

TALENT AND ADVERSITY

A reassessment of the life and works of Hans Eworth in Antwerp and London Tarnya Cooper and Hope Walker

The Netherlandish painter Hans Eworth is one of the very few artists active in England during the sixteenth century to whom authorship can be claimed with a degree of certainty. This is principally because, unusually for an artist working in England during this period, Eworth generally signed his work, using the monogram 'HE' (fig. 12.3), which appears on over forty pictures listed in table 12.1 that follows this chapter. Hans Eworth appears to have arrived in England a year after the death of Hans Holbein the Younger, and his best surviving work indicates he was an extremely assured and talented artist. His most impressive portraits show he had a particular eye for capturing with confident fluidity the intricate detail of embroidered cloth, jewels and lace, a feature that appealed to English taste in this period. He was also adept at employing sophisticated mythological and religious iconography, probably on the instructions of individual patrons, as can be seen by the *Allegorical Portrait of Sir John Luttrell*, 1550 (The Courtauld Institute), and *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569 (Royal Collection). His best portraits also brilliantly capture the subtleties of facial likeness – as seen in the double portrait of *Mary Neville, Lady Dacre; Gregory Fiennes, 10th Baron Dacre*, 1559 (cat. 9) – with a sense of carefully observed presence found in few other surviving portraits of English sitters of this date.¹ Eworth's significance as arguably the most talented artist in mid to late Tudor England means his work has attracted both scholarly interest and has been associated with numerous other paintings that are Anglo-Netherlandish in style.² There have also been uncertainties about attribution and details in his biography and this chapter brings together new evidence concerning Eworth's career in Antwerp and England, alongside an exploration of his technique and practice based on recent new research following technical analysis on several of his key paintings. It attempts to shed further light on the practice, patronage and technique of one of the few artists

working in mid-sixteenth-century England whose work and career can be reasonably well documented.

Eworth's insistence in claiming the authorship of his paintings via a monogram was not common practice among native painters or even among émigrés working in England at this date. Most English patrons would have considered their portraitists mere artisans, but if patrons noticed Eworth's 'HE' monogram at all, they may have considered that his reputation and the evident skill in the picture increased its prestige. And therefore, although our knowledge about Eworth's life and work is incomplete, in contrast to our extremely limited knowledge of most other artists working at this period Eworth's career shines significant light onto artistic practices among Anglo-Netherlandish painters at this date. For example, artists such as Cornelis Ketel (b.1548; d.1616), Arnold van Bronckorst (*fl.*1573; living 1585), Joris Hoefnagel (b.1542; d.1601), Hieronimo Custodis (*fl.*1589; d.1593) and Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (b.1562; d.1636) also occasionally signed their works. However, in contrast with Eworth all these artists can only be definitively linked to a comparatively small number of surviving identifiable pictures painted in England.³

The identity of Hans Eworth as a recognised painter, however, has not been straightforward and the story of his historical reputation and his rediscovery as an artist provides a useful introduction to resituate his career. For centuries, Eworth's work was confused with that of another émigré, Lucas de Heere (b.1534; d.1584), who worked in England between 1567 and 1576.⁴ George Vertue had mistakenly linked the 'HE' monogram with de Heere as early as 1727 and this assessment was accepted until Lionel Cust published the first scholarly treatment of the painter in the *Walpole Society*.⁵ Cust's article, rooted in a thoughtful assessment of de Heere's biography and in a careful examination of the Lumley inventories, was the first to make a direct link between



FIG. 12.1
Hans Eworth | *Queen Mary I* [after restoration]
dated 1554, oil on panel
Society of Antiquaries of London

the name Hans Eworth, the monogram 'HE' and Netherlandish painter, Jan Eeuwouts.⁶ Eworth's name helpfully appears in the inventory of the collection of John Lumley, 1st Baron Lumley completed in 1609 that lists four pictures by him.⁷ Roy Strong's *The English Icon*, published in 1969, included twenty-six signed pictures and numerous others have been added to this group since.⁸ To date, forty-eight pictures have been identified with what would appear to be authentic monograms or can be linked through documentary evidence. However, it is clear that Eworth also used studio assistants in some works, including notably some of those signed with his monogram, and this will be discussed further below.

Eworth's talent was recognised in 1554 when he was granted a sitting from the life with Mary I. This was the same year in which she sat for Anthonis Mor and was probably just before her marriage to Philip II. There are at least five extant portraits of Mary that derive from this sitting with Eworth and appear to be his hand, and it is entirely possible that others would have been made that have since been lost.⁹ This practice of using a likeness taken from a single sitting to create multiple versions of the same portrait over a period of time, often with subtle differences and of different sizes, was probably reasonably common in busy studios. Curiously, however, Eworth does not appear to have gained significant royal patronage under Elizabeth I. Whether this was because his work had been too directly associated with Mary I, or that Elizabeth I found his style too mimetic for her taste, is not known. Previous scholars have also suggested he may have had Roman Catholic sympathies due to his links with a number of Roman Catholic patrons, and others who did not wholly endorse the Elizabethan settlement (for example Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu; Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk; Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York); this remains an open question in light of new biographical evidence explored here. Eworth does appear to have maintained a studio, purchased his denizenship (in October 1550) and used his contacts to present his work to best advantage in order to gain influential patrons.¹⁰ However, it is clear that artists must have had limited control over their choice of patrons, and Eworth's early association with Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, and Mary I may have limited his popularity during Elizabeth I's reign.¹¹

The evident level of skill in Eworth's work was recognised in his own lifetime.¹² It is telling, for example, that Lord Lumley owned a portrait recorded as by 'Haunce Eworth' depicting the artist's brother 'Haward, a Dutch Juellor' that was 'drawne for a Maister's prize'.¹³ Lumley's collection included nearly 200 portraits of Tudor courtiers, members of the nobility and numerous important foreign sitters, but in contrast to much of the rest of his collection, Lumley appears to have acquired this picture on the strength of its status as a remarkable art object, rather than as a result of the importance of the sitter.¹⁴

The documentary evidence

Documentary evidence concerning the Eeuwouts family of Antwerp is somewhat thin, though it can now be shown that they had among their number jewellers, goldsmiths and painters. Eworth's father, Peter Eeuwouts, was a cheesemaker and merchant originally from Hoorn, who moved to Antwerp in 1540, and his mother Catherine Raets was the daughter of the merchant Jan Raets and his wife, Peeternelle Sweygers.¹⁵ Eworth's siblings included François, a jeweller and diamond cutter, and Eeuwout, a painter and picture merchant.¹⁶ Much less is known about his two other siblings – a brother, Pauwelse, and a sister, Marie – though another relative, Nicholas, was a jeweller and merchant with a stand in the *pand* (or market) located behind St George's Church in Antwerp in the early 1540s.¹⁷ Nicholas's son Lancelot Eeuwouts also worked with jewels as a ruby cutter.¹⁸ There is no evidence that Hans Eworth married or had children.¹⁹

Hans Eworth, painter, first appears in the documentary records of Antwerp in 1540, when he became a *vrijmeester* (or freemaster) of Antwerp's Guild of St Luke.²⁰ The records are silent about Eworth's early training, though he was probably trained in Hoorn as his acceptance into Antwerp's Guild of St Luke occurred the same year that the Eeuwouts family arrived in the city.²¹ It is conceivable that he worked as a journeyman painter with Quentin Metsys's sons Jan and Cornelius Metsys, who had a joint studio in Antwerp in the 1540s; Eworth's work has been compared to the Metsys brothers, particularly in their similar treatment of allegorical subjects such as Jan Metsys's *Flora*, 1559 (Hamburger Kunsthalle) and Eworth's *Allegorical Portrait of Sir John Luttrell*, 1550 (The Courtauld Institute).²² There are also possible religious connections between the Metsys family and Eworth that, coupled with their stylistic similarities, suggest that Hans knew them. In 1544, painter Hans Eworth, the jeweller Nicholas Eeuwouts, the engraver and publisher Cornelius Bos, and the painters Jan and Cornelius Metsys were all proscribed as members of the Loistens, an Anabaptist sect founded by Loy Pruystinck earlier in the sixteenth century.²³ By the autumn of that year they had all been described as *fugityf* (or fugitives) by the Court of Antwerp, apparently having fled the city by midsummer, though other members of the sect were less fortunate.²⁴ The Inquisition moved swiftly against those who remained behind and several Loistens were subsequently executed, including Nicholas Eeuwouts's brother-in-law, Jan Dorhouts, who was beheaded in October 1544.²⁵

In fleeing Antwerp many of these men left behind extensive property and, on occasion, their wives represented their interests. In June 1550 Nicholas Eeuwouts's wife, Heylken Dorhouts, made note of his continued absence when she presented herself to city officials regarding the rents of a house (called Saint Nicholas) situated in the Vlemincxveld.²⁶ As witness and advocate Heylken called upon Jan Sanders van

Hemessen, the father of portrait painter Caterina van Hemessen and himself an important painter who was then dean of the Guild of St Luke. In her testimony it was noted that Heylken declared that since her husband Nicholas was a fugitive from Antwerp, due to his connection with the Loistens, she was seeking permission to allow Van Hemessen to act on her behalf in the collecting of rents.²⁷ She would remain in Antwerp for the rest of her life; she died there in 1560.²⁸

It is not clear with whom Hans Eworth made his way to London in the 1540s, although it seems likely that he travelled with Nicholas Eeuwouts.²⁹ As an Antwerp jeweller and merchant Nicholas must have been aware of the significant links between Antwerp and London in terms of trade, and he may well have already established contacts in the city, particularly among the Netherlandish community. It is conceivable that Nicholas used such connections to help Eworth and himself flee to London in 1544; by autumn 1545 a 'Nycholas Ewotes' is recorded as living in St Olave's parish, Southwark.³⁰ Sometime after 1545, however, Nicholas moved from Southwark and across the river; by 1560 he had settled in the liberty of St Katharine's by the Tower. It is likely that Nicholas moved out of Southwark before 1549, when a 'John Ewout' appears alone in St Thomas Hospital, Southwark, and who was certainly Hans Eworth.³¹ St Katharine's had a significant number of Netherlanders living within it and, given its location near the River Thames, this district must have been an ideal location for Nicholas in terms of networking and trade. He died there in 1563, in his will leaving his entire estate to his son, Lancelot, and his daughter-in-law, Margaret Allont.³²

