A Historical and Technical Investigation of Sir Peter Lely's *Cimon and Efigenia* from the Collection at Doddington Hall.

Introduction

The Conservation and Art Historical Analysis Project at the Courtauld Institute Research Forum aimed to carry out technical investigation and art historical research on Sir Peter Lely's painting *Cimon and Efigenia.* The painting came to the Courtauld Gallery in 2012 for the *Lely: A Lyrical Vision* exhibition, which focused on Lely's subject pictures from his earlier years in England. After the exhibition, *Cimon and Efigenia* was brought to the conservation department for conservation treatment. *Cimon and Efigenia's* conservation treatment, along with previous technical examination of the Courtauld Gallery's Peter Lely subject pictures, provided a unique opportunity to further investigate the history of this painting and its place within Lely's practice and oeuvre. In her essay "Becoming Peter Lely" in the *Lely: A Lyrical Vision* catalogue, Caroline Campbell describes Lely as a "pictoral magpie: picking up ideas and motifs from any number of sources, but uniting them in a fashion which combined the Italian Renaissance and the Dutch Classicist movement, but in a more Baroque and showy manner." This report will explore how Peter Lely's many influences (artistic, cultural, and literary) contributed to the formation of this painting: through composition, materials, and techniques.

Historical Investigation of *Cimon and Efigenia*

by Esther van der Hoorn

Context in Sir Peter Lely´s Oeuvre

As was recounted by Dutch art historian *avant-la-lettre* Arnold Houbraken in his 1718 work *The Great Theatre of Dutch Painters*, Peter Lely was born Pieter van der Faes on the 14th of September 1618 to Dutch parents living in the small town of Soest, in German Westphalia. The name of Lely, under which he would become famous as an artist, stems from the lily, which adorned the gable of his father's house in Soest.[1]

In emulation of Vasari and the Netherlandish artist-biographer Karel van Mander, Houbraken wrote on the lives of the most famous Dutch artists. Peter Lely proves an interesting case, as he seems as much – or perhaps even more – an English artist. When Lely's soldier-father noticed that his son preferred wielding the brush over the sword and the art of painting over the art of warfare, he sent his 18-year-old son to the Dutch city of Haarlem to study under the painter Frans Pieter de Grebber.[2] Hardly any work from the time he spent in Haarlem is known, however, and it seems that Lely's career only became truly established when he moved to London in 1641, travelling in the suite of William II of Orange, who sought to marry the daughter of Charles I, Mary. Just a few years later, in October of 1647, Lely became a freeman of the London Painter-Stainer's company.

Netherlandish painters had been present in London throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as many fled religious strife beginning in the 1530's, or later followed the example of court artist Anthony van Dyck.[3] Van Dyck died in 1641, the year that Lely arrived in England. After Van Dyck, Peter Lely was perhaps the most accomplished of the Dutch fortune-seekers of his generation. Lely's early English works depict subjects from mythology and history, painted in the Haarlem classicist style, featuring romantic landscapes and rich colouring. Lely however found these paintings unpopular in England, and subsequently turned to portraiture as his main area of expertise.[4] Lely had been taught in portraiture by De Grebber, and according to Houbraken, had established a reputation as an excellent portrait painter during the short period in which he lived in Haarlem. It was for his portraiture that Lely became incredibly sought after, resulting in his appointment as Principal Painter to the Restoration court of Charles II in 1661.[5]

Figure 1. *Cimon and Efigenia*. Attributed to Sir Peter Lely. Dated after 1650. 131 x 150 cm. Oil on canvas. Doddington Hall, Lincolnshire.

Lely might have profited from the vacuum left in London after William Dobson's move to Royalist Oxford during the English civil war.

The painting under consideration in our research appears to be from the early decades of Lely's career, as it is a so-called 'subject picture' rather than a portrait. The scene depicts a narrative from secular literature, painted in the richly coloured, dramatically illuminated style preferred in Haarlem, combined with influences from Italian art, especially Titian. In his later portraiture, Lely would fuse these stylistic characteristics with the traditions of Van Dyck's grand Baroque style of English portraiture. As *Cimon and Efigenia* presumably is one of Lely's earlier works, and not a portrait of a known sitter but a narrative scene, it is unclear whether it was a piece made for the market, as was common in Haarlem, or if the painting was a commission.[6] The former hypothesis would be possible, as Lely continued working with art dealers in London, most notably George Geldrop.[7]

The provenance of the painting, however, is relatively uncertain. The work is presently in the collection of Doddington Hall, an Elizabethean mansion in Lincolnshire. In all probability, the painting was brought to Doddington Hall in the second half of the 18th century by Lord John Delaval, first-born son to Rhoda Apreece, who had inherited Doddington through her mother.[8] How Lely's *Cimon and Efigenia* might have come into the possession of the Delavals remains thus far unknown. The painting might have been bought at the sale of Lely's personal collection after his death in 1680. In the inventory made up for this sale, there was listed as lot 83 under the heading 'History paintings of Sir Peter Lely' a picture of 'The

History of Cimon, with naked figures.'[9] However, the 'History of Cimon' mentioned in this inventory might also have been Lely's painting of the same subject presently in Knole House, Kent.

Lely's Artistic Heritage

In the late sixteenth-century Karel van Mander, a Haarlem-based artist and the author of the *Lives of the Dutch Artists*, modelled after Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*, an 'academy' of painting in Haarlem together with his contemporaries Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem.[10] Although we should not consider this to be comparable to Italian examples of truly academic schools of painting, jointly these three artists did constitute a very influential 'Haarlem School'. The Haarlem School of the late sixteenth century produced a style that has been called Haarlem Mannerism, featuring convoluted postures and extravagant proportions, after the example of the Flemish artist Bartholomeus Spranger, who had travelled extensively through Italy.

Although few works by Frans Pieter de Grebber, Lely's teacher, have been left to us, it appears that he was a follower of the Haarlem Mannerist school as well. De Grebber was also a painter of so-called 'schutterstukken', which depicted all the members of the prestigious civilian city guards. During his time as a pupil of De Grebber, Lely must have taken in skills in portraiture. In his narrative scenes, however, Lely does not show much Mannerist qualities. Instead, he seems to have been inspired by the reactionary Classicist movement that emerged in Haarlem in the early seventeenth century. Frans de Grebber's son Pieter worked in this style, and Lely may have seen work by him as well.

In London, Lely again saw new sources of inspiration: in his later portraiture, he fused the rich colours and dramatic lighting that were preferred in Haarlem, influences from Italian art, especially Titian, and the traditions of Van Dyck's grand Baroque style of English portraiture.[11]

The Story of Cimon and Efigenia

The story of Cimon and Efigenia can be found in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, written and published in Florence in 1353. The *Decameron* consists of one hundred short stories, told over the course of 10 days by a group of elite citizens who have fled the Florentine Plague of 1348, seeking safety in a deserted villa in nearby Fiesole. To pass the time, they told stories of love and fortune. Cimon and Efigenia feature in the first story told on the Fifth Day.

The reception of the *Decameron* in England commences with the possibility of Chaucer having been inspired by Boccaccio's frame narrative.[12] William Painter's *the Palace of Pleasure* of 1566 for many years remained the most extensive collection of translated fables from the *Decameron*, but the first full English translation of the *Decameron* appeared in 1620.[13] Lely did read Dutch, however, he could have also consulted the Dutch translation of 1564 by Dirck Coornhert.[14] Still, his English clients would presumably have been most familiar with the 1620 English translation.

Despite him being the son of the king of Cyprus, a "Noble Gentleman, who was commonly called Aristippus, and exceeded all other of the Country in the goods of Fortune," Cimon turned out to be a course, uncivilised and unlettered youth, who above all lacked "the reall ornament of the soule, reason and judgement; being (indeed a meere Ideot or Foole,)." Because he embarrassed his family so, Cimon was sent to live away from the court to work on the farming lands. One day, as he was walking through his meadows, Cimon stumbled upon a sleeping beauty and her handmaidens. Near a fountain at the edge of the meadow, Cimon "espied a very beautifull young Damosell, seeming to be fast asleepe, attired in such fine loose garments, as hidde very little of her white body." The encounter with the sleeping Efigenia would prove life-changing for Cimon, as seeing this perfect specimen of beauty imbued within him the humanist civility previously lacking: as Cimon fell in love with Efigenia, the prince's heart opened up to all the virtuous qualities that had been missing before. He suddenly became well-versed in Philosophy, music, horse-riding and martial arts. Boccaccio writes: "What shall we say then concerning this Cimon? Surely nothing else, but that those high and divine vertues, infused into his gentle soule, were by envious Fortune bound and shut up in some small angle of his intellect, which being shaken and set at liberty by love."

