of his countryman Cardinal Granvelle; he made a portrait of Prince Philip, and being recommended by the Cardinal to the service of the Emperour, he was sent by him into Portugal, to take the portrait of the Princess Donna Maria, then contracted to Philip. At the same time he painted John, third King of Portugal, &c. by all which portraits he gave entire satisfaction, and was magnificently rewarded. Having succeeded so well in this commission, he was next dispatched by the Emperor into England, to the Court of Mary, to take the portrait of that princess previous to her espousals with Philip. More employed all the flattering aids of his art in this portrait, and so captivated the courtiers of Spain with the charms of Mary's person, that he was required to make

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

copies of his picture; one of which I have seen in the possession of a noble family, by which it appears that More was not only a good painter, but an excellent courtier. Having enriched himself in England, he returned to Spain, and entered into the service of Philip II. who made slaves of his friends, and friends of his painters; and treated More with great familiarity. This great artist wanted discretion, and he met the King's advances, with the same ease that they were made; so that, one day whilst he was at his work, and Philip looking on, More dipped his pencil in carmine, and with it, smeared the hand of the King, who was resting his arm on his shoulder. The jest was rash, and the character to which it was applied, not to be played upon with impunity. The hand of the King of Spain (which even the fair sex kneel down to salute) was never so treated since the foundation of the monarchy. The King surveyed it seriously awhile, and in that perilous moment of suspense the fate of More, balanced on a hair; the courtiers who were in awful attendance, revolted from the sight with horror and amazement. Caprice, or perhaps pity, turned the scale: and Philip passed the silly action off with a smile of complacency. The painter, dropping on his knee, eagerly seized those of the King, and kissed his feet, in humble atonement for the offence, and all was well, or at least seemed to be so: but the person of the King was too sacred in the consideration of those times, and the act too daring to escape the notice of the awful office of the Inquisition: and they learnedly concluded, that Antonio Moro, being a foreigner and a traveller, had either learned the art magic, or more probably obtained, in England, some spell or charm, wherewith he had bewitched the king." v. ii. p. 97, 8vo. 1787. *Palomino, on Painting in Spain*, 2 vol. fol. from whom this statement, which is the true one.]

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,† 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

* 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.

‡ 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.

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 followed Philip [and probably his religion*] into Spain, where he was indulged in so much familiarity, that one day the king slapping 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 aukward 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

* 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.

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, 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

* [The passage in *Descamps* (T. 1, p. 200) has been misunderstood by Mr. W. from inadvertence. "Le Duc d'Albe lui demanda, un jour, si ses enfans etoient pourvus, il repondit qu'ils l'etoient, excepté son gendre, qui avoit beaucoup d'esprit, et qui etoit capable d'exercer un emploi. Le Duc *lui* donna, sur le champ la recette generale d'Ouest-Flandres, une des plus belles et des plus lucratives de la Province." This preferment was given to the painter's son-in-law, and not to himself. The editor cannot find this contempt of his profession, in consequence of good fortune, in any one author who has recorded his life, and in which he has searched for that fact.]

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
Proprià 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.*

* [In Brian Fairfax's catalogue of the Duke of Buckingham's pictures, p. 18. no. 2. William Kay (a celebrated Flemish painter) by More, and More by Kay; and in Sir P. Lely's Catalogue, no. 103 and 104, A. More and his wife by himself —and a very fine portrait by him, called "A man with a gold chain and dog," no. 108, now at Althorp. Philip II. and Mary Queen of England in one picture, dated 1553, and Queen Mary singly, dated 1556, at Woburn Abbey.

In the Palace at Kensington are two daughters of Philip II. of Spain. 1. Isabella Clara fil. Phil. II. Regis Hisp. æt. 11, 1571. 2. Catherina, æt. 10. Whole lengths of Philip and Q. Mary at the Earl of Westmoreland's, Abthorp, 1553. John Lord Sheffield, at Strawberry-hill. Sir T. Gresham, *once* at

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 Germayn has the portrait of Anne daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford and wife of Ambrose Earl of Warwick.

Houghton. Sir Richard Southwell, 1554, at King's Weston. Sir Philip Sidney, Woburn. This portrait has been attributed to More, but unluckily for that assertion, Sidney was born in the year immediately following the painter's arrival in England. At Windsor, Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoye, 1570. In the Napoleon Collection there was a single picture, the Resurrection of Our Lord. Six portraits by him were in the collection of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.]

[* The engraving given in this edition is taken from the picture in the Florentine Gallery.]

† See p. 108, No. 7.

At Newstede Abbey in Nottinghamshire, the beautiful 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. act. 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 the resurrection of Christ with two angels; and another of Peter and Paul. A painter, who afterwards sold it to the Prince of Condé, got a great deal of money by showing it at the foire St. Germain.

He made a fine copy of Titian's Danae 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 Royal is a portrait said to be of Grotius by Antonio More, who was dead above twenty years before Grotius was born.

* *Thoroton's Nottinghamshire*, p. 261.

Sculpsit pinxit

W. H. Worthington

Another performer in this reign was

JOAS VAN CLEEVE,

Died 1556,

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 compleated 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 this legend, vivebat Antwerpiae in patriâ 1544. Another inscribed, Justo Clivensi, 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 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 Lysard*; he had a pension for life of ten pounds a year, and the same fee charged on the customs, as

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

† Mentioned in a MSS. Catalogue.

‡ See his cat. No. 540, and 830.

§ See his catal. p. 18.

|| [*Descamps* gives him decided commendation, that he was the scholar and most successful imitator of Q. Matsis, and one of the best colourists of his time. Felibien, (T. ii. p. 322) attributes to him a greater degree of force than Q. Matsis has ever exhibited. He states, that the time of Van Cleef's death is not ascertained. Both Pilkington and Bryan place it in 1536, a date totally incompatible with the anecdote respecting the arrival of Titian's pictures in England, and the expected patronage of King Philip II. in 1554. His insanity and death followed in a year or two after that period.]

W.H.V. Shanglin sculp.

EDWARD CONSTABLE, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

From the Original painting by H. Bone Esq. R.A. after the Original of Sir A. Moro in the Collection of His Grace The Duke of Bedford at Woburn.

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Feb.y 15th 1826.

had been granted to the serjeant-painters John Brown and Andrew Wright. Of Lysard I find no farther mention, but that in a roll of Queen Elizabeth's New-year's gifts he presents her with a table painted of the history of Ahasuerus, and her Majesty gives him one gilt ereuse and eover. This 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 Nieholas Lyzard serjeant-painter unto the Queen's majestie."

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

* 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,

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

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.

[This accomplished and ill-fated nobleman has surely very slight pretension to a niche among the professors, in the temple of art. All that the Funeral Oration (seldom the best authority) would insinuate, is rather that the Earl possessed a love of painting, than the power of producing a picture. It is more than probable, that among the avocations of his sad and unjust confinement, he amused himself with sketching with his pencil; but no tradition authenticates any portrait by his hand; and but one of himself (here engraved), which has never been considered as his own work. If his fellow sufferer, Lady Jane Grey, had ever exhibited graphic talents equal to those of Lord Devonshire, she would probably have been introduced into these volumes as a paintress, and associated with Artemisia Gentileschi and Maria Beale. Mr. W. has recorded her as "a noble author," upon the sole pretension of four Latin epistles, and two private letters, addressed to her father and sister.

There are two portraits of this lovely scholar, which advance the claim of originality: 1. Preserved in the collection of her own family at Wrest. 2. At Stowe. It is not improbable that K. Edward VI. in his partiality to her, should be possessed of her portrait; and that it was removed by his successors from the Royal Collection, in any catalogue of which it is not seen. In Lord Oxford's copy of the *Heroologia, (Brit. Mus.)* the portraits, from which the prints were taken, are authenticated. That of Lady J. Grey, by Holbein, is said to belong to Mr. J. Harrison —Query, if a retainer of the court?]

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 Wyat as his accomplices. Our historians* all reject this accusation, and declare that Wyat 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. Courtenay 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

* See *Holinshead, Heylin,* and *Burnet.*

† See it at length in the *Genealogical History of the Noble House of Courtenay, by Edward Cleaveland,* fol. 1735, p. 261.

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.

REMARKS.

Two painters only of eminence are known to have visited this country during twelve years, in which Edward and his sister Mary were its sovereigns. Holbein was their contemporary, but from all that can be collected, was not sufficiently occupied in painting portraits to be considered as their rival in point of employment; for his own patron, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, was not released from the Tower till a year before Holbein's death, and More possessed so much greater an interest at Court, that little encouragement was afforded to others, who, it is certain, were neglected by King Philip. It is therefore not unlikely that Holbein, during that interval, applied himself more particularly to paintings in large, upon walls, and surfaces prepared to receive them. His works at the Steel-yard, Surgeons-hall, and Bridewell of that description, engrossed his pencil at that period. It is said likewise, that he designed and finished the inside ornaments of the chapel at Whitehall, which performance perished in the conflagration in 1698, together with a family picture, so painted, of the Kings Henry VII. and VIII. of very large dimensions.

More had formed his style in the schools of Rome and Venice, yet in his portraits, though evidently emulous of Titian's colouring, may be, with more correctness, assimilated to Holbein,

whose works he had studied previously to his arrival in England. With much delicacy of finishing, somewhat of a dry and hard manner is always to be remarked. He was a precise follower of nature, painted in a bold and masculine style, and possessed a tolerable acquaintance with chiaro-scuro.

With respect to Architecture. The patronage of Jobn of Padua by the Protector, Duke of Somerset, ushered into notice the Italian or rather French style, first adopted in part by Holbein, but now much more divested of the Gothic, or castellated manner. At this period, several royal palaces in France had been recently completed, and were considered by English travellers as the perfection of architecture. Imitation, as in every former instance connected with the arts, immediately followed. The first deviations from the Burgundian, or later Gothic, were partial, and mixed with it in a limited degree, and principally in door cases, window frames and parapets. This innovation made its first appearance in Somerset House. Of the French palaces above alluded to, the principal, which may be adduced as the prototypes of our own, in this æra, are the following: The Chateau of Gaillon, finished in 1500 by Francis I. Of Chambord, in 1526, by Henry II. and D'Anet, 1540. Vignola (whose real name was Barozzi) exercised his art of design in France during a residence of two years, 1537-1539. Le Scot gave his design for the Louvre in 1541. Philip de Lorme, who had learned architecture in Italy, and practised it in his own country, wrote a Treatise in two Parts, entitled "*Nouvelles Inventions pour bien bâtir.*" Paris. He had prepared the MS. in 1561, as it is dated, but not published till after his death, 1576.* It is therefore evident that the novel art of building was brought to us from Italy, through France; and it is equally probable, that John of Padua was one of those Italian artists who had accompanied Vignola into France, and from thence had been invited into England.

This subject will be investigated in its progress after this introduction (in perhaps a single instance, that of Somerset House) through the reign of Q. Elizabeth, at the close of which

* *D'Argenville Vies des Architectes,* 8vo. 1787.

the mixed Gothic or lower Tudor style of building mansion houses no longer prevailed. Harrison (in his *Description of England,*) to whom we cannot ascribe any knowledge of the arts, has merely repeated the praise of the newly introduced style of building, popular in his time. He has observed (p. 328), "that such palaces as King Henry VIII. erected, *after his owne devise,* do represent another kind of patterne, which as they are supposed to excel all the rest that he found standinge in this realme, so they are, and shall be, a perpetuall precedent unto those, that do come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes, masonrie did never better flourish, in England, than in his time."

CHAPTER 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, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale and a bushel of pearls are the features by which every body knows at once the pictures of Queen Elizabeth.* Besides many of her Majesty,

* [The rational pleasure we receive from the inspection of portraits, added to excellence in point of art, is the assurance of identity; and that they reflect, as in a mirrour, real personages, with their features, dress and character, such as they were in life.

we are so lucky as to possess the portraits of almost all the great men of her reign, and though

That this genuine resemblance was falsified by personal vanity and the painter's adulation, is certain, and in no subsequent instance, more decidedly, than in many portraits, which are called those of Q. Elizabeth.

It has occurred to the editor, that by placing together, the verbal descriptions of her person, which those conversant with her, at different periods, have given us, a clearer idea of it may be suggested, than by any other means, and a criterion afforded of the exact degree of resemblance, which even the best authenticated portraits now present.

