***‘Tableau Poétique’*: A Recently Discovered Manuscript by the Flemish Painter-Poet Lucas D’Heere (1534–84)**

FREDERICA VAN DAM

Ghent University, Belgium

At the library of Arbury Hall in Nuneaton, Warwickshire, England, a manuscript from the Ghent painter-poet Lucas D’Heere is treasured. The manuscript has not been published before and is not mentioned in publications on Lucas D’Heere. The discovery and study of the manuscript reveals important new information on the background, life, and work of the migrant painter and his surroundings. This article describes the material data of the manuscript and discusses the highlights of the document. Three core issues are stressed therein: the life of Lucas D’Heere as an exile, his professional activities as a painter, and his social network as revealed by the manuscript.

KEYWORDS Lucas D’Heere, Clement Paret, Earl of Hertford, exiled migrant artist, religious troubles, poetical manuscript, patronage and artistic production, social network

Introduction

At the library of Arbury Hall in Nuneaton, Warwickshire, England, owned by the Newdigate family, a manuscript from the Ghent painter-poet Lucas D’Heere is treasured.¹ The library is not open to the public, but a microfilm of the manuscript, made in 1965, is kept at the Warwickshire County Record Office.² The manuscript has not been published before and is not mentioned in publications on Lucas D’Heere. It is entitled *‘Tableau Poétique’* and is written in French. Clement Paret executed the humanistic cursive handwriting, upon instructions from D’Heere.³ The manuscript is dated 8 January 1572 but also contains poems dated 1568 and 1569.⁴ The discovery and study of the manuscript reveal important new information on the background, life, and work of the migrant painter D’Heere and his surroundings.⁵

The preface to the manuscript makes it clear that the entire document is dedicated by D’Heere to Edward Seymour (1537–1621), the first Earl of Hertford and son of Edward Seymour the first, Duke of Somerset (c. 1500–52) (Figure 1 and Appendix,

FIGURE 1 Title page of *Tableau Poétique*.

Photograph by F. Van Dam. © Warwickshire County Record Office

part 1). The father of the Earl of Hertford was a statesman and the brother-in-law of Henry VIII while married to his third wife Jane Seymour. Although the Earl's father was convicted for treason and subsequently decapitated at Tower Hill in London, the Seymour family was part of the upper class within English society with connections to the court. Six years after the execution of Seymour's father, his mother, Anne Stanhope, married the politician and gentleman of her household, Francis Newdigate of Hanworth (1519–82). He was the son of John Newdigate of Moor Hall, Harefield, Middlesex, and Arbury, Warwickshire. It is probably in this way that *Tableau Poétique* came into the collections of the library of Arbury Hall; it is certain that D'Heere's manuscript was located there in 1835, when the first inventory of the library's collection was made.⁶

This Earl of Hertford is described by D'Heere as his patron or *Maecenas*. The preface of the manuscript is a letter from Lucas to his English patron in which he explains the dedication of the manuscript to him (Appendix, part 2). D'Heere entitled the manuscript *Tableau Poétique* because it contains a collection of poems, a translation of a Latin verse, and a song. In general, one can consider the manuscript to be a long ode to the Earl of Hertford. It might be seen as an expression of gratefulness for the position Lucas was given at the Earl's court. It does not function as memoirs

or as a journal. Although it contains parts of D'Heere's personal story in which emotions are shown, he certainly took his time to shape what he wanted to express. He undoubtedly would have wanted the final result to fit within certain poetical formulas of that period and live up to the expectations one would have had of a professional poet. The poems had to please the Earl of Hertford and his social circle. The fact that Clement Paret — a pen artist originally from Brussels — was asked to execute the handwriting proves that the book of poems also had to look good. It is very likely that D'Heere kept in mind that his patron would use the manuscript as a showpiece for his family, friends, and other contacts. From this angle we must also see the manuscript as a commercial calling card for D'Heere, in which he promotes himself. Aside from the possible circulation of the manuscript among Seymour's social network, it seems plausible that the poems were also read after dinner to entertain guests of the Earl. With the manuscript, Lucas D'Heere might have gained more notoriety as a poet and painter, which could only be good for his business. After all, he was a migrant artist trying to rebuild his artistic career.

In the letter of dedication, the Earl of Hertford is addressed warmly and with respect and gratitude. The second phrase makes clear that Hertford is D'Heere's employer. Furthermore, he is described as a person with a love of art. By 1572 — the date of the letter — Hertford had already faced a lot of difficulties, in addition to earlier troubles with his father. In 1560 he secretly married Lady Catherine Grey who was, according to the will of Henry VIII, a potential claimant to the throne.⁷ It was a serious crime for her to marry without notifying the sovereign. When Lady Catherine became pregnant, the secret marriage was eventually exposed to Sir Robert Dudley. Consequently, the lovers were (separately) imprisoned in the Tower of London. Their child, Edward, was declared illegitimate and Hertford had to pay a fine for seducing 'a virgin of Royal blood'. Nevertheless, Edward and Catherine continued to consummate their marriage in the Tower and, in 1563, their second son Thomas was born. Lady Catherine died in 1568. Subsequently, Edward Seymour was released from the Tower and was able to reappear at court. Lucas D'Heere must have ended up with the Earl of Hertford shortly after his release, because the first poem of *Tableau Poétique* is addressed to him and is dated 1568 (Appendix, part 3).⁸ Hertford first lived at Althorp and, at the end of 1569, he moved to the Seymour family estate — Wolf Hall — in Wiltshire.⁹ How or where they met is unclear.¹⁰ In any case, when D'Heere arrived in the British Isles, the sense of being banned was something both men had in common. On folio 18^v of *Tableau Poétique*, a fragment of D'Heere's poem 'Ode a ses amis par de la mer' ('Ode to his friends overseas') indicates unmistakably that it was a fortunate coincidence he ended up in England and eventually was attracted by Seymour's Wolf Hall court (Appendix, part 8).¹¹

After describing the material data on the manuscript, the article will discuss the highlights of the document. Thereby it will stress three core issues: the life of Lucas D'Heere as an exile, his professional activities as a painter, and his social network as revealed by the manuscript.¹²

Material data of *Tableau Poétique*

The manuscript is written on paper. On each side of every folio margins are drawn. The paper contains a watermark — a circle with the capital letter F inside — which is described in Briquet.¹³ Today, the manuscript is presented as a small book and is 145 mm wide and 194 mm long. The backstrip is 12 mm long. The book cover is hardbound with leather and marble paper. The manuscript covers thirty-two folios, prefaced by two blank folios and a cover page. The folios were not numbered originally and some of them are blank; the manuscript was foliated by us. Folio 1^v is illuminated over the whole page with the Seymour arms. The arms are per cross surrounded by a rampant unicorn on the left, a rampant bull on the right, and a passant phoenix in a burning crown above the arms. Below there is a banderol with the Seymour motto *Foy pour debvoir* ('Faith for duty'; Figures 2 and 3).

