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The Works Of Horatio Walpole, Earl Of Orford

In Five Volumes

Walpole, Horace

London, 1798

Chap. IV. Painters in the Reign of Henry VIII.

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Probably it is St. Thomas, represented, as in the martyrologies, with the instrument of his death. The queen might have some devotion to that peculiar saint, or might be born or married on his festival. Be that as it may, the picture, though in a hard manner, has its 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 Richmond, the king's mother, much damaged, and the painter not known. Mr. West has a curious missal (the painter unknown) which belonged to Margaret queen of Scotland, and was a present from her father Henry VII. His name of his own writing is in the first page. The queen's portrait praying to St. Margaret appears twice in the illuminations, and beneath several of them are the arms and matches of the house of Somerset, besides representations of the twelve months, well painted.

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

C H A P. IV.

Painters in the Reign of HENRY VIII.

1509. **T**HE 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

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has a chance of getting bread. Though Henry had no genius to strike out the improvements of latter ages, he had parts enough to choose 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 with Francis I. in the vale of Cloth of Gold, he revived the pageantry of the days of Amadis. He 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.

Francis the first was the standard which these princely champions copied. While he contended with Charles V. for empire, he rivalled our Henry in pomp, and protection of the arts. Francis handled the pencil himself ; I do not find that Henry pushed his imitation so far ; but though at last He woefully 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, and they acquired such solid foundation here, that they were scarce eradicated by that second storm which broke upon them during the civil war—an æra we antiquaries lament with no less devotion than the former.

Henry had several painters in his service, and, as Francis invited Primaticcio and other masters from Italy; he endeavoured to tempt hither Raphael † and

* See a description and exhibition of this tournament among the prints published by the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. which has since been in monsieur Crozat's collection. See *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux qui sont en France*, p. 13.

† Raphael did paint a St. George for him,

Titian.

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. Johannes 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 †.

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 complete. There appear the following names :

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

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

In another book of office § Vertue found these memorandums :

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

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

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

* He is mentioned by Ridolphi in the Lives of the painters. Some sketches of sieges at that time, probably by his hand, are preserved in a book in the Cotton-library. † There are two or three pictures of the same prelate in the college, but this is probably the original; is flat, and a poor performance. ‡ It was in the collection of Mrs. Bridgman of Hanover-square. § In the library of the Royal Society.

Toto

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

* An^o 30 HEN. VIII. 1583. 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 avoit Toto del Nuntiato, qui depuis s'en alla en Angleterre, où il fit plusieurs ouvrages de peinture et d'architecture, avec lequel Perrin fit amitié, et à l'envie l'un de l'autre s'efforçoit à bien faire."

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

Penne or Penno, mentioned above, is called by Vafari, 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 perspective, and not at all in the German taste. These Vertue concluded to be of Luca Penni.

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

* *Fcedera*, vol. xiv. p. 595.

† Tom. ii. p. 158.

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

§ 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.

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

Henry had another serjeant-painter, whose name was Andrew Wright; he lived in Southwark, and had a grant of † arms from Sir Thomas Wriothesly, Garter. His motto 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 bas-reliefs, they termed *pictures of earth*; for instance,

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

Item, One table with the history of Filius Prodigus.

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

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

* Sufanna, 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. In the north aisle of the church of Fulham is this epitaph: "Hic jacet domicilla Margareta Svanders, nata Gandavii Flandrie, quæ ex magistro Gerardo Hornebolt Gandaviensi pictore nominatissimo peperit domicillam Sufannam uxorem

magistri Johannis Parker archarii regis. Quæ obiit anno Domini M^occccccxix, 26 Novemb. Orate pro animâ."

† 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.

Item,

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

Item, One table of the history of Christiana Patientia.

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

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

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

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

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

Another 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.