There is, at Hatfield, a portrait of her, when Princess Elizabeth (to be noticed hereafter), accompanied by emblems, which was painted during her residence there. It represents a young woman, fair, but not beautiful. From thence, she sent a letter with a portrait of herself in miniature, to her brother K. Edward VI. and observes, "for the face I might well blusche to offer—and I beseche your Majestie to think that when you shall loke in my pictur, you wiil witsafe (*vouchsafe*) to think that you have the outwarde shew of the body before you, &c." *Ellis's Coll. of Orig. Letters,* vol. ii. p. 158. There is another, when Princess Elizabeth, at Kensington, said to be by Holbein. It is a half length, in a red dress.

Sir James Melville, (in his *Memoires,* p. 46) describes in a very interesting manner, his interview aad conversation with Q. Elizabeth, when she was in her thirty-second year, 1564. He observed "that her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled, in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me what colour of hair was reputed best, and whether my Queen's (M. Q. Scots) hair or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest?" Melville's reply was very courtly, but not satisfactory; for like a true knight, he would not allow the meed of superior beauty to any but his own mistress. At his first audience he was received in the Privy-Garden. The Queen was walking in an alley. She considered the open daylight as most favourable to her beauty. As her nose was the peccant

the generality of painters at that time were not equal to the subjects on which they were employed,

feature, thin and hooked, or as Naunton says "high-nosed." most of her portraits present a full face in order to conceal it. Yet in King Charles's collection there was a profile in miniature by N. Hilliard, "the light coming neither from the right nor the left side, being done without any shadows, in an open garden light." This was peculiarly a conceit of her own; and more that of a Queen than an artist. Her partiality to the miniature size is likewise mentioned by Sir J. Melville. She took me to her bedchamber, and opened a cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures, wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written "my lord's picture." I held the candle, and pressed to see the picture so named: she seemed loath to let me see it; yet my importunity prevailed for a sight *thereof*, and I found it to be "my Lord of Leycester's" (p. 49). In 1563 she issued a proclamation, now in the State Paper Office, and which may be seen, *Arch.* v. ii. p. 169, by which none but "*a special cunninge paynter*" is permitted to draw her likeness, and Zuccaro was then, probably, appointed. Raleigh, in his preface to the *History of the World*, says, that she ordered all pictures of her by unskilful painters, to be burned.

Hentzner saw her when she had advanced to her sixty-fifth year, in 1598. "Next came the Queen, very majestic, her face oblong, fair but wrinkled, her eyes small yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked, her lips thin, and her teeth black. She had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false hair, and that red; upon her head she had a small crown. Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry; and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels; her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither tall nor low." *Itinerary, p. 65, translated by Mr. W.* Long before this period she had quarrelled with her looking glasses; and her indignation was so great, because they would not flatter, that her female attendants removed the mirrours (at that time small) from any room

yet they were close imitators of nature, and have perhaps transmitted more faithful representations,*

through which she was about to pass. Hearne (in his edition of *Camden's Eliz.*) says "specula amovebant famulæ, ne vultum forte conspicerit, et e mutationis contemplatione iracundiâ incenderetur." So gratified was she with the unceasing incense of inordinate adulation, which she felt naturally and encouraged politically, because she wished to be represented to her people, as the "beau ideal" of a "Virgin Queen," both by poets and painters, who will wonder that the die for coinage, which Mr. W. had engraved for his Royal and Noble Authors, was immediately broken ?]

* 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 ruffes 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, satyn, silk, or cloth mixed with gold or silver, any sables, 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 250l. 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 satten,

than we could have expected from men of brighter imagination. The first painter who seems to have made any figure in this reign, was

LUCAS DE HEERE,*

Died 1584.

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 windmill, millers, a cart and horse and passengers; and half a grain of corn would cover the whole composition. The father went 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

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.

* [This account of Lucas de Heere, Mr. W. has taken almost literally from Descamps; but he has omitted to mention his extreme facility in taking likenesses, and that his memory was so tenacious and faithful, that he could paint any face which he had examined but once.]

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 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 1563 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 likelyhood 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 Brussels,* 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

* [The original is a small half length now at Norfolk House, with an inscription, which mentions his death at Brussels in 1556, aged XIX. It was subsequently added, and does not therefore give the true date of the picture, though certainly not far distant. At Arundel Castle is a whole length, which was probably copied by L. de Heere himself after he came to England: there is also a half length of Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of that name; and two whole lengths of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and the Lady Mary Fitzalan his Duchess, which must have been painted before 1557.]

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 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

* [Other portraits there are of Queen Elizabeth, equally abounding in "concetto," and accompanied by emblems of animals or inanimate things. Her likeness displayed itself, but the transcendant qualities of her mind could be typified only by mythological figures.

At Hatfield are portraits of that description. 1. In a close dress of black, sitting, a sword on the table, with an ermine running up her arm. The ermine is adopted as the emblem of chastity; it has a golden crown and collar. Taken during her early residence there.

2. Q. Elizabeth, probably soon after her accession to the throne: she is depicted with a long, distended gauze veil. On her head a small crown and aigret; a necklace of large pearl;

drest, 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 compleated 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.*

her hair is yellow depending in two long tresses. She is represented young. The lining of her robe is wrought with eyes and ears; on her left sleeve a serpent, on the other a rainbow, "non sine Sole Iris." 3. At Hardwicke Hall, Derbyshire, a whole length, in a gown painted with serpents, birds, a seahorse, a swan and ostrich; her hair is of a golden colour. There is another picture of her, in which her vest is worked with eyelet holes, having the silk and needle hanging down from each—an allegory much too recondite for common apprehension. The pastoral poems of that age abound in compliments to her beauty, but as T. Warton sensibly observes, "the present age sees her charms and her character in their proper colours." *Observ. on Spenser*, v. ii. p. 20; and he gives a very masterly sketch of her habits, in the conclusion of the sixty-first section of the *History of English Poetry*.]

* Another curious picture painted about the same time, I know not by what hand, was in the collection of James

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

7. At Lord Daere'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

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 shadowed 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 foreground 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 Seadbury; the seats of the Walsinghams, and is now at Strawberry-hill.

* [The portraits painted by Holbein and De Heere have been frequently mistaken, as the work of each other, for, even when they marked their pictures, their monogram was similar. The

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, æt. 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 gentleman 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

latter seldom painted pictures of very small dimensions, and no miniatures of his hand are known. Lady Holderness had a portrait by him of Margaret Audley, second wife of Thomas Duke of Norfolk.]

* [Lady Jane Grey was born in 1537, married in 1553, and beheaded in 1554. De Heere was not in England during that time.]

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 Wyat'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 back ground: but the picture has suffered. The 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 diffe-

* At the Duke of Bedford's at Woburn are two heads of a

rent nations. When he came to the English, he painted a naked man with cloth of different sorts lying by him, 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.†

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.

* [The two next lines are more explanatory of the subject;

> For now I will wear this, and now I will wear that,
> And now I will wear,—I can not tell what."

The work from which this rhyme is extracted, is entitled "The first boke of the Instruction of knowledge, the which doth teach a man to speake parte of al maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of all maner of countryes, and for to knowe the most part of all maner of coynes of money, the which is current in every region. Made by Andrew Borde of Physyk doctor." Printed by the Coplands, and dedicated to the King's daughter, the Princess Mary. From Montpellier, 1542. *Warton's Hist. Engl. Poet.* v. iii. p. 357, 8vo.]

† 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 sometime

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,*

Died after 1600,

was born at Gouda in 1548, and early prosecuted his art with great ardour, under the direction of

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 boke 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 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.

Saipse pinx.t W.H. Worthington sculp.t

CORNELIUS KETEL.

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; 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; 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 Didier Roseneraus. It was reckoned not inferior to the former, and was neither confused nor unanimated, notwithstanding the number of portraits it contained.

* This I suppose was Frances Howard, second wife of the Earl, and sister of the Lord Admiral Nottingham, a favourite. 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.

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. 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

* [This picture was 4-feet-6 inches high, and 7-feet broad.]

† Descamps mentions a fine picture painted by Weeninx in the same manner, vol. ii. p. 310. And in a sale of pictures in Covent-garden in 1729, were two heads painted by one Brandell with his thumb.

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 a 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

F. ZUCCARO.

S. Freeman sculp.

M. GARRARD.

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,*

Died 1616.

The younger brother of Taddeo, and born 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

* See *Sandrart, Felibien,* and *Baglione.*

† [Memoirs of "Federigo Zuccaro," are given by Lanzi, Bellori and Vasari, who speak of his residence in England, slightly, but who refer chiefly to his great historical works on the continent. He is mentioned in *Cumberland's Lives of Painters in Spain,* vol. i. p. 110. The late Mr. Rogers, who published "*A Collection of Prints, in imitation of Drawings, with Lives of their Authors, &c. in two volumes, Imp. fol.* 1778." has made a large collection of notes relative to F. Zuccaro, and added many judicious criticisms.]

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 deficience of payment. Zucchero's temper seems by another instance to have been pretty strongly tinctured with resentment; while he was employed by Gregory XIII. to paint the Pauline chapel in 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,†

* Verrio quarrelling with Mrs. Marriot the housekeeper 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.

† [This portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, is a copy by Zuccaro, and that *lately* at St. James's, another by Mytens. In Charles the First's Collection was a small whole length, which was brought from Scotland, as stated in the catalogue. She had been in England, and under the strictest confinement, since

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

1568, several years previously to Zuccaro's arrival; and it is utterly improbable that any foreign painter should have been admitted to her presence, under the then existing circumstances. In fact, it would be extremely difficult to prove, that any picture of her is genuine, since her departure from France and Scotland. During her residence at Paris, which she quitted in 1561, she is known to have sate to the court painters, to Janet, and F. Pourbus the elder. In the Bodleian Gallery at Oxford is a head of her by the first named, represented as in mourning for her husband, Francis II. But the portrait of her which has the general suffrage, for its authenticity, is one preserved at Dalmahoy, the principal seat of the Earl of Morton, in Scotland, from which an elegant engraving has been made. It is inscribed "Mary Queen of Scots, said to have been painted during her confinement in Lochleven Castle." Yet the name of the painter will elude the most laborious search. Who were the Scotch artists known to have been capable of taking such a portrait, at that period?]

* [Mr. Rogers has given an exact fac-simile of a sketch in black and red chalk, taken in 1575, for a portrait of Q. Elizabeth. It is a whole length. In compliance with the taste of the times, Zuccaro has introduced emblematically, a column, a serpent, an ermine, and a dog. Her arms are crossed, and in one hand she holds a feather fan. Another sketch is the portrait of her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, standing in complete armour, done at the same time, and in a similar manner, both of them in the collection of the late Lord Frederick Campbell.

In proof of the extent of this extraordinary love of variety in dress, a quotation may be allowed from a MSS. folio

wearing dresses of every country. In this picture too appears her romantic turn; she is drawn in a forest, a 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,
Whose melancholy teares my cares expresse:
(i) His teares in silence and my sighes unknowne
Are all the physicke that my harmes redresse.

---

intitled "*A Book of all such garments, jewels, silks, &c. belonging to the Queens wardrobe, in* 1600." Exclusively of coronation, mourning, and parliament robes, and of the Garter robes, being ninety-nine, in all; there were French gowns, 102.—Round ditto, 67.—Loose ditto, 100.—Kirtles, 126.—Foreparts, 136. Petticoats, 125.—Clokes, 96.—Safeguards, 13.—Jupes, 43.—Doubletts, 85.—Lap-mantles, 18.—Fans, 27.—Pantofles, 9. *Nichols's Q. Eliz. Progresses,* v. ii. p. 53. She was then sixty-eight years old, and had been a very careful preserver!—Of the peculiarities of English dress, a summary but satisfactory account is given in *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa,* from the earliest times to those of Charles the Second, p. 586. "A stomacher or forepart is thus described:—Of white sattin embroidered all over with spiders, flies and roundels, with cobwebs of Venice gold and tawney silke."]

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 *to* 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 Zucchero: 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,

* [In the catalogue of the collection of Lady Holderness (1802), was a whole length of Q. Elizabeth, in small, with this distich, and emblems, not apparently applicable to the Virgin Queen,

"Uxor amet, sileat, servet, nec ubique vagetur,
Hoc testudo docet, clavis labra junctaque turtur."
Hæc talis est.]

† 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.