As stated above, the dedication letter on folio 1^r explains briefly the dedication of the manuscript to the Earl of Hertford. The Earl must have played an important role in the life of the painter-poet during his stay in England. D'Heere dedicated his (known) manuscripts to only three other people. One of them was his patron Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Wacken, Kattem, and Kapelle. Adolph was the high bailiff (*hoogbaljuw*) of Ghent and vice-admiral of the sea during different expeditions. D'Heere dedicated his collection of poems — *Den hof en boomgaerd der poesiën* ('Orchard of poetry') — to him. His illustrated manuscript — *Théâtre de tous les peuples et Nations de la terre* ('Costumebook') — was first dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and subsequently to Antoon of Burgundy, the cousin of his former patron Adolph.¹⁴ As specified above, the handwriting of *Tableau Poétique* is executed by Clement Paret. As the letter is signed with *Vos humbles et obeissans Serviteurs*, he must also have been a servant in the household of the Earl.¹⁵ It is possible he was a calligrapher in the household, teaching the Earl's children different handwritings. Paret, also known as Clémens Perret (1551–91), was one of the best calligraphers from the Low Countries during the sixteenth century. He was born in Brussels, and received his education in Brabant. He was only twenty or just twenty-one years old when he was calligraphing *Tableau Poétique* and by then he had already published two copy-books: the *Exercitatio alphabetica* [...] (1569) and the *Eximiae peritiae alphabetum* (1571). The *Exercitatio*, with its beautifully decorated borders, served as a collector's item for members of the wealthy class. The *Alphabetum* should be seen as a manual for pupils.¹⁶ According to Jan van den Velde (1569–1623), an Antwerp writing master, Paret was a renowned professional who worked in the service of Queen Elizabeth, teaching her italic handwriting. Currently, this cannot be supported by the archives of the Queen, but van den Velde writes that he received a '100 pound pension' from Elizabeth for his services.¹⁷ So, it was significant that D'Heere asked Paret to execute the handwriting, moreover it seems to have been an act of prestige.¹⁸ Anyway, although Paret executed the handwriting, Lucas D'Heere is without doubt the intellectual creator of the manuscript. He claims the authorship on the cover page of the manuscript but also by signing the dedication letter with his name before Paret's (Appendix, part 2 and Figure 4).

FIGURE 2 The format of the manuscript today.
Photograph by F. Van Dam. © Warwickshire County Record Office

FIGURE 3 *Tableau Poétique*. Folio 1^{vo}: The Seymour arms.

Photograph by F. Van Dam. © Warwickshire County Record Office

FIGURE 4 *Tableau Poétique*. Folio 1^r: The dedication letter.
Photograph by F. Van Dam. © Warwickshire County Record Office

In addition to this letter, it is worth remarking that the Earl of Hertford had another servant from Ghent in his household. In the *Returns of Aliens*, a certain Peter Paylet appears in 1571: 'Peter Palyet, dennyzein, and servaunt to Therle of Harford, Katheryne his wife, and Joyse Watger, his man, borne in Gaunt, hath byn here viij yeares, and vsethe our parishe church, but he hath byn in Englande XXtie yeares. Douche persons, iij'.¹⁹ The exact occupation of Paylet in the household is not indicated but it is noteworthy that Paylet was a denizen, which means an official resident of England.²⁰ A lot of money was needed to acquire the status of denizen. Paylet left Ghent around 1551, during the period when D'Heere probably worked for Frans Floris. Did these men know each other before their English period? Did they meet at the Dutch Church in London or is it just a coincidence that we find two men from Ghent at the Earl's service?

Lucas D'Heere as an exile

From the *Returns of Aliens* we can derive that the Protestant Lucas D'Heere left his hometown shortly after the iconoclastic fury raged through Ghent in August 1566. In November 1571 he is mentioned living in the Parish of St Benet Fink, today situated near Threadneedle Street in London, in the company of his wife Eleonore, a boy from Ghent, the later portrait painter and D'Heere's servant John de Crits, Eleonore's sister Louise Carboniers, and Markin Cupin, a five-year-old child.²¹ This entry reports that D'Heere already had been in England for five years.

Until now we could have only guessed how D'Heere must have felt being hunted down by the Spanish troops of Alva and building a new life across the sea. Although his family accompanied him, the situation must have affected him very much and this was indeed expressed in his writings in *Tableau Poétique*.

The previously mentioned poem, *Ode a ses amis par de la mer* ('Ode to his friends overseas'), must be interpreted as a poem in which Lucas D'Heere reports on his life to his worried friends in his homeland (Appendix, parts 7–11).²² In folio 18^r we learn that, when D'Heere crossed the Channel, the sea must have been quite rough, making him relieved to arrive at the English port, not merely because of the storm, but mostly because he had escaped the heresy hunters. He finds himself happy to be taken in at what he calls God's asylum — England — the place for exiles. To him, this kingdom has a sharp spirit, a place for art, and sublimity. Also on folio 18^r we find out that Lucas's escape to England was not merely a happy coincidence, but had been made possible by friends. Further on he tells us how happy and fortunate he was, being subsequently welcome at Edward Seymour's Wolf Hall Palace. The religious peace and like-mindedness D'Heere shared with his patron were very important to him. For the Ghent Protestant, the people of England were devoted to God like no other people. He describes the English priests as people with good hearts and spirits, showing the right path to be followed in life. The Earl of Hertford is compared with Apollo, the Greek god of music and the Roman saviour god. In this regard it seems obvious that D'Heere considered the Earl as his saviour and protector. On the next

folio D'Heere makes clear there was no place for conflict at the Earl's palace. Members of the household are occupied with falconry and hunting; Minerva is honoured by study. The last paragraph tells us that paintings had a central place within the household of Wolf Hall. Finally D'Heere directly points at his friends, asking them to judge if his enemies had been right in thinking that the painter could only have damaged himself (and his artistic career?) by fleeing to England. He has proven the opposite, ending up in the service of an aristocrat, the Earl of Hertford.