The voyeuristic dimension to this moment in the story has been widely commented upon, as Lely

and contemporary painters often depicted sleeping nymphs or goddesses, which are 'espied' by either a male character within the painting, or the viewers of the paintings themselves.[15] Yet although the delight of spying on half-naked sleeping beauties such as the nymphs in Lely's *Nymphs by a Fountain* is perhaps obvious, in his *Cimon and Efigenia* there seems to be another dimension relevant to his choice of subject matter. This painting is not merely a pastorale, meant for the voyeuristic delight of male viewers, but depicts a moment in which the judgment of beauty as civilising process is key to the development of the narrative. Lely's Cimon retains his distance from the sleeping Efigenia. In this muted scene, he is beholding her with his eyes only, and does not appear to even consider reaching out to touch Efigenia's smooth flesh. The way Cimon leans his hands on his staff too seems reverent, as if kneeling down before an altar – we should note here that X-Ray analysis shows Lely's obsession with getting this gesture just right (Figure 2). If this painting were a piece made by Lely for the market early on in his career, the subject matter might therefore suggest it being a self-referential showpiece in the line of Vermeer's *The Art of Painting,* as the story may be seen to be very much about connoisseurship as the judgment of beauty.

This period in the Netherlands saw the emergence of the 'liefhebber,' literally 'lover,' of painting: a connoisseur who could judge good art, just as Cimon became a judge of Efigenia's beauty. The viewer of this painting would thus identify with Cimon, not only as voyeur of the sleeping Efigenia, but also in him too becoming cultured by judging different elements within the painting after having fallen in love with its beauty. In fact, it is this that awakens in Cimon the civilised prince: "He began to distinguish her parts, commending the tresses of her haire, which he imagined to be of gold; her forehead, nose, mouth, necke, armes, but (above all) her brests, appearing (as yet) but onely to shew themselves, like two little mountaines. So that he would needs now become a Judge of beauty". This also led to Cimon now being able to speak properly, whereas previously his utterances were rude and coarse. This might have resonated with the artist himself, as being *emigré*s of a different tongue, Lely and his fellow non-English painters were often subject to London's resentment.[16]

Seventeenth Century Depictions of Cimon and Efigenia

Although Titian did not paint a *Cimon and Efigenia* scene as far as we know, his *Danae* series might to have been a possible source of inspiration for Efigenia in Lely's Doddington Hall painting. The way Efigenia's arm is draped is especially similar. This might also explain why Lely initially set out to make something interesting out of Efigenia's leg (Figure 3),

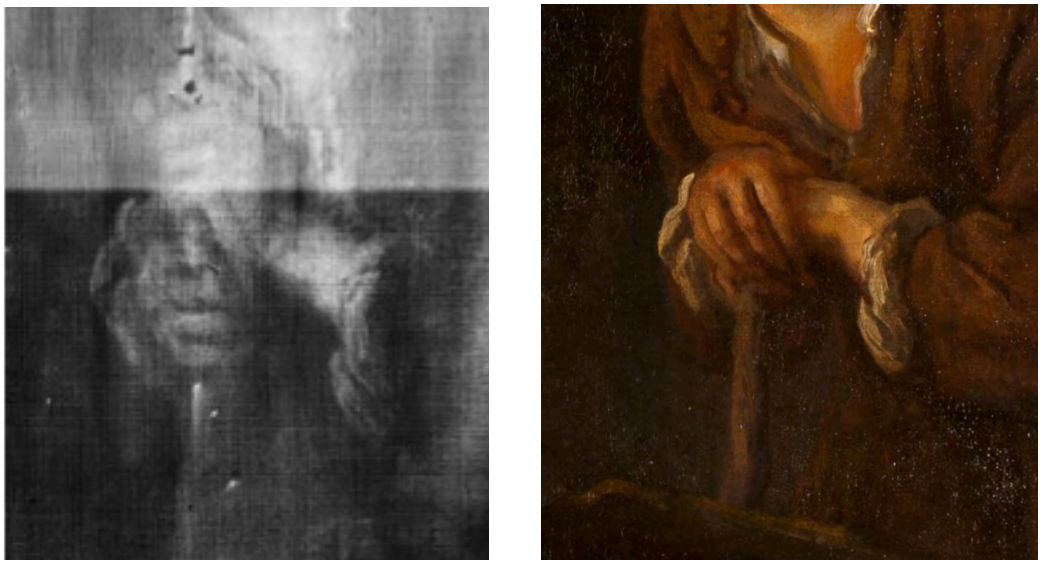


Figure 2. Detail of pentimento of Cimon's hands as seen in X-ray (left) and visible light (right).