‡ ["The Chapel at Roehampton" is an altar-picture, and still so applied. *Lysons.* At Strawberry-hill, Sir Francis

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 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

Walsingham, by Zuccaro. As Mr. W. has given his opinion, with so much decision, as to the existence of many genuine works of Zuccaro's pencil, it would be thought perhaps presumptuous to bring forward the claims of *many* portraits, so designated by the *Cicerones* of several of the more celebrated collections, in the palaces of our Nobility. The claims of some are certainly defeated by chronology, when we see portraits of elderly men, which if drawn by Zuccaro, could hardly have been youths, when he was in England. Of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the portraits are some of them so highly finished, that although they are not appropriated with satisfactory evidence to Zuccaro, or to his contemporary artists, they deserve to be noticed. At Hatfield; Woburn; Wroxton, Oxfordshire; Parham, Sussex; Lumley Castle; Knowle; Strawberry-hill; Miniature at Belvoir Castle. Of his elder brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, at Penshurst, Hatfield, Woburn and Lumley Castle. And to which of *all* these "*Des nominis hujus honorem?*"]

* 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 Zucchero. *Tour to Scotl.* vol. ii. p. 15.

outside in fresco by his own hand. On the accession of Sixtus V. Zucchero was invited to Spain by Philip II. to paint the Escurial, 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 Zucchero was a poet like others of his profession. From Venice he passed into Savoy, where he was favourably received by the Duke, for whom he began to paint a gallery. Returning, he

* There he was competitor with Tintoret for painting the chapel of St. Roch. *Cat. Rais. des Tableaux du Roi,* vol. ii. p. 70.

† [Zuccaro was among the earliest of the eminent painters who wrote on the subject of art. His *Idea de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti divisa in due libri,*" was printed in folio (1607) at Turin, not at Venice. This book had become so extremely scarce, as to induce the publishers of the "*Lettere sulla Pittura*" to reprint it in their fifth volume. They state, that they searched all over Italy for it, in vain; when it was discovered in the Library at Florence, and communicated to them. Mr. Rogers judiciously observes, that "after all this pains, *the Idea* scarcely merits to be read, much less to be transcribed and reprinted; Zuccaro having involved his own acute remarks in metaphysical subtleties, and obscured the minds of the studious with scholastic definitions and divisions: for he has laboured far more to appear as a philosopher, than as a painter, and has given his book a Platonic dress, better suiting the fifteenth century than the age in which he wrote." v. i. p. 88. For further information concerning these rare books consult Mariette's Letter in the "*Lettere sulla Pittura,*" v. vi. p. 199.]

visited Loretto, and died at Ancona in 1616, aged 66, leaving the remains of his fortune to his academy.

MARC GARRARD.*

Died 1635.

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 Æsop'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.

* His name is written Gerhardus, Guerards, and Garrard. Among the Sidney-papers at Penshurst 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.

† [The father of Marc Garrard, excelled principally in painting animals, and was the author of "*Ours dessinés par Marc Guerard*, 1559, *gravées à l'eau forte, par Marc de Bye*, 1664, 4to. 12 *morceaux*." The designs for Æsop's fables, were by the elder M. Garrard.]

‡ [Some of those which confirm his reputation, may be mentioned. The portraits in the procession to Hundsdon House, now at Sherburn, Dorsetshire, in the Collection of Earl Digby, are taken from the life. Lord Treasurer Burleigh, at Burleigh; Mary Sydney, Countess of Pembroke, Penshurst; Frances Howard, Duchess of Richmond, Strawberry-hill;

In general they are neat, the ruffs and habits stiff, and rich with pearls and other jewels. His flesh-colours are thin, and light, tending to a blueish tincture.

His procession of Queen Elizabeth to Hunsdon House 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.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Hatfield; James, First Marquis of Hamilton, Sir W. Maitland, and John First Lord Thirlestane, E. of Lauderdale. Camden the Historian, Bodleian Gallery, Oxford]

* [Inherited by the present Lord Viscount Dillon.]

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

* See *Sandrart*, 274, and *Descamps*, T. i. p. 254.

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 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.*

* [These designs, for which Sandrart says that Lord Nottingham remunerated him with one hundred florins, were

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 powerful princes, Philip II. and Louis XIV.

made for ten compartments. The whole series with the marginal portraits, was ably engraved by John Pine.

We are not to suppose, that the portraits of the officers and volunteers engaged in the defeat of the Armada, were *imaginary*, but that the brave individuals, who formed a constellation of heroes, were faithfully delineated to complete Vroom's designs for the tapestry. The names are given alphabetically. 1. Christopher Baker. 2. Sir George Becton. 3. Sir Charles Blount. 4. Sir Robert Carey. 5. Captain Crosse. 6. Earl of Cumberland. 7. Sir Francis Drake. 8. Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, the Lord Admiral. 9. Sir Martin Frobisher. 10. Sir Thomas Garrat. 11. Captain Benjamin Genson. 12. Sir John Hawkins. 13. Sir Edward Hobye. 14. Lord Thomas Howard. 15. Mr. Knevet. 16. Earl of Northumberland. 17. Sir Horatio Palavicini. 18. Captain George Penner. 19. Captain Penton. 20. Lord Henry Seymour. 21. Lord Sheffield. 22. Sir Robert Southwell. 23. Sir Thomas Cecil. 24. Sir Roger Townshend. 25. Mr. Thomas Vavasor. 26. Mr. Willoughby. 27. Sir William Wynter. Vroom was a marine painter only; and therefore these most interesting portraits were supplied by some competent portrait painter of the time, for we cannot allow, that whilst so many of these heroes were living, and employed in the service of their country, Lord Effingham, who ordered the ten pictures, would have been content with imaginary resemblances of those who shared with him the honour of the victory.]

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. 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

* [There is a discrepancy between the number of ells and the amount as here stated, which should be 7115*l.* 8*s.*]

† See Journals of the Commons, January 1, 1650. The House of Lords was then used for committees of the Commons.

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 and supporters of a nobleman, and facing it, King David on his knees. At the end of the book this inscription:

Petruccius Ubaldinus Florentinus Henrico comiti Arundeliae, Maecenati suo, scribebat Londini M.D.LXV.†

Another book of vellum, 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

* Vertue says he taught the Italian language.

† [Henry Fitz Alan, the last Earl of that name.]

‡ This gallery and the inscriptions are still extant at the house now the Earl of Verulam'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 retire-

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.

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'essemplari. 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. *

ment, 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.

[Beside the Manor-house built by Sir Nicholas Bacon, and which was entirely taken down in 1778, his son had erected a smaller mansion, within the walls of the ancient Verulamium, and where he displayed much of his classical taste. *Aubrey, Mem.* v. ii. p. 228, who gives a minute and interesting description of it, attributes the whole design to Lord Bacon; and adds, that soon after it was purchased, in 1666, by Sir H. Grimston, it was disposed of for the sake of the materials. The new seat is the repository of a very celebrated collection of ancient English portraits, made originally by the Bacons.]

* [" *A Discourse concerning the Spanish Fleet, in* 1588, *over-*

Petruccio Ubaldino, 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 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-year's gifts, which used to be reposited 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.*

thrown by the Queenes Navy, the Lord Charles Howarde, Lord High Admiral of England. Written in Italian by Petrucchio Ubaldino, citizen of Florence, and translated for A. Ryther, (a little from Leadenhall) next to the signe of the Towre, 27 pages with cuts of the several exploits and conflictes had with the said Fleet, graved by Ryther, 4to. 1590." *Herbert, Hist. Printing,* vol. i. p. 1212.]

† 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 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 favourite, killed a third son in a passion.

A Facsimile of the very curious Miniature by Himself described on page 280 & still remaining at Penshurst

Copied with permission of Sir John Fancy Bart. by G. F. Hardy and Engraved by W. C. Edwards.

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 vellum, of Italian.

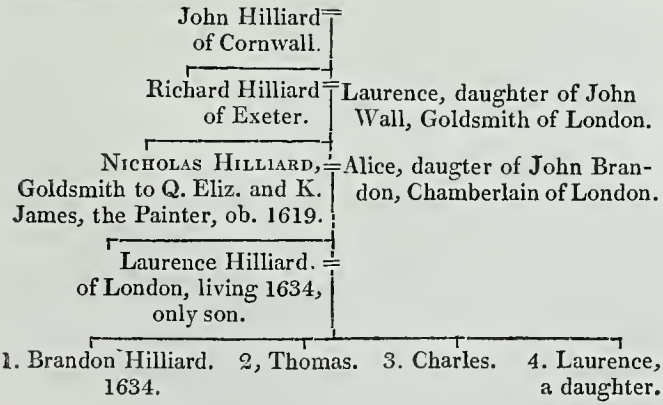
In one of these rolls Mr. Sidney (the famous Sir Philip) presents the Queen at new-year's tide with a whip set with jewels, and another time with a castle enriched with diamonds.

NICHOLAS HILLIARD,

Died 1619,

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

* [The pedigree of Hilliard, *MSS. Coll. Arm. Vis. London*, 1634, seems to affirm the contrary.



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 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 an-

* [This MS. has been alluded to, (p. 144 n.) In the Catalogue of Charles the First's limnings, he is styled "*old* Hilliard, as having painted a miniature presented by his son "*young* Hilliard," who was a goldsmith only. Peacham likewise calls him "old Mr. Hilliard," but Norgate, "N. Hilliard," in the MS. abovementioned. If the son had been an artist of eminence, his works would have appeared in the Royal Gallery. Hilliard's will is dated, Dec. 24, 1618.]

cient and modern painters, brings the comparison to our own time and country; nor must I be ungratefully unmindful 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. but brought to the rare perfection we now see, by the most ingenious, painful and skilful master, Nicholas Hilliard, and his well-profiting scholar, whose farther commendations I refer to the curiositie 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

* See an account of him in *Wood's Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 296.

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'ecriture et les traits d'un peintre Anglois nommè *Oeillarde,* d'autant plus à emerveiller, 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.†

* An extract of it is in *Brown's Ars Pictoria,* p. 95. Lond. 1675, and some of his receipts in *Sanderson's Graphice.*

† [The tablets upon which Hilliard painted his miniatures, were seldom of ivory. "Hippolito Donato, a celebrated limner at Rome, used a card, or smooth piece of pasteboard, which

In the essay towards an English school of painters,* it is said that Mr. Fanshaw had the portraits of Hilliard† and his father, finely executed, with inscriptions on 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,‡ espe-

after he had rubbed with a slickstone, he, with starch finely laid on, pasted an abortive skin upon the same, upon which, when it was thoroughly dry, smoothed, pressed and prepared, he did draw the form of the face, with lines of lake." *Peacham*, p. 385. The Editor possesses one, singularly perfect, which proves, that this method was that usually practised by him. This is upon a playing card cut into a small oval shape.]

* Printed in 1706, at the end of the translation of *De Piles' Art of Painting.* See p. 430.

† 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.

‡ [Of this fact doubts may be reasonably entertained, because so much time was requisite for a degree of finishing so

cially 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,

elaborate; and his price was also very large. Want of a careful protection, or the evanescent nature of the tints has, at all events, reduced them *now* to a very small number.]

* [Miniatures, for many obvious reasons, are much more liable to be destroyed than oil-paintings, if the fading of their colours only, were considered. Many of Hilliard's more highly finished works have long been attributed to I. Oliver. To particularise a few, of which some are still extant, may not be tedious.

Among Charles the First's limnings, were thirteen by Hilliard.

1. Q. Elizabeth in her Parliament robes.

2. Henry Prince of Wales, standing, with a gauntlet on one hand, in gilded armour, 2½ inches by 2.

3. King James, without a hat, with a falling lace ruff.

4. The Earl of Hertford, in a black cap and feather.

5-13. These were dispersed before the reign of James II. in whose collection one only is mentioned; and in that made by Q. Caroline at Kensington there are none by Hilliard.

At Strawberry-hill.

1. Robert Earl of Essex. 2. Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon. 3. Lady Arabella Stuart. 4. Q. Elizabeth. Her prayer-book with the heads of herself and the Duke of Anjou was sold at the Duchess of Portland's sale.

George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, King's Weston.

Q. Elizabeth, given to Lord Chancellor Bacon, at Gorhambury.]

† [A curious specimen of the panegyrical style so much in fashion in the reign of Elizabeth occurs in *Heydock's Preface to Lomazzo on Painting, translated by him,* small fol. 1585. "I wish I had the skillful pen of G. Vasari, for then I doubt not, but that I should, in a short time, finde matter enough to write paralels of their lives, comparing our English painters with the Italian; as Plutarch did the Roman captaines with the

Whereas our well-beloved servant Nicholas 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

Grecian. Then would Master Nicholas Hilliard's hand, so much admired among strangers, strive for a comparison with the milde spirit of the late world's wonder, Raphael Urbine; for to speak truth, his perfection in ingenious illuminating or limning, (the perfection of painting is so extraordinary, &c." continued by Mr. W. p. 287.]