The *Ode a ses amis par de la mer* is not the only poem of the manuscript in which Lucas D'Heere refers to his position as an exile. And, although the undertone of the *Ode* is grateful, happy, and positive, being banned and living as an exile felt unjust for him and his exiled companions. Before his employment at Seymour's household, D'Heere's situation must not have been very promising. The first paragraph of the poem on folio 2^v clearly shows how great the impact of this employment was on D'Heere (Appendix, part 4). His sad feelings, which even influenced his way of painting, turned into happy ones because of his patron. Although he writes that the colours of his palette suffered from his situation, this phrase seems to indicate that Lucas D'Heere continued his painting activities while he was exiled and before Seymour employed him.

Lucas D'Heere, a painter of great masters

On 3 May 1573 the following words of D'Heere were noted in the Actaboeken of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars: 'Lucas de Heeren gaf an dat hij moste zijn kosten winnen ende, met groote meesters verkeerende, hebbelicke most gaen om hen te dienen, waerduer hij sommeghen van de gemeente onstichten mochte. Dese excusatie niet gewichtich gevonden en ware nom in 't lot te staen'.²³ In this fragment, D'Heere, who was an elder at the Dutch Church, apologizes that he could not devote more time to the church as he had to earn his living by working in the service of great masters.

Until the manuscript *Tableau Poétique* appeared, there was no evidence about him working for such great masters.²⁴ It is already clear that Edward Seymour was his patron, but a further pressing question that needs to be answered concerns D'Heere's assignments at Wolf Hall Court. How was he occupied in the Seymour household? The fact that D'Heere saw himself as a painter in the first instance or was mainly employed for his painting skills is clarified by the preface of the manuscript: *TABLEAV POETIQUE De Lucas Dheere, Peintre Gantois* (Figure 1 and Appendix, part 1). The poem on folio 6^r, entitled *A Milord Henry* subsequently gives us the expected answer: painting, drawing, and probably also some writing (Appendix, part 5). Milord Henry is presumably Henry Seymour, brother of Edward and an Admiral involved in the fight against the Spanish Armada in 1588.

Although this poem does not directly refer to a portrait of the Earl of Hertford, the manuscript does tell us that Lucas D'Heere did portray his brother, Henry Seymour. Moreover, the poem also informs us that D'Heere might have functioned

as a sort of 'Serjeant painter' for Edward Seymour as he declares devoting his paintbrush and pen to him. Subsequently, he states he did the same for God (*Pere favorable*). Might this indicate the production of religious pieces or does D'Heere refer here to poetry and prayers?²⁵

Aside from the portrait of Henry Seymour, the manuscript also informs us about other portraits Lucas D'Heere created. On folio 13^r we find a poem or ode most probably addressed to Frances Howard (c. 1554–98; Appendix, part 6). Frances Howard was the second wife of the Earl of Hertford. She was the daughter of William Howard of Effingham (c. 1510–73) and maid of honour of Queen Elizabeth I. Edward Seymour married her in 1582. According to the date of the manuscript, this text should have been written before 8 January 1572, ten years before the marriage. But it is known that Edward and Frances had courted nine years before they actually married. They had no relationship at the time *Tableau Poétique* was dedicated to Seymour. In this context it is noteworthy that the poem is written in a different handwriting to the other verses in the *Tableau Poétique*. It seems plausible that the poem was added later to the manuscript at the request of the Earl. This is supported by the fact that the folios before and following the poem are left blank. Furthermore it is likely that Lucas D'Heere executed the handwriting himself this time; indeed, the handwriting is very similar to that in his manuscript *Théâtre de tous les peuples*.²⁶ If this information is correct, we can determine that D'Heere certainly worked for Seymour from 1568 until 1573. This also implies that, when he spoke of *groote meesters* (great masters) at the Dutch Church, he possibly referred to Seymour and his family.

In the poem D'Heere tells how he painted her face well. Subsequently, he describes the physiognomy of Frances he had captured in his painting: soft and graceful, eyes with a modest gaze, a spacious forehead, an amiable mouth, and a shade full of grace.

In the second paragraph, he writes that Seymour also portrayed Miss Howard, but in his heart. Successively there is dreaming out loud about completing the portrait with children. In this way the glory and well-deserved fame of the honourable families Seymour and Howard will remain in effigy for posterity.²⁷

But Lucas D'Heere did not only portray his employers to remain in effigy for posterity as the poem on folio 27^v proves. It is entitled *Le filz de L'autheur parle* ('The son of the author speaks') and, in this poem, D'Heere lets one of his two sons, Jacob or Philip, speak (Appendix, part 12).²⁸ This poem informs us about the (former) existence of two children's portraits made by D'Heere. One of these portraits is of his son. This son says that, at his birth, mother nature imitated him after the face of a child his father had painted. Subsequently, he says his father also painted his portrait. Lucas's son concludes that, when you see him together with the two-mentioned portraits, one could only guess which is real and which is painted. Via his son, D'Heere nicely compliments his own talent as a portraitist.

We now know that these portraits existed and, of course, wonder where they are today and what they looked like. So far there are no indications that they withstood the test of time, due to three major reasons:

- there are no known signed portraits by D'Heere
- no stylistic or material-technical examination has been done on his, admittedly limited, oeuvre, and
- Wolf Hall Palace, where the paintings probably hung, does not exist anymore.