Much of what we do know of Hans Eworth's life in London from 1549 to 1568 comes from extant parish records in Southwark where he was living.³³ In April 1550 the City of London purchased the full rights of the Crown in Southwark, and the borough became Bridge Without, the twenty-sixth ward of the city. Problematic for Eworth, however, was that by becoming part of the city, Southwark's alien painters also officially and more fully came under the controlling hand of the City of London and the livery companies. This may explain why Eworth became a denizen in October of that year.³⁴ There were some disadvantages to being a denizen, however, among them the amount he paid in taxes would have been more than that of citizens of the city.³⁵ The benefits outweighed the costs however, particularly in 1554, when Mary I delivered a proclamation ordering that virtually all non-denized aliens depart the country.³⁶ Southwark appears to have remained Eworth's home for the next fifteen years, until at least 1568, when he was living within what was described as 'Lord Montagu's liberty in St. Mary Overies parish' in the Return of Aliens.³⁷ Sometime after, however, he crossed the river and by May 1571 he lived in Bridewell House.³⁸

Today all that remains of Bridewell House (which was then also known as 'Bridewell Palace' and 'Bridewell

Hospital') is the remnants of a gatehouse.³⁹ Constructed by Henry VIII in the 1520s, Bridewell was for a short time a royal residence, divided into three sections, including two interior courtyards, with one end bordering the Thames. By 1553, however, Edward VI donated the palace to the City of London as a workhouse and short-term prison; here London's fallen found shelter and food. In exchange, they worked long and hard hours producing (primarily) wool cloth and a variety of iron implements (such as nails) for the London and overseas markets.⁴⁰

Aside from acting as a workhouse for vagrants and criminals, for at least 100 years after it was given to the city, Bridewell was also the centre of an apprenticeship programme for London craftsmen. The programme, which appears to have begun at the same time that the hospital was founded, provided poor young men of the city with the opportunity to learn a trade as an apprentice to an 'artemaster'.⁴¹ Due to gaps in the archival record it is not clear whether Eworth could be counted among Bridewell's 'artemasters', though such persons spanned both the fine arts and crafts; master goldsmiths, gilders and weavers were all associated with Bridewell. There were, as well, some influential figures on its board of governors. London Mayor and merchant Sir Lionel Duckett (d.1587), for example, was appointed as president of Bridewell, serving from 1569 to 1573, and John Mabb (c.1515–82), an important member and warden of the London Goldsmiths' Company, served as a governor at Bridewell from 1570 to 1577.⁴²

As we have already seen, many of Hans Eworth's immediate relatives were painters, jewellers or goldsmiths and one of the most marked characteristics of Eworth's painted portraits is his realistic execution of his sitter's jewels. An excellent example of Eworth's skill in this area can be found in his portrait of Lady Dacre and Gregory Fiennes (cat. 9E) and the portrait of Queen Mary I in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, London (fig. 12.1). Queen Mary is wearing what is believed to be a reliquary of the Four Evangelists, hanging from a garter chain about her waist.⁴³ The painter has carefully reproduced this jewel in a highly mimetic fashion, with equal attention to individual gemstones as well as their gold settings. While it may be assumed that this rendering is as a result of his incredible skill as a painter and was derived from first-hand observation, it is possible that Eworth was also familiar with the construction of these items because he was himself a trained jeweller and goldsmith. There was an overlap in skills for those individuals who were limners, goldsmiths, painters and jewellers, particularly in their attention to fine details including line and colour. Furthermore, it was not entirely unusual for goldsmiths to also work as limners and portrait painters in Tudor London, as is shown by the career of Nicholas Hilliard.

Documentary sources also indicate that Hans Eworth was travelling between London and Antwerp in the late 1560s and 1570s and evidence clearly shows that he was

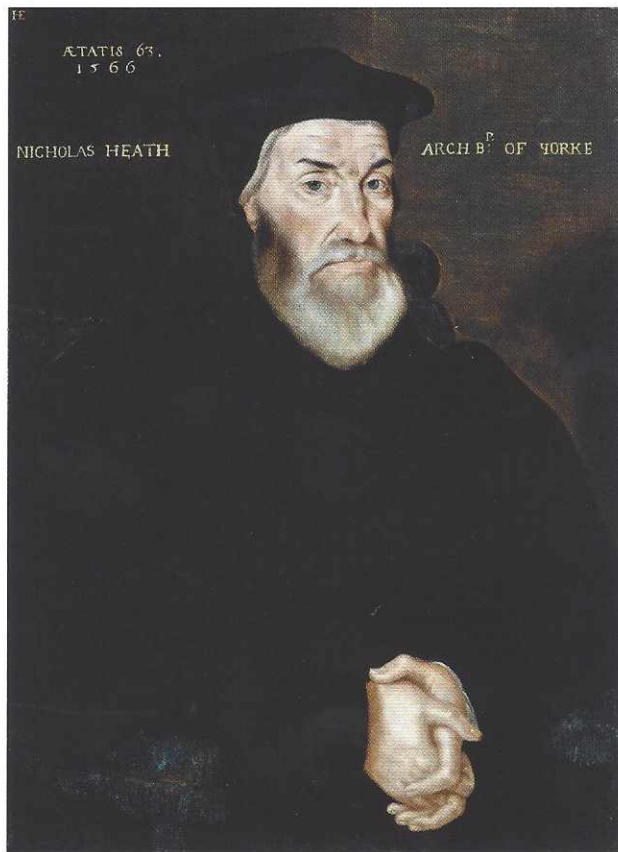


FIG. 12.2

Hans Eworth | *Nicholas Heath*
dated 1566, oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1388

also working as a jeweller and goldsmith at this period. He appears to have made business trips to Portugal and Calais for the purposes of trade.⁴⁴ The large sums of money mentioned in his trading transactions at this period could refer to the costs associated with products of higher value than painted works, such as gemstones. Numerous documentary sources also show that Eworth possessed bonds owned or issued by Netherlandish traders, some of whom were, or had at one time been, resident in England.⁴⁵ On 6 February 1569/70, for example, Hans Eeuwouts, jeweller, is found within Antwerp's magistrate books as requesting permission of city officials in order to travel to Calais and elsewhere for the purposes of trade and so as to 'collect certain debts and to do other of his affairs over there'.⁴⁶ The duration of his trip goes unrecorded, though it is noted that he had no plans to dwell in France, but was instead travelling for the sake of commerce.⁴⁷ By June 1571 Hans Eeuwouts, jeweller, was back in Antwerp, where he was seen by members of his family, including Eeuwout Eeuwoutsen, 'alive and well and in good health'.⁴⁸ And in February 1572/3, Hans Eeuwouts, goldsmith, was living in a house (called The Figtree) on the Jezusstraat in Antwerp, where he and his mother, Catherine Raets, were settling a debt of 69 Carolus-guilders (£6 18s).⁴⁹

It is not clear if it might have been problematic for Eworth to return to Antwerp, having been proscribed as a fugitive in 1544, though it is probable that by 1568 the response to such proscription was much more complex, with a waning institutional memory and political and religious sensitivities that were perhaps slightly less acute. Jan van der Stock has also argued that some of the men proscribed as Loistens in 1544 may not have been members of the sect at all. He suggests that, instead, they may have been innocent victims who were accused and subsequently convicted based upon proximity.⁵⁰ We also know that by the 1570s religious matters in Antwerp were within what Natasja Peeters describes as a 'grey zone' in which affiliation was a matter of 'belief or conviction, but also one of opportunity', with some Antwerpian painters holding lightly to their religion.⁵¹ In fact by 1584 some individuals were described as 'Calvinist-Catholic' in the city tax registers, including Hans Eworth's brother Eeuwout Eeuwoutsen, who became a master painter of Antwerp's Guild of St Luke in 1564.⁵²

If Eworth was travelling back and forth between London and the Continent, it also seems reasonable to assume that he might require bases in both Antwerp – such as his house on the Jezusstraat – and London in order to facilitate work and trade. As a leading figure in the Goldsmiths' Company, and as a central figure at Bridewell, John Mabb was in an excellent position to provide accommodation to such a skilled craftsman and Bridewell House may have provided Eworth with a base as a site of artisanal training in the city.⁵³ The palace was also immediately adjacent to Blackfriars, the (then) location of the Office of Revels, where Eworth is found

to have been sporadically working, from June 1571 to the winter of 1573, on specific, special commissions.⁵⁴ By living within Bridewell House, Eworth would have been in a good position to work for men such as Mabb while also providing occasional support to the Revels when he was in the city.

It may also be that Eworth was working with a member of his extended family, Lancelot Eeuwouts, who was then living in London. In September 1570 Lancelot, a ruby cutter, unexpectedly died in his home in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, not far from Bridewell.⁵⁵ Within a month of his death, in October 1570, Marcelis Wraghe – an Antwerp ruby cutter – dispatched his servant Gheerde Just in order to recoup from Hans Eworth ‘now residing in England’ a debt of 36 Flemish pounds, 10 stuivers (£21 18s).⁵⁶ Given the dates of these two events, less than one month apart, as well as Lancelot and Wraghe’s shared occupation, it seems possible that Wraghe’s effort to obtain payment had to do with Lancelot’s death and the administration of the estate at the hands of his only male relation in the city, Hans Eworth.