* [The last clause, (Pat. 15. Jac. I. p. 9, No. 15. De licentiâ Nicholao Hillyard super picturâ Regis) omitted above, is of an extraordinary privilege. "In respect of his art and skill in drawing, engraving and imprinting of pictures and representations of ourselves and others, we do give and grant the privilege for twelve years, to grave any manner of picture of our image, or other representation of our person, with power to take a constable and search for any pictures, plates or works, printed, sold or set up, contrary to the true meaning and intent of these presents, at the yearlie rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence." This monopoly gave Hilliard a controul over all the engravers and printsellers of that time, and having died in 1616, his son enjoyed the patent during the remainder of its term.]

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 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 ‡

ISAAC OLIVER,§

Born 1555. Died 1617.

Hitherto we have been obliged to owe to other

* From the Registers in Doctor's Commons.

† He had the same salary as 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.

[This notice cannot occur in Hall's Chronicle, which commences with the reign of Henry IV. and concludes with that of Henry VIII. 1399-1547—neither are the names of Bettes and Tyrell found in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, by Holinshed or Stowe.]

§ I must not disguise, that, though Oliver was probably born in England, he was in all likelyhood of French extrac-

Seupse. pinx.t *R. Cooper. sculp.t*

ISAAC OLIVER.

LONDON.
Published by John Major. 50, Fleet Street.

countries the best performances* exhibited here in painting; but in the branch (miniature) in which

tion: 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 à Moulins;" and in 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 Sanderson'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.

[Burton, in his MSS. *Collections for Leicestershire* says "of this family, (Oliver) settled at East Nortin in 1570, was Isaac Oliver, the curious limner, as I have heard."]

* [There are assertions in the *MS. Harleian,* no. 6000, in the Museum, which excite a doubt, whether it were the work of Hilliard, which is above adverted to: "An exact and compendious discourse concerning the arte of Miniature or Limning; the names, nature and property of the colours; the order to be preserved in preparing and using them; both by picture by the life, landscape and history." Hilliard is always spoken of distinctly, "and this was the manner of our late excellent N. Hilliard, in making his sattins." These directions appear to have been sent to a young artist—"By this time, I suppose you are fitted with tooles, but want a table whereon to expresse your arte, which to the end you may be excellent, as was written and insinuated in the epitaph of your late countryman, and my dear cousin Mr. Isaac Oliver." No clue offers itself, by which we may discover the author of this MS. Most probably, it was compiled from his unpublished notes, some years after his death. It is a practical and most useful treatise, and was certainly gathered from conversations with Hilliard, as

Oliver excelled,* we may challenge any nation to show a greater master, if perhaps we except a few of the smaller works of Holbein. Don Julio Clovio,† the celebrated limner, whose neatness

well as his MS. "this secret I had from Mr. Hilliard." It is divided into three Sections or Parts. 1. On Miniature. 2. Landscape, and 3. History. The author, whoever he was, speaks of various works which he saw at Rome in the time of Pope Sesto Quinto.]

* [His merit was known and acknowledged on the Continent. *Sandrart*, p. 311.) mentions "Oliveirius *membranarum* Pictor Londinensis," alluding to the very general practice of all limners to lay their colours upon abortive vellum, duly prepared. He speaks likewise with admiration, of the durability of Oliver's colours, "ut ut durando dimidium jam excesserint sæculum, incorruptæ tamen et integerrimæ perseverint," p. 312.

† [Dom. Giulio Clovio was born in 1498, and died in 1578. He was at first an ecclesiastic, but received the dispensation of the Pope. He studied design in the school of Michael Angelo, but afterward confined his practice entirely to limning and miniature, in which his eminence was such as to command the patronage of sovereigns and princes, for whom he chiefly painted. Vasari is his great panegyrist, who places him at the head of all limners; and although his success in that kind of painting induced many to adopt limning solely, none of his successors of any age or nation have eventually arrived at an equal degree of perfection. For Cardinal Farnese he illuminated "the Office of the Virgin Mary," in which the figures did not exceed the size of an ant; yet all the limbs were anatomically perfect, when seen through a magnifying glass: another of the "Corpus Domini," consisting of twenty-six figures, employed him during nine years.

Lanzi and Pilkington both assert that he painted portraits in miniature, for particular persons; but that it was not his usual practice. "Per privati, lavorò ritrattini, in gran numero, (nella qual arte è dal Vasari ugualito a Tiziano) ed anche

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.

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; Vertue even thought, from variety of his drawings

qualche quadretti. Questi però sono rarissimi nelle raccolte." T. iv. p. 19. Whoever has well examined the works of Giulio Clovio, will perceive that he was able to represent giants in miniature, as in his painting of their combat with the Gods, from Ovid.

There are now in England three specimens of his matchless talent. 1. The book of Psalms (dated 1537), which had belonged to Lord Arundel, from whom it passed to the Duchess of Portland, and at her sale was purchased for 169*l.* and is now at Strawberry hill.

2. An Illumination, on pecorella (abortive vellum) representing a cardinal, sitting before a table with St. Andrew and other tutelar Saints, at Kensington.

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 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

3. Several folio sheets, (formerly part of a larger MS.) upon the same material, containing Scripture history, purchased from the continent, by the late John Towneley, Esq.; not inferior to any of Clovio's known works.]

* [Vertue does not tell us, where these drawings of I. Oliver after the Italian masters were preserved; if he means limnings, none of them after Parmegiano were in Charles the First's Cabinet. There were seven oil-paintings by Parmegiano (called erroneously *Parmentius*) some of which appear subsequently in K. James the Second's Catalogue.]

† 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.

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 Cowdray† 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 affectus, 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

* Col. Sothby has another larger, and containing only the head, but bold, and admirably painted.

† [This invaluable picture was fortunately preserved from the effects of the conflagration, in 1793, and is now in the cabinet of the Hon. Mrs. Poyntz, at Cowdray. It represents three brothers, 1. Anthony. 2. John. 3. William, sons of Anthony Browne, the second Viscount Montacute, whole length, in black, their ages 24, 21, and 18, with the painter's mark Φ. Motto "Figurae conformis affectus." 1598.]

‡ Vertue met with a print, from whence he supposed Oliver borrowed his design. It was inscribed, Colignaei Fratres, Odetus, Gaspar, Franciscus.

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

* [As it is possible that some readers, who are more interested in the earlier history of miniature painting in England, may consider Mr. W.'s notices of Isaac Oliver's works as too concise; and as the catalogues published by Bathoe (a print-seller) under his inspection and patronage, are become scarce, the Editor offers a more minute and copious description of them, as extracted from the abovementioned sources of information :—

In the Royal Collection.

1. Entombing of Christ, above mentioned, 11½ inches by 1 foot 3½. In the MS. before cited—"But that which is *instar omnium,* (comparing Oliver's works with those of G. Clovio) is the Buriall of Jesus Christ, done upon a large table of fine abortive vellum (half a yard long but not so wide) pasted upon a smooth and well seasoned board. It is now in the hands of my very worthie cossen, Mr. Peter Oliver, by whose incomparable father, Mr. Isaac Oliver, it was begun and almost finished. It was a piece of the greatest beauty and perfection, so neare as it was finished, that I thinke Europe, nor the world can produce; and I believe if Carlo Van Mander, in his Dutch history of the famous painters, had seen this picture, or the inventor, his booke of a *Quarto* would have grown into a *Tome,* with the description."

more; the Earl of Arundel many. He drew a whole length of Robert Earl of Essex, in white,

2. Henry Prince of Wales, the larger $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 4; another in a white turned ivory box.

3. Robert Earl of Essex abovementioned, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5.

4. Anne, Q. of James I.
5. Henry Prince of Wales,
6. Charles I. when D. of York.
7. Princess Elizabeth before her marriage.
8. Another portrait of her.
9. The Lady Shirley,
10. The same, in a Persian dress
11. A young man, St. Sebastian.

12. Death with a laurel round his head apprehending Pilate; intended as a satire on some ecclesiastical Prince. From Holbein.

In K. James II.'s Collection, Isaac Oliver and Laniere, in one piece.

Several were disposed of at the sale of the Duchess of Richmond (*Lond. Gazette*, 1702), which she had received as presents from K. Charles II. to which circumstance Mr. W. alludes.

Strawberry Hill.

1. Isaac Oliver, by himself. 2. A young bride. 3. A lady behind a red curtain, both of the family of Digby, but not known. 4. Lady Lucy Percy, daughter of T. Earl of Northumberland, and wife of Sir Edward Stanley, younger son of the Earl of Derby, mother of Venetia Lady Digby. 5. Lady Arabella Stuart when a child. 6. Sir Philip Sidney sitting under a tree, large size, with a caparisoned horse held by a servant, purchased at Mr. West's sale for 16*l.* 5*s.*; where likewise was Lord Burleigh, in water-colours.

At Penshurst are several portraits which have suffered greatly from the effects both of time and climate, and are in an evanescent state.

Earl Powys has Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. He is lying down reclined on one arm, which supports his head, and with a shield on the other; in the background are men and horses caparisoned for the tilt. Large size.

At King's Weston, Lord De Clifford's, and the Marquis of

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.

Of his drawings several are extant, particularly a capital one in Queen Caroline's closet at Kensington; the subject, the placing of Christ in the sepulchre, consisting of twenty-six figures.* This

Hastings at Donnington, are miniatures undoubtedly by I. Oliver, particularly a very fine one of Anne Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, at the first mentioned seat.

In the chivalrous age of Elizabeth, when emblems and mottoes, either allusive or explanatory, were so frequently invented and so much admired, it was not unusual to introduce upon the ground of the miniature, above the portrait, in the Italian writing character, with letters of gold most delicately pencilled, a few words expressive of some complimentary sentiment. The Editor remembers to have seen two (probably of lovers) which bore these very elegant inscriptions. On the young man's, "*Non poco da chi si medesimo dona;*" and on that of the young lady, "*A colui chi si stesso rassomiglia, e non altrui.*" These were interchanged between them, and preserved in beautifully turned boxes, one of ebony, and the other of ivory. The tradition is, that they represent ancestors of the Harrington family. Miniatures so inclosed were sometimes worn as ornaments of dress. In the King's Collection was a miniature of Q. Elizabeth by Hilliard (abovementioned), with a black dress, richly wrought with gold and pearls, "and a picture-box hanging at her right breast;" the upper lid was commonly very richly carved as a rose.]

* 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.

piece which Isaac had not completed, 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 Escurial, 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 board; and the Holy Family.†

* V. Minutes of the Society, vol. i. p. 206.

† 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, [Cana] by Isaac Oliver, and I conclude, in oil.

[In the Bodleian Gallery, at Oxford, is a portrait of Sir Thomas Overbury in oil, nearly the size of life, painted in an oval shape, and upon a bright blue ground. It has so much the air of an enlarged miniature, that it may be, conjecturally, added to those at Wroxton. A small oil portrait of a young lady in the dress of the early part of James the First's time, painted upon an oval plate of silver, 4 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$, after having

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, 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.

been preserved in a cabinet, for nearly two centuries, has descended to the Editor. It has the beauty and delicate touch, so admirable in his limnings.]

* 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.

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,
Isaacus jacet hic Olivarius,
Cujus vivificâ manu paratum est,
Ut nihil propè debeant Britanni
Urbino, Titianoque. Angeloque.

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* " Mr. Hilliard and his rare disciple Mr. Isaac Oliver."

[" As histories in limning were strangers in England, the King (Charles) commanded the copying of some of his owne pieces of Titian, to be translated into English limning, which indeed were admirably performed by his servant Mr. Peter Oliver. The history of the entombing of Christ begun by Isaac Oliver, but by the royal command, finished by his sonne, of which for the rare art, invention, colouring and neatness, may be said as Vasari speaks of Giulio Clovio, " *onde possiam dire che habbia superato gli antichi e moderni; e che sia stato à i tempi nostri, un nuovo Michel Agnolo.*" A Madonna of Mr. Isaac Oliver's limning, cost him two yeares, as himselfe told mee." *MS. Norgate, Bodl. Lib.*]

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 its 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, 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.

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† [Ralph Aggas, was a surveyor, maker of maps and engraver, whose works are known, 1. Celeberrimæ Oxon. Academiæ elegans simul et accurata descriptio Radulpho Aggas, autore 1578. It gives a sort of bird's-eye view of the University with the several colleges, in the margin. 2. Cambridge upon the same plan. 3. The City of London. See *British Topog.* V. i. p. 209, 1744. *Herbert* (*Hist. of Printing*, p. 1166,) gives a very curious title of one of his professional publications: "A preparative to platting of landes and tenements for surveigh—patched up as plainly together as boldly offered to the curteous and regarde of all worthie gentlemen, lovers of skill—and published instead of his flying papers, which, cannot abide the pasting to poastes. London, printed by him, 1596. He is subsequently mentioned in the Catalogue of Engravers. Another of this ingenious family, and probably the brother of the former, was Edward Aggas. He translated and published several books from the French, which he dedicated to his patron G. Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, 1586. *Herbert*, p. 1167.]