With the disappearing of Wolf Hall, the paintings possibly got dispersed.²⁹ At least we can conclude that Karel van Mander was right when he wrote in his *Schilder-boeck* that his former teacher was a portrait painter. It is to be hoped that it will just be a matter of time before any of these portraits turns up.³⁰

***Tableau Poétique*, revealing a social network?**

As in his first poetic collection from 1565 — *Den hof en boomgaerd der poë sien* — D'Heere addresses a large number of his poems in *Tableau Poétique* to specific persons.³¹ In *Den hof en boomgaerd* this provides insight into those who were interested in modern poetry at that time. Many people of the Ghent nobility are addressed, even prominent lawyers and intellectuals like Abraham Ortelius and Marcus Laurinus. When we look through the London manuscript of 1572, we notice three poems addressing the Earl of Hertford. One poem is addressed to Lord Burghley (William Cecil), one to the Earl of Oxford (Edward de Vere), and one to (William) Pickering. Furthermore, there is one addressing George Buchanan, the Earl of Leicester (Robert Dudley) and one addressing both the Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Hertford. There is also a poem on the motto of Thomas Gresham. This poem was already known, as D'Heere later wrote it down in the *Album Amicorum* of Johannes Radermacher.³² Moreover there are two 'conversation pieces' referring to or corresponding between Lucas D'Heere and Seigneur (S. Pierre) Dentieres, and Lucas D'Heere and a certain C. Mignot.³³ Finally there are poems addressed to the family of the Earl of Hertford. In these poems Lucas D'Heere plays with anagrams. D'Heere is known for his own anagram: SCHADE LEER U, which means 'Misfortune teaches you'. The anagram of his patron is the following: FORT D'HEVR E'D'ART, which means 'Strong by talent and art'. Succeeding the anagram for Henry Seymour is: HEVR, AMIS, NY OR ('Happiness, friends, no(t) gold'), the one for Marie Seymour is: S'AMIE A MOVRIR ('His girlfriend unto death'), and for Edward Seymour, the son of the Earl, D'Heere invented A DIEV AMOUVRS D'OR ('Farewell, desire for gold'). This particular way of writing poetry — both the addressing and the anagramming — might now be seen as the typical poetical approach of D'Heere. Like in *Den hof en boomgaerd*, most of the addressed people are members of higher society. A major part of these poems, to put it mildly, are religiously tinted.³⁴ They make clear that religion was a key factor in the painter's life and moreover how dominating it was in Europe in the 1560s and 1570s. Furthermore, it is worthwhile noting that Lucas D'Heere tends to compare his life and that of his contemporaries with Ancient Greek mythological figures.³⁵ Thus he calls his patron the Apollo of Hertford and, ironically, the Duke of Alva Alcide, which is another name for Hercules.³⁶ He compares his own faith with that of the lotus-eaters or lotophagi in Africa, a race of people who entered trances of happiness by feeding

themselves with the lotus plant.³⁷ With these comparisons he shows us that he was standing in the middle of the humanist philosophies and views, fully aware of the mythological stories of antiquity.

The next pressing question is: did Lucas D'Heere know all these people well? Were they friends, professional connections, or people whose ideas or politics he shared and admired? Consequently, we ask ourselves how Lucas D'Heere met these people or their work, philosophies, views, and ideas.

To illustrate a case, on folio 7^r Lucas D'Heere addresses the Scottish humanist George Buchanan.³⁸ The link between D'Heere and Buchanan is Karel Utenhove who was a Ghent connection of D'Heere. Although they both were from Ghent, protestant — although D'Heere was a Calvinist and Utenhove a Familist — and poet, they probably met in Paris.³⁹ In *Den hof en boomgaerd* from 1565, D'Heere addresses a poem to him: *An Carolum Vtenhoue, Griecsch, Latijnsch, en François Poëte*.⁴⁰ This Utenhovius was a collaborator of George Buchanan. They seemed to maintain an intimate friendship after they first met in Paris in 1556. Between 1562 and 1566 Utenhove lived in London. In 1568 Utenhove brought out Buchanan's *Franciscanus* and further works, adding poetry by Joachim Du Bellay and his own *Xenia* in Basle.⁴¹ In this *Xenia* we find an epigram addressed to 'Lucas Derus Pictor Gandavensis'.⁴² Did D'Heere become acquainted with Buchanan's work via Utenhove? Did they meet personally? And might D'Heere have painted his portrait? A lot of questions still need to be answered.

The next link makes clear that Utenhove not only connected Lucas D'Heere with George Buchanan, but also linked the Ghent painter-poet to Lord Burghley or William Cecil, the Queen's secretary. He was known for his intellectual skills and his love of books and poetry. Furthermore, he was the chief patron of Utenhove while he was in London. Utenhove described him as *another Maecenas for our age*.⁴³ Cecil appeared to have had a positive attitude towards emigrants, as he might have seen their advantages for the English economy.⁴⁴ Besides, it was also known that the Earl of Hertford had a good relationship with Cecil, who spent his early career with Hertford's father, the Duke of Somerset. With this information in mind we can better understand why, on folio 3^r, D'Heere dedicated a poem to him. From D'Heere's words, we can clearly deduce that he agreed with the political direction carried out by Cecil. Further archival research will have to clarify if the ties between these two men went further.

I can conclude this article by showing that picking out just two of D'Heere's addressed poems from *Tableau Poétique* reveals a web of possible relations. A preliminary uncovering of this web of connections reveals better insight with respect to why Lucas D'Heere chose England to escape Alva, and how this action was undertaken. But this article also has touched upon another interesting source which can provide better insight into his life overseas, not only with the Earl of Hertford as his patron, but also a number of high-society figures who could have functioned as possible employers and commissioners.⁴⁵ Moreover, this manuscript provides insight into the development of D'Heere's personality and his vision on life, society, religion, and art. It is a poetic testimonial of an educated renaissance figure in exile during the

most difficult decade in sixteenth-century Europe. Further investigation into the link between Lucas D’Heere and these addressed people will create a better image of the role he once played as an artist and humanist in Elizabethan London.