Eworth’s final known picture is the portrait *Unknown Lady*, dated 1573 (table 12.1, p. 239), who is dressed in elaborate clothes with gold chains and a jewel and is likely to be a member of the wealthy nobility or gentry.⁵⁷ After this date Eworth simply disappears from the English documentary record, though later documentary evidence places him in Antwerp, taking a trip to Portugal some time during or just after 1576. At the end of 1578, or the beginning of 1579, he died, probably in Antwerp.⁵⁸

Painting technique and the technical evidence

When Roy Strong staged an exhibition on Eworth’s work at the National Portrait Gallery in 1965 he described Eworth’s technique as having ‘a limpid, luminous quality about the flesh tints of his sitters, which make them slightly unreal’.⁵⁹ Like numerous other Netherlandish artists, Eworth’s technique involved thinly applied paint layers built up in a meticulous manner. It is noteworthy that condition plays an important part in appraising Eworth’s work and also that these layers have become more transparent over time, thereby altering the opacity of his paint mixes, particularly in facial features. In addition, Eworth also sometimes left parts of the priming partially exposed in order to create highlights, providing a transparent semi-luminous quality to the flesh, a feature not uncommon among Anglo-Netherlandish artists, but one that enhances the paleness of the flesh tones. The cleaning of pictures, subsequent restoration and better understanding of rates of degradation have made a significant difference to our understanding of the surface finishes of art objects at this period, and the current condition of paintings remains an issue in making judgements about the



FIG. 12.3

Photomicrograph details of the HE monogram on, from top to bottom, *Lady Dacre and Gregory Fiennes* (cat. 9), *Queen Mary I* (fig. 1.1) and *Nicholas Heath* (fig. 12.2) showing the variation in the monogram’s form



FIG 12.4

Attributed to **Hans Eworth**
Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montagu
 dated 1569, oil on panel
 National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 842

original aesthetic appearance of all sixteenth-century paintings. Furthermore, pictures by a single artist have been subject to different conditions and may have intrinsic differences in construction and thus over time can appear quite different. One of the best examples of Eworth's paintings that survives in outstanding condition is the double portrait of Lady Dacre and Gregory Fiennes, 1559 (cat. 9). The condition of this picture has been preserved partly because it is painted on a single piece of oak and therefore, the lack of panel joints has meant that the paint surface has not suffered from the movement of the wood as significantly as many other pictures of this period. The flesh tones in this picture also seem to have been better protected by the varnish and do not appear as abraded as other examples of Eworth's work.

Recent technical analysis on portraits signed or attributed to Hans Eworth in the collections of the National Portrait Gallery, the Society of Antiquaries, The Courtauld Institute, Tate Gallery and the Yale Center for British Art, explored below, allows us to reassess his technique and practice. The research has revealed that these works are painted in a very similar highly skilled economical technique, and that Eworth's portraits were usually extremely carefully planned, probably making use of numerous preparatory drawings, which were then carefully transferred. X-ray and infrared reflectography (IRR) has shown that in general there were few changes to the composition during the painting process, but occasionally Eworth would adjust small features of the costume, as with the headdress of Lady Dacre, or slightly change the position of the hands, as with the little finger of Mary I, which has been shortened.

The transfer process for Renaissance artists in general appears to have varied according to circumstance. This indicates that we need to be cautious about attempting to make use of rigid technical templates when making attributions to artists. In some of Eworth's portraits the underdrawing, in a dark, probably carbon-based medium, is occasionally evident to the naked eye, and further carbon-based drawing can be seen with the use of infrared reflectography. In portraits, such as *Nicholas Heath* (fig. 12.2) and *Mary I* (fig. 12.1), he used underdrawing on top of the priming layer (possibly adapted from a previous freehand drawing or with indistinguishable transfer process) to delineate the composition quite extensively prior to starting painting. This is most clearly evident in the infrared reflectogram of *Nicholas Heath* (figs 5.6 and 5.7), which shows very clear underdrawing delineating the composition. However, Eworth does not use this approach consistently throughout his signed work. In the Dacre double portrait the underdrawing is much more limited and where it appears it is used relatively freely to mark out the outline of the costume; however, no drawing is evident in IRR in either of the faces. This is also the case in the *Allegorical Portrait of Sir John Luttrell* at The Courtauld Gallery, which has no visible underdrawing beneath the painted

head, but drawing is used extensively elsewhere.⁶⁰ It is also possible that Eworth used a medium undetectable with IRR in the faces, such as red chalk, or that the composition in this area was simply inlaid in paint. This would make sense for areas of flesh tones, where darker marks beneath the paint surface might have created a shadowed appearance and disrupt the finished effect. In the portraits of Mary I (Society of Antiquaries and NPG) there is a considerable amount of underdrawing, which varies in character between the two pictures. The underdrawn pattern in the National Portrait Gallery version is probably based on the larger picture, which was also used for the other surviving compositions.

This varied use of underdrawing methods – both carefully transferred patterns and more notational freer drawing styles – probably relates to the individual circumstances of the commission, and the different needs and demands of each painting. Other unknowable factors include the length of access to the sitter, or other demands in the studio which may have made it necessary to take forward elements of a commission without the sitter or master being present. In the portrait of Nicholas Heath, for example (fig. 12.2), the drawing is clearly derived from a carefully and very firmly transferred pattern, which is probably traced from another drawing made from the life. However, in this case this is unlikely to indicate that this portrait of Heath is a version or copy, but rather that in this instance Eworth (or a studio assistant) decided to trace the composition to determine the suitable placing of the figure and key facial features prior to beginning the painted portrait. Eworth appears to be using both black chalk or charcoal (or perhaps another dry medium) and a liquid medium with a brush, apparently in an effort to strengthen the softer dry marks.⁶¹

The signed pictures do, however, share a reasonably similar construction of paint layers and use of grounds and priming layers, albeit of a type common to many Anglo-Netherlandish paintings. A white chalk ground was used in many pictures, sometimes followed by a thin light-brown or grey priming layer, in the case of the Dacre double portrait, Heath and Luttrell. The portrait *Unknown Lady*, 1565, previously known as *Mary Fitzalan*, at the Yale Center for British Art has a chalk ground and an oil-based lead white priming. The application of the visible paint layers in thinly built-up layers is a technique common to many accomplished Netherlandish artists at this date and is seen across all of the monogrammed pictures. The double portrait of Lady Dacre and her son, the portraits of Mary I and Nicholas Heath have a very high level of attention to surface detail and some very finely and confidently blended areas, some in wet-in-wet. Recent technical analysis on two signed portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk has shown that the paint handling and technique is highly consistent with Eworth's most outstanding work, particularly in the figures. It is also evident that there are some changes to the composition

of the figure of the duke, as infrared reflectography has revealed that the drawn design originally showed him holding a scroll rather than gloves, a change that may conceivably have been suggested by the sitter. In addition, it is interesting to note that the orientation of the boards in the two panels is different (vertical in the duke and horizontal in the duchess), which indicates that although the pictures are both dated 1562 and were apparently painted at the same time, the artist appears to have simply utilised suitable panels to hand, rather than commissioned identical panels from a panel maker.⁶²

The remarkable painting in the Royal Collection, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569, signed with a convincing HE monogram, was considered by Roy Strong to be by another hand. However, recent examination shows that it does bear significant stylistic similarities to other work by Eworth, particularly in the handling of costume and decorative detail. It is also very similar in handling to another signed and dated subject picture by Eworth – *Allegory of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, 1570 (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), which is more complex in nature. Despite the fact that *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses* is remarkably competent, however, it does have the feel of an assembled composition, and may have derived from a range of different graphic sources now lost. It is probably the case that this picture was not a direct commission from the queen, but was a gift to her by a loyal courtier. The fact that Eworth appears to have been painting subject pictures of a similar portable size towards the end of his career – when he was apparently living at Bridewell House, but also occasionally returning to Antwerp – provides further evidence of an attempt at diversification at a time when the art market may have looked more favourable.⁶³

Eworth's studio in London

Eworth maintained a long career in London – spanning at least twenty-five years – and his busy workshop surely necessitated the use of numerous assistants, though we have surprisingly little information about his studio practice. Indeed, only fleeting details concerning two assistants are presently known: painters Arnold Derickson and John Mitchell. Arnold Derickson first appears in London's documentary record in 1549, where he is found as a servant to Eworth in Southwark.⁶⁴ Like many such 'servants' in this period, it is likely that rather than functioning as a body servant, Derickson was instead an assistant in Eworth's studio. Like Derickson, John Mitchell also appears as a servant in Eworth's household, though in 1552, by which time it appears that Derickson was no longer present.⁶⁵ Some time after 1550 Derickson moved to Westminster, where in 1568 he is described as a painter and had within his household Christopher Sowlofe, who was also described as a servant.⁶⁶ Sowlofe's presence suggests that Derickson was by this time actively maintaining his own studio, though

nothing more concrete is known. In 1597 a 'm[aste]r Arnold the painter' was paid 2s for 'newe painting of iiii buckettes' by St Martin-in-the-Fields churchwardens.⁶⁷ This is likely to be Arnold Derickson, who attended the church and was buried there in 1602.⁶⁸ Even less is known about Mitchell's life and career. He appears but once in the documentary record after having left Eworth's studio: in 1571 he is found to have obtained a position as a day labourer for the Office of Revels, where he worked on decorative painting.⁶⁹

Alongside this documentary evidence, it is certainly clear that some pictures – even monogrammed pictures – do show evidence of input from studio assistants. The paintings detailed in table 12.1 provide a survey of known works with an 'HE' monogram or works linked to Eworth with documentary evidence. It is worth noting that some of these portraits look less accomplished in comparison with much of his acknowledged best work (such as the portraits of Mary I from 1554, both portraits of Lady Dacre of c.1558 and dated 1559, and the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, dated 1562). Others in turn appear slightly different in handling, for example the portrait of an Unknown Lady (Yale Center for British Art), dated 1565 is curiously awkward in the positioning of the figure – and yet the costume is painted with impressively high level of detail and the HE monogram bears very good comparison with other examples. The portrait of an Unknown Lady (Chequers), dated 1571, is also curiously ill proportioned – particularly in the scale of the hands. In turn, the two portraits of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu, National Trust, dated 1559, and National Portrait Gallery, dated 1569 (fig. 12.4), both seem different from each other in handling and less accomplished than many other monogrammed pictures. The National Trust portrait of Viscount Montagu does have a convincing monogram, and while the painting is now in poor condition and much over painted where the original passages are evident, it is clearly swiftly painted and apparently undertaken with some studio assistance. Although the National Portrait Gallery picture of Anthony Browne has been convincingly associated with Eworth and is confidently painted in a similar technique, it does not include a monogram (as part of the panel is missing) and it does not show any of the noteworthy subtleties seen in Eworth's best pictures; some areas are executed rather mechanically, probably indicating the presence of studio hands.⁷⁰ As with other European artists with large studios who signed their work with monograms, such as the German painter Lucas Cranach, this type of

evidence allows us to re-assess what the 'HE' monogram might mean, and would appear to indicate its use as the Eworth studio mark. The fact that such pictures date from across Eworth's career rather than at a particular point, might suggest for example his reliance on studio assistants at especially busy periods or times he was away travelling. Accurate assessments of any artist's work across a long period are complex, and in making these judgements we need to be aware of the poor survival rates of panel paintings and the body of Eworth material that must have been lost. Indeed, it remains likely that Hans Eworth and his studio were painting quite a few more portraits and other works than the two to three pictures a year that are documented in table 12.1.