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 skillful 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."†

* Indorum Floridam provinciam habitantium Icones primum ibidem ad vivum expressae a Jacopo Le Moyne cui nomen De Morgues, 1591.

† [A work of singular curiosity has lately been brought to England, which introduces an artist hitherto unknown, as

We have seen in the life of Hilliard that Shoote and Betts, 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

having practised here. It is a very large collection of Topographical Drawings by Antonius Van Den Wynegaarde, chiefly in England, but others at Rome, in Spain, and the Netherlands. It contains views and perspectives of London, as taken from the top of Old Suffolk House, in Southwark (since called the Mint), and included the old Bridge, and the whole North-western bank of the River Thames, from the Tower to Westminster Abbey, with all the conspicuous palaces and buildings. There are likewise separate views, in detail, of the Royal Palaces of Westminster, St. James's, Plaisance at Greenwich, Richmond, Hampton Court and Oatlands. These are given in elevations and parts, with many delineations of each. The artist has affixed his name with dates, "ANTONIUS VAN DEN WYNEGAARDE ad vivum fecit, 1558." A conjecture may be fairly allowed that he was a Fleming, attached to the court of Philip II. when in England, and was so employed during that time, and that he attended that monarch into his different dominions. The Drawings, which are very well and accurately sketched with a pen, and heightened with a slight tint of red and blue, are of the largest imperial folio size, about eighteen inches high, and some of them are so long as to require a double folding. They are now in the possession of Messrs. Harding, Triphook and Lepard, booksellers, by whom proposals have been published for *fac-similes*, on a reduced scale.]

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. Printed 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, Isaac 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 Vandevelde. As Lysippus, Praxiteles and Pyrgoletes were excellent engravers, so have we these engravers, Rogers, Christopher Switzer and Cure."† I quote

* Ames's History of Printing, p. 217.

† [William Cure, afterwards master-mason to K. James I. made the monument of Sir Roger Aston, at Cranford, Middlesex, with seven figures kneeling, for 180*l.* in 1611. *Lysons's Middlesex.*]

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 Dr. John King Bishop of London, from which Simon Pass 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 Sussex, taken at his death in 1583. There appear the names of the following artists; amongst the gilt and silver

* [This caution, as given by Mr. W. is equally reasonable and just. How many a well painted portrait, by the reverse of fortune, has been divorced from the ancient oak wainscot in the manor-house, where it had hung for centuries; and after the name both of the person represented and the painter had been long lost,—found an entirely new one, for both characters, among the crowd in the repository of the picture-dealer and auctioneer? In fact, there were several competent, if not excellent painters of portrait, who were valued only, in their own time, for the faculty and success of imitating those of greater fame, whilst their own names were sunk in obscurity, as in the instance of Nicholas Lockie and Richard Steevens.]

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 Sussex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen and a signal antagonist of Leicester, is still extant.* He bequeathed 1500*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;† pro-

* This contract and inventory Vertue saw among the MSS. of Peter Leneve Norroy, a great antiquary. 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,

bably for a set of hangings mentioned in the inventory; and 6*l.* 16*s.* 0d. to Randolph the painter.

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, 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 Ushington, 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 theif: a theif! thou lyest;
For whie? he robb'd but Anticbrist.
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 Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. p. 52. lib. 7. it is said that when the Lord Arundell† 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

* [An account of the family of Palavicini and their connection with that of Cromwell, is given in *Noble's Mem. of the Cromwells*, v. ii. p, 178.]

† [Sir Thomas Arundell created a Count of the Sacred Roman Empire by the Emperor Rodolph II. in 1595; and Baron Arundell of Wardour, in 1607, 5 Jac. I.]

Richard Stephens * above-mentioned was a Dutchman, and no common artist. He was a statuary, painter and medallist. The figures on Lord Sussex'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

1588, and his portrait is preserved amongst those heroes in the borders of the tapestry in the House of Lords, engraved by Pine.

* [The more eminent artists of the sixteenth century practised the arts *universally*: and equally excelled in painting, sculpture and architecture. Richard Steevens deserves to be enumerated among them. The Earl of Sussex had bequeathed 1500*l.* for his sumptuous funeral and monument, but Steevens was paid for the figures only. It is probable, that he was extensively employed, and that monuments, which partook alike of the three arts, of vast size and magnificence (of which Westminster Abbey is the chief repository), composed of alabaster and various marbles, were finished, or contracted for, by Steevens. Another subject of his art, were the magnificent chimney pieces, similar to the sepulchral monuments, both in composition, dimensions and ornament, of which grand specimens remain at Hatfield, Burleigh, Kenilworth, Audley End, and other palaces of that age.]

† 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.

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 Poines, uxor Thomae Heneage; under the bust, 1562. Ste. H. F. that is, Stephens, Hollandus, fecit.

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 sed 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

* [Robert Adams translated Ubaldini's account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, from the Italian into Latin, 4to. 1589, with eleven maps.—*Herbert*, p. 1697.]

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 aisle on the north side of the Church of Greenwich with this inscription; Egregio viro, Roberto Adams, operum regiorum supervisori, 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 camco.† 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

* Vol. ii. p. 121.

† [Several very small bas-reliefs, of histories, by this artist, cast in copper, are preserved in a frame, in the Brit. Mus.]

‡ Lord Charlemont bought it at Dr. Mead's sale.

Duke of Devonshire has several of his works :* 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, compleatly 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 Trevisanum is a medallion 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

* The Earl of Exeter has also one or two.

† [From the Collection of the Countess of Holderness. Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer, by his Will, dated Aug. 11, 1607, bequeaths "the sole use of one picture of our late famous Queen Elizabeth, being cut out of an agate, with excellent similitude, oval fashion, and set in gold, with 26 rubyes about the circle of it, and one orient pearle pendant to the same, to remaine as an heir-loome to the house and family of the Sackvilles."—*Collins's Peerage.*]

gold garnished with sparkes of diamonds, rubyes and ophals, with an agath of her Majestie's visnomy and a perle pendante with devises 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 œconomy 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 Lowlayton 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 Valesiorum et Linea Angliae; at bottom the workman's name, Remigius Hogenbergius, servus D. Matt. archiep. Cant. sculpsit 1574.†

[* These artists are farther particularised by Mr. W. in his Catalogue of Engravers.]

† Ames's Typograph. Antiqu. p. 540.

There was another such genealogic chart, intituled, Regnum Britanniae tandem plenè in Heptarchiam redactum a Saxonibus, expulsis Britannis, &c. Ao. 686. executed in wood very plain and well; the name, Richardus Lyne, servus 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. Vertue 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

* 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.

[The monument erected by Sir Nathaniel Bacon in Culford church, during his lifetime, was probably after his own design. The introduction of the pallet and pencils afford a satisfactory proof that he valued himself upon his love of, and proficiency in the art. In a MS. by Edward Norgate, to the account of whom, in this work, notes will be added, Sir Nathaniel Bacon is mentioned, with much interest. Speaking of "Pinke" which is a colour soe usefull and hard to get good, as gave occasion to my late deare friend Sir N. Bacon, K. B. (a gentleman whose rare parts and generous disposition, whose excellent learning and great skill in this and good arts, deserves a never-dyinge memory) to make or finde a pinke, so very good, as my cousinell P. Oliver, (without disparagement to any the most excel-

of the Keeper, and half brother of the great Sir Francis. 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 Suf-

lent in this art) making proofe of some that I gave him, did highly commend it, and used none other to his dyinge day; wherewith, and with Indian lake, hee made sure expressions of those deep and glowing shadows, in those histories he copied after Titian, that no oyle painting should appeare more warme and fleshy than those of his hand." After ascribing so much praise to this preparation, he gives the secret,

"To make Sir N. Bacon's browne pinke."

"About Midsummer, take as much of a greene weed called *genestella tinctoris*, as will be well boiled and covered in a paile of water, but let the water be seethed well, and be scummed, before you put it in. You will know when it is well sodde, when the leaves and the barke will slip from the stalke drawn through your fingers. Then take it from the fire, and poure it into a wooden bowle or pail, through a clothe, till all the water be strained through; then cast the wood away. Take this water and set it on the fire againe, and when it begins to seethe, put into it the quantity of half an eggshell of ground chalke with a little water of the kettle in a dish, after the manner of thickening the pot; then put to it a little jellied size, broken small with your hand, as it were strewed all over the superficies of your colour, and so let it stand. The size is put in, to make the water separate from the colour. Then take off the scumme, and put it into a jarglass, and set it where no sun comes; and it will be excellent yellow." The annexed engraving will give a proof of Sir N. Bacon's great talent, exhibited in a portrait of himself.]

folk (younger son to the most honorable and bountiful-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 seat, 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 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

* 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.

† [Now, or formerly, in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford.]

SIR NATHANIEL BACON,

From the Original Picture by himself in the Collection of the Rt. Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

Copied by W. Bone, and Engraved by R. Cooper.

LONDON.
Published by John Major, 50 Fleet Street,
Feby 15th 1826.

passion for portraits of remarkable persons. Stowe in his annals speaking of the Duke d'Alençon, 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 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

* 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; 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 pastrymen with peels for their ovens." p. 25.

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 honorable knight, and graven in copper

* [Of this most rare publication two copies are extant in the Library of the College of Arms. Thomas Lant was created Portcullis Pursuivant, 1558, Windsor Herald, 1597, and died in 1600. A short abstract of this very curious work will communicate some idea of the pomp, with which the funeral of the illustrious Sydney was conducted. "Here followeth the manner of the whole proceedinge of the Funerall, which was celebrated in Saint Paule's, the sixteenth of February, 1586. Followers, six peers, relatives, among whom were the Earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir Robert Sydney chief mourner, with six others. Pall-bearers, Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Edward Dyer. Six banner bearers, two before and four behind. Six heralds bearing the insignia escocheon, sword, gloves and spurs. The Horse of the Field in full caparison—the barbed horse. The whole conducted by Garter King of Arms. Followers, twelve Knights relatives, and 60 Esquires. Thirty-two poor men, to denote his age. The procession closed by the Mayor and Corporation, Artillery and Trained-bands of the City of London. Engraved in copper by Derick Theodore de Bry of the Cittye of London, 1587: This picture which you see expressed, is the true pourtraiture of Thomas Lant, who was the author and inventor of this worke."]

This Thomas Lant was Portcullis Poursuivant; there are several copies extant in MS. of a treatise called, the Armoury of Nobility, first gathered by Robert Cook Clarencieux, 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 Osburgh in Norfolk, to whom I am obliged for this and other curious communications.

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 its 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 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 shewing 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."

* See the pedigree of Holland in *Blomfield's Norfolk.*

† Mr. Gray.

This gate cost 128*l.* 9*s.* 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 sacelli 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 base projecting from the wall) is a sarcophagus with ribbed work and mouldings, somewhat antique, placed on a basement 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 doctoris Caii columna erecta est, eique lapis miro artificio elaboratus, atque in se 60 horologia complexus imponitur, quem THEODORUS HAVEUS Cleviensis, artifex egregius, et insignis architec-

turae 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 ad formam Pegasi formatum." That column is now destroyed with all its sun-dials, 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 Haveus 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 praeclarè facta) duo collegia, Emanuelis hoc, Sidneii illud, extruxit integrè: magnam etiam

partem Trinitatis recocinnavit 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) guilt, the bason having in the bushel (body) a boy bestriding an eagle, and the ewer of the worke of Grotestain, 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 Assabel Partrage, the queen's goldsmiths, four thousand ounces of guilt plate, at five shillings and fourpence 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.

Paid to Maximilian Powtran,	-	170*l.*
Patrick Blacksmith,	- -	95*l.*
John de Critz,* the painter,	-	100*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.

[Maximilian Poutraine, more commonly known as Maximilian Colte, and by which name Mr. W. mentions him, had a writ of privy seal in 1607 for 140*l.* for a monument in West-

Besides the stone, the whole cost 965*l.**

minster Abbey, for Princess Sophia, fourth daughter of James I. *Lodge's Illustrations*, v. iii. p. 319.

Of the several individuals of the De Critz, a farther account will be given when they occur.]

* This monument, and those of the Queen of Scots, and of the two young princesses Mary and Sophia, daughters of King James, cost 3500*l.*

REMARKS.

A sketch of the History of the Architecture in use, to the close of the reign of Elizabeth, may now be resumed. More interesting specimens of that peculiar style could not be adduced, than the mansions erected by her ministers for their own residence. She rather encouraged that enormous expense in the Noblemen of her court, than set them any such example. She neither built nor rebuilt any palace, for she considered that her father's magnificence had supplied them ; and excepting the gallery at Windsor Castle, no royal building claims her for its founder. Lord Leicester is said to have expended 60,000*l.* upon Kenilworth only, which sum will not bear the test of comparative examination.