In an old chapter-house at Christ-church, Oxford, I discovered two portraits, admirably painted and in the most perfect preservation, which certainly belonged to Henry VIII. the one an elderly, the other a young man, both in black bonnets, and large as life. On the back of the one is this mark, N^o. **HR** 22; on the other, N^o. **HR** 25. In the catalogue of king Henry's pictures in the augmentation-office, N^o. 25 is Frederic duke of Saxony, N^o. 26 is Philip archduke of Austria; in all probability these very pictures. They have a great deal of the manner of Holbein, certainly not inferior to it, but are rather more free and bold. Frederic, the wife, duke of Saxony, died in 1525, about a year before Holbein came to England, but the archduke Philip died when Holbein was not above eight years of age. Holbein might have

drawn this prince from another picture, as a small one of him when a boy, in my possession, has all the appearance of Holbein's hand. Whoever painted the pictures at Oxford, they are two capital portraits.


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

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

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 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 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.

* See Sandrart, p 232.

† 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.

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 centred on

HANS HOLBEIN.

Few excellent artists have had more justice done to their merit than Holbein. His country has paid the highest honours to his memory and to his labours. His life has been frequently written; every circumstance that could be recovered in relation to him has been sedulously preserved; and, as always happens to a real genius, he has been complimented with a thousand wretched performances that were unworthy of him. The year of his birth, the place of his birth have been contested; yet it is certain that the former happened in 1498, and the latter most probably was Basl. 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 Sigismund, 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 in-

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

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HANS HOLBEIN.

fructed him ; and he learned besides, graving, casting, modelling and architecture : in the two latter branches he was excellent. Yet, with both talents and taste, he for some time remained in indigence, dissipating with women what he acquired by the former, and drowning in wine the delicacy of the latter. At that time Erasmus was retired to Basil, a man, whose luck of fame was derived from all the circumstances which he himself reckoned unfortunate. He lived when learning was just emerging out of barbarism, and shone by lamenting elegantly the defects of his cotemporaries. His being one of the first to attack superstitions which he had not courage to relinquish, gave him 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 by the greatest men of the age, was at once a monument of his flattery and genius. With a mind so polished, no wonder he distinguished the talents of young Holbein. He was warmly recommended to employment by Erasmus and Amerbach *, a printer of that city. He painted the picture of the latter in 1519, who showing him the *Moriae Encomium* of the former, Holbein drew on the margin many of the characters described in the book. Erasmus was so pleased with those sketches that he kept the book ten days—the subsequent incidents were trifling indeed, and not much to the honour of the politeness of either. Holbein, rudely enough, wrote under the figure of an old student, the name of Erasmus. The author, with very little spirit of repartee, wrote under a fellow drinking, the name of Holbein. These are anecdotes certainly not worth repeating for their importance, but very descriptive of the esteem in which two men were held of whom such anecdotes could be thought worth preserving †.

Supported by the protection of these friends, Holbein grew into great reputation. The earl of Arundel ‡ returning from Italy through Basil saw his

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

† 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
Mæoniæ doluit non potuisse fene.

Stultitiæ potior fors est ; hanc alter Apelles
Pingit, et eloquium laudat, Erasme, tuum.
Seb. Feschius Basil.

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

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 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 letters for P. Ægidius, a common friend of Erasmus and More. In those letters the former tells Ægidius, that Holbein was very desirous of seeing the works of Quintin Matsis, the celebrated black-smith painter, whose tools, it is said, Love con-

* At lord Folkston's at Longford in Wiltshire, are the portraits of Erasmus and Ægidius, 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 doctrinæ attollere lumen
Qui felix potuit, primus Erasmus erat.*

*On Ægidius,
Ægidium 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 Ægidius, 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.*