Lost pictures and further research

Numerous questions remain concerning Eworth's biography, his artistic practice and the extent of his output. The presence of the 'HE' monogram, however, and the quality of many of his pictures have ensured that a significant body of his work has survived. Nonetheless, it is highly probable that many of his works – particularly further subject pictures – have been lost or destroyed over the passage of time. Lionel Cust, for example, noted in 1913 that a work depicting Mars and Venus, monogrammed 'HE', was at Gunton Park, Norfolk in the eighteenth century, though its present whereabouts are unknown.⁷¹ There are also a few other lost works recorded in documentary sources that may have been produced by Eworth, such as the 'targatt' for Sir William More by 'Haunce the paynter' paid for in February 1560 and 'a drawing [of] the storie of David and Sall' by 'Haunce the drawer', for Richard Bertie and Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk in 1562.⁷²

Today, what remains are forty-eight pictures and one drawing that are directly associated with Hans Eworth and his studio on the basis that they are signed with an apparently authentic 'HE' monogram, paired with a monogrammed picture, and/or linked through reliable documentary sources. As further research into Eworth's life and work in continental Europe continues, more evidence concerning his career as a painter, jeweller and goldsmith may emerge. In addition, as access to technical analysis becomes more readily available we may learn yet more about his technique, the scope of his work and the artistic practices of this remarkable and prolific Netherlandish émigré painter of mid-sixteenth-century England.⁷³

Table 12.1 | DOCUMENTED WORKS BY HANS EWORTH

The following table of paintings is listed chronologically and can be securely identified as the product of the Hans Eworth studio on the basis of a convincing 'HE' monogram or documentary evidence. Numerous other paintings can be attributed to Hans Eworth on the basis of stylistic analysis.



A Turk on Horseback
1549, oil on panel
(‘HE’ bottom right)
private collection, UK, 39



**Henry Fitzalan,
12th Earl of Arundel**
1550, oil on panel
(‘HE’ bottom centre)

Berger Collection at the Denver
Art Museum, TL-17953



**Allegorical Portrait
of Sir John Luttrell**
1550, oil on oak panel
(‘HE’ bottom left)

The Samuel Courtauld Trust,
The Courtauld Gallery,
P.1947.LE.119



Thomas Wyndham, age 42
1550, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
private collection



King Henry VIII
1551, oil on panel
(possible ‘HE’ on verso;
although there are
differences between
the handling of the
face and costume)

Christen Sveaas Art Collection,
Oslo



Queen Mary I
1554, oil on oak panels
(‘HE’ bottom left)

Society of Antiquaries of London,
336

[not illustrated]
Mary Neville, Lady Dacre
c.1555–58, oil on panel
(‘HE’ bottom left)

National Gallery of Canada, 3337



Queen Mary I
1554, oil on oak panel
(‘HE’ top left)

National Portrait Gallery,
NPG 4861

[not illustrated]
**Henry Stewart,
Lord Darnley, age 9**

1555, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)

Scottish National Portrait Gallery,
PG 2471



**Unknown Man
called Sir Henry Sidney
(1529–1586)**

1556, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)

collection of Dr Christopher
Moran, UK

[not illustrated]
**Bassingbourne Gawdy,
age 22**

1557, ‘on board ... not
half so big as the life ...’
ref: Strong, ‘Hans Eworth’, 23;
whereabouts unknown



Unknown Lady
perhaps
Elizabeth Anne Gawdy,
née Wooton (1536–1588),
age 20
[previously
Lady Anne Penruddocke]
1557, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
private collection



Queen Mary I
1557, oil on panel (‘HE’)
private collection



Queen Mary I
1557, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top right)
whereabouts unknown (c.1970,
collection of Harry G. Sperling,
NY, USA)



George Penruddocke
1557, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top right)
whereabouts unknown
(11 April 1980, Christie’s,
London, lot 133)



Unknown Lady, age 61
1558, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top right)
collection of Dr Christopher
Moran, UK



Unknown Man
[previously **William**
Howard, 1st Baron Howard
of Effingham, age 86]
1558, illustrated with
a later engraving
whereabouts unknown (formerly
in the collection of Marmaduke
Tunstall, Wycliffe Hall, Yorkshire
[ref. Cust, ‘The Painter’, 26]),
engraved for J. Thane by
J. Ogborne, 1774; National
Portrait Gallery, NPG D31597



Mary Neville, Lady Dacre
and her son, Gregory
Fiennes, 10th Baron Dacre,
ages 36 and 21
1559, oil on oak panel,
(‘HE’ top right)
National Portrait Gallery,
NPG 6855



Unknown Man, age 30
1559, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan, 1043



LEFT
The Roman Goddess, Fides
1559, black ink on paper
(‘HE’ bottom centre;
this recently discovered
drawing [identified by
Hope Walker] appears
to be an early surviving
study)
private collection



**Anthony Browne, 1st
Viscount Montagu, age 30**
c.1559, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)

Stoneacre Kent; National Trust,
NT 863929



Unknown Man [previously
Sir Henry Sidney]
c.1555–60, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)

Penshurst Place, Kent, 47 [86],
by kind permission of Viscount
de l’Isle from his private collection
at Penshurst Place, Kent, England



Unknown Man, age 22
1560, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
private collection



Unknown Lady, age 18
1560, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
private collection



Unknown Lady
[previously *Anne Ayscough*]
1560, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)

Tatton Park, Cheshire;
National Trust, 0164



**James Stewart,
1st Earl of Moray**
1561, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
private collection

[not illustrated]
Unknown Man, age 38
1562, ‘painted head
on board’

ref: Strong, ‘Hans Eworth’, 23;
whereabouts unknown (previously
in the collection of Sir Hans
Sloane, c.1660–1753 [ref: Sir Hans
Sloane catalogue of miscellanea,
BM PR MS. AM, CUPBD2/SH.4])



**Thomas Howard,
4th Duke of Norfolk, age 25**
1562, oil on panel
(‘HE’ on sword guard:
damaged)
private collection



**Margaret Audley,
Duchess of Norfolk, age 22**
1562, oil on panel
(‘HE’ on base of column)
Lord Braybrooke, Audley End
House Essex; English Heritage,
81031039



Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley and his brother, Charles Stewart, Earl of Lennox, ages 6 and 17
1563, oil on panel
(‘HE’ on table base)
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, RCIN 403432



Lady of the Wentworth Family [probably *Jane Cheyne*, age 24]
1563, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top right)
The Art Institute of Chicago, 1920.1035

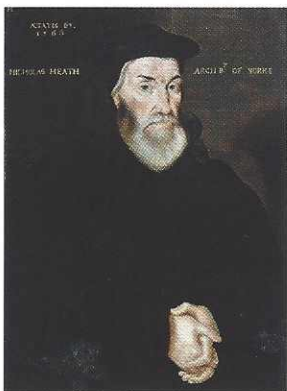
[not illustrated]
Elizabeth Roydon, Lady Golding
1563, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
Tate Britain, T01569



Unknown Lady, age 16
[previously *Mary Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk*]
1565, oil on panel
(‘HE’ bottom right)
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, B1986.9



Unknown Lady, age 28
1565, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top right)
private collection



Nicholas Heath, age 63
1566, oil on oak panel,
(‘HE’ top left)
National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1388



Richard Wakeman, age 43
1566, oil on panel (a pair with *Joan Thornbury*)
Keith & Marilyn Puddy Collection, London



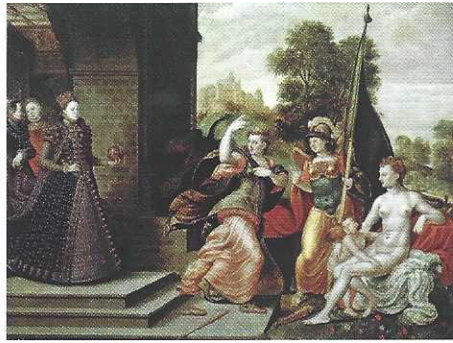
Joan Thornbury, Mrs Wakeman, age 36
1566, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top right)
whereabouts unknown (formerly in the Watney Collection, Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire)



Unknown Lady, age 20
1567, oil on panel
(‘HE’ top left)
whereabouts unknown
(30 July 1981, Christie’s, London, lot 213; 1743, Drayton Manor [ref: *Vertue Notebooks*, 5, 21])



King Henry VIII, age 51
1567, oil on five oak panels ('HE' bottom left)
The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge



Queen Elizabeth & The Three Goddesses
1569, oil on panel ('HE' bottom right)
Royal Collection, Hampton Court, RCIN 403446
[HC 301]