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Appendix: Transcription of selected poems of *Tableau Poétique* by Lucas D’Heere

1. Preface

tableav poetique
De Lucas Dheere,
Peintre Gantois.
Dedie a Monsieur L’illustre
Comte d’Hertfort

2. Folio 1^r: 08.01.1572

L illustre & vertueux Seigneur
Mons(ieu)r le Comte d’Hertfort

Mons(ieu)r ainsi quil ny a chose en ma faculte que ie
ne voudroy
Employer a v(ot)re service comme a celuy auquel
mon tout est deu
Par la benevolence & courtoisie que J’ay receu de
Vostre S. (05)
J’ay bien voulu offrir au pied dicelle ce mien Tableau
Poe
Tique: escrit par Clement paret, lequel Sest applique
en cest
endroit plus volontairement, quil cognoist la bonne
affectio(n)
que V. S. porte aux Muses & aux Arts: comme
l’effect

le monstre Esperant, voire nous assurant que notre
la (10)
beur luy sera agreable, au regard de la sincere
Voulonte
que nous avons de rendre & nous & nostre pouvoir
sub
iects au plaisir dicelle: & estre entierement dediez a
son
service: ainsi quelle merite Prians toujours le tout
puissant
de maintenir V. S. en longue prosperite. De Londres
(15)
ce VIIJe de Janvier 1572.

Vos humbles et obeissans Serviteurs
Lucas D’heere & Clement Paret

3. Folio 2^r: Au dit seigneur Comte 1568

Au dit Seigneur Comte 1568

Monsieur tu es tesmoing de ce que nous disons
Que le Coeur vrayment libre & effranchi de vice,
Joint a l’esprit gentil amateur de iustice
Rend un home tout franc au milieu de prisons. (05)

Car l’immence vertu que du ciel nous auons
N’est nullement subiect a prison ou supplice
Ains librement par tout s’estend son benefice

Quoy qu’il aduienne au corps, ainsi que nous voions

Le soleil estre absent comme au Ciel attaché (10)
Et quelque fois aussi y semble estre cache.
Neantmoins nous sentons la vertu de sa face.

Pareillement iasoit que ton corps est absent
Tu ne laisses pourtant estre de nous present
Avec les beaux effects de ta divine grace (15)

4. Folio 2^v: 1569

A luy mesme 1569
 Comme un bel oiselet eschappant de la cage
 Rentre en vn plein desert ioyeux et estonne
 Tout ainsi mon esprit iadis emprisonne
 Avec vous mon Mecene ores reprend courage: (05)
 Et mon Carme quittant son triste et dur langage
 Est maintenant tout gay de ioye enuironné
 Comme aussi ma peinture, ayant abandonné

Ses trop mornes couleurs monstre son beau visage
 En vous voiant Jouir de vos propres maisons, (10)
 Attendant en espoir de meilleures saisons,
 Dont ce commencement est l'augure notable:
 Qui nous va promettant qu'en brief serez remis,
 Au grand contentement de vous & vos amis,
 En la grace de celle a qui nul est semblable. (15)

5. Folio 6^r: A milord henry

A Milord henry

J'ay consacré a ton frère humblement
 Mon cher Pinceau & ma plume amiable
 Comme a leur but & Pere fauorable
 Et tu en as ta part consequement. (05)

Car le louant si honnorablement
 C'est honorer ta race memoirable
 Et celebrer sa vertu admirable

C'est celebrer la tienne deuement.

Outre cela I ay rendu immortelle (10)
 Ta face peint en couleur naturelle
 A quoy ne peult nuyre age ny tems.

Non plus Monsieur, qu'a ta splendide gloire
 De tes vertus escrites par Memoire
 Au grand Tableau des coeurs de tous viuans. (15)

6. Folio 13^r: A Mademoyselle Fr Haward

A Mademoyselle Fr. Haward

J'ay peinct Madamoyselle, assez bien vostre face
 En luy donnant son traict, tant doux & gracieux
 Son oeil sur tout modeste: & son front spacieux
 Une amiable bouche; un teinct de belle grace (05)
 Mais mon Comte & Mecene avec une autre trace
 Vous ha bien mieux pourtraicté en son cuer
 amoureux

Vous dy-ie & O voz vertuz: chef d'œuvre des haults
 cieux
 Comme a mon Maistre donc ie luy quite la place
 Encor fera beau veoir sur un si beau pourtraict (10)
 De tels enfans depeincts, par le naturel traict
 Que la nature ordonne entre choses utiles.
 Dont demourra depeinct en la posterité
 Ceste splendide gloire & l'honneur merité
 De Saymour & d'Haward honorables familles. (15)

7. Folio 18^r: Ode a ses amis par de la mer

Ode a ses amis par de la mer

Comme un homme eschappé
 Et bien presque happé
 De tempeste marine
 Fort aise arrive au port (05)
 Ou il trouue confort
 Par la grace diuine.

Ainsi m'est aduenu
 Qu'heureux ie suis receu

(Chasse des infidelles) (10)
 A l'hospital de Dieu
 Voire au plus propre lieu
 De tous bannis fidelles.

Au Royaume benit
 Ou saintement reluit (15)
 L'Estoille des Princesses:
 Ou prete raison,
 Et les Arts ont saison,
 Et toutes gentilleses.

8. Folio 18^v: Ode a ses amis par de la mer: Continuation

J'y viens heureusement (20)
 Et vous diray comment
 Dieu m'a monstré sa face
 Outre les grands bienfaits
 Receus d'amis parfaits
 J'ay encore ceste grace (25)

Qu'un Comte vertueux
 De tout art amoureux
 L'honneur de la noblesse

Ma receu (ô quel heur)
 Au sein de sa faueur (30)
 Et courtois me caresse.

Sa court Wolphal me sert
 D'un bon Palais ouvert
 D'un double mont & (=ex) Pinde
 D'une Athene en sa fleur (35)
 Et Rome en sa vigueur
 Et d'une opulente Inde

9. Folio 19^r: Ode a ses amis par de la mer: Continuation

Je voy la tout le iour	D'un diuin aliment
Servir le Dieu d'amour	Reprennans sagement
Par priere & louange (40)	Tous les abus infames.
D'une deuotion	
Qu'a ceste nation	La est le passe- tems (50)
Plus que nule autre estrange	(O quil duroit mille ans)
	De la doulce Musique
J'oy la la sainte voix	Que conduit en accord
Des bons pasteurs Anglois (45)	L'Apollon de Hertford
Qui nourrissent nos ames	Beaucoup mieux que l'antique (55)