Ægidius 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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verted into a pencil. Of this master Holbein had no reason to be jealous: with great truth and greater labour, Quintin's pictures are inferior to Holbein's. The latter smoothed the stiffness of his manner by a velvet softness and lustre of colouring; the performances of his cotemporary want that perfecting touch; nor are there any evidences that Quintin could ascend above the coarseness or deformities of nature. Holbein was equal to dignified character—He could express the piercing genius of More, or the grace of Ann Boleyn. Employed by More, Holbein was employed as he ought to be: this was the happy moment of his pencil; from painting the author, he rose to the philosopher, and then sunk to work for the king. I do not know a single countenance into which any master has poured greater energy of expression than in the drawing of sir Thomas More at Kensington: it has a freedom, a boldness of thought and 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 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 whichever 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
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good fortune, but soon returned to England. It is not probable that he lived so long with sir Thomas More as is asserted. He drew the king several times, and I suppose all his queens, though no portrait of Catherine Parr is certainly known to be of his hand. He painted too the king's children, and the chief persons of the court, as will be mentioned hereafter. The writers of his life relate a story, which Vermander, his first biographer, affirms came from Dr. Isely of Basil and from Amerbach: yet, in another place, Vermander complaining of the latter, to whom he says he applied for anecdotes relating to Holbein and his works, after eight or ten years could get no other answer, than that it would cost a great deal of trouble to seek after those things, and that he should expect to be well paid. The story is, that one day as Holbein was privately drawing some lady's picture for the king, a great lord forced himself into the chamber. Holbein threw him down stairs; the peer cried out; Holbein bolted himself in, escaped over the top of the house, and, running directly to the king, fell on his knees, and besought his majesty to pardon him, without declaring the offence. The king promised to forgive him if he would tell the truth; but soon began to repent, saying he should not easily overlook such insults, and bade 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 Wyatt to the king, congratulating his majesty on his escape, as the duchess's chastity was a little equivocal. If it was, considering Henry's temper, I am apt to think that the duchess had

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

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

the greater escape. It was about the same time that it is said she herself sent the king word, "That she had but one head; if she had 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 favourable 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 his head, because Anne was a *Flanders mare*, not a Venus, as Holbein had represented her.

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

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

where

where the king's artificers lived; but he was rather of opinion that Holbein breathed his last in the duke of Norfolk's house in the priory of Christchurch * 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 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 *Moriæ Encomium* there have been prints to many editions, and yet they are by no means the most meritorious of his performances.

* 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ibidem, The same in an oval; smaller.

Ibidem, The portrait of Amerbach.

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

Ibidem, A lady of Alface, 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 burgo-master of Basil, and his wife, 1516, with the sketches for both pictures. In the museum of Fefchius.

Erasmus in the same place.

In the street called Eiffengassen, 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 Vischer. It is mentioned in the catalogue of the duke's pictures, p. 17, N° 6. To this was joined the portrait of Frobenius. Both pictures are now † at Kenfington; 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.

* So I find him called in the list of Holbein's works prefixed to the English edition of the Morise Encomium. Sandrart mentions another person of almost the same name, who he says was the Swedish minister in Holland, and that he, Sandrart, gave him an original portrait of Holbein. He adds, that monf. Le Blon had another picture by Holbein of a learned man and death with an hour-glass, and a building behind; and that Le Blon, being earnestly solicited, had sold to J. Loffert, 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.

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

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 faint, and carrying them in procession; at Vienna.

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

The inside of a church, the Virgin, and Apostles; Angels singing above; in the collection of Mr. Werdmyller at Zurich.

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

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

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

The adoration of the wise men. Ibidem.

Christ taken from the cross. Ibidem.

The Sancta Veronica. Ibidem.

Christ teaching in the temple. Ibidem.