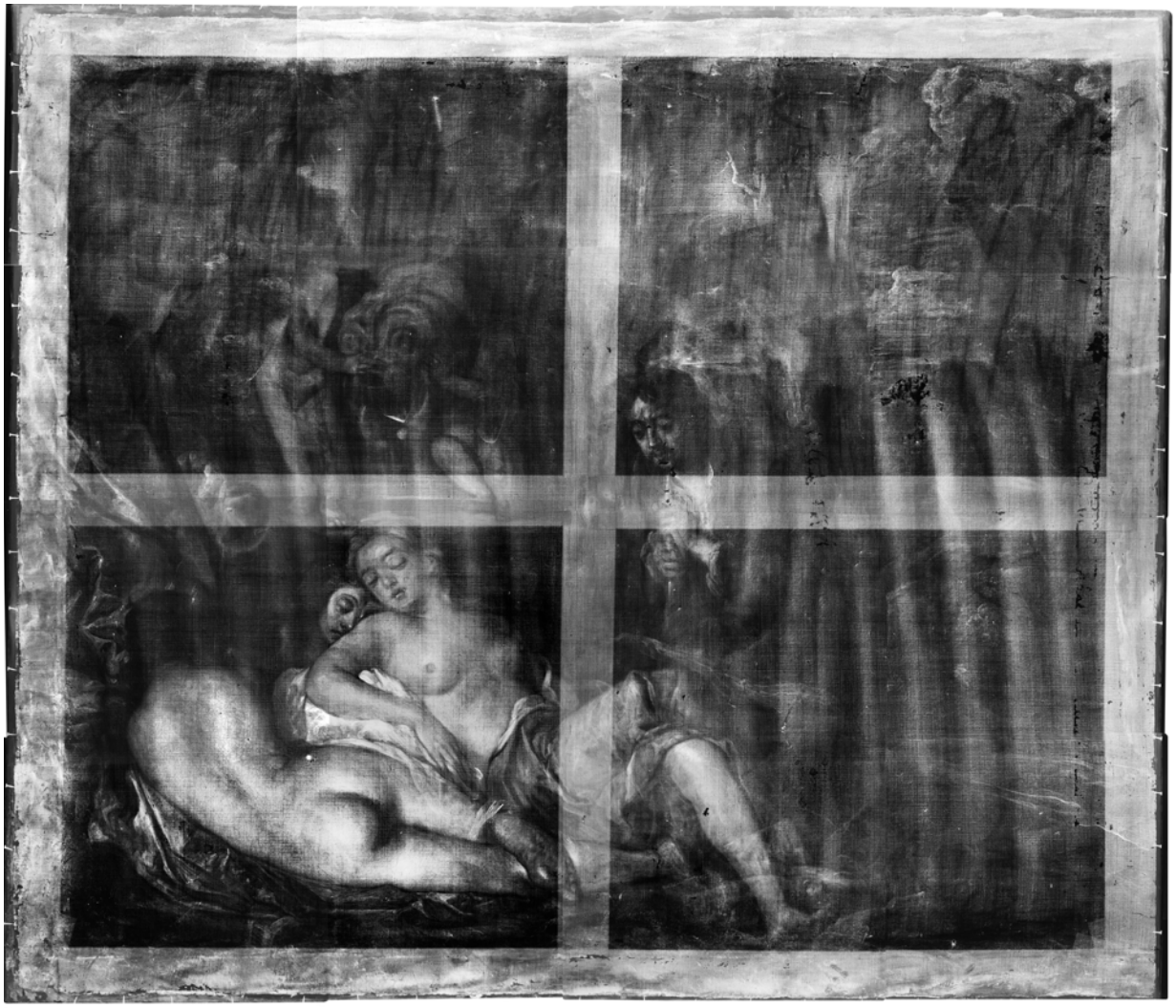


Figure 3. X-radiograph of *Cimon and Efigenia,* **1650.**

although he did not succeed quite as well as Titian did, and had to cover up his attempt to emulate him. From the inventory made up for the 'main picture sale' of Lely's collection after his death, we know that the artist was in the possession of "a Danae after Titian", which was auctioned off to a Mr Sayer.[17] Another work by Titian, a *Sleeping Venus* owned by Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel, who was to become one of Lely's most important patrons and advocates, might have been another source of inspiration.[18] Amongst other paintings which may have influenced Lely's depiction of Cimon and Efigenia is Anthony van Dyck's *Cupid and Psyche*, which we know to have been in Lely's collection of Old Master paintings (Figure 4).[19] Lely bought this painting after the dispersal of the royal collection following Charles I's downfall.

In Van Dyck's *Cupid and Psyche*, Psyche is laying down on a blue cloth. A similar blue cloth features in Lely's *Cimon and Efigenia*, as it frames the left side of the painting. The blue of Lely's cloth is somewhat reminiscent of the fabric depicted in his *Nymphs by a Fountain*, often suggested to be a pendant of his *Cimon and Efigenia*. Although the paintings currently are not of the same size, they might once have been, as the canvas of Lely's *Cimon and Efigenia* has been both cut down and extended. Furthermore, the way Lely prepared the grounds of both paintings is very similar, as is his use of pigments.

Finally, it was documented that Rubens' *Hero and Leander* was in Peter Lely's collection: the painting is listed as lot 53 of the 'main picture sale' after Lely's death, and was purchased for £85 by a Mr.

Figure 4. Sir Anthony van Dyck, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1639-40, oil on canvas, 199.4 x 191.8 cm, Royal Collection, Windsor (image: Royal Collection). Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014.

Creed.[20] This painting features the same serpentine figures that Lely used for the handmaidens in his versions of *Cimon and Efigenia*, and was probably of great didactical value to him. It is also possible that Lely came into contact with Rubens' work through his teacher. Frans de Grebber not only painted and taught the art of painting, he was an art dealer and agent as well. In 1618, he and his son Pieter went to Antwerp to negotiate with Rubens over the sale of the latter's painting *Daniel in the Lion's Den*, which the artist eventually traded for antique sculptures with Sir Dudly Carlton, the English ambassador to the Dutch Republic, who lived in the Hague. Dudly Carlton then handed the painting to king Charles I. De Grebber thus had connections to the English monarchy. This may have had an influence on Lely's decision to relocate to London. At the time of his death, Lely was working on his own version of Rubens' subject, as the listing of a 'Hero and Leander, unfinished' as lot no. 82 in the inventory to the picture sale shows.[21] Although portraiture ensured his real break-through then, Lely thus apparently continued to be interested in painting the less popular 'subject pictures'. In any case, we should consider the fact that Lely's patrons who did buy his subject pictures, considering themselves connoisseurs of the Italian and Netherlandish Old Masters, delighted in retracing his pictorial sources.

Identifying Efigenia within the Painting

If our painting was indeed a showpiece meant to establish Lely's position in the English art market, the artist's eclectic use of sources and techniques contributes to the subject matter being a reference to Lely's art as something connoisseurs wanting to judge beauty could fall in love with. As we may thus compare Efigenia with the painting in which she is depicted, Lely's use of light pink-grey grounds becomes significant in this regard. Theodore de Mayerne, a Swiss-born physician who moved to England in the early 1600's and who between 1620 and 1645 wrote a treatise on the use and production of pigments, wrote that "the beauty and the vivacity of a painting's colour depends upon a good priming"[22]. Most of the sixteenth and seventeenth century paintings in the Haarlem-based Frans Hals Museum feature what we may call 'flesh-coloured grounds'.[23] Frans Pieter de Grebber, Lely's teacher, even used his light-pink grounds to model faces with, adding only a few more layers of contouring and shade. The 'skin' of the painting thus crossed over with the skin of the depicted person. Perhaps De Grebber did so for economic reasons only, but we may also consider the possibility of Early Modern Dutch artists considering the grounded canvas a 'skin' on which to paint, the painting itself a body to be admired in the way Cimon admires Efigenia.

By giving Cimon a much darker complexion, which contrasts heavily with Efigenia's unblemished skin, Lely adds to this notion. This use of skin tone to contrast female beauty with masculinity was popular in the period. Looking at the composition, it is as if the viewer of the painting enters the picture with Cimon from the top-right corner. As his gaze travels downward, it is suddenly halted: the nudes stop the gaze from leaving the picture at the lower-left corner. Unlike in Rubens' paintings, there is no sense of a wave-like movement, such as in the *Hero and Leander* that Lely himself owned, as we know from the inventory made up after his death, or in Rubens' own rendering of Cimon and Efigenia's story.[24] Instead, the gaze lands upon Efigenia, much like the viewer of the actual painting encounters the physical object. The muted tones of the rest of the painting, and Cimon's reverent distance from Efigenia – deliberately and painstakingly suggested by Lely, as we have seen in X-Ray images –add even further to the sense of 'be-

holding a work of art', both inside and outside of the painting.

Not much is known of the actual studying of nudes in early seventeenth-century Haarlem, but there is some evidence that suggests that this practice was taking place. As mentioned earlier, Karel van Mander founded an 'academy' in Haarlem. According to the records, he did so in order to facilitate life-drawing.[25] This so-called 'academy' was probably not very formal, and could potentially provide a space in which life-drawing after female nudes was allowed. Lely himself appears to have set up an informal life-drawing school in London later on in his career, and in 1656 an application was made to hold life drawing classes at the Painters and Stainers Guild in London.[26] Although this request was denied, life-drawings after female nudes could have been made in more private studio environments. A study of a reclining nude by Lely closely resembles one of the handmaidens in our painting. However, just as important to Lely were examples of female nudes, nymphs and goddesses that he witnessed in other paintings – either through print, or in real life, seeing as he himself and his patrons owned examples.

Materials and Techniques of *Cimon and Efigenia*

by Morgan Wylder

As mentioned previously, *Cimon and Efigenia* is a large subject picture, and it is executed in oil on a large, single piece of plain-weave linen canvas of medium-fine weight. There have been several campaigns of past restoration in the painting's history, with treatments including two linings, filling of losses, and several varnish and retouching campaigns. Sometime during its earlier restoration history, the original tacking edges of Cimon and Efigenia were removed, save for the innermost fraction of the top tacking edge. The picture plane was then extended from 2 – 4 cm on all edges of the composition by the addition of a lining canvas and retouching. The composition was most likely extended to fit a particular stretcher or frame.

In the X-radiograph (Figure 3), cusping is visible on the edges of the composition. On the far right, the cusping or scalloping is much less pronounced, indicating the canvas was cropped slightly from its original size on the right side. At the top of the painting, some of the tacking edge is still extant. Not enough of the original tacking edge remains to confirm how the painting was stretched for the sizing process; but given the known practice of this time, it is likely the canvas was loomed by lacing the linen inside of the opening of a large strainer with cords.[27] It would later be stretched onto a stretcher or strainer possibly for painting, and certainly for display and framing.

The current size of *Cimon and Efigenia* is 131 x 150 cm. In mid-seventeenth century England, large canvases made from a single piece of fabric, with widths larger than 51 cm,[28] such as this one, would have most likely been imported from mainland Europe. The English linen industry was relatively small, and large works by artists in the British school from the early to mid-seventeenth century were typically made from two or more pieces of cloth, made from looms with smaller widths, sewn together.[29] Alternatively, linen with much wider loom widths was available from the Netherlands and France at this time, up to two Dutch ells, or approximately 139 cm.[30] With tacking edges and looming techniques considered, two ells corresponds to the height of this painting.