10. Folio 19^v: Ode a ses amis par de la mer: Continuation

La se prend on esbat	Qu'Alen, Poete entier (65)
Sans noise ou desbat	De son diuin laurier
En honneste exercice	Bragardement decore
De la chasse ou du vol	
Remede non friuol (60)	Illec domine aussi
A l'encontre tout vice	Nostre peinture ainsi
	Que tout autre science (70)
Minerue et son troupeau	Que ce Conte excellent
En ce palais tant beau	Exerce & bien entend
Par l'estude s'honnore	Tesmoing l'experience

11. Folio 20^r: Ode a ses amis par de la mer: End

Brief ie ne vous saurois	Ou que celuy estoit
Dechiffrer ceste fois (75)	Qui tout son saoul buuoit
Le plaisir delectable	La Nepenthe Ionique (85)
Dont ie suis iouissant	
Sous mon fauteur puissant	Jugez donc-ques amis
Et Mecene honorable	Si mes socts ennemis
	Qui me pensent mal faire
Dont Je me trouue mieux (80)	En me chassant icy
Que les Grex amoureux	Ne se trompent ainsi (90)
De leur lothe d'Afrique	Voiant tout le contraire

12. Folio 27^v: Le filz de l'auteur parle

Le filz de L'auteur parle	Mon Pere par après fit aussi ma peinture: (05)
	Or tous ces trois enfans l'un fait par la nature,
La nature imitant dedans ma geniture	Et les autres deux peints sont si egaux & telz
La face d'un enfant que mon pere auoit peint	Qu'on ne peut discerner sinon par coniecture
Me rendit tout semblable a ce quil auoit feint.	Silz sont trois enfans paints ou bien trois naturelz.

Notes

¹ Although the Getty Union List of Artist Names prefers to spell the artist's name as De Heere, we have chosen to follow Werner Waterschoot and to spell his name D'Heere as this is the way Lucas D'Heere always spelt his name, aside from the latinization Derus. It is van Mander who started to use the spelling De Heere. W. Waterschoot, 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas D'Heere', Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse

Taal- en Letterkunde, 1 (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1974), pp. 16–126 (p. 16).

² Warwickshire County Record Office, Archive Newdigate of Arbury (cited hereafter as WCRO-ANA), MI 351/2 — 'Tableau Poétique de Lucas D'Heere', 32 fols (Warwick).

³ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fol. 1^r.

⁴ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fol. 1^r, 2^r, and 2^v.

- ⁵ The finding and study of the manuscript must be situated in the course of my doctoral research on Flemish migrant painters in Early Modern England (1560–1620).
- ⁶ WCRO-ANA, Catalogue of Books in the Library of F. Newdigate Esq., Blackheath, 1835: MI 351/8, item no. 49.
- ⁷ Lady Catherine Grey was the daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk and his Duchess, Frances Brandon. Frances Brandon was the daughter of Mary Tudor Queen of France who was the fifth child of Henry VII and the sister of Henry VIII. Catherine was the great-granddaughter of Henry VII and a cousin of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth. Her sister was Jane Grey, the Nine Day Queen.
- ⁸ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fol. 2^r.
- ⁹ A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), p. 87.
- ¹⁰ It might be a possible hypothesis that the Earl and Lucas first met in France (near Paris), although the exact known dates of both men's journeys do not support this. Seymour was in Paris with Thomas Cecil between June and August 1561. Lucas D'Heere was definitely in France sometime between 10 July 1559 and 5 December 1560, the reigning period of King François II. This can be deduced from a letter he wrote to the Duke of Anjou in September 1582. In this letter he tells Anjou how much he appreciated the benefits he received in France 'under the protection of the late King François II, while he was in the Service of the Queen, Anjou's mother'. During this stay he designed tapestries for Catherine de Medici, as Karel van Mander mentions in his *Schilder-boeck*; however, the dates mismatch. It is possible that Lucas D'Heere was still in France when Seymour arrived in Paris. According to Waterschoot, Lucas D'Heere only came back to Ghent in 1561–62. He also states that the painter-poet must have been working in the 'Hôpital de la Trinité' and stayed on a regular basis at Fontainebleau. Locke, p. 78. F. A. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 19. 'Leven en betekenissen van Lucas D'Heere', p. 34.
- ¹¹ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, paras 2 and 3 on fol. 18^r: 'J'y viens heureusement / Et vous diray comment / Dieu m'a montré sa face / Outre les grands bienfaits / Reçus d'amis parfaits / J'ay encore ceste grace' / 'Qu'un Comte vertueux / De tout art amoureux / L'honneur de la noblesse / Ma receu (ô quel heur) / Au sein de sa faueur / Et courtois me caresse'. The poem is a report to his friends at home about his life as an exile in England.
- ¹² Further in-depth research will be completed in my doctoral thesis.
- ¹³ C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923), p. 441, no. 8154. The watermark is the same as the one on the paper D'Heere used for his manuscript 'Corte beschryvinghe van Engeland, Scotland ende Irland', which is kept in the British Library. The watermark was originally used in Brussels in 1559. It was continuously used i.e. in Hamburg (1561, 1562), Lübeck (1567), Brussels (1568), Heidelberg (1568), Château-Cambresis (1568), Cologne (1571), Utrecht (1572), and Clèves (1572–73). Lucas D'Heere, *Beschrijving der Britsche eilanden: een geïllustreerd geschrift uit zijn Engelsche ballingschap: met een inleiding, aantekeningen en glossarium door*, ed. by Th. M. Chotzen and A. M. E. Draak (Antwerpen: De Sikkel, 1937).
- ¹⁴ Lucas D'Heere, *Théâtre de tous les peuples et Nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens divers, tant anciens que modernes, diligemment depeints au naturel par Luc Dheere peintre* (Gent: Bibliotheek Universiteit Gent), handschrift 2466, fol. 127.
- ¹⁵ Neither Lucas D'Heere, Clement Paret, nor *Tableau Poétique* are mentioned in the Seymour Papers. The household accounts are incomplete. Longleat Archives, *Seymour Papers 1532–1686*, Vol. IV (Warminster: Longleat Archives).
- ¹⁶ T. Croiset van Uchelen, 'The Mysterious Writing-Master Clémens Perret and His Two Copy-Books', *Quaerendo*, XVII.1 (1987), 3–43 (pp. 6–8, 14).
- ¹⁷ Van Uchelen, pp. 11–12.
- ¹⁸ *Tableau Poétique* provides new information about Clémens Perret's life and work. In this article we will not go further into that, but we would like to stress the importance of the finding of the manuscript for him as a calligrapher. His two copy-books were printed, which means that *Tableau Poétique* is the only handwritten manuscript by Perret known today. Furthermore, the cooperation between Clémens Perret and Lucas D'Heere evokes a lot of questions. How did Perret end up in England? How and where did the two artists meet each other? Who was appointed first in the service of Seymour? And so on. At first instance the link between the two men seems to be the book printer and publisher Christophe Plantin, who sold copies of Perret's books and who would definitely have known D'Heere from the illustrations he provided for Johannes Sambucus *Emblemata* printed by him. But when we look further into this, also considering the fact that Plantin was more of a businessman, we see that it was Abraham Ortelius who acted as the contact person concerning D'Heere's work for the *Emblemata*. Payments were arranged via Ortelius as well. Besides, both D'Heere and Perret had written in Ortelius's *Album Amicorum*. The entries, while having different dates, are only a couple of folios apart. In addition, it is remarkable how similar Perret's message is to D'Heere's motto *Schade Leer U* ('Misfortune may teach you'): *La nature pousse les hommes à haïr la mauuaise fortune alors qu'elle leur fait*