Of the palatial houses, finished before 1600, the following list will include those of greater celebrity, in that æra ; reserving others, the foundations only of which were laid in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, to that of her successor. Some curiosity respecting their architects (more essentially connected with the original plan of this work) will necessarily arise, which will be informed, as far as any document within the Editor's knowledge, will confirm the appropriation. Yet there is undoubted authority for the names of certain individuals, as architects whose works are not exactly known at this period, but whose fame must have been acquired by the eminent talents they

displayed in the age wherein they lived. Such names without reference to any building in particular, are not unfrequently mentioned. Robert Adams, Bernard Adams, Laurence Bradshaw, Hector Ashley and Thomas Grave, as holding the employments of architects, surveyors or master-masons to the Queen, and her Nobility.

	Date	County.	Founder.	Architect.	Present State.
1. Burleigh.	1580	Lincoln	Lord Burleigh	John Thorpe	Perfect
2. Kenilworth.	1575	Warwick	Earl of Leicester	Skillington	Ruins
3. Hunsdon.		Herts	Lord Hunsdon	- - - -	Rebuilt
4. Stoke Pogeis.	1580	Bucks	Earl of Huntingdon	- - - -	Rebuilt
5. Gorhambury.	1565	Herts	Sir N. Bacon	- - - -	Ruins
6. Buckhurst.	1565	Sussex	Lord Buckhurst	- - - -	Destroyed.
7. Knowle.	1570	Kent	The Same	- - - -	Perfect
8. Catledge.	1560	Cambridge	Lord North	- - - -	Destroyed
9. Longleat.	1579	Wilts	Sir J. Thynne	- - - -	Perfect
10. Basinghouse.	1560	Hants	Marquis of Winton	- - - -	Ruins
11. Wanstead.	1576	Essex	Earl of Leicester	- - - -	Destroyed
12. Wimbledon.	1588	Surrey	Sir T. Cecil	- - - -	Rebuilt
13. Westwoood.	1590	Worcester	Sir J. Packington	- - - -	Perfect
14. Penshurst.	1570	Kent	Sir H. Sydney	- - - -	Perfect
15. Kelston.	1560	Somerset	Sir J. Harrington	- - - -	Rebuilt
16. Toddington.	1580	Bedford	Lord Cheyney	- - - -	Destroyed
17. Hardwick hall.	1597	Derby	Ctss. of Shrewsbury	- - - -	Ruins
18. Theobalds	1580	Herts.	Lord Burleigh	- - - -	Destroyed

The principal deviation from the plan of the earlier houses in the times of the Tudors was in the bay windows, parapets, porticos; and internally in the halls, galleries, chambers of state and stair-cases. The two last mentioned were rendered as rich in ornamental carving, as the grotesque taste, then prevalent could invent or apply. The ceilings were fretted only with roses and armorial devices, but without pendents, as in the earlier style. The fronts of the porticos were overlaid with carved entablatures, figures and armorial devices —the lofty and wide galleries generally exceeded one hundred feet in length—and the staircases were so spacious as to occupy a considerable part of the centre of the house.

The imperfectly imitated Roman style, introduced as before noticed, by John of Padua, in its first dawn in this kingdom,

began now to extend its influence, although partially. At Burleigh the parapets, which surround the whole structure, are composed of open work, describing a variety of Tuscan scrolls, and the chimneys are Tuscan columns, two, three or four, clustered together, and surmounted by a frieze and entablature. Open parapets having letters placed within them, as a conceit indicative of the founder, were then first introduced.

The large manor-houses, dispersed through the several English counties, constructed of timber frame-work, were very general, where a supply of stone or brick failed. The carved pendents and the weather boards of the gables and roof, were carved in oak or chesnut, with exuberance of fancy, and good execution. The counties of Chester, Salop, and Stafford abounded, more especially in curious instances, many of which are no longer seen, and their memory preserved only, in old engravings. The zenith of this particular fashion of domestic architecture was the reign of Elizabeth, and it is thus discriminated by a contemporary observer. "Of the curiousnesse of these piles, I speake not, sith our workmen are grown generallie to such an excellencie of devise in the frames now made, that they farre pass the finest of the olde." "It is a worlde to see how divers men being bent to buildinge, and having a delectable veine in spending of their goodes by that trade, doo dailie imagine new devises of their owne to guide their workmen withall, and those more curious and excellent than the former." *Harrison's Desc. of Engl.* p. 336.

In the more ancient cities and towns, houses of timber-frame, but in a peculiar and not less ornamented style of carvings, were frequent; and in their fronts towards the street, and in the wainscoting of the apartments, the supporting figures were of extremely whimsical forms. It is not easy to determine, what they were intended to represent.

Those which have remained to our own times, might have been seen at Chester, Shrewsbury, Coventry and Bristol, but in the last mentioned place, most have vanished in the course of the last century, and their representations are preserved only in the portfolios of local antiquaries. On the Continent, although more ancient, as we have been merely imitators, they

have been better preserved to the present day. All the eccentricities of the Burgundian manner have been adopted in their buildings of timber-frame, as well as of brick and stone. Numerous and remarkable specimens may still be examined and admired at Rouen, Bruges, Nuremberg and Strasbourg, to which we could at no period have offered examples of equal excellence.

The age of Queen Elizabeth introduced so total a deviation from the plan of sepulchral monuments in the preceding reigns, that it may be considered as a new style.

Upon a large altar-tomb of marble was erected an open arcade, having a very rich and complicated entablature. The columns were marble shafts, with capitals, white or black, of the Doric or Corinthian order. Small pyramidal figures, the sides of which were richly veneered with variously coloured pieces disposed in ornamented squares or circles, supporting globes or balls. Armorial bearings were emblazoned, and the effigies painted and gilt in exact resemblance to the armour or robes in which the noble deceased were invested during life. When these monuments were placed against a wall, which was more commonly done, the plan was accommodated to it, and the alcove, with its columns, universally retained. Not to mention inferior instances, the Monuments of Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, at Boreham, before noticed; of the Countess, in Westminster Abbey; of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at Warwick, and of Carey Lord Hunsdon, in Westminster-Abbey, will amply confirm these observations. The taste, in which these monuments are executed, is alike cumbrous and confused; and to the figures, the anomaly of form with colour, is indiscriminately applied.

SUPPLEMENT.

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

JOHN THORPE,

who has left a folio of plans,* now in Lord Warwick's possession. There are not many uprights,

* [This singularly curious and valuable MS. had passed to the library of the Hon. Charles Greville, at the sale of which, (April 10, 1810) it was purchased by John Soane, Esq. Regius Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy, Architect to the King's Board of Works, and to the Bank of England, who offered it to Lord Warwick for the price he had given, when it was declined, with a merited compliment. The Editor requested of Mr. Soane a favour, which he has conceded, with a liberal promptitude and an unrestrained permission of inspecting and making extracts, which will prove that the present proprietor is worthy of the possession, and that it has found its proper place, in the most curious and select library of architecture now in this country. It is a folio of the common size, composed of thick paper, and consists of 280 articles or pages. The plans are accurately executed, but not always accompanied by a scale. Where names of places and proprietors are written (though sometimes with a pencil only) in a very difficult running hand, these plans or elevations are, of

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 Buck-

course, authenticated. We have sometimes one, without the other. Several of them were merely designs prepared for houses *to be built*, and to be offered for approbation.

The Elevations are very neatly tricked, and shaded with ink. The more common form is that of three sides of a quadrangle, the portico in the centre being an open arcade, finished by a turretted cupola, roofed with lead. Where the quadrangles are complete, they are for convenience intersected by an open corridore. The windows of the front are large and lofty, sometimes alternated with bows or projecting angles, and always so, at either end. Scroll ornaments copied from the designs of the French School, under Vignola and P. Le Scot, are interlaced upon the frizes, or applied in open work in the parapets. The effort by which chimnies were concealed was to couple or group them with Roman-Doric pillars, having a plain entablature, of which manner Burghley offers a particular instance.]

* [The result of the present examination varying from that here printed by Mr. W. the Editor finds it expedient to offer one, more in detail; having investigated the whole contents,

1. Somerset House.

2. Buckhurst House, in the parish of Withiam, Sussex, built by Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer to Q. Elizabeth. Ground plan and Elevation. Front extending 230 feet. Quadrangle 100-80; Hall, 50-80. Very inconsiderable remains.

hurst House in Sussex, an immense pile; of Woolaton; Copthall; Burleigh House;* Burleigh

3. P. 24. "A garden side for a nobleman's house," probably never executed.

4. "The way how to drawe any ground plot into the order of perspective." Diagrams, with written instructions.

5. Design for a large house, with three sides of a quadrangle.

6. "Sir Thomas Dorrell, Lincolnshire." Elevation.

7. "Godstone," an open corridore upon Roman Doric arches.

8. "Copthall," Essex, built by Sir Thomas Heneage, to whom the manor was granted by Q. Elizabeth. Gallery 168 feet long, 22 wide and 22 high. Inner court 83 feet square; destroyed.

9. "Wollaton," Nottinghamshire, built according to the inscription, "EN HAS FRANCISCI WILLOUGHBÆI ÆDES, RARA ARTE CONSTRUCTAS, WILLOUGHBÆIS RELICTAS — INCHOATÆ 1580-1588. A part only of the front. An inscription in the church at Wollaton appears to invalidate Thorpe's claim. "Mr. Robert Smithson architector and survayor unto the most worthy house of Wollaton, with divers others of great account, ob. 1614." He was probably the pupil and successor of Thorpe.

10. Three sides of a quadrangle with a corridore intersecting. A Design.

11. Sir John Bagnall. A gallery above 60 feet in length.

12. "Burghley juxta Stamford," built by W. Cecil, Lord Treasurer. Plans only. 1. Ground plan. 2. First floor. Sketches and designs for the scroll parapet.

13. "Four turrets at the four corners, and a lanthorn in the middle leaded all over, and no tunnels appeare, for Sir George St. Poole."

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* Cliefden, built by the second Villiers Duke of Buckingham, was evidently copied in little from his father's seat, Burleigh on the Hill.

on the Hill, (the Duke of Buckingham's;) Sir Walter Cope's, now Holland-house at Kensington;

14. "Thornton College, (Lincolnshire) Sir Vincent Skinner." Gallery 100 feet, with circular projecting windows at either end.

15. Ground plan. "Sir Thomas Holte."

16. A design of more elegance, with Corinthian pilasters.

17. "Sir Walter Coapes at Kensington, erected by me I. T." This, now Holland House, was finished by Thorpe in 1607, but afterwards altered and added to by Inigo Jones and Stone.

18. "Giddea Hall," Essex, altered for Sir Anthony Coke, who entertained Q. Elizabeth there. Taken down.

19. " for Sir George Coppen."

20. "Burghley on the Hill: the garden side; lodgings below and a gallery above, J. T."

21. "A front or garden side for a nobleman, three breadths of ordinary tenements." Conjecturally for Sir Fulke Greville's (Lord Brooke) house, near Gray's Inn.

22. "A London house for Mr. Darby."

23. Wimbledon; "a howse stands upon the edge of a hill." Built for Sir Thomas Cecil, in 1588. Fuller calls it "a daring structure nearly equal to Nonsuch." Rebuilt by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, and since burned down.

24. "Queene Mother's house, Faber St. Jermin alla Parie; altered per J. Thorpe."

25. "Monsieur Jammet in Paris, his howse, 1600; all his offices are under grounde."

26. "Jarmin's howse v leagues from Paris, A. 1600." The elevation is very spacious, and exhibits windows of right angles and circles alternately.

27. " Sir William Hazlerigg." Elevation.

28. "Longford Castle." A diagram of the Trinity is drawn in the centre of a plan of the triangular court. There are two elevations of parts of each front. This very singular construction was erected by Sir Thomas Gorges and his lady, the Marchioness Dowager of Northampton, in 1591. Now the seat of the Earl of Radnor.

Giddy Hall in Essex; Audley Inn; Ampthill (now called Houghton;) and Ampthill Old House, another spacious palace, in which Catherine of Arragon some time resided, and of which he says he

29. " Sir Percival Hart." Plan. Lullingstone, Kent.

30. " Mr. Panton." A large and compact house, not much ornamented, having lofty octagon turrets, leaded conically, at each corner.

31. "Holdenby." (written in pencil). Two large quadrangles in the plan, and an elevation of the front. Built in 1580 for Sir Christopher Hatton, and now in ruins.