Allegory of the Wise & Foolish Virgins
1570, oil on panel ('HE' bottom left)
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, KMS sp172



Unknown Man, age 40
1570, oil on panel ('HE' top left)
whereabouts unknown
(12 November 1969, Sotheby's, London, lot 107)



Unknown Lady
[probably *Lady Mary Grey*] 1571, oil on panel ('HE' top left)
Chequers Estate, Buckinghamshire, 58



Unknown Lady
1573, oil on panel ('HE' top left)
collection of Dr Christopher Moran, UK

[not illustrated]
Mars & Venus
possible drawing
whereabouts unknown
(eighteenth century, Gunton Park
[ref: Cust, 'The Painter', 8])

[not illustrated]
Haward, a Dutch Jeweler
whereabouts unknown
(Lumley Inventory [ref:
Hearn, 'The Painters', 56])

[not illustrated]
Edward Shelley
whereabouts unknown
(Lumley Inventory [ref:
Hearn, 'The Painters', 56])

[not illustrated]
**Unknown Member
of the Selwyn Family**
1572, oil on panel ('HE' top left)
The Wallace Collection, P535

- of *Jeanne de Boulogne, Duchess of Berry*, 1523-4, Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum, Basel, Inv.1662.126; *Jean de France, Duke of Berry*, 1523-4, Kunstmuseum, Basel, Inv. 1662.125 and *John Colet, Parker 59*, Royal Collection, Royal Library, Windsor, RL 12199.
8. There are eighty-five portrait drawings in the Windsor Holbein catalogue compiled by K.T. Parker in 1945, five of which Parker has catalogued as not being by Holbein. These are Royal Library numbers RL 12251, RL 12213, RL 12261, RL 12235 and RL 12202.
9. Maryan Ainsworth, '“Paternes for Phiosio-neamys”: Holbein's Portraiture Reconsidered', *Burlington Magazine*, 132 (March 1990), 173-86.
10. There is no documentary evidence of a Holbein workshop in England, but perhaps contemporaneous copies of his drawings and paintings could be considered as evidence for one.
11. There are a number of other paintings not thought to be by Holbein but in which the drawings may have played a part, e.g. the portrait of Lady Rich at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See Susan Foister, *Holbein and England* (London, 2004), pp. 69-71.
12. See, for instance, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Creative Copies: Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso* (London and New York, 1988), p.16; Rachel Billinge *et al.*, *Art in the Making: Underdrawings in Renaissance Paintings* (London, 2002), pp. 43-6; and Susie Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 167-77.
13. See Susan Foister, 'Holbein and his Copyists, Making Art in Tudor Britain', Abstracts from Academic Workshops, 2007-08': <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/workshops/holbein-and-his-copyists.php>.
14. See also Jo Kirby Atkinson, 'Trade in Painters' Materials in Sixteenth Century London', in J. Kirby Atkinson, S. Nash and J. Cannon, *Trade in Artists' Materials: Markets and Commerce in Europe to 1700* (London, 2010), p. 341.
15. Susan Foister, 'Holbein's Paintings on Canvas: The Greenwich Festivities of 1527', in Mark Roskill and John Hand (eds), *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints and Reception. Studies in the History of Art 60* (New Haven, 2001), p. 115.
16. For a more detailed comparison of Holbein's techniques to those of his contemporaries, see Button, 'The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein the Younger', 128.
17. A sixteenth-century mould-made paper is often referred to as 'laid' paper. Each side of the paper has a different texture: the wire side tends to have a more pronounced, ridged texture, whilst the felt side takes on the surface texture of the felt.
18. A prepared paper constitutes a paper that has an additional layer of a coloured wash or a more substantial ground.
19. The physical size of handmade paper is dictated by the maximum size of mould that can be handled by the papermaker. Whilst there is a large amount of literature relating to paper sizes in terms of book production there is very little in terms of single sheet sizes for artists of the early modern period. The diversity and uncertainty of mould sizes has meant it is problematic to be definitive about available paper sizes. Therefore, any conclusions we can reach come from the drawings themselves. According to paper historian Dard Hunter, average-size moulds used for papermaking in Europe, commensurate with Holbein's lifetime, were commonly 356 x 483 mm, with the largest sheets measuring 470 x 673 mm. These sizes could certainly have included the papers used by Holbein: both full sheets and from these, those cut to size. For further information relating to sizes and production see: Button, 'The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein'; a summary of medieval and modern sheet-sizes can be found in P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 72-5, and Sylvie Turner, *The Book of Fine Paper* (London, 1998), p. 209.
20. Some portrait drawings have watermarks bearing the Arms of Austria and the Arms of Zurich; see Button, 'The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein', Appendix 4, tables 3a and 3b.
21. Dürer, Antwerp correspondence, 11 April to 17 May 1521: 'I drew three "Bearing of the Cross" and two "Mount of Olives" on five half sheets', Rudolf Tombo (trans), *Memoirs of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries* (London, 1913), p. 99.
22. For example, the portrait drawings of Lady Guildford, Nicholas Carew, James Butler, 9th Earl of Ormond (Parker 23) are on full sheets of mould-made paper. Since many sixteenth-century watermarks were generally centred in one half of the sheet, cutting these sheets in half would account for many of the other half- or quarter-sheets not having watermarks at all.
23. All five of the following drawings bear the Arms of France watermark, which is a crowned shield containing three fleur de lys with letter b/d, and the deformities of the wire make it possible to conclude that it was the same mould: *Sir Henry Guildford*, Royal Collection, RL 12266; *Lady Mary Guildford*, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel Kunstmuseum, inv. 1622.35; *Sir Thomas More*, Royal Collection, RL 12268; *Nicholas Carew*, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel Kunstmuseum, inv. 1662.34; and *Portrait of a Nobleman*, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel Kunstmuseum, Inv. 1662.122.
24. Wendy R. Childs, 'Painters' Materials and the Northern International Trade Routes of Late Medieval Europe', in Kirby Atkinson, Nash and Cannon, *Trade in Artists' Materials*, p. 36.
25. For instance, since no samples could be taken that may have identified a binder, which may indicate a fabricated chalk, it was not possible to confirm whether Holbein used natural or fabricated chalks.
26. Tombo, *Memoirs of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*, p. 50.
27. Kirby Atkinson, 'Trade in Painters' Materials', 349.
28. The role of the drawing in relation to the miniature is more complicated, as it is not a 1:1 ratio of transference of information.
29. Direct transfer involved tracing over the drawing via carbon paper straight on to the panel, or indirectly, using an intermediate cartoon created by tracing through carbon paper onto another sheet of paper.
30. There are fifty drawings for which no original painted portrait by Holbein survives, or ever existed.
31. The portrait drawing of Sir Thomas More, 1527, RL 12268, on unprepared paper, is pricked for transfer; two examples of drawings displaying indentations from having been traced over with a tool include: *William Warham*, 1527, unprepared paper, Royal Collection, RL 12272, and *Lady Margaret Butts*, c.1540/43, pink prepared paper, Royal Collection, RL 12264.
32. *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1520/22. Metalpoint (probably silver), red chalk, black aqueous media and brown aqueous media, 195 x 155 mm, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, Inv.20.737.
33. Jim Murrell, *The Way Howe to Lyme: Tudor Miniatures Observed* (London, 1983), p. 20. Lucas Horenbout worked in England from 1525; in 1531 Horenbout became the king's painter and, in 1534, a denizen.
34. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Double Portrait of Jacob Meyer zum Hasen and Dorothea Kannengiesser*, 1516. Kupferstichkabinett, Basel Kunstmuseum, inv. 312.
35. See Alain Duval *et al.*, 'Particle Induced X-ray Emission: A Valuable Tool for the Analysis of Metalpoint', *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B*, 226 (2004), pp. 60-76.
36. With thanks to Rob Withnall and Alexander Reip, Brunel University, for carrying out the analysis, and to Alan Donnithorne for allowing the use of the paper conservation studio at the Royal Library, Windsor.
37. The absence of brushstrokes and the dryness of the media suggest chalk.
38. For a more detailed discussion on contouring in Holbein's drawings, see Button, 'The Portrait Drawings of Hans Holbein', 136.
39. Although Holbein did create portraits in metalpoint, examination of the drawings did not reveal metalpoint as a definitive material for portrait drawing on the later pink-prepared papers. The exception is the drawing of *Lady Ratcliffe*, 301 x 203 mm, Royal Collection, RL 12236, where it forms part of a design to the left of the sitter, but is not on the portrait itself. Whether metalpoint was used as a tool for tracing over the drawings is harder to say: some lines have been misinterpreted as metalpoint because of the impression left by a tracing tool, when in fact it is a result of the friable media being pushed in the indentation, creating a crisp line, rather like a drawn line. Furthermore, blind indentations on some portraits executed on prepared paper provides further evidence that it is the mark from a tracing tool rather than a metalpoint stylus.
40. Paul Ganz, 'Holbein', *Burlington Magazine*, 47: 272 (November 1925), 240.
41. Microscopic examination revealed an even but dense dispersion of vermilion and calcium carbonate, both confirmed by Raman analysis.
42. See Jeffrey Jennings, 'Infrared Visibility of Underdrawing Techniques and Media', *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloque IX* (Brussels, 1993), p. 243, where he discusses a method of pouncing that does not involve making holes nor marking the surface of the drawing, a technique he calls 'contact pouncing'. A blackened sheet ('dry pigment massaged into the tooth of a thin paper', thereby reducing the deposit of black carbon on the panel's ground) is laid under the drawing and onto panel or an intermediate sheet of paper and the contours of the drawing tapped at intervals, still producing dots but not disfiguring the drawing with holes.
43. Of the ninety-nine drawings, four are not attributed to Holbein in Parker's Windsor catalogue: Parker 82, 83, 84 and 85. One is a copy of another drawing, Parker 65.
44. *Portrait of a Man Wearing a Fur Lined Coat and Broad Rimmed Hat*, 1522. Red, black and yellow chalk, aqueous black, white highlights on cream laid paper, 277 x 215 mm, inv. 16336, Kupferstichkabinett, Städel Museum, Frankfurt. No sign of transfer.