Priming

By the examination of cross-sections, a uniform double ground was found to be painted over the entirety of the composition. The first ground is a translucent, beige oil-bound chalk layer with only few particles of earth pigments and carbon black, confirmed by SEM-EDX analysis and staining tests. This thicker, oil-bound chalk layer was applied to fill the canvas weave and give a relatively smooth surface for painting.

The second is a pink-grey oil ground made from combination of lead white, chalk, carbon black, and some red earth (and possibly some red lead), confirmed by SEM-EDX analysis. This ground would serve to further smooth the surface of the painting and provide a robust, coloured tone on which the artist could paint.

The grounds would have been applied carefully with a knife to evenly distribute the medium and to ensure good adhesion to the sized canvas.[31] After the first ground was applied, the surface was most likely scraped down, removing knots from the

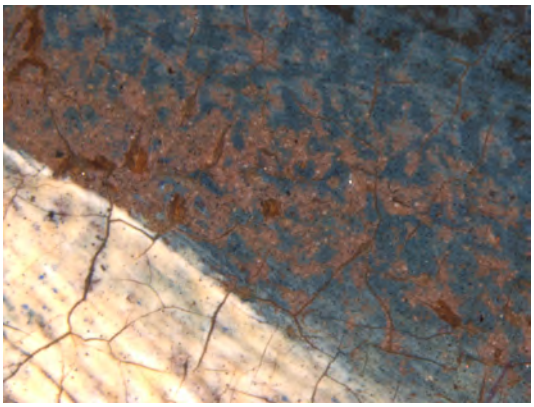


Figure 5. Detail from blue drapery allows us to see ground layer (composed of lead white, carbon black, and red earth) through area of abrasion. x10 magnification

fabric, and polished with a stone to create a smooth, nearly textureless surface.[32] Then, the second ground was applied with the desired pink-grey colour. In the X-ray, the large patterns created by the application of grounds with a palette knife are clearly visible (Figure 3). In a micrograph of the surface, it is possible to see the colour of the ground underneath the paint layers (Figure 5).

Through technical examination, it is not possible to determine whether the ground was artist or commercially applied. Through written accounts, we know that ready-prepared canvases were available from primers in London as early as 1631.[33] According to the anonymous author of the educational manuscript *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil*, by 1668, few artists primed their own canvases.[34] This painting was executed during that transition from artist- to commercially-applied grounds as common practice.

Chronology of Light-Coloured grounds

This use of a double ground with a pink-grey imprimatura positions Lely within a Dutch tradition of Venetian-influenced ground construction in England. Sixteenth century Italian artists, such as Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, each painted on coloured grounds ranging from red to grey to brown on canvases to exploit tonal and chromatic possibilities within their compositions. In the late sixteenth century, Haarlem artist Hendrick Goltzius, and later, Antwerp artists Maarten de Vos and Frans Badens, traveled to Italy and were inspired by the techniques they saw: rich oil-bound paints over coloured grounds on canvas. They returned to the Netherlands and introduced this new painting style. Golzius and Cornelis van Haarlem began to use coloured grounds in their work beginning in the 1590's, and their cool, grey primings influenced mannerist circles in the Northern Netherlands.[35, 36] Red grounds did not become widely used in Haarlem, and following after Cornelis van Haarlem, lighter-toned grounds in beige and greys were preferred by most artists there.[37] The light-coloured double ground was subsequently employed by later Haarlem artists such as Frans Hals, who preferred pale pink or ochre, and then later by Fransz de Grebber and his student, Peter Lely.[38]

When Lely arrived in England in 1643, the lightly-toned double ground was already commonplace. Early in his career, Anthony van Dyck occasionally worked on red-brown underlayers, but for much of his career in England seems to have made his primings lighter. The grey preparations on which he painted in Ruben's workshop probably formed the basis of this evolution.[39] It has been said that Van Dyck introduced light-coloured primings in England, where they remained popular well into the eighteenth century.[40] He may have found that the lighter, coloured primings were less tonally dramatic and less inclined to discolour over time.[41]

Through the technical analysis of a number of Lely paintings, there is some amount of variation between the grounds in his works, but many of the primings were composed of an opaque light pink-grey layer over a translucent chalk layer like in *Cimon and Efigenia*.[42] Whether the primings were artist-applied or commercially applied, the consistency of this construction is indicative of his Haarlem training and preferences, and also perhaps the continued popularity of this Van Dyck-inspired style in England.

Underdrawing

After the ground, Lely likely sketched in his composition with paint based on some preliminary drawings.[43] In this painting, there is no indication of a transfer process from a drawing. Instead, he laid out his composition by sketching in a loose preliminary drawing with paint. It is possible that he painted this sketch over a light, thin, chalk drawing, as is described in an account of his process from 1668[44] and

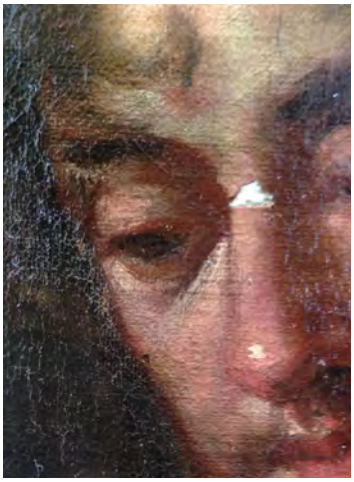


Figure 6. Detail (left). Umber underdrawing visible in shadow of Cimon's eyelid and eyebrow. Warmer earth colours were then applied during the painting process to enrich shadows.

Figure 7. Detail (right) of sculptural putti which shows brown underdrawing and red contour reinforcement.

seen in other Lely paintings[45] but there is no indication of this through magnification of the painting surface or in infrared reflectography. Lely was a prolific and accomplished draughtsman, and through this painting process we can see Lely's virtuoso ability to directly draw onto the canvas without meticulous planning.

As with other subject pictures here at The Courtauld, the 'underdrawing' was made by loosely laying in figures and drapery with brown to red-brown earth colours. In a detail photograph of Cimon's face, it is possible to see an initial underdrawing executed in a brown earth colour (Figure 6). It is also possible to see that Lely later enriches the shadows and accentuates the contours of Cimon's face with a redder earth colour. In another instance, on one of the background sculptural putti, the initial laying in of the drawing is also done in a brown earth colour (Figure 7). Later, Lely reinforces the forms with more decisive strokes and a warmer colour.

Through examination of cross-sections, it is possible to again see a combination of brown earth underdrawing and red earth underdrawing. A cross-section from a leaf in the darker background foliage shows that a thin, brown wash was placed first in the painting process, with the green paint of the leaf later placed on top (Figure 8). This thin, brown layer is very likely part of the underdrawing applied thin scumble to lay out the composition.

It is possible to visualise Lely's underdrawing process through his unfinished works. In Lely's *The Concert*, commonly thought to be an unfinished piece, preliminary contour drawings in brown and red earth colours are still visible around the forms of some of the subjects (Figures 7-10).

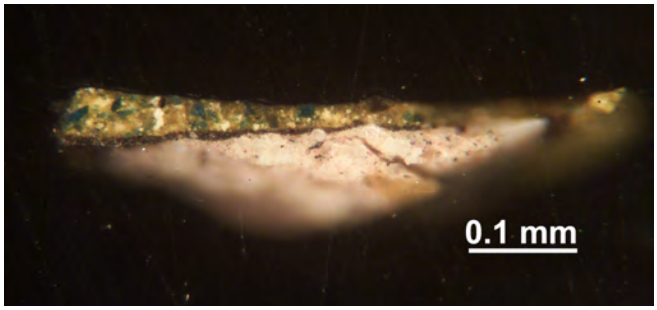


Figure 8. Cross-section taken from area of foliage. Layer 1: Pink-grey ground composed of lead white, charcoal black, and red earth. Layer 2: Thin imprimatura layer painted with brown earth colour. Layer 3: Green foliage colour; matrix is composed of copper blue pigment (possibly azurite), smalt, yellow ochre, and possibly yellow lakes.