32 and 33. Plans. "Mr. William Fitzwilliams, and Sir Henry Neville."

34. " Audley End." Plan of the two courts. Thorpe's part of this once enormous huilding appears to have heen completed ahout 1616. It has been since very greatly reduced, and is now the seat of Lord Braybroke.

35. A *concetto* or design of " a crosse buildinge," which has semi-octagon projections at the ends.

36. " Mr. Tayler at Potters-harr."

37. " Sir Walter Covert's," at Slaugham near Horsham, Sussex. The ruined walls are still standing.

38. " Hatfield Lodge." A plan.

39. " Ampthill, the topp plott."

40. Ampthill Old House enlardged, " per J. Thorpe."

41. " Kerhy wherof I layd the first stone 1570." This house was built for John Kirby, citizen of London. Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer (Burghley) about 1578, mentions the death of John Kirby, who built a fair house on Bethnal-green, which house, lofty like a castle, occasioned certain rhimes, abusive of him and some other city builders of great houses, who had prejudiced themselves therehy, viz. " Kirby's Castle, and Fisher's Folly, Spinola's Pleasure, and Megg's Glory." *Lysons Env. Lond. v.* ii, p. 29. These were probably erected in the suburbs, from the plans abovementioned, which Thorpe calls of London houses.]

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 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 ungraceful, 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

* [This assertion certainly requires some qualification. Could Mr. W. have overlooked the construction of the roofs of the Halls of Westminster, Eltham and Crosby Place, all of which are still perfect, built in a decidedly Gothic æra?—or those, still Gothic, of Christ Church, Oxford, and Hampton Court?—In what ecclesiastical building are there roofs in a similar style of construction or ornament?

This question might be pursued much farther, but the distinction between Gothic architecture, as applied to ecclesiastical buildings, or to the interior of castles, or to Bishop's palaces, abbeys, and large houses, in the middle centuries, is sufficiently evident.]

Paris, and even seems to have been employed there: at least he gives alterations for the Queen-mother's house, *Faber St. Germains,* 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 IT† conjoined by a corridore [which I have expressed by 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.

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* The MS. has "my fa: Lakes house, Canons." Sir T. Lake, who was implicated with the Earl of Suffolk, and severely fined in the reign of James I. built the first house at Canons, where the magnificent Duke of Chandos erected a palace, which was deservedly satyrised by Pope, and which was sold for the materials. Was Thorpe Sir T. Lake's son-in-law? no evidence of that fact has occurred.

† [The orthography is different,

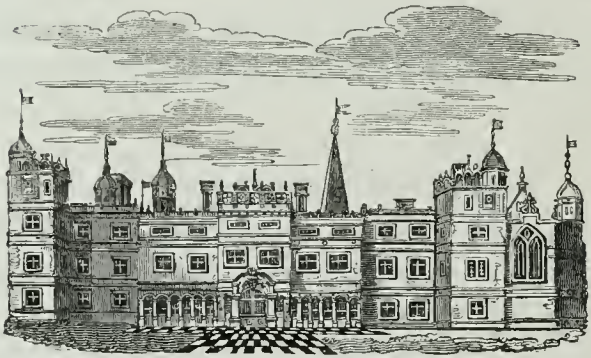
> "Thes 2 letters I and T
> Joyned together as you see
> Is meant for a dwelling house for mee."

The I, is applied as Offices; the T, skilfully distributed into large and small apartments.]

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.*

["Capellam istam Henrici 7mi, impensis 14000*l.* adjecit ipse 1502."]



Burleigh House, Lincolnshire.

[SUPPLEMENT, No. II.

The wardrobe accounts of King Henry VIII. preserved in the British Museum, (*MSS. Harl.* 1419, *two volumes*) are replete with most curious evidence, particularly interesting to those of our antiquarian readers, who delight to inquire into the splendour, domestic furniture and habits of life, which were peculiar to the ancient monarchs of England.

This inventory was made by Commissioners in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. (1547), minutely notifying the furniture of fifteen palaces, so left by his father. The articles, indeed, are much too multifarious, and our plan necessarily excludes a series of copious extracts, although so many of them would tend to confirm our notions of the actual magnificence of the age of Henry the Eighth.

The honour of being the first royal collector of pictures, has been given exclusively to Charles I. without due examination into the fact. The principal extract therefore which the Editor will venture to offer at length, will be a catalogue of Henry's collection, which exhibits no small number; and it is an allowable conjecture, that many of them were fine specimens of the Flemish and Italian schools, exclusively of those by Holbein

and other eminent artists, who were resident in England, and enjoyed the royal patronage. By the extreme simplicity used in these descriptions and the obsolete terms applied, much satisfactory information is obscured. Though the subjects are mentioned, and sometimes even with minuteness, the name of the master is never given. The frames are as exactly described. Over many, of the portraits in particular, curtains of white and yellow taffety were placed, in order to preserve them—a proof how greatly they were valued by their royal proprietor.

Upon a comparison of the subjoined, with the catalogue of Charles the First's pictures, it may be ascertained, that several of them are still extant in the palaces of George the Fourth.

"Stuffe and Implements, at Westminster, in the charge of Sir Anthonie Denny Knight, keeper of the Howse, (*St. James's.*")

Tables with Pictures, (on pannel, 25 in all), among them,

1. "A table with a picture of St. Jerome paintinge upon a deade man's head."

2. A table with a nakid woman holding a table with a scripture upon it, in th' one hande, and a bracelett on th' other at the upper part thereof. (*a portrait.*)

4. A table of the Decollation of John the Baptiste.

5. A table with a picture of a woman playing upon a lute, and an olde manne holdinge a glasse in the one hande, and a deade manne's head, in th' other hande.

6. Lucretia Romana in a gowne like crimosin velvett with greene foresleeves cutte.

7. The same being alle nakid. (*There are three others of this subject.*)

8. On a table of walnut-tree, St. George on horsebacke, *probably that by Raffaelle which was known to have been in this Collection.*

Stained Clothes. (*Pictures on canvas.*)

1. A table of St. Michel and St. George, being in harnesse (*armour*) holdinge a stremer.

2. The Decollation of St. John.

3. A table of the naked truthe having the woorkes of the byshopp of Rome sette forthe in it.

4. Filius Prodigus.

5. A table of an olde manne dallyinge with women, and a Pheasant-cocke hanginge by the bill.

6. St. John Baptistes headd.

7. A Table of the Frenshe Kinge (*Francis I.*) the queene his wife, and a foole standynge behinde hym. (*with a curtain of yellow and white sarcenet before it.*)

8. The Siege of Pavie.

9. A stayned clothe, with men and womenn sittinge at a bankett, and death comyng in makinge them all affrerde, and one standinge with a sworde at the dore, to kepe him owt.

There are mentioned many pictures, the subjects of which are repeated several times, having probably been the work of different Flemish and Italian masters, as ordered by the King himself, and painted by those artists, who preferred to send him their works, before living under his auspices, in England.

The prevailing subjects of these are,—the Madonna and Child. The Virgin Mary with the dead body of Christ. The beheading of St. John, and the Story of Judith and Holofernes. There were three of St. George, and one of them by Raffaelle, as above-mentioned.

(*Tables or steyned clothes.*) *Portraits, upon canvas or panel.*

1. A Table of the Frinshe Kinge havinge a dublet of crimsin and a gowne garnished with knottes made like perle. (Francis I.)

2. Ditto, The Frinshe queene Elonora, in the Spanyshe arraie, and a cap on her headd, with an orange in her hande. (Sister of the Emperour.)

3. Ditto, Three children of the Kinge of Denmarke. (Frederick I.)

4. The Duchesse of Myllaine (*Christina**) beinge her whole stature.

5. Th' olde Emperoure, th' Emperor that nowe is, and Ferdinande, (Maximilian I. Charles V. and Ferdinand I. successively Emperours of Germany.)

6. The Ladye Margarite, Duchesse of Savoye.

7. Friderike Duke of Saxon, (John Frederick styled the Magnanimous.)

8. Elizabethe of Austrie, Queene of Denmarke.

9. "Queene of Hungarie being regente of Flanders." (Donna Maria, widow of Louis II. King of Hungary, and sister of the Emperour.)

10. Prince Arthure.

11. Ditto of Prince Arthure, wearing a redde capp, with a brooch upon it, and a collar of redde and white roses.

12. King Henry t'eyght, when yonge.

13. Th' hoole stature of the Kynges Majestie, in a gowne like crimsin satten, furred with luzernes.

14. In the newe libraryc, a table of the picture of oure late souverayne lorde Kinge Henrie th'eyght, not fynishid.

15. Ditto, of the Ladye Elizabeth, her grace, with a booke,

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* ["Cromwell, lord privy seale, signified his master's desire, that a match might be had betwixt oure King and Christina Duchess of Milan, being a beautiful lady. Cromwell answered, that he must first see her picture. Which being granted, one Hans Holbin, being the king's servant, was sent over to Flanders, and in three hours space shewed what a master he was in the science." *Herbert's Hen. viij. p.* 496. This was probably a sketch only in crayons.]

in her hande her gowne like crimsin clothe of golde, with woorkes (*needlework or embroidery.*)

16. Kinge Rychard III.

17. A stained clothe being Solymanie the Turque, being the hoole stature.

18 to 23. Kinge Henrie 5^{the}. Kinge Henrie 6^{the}. Kinge Edwarde 4^{the}. Q. Elizabethe hys wife. King Henrie 7^{the}. alle with yellow and white sarcenet. (*They are heads only.*)

24. Louise the Frenshe Kinge. (Louis XII.)

25. The Queene of Castyle. (Joan Queen of Castile and Leon.)

26. A litell rounde table of the Frenshe Kinge (*Francis I.*) when he was yonge.

27. Charles VIII. the Frenshe Kinge, (*ob.* 1498.)

28. St. with the picture of Charles th' emperoure.

29. The Duke of Burbon.

30. Th' emperoure, his dublett beinge cutte, and a rosemarine branche in his hande.

31. Isabelle Quene of Castyl, (*the wife of Ferdinand V. King of Arragon.*)

32. John Archduke of Austrie.

33. A man having a black cappe, with a brooche and a collar of scallop-shells. (*Order of St. Michael.*)

34. A littel table with Charles Duke of Burgundy.

35. Philip Duke of Burgundy.

36. Philip Duke, the hardye.

37. Charles the Great th'emperoure.

38. Frederike III. Emperour.

39. Duke of Sabaudie (Savoy (*Philibert II.*)

40. Jacobbe Kinge of Scottes (James IV.) with a hawke on his fiste.

41. Ferdinande Kinge of Arragon.

42. Duchesse of Millayne (*repetition*). *This was the princess who being solicited to marry K. Henry VIII. objected "that she had only one neck."*

43. The wyfe of the Lorde Fiennes. ( )

44. A table of a woman called "Michaell," with a redde rose in her hande.

45. Friderike Duke of Saxon, stayned upon a linen clothe, being his whole stature (*repetition.*)

46. The Prince of Orange. ( )

47. The Phisnomy of the Kinge paynted in a table.

The guardrobe of the Honour of Hampton Cowrte. In the Kinges gallerie.

48. "A picture of my Lorde prince," (*afterwards Edward VI.*)

49. Another table of oure lady and her sonne, having a stranet, (*curtain.*)

50. A table of our ladye and her sonne painted.

51. A table of the bussopp of Rome, the four Evangelists castinge stones at him. (Eighteen pictures, in the whole, at Hampton Court, chiefly of the Virgin and Child, and the Life of Our Saviour, which probably belonged to Cardinal Wolsey.)

The whole number of pictures, in the several palaces, amounted, in this inventory, to one hundred and fifty-three.

If it be allowed, that the mind and taste of Henry VIII. were demonstrated by the subjects, upon which he employed the painters whom he patronized, and to whom he dictated them, an opinion exactly correspondent with his character, will be the result. We find in his collection numerous portraits of himself, repetitions of those of his contemporary princes, particularly those of the Emperour and Francis I. with whom he was perpetually conversant; of his predecessors; two of the Duchess of Milan, who refused to marry him; but not one of his six wives! The historical and scriptural subjects were, the violation and death of Lucretia; the Decollation of St. John Baptist, and his head in a chardger; a similar exhibition of Judith and Holofernes; St. George, his patron

saint: The Virgin and Child, and with the dead Christ; sundry Flemish moralities, in which Death is personified; and drolls of the imbecility of old men; with caricatures of the Pope, after the Reformation!