12. TALENT AND ADVERSITY

The work on the biography of Hans Eworth and his studio assistants has been researched and

written by Hope Walker, who also undertook the research to produce the catalogue of Eworth's monogrammed pictures. The interpretation of Eworth's paintings and evidence from technical analysis has been written by Tarnya Cooper. The authors wish to thank Barend Beekhuizen (Leiden University), John R. Brozius, Aviva Burnstock (Courtauld Institute of Art), Pamela Tudor Craig (Society of Antiquaries), Jessica David (Yale Center for British Art), J. Stephen Edwards, Christopher Foley, Maurice Howard (University of Sussex), Hetty Krol, Guido Marnef (University of Antwerp), Kathleen Stuart (Berger Collection/Denver Art Museum), Edward Town (Yale Center for British Art), Koen Wouters, Dick Wursten, Bhumi Vanderheyden (University of Antwerp) and the staff of the Antwerp City Archive for their kind help with this research.

1. For more on this portrait, see Susan Foister, 'Nobility Reclaimed', *Antique Collector*, 57: 4 (April 1986), 58–60.
 2. Lionel Cust, 'The Painter HE', *Walpole Society*, 2 (1913), 1–44; Lionel Cust, 'A Further Note on Haunce Eworth', *Walpole Society*, 3 (1914), 113–14; Roy Strong, *Hans Eworth: A Tudor Artist and His Circle* (Leicester, 1965); Roy Strong, 'Hans Eworth Reconsidered', *Burlington Magazine*, 108 (May 1966), 222–33; and Karen Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530–1630* (London, 1995).
 3. For example, in 1578 the Netherlandish artist Arnold van Bronckorst (working in both England and Scotland) signed his portrait of Oliver St John, 1st Baron St John of Bletso, in a vertical direction along the edge of the panel: 'AR BRONCKORST FECIT 1578' (NPG 6919), as illustrated in the contextual essay in the Introduction section of this volume.
 4. See Susan Bracken, 'Heere, Lucas de (1534–1584)', *ODNB*. Bracken argues that de Heere arrived in London in 1568, though he appears in a list of members of Austin Friars Church taken in December 1567; see LMA CLC/180/MSO7402/01. We are grateful to Edward Town for the reference to the list of members. It is also worth noting that the November 1571 Returns of Aliens record that de Heere had been 'five years in England' (i.e. since 1566). See R.E.G. Kirk and E.F. Kirk (eds), *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London* (Aberdeen and London, 1900–07), II: p. 40.
 5. Cust, 'The Painter HE', 1–44. The Vertue notebooks were published in the *Walpole Society* from 1930 to 1955. See volumes 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 29 and 30.
 6. Throughout this chapter we refer to this individual as Hans Eworth except in those cases in which we are quoting from primary sources. In Middle Dutch Hans and Jan are often used interchangeably and function as *roefnaam*, or given names, signifying that the birth name (or *doopnaam*) of the individual was Johannes. It is therefore likely that his birth name was Johannes Eeuwouts, though for the sake of clarity, and considering how this painter is known in the scholarship, we have elected to support the Anglicisation of his surname as it appears in the Lumley Inventory: i.e. Hans Eworth.
 7. The pictures listed in the Lumley Inventory are all portraits and are listed as: Mr. Edward Shelley (lost), Mr. Thomas Wyndham (Longford Castle), Mary, Duchess of Norfolk (Tate Britain), and a portrait of Hayward, the Dutch Jeweler (lost). Lord Lumley was one of the greatest art collectors of his age and his 1609 inventory provides evidence of a prodigious assortment of art

– including paintings, prints and sculpture – as well as a library of more than 3,000 volumes. See Mary Hervey, 'A Lumley Inventory of 1609', *Walpole Society*, 6 (1917–18), 36–50; Lionel Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *Walpole Society*, 6 (1917–18), 15–35; Catherine MacLeod, Tarnya Cooper and Margaret Zoller, 'The Portraits in the Lumley Inventory', in Mark Evans (ed.), *Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree* (London, 2010), pp. 59–70 and Appendix 3, pp. 157–64; and Kathryn Barron, 'The Collecting and Patronage of John, Lord Lumley (c. 1535–1609)', in Edward Chaney (ed.), *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 125–58.
 8. Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969).
 9. These are: Society of Antiquaries (1554); National Portrait Gallery, London (1554); Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch (c.1554?); Private Collection (1557); and Present Location Unknown (1557). See the complete list of all known monogrammed and documented works in table 12.1.
 10. Strong, *Hans Eworth*, p. 8.
 11. Hans Eworth's first major commissions in London were the portraits of the Earl of Arundel, Henry FitzAlan (Berger Collection, Denver Art Museum), Sir John Luttrell (The Courtauld Institute of Art) and Sir Thomas Wyndham (private collection), all dated 1550. These three sitters probably knew each other through Luttrell and Wyndham having served alongside Arundel at the siege of Boulogne in 1544. Andrew Boyle has made the case that all three portraits make reference to the Stoic ideals of 'virtue, self-discipline, truthfulness and attention to duty' through the mode of their military depiction and he suggests that such values were of central importance to Arundel in 1550, who Boyle argues was the likely patron of all three works. See Andrew Boyle, 'Hans Eworth's Portrait of the Earl of Arundel and the Politics of 1549–50', *The English Historical Review*, 117: 470 (February 2002), 25–47. While Arundel's sphere of influence was admittedly more limited in the early part of 1550, by the end of the year his career had begun to rebound. Indeed, within a few years he had regained his seat on the Privy Council and was made Lord Steward of the Royal Household under Mary I. It is therefore likely that Eworth's entrée into the Royal Court was brought about, at least in part, due to Arundel's patronage in 1550. Arundel was also connected to Nicholas Heath, another Eworth sitter; Arundel's son, Philip Howard, was christened by Heath at Whitehall on 2 July 1557.
 12. Yet Eworth's reputation as a painter has not always been an entirely positive one. In 1930 Collins Baker and Constable described Eworth as 'a typical second-rate Flemish portrait painter' (*English Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Paris, 1930), p. 26), while Erna Auerbach describes him as 'not of a stature to originate a style for himself; he is one of those secondary painters' (*Tudor Artists: A Study of Painters in the Royal Service and of Portraiture on Illuminated Documents from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Elizabeth I* (London, 1954), p. 29) and in 1966 Roy Strong described him as a 'superb second-rater' ('Hans Eworth Reconsidered', 222).
 13. See Karen Hearn, 'The Painters', in Mark Evans (ed.), *Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*

(London, 2010), p. 56.

14. The inventory's reference to the term 'maister's prize' also suggests that this portrait may have been produced upon the completion of Eworth's apprenticeship, which would make it his earliest known work.
 15. On 23 July 1540 Peter Eewout, a merchant from Hoorn, became a citizen of Antwerp. See SAA Antwerpse Poortersboeken, 1538–1608, 143, np. For more on Catherine Raets, see SAA SR 347, f. 30r–31r. There were two members of Antwerp's Guild of St Luke with her surname that may have been relatives. See Rombouts, *De Liggeren*, 120 and 270. A search of the Westfries Archief, Hoorn, has produced no extant documents about this branch of the Eeuwouts family from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, though there were both Raets' and Eeuwouts' living in that city at the end of the century. A Pieter de Raet, cheese merchant, was living in Sandwich, England, in 1586/7 (WFA, Not. Arch. 2050, 22 March 1586, f. 140v–141r) and exported large quantities of cheese to Hoorn; he may have been a distant relative. We are grateful to John R. Brozius for his assistance with this search and in locating this reference.
 16. For François as a jeweller and diamond cutter, see SAA SR 288, GA II, f. 284r and SAA col. 12, f. 291r. For Eeuwout as a painter and picture merchant see SAA PS 288, no. 3271, Eeuwout Eeuwoutsen against Jacques Steenstraten (1585–7), Reply from Eeuwout Eeuwoutsen (article 7).
 17. SAA SR 328, f. 529v. Pauwelse (Paul) and Marie were living in Antwerp in 1571. Marie was married to a Jan Langedul and they had a daughter, Catherine. See SAA SR 357, f. 96r–96v. Jan Langedul was probably the same Jan Langedul who was living in the city of Norwich in 1567 along with a Clement Raets, who appears to have been Langedul's relative and who shared the same surname as Eworth's mother. See William Mōens, *The Wallons and Their Church at Norwich* (London, 1888), p. 221.
 18. He is described as such in his father's will. See TNA PROB 11/46/151.
 19. In a document recording the distribution of his property after his death, his heirs are described as his brothers Eeuwouts and François, and his niece, Catherine Langedul. See SAA SR 35, f. 96r–96v (1579).
 20. See Rombouts, *De Liggeren*, pp. 137–9.
 21. He may have also been trained in Amsterdam, which is relatively close to Hoorn and where Mannerist painters such as Dirck Jacobsz (1496–1567) were active in the 1530s.
 22. Cust, 'The Painter', 7, and Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain: 1530 to 1790* (New York, 1978), p. 30.
 23. For more on Nicholas, see Julius Frederichs, *De Secte der Loisten of Antwerpse Libertijnen (1525–545): Eligius Pruystinck (Loy de Schaliedecker) en zijne Aanhangers* (Ghent, 1891), pp. 49–50. While Eworth is described as Nicholas's 'broeder' (brother) in this single document, by the time that it was written both men had fled the city and this is very likely to be an error. There is no other extant document in which these two men are described as immediate family, though it is surely the case that they were related. What is most probable is that the *schout*, or enforcement officer, who was tasked with the recording of Hans and Nicholas's confiscated goods, did not know them personally and simply misunderstood their relationship. It may be that Nicholas Eeuwouts was Hans Eworth's uncle (i.e. his father Peter's brother). For more on the Loisten see Victoria