Palette

In the "Extracts from the Executors Account-Book of Sir Peter Lely, 1679-1691: An Account of the Contents of Sir Peter Studio," Lely's remaining pigments included: red lake, red lead, yellow lake (brown pink), orpiment, ultramarine, ashes of ultramarine, blue byce [blue verditer], smalt, and indigo.[46] Fever lists Lely's rather typical seventeenth century English palette in Kirby Tally's *Portrait Painting in England: Studies of Technical Literature Before 1700* (ca. 1673) as: lead white, red lake, red ochre, yellow ochre, pink (yellow) lake, ultramarine, indigo, smalt, cologne earth, lamp black, and vine or charcoal black.[47] A large technical survey of Peter Lely paintings entitled *Lely's Studio Practice* was carried out at the Hamilton Kerr Institute in 1994. In the survey, the aforementioned pigments were cumulatively identified in thirty-two paintings in addition to natural azurite, vermillion, lead-tin yellow, and a number of other earth colours including umbre and brown earth. These three pig-

Figure 9-12. Details from *The Concert*, Peter Lely, ca. late 1640's, oil on canvas, 121.1 x 234 cm. The Courtauld Gallery, London.

ment lists account for the majority of the pigments used in *Cimon and Efigenia*, implying that his palette did not change dramatically from his early to late years in England.

For much of *Cimon and Efigenia's* composition, Lely seems to have employed earth pigments in browns and greens and yellows to render the wooded background, forest floor, and the figure's hair and shadows. With SEM-EDX analysis, it was determined that most of these pigments are siliceous clay earths, with consistent peaks for silicon, iron, calcium, and aluminum. Large quantities of calcium were found in the earth pigments; this may be a result of using calcium-rich earth pigments, or calcium carbonate may have been added as an extender to alter the rheology and possibly the drying properties of the oil paint. Chalk is also present in the second, lead white ground, indicating that a cheaper lead white (English "ceruse" and "Spanish white," or Dutch "lootwit") with chalk was most likely used for the imprimatura. Lely appears to have used primarily a warmer bone black for the paint layers and charcoal black in the imprimatura layer.

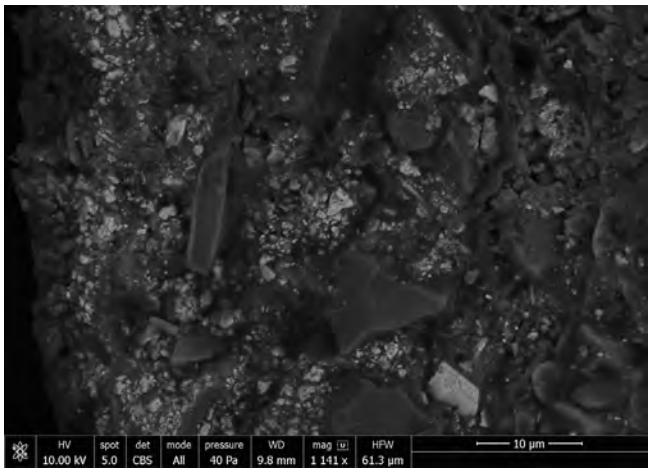


Figure 13. SEM micrograph of surface of sample from upper right sky. Top paint layer (after retouching removal) consists of shard-like smalt particles and small, lead white particles.

Blues

The sky in the upper right corner of the painting, now discoloured into a dark, grey-brown, is composed almost entirely of smalt with only small quanities of lead white, copper-containing blue pig-

ment (possibly azurite), and red earth (Figure 13). In lower areas of the sky, the colour remains a brilliant violet colour. In these areas, Lely continued to use smalt, but with larger quantities of lead white, along with red earth, an orange-coloured pigment (probably another warm ochre colour), and a copper blue pigment (most likely azurite). In the pink passages of the sky near Cimon's head, vermillion was also detected through XRF analysis. Through the identification of these pigments, it is possible to determine that Lely used specific pigments to achieve subtle variations in the colour of a sunset, with what would have been a dark, pure blue at the top (nearly pure smalt); a violet mid-sky with smalt, copper blue, lead white and red ochre; and a pink sunset on the horizon with lead white, smalt, copper blue, and vermillion. According to technical examination from the Hamilton Kerr Institute and The Courtauld, Lely often employed smalt in the sky colours of his compositions, in addition to different combinations of lead white, charcoal black, and sometimes warm earth colours, and so in this regard, *Cimon and Efigenia* fits soundly into his painting practice.[48, 49, 50, 51]

The blue of the drapery in the left of the composition and below the handmaiden were found to be indigo pigment through RAMAN spectroscopy of a cross-section. Through SEM-EDX analysis, it was also determined that the indigo was mixed with small amounts of pure lead white (with no chalk) and carbon black. Lely's training in Haarlem likely prompted his use of indigo. The use of pure lead white with indigo has also been noted in Lely's other paintings *The Concert*, *Rueben Presenting the Mandrakes to Leah*, and *Lady Elizabeth Murray*.[52, 53, 54] This will be discussed further in the "Indigo" section of this report.

Technical analysis of *The Concert* and *Rueben Presenting the Mandrakes to Leah* demonstrates that Lely had access to a range of blue pigments (including ultramarine, azurite, indigo, smalt, verditer and charcoal black), and seems to have deliberately chosen which blue to use in which area of his composition.[55] This is perhaps also true in *Cimon and Efigenia*, although Lely uses the combination of smalt and copper blue for both the sky and the foliage. He used indigo singularly for the drapery, most likely employing its glaze-like rheology in order to best imitate rich silk. And, as stated previously, ultramarine may have been added as a final, brilliant colour on the bottom blue drapery as well.

Greens (Foliage)

Over the great majority of the background, Lely created a visual green colour by combining a copper blue pigment (possibly azurite), smalt, yellow ochre, and possibly yellow lakes to achieve a rich, green colour. This can be seen in a cross-section taken from a leaf on the left side of the painting (Figure 7). The smalt may have been combined with the copper blue for its specific colour or for its drying properties, or alternatively, the smalt was already mixed in with the copper blue pigment when it was purchased. The use of visual greens (made from blue and yellow pigments) for areas of foliage has been identified in other Lely paintings as well, and seems typical of Lely's painting technique. For instance, Lely employed azurite with yellow colours in the rendering of the foliage in *Rueben Presenting the Mandrakes to Leah*.[56] The combination of azurite and yellow ochre was also identified in the foliage of Lely's *Lady Jenkinson* and *Mr Stafford*.[57] A combination of smalt, natural ultramarine, yellow ochre, and possible yellow lakes were recorded for the foliage in *Nymphs by a Fountain*.[58]

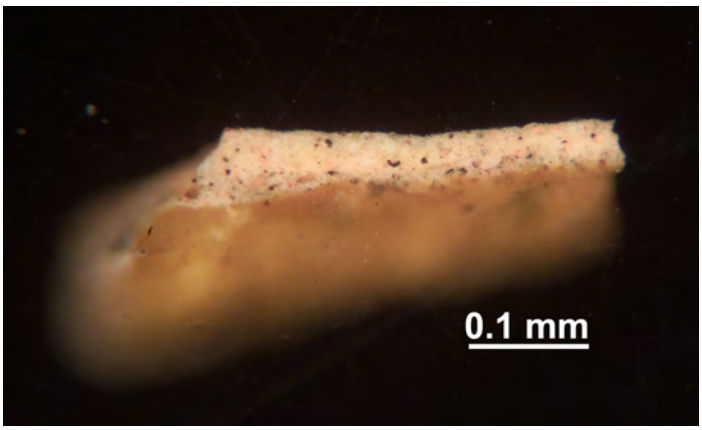


Figure 14. Cross-section taken from area of flesh on Efigenia's handmaiden. Bottom layer is the pink-grey ground. Top layer(s) are flesh colour made of lead white, vermillion, and carbon black.