If the limits which the Editor has prescribed to himself could be extended, the interest excited by the perusal of many of the other articles would induce him to add other equally curious particulars, which elucidate the manners of the monarch, and his times. Of those more immediately connected with the arts of design, tapestry will be noticed in the next volume, excepting two pieces. 1. Item, one piece of arras of the comynge of K. Henry VII. into Englande, with the Kinge holdinge with th' one hande the crowne from K. Rycharde the thirde usurper of the same; and with th' other hande holdinge a swoord crowned. Given by the Master of the 'orse, (*Sir Anthony Browne)*. 2. One piece of arras of the Marriage of the Kinge and Quene. *(Henry vij. and Elizabeth of York)*. Given by the same. There were many maps "streyned on borde." Of the Cinque Poortes; Callis and Bulloign; of the sieges of Bulloign, Rome, Vienna, &c. &c. Views of Paris, Antwerp, Florence, Holy Land, and the "whoole worlde." The "pictures made of Erthe," were small figures in Terra-cotta, which were painted, and likewise bas-reliefs of scriptural subjects, painted or gilt.

But, that those who think the investigation would repay their trouble may not lose the gratification, the necessary references are as follow, in the British Museum. 1. Wardrobe books of Sir Nicholas Vaux and Sir Henry Guldeford, anno 12mo. Henrici 8vi. *MSS. Harl.* 4217. 2. An Inventorye of King Henry VIII.'s gold and silver plate. *Bodleian Library, MSS. Hatton,* No. 3502. and the Survey of the Wardrobe, &c. of Henry VIII. táken by the commissioners of Edward VI. September 8, 1547. *MSS. Harl.* 1419. 3. The Inventorye of Cardinal Wolsey's householde stuff at Hampton Court, York Place, &c. ann. 14. Henrici 8vi. *MSS. Harl.* 599. This contains furniture and hangings of gold tissue, clothes of estate of crimson velvet and gold, with the cardinal's arms *emblazoned*: and suites of tapestry of infinite number and richness. In the Chapel Furniture is noticed " Seyntes apparell." A coote of crymson velvatte garded with contrefayte perles, for Our Ladye." " A coote of blewe for Seynte Johan." 4. An account of Plate, gold and silver, made for Cardinal Wolsey from the ninth year of Henry VIII. unto the nineteenth year, wherein is set forth what he gave to the colleges founded by him. *Collectan. Curios.* No. xxviij.]

APPENDIX.

THIS INDENTURE* made the day of in the fourth yere of our sovrain Lord Kyng Herry the 8th betwyne Mr. Robert Hacombleyne provost of the kynge's college royal at Cambrydge and the scolers of the same with the advise and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke surveyor of the kynge'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 covenaunted bargayned and agreed betwyne the partyes aforesaid, That the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick shall make and sett up, or cawse to be made and sett up at ther costs and charges, a good, suer, and sufficient vawte for the grete churche there, to be workmanly wrought, made, and sett up after the best handlyng and forme of good workmanship, according to a plat thereof made and signed with the hands of the lords executors to the kyng of most famous memorye Herry the 7th, whose sowle God pardon. And the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick shall provide and fynde at ther cost and charges, as moche good sufficyent able ston of Weldon quar-

* See page 178.] † [The name is Semerke.]

ryes, as shall suffise for the performing of all the said vawte, together with lyme, sound scaffoldyng, cinctores, molcs, ordinaunces, and evry other thyng concerning the same vawtyng, as well workmen and laborers, as all manner of stuff and ordinances that shall be required or necessary for the performance of the same; except the seid Mr. Provost and scolers 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 duryng the tyme of the seid vawtyng, certeyne stuffs and necessaryes there, as gynnes, whels, cables, hobynatts sawes and such 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 covenauntes, that they shall performe and clerely fynysh all the seid vawte within the time and space of three yeeres next ensuying after the tyme of their begynning upon the same; And for the good and suer performyng of all the premysses as is afore specyfyed, The seid Provost and scolers covenaunt

* [Semerke.]

and graunte to pay unto the seid John Wastell and Herry Severick* 1200*l.* that is to sey, for every severey in the seid churche 100*l.* to be payd in forme followyng, from tyme to tyme as moche money as shall suffise to pay the masons and others rately after the numbre 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 remayne ony parte of the seid 100*l.* at the fynishing of the seid severey, then the seid Mr. Provost and scholers to pae unto them the surplusage of the seid 100*l.* for that severey, and so from tyme to tyme unto all the seid 12 severeys be fully and perfyttly made and performed.

THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of August in the fifth yere of the reign of our soverayn lord kyng Herry the 8th, betwene Mr. Robert Hacombleyn provost of the kynge's college royal in Cambrydge and the scolers of the same with the advice and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke surveyor of the kynge's works there on the oon partye, and John Wastell master mason of the seid works on the other partye, witnesseth, That it is covenaunted, bargayned, and agreed betwene the partyes aforeseid, that the seid John Wastell shall make and sett up or cawse to be made and

* [Semerke.]

sett upp at his propre costs and charges the vawting of two porches of the newe churche of the kynge's college aforeseid with Yorkshere ston, And also the vawtes of seven chapels in the body of the same churche with Weldon ston accordynge to a plat made as well for the 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 accordynge to another platte made for the same remayning with all the other plattes afore rehersed in the kepynge 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 handlynge and forme of good workmanshyp, and according to the platts afore specifyed; 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 suffise for the performance of the seid two porches, but also as moche good sufficient and hable ston of Weldon quarryes, as shall suffise for the performyng of all the seid chapels and batelments, together with lyme, sand, scaffoldyng, mooles, ordinaunces, and every other thyng con-

cernyng 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 rehersed 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 for ston and workmanship of the batelments of all ths seid chapels and porches devided into twenty severeys evry severey at 100*s.*

And for all and singler covenaunts afore rehersed of the partye of the seid John Wastell wele and truly to be performed and kept, he byndeth himself, his heirs and executors 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 Purifieation of our blessed Lady next comyng after the date of these presentes; And in lyke wise for all and singler covenauntes afore rehersed 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 executors in 400*l.* of good and lawfull money of England to be paid unto the seid John Wastell at the seid ffeeste of the Purifieation 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 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 Haeombleyn provost of the kynge's college royal in Cambrydge and the seolers of the same with the advice and agrement of Mr. Thomas Larke surveyor of the kynge's works there on the oon partye, and John Wastell master mason of the seid works on the other partye, witnesseth, That it is covenaunted, 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 churehe 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 same conceyved and made; Also it is covenaunted, bargayned and agreed between the partyes aforeseid 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 performyng 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 performyng of the seid towre with fynyalls, ryfaat gabbletts, batelments, orbys, or crosse quarters, and every other thynge 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 kepyng 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 suffise for the performyng of the fynyalls of all the seid buttrasses, and also for the performyng and fynyshing of oon of the towres, as is afore specifyed, together with lymc, sand, scaffolding, mooles, or-

dinances and evry other thyng concernyng the fynyshyng and performyng of all the buttrasses and towre 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 scaffoldyng 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 buttrasses and towre shall be performed. The seid John Wastell graunteth also and byndeth himself by these covenaunts to perform and clerely fynysh all the seid buttrasses 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 performyng of all these premysses, as is afore specifyed, the seid Provost and scholers covenaunten and granten to paye unto the seid John Wastell for the performyng of evry buttrasse 6*l.*—13s.—4*d.* which amownteth for all the seid buttrasses 140*l.* and for performyng of the seid towre 100*l.* to be paid in forme followyng; That is to sey, from tyme to tyme as moche money as shall suffise 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 commissyon as the seid surveyor shall delyvre unto the seid John Wastell for the same entent; and in case ony mason or other laboror shall be found unprofytable or of ony such ylle demeanor whereby the worke should be hyndred or the company mysordred, not doing their duties accordyngly as they ought to doo, then the seid surveyor to indevor hymself to performe them by such wayes as hath byn there used before this time; And also the forenamed Mr. Provost, scolers and surveyor shall fynde as moche iron worke for the fynyalls of the seid buttrasses as shall amounte to five shillings for every buttrasse; that is in all 4*l.* — 5s. And whatsoever iron werke shall be occupyed 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 covenaunts afore rehersed 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 lawfulle 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 singular covenauntes afore rehersed 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 lawfulle money of Englande to be paid unto the seid John Wastell at the seid ffeste 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 Grace of God Kyng of England and Ffraunce, Defendor of the Ffeyth and Lorde of Ireland the eightene, betwene the Right Worshepfulle masters Robert Haeombleyn Doctor of Divinitie and Provost of the Kynge's college in the universitie 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, witnesseth, That it is covenaunted condescended and aggreed betwene the seid par-

ties by this indenture in manner and forme folowing, that is to wete, the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes covenaunte, graunte and them bynde by these presents that they shalle at their owne propre costes and charges wele, suerly, clenely, workmanly, substantyally curyously and sufficyently glase and sett up or cause to be glased and sett up foure windowes of the upper story of the great churche within the Kynge's college of Cambridge, that is to wete, two wyndowes on the oon syde of the seid churche, And the other two wyndowes on the other syde of the same church with good, clene, sure 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 clenelyness in every poynt of the glasse windowes of the Kynge's 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 Haccombleyn, 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 foure wyndowes of the seid churche; And the seid Ffraunces Wylliamson and Symond Symondes covenaunte and graunte by these presentes that two of the

seid wyndowes shall be clerely sett up and fully fynyshed after the fourme aboveseid 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 fynyshed within three yeres next ensuyng after that —— without any furder or longer delay; Furdermore the seid Ffraunees Wylliamson and Symond Symondes covenaunte and graunte by these presentes that they shalle strongely and suerley 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 Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke covenaunte and graunt by these presentes that the seid Ffraunees Wylliamson and Symond Symondes shall have for the glasse, workmanship and settyng up of every foot of the seid glasse by them to be provided, wrought and sett up after the forme aboveseid 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 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 Mid-

dlesex cordwaner by their writtyng obligatory of the date of these presentes be holden and bounde to the seid masters Robert Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke in the summe of two hundred poundes 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 Haccombleyn, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executors covenaunte 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 covenaunts, bargaynes, graunts, and promyses and agreements aforeseid in maner and fourme as is above declared, That then the same writtyng obligatory 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 scalles.

YOVEN the day and yere aboveseid.

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 Doctor

of Divinitie and provost of the kynge's college in the universitie of Cambridge, master William Holgylle clerke master of the hospitalle of Seint John Baptiste called the Savoy besides London, and master Thomas Larke clerke archdeacon of Norwyche on that oon partie, and Galyon Hoone of the paryssh of Seint Mary Magdelen 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 newe temple of London in the countie of Middlesex 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 partie witnesseth, That it is covenaunted 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 covenaunte, graunte and them bynde by these presentes that they shalle at their owne propre costes and charges well, suerly, 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 seryatly 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 poynt of the glasse wyndowes of the Kynge's newe chapell at Westminster; and also accordyngly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Fflower glasyer late deceased by indenture stode bounde to doo, that is to sey, six of the seid windowes 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 ensuying after the date of these presentes; And that the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shalle suerly bynde all the seid windowes with double bands of leade for defence of greate wyndes and outragious wetheringes; Furdermore the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson covenaunte and graunte by these presentes that they shall wele and suffycyently sett up at their own propre costs and charges all the glasse that now is there redy wrought for the seid wyndoowes at suche tyme and whan as the seid Galyon, Richard, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson shal be assigned and appoynted by the seid masters Robert Haccombleyne, Wylliam Holgylle, and Thomas Larke or by any of them; And wele and suffyciently shall

bynde all the same with double bandes 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 Haccombleyne, Wylliam Holgylle and Thomas Larke covenaunte 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 covenaunte 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 Middlesex glasyer, or to either of them good and true patrons, otherwyse called a vidimus, for to fourme glasse and make by other four wyndowes of the seid churche, that is to sey, two on the oon side thereof and two on the other syde, whereunto the seid Ffraunces and Symond be bounde, the seid Ffraunces and Symond paying to the seid Galyon, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson for the seid patrons otherwyse called a vidimus as moche redy money as shal be thought resonable by the foreseid masters William Hol-

gylle and Thomas Larke; And where the seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson by their writtyng obligatory of the date of these presentes be holden and bounden to the seid masters Robert Haccombleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke, in the some of five hundred markes sterlingcs 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 Haccombleyne, William Holgylle and Thomas Larke for them and their executors wille and graunte by these presentes that yf the seid Galyon Hoone, Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve and James Nycholson well and truly performe, observe, fullfille and kepe all and every the covenauntes, bargaynes, graunts, promyses and aggrementes 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 witness whereof the seid parties to these indentures interchangeably have sett their sealles.

YOVEN the day and yere aboveseid.

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Ranged according to the times in which they lived.

(As published in former editions, adapted to this).

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