- Christman, 'Orthodoxy and Opposition: The Creation of a Secular Inquisition in Early Modern Brabant' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 2005), 305–15.
24. 'Janne Eeuwouts, des voirscheiden Claes broeder, schildere was, oick fugityf bedegen.' See Frederichs, *De Secte der Loisten*, 49. Other painters including Jacob Spuerbolle, Jacob Walschaert and Hendricken Smeets were also members of the Loistens and also fled Antwerp at this same time.
25. Jan Dorhouts was 'veroordeeld' and 'onthoofd' along with (Paris) jeweller Christoffel Herault on 8 October 1544. See Frederichs, *De Secte der Loisten*, 58. For Jan Dorhout's connection to the Eeuwouts family, see SAA cert. 16, f. 213r. He was Heylken Dorhout's brother.
26. SAA cert. 15, f. 15r, dated 7 June 1550. We are grateful to Guido Marnef for his assistance in locating this document.
27. The rent here was 8 Carolus guilders. She also requested permission to allow Van Hemessen to act on her behalf for other transactions in future.
28. SAA cert. 16, f. 269r.
29. Karen Hearn has noted that a 'Jan Ewouts' of Amsterdam applied for permission, in October 1546, to sell books in the city, describing himself as a 'figuersnijder ende boeckverkooper' (engraver of figures and bookseller). She has suggested that rather than emigrating directly to London with Nicholas, Hans Eworth may have moved to Amsterdam first. See Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 63. In fact, Hearn's Jan Ewouts is Jan von Ewoutszoon, an engraver, bookseller and sculptor who lived in Amsterdam in the 1560s and who died there before the end of the decade. For more see C.P. Burger, 'ABC: Penningen of Rekenpenningen', *Het boek*, 18 (1929), pp. 193–202.
30. Cust, 'The Painter', 5.
31. Cust, 'The Painter', 5.
32. See TNA PROB 11/46/151. His will was written on 20 March 1560/1 and probated on 2 April 1563. It was witnessed by William Kaersdorf, goldsmith, and Garrat Vanleave, tailor. We do not know precisely when Lancelot arrived in London, though it appears that he remained with his mother in Antwerp until her death in 1560. Documentary evidence indicates that his goods were being shipped by September 1561 (SAA cert. 17, f. 61r) and he became a denizen in London on 12 February 1562/3 (William Page, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509–1603* (London, 1893), p. 88).
33. Strong, *Hans Eworth*, p. 8.
34. Strong, *Hans Eworth*, p. 8.
35. Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), p. 14. They were required to pay the alien rate of tax that was, according to Pettegree, 'normally double.'
36. Paul Hughes and James Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (Cambridge, 1969), II: pp. 31–2.
37. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, III: p. 424; and Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, I: p. 345.
38. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, II: p. 442.
39. See L.W. Cowie, 'Bridewell', *History Today*, 23 (May 1973), 350–8. Most of the current scholarship on Bridewell Palace focuses upon its use as a prison. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1997) and Paul Griffiths, 'Building Bridewell: London's Self-Images, 1500–1640', in Norman Jones (ed.), *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (New York, 2007), pp. 228–48.
40. Cowie, 'Bridewell', 351.
41. Derek Gadd, 'Bridewell Palace', *London Archaeologist*, 3 (1979), 255–6.
42. Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals Archive, MUN-01 Muniment Book, f. 5r. Lionel Duckett was also among those English merchants exporting goods to Antwerp in the 1550s. See Oskar de Smedt, *De Engelse natie te Antwerpen in de 16 eeuw (1496–1582)* (Antwerp, 1950), p. 448. For more on Lionel Duckett, see John C. Appleby, 'Duckett, Sir Lionel (d. 1587)', *ODNB*. For more on John Mabb, see Ian Archer, 'Mabb, John (c.1515–1582)', *ODNB*.
43. For more on this picture, see David Starkey, David Gaimster and Bernard Nurse (eds), *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain, 1707–2007* (London, 2007), cat. 53 and Pamela Tudor-Craig, *Queen Mary 1 by Hans Eworth*, unpublished report for the Society of Antiquaries (December 2004). We are grateful to Pamela Tudor-Craig for sharing the results of her important unpublished research on this picture, published in J.A. Franklin, B. Nurse and P. Tudor-Craig, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (Harvey Miller Publishers, Brepols Publishers for the Society of Antiquaries of London, London, 2014), pp. 106–11 (cat. 15).
44. In 1581 Bruges broker and former London resident Godfrey Slabbaert met with Hans Eworth's brother, Eeuwout Eeuwoutsen, in Antwerp. At the meeting, Slabbaert claimed that some four and a half years previously (i.e. in 1576), Eworth and he had met at an inn in Antwerp. While there, Slabbaert demanded payment from Eworth for two 'English ambling horses that ... Godefroid had sold to ... Hans in England' for a purchase price of £11 10s. According to the recorded testimony, Eworth asked Slabbaert to delay payment on the horses as he had planned to travel to Portugal for the purposes of trade, and that on his return he would pay Slabbaert the full amount. See SAA cert. 42, f. 287r–288r. Eworth subsequently offered Slabbaert a series of assignable bonds as collateral for the debt. See note 45.
45. The record notes that Eworth gave Slabbaert the following bonds: 'to the account of Samuel Rogier' in the amount of £33 16s, dated 12 September 1569, though notarized in London on 7 September 1570; 'to the account of Anthonie Vinnen' in the amount of 3 French crowns, 7 Flemish shillings, dated 27 April 1570; 'to the account of Jeronimus Snoeck' in the amount of £7 10s sterling, dated '18 June 1580' [While the document gives a date of 18 June 1580 for this bond, the year date is clearly a scribal error given Eworth's approximate year of death (late 1578 or early 1579) as well as the date of the incident with Slabbaert, which pre-dates 1576. It is therefore most likely that this bond was issued on 18 June 1570 and it has been placed here in that order.]; 'issued by' Anthony Ketel in the amount of £20 sterling, dated 19 February 1570/71; 'to the account of Francisco Tassis' in the amount of £5 10s sterling, dated 7 August 1571; and 'to the account of Arnoult Aubry' in the amount of £3 Flemish, dated 19 October 1571. See SAA cert. 42, f. 287r–288r. Unfortunately, for most of these individuals very little is known, though both Anthony Ketel and Godfrey Slabbaert were named in the will of Brugian painter Jan de Franc, who died in London in 1570, wherein both are described as de Franc's 'good friends'. See LMA MS 9172/7c, Will no. 145.
46. SAA cert. 29, f. 33r and SAA SR 324, f. 497v.
47. 'elders daet hem gelieve ende daet hij affirmant van doene hebben sal [Om] aldaer zijne coopmanschap ende andere [zijne] affaeren ende nootsakelijke dinghen die hij wille, die hij aldaer te doene ende vuytstaende heef ende dat hij om gheen ander Reeden wille vuyt dese stadt vertrecken.' See SAA cert. 29, f. 33r.
48. 'alle de selve kinderen metten voirs[creven] producent op heden datum van des[en] gesien hebben in leven[den] lyve gaen[de] staen[de] en[de] wel te passe.' See SAA SR 328, f. 529v.
49. SAA SR 328, f. 529v and SAA Geloftboek V, MS 1398, f. 69r–69v. The entry is not itself dated, though immediately following another hand has written 11 February 1572/3. Unfortunately the entry is also in a very poor state so it is not clear as to the exact nature of the debt, though the names Raets (his mother's surname) and Johan Lewerts and Truijken (Gertrude) Gossen are discernible. The debt here was £11 3fl Flemish pounds.
50. In 1554, for example, painter Jan Metsys's wife, Anna, obtained the testimony of several noblemen and aldermen in the city in support of her husband's return to Antwerp. The witnesses each claimed that, contrary to being a Loisten, Metsys was simply patronised by Pruystinck, who sometimes offered him commissions for his work and often visited his studio. While this suggests that Jan Metsys had powerful friends in Antwerp, Jan van der Stock has also pointed out that such evidence implies that 'a conviction for heresy did not necessarily reflect the accused's own beliefs'. See Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp; The Introduction of Printmaking in a City* (Rotterdam, 1998), pp. 51–2.
51. See Natasja Peeters, 'The Guild of Saint Luke and the Painter's Profession in Antwerp between c.1560 and 1585: Some Social and Economic Insights', in H. Perry Chapman and Joanna Woodall (eds), *Envisioning the Artist in the Early Modern Netherlands [Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 59]* (Zwolle, 2010), p. 141.
52. *Ibid.* He was apprenticed to Lambrecht Ryck Aertsz for three years. See Rombouts, *De Liggeren*, p. 228 and p. 231.
53. John Mabb was a wealthy goldsmith in London, with property throughout the city as well as holdings in Southwark, including the Tabard Inn, and it may be that it was through such holdings that Eworth initially came into contact with him. See TNA PROB 11/65/10 and TNA PROB 11/71/109 for more on the Mabb family properties in Southwark; aside from the inn, they also held six houses. It is also worth noting that Lionel Duckett, who was also then the President of Bridewell, was closely linked with the Mines Royal and was involved in gold speculation. See Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercy of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130–1578* (London, 2005), p. 526.
54. Cust, 'The Painter', 6. In June 1572 Eworth produced drawing and painting of patterns for a mask; at the New Year 1572/3 he produced paintings and patterns for a mask; and at Candlemas 1573/4 he produced a series of patterns for yet another mask. See Albert Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), Westminster City Archives, p. 160, p. 191 and p. 208.
55. Westminster City Archives, MS ACC120, Act Book 1, f. 20r. Lancelot died intestate on 7 September 1570. His wife Margaret Allont called upon Thomas Flint and Henry Corte as witnesses; they testified on 16 January 1570/1 and the final disposition of the case was not recorded. The Thomas Flint here may be Thomas Flint, goldsmith, who was a member of the London Goldsmiths' Company. See Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200–1800* (Devon, 1972), p. 153.
56. 'nu wonende In Engeland.' See SAA cert. 31,

f. 70r–70v. Wraghe was a member of Antwerp's Guild of St Luke, obtaining his mastership in 1571. See Rombouts, *De Liggeren*, 244. Wraghe appears to have been a member of a family of Antwerp ruby cutters and painters, including Daniel Wraghe, a blind and deaf painter who was alleged to have been kidnapped and taken to England in 1576. See SAA cert. 36, f. 496r. 57. See Hearn, 'The Painters', 56.