Flesh

The flesh tones were painted directly on top of the pink-grey ground with a combination of pure lead white, a few particles of carbon (most likely charcoal) black, and vermillion, as confirmed by SEM-EDX analysis of a cross-section (Figure 14). Efigenia and

her handmaiden's red lips as were also painted with vermillion, as determined with XRF analysis. These combination of pigments to paint flesh is perhaps unusual for Lely, as in many paintings, such as *Nymphs by a Fountain*, *Lady Jenkinson*, *Lady Cullen, Mrs Gilly, Mr Stafford* the flesh pigments were fount to be lead white, yellow ochre, red ochre, and charcoal black. [59, 60] Organic red pigments were also possibly identified in the flesh tones examined in *Nymphs by a Fountain*, *Mr Stafford* and *Mrs Gilly*. [61, 62] No substrates for red lake pigments were identified with SEM-EDX in cross-sections from the flesh tones in *Cimon and Efigenia*.

Efigenia's Drapery

Although Efigenia's robe appeared to be made of muted brown colours, discoloured varnish removal and further technical examination suggests that Lely originally painted it more vibrantly. SEM-EDX analysis of cross-sections from areas of Efigenia's drapery reveal the metal substrates of now-faded red and possibly yellow lakes, which were mixed with red earths, and small percentages of smalt and massicot yellow (Figure 15 and 16). XRF analysis allowed us to detect the use of vermillion in some of the redder passages as well. The cross-sections indicate that Lely employed a more complex layering and colouring system than most of the other passages of the painting (three to five paint layers instead of one to two). Micrographs of the surface demonstrate the layering of green, red, and yellow colours (Figures 17-20). The use of this technique is explored in greater depth in a later section.

Medium

The paint layers are thought to be oil, through what is known of Peter Lely's painting practice and through staining tests of cross-sections. William Fever, a contemporary artist to Peter Lely, wrote of Lely's practice that he ground white with nut oil (presumably to avoid the yellowing of white colour) and all the rest of the colours with linseed oil.[63]

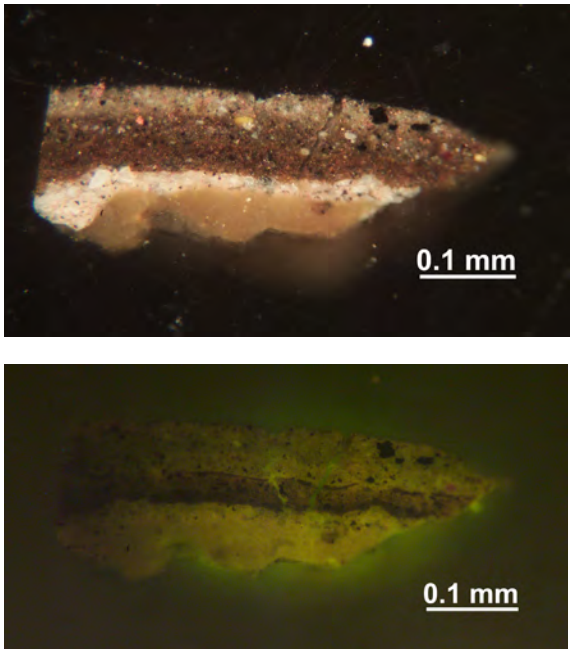


Figure 15. Cross-section taken from Efigenia's drapery. Visible light (top) and ultraviolet light (bottom) photographs reveal five paint layers on top of the double ground, with pigments including red lake, bone black, brown earth, red earth, smalt, and massicot yellow (lead antimonate).

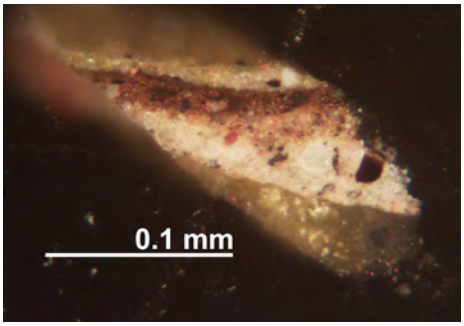
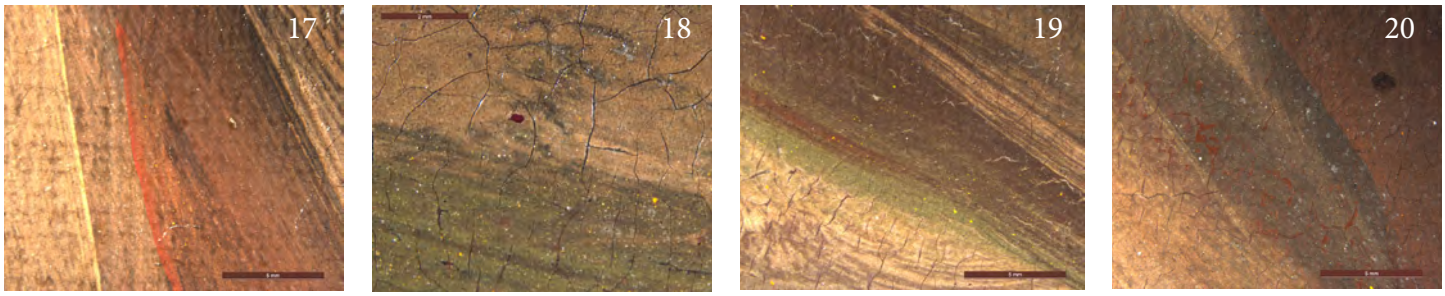


Figure 16. Cross-section taken from Efigenia's drapery. Five paint layers are visible on top of the double ground, with pigments including red lake, green earth, brown earth, red earth, and smalt.



Figures 17-20. Surface micrographs of Efigenia's drapery.

Figure 21. Detail of the horizon.

Figure 22. Detail of tree foliage.

Painting Technique

General Painting Technique

Lely created *Cimon and Efigenia* by first elaborating on his underdrawing and painting in the leaner, dark shadows of his composition, effectively leaving reserves of the pink-grey ground for the lighter figures, drapery and sky. He continued by painting in the flesh of the figures, and then possibly the base colours of the sky and background. Lely was known to work in his colours quickly,[64] building up the lighter areas of richer colour and lower impasto with often just one or two layers of paint. Only in areas of drapery and select deep shadows does he employ glazing techniques. In this way, he exploits the contrast between thin washes and thicker impasto, drawing attention to areas of light and colour and letting others fade into the background or shadow.

Lely employed more textured brushwork to build up highlights in layers in the drapery, in the leaves and branches, variations of coloured light in the horizon of the sky, and highlights on the flesh and pearls in the one handmaiden's hair. Detail photographs illustrate areas of impasto in drapery, leaves in the background foliage, and also the subtly-coloured background sky (Figures 21 and 22). His quick, confident brushstrokes create a textured but precise effect.

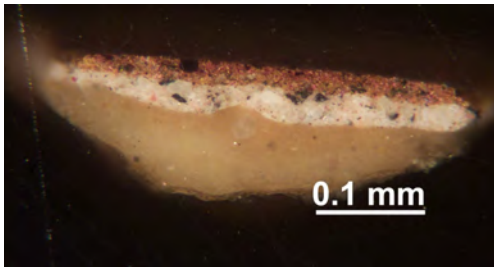
Even with a preliminary painterly sketch and reserves, Lely continued to modify the composition well into the painting process. From the X-ray seen in Figure 3, it is evident that Lely freely altered the figures even after he had more fully developed the major forms. In the X-ray, we can see Efigenia's legs with their lead-white containing flesh colours and the conforming drapery. The anatomic rendering of her legs is perhaps awkward, and so Lely abandoned the legs for only richly painted drapery. It is possible to see Efigenia's former foot is actually still visible in the final composition as it is currently. Some attempt was made to hide the foot, but not particularly well. It seems the foot was completely rendered before Lely decided to alter his composition (Figure 23).

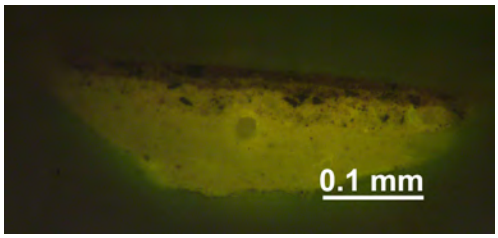
Another major compositional alteration is Cimon's hands. In the current composition, Cimon rests his hands on top of the staff; in the X-ray (Figure 2), it is possible to see that Cimon grasped his staff from both sides. This was perhaps a later compositional alteration made to underscore the chaste reverence and admiration of Efigenia's beauty. Lely also altered the original skyline, possibly opting for more trees and foliage in the final composition, or alternatively, he knowingly utilised the sky colour underneath to peak through the tree foliage.