acquérir une grande prudence ('Nature drives men to hate bad fortune, but it teaches them caution'). It seems that Ortelius might have been the spider in the web. Finally, it is also curious that the presumed father of Clémens, Etienne Perret, was the author of *XXV fables des animaux* [...] which was published in 1578 by Plantin. These *Fables* were a French adaptation of the 1567 Dutch version by the Bruges Edward de Dene, illustrated by Marcus Gheeraerts with a preface by Lucas D'Heere. Marcus Gheeraerts was a protestant painter from Bruges, who also had fled to London about 1567 and is always presumed to have been a friend of Lucas D'Heere. He also wrote in Abraham Ortelius's *Album Amicorum*. Further in-depth research on this matter will be completed in my doctoral thesis. *Abraham Ortelius: Album Amicorum*, ed. by J. Puraye (Amsterdam: A. L. van Gendt & Co., 1969), pp. 31–32, 54. Van Uchelen, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London, Part II (1571–1597)*, X, ed. by R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk (Aberdeen: University Press (Publications of the Huguenot Society of London), 1902), p. 70.

²⁰ *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England*, VIII, ed. by W. Page (Lymington: Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1893), p. 185.

²¹ *Returns of Aliens*, p. 70. 'Lucas de Here, painter, Ellinor his wife, and a boye borne in Gaunte, cam hither five yeres ago for religion, and be of the Douche Church, John de Cr(i)ttes his servaunte, borne in Andwerpe, and hath byn here iiij yeres. Boys Carboners, his wyves systers, borne in Terver, hath byn here about ij monethes, and Markin Cupen, a child of v yeares olde, be all sojourners within the howse of the foresaide Marques Stacye'. From this we can derive he arrived in 1566 in London. This must have been after 29 August 1566, as van Mander stated he tried to save works of art from the iconoclastic fury. On 16 July 1577 D'Heere writes a goodbye letter from Middelburg to the Elders of the Dutch Church, saying that he spent ten years among them. We interpret this as a decade of active membership of the Dutch Church, and not as a fixed date from which we can calculate his arrival date in the British Isles. Werner Waterschoot also refers to the notes of Victor Fris, from which he deduces that D'Heere arrived in April 1567. Fris refers to a letter from the correspondence of Philip II, dated 14 April 1567, which says that Orange left Ghent together with half a dozen 'docteurs hérétiques' and many other 'coquins de sédition'. Below this reference he mentions that, according to Vaernewijck, other Ghent heretics fled to England and France during April 1567. But Vaernewijck also mentions fleeing iconoclasts shortly after the iconoclastic fury. D'Heere was not an iconoclast, but it seems plausible that it was in his character to

anticipate the forthcoming troubles and decide to be better safe than sorry. K. van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*. 'The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters', from the first edition of the *Schilder-boeck* (1603–04), preceded by the lineage and circumstances, and place of birth, life, and works of Karel van Mander, painter and poet, and likewise his death and burial, from the second edition of the *Schilder-boeck* (1616–18), ed. by H. Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994–99); van Mander, p. 143, fol. 241^{r-v}. A. Ortelius, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, III, ed. by J. H. Hessels (Cantabrigiae: University Press, 1897), p. 48. 'Leven en betekenis van Lucas D'Heere', p. 54. V. Fris, *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire des Iconoclastes et des Calvinistes à Gand de 1566 à 1568*, 9 (Gent: Handelingen de maatschappij voor geschied-en oudheidkunde, 1909), pp. 1–150 (pp. 144–46).

²² WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fols 18–20.

²³ Translation: 'Lucas D'Heere indicated that he had to earn his living, dealing with great masters and that he had to leave to serve them. Thereby he had to neglect his community duties. This excuse was not found significant enough'. *Acta van het consistorie van de Nederlandse gemeente te Londen 1569–1585*, *Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis*, ed. by O. Boersma and A. J. Jelsma ('s-Gravenhage: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1993), fol. 19^v.

²⁴ By this we mean that Lucas D'Heere had not mentioned this himself in his other, already known, writings. His former pupil, Karel van Mander, tells us about him working for the Lord High Admiral, presumably Edward Fiennes de Clinton. Van Mander, p. 152, fol. 255^v 32.

²⁵ Although the Protestant religion does not allow images of religious scenes, D'Heere, who tried to save religious works of art during the iconoclastic fury in Ghent, seems to have been tolerant and open-minded enough to produce religious paintings on demand. Protestant painters active during this religiously troubled and changing period struggled to find a new way of coping with this. See K. Jonckheere, *Art after Iconoclasm: Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012).

²⁶ For example, the handwriting on the preface of the manuscript. Document cited in D'Heere, *Théâtre*, fol. 1.