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

All the Prophets; in nine pieces, each a yard 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 church-yard of the Predicants of the suburbs of St. John at Basil is always ascribed to Holbein, and is shown to strangers through a grate. And yet, as Vertue observed, our painter had undoubtedly no hand in it. Pope Eugenius IV. appointed the council of Basil in 1431;

and it sat there fifteen years, during which time a plague raged that carried off all degrees of people. On the cessation of it, the work in question was immediately painted as a memorial of that calamity. Holbein could not be the original painter, for he was not born till 1498; nor had any hand in the part that was added in 1529, at which time he had left Basil. Even if he had been there when it was done (which was about the time of his short return thither) it is not probable that 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 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, æt. suæ 70, 1527. There is another of these at Lambeth. Archbishop Parker entailed this and another of Erasmus on his successors; they were stolen in the civil war, but Juxon repurchased the former.

2. The portrait of Nicholas Cratzer, astronomer to Henry VIII. This

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

man

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 †.

3. Anne of Cleve.
4. Holbein's own portrait.
5. Erasmus writing; a small 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 Gyzein §.

* 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 £111
Anno 23, paid to ditto - - - - 540

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.

‡ There is a small head of him at Devonshire-house with this date, æt. 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.

But

But the greatest and best of his works were done in England, many of which still remain here. Some were lost or destroyed in the civil war; some sold abroad at that time; and some, particularly of his miniatures, were, I believe, consumed when Whitehall was burned. There perished the large picture of Henry VII.* and of Elizabeth of York, of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour; it was painted on the wall in the privy chamber. The copy which Remée † made of it for Charles II. in small, and for which he received 150*l*. hangs in the king's bedchamber below stairs at Kensington; from that Vertue engraved his print. Holbein's original drawing of the two kings is in the collection of the duke of Devonshire. It is in black chalk, heightened, and large as life; now at Chatsworth. The architecture of this picture is very rich, and parts of it in a good style.

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

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

* 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.

† Remée was a scholar of Vandyke, and died in 1678, aged 68.

‡ See Peacham on limning.

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

Opposite

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

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

Considering how long he lived in the service of the crown, it is 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 accession of the late king, queen Caroline found in a bureau at Kensington a noble collection of Holbein's original drawings for the portraits of some of the chief personages of the court of Henry VIII. How they came there is quite unknown. They did belong to † Charles I. who changed them with William earl of Pembroke for a St. George by Raphael, now at Paris. Lord Pembroke gave them to the earl of Arundel, and at the dispersion of that collection they might be bought by or for the king. There are eighty-nine ‡ of them, a few of 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

* 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.

† After Holbein's death they had been sold into France, from whence they were brought and presented to king Charles by mons. de Liencourt. Vanderdoort, who did nothing but blunder, imagined they were portraits of the French court. Saunderfon in his *Graphice*, p. 79, com-

mends 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 Liencourt.

§ Some have been rubbed, and others traced over with a pen on the outlines by some unskillful

and free manner: and though they have little more than the outline, being drawn with chalk upon paper stained of a flesh colour, and scarce shaded at all, there is a strength and vivacity in them equal to the most perfect portraits. The heads of sir Thomas More*, bishop Fisher, sir Thomas Wyat, and Broke lord 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.

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.

ful 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.

† 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 show it to some persons. Immediately after happened the fire of London, and the picture was destroyed.

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

It

It is perhaps a little draw-back on the fame of heroes and statesmen, that such persons, who shared at least an equal portion of royal favour formerly, continue to occupy a place even in the records of time—at least, we antiquaries, who hold every thing worth preserving, merely because it has been preserved, have with the names of Henry, Charles, Elizabeth, Francis I. Wolfey, sir Thomas More, &c. treasured up those of Will. Somers, Saxton, Tom. Derry (queen Anne's jester), Tarlton (queen Elizabeth's), Pace, another fool in that reign; Archee, the disturber of Laud's greatness; Muckle John, who succeeded; Patch, Wolfey's fool; Harry Patenson, sir Thomas More's; and of Bisquet and Amaril, the jesters of Francis I. not to mention Hitard*, king Edmund's buffoon; Stone †, and Jeffery Hudson, the dwarf of Henrietta Maria. Of some of these personages I have found the following anecdotes: Saxton is the first person recorded to have worn a wig: in an account of the treasurer of the chambers in the reign of Henry VIII. there is entered, "Paid for Saxton, the king's fool, for a wig 20s." 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, 10l. -- 18s. -- 6d." Patch and Archee were political characters: the former, who had been Wolfey'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

* See Dart's Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 6. † A fool mentioned in Selden's Table-talk.