Figure 23. Detail of foot pentimento.

Figures 24-27. Details of red contours outlining Efigenia, flesh and drapery.

Figure 28. Cross-section taken from red contour of handmaiden's foot in visible light (top) and ultraviolet light (bottom).





Red Contours

Red outlining was used at intermediate states throughout the painting process to reinforce the contours of the figures. In some passages, it is used early on to establish form. In other passages, it is perhaps used as a reinforcement of form as he introduces colours. For example, a detail photograph of Efigenia's robe shows a passage of red contour at an intermediate stage, on top of the flesh paint but below the passages of drapery (Figure 24) Another detail photograph depicts the handmaiden's shoulder, where the red-brown contour is blended directly into the flesh colour wet-in-wet (Figure 25). In other instances, Lely seems to enjoy the red edges and reiterates them in the final composition to enrich contour and shadow. Passages of red earth colour were also placed towards the end of the painting process to emphasise the contours (Figures 26 and 27).

A cross-section taken from an area of red contour confirms the observations made with surface microscopy (Figure 28). The red coloured brushstrokes were applied in two layers here; the first is a warm, earthy colour placed to lay out the design or create an edge for the flesh colours. The second layer was painted on top in a richer red, composed of red iron oxide, with a specific aesthetic intent that is not unprecedented in figure painting.

Appropriation of Red Contours for Figure Painting

When Dutch artists, such as Frans Badens and Hendrick Goltzius, visited Italy in the 1590s, they were inspired by artists' ability to capture the warmth of human flesh tones.[65] "The glow," as they called it, referred to a new manner, associated with Italian techniques, in which colours and especially flesh were warm instead

of "cold," "grey," "pale," or "fishy" tones seen Netherlandish paintings. This was due to their selection of coloured grounds and glazy paint application on top.[66] We discussed this somewhat earlier in regards to grounds, but in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, Dutch artists experimented with other ways to make the flesh "glow."

One such method appears to be these aforementioned red contours and edge flourishes, apparently applied to make figures resonate with lifeblood. We can see some examples of this in Venetian paintings, such as those by Titian and Tintoretto.[67] One has to wonder if Lely and others misunderstood Venetian technique: that the red contours of the flesh painting were not outlines applied later, but rather glimpses of red grounds peaking through from underneath top layers of flesh colour. This may be partially true; however, in a surface micrograph in *Boy with a Bird* that Titian applied a red brushstroke on top of the flesh to denote the wrist.[68] Clearly some red contours were placed as the topmost layer of paint as well.

This technique is present in some of Hendrick Goltzius' work sometime after he returned to Haarlem from his Italian journeys, such as in *The Fall of* Man, 1616, and *Jupiter and* Antiope, 1616. Just before and certainly after his extended sojourn to Italy, Rubens began to employ richer, warmer colours in flesh tones and shadows.[69] In some instances, Rubens also "favoured the use of a red lake paint to accentuate the contours of the shadowed flesh tones, thus heightening the sense of form and imparting warmth and vitality to the figures."[70] We can see examples of this in. for instance, *Samson and Delilah*, 1609-1610, and *The Brazen Serpent*, 1635-40.

Without closely examining much of Lely's oeuvre, it is difficult to determine when exactly Lely did and did not employ this technique. Red contours are sometimes present in his earlier subject pictures, such as *The Concert*, *Rueben Presenting the Mandrakes to Leah*, and Knole House's *Cimon and Efigenia*. (Figures 9-12). Lely seems to have opted for more muted, brown contours with only a few red flourishes in slightly later subject pictures and his portrait paintings. From initial research, it seems that Lely's tutor Franzs de Grebber did not employ a red contour technique to nearly the same extent that Lely did; in his works, we can only see the occasional red highlight bordering a finger or earlobe. It is possible Lely simply admired and imitated the later works of Goltzius and his circle in Haarlem. Alternatively or additionally, after seeing works of Venetian painters and Rubens in London, Lely began to experiment with the red contours of his own subject picture figures.

Changeant Techniques in Drapery

The complex layering technique of red lakes, vermillion and red earth contrasted with passages green earths and yellows may suggest Lely's own painterly variation of changeant technique: painting shot fabric, a tradition found both in Italian and Netherlandish painting tradition. Changeant fabric is made with a simple weave in which the warp and weft threads are different colours. This produces a colour-changing effect as the textile moves.[71]

Changeant fabrics can be seen in fifteenth and sixteenth century Netherlandish paintings, and it has been suggested that a precursor to changeant technique called "purpura" can be seen even earlier in thirteenth century paintings, and even back to ninth to eleventh century illuminated manuscripts.[72] The more sophisticated changeant techniques were made possible in Netherlands with the introduction of the oil medium, which could be exploited for its transparency and layering capabilities. Oil-bound changeant techniques also can be seen in sixteenth century Italian paintings. Venetian painters, such as Veronese, undoubtedly wished to portray the luxurious, richly coloured textiles imported through the prosperous sea trade. Lely would have likely had access to paintings demonstrating changeant fabric techniques in Dutch paintings in Haarlem, and then later within Venetian paintings in the English collections like that of Charles I.

It is clear Anthony van Dyck also employed a changeant technique in some of his paintings. One example can be found in drapery in *The Continence of Scipio*, painted during his first trip to London (1620-21), where he was able to see Venetian paintings, including those in the collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Thomas Howard was later one of Lely's patrons, and it is likely Lely viewed his Venetian collections as well.

Another 17th century Dutch painter who employed that changeant technique is Haarlem painter Frans Hals. For example, though *Portrait of a Woman*,

Figure 29. Detail of Efigenia's drapery.

1611, does not appear to demonstrate the changeant technique, technical analysis has revealed the use of red lakes and, in some areas, green verditer. The verditer was combined with the red glazes to suggest shot silk material, and like *Cimon and Efigenia*, the lakes and verditer have since faded, leaving a brown colour in their place.[73]

In *Cimon and Efigenia*, Lely seems to have employed a painterly rendition of changeant, more reminiscent of the Venetian style, and later, Van Dyck (Figure 29). The combination of red/green seems to occur much more often in Dutch paintings, while Venetian paintings more often contain combinations of blue, pink, and yellow, but to say this with any certainty would require more research. It is possible Lely fused the Dutch and Italian styles to create Efigenia's drapery.

Indigo

As described earlier, the well-preseserved blue pigment in the draperies was found to be indigo (Figure 30). Indigo is a fugitive, organic pigment used as early as the fourteenth century in the Netherlands, but perhaps more successfully in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century with the import of the indigofera species from the New World and India, which replaced the less concentrated woad plant.[74]

Indigo bound in oil is especially sensitive to light exposure, and eventually can fade into a grey colour or very little colour at all. Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Dutch artists were aware of its fugitive nature, and experimented with ways to prevent the chromatic degradation. Various indigoten distillation methods, recipes and paint application methods have been found in Dutch painting manuals in attempt to improve its lightfastness. Ultramarine and good quality azurite were expensive, and smalt was known to discolour even more dramatically, so a moderately priced blue pigment was much needed.

In Haarlem, around the turn of the century, none of the leading painters—Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, and Karel van Mander—used indigo, whereas only a few decades later, it was frequently used by the next generation of painters.[75] In the following generation, Frans Hals is seen as pioneer in his use of indigo around 1627 for the blue sashes and patterns of the standards in the portraits of the large-scale painting *Officers and Sergeants of the St. George Civic Guard*."[76] Haarlem would have been at the centre of indigo synthesis and use, as a preeminent textile centre with a flourishing linen and silk-weaving industry.[77] The paintings of Haarlem artists from this time, beginning with Frans Hals, have been studied because of the remarkable endurance of the indigo pigment. With the tutelage of such techniques in Haarlem, Lely's resilient indigo is perhaps not surprising after all.

Technical analysis of Hals' paintings has shown that one reason indigo is well preserved is because he mixed the indigo with pure lead white (called "schulpwit"), rather than the cheaper lead white extended with chalk (called "lootwit").[78] Evidence suggests that the addition of chalk causes particularly severe discolouration of indigo in the long term, though it is not known exactly why. Additionally, Hals used a course lead white with large particle sizes. It has been suggested that because large particles have a lower ratio of surface area to volume compared to fine particles, there is less light scattering, and therefore less degradation caused by light overall.[79] In a similar way, Hals' use of a grey ground rather than a white ground prevented more reflection of light back into indigo layers.[80]

Figure 30. Detail of indigo drapery.