58. SAA cert. 42, f. 287r–288r. On 15 May 1579 he is described as deceased and his hereditary interest in various family properties was being divided between his two brothers, Eeuwout and François, as well as his niece, Catherine Langedul, who was his sister Marie's daughter. See SAA SR 357, f. 96r–96v. It is likely that he died not long before the document was created, though unfortunately the second half of the document is missing and no specific date of death has survived.

59. Strong, *Hans Eworth*, p. 10.

60. Hearn, *Dynasties*, p. 65. We are also grateful to Aviva Burnstock for allowing us to consult her unpublished notes on this portrait.

61. However, it is worth noting that distinguishing between these media is complex, particularly when the ground is slightly textured, which can create distortions to the appearance of the drawn line as the brush or pen skips over the ridges.

62. Dendrochronology shows the following results for the dating of Eworth panels: Duke of Norfolk (dated 1562) derived from a tree felled after 1549; Duchess of Norfolk (dated 1562) derived from a tree felled after 1554; Lady Dacre and Gregory Fiennes (dated 1559) derived from a tree felled after 1545; Nicolas Heath (dated 1566) derived from a tree felled after 1559; Anthony Brown (c.1569) derived from a tree felled after 1561. See NPG Registered Packets.

63. The sizes are as follows: *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 62.9 x 84.4 cm; *The Allegory of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, 61.5 x 62 cm. The year 1569–70 marks the date of another important subject picture, *Fête at Bermondsey*, which may also have been painted to stimulate a market for subject pictures. See Tarnya Cooper, *Elizabeth I and Her People* (London, 2013), p. 54. Hope Walker, 'Netherlandish Painters in Tudor London, 1560–1580' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 2014), ch. 3; 'A Fête at Bermondsey: an English landscape by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder', *Burlington Magazine* (2015), dates the painting to 1571.

64. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, I: p. 147.

65. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, I: p. 235.

66. Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, III: p. 399.

67. John V. Kitto (ed.), *St Martin-in-the-Fields: The Accounts of the Churchwardens, 1525–1603* (London, 1901), p. 501.

68. Kitto, *St Martin-in-the-Fields*, p. 557. While working for the Revels in 1572/3, Eworth is found to have been paid alongside an 'Arnold the painter' for patterns for a mask, while Arnold was paid for an 'Andramadas picture'. See Feuillerat, *Documents Relating*, p. 181. It may be that this 'Arnold' was painter Arnold van Bronckorst, though there is no explicit evidence of this aside from his first name in the Revels accounts. Upon such a basis it is equally possible that Eworth was working alongside his former apprentice, painter Arnold Derickson, and perhaps it is for this reason that the Revels clerk is recording them as a single item in the register. It is also worthy of note that it was in this year and no other that 'Arnold the painter' appears to have worked for the Revels – the same year as Hans Eworth, and but a year after Eworth's other apprentice,

John Mitchell, is also found working there.

69. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating*, p. 135.

70. The Browne portrait is severely damaged and the whole of the left board has been lost and is replaced by a modern addition. The HE monogram may also have been lost. See the MATB online database.

71. Cust, 'The Painter', 8. Gunton Park, Norfolk was constructed for Sir William Harbord in the 1740s.

72. For 'Haunce the painter' see FSL L.b. 184, f. 12r. Hans the painter also appears in another More account book (FSL L.b. 35, f. 4v), where he is paid 26s for unknown work in 1561. We are grateful to Edward Town for these references. Though a Protestant, William More maintained lasting friendships with Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu and Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York. Browne and Heath were also Eworth sitters, which though far from conclusive does place More within the correct circles to have commissioned Eworth for various projects. For more see William B. Robison, 'Sir William More (1520–1600)', *ODNB*. For more on 'Haunce the drawer' see Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster Preserved at Grimsthorpe* (Dublin, 1907), p. 467.

73. For more on Hans Eworth and his fellow émigré Netherlandish painters, see Walker, 'Netherlandish Painters'.

13. NICHOLAS HILLIARD'S WORKSHOP PRACTICE RECONSIDERED

1. Katherine Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London, 1998), p. 13.
2. Mary Edmond, 'Hilliard, Nicholas (1547?–1619)', *ODNB*.
3. Richard Haydocke, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Painting Carvinge and Buildinge Written First in Italian by Jo: Paul Lomatius Painter of Milan and Englished by R.H. Student in Physik, unpaginated introduction 'To the Ingenious Reader. R.H.'*, 7, Early English Books Online (EEBO).
4. Haydocke, unpaginated introduction 'To the Ingenious Reader. R.H.', 7, EEBO.
5. Richard Haydocke, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Painting Carvinge and Buildinge Written First in Italian by Jo: Paul Lomatius Painter of Milan and Englished by R.H. Student in Physik*, 'The Third Booke', p. 126, EEBO.
6. Haydocke, 'The Third Booke', p. 126, EEBO.
7. R.K.R. Thornton and T.G.S. Cain (eds), *Nicholas Hilliard, A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning* (Manchester, 1981), p. 17; Arthur F. Kinney and Linda Bradley Salamon, *Nicholas Hilliard's Art of Limning* (Boston, 1983), p. 9.
- n.b. The original manuscript of Hilliard's *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning* is in Edinburgh University Library. Its title was given to it by the eighteenth-century antiquary George Vertue. The last section of the treatise, *A More Compendious Discourse*, is not thought to be by Hilliard (see Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 97 and p. 28).
8. Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 19.
9. Murrell's accounts can be found in: V.J. Murrell, 'The Art of Limning', in Roy Strong and V.J. Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered, 1520–1620* (London, 1983), pp. 13–27. For a general overview of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century practice, see Jim Murrell, *The Way Howe to Lymne: Tudor Miniatures Observed* (London, 1983), pp. 59–93.
- n.b. The three manuscripts referred to by Murrell, *The Way Howe to Lymne*, pp. 59–61, are: Edward Norgate I (c.1620), BL, MS Harley 6000; Edward Norgate II (c.1648), Bodleian Library Ms. Tann 326; and a work thought to be by John Hoskins, but called the 'Gyles Mss', BL MS Harley 6376.
10. See Graham Reynolds, 'New Light on Nicholas Hilliard', *British Art Journal*, 12: 2 (2011), pp. 19–21.
11. Alan Derbyshire, Nicholas Frayling and Timea Tallian, 'Sixteenth-Century Portrait Miniatures: Key Methodologies for a Holistic Approach', in Mark Clark et al. (eds), *Art of the Past: Sources and Reconstruction* (London, 2005), pp. 91–3.
12. For an account of the basic materials and techniques of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century miniatures, see Strong and Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, pp. 13–27; Murrell, *Way Howe to Lymne*, pp. 63–93.
13. V&A Museum number: P.155-1910.
14. Edmond, 'Nicholas Hilliard'; W.H. Clennell, 'Bodley, Sir Thomas (1545–1613)', *ODNB*.
15. *Unknown Man*, 1571, private collection, see Strong and Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, cat. 55.
16. Murrell, *Way Howe to Lymne*, pp. 18–23; 'Ghent–Bruges School', *Grove Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com>.
17. Reynolds, 'New Light on Nicholas Hilliard'.
18. Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 97.
19. Strong and Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 15; Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 97.
20. Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 91.
21. Strong and Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 15; Murrell, *Way Howe to Lymne*, p. 25.
22. For a discussion of the so-called 'Anglo-Flemish tradition' of miniature painting, and its supposed influence on Nicholas Hilliard via Levina Teerlinck, see Murrell, *Way How to Lymne*, pp. 12–13, pp. 19–22, pp. 24–25 and pp. 28–30; Norgate, cited in Murrell, *Way Howe to Lymne*, p. 20.
23. V&A Museum number: P.26-1954; Murrell describes it as 'no proper carnation' (V&A Conservation Department card) but elsewhere says it has a thin carnation (second V&A conservation card). Murrell also describes various works by Clouet that he has examined as having thin carnations.
24. Thornton and Cain, *Nicholas Hilliard*, p. 69.
25. Karel van Mander, *Schilderboek* (1604), translated into English by Constant van der Wall (New York, 1936), p. 89.
26. Derbyshire et al., 'Sixteenth-Century Portrait Miniatures', p. 92.
27. There are three so-called juvenilia: a *Self-Portrait Aged 13* (Portland), another version (Buccleuch), and a portrait of Edward Seymour. For details and illustrations, see Graham Reynolds, *Nicholas Hilliard & Isaac Oliver* (London, 1971), cat. 1, *Self-Portrait Aged 13* (Duke of Portland); cat. 2, *Self-Portrait Aged 13* (Duke of Buccleuch); cat. 3, *Edward Seymour* (Duke of Buccleuch).
28. The Buccleuch *Self-Portrait* is reportedly on vellum stuck to table-book leaf – a support only introduced in the seventeenth century. See Jim Murrell, handwritten V&A conservation notes. For an explanation of table-book leaf see John Murdoch, *Seventeenth-Century English Miniatures in the Collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum* (Norwich, 1997), p. 346. Previously Reynolds acknowledged that the Buccleuch self-portrait was a later copy of the Portland version – Reynolds, *Hilliard and Oliver*, cat. 2.
29. The Portland *Self-Portrait* is dated '1550', but reportedly originally read '1560'. This amendment probably dates from the nineteenth century when it was thought that Hilliard was born in 1537. It is inscribed 'OPERA QVEDAM



PAINTING
IN BRITAIN
1500–1630

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