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, immortalised by Shakespear*.

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

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

* The ring which Henry sent by doctor Butts to cardinal Wolfey, was a cameo on a ruby of the king himself, formerly given to him by the cardinal.

who

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 Steelyard was a place for merchants of Almaine, who used to bring hither wheat, rye, and other grain; cables, ropes, masts, steel and other profitable merchandize. Henry III. at the request of his brother Richard earl of Cornwall and king of Almaine, gave them great privileges, they then having a house called Guilda Aula Teutonicorum. Edward I. confirmed their charter; and in the same reign there was a great quarrel between the mayor of London and those merchants of the Haunce, about the reparation of Bishop-gate, which was imposed on them in consideration of their privileges, and 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 annum. 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

* 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 Croesus 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.

L 2

picture

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 its 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 relics which belonged to that great man; as a George enamelled, and within it a miniature of sir Thomas; a gold cross with pearl drops, and the cap he wore at his execution.

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

The third large picture, and which Vertue thought the very one painted for sir Thomas himself, is twelve feet wide, and is the actual piece which was in de Loo's collection, after whose death it was bought by Mr. Roper, sir Thomas's grandson. As de Loo was a collector of Holbein's works, and his cotemporary, 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 demonstrates it no genuine picture of Holbein, unless that master had been a most ignorant dauber, as he might sometimes be a careless painter. This absurdity Vertue accounts for, by supposing that Holbein quitted the chancellor's service for the king's, before he had drawn out the great picture, which however sir Thomas always understood was to be executed; that Holbein's business increasing upon him, some other painter was employed to begin the picture, and to which Holbein was to give the last touches; in short, that inimitable perfection of flesh which characterises his works. And this is the more probable, as Vertue observes that the faces and hands are left flat and unfinished, but the ornaments, jewels, &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 £ 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

long on sale, the price first set 1500*l.* When I saw it there in 1741, they had sunk it to 400*l.* soon after which the present king of Poland bought it.

It was evidently designed for a small altar-piece to a chapel: in the middle on a throne sits the Virgin and child; on one side kneels an elderly gentleman with two sons, one of them a naked infant; opposite kneeling are his wife and daughters. The old man is not only unlike all representations of sir Thomas More, but it is certain that he never had but one son*. For the colouring, it 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 by Bischof was brought over in 1723, from whence Vertue doubted both of the subject and the painter; but he never saw the original! By the description of the family-picture of the consul Mejer, mentioned above, I have no doubt but this is the very picture—Mejer and More are names not so unlike, but that in process of time they may have been confounded, and that of More retained, as much better known.

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

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

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 monsieur Moret, jeweller to Henry VIII.

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

* 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."

† In one of his pocket-books, which will be mentioned more particularly in chapter IX.

‡ 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.

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

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

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

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

At Buckingham-houfe 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 glafs 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 fold into Portugal from the collection of Charles I. and Erasmus, smaller than life.

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

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

and

80 PAINTERS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

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

* 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 person in the middle is a black swarthy man with a sharp beard, like Francis

equal 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 gallant 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.

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 goldsmiths' 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, hat-bands and clasps for shoes, knives, forks, saltcellars and vases, all for the king. Hollar engraved several of them. The duchess of Portland † and lady Elizabeth Germain †

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

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

VOL. III.

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have each a dagger set with jewels, which belonged to that prince, and were probably imagined by Holbein. The latter lady has a fine little figure of Henry cut in stone, whole length; Holbein cut his own head in wood, and I have another by his hand of the king, in which about his neck instead of a George he wears a watch. Two other figures carved in stone were in the museum of Tradescant at Lambeth.