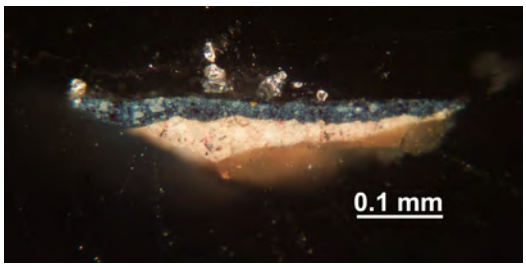


Figure 31. (Top) Cross-section taken from blue drapery (mid-tone blue colour).

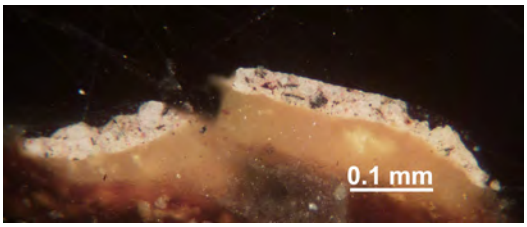


Figure 32. (Bottom) Cross-section taken from blue drapery (dark blue shadow).

In some paintings, artists like Hals and de Grebber prevented fading by applying thick layers of indigo.[81] Light would affect the top layers, but the bottom layers would be less easily penetrated. Additionally, authors from different countries warned that to keep indigo durable, one should not mix it with too much oil.[82]

From examinination the surface of the painting and cross-sections of the drapery, it is possibly to see that Lely actually applied a rather thin layer of indigo (Figures 30 and 31). The darkest shadows are thinly painted with nearly pure indigo in oil, while the mid-tones are mixed with only lead white and charcoal black. Chalk was not detected in the indigo and lead white layer with SEM-EDX analysis. Presumably Lely sought to preserve his indigo colours with techniques he learned in Haarlem, specifically by mixing the indigo with pure lead white. Additionally, the preservation of the indigo must be due to, in some part, its place in Doddington Hall, where it has been positioned strategically away from direct sunlight for two hundred years.

Conclusion

Lely's early career was spent training in Haarlem under Frans Pieter de Grebber, absorbing the pictorial traditions and contemporary work of the Netherlands. In the early 1640's, he joined a long tradition of Dutch artists in traveling to London to paint for the aristocracy. In London, he was exposed to the major royal collections composed of Old Masters, with a notable group of Venetian works by Titian and Giorgione, and as well as masterpieces by his Dutch predecessors in London, Van Dyck and Rubens. Throughout his lifetime, Lely acquired a large collection of drawings and paintings from which he could continuously draw inspiration. Lely historiography has emphasised his "magpie" tendencies primarily in terms of stylistic characteristics that he took from these teachers and the paintings in the collections of his patrons. This research had determined that this stylistic observation is very much supported by technical analysis: Lely combined Dutch, Italian, English materials and techniques as well. Just as Cimon "distinguishes Efigenia's parts, so that he would now needs to become a judge of beauty,"[83] connoisseurs beholding the painting would be aware of Lely's complex practice, taking delight in unpicking each example or influence, thereby becoming more 'civilised' themselves.

Notes

[1] "Pieter vander Faes, genaamt Lely, is geboren tot Soest in Westsaalen op den 14 van Herfstmaand 1618. (…) Om nu den oorspronk van den bynaam Lely (als wy belooft hebben, en waar

by hy alleen in Engeland bekent is) aan te duiden, zoo moet de Lezer weten dat zyn Vader, die voor hem dien bynaam gehad heeft, geboren is in 's Gravenhage in een Huis, daar een Lely in den gevel stond". Tr.: 'Pieter van der Faes, named Lely, was born in Soest in Westfalia on the 14th of the autumn month 1618. (…) To tell now the origins of the nickname Lely (as we have promised and as he is known only in England), the reader should know that his father, who has had the same nickname before him, was born in The Hague in a house, the gable of which was adorned with a lily'. Houbraken, Arnold. 1718. *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*. Amsterdam. 42, 47.

[2] "Zyn Vader ziende dat hy van der jeugt aan meer tot de Schilderkonst dan tot de Krygsoeffening geneigt was, en liever 't penceel dan den deegen hanteerde, bestelde hem tot Haarlem by den Konstschilder *Piet. Fr. Grebber*". Tr. 'His father saw that in his youth he leaned more towards painting than warfare, and rather wielded the pencil over the sword, and brought him to the painter *Piet. Fr. Grebber*'. Houbraken, Arnold. 1718. *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen.* Amsterdam. 42.

[3] See: Curd, Mary Bryan H. 2010. *Flemish and Dutch artists in early modern England: collaboration and competition, 1460-1680*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate.

[4] Lely, Peter, Caroline Campbell, Diana Dethloff, Karen Hearn, and David A. H. B. Taylor. 2012. *Peter Lely: a lyrical vision*. London: Courtauld Gallery.

[5] Henderson, Brandon. 2008. *Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680): Dutch Classicist, English Portraitist, and Collector*. Boca Raton, FL: Dissertation.com. 75.

[6] See: Neeltje Köhler, and P. Biesboer. 2006. *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850: the collection of the Frans Hals Museum*. Ghent [Belgium]: Ludion.

[7] Millar, Oliver, and Peter Lely. 1978. *Sir Peter Lely, 1618-80: [catalogue of the] exhibition at 15 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1 [from 17 November 1978 to 18 March 1979]*. London: National Portrait Gallery. 14.

[8] See: Green, Martin. 2010. *The Delavals: a family history*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Powdene Publicity; Seaton Delaval Hall. 1950. *Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland. (Catalogue.)*.

[9] Dethloff, Diana. 'The Executor's Acconout Book and the Dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's Collection'. *Jounral of the History of Collections*, no. 1 (1996): 15-51.

[10] Melion, Walter S. 1991. *Shaping the Netherlandish canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-boeck*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. XX.

[11] Henderson, Brandon. 2008. *Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680): Dutch Classicist, English Portraitist, and Collector*. Boca Raton, FL: Dissertation.com.

[12] Gordon, Catherine M. 1983. *Tales retold: Boccaccio's Decameron 17th century to 19th century : [exhibition] Buxton Museum and Art Gallery, 23rd July-20th August 1983*. Buxton, Derbyshire: Museum Service. 6.

[13] John Florio. 1620. *The Decameron, Containing An hundred pleasant novels*. London: Isaac Iaggard. See also: Gordon, Catherine M. 1983. *Tales retold: Boccaccio's Decameron 17th century to 19th century : [exhibition] Buxton Museum and Art Gallery, 23rd July-20th August 1983*. [Buxton, Derbyshire]: Museum Service. 16.

[14] Dirck Coornhert. *Vijftigh lustighe historien oft nieuwigheden Joannis Boccatij*. Amsterdam: Broer Jansz. 1644.

[15] Gordon, Catherine M. 1983. *Tales retold: Boccaccio's Decameron 17th century to 19th century : [exhibition] Buxton Museum and Art Gallery, 23rd July-20th August 1983*. Buxton, Derbyshire: Museum Service. 19.

[16] Lely, Peter, Caroline Campbell, Diana Dethloff, Karen Hearn, and David A. H. B. Taylor. 2012. *Peter Lely: a lyrical vision*. London: Courtauld Gallery, 46. See also: Vigne, Randolph, and Charles Littleton. 2001. *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland, and colonial America, 1550-1750*. London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

[17] Dethloff, Diana. 'The Executor's Acconout Book and the Dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's Collection'. *Jounral of the History of Collections*, no. 1 (1996): 15-51.

[18] Ashmolean Museum, and Christie, Manson & Woods. 1985. *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel: patronage and collecting in the seventeenth century : the Ashmolean Museum, November 1985-January 1986*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. See also: *A catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In which is included the valuable collection of Sir Peter Paul Rubens. With the life of George Villiers ... the celebrated poet. Written by Brian Fairfax*. 1758. London: Printed for W. Bathoe.

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