²⁷ Although this article does not focus on the literary aspect of D'Heere's poems of *Tableau Poétique*, we notice that the poem about Frances Howard seems to be a classic example of Pléiade poetry. This is contrary to what was presumed so far on his poetry and his erudition on French poetry. Waterschoot states that the Pléiade, which had its first success about 1560 while D'Heere stayed in France, left the painter-poet indifferent. *Den hof en boomgaerd*,

from 1565, can be classified as poetry on the brink of the Renaissance, balancing between old and new, influenced by the poetry of Clement Marot and the literary work of rhetorical chambers. D'Heere himself says that the poems are works from his youth. A typical example of 'rhetorical chamber poetry' in *Tableau Poétique* is the ABC verse he has written for the sons of the Earl of Hertford: 'A. B. C. Chrestien a Messieurs Eduard & Thomas les filz du Comte d'hertfort', WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fols 31 and 32. But generally we can state that the poems of *Tableau Poétique* were influenced by modern French poetry of that period. D'Heere's poetic style had definitely developed with these poems for Seymour as a result.

²⁸ Letting a (imaginary) person speak via a poem is something he also did in *Den hof en boomgaerd*, for example, in the sonnet about Hugo van der Goes. See Lucas D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësen*, ed. by W. Waterschoot (Zwolle: N. V. Uitgeversmaatschappij W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink, 1969), p. 55, XLIX. (Subsequent references to this work are made to this edition unless otherwise stated.)

²⁹ The Seymour family lived at Wolf Hall until c. 1575. According to the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre it was abandoned after 1571. — This raises questions about the purpose of *Tableau Poétique*. Could it have been a goodbye gift from D'Heere after a period of working at Wolf Hall? Or must one situate the abandonment closer to 1575? — As the Earl of Hertford was unable to maintain the property, the Seymours moved to Tottenham Lodge (today Tottenham House, part of the Savernake Estate, a Palladian mansion built on the remains of previous buildings in 1820), a hunting lodge in Tottenham Park. The Lodge was only one mile from Wolf Hall. After its abandonment, Wolf Hall deteriorated fast and the majority of the house was demolished in 1665 to help restore the fire-damaged house at Tottenham Park. Barely some ruins were left in 1772. Wiltshire Council, 'Wiltshire Community History' <<http://history.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfaq.php?id=519>> [accessed 10 May 2012]; Savernake Estate, 'Tottenham House' and 'History' <<http://www.savernakeestate.co.uk/tottenham.htm>> [accessed 10 May 2012].

³⁰ This definitely will be examined further in my doctoral thesis.

³¹ Lucas D'Heere, *Den hof en boomgaerd der poësen* (Gent: Ghileyn Manilius, 1565).

³² Lucas D'Heere, 'Poeme Heroique sur la devise de Monsieur Thomas Gressem Chevalier. Par L. Dhre Peintre Gantois', *Album Amicorum Joannes Rotarius* (Gent: Bibliotheek Universiteit Gent, undated), Handschrift 2465, fols 146^{r-v}. According to Karel Bostoën this Album should be looked upon more as a heterogeneous collection of poetry, rather than a real *Album Amicorum* like, for instance, the album

of Abraham Ortelius. J. Radermacher, *Het album J. Rotarii. Tekstuutgave van het werk van Johan Radermacher de Oude in het Album J. Rotarii [...] met inleiding en commentaar door K. Bostoën*, ed. by K. Bostoën (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999).

³³ S. Pierre Dentieres was a gentleman and poet from Doornik (Tournai) who wrote a sonnet for the Antwerp poet Jan van der Noot, published in his *Het Bosken* from 1570. Dentieres was a nobleman living in London since c. 1567. Jan van der Noot and Dentieres met each other in London, where the Calvinist van der Noot lived after fleeing his hometown. J. van der Noot, *Het Bosken en Het Theatre*, ed. by W. A. P. Smit and W. Vermeer (Utrecht: HES, 1979), pp. 94–95, fols E.6^v–E.7^v; W. Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot's Bosken Re-examined', *Quaerendo*, XXII (1991), pp. 29–45.

³⁴ A very good example of this is the verse 'A. B. C. Chrestien a Messieurs Eduard & Thomas les filz du Comte d'hertfort' on fols 31 and 32. Based on the letters of the alphabet, D'Heere explains to the children of his patron how to live as a good Christian. WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fols 31 and 32.

³⁵ Although this is typical for Pléiade poetry, this is something he also does in *Den hof en boomgaerd*, where he compares, for example, his teacher Frans Floris with Apelles. D'Heere, *Den hof*, p. 39, XIX.

³⁶ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fols 10^r and 19^r.

³⁷ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fol. 20^f.

³⁸ WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fol. 7^f.

³⁹ W. Waterschoot, 'Lucas d'Heere, schilder, dichter en politicus', in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, VII (Brussels, Paleis der Academiën 1977), 332–46 (pp. 335–36).

⁴⁰ D'Heere, *Den hof*, p. 53, XLV.

⁴¹ J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and The Leiden Humanists* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1962), p. 16.

⁴² K. Utenhove, *Xenia seu ad illustrium aliquot Europae hominum nomina, allusionum (intertextis alicubi joach). Bellai ejusdem argumenti vertibus* (Basle: Rauracorum, 1568), p. 116.

⁴³ Collection of Utenhove's letters (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de la France), Lat. 18592, fol. 40: 'nostrique Moeenas es alter seculi'.

⁴⁴ A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 139.

⁴⁵ A hint for future research is for instance the sale of a portrait of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford by Lucas D'Heere on 1 June 1832 by Oxenham Auctionhouse in London (current whereabouts unknown). The poem 'Au Conte D'Oxford' on fol. 4^r of *Tableau Poétique* is dedicated to Edward de Vere. WCRO-ANA, MI 351/2, fol. 4^r. The Getty Provenance Index® databases, 'Sale Catalogs: Lucas de Heere' <<http://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb>> [accessed 28 March 2013].

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Notes on contributor

Frederica Van Dam is a PhD candidate in art history of the Flanders Research Foundation (FWO) at Ghent University, Belgium. Her dissertation is about Flemish migrant painters in Early Modern England (1560–1620), focusing on five case studies and highlighting five painters. Each painter will be examined and looked at from a different angle, departing from their personal migration story. Their oeuvre will be reconstructed, not only focusing on their period in England, but departing from their Flemish cultural roots and education.

Correspondence to: Frederica Van Dam, Sint-Pietersnieuwstraat 41, Technicum Blok 4, B-9000 Ghent, Belgium. E-mail: frederica.vandam@ugent.be