His cuts to the Bible were engraved and printed at Leyden by Johannes Frellonius, in 1547, under this title, *Icones 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 everywhere 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 surprising, 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 representing Edward VI. sitting on his throne giving the Bible to the archbishop and nobles kneeling: this and several head-pieces in the same book were designed by Holbein, and probably some of them cut by him; one has his name.

On the death of sir Thomas Wyatt the poet in 1541, a little book of verses, entitled *Nænia*, 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 pingendî maximus arte
Effigiem expressit graphicè; sed nullus Apelles
Exprimet ingenium felix animumque Viati.

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

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 Nonfuch, were many of his productions.

It may be wondered that I have said nothing of a work much renowned, and ascribed to this master ; I mean the chamber at the lord Montacute's at Coudray ; but it is most certainly not executed by him. Though the histories represented there, the habits and customs of the times, make that room a singular curiosity, they are 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 finished, are sitting to see the tilt. On the back ground is the French king's tent, and several figures dancing, rejoicing, and preparing entertainments. A person seems leading a queen to the tent. Under this is written, " The meeting of the kings between Guines and Arden in the Vale of Gold." This is an upright piece. The third is the largest, broad like the first. Francis on his throne at a distance with guards, &c. on each side in a line. Before him sit on stools with their backs towards you four persons in black, and one like a clergyman standing in the middle and haranguing the king. On each side sit noblemen, well drawn, coloured and neatly finished. On this piece is written, " The great ambassade sent to the French king, of

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

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

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

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

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

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

Holbein gave a picture of the prince's grace;

Lucas a screen to set before the fire;

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

* 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.

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

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

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 February 1538, in the 29th of Henry VIII. There appear the following accounts :

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

Again at Midsummer quarter.

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

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

September An. 31. Item, payd by the king's highness commandment, certified by the lord privy seal's letters, to Hans Holbein, paynter, in the advancement of his whole year's wages before hand, after the rate of xxx*l* † by the year, which year's advancement is to be accounted from this present, which shall end ultimo Septembris next ensuing.

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

Henry, besides these painters, had several artists of note in his service. The superb tomb of his father, says Stowe ‡, was not finished till the eleventh year of this king, 1519. It was made, adds the same author, by one Peter, a painter of Florence, for which he received a thousand pounds, for the whole stuff and workmanship. This Peter, Vertue discovered to be Pietro Torreggiano, a valuable sculptor. That he was here in the preceding year appears by a book of acts, orders, decrees and records of the Court of Requests printed in 1592 in quarto, where it is said, p. 60, that in a cause between two Floren-

* It was to draw the picture of the duchefs of Milan, mentioned above.

† Sandrart by mistake says only 200 florins.

‡ Page 499.

tine merchants, Peter de Bardi and Bernard Cavalcanti, heard before the council at Greenwich, master Peter Torifano, a Florentine sculptor, was one of the witnesses. Vafari 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 Vafari, 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 thrown into the Inquisition, tried and condemned. The execution indeed was respited; but he became melancholy mad, and starved himself to death at Seville in 1522 in the fiftieth year of his age.

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

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

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 expence of the * monument to be erected for Henry VII. in which appear the names of other artists who worked under Torreggiano, as Laurence Ymber, kerver, for making the patrons in timber; Humphrey Walker, founder; Nicholas Ewer, copper-smith and gilder; John Bell and John Maynard, painters; Robert Vertue, Robert Jenings, and John Lebons, master masons. There was another called William Vertue, who by indenture dated June 5, in the twenty-first year of Henry VII. engaged with John Hylmer, to vault and roof the choir of the chapel of St. George at Windsor for 700*l*. † Humphrey Cooke ‡ was master carpenter employed in the new buildings at the Savoy. The tomb at Orm-kirk 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

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

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

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

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for gilding weighed 500 weight and a half. James Hales for making the image of timber had an hundred shillings.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the chapel of King's college, Cambridge, was * finished; a work, alone sufficient to 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 church, and one tower at one of the corners of the said

* The name of the original architect is preserved by Hearne, who in his preface to the History of Glastonbury, p. lxx. 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 VIIth, and beautified by Henry VIIIth."

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 Cloos 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 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 for finishing and performing of the said tower with finyalls, ryfaats, gablets, battlement, orbyfs and crofs-quarters and every thing belonging to them. For every buttrefs to be paid 6*l.* -- 13*s.* -- 4*d.* and for all the said buttrefles 140*l.* and for the tower 100*l.*

The two next deeds are no lefs 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 Williamfon 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 glafs.

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*.

* 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 pnt writyng endedentecyng, 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, arbitrouns indifferently chosen

by the reverent fader in God, Edward, by the grace of God, byshop of Karlyle, Mr. or Wardeyn of the house or college of St Michael of Cambr: and the scolars 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 scolars of the same, on the other part, of and upon the Evesdroppe in the garden of Fysshwyke hostle, belonging to Gonville hall &c. Written at Cambr: 17 Aug. 1476. 16 Edw. 4."

In these instruments there appears little less simplicity than in the old ones I have reported of Henry III. Yet as much as we imagine ourselves arrived at higher perfection in the arts, it would not be easy for a master of a college now to go into St. Margaret's parish or Southwark and bespeak the roof of such a chapel as that of King's college, and a dozen or two of windows, so admirably drawn, and order them to be sent home by such a day, as if he was bespeaking a chequered pavement or a church Bible. Even those obscure artists Williamfon, 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 Atfyll* as his graver of stones †. Skelton mentions one master Newton as a painter of that time:

Casting my sight the chambre about
To see how duly eche thyng in ordre was,
Toward the dore as we were commyng out
I saw maister Newton fyt with his compas,
His plummet, his pensell, his spectacles of glas,
Devyng 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 paintrix—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

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

† With a fee of twenty pounds a year.

a family

a family still settled in those parts. They were done at the expence of bishop Sherborne, who erected a monument for himself, yet remaining there. Vermander mentions one Theodore Bernardi of Amsterdam, master of Michael Coxie, who Vertue thinks painted those works at Chichester, as they are in a Dutch taste. They were repainted in 1747 by one Tremaine.

The congenial temper of Wolsey displayed itself in as magnificent a manner as the king's. Whitehall, Hampton-court, and his college of Christ-church, were monuments of his grandeur and disgrace, flowing from the bounty of and then reverting to the crown. In 1524 he began a monument for himself at Windsor, erecting a small chapel adjoining to St. George's church, which 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, Vafari says, executed many works of marble and bronze for Henry, and got an ample fortune, with which he returned to his native country; but his eyes having suffered by working in the foundery, he grew blind in 1550 and died soon after. The celebrated Baccio Bandinelli made an admirable model of wood with figures of wax for the same monument; but Benedetto of Rovezzano, it seems, was preferred †.

The sepulchral ‡ chapel was never completed. Henry and Jane Seymour were

* Page 342.

† I suppose it was Antony Cavallari or Benedetto da Rovezzano who made the large statue in metal of Henry VIII. in a cloister at Gorham-bury; 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

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; it remains a ruin, known by the name of the Tomb-house.

C H A P. V.

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

IT is unlucky for the world, that our earliest ancestors were not aware of the curiosity which would inspire their descendants of knowing minutely every thing relating to them. When they placed three or four branches of trees across the trunks of others, and covered them with boughs or straw to keep out the weather, the good people were not apprised 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 descendants. 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

wards changed his mind and built his chapel at Cygnea Cantio published with his Itinerary by Westminster. See Leland's Comment on the Hearne, vol. ix.

